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Listening Through and Against *Ma'lūf*: Place, Power, and Practice in Post-2011 Tunisia

By

Rachel R. Colwell

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Benjamin Brinner, Chair
Professor Jocelyne Guilbault
Professor Charles Hirschkind
Professor Ruth Davis

Summer 2019

Listening Through and Against *Ma'lūf*:
Place, Power, and Practice in Post-2011 Tunisia

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ABSTRACT

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Doctor of Philosophy in Music

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Professor Benjamin Brinner, Chair

Ma'lūf – Tunisian music of Arab-Andalusian origin – has been emblematic of the emerging nation since 1930s, but today many Tunisians can hardly afford the cost of attending a performance. In the fallout of Tunisia's second revolution (2011-), I ask: to whom does *ma'lūf* still sound "familiar?" Whereas previous music research in Tunisia has focused on modernization and nationalism, anxiety over loss of tradition, and expert musical masters, I theorize *ma'lūf* listening practices – and the acoustemologies ("acoustic epistemologies") that frame them – as a contested site for State and social elite control (which I term "listening through") and for acts of critique, reclamation, and inclusion (i.e., "listening against").

Furthering initiatives of my Tunisian interlocutors, I re-situate *ma'lūf* as part of the "*Andalusī* way of life," by studying listening (1) as historically-informed, learned socio-cultural practices, (2) as emplaced within built environments, (3) as richly inter- and multi-sensory embodied experiences, and (4) as enmeshed in dynamic political and ethical discourses. In these regards, my effort is a post-colonial and post-authoritarian (post-2011) intervention that recognizes Tunisians' recent re-centering of sound knowledge and cultural reclamation and renewal, especially among younger generations, amateur music enthusiasts, and musicians who operate outside of institutional spheres or outside of the capital city. Amid complex power struggles in a locale defined for millennia as a crossroads of cultural contact, I investigate the mapping of "affective orientations" onto geographic places and identity categories. Ultimately, this dissertation argues that music listening plays a significant role in the structuring and disruption of social class and hegemonies of cultural normativity.

A reminder on my desk during fieldwork and in the writing of this dissertation:

For it is in the eliciting of contradictions more than unified stories of coherence that the project of ethnography assumes its greatest role.

— Jonathan Shannon 2015a: 9.

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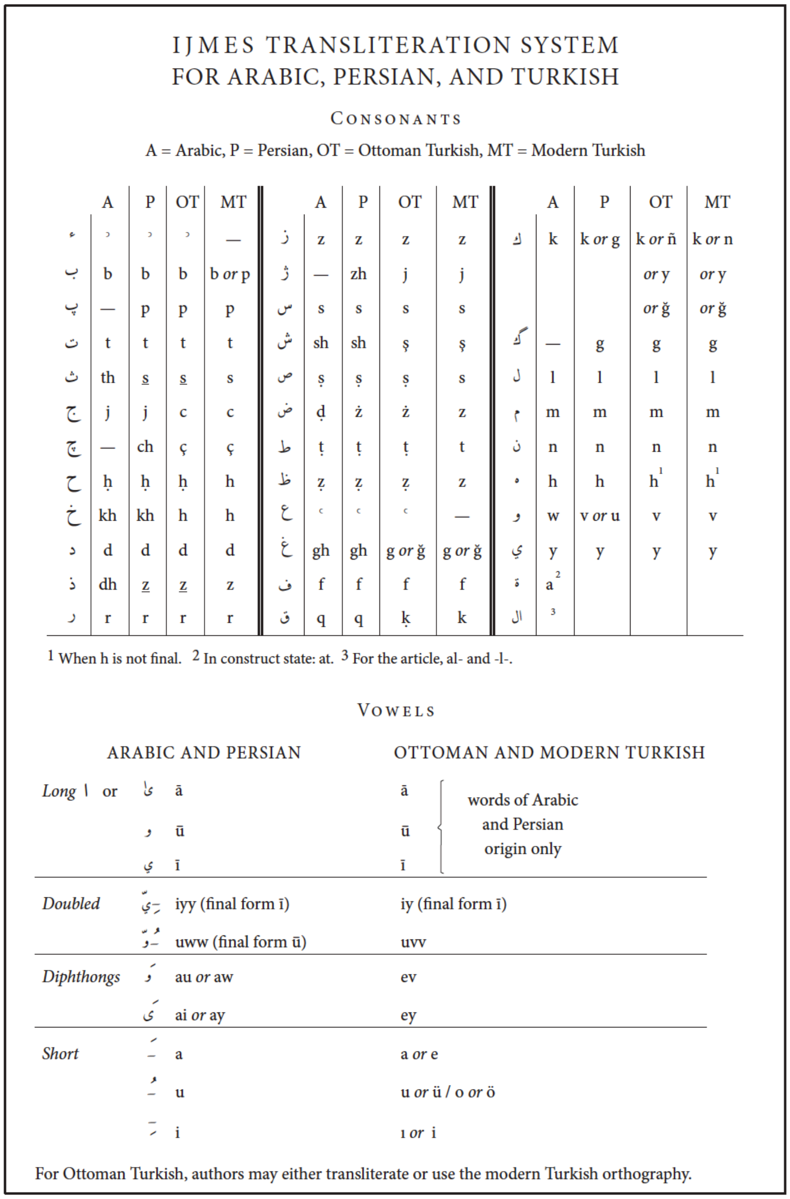
NOTE ON TRANSLATION & TRANSLITERATION

In this dissertation I have followed the conventions of the International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies.



IJMES TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM
FOR ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND TURKISH

CONSONANTS

A = Arabic, P = Persian, OT = Ottoman Turkish, MT = Modern Turkish

	A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT
ء	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	—	ز	z	z	z	z	ك	k	k *or* g	k *or* ñ *or* y *or* ğ	k *or* n *or* y *or* ğ
ب	b	b	b	b *or* p	ژ	—	zh	j	j					
پ	—	p	p	p	س	s	s	s	s					
ت	t	t	t	t	ش	sh	sh	ş	ş	گ	—	g	g	g
ث	th	s̱	s̱	s	ص	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	s	ل	l	l	l	l
ج	j	j	c	c	ض	ḍ	ż	ż	z	م	m	m	m	m
چ	—	ch	ç	ç	ط	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	t	ن	n	n	n	n
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	h	ظ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	z	ه	h	h	h[1]	h[1]
خ	kh	kh	h	h	ع	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	—	و	w	v *or* u	v	v
د	d	d	d	d	غ	gh	gh	g *or* ğ	g *or* ğ	ي	y	y	y	y
ذ	dh	ẕ	ẕ	z	ف	f	f	f	f	ة	a[2]			
ر	r	r	r	r	ق	q	q	ḳ	k	ال	[3]			

1 When h is not final. 2 In construct state: at. 3 For the article, al- and -l-.

VOWELS

	ARABIC AND PERSIAN		OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH	
Long	ا or ىٰ	ā	ā	words of Arabic and Persian origin only
	و	ū	ū	
	ي	ī	ī	
Doubled	ـيّ	iyy (final form ī)	iy (final form ī)	
	ـُوّ	uww (final form ū)	uvv	
Diphthongs	وَ	au *or* aw	ev	
	ىَ	ai *or* ay	ey	
Short	ـَ	a	a *or* e	
	ـُ	u	u *or* ü / o *or* ö	
	ـِ	i	ı *or* i	

For Ottoman Turkish, authors may either transliterate or use the modern Turkish orthography.

Place names with accepted English spellings are spelled according to English norms. In my transcriptions of local Tunisian terms and direct quotations I have attempted to represent the particularities of Tunisian pronunciation as much as possible. In cases where the meaning is then potentially obscured, I have also included the *Fuṣḥa* transliterated spelling.

NOTE ON PERSONAL NAMES

I have retained the most common Francophone transliterations for personal names. To protect the anonymity of my interlocutors, I have chosen to refer to many of them by pseudonyms.

INTRODUCTION

ادخل لبلد بناسها

Udkhul li-balad bi-nās-hā, Enter a land through its own people. —Tunisian Proverb

Know that listening comes first, and that it bears as fruit a state in the heart that is called ecstasy…. — Al-Ghazālī: 200

It is only appropriate that I open in a café, as so many of my conversations with Tunisians have begun this way. A colleague and I were sitting in the smoky Cirta[1] Café where I slowly nursed my *direct*, a coffee with milk. The café, perched above homes and shops, looked out on what remains of the ancient Roman baths (first century), up toward the Ottoman fortress (1612) built atop its Byzantine predecessor (seventh century), and an ancient Roman building (fourth century) whose original use is a mystery but that has been used as an early Christian church, as a mosque, again as a church under the French (1881-1956),[2] and most recently as a venue for musical and theatrical performance.[3] The sounds of the vegetable sellers and street below drifted through the open window and a continuous background drone of Middle Eastern pop music videos streamed from the TV. As we were talking, the *adhān*,[4] the call to prayer, crackled on, blaring well-past the volume threshold of distortion from the *sawma'*, the minaret just outside the window.

It was then that my café companion lost it: *yāsir!* it's too much, she groaned, agitatedly. What was too much, I asked? Was the environment too loud with the combination of the TV, the *adhān*, and the chatter of the other café customers? On other occasions Tunisians had expressed distaste when people neglected to silence music or TV during the call to prayer — was this the problem? No, neither volume nor that form of insensitivity were at issue for Rim, who sat across from me with her back to the window. Yes, the canned banal music on the TV had already been bothering her, she said; she expected more from a "cultural café" such as the Cirta, which she idealized as a social gathering space where people could escape the everyday superficiality of mainstream, mass-mediated Arab pop music *and* 'oppressive' imposition of Islamic sound in public space. It was the combination of the unwanted religiously-charged sound and commoditized capitalist *Sharqī* (Middle Eastern) Arab pop that had exasperated her.

Unprompted, she then told me, disdainfully, about the Tunisian Islamic practice of whispering the *adhān* into the ears of newborn babies to assure that the first sounds they hear in the world are godly. Given the onset of the *adhān* just a moment before, it was clear she had classed the incursion of the *adhān* into our sonic space as akin to the violation of infants' first auditory experiences. Who could be more vulnerable? She felt barraged, she said, caught between the corporate schlock on the TV and the sounds of Islam reverberating in her cityscape. She is not alone in perceiving these sounds as unwanted; another of my colleagues referred to the *adhān* as "sonic graffiti," a transgressive act defacing the otherwise seemingly unmarked or 'natural' soundscape. Earlier that day, Rim and I had walked through El Kef where she showed me where the Jewish quarter had been and where some French Christians used to live as well. She said she'd never heard the sounds of all of those people, but that she could imagine them mixing in the streets during her grandparents' youth – the sounds of Jewish prayer and Christian church bells blending with the *adhān.*

---

[1] The true location of Cirta, the capital of the Numidian world, remains contested. Its ancient location may lie where El Kef is today, as André Berthier argued in the 1950s, but French colonial archaeologists – most notably Stephane Gsell (1864-1932) – argued that the Algerian city of Constantine shares its site with that of ancient Cirta. More recently, Tunisian historian, Mohamed Tlili, has championed Berthier's argument for Cirta's Tunisian location (Bond 2017:135).

[2] See Berney et al.

[3] See Berney et al.

[4] The *adhān* – derived from the Arabic *wudhin* "ear" – is the "call to prayer," typically broadcast today with the aid of electronic loudspeakers.

In 2009, during my first visit in Tunisia – just two years before the beginning of the *Thawrat al-Karāmah*, the Tunisian Dignity Revolution that ignited the Arab Spring – I was struck time and again by the enormous significance of sound in Tunisian life. This realization was due, in no small part, to my struggles to learn *Tūnsī*, a North African dialect of Arabic (*Darija*). Harder yet was navigating the gulf between written and spoken forms of language; *Tūnsī* and other vernacular dialects are rarely written, though that is changing with technology trends in smart phone texting and in popular advertisements on TV and billboards. And that's not even getting into Tunisian code-switching between Arabic and French or the tremendous number of *Tūnsī* words that are drawn from *Tamazight* (indigenous Berber language), Italian, and Maltese origins. For musical sound as well, orality and aurality are not only crucial in Tunisia, but across the Arab world. Learning by ear is common custom, sometimes accompanied by forms of inscription, in all Tunisian musical genres and traditions, across regional, racial, religious, and classed categories. As in many other parts of the Islamic world, the sounds of religious practice – especially the *adhān* but also recitation of *Qur'ān* and Islamic sermons broadcast from loudspeakers[5] atop the minarets of small mosques (sing. *masjid*, pl. *masājid*) and larger ones (sing. *jāma'*, pl. *jāma'āt*) – structure social experience of time and space at every scale. This is the case from the habitual movement of people through neighborhoods to and from prayer to the minaret-studded skylines of small villages to the wide variation in the modes, melodies, and intonations of different regions and countries.

These ambient sounds of Sufism,[6] the sounds of nature, sounds of work and transportation, local linguistic dialects, and regional musical genres styles blend together, both phenomenologically and in Tunisians' discursive constructions of the sounds of places. As I explore in this dissertation, Tunisians have deeply embedded musics, and their constituent sonic components, in their discursive understandings and representations of place through traditions of dynamic sonic production, resonance, and listening. Tunisians describe their land – again, at many scales – as if it has absorbed these musical sounds and can only then exude them, reproducing them as a form of cultural continuity.[7] It is this emic conceptualization of sonic ecology, a poetic and stylized understanding of sound as relationally produced through human interaction with their topographies and climates, that led me to this project, to theorize contemporary Tunisian music listening practices as socially, culturally, spatially, and historically-informed acoustemologies, ways of knowing the world through sound (Feld 2012: 126). With this complex relational system in mind, the primary research question of my dissertation asks: what connections to geographic places and movements, emplaced sonic histories, and affective orientations are perpetuated and challenged through listening today?

---

[5] See Hirschkind 2006

[6] See Jankowsky forthcoming

[7] Al-Ghazālī (~1058 to 1111 AD), Sufi philosopher and mystic, argued for the acceptability of listening to music based on the premise that sounds emanate from everything in the material world and are therefore an inescapable part of human experience: "So it is impossible that listening to these sounds should be forbidden simply because they are pleasant and measured; for there is no one who regards the voice [or "sound"] of the nightingale or those of other birds as forbidden. And there is no difference between our throat an another or between inanimate substance and animate. So we ought to draw an analogy from the sounds [or "voice"] of the nightingale to the sounds which issue from all other bodies, especially the sounds belonging to man, as those which issue from his throat, or from the *qaḍīb* or the *ṭabl* or the *duff* [*daff*] or the rest" (211).

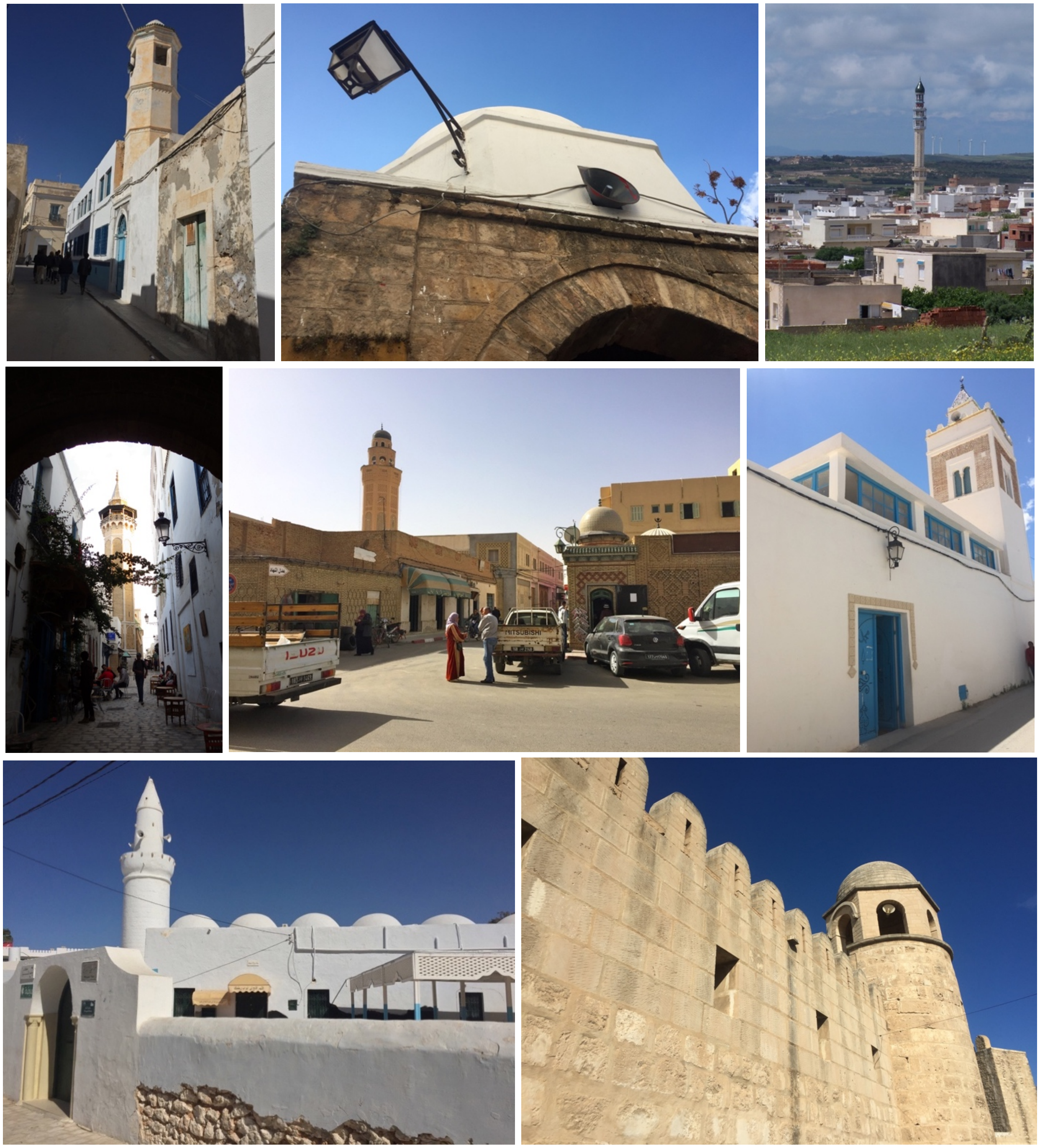


Figure 1 A variety of Tunisian minarets from across the country. Photographs by the author.

In Tunisian Arabic, the terms for sound and voice are one and the same — *ṣūt.*[8] There is a poetics then to the Tunisian notion that sound – linguistic, musical, and otherwise – can and does emanate from so many seemingly inanimate sources, from landscapes and cityscapes, from buildings bedecked with loudspeakers to the reverberant ritual spaces that respond in echo to the intoned prayers and musicking that take place within them. These are what I call *ṣūt al-blā’is*, the "sounds or voices of spaces," which I explore in Chapter 5.

---

[8] The word is the same in Modern Standard Arabic, but it is pronounced *sawt.*

But orality/aurality is a two-way street; if inanimate objects speak, surely, they must listen as well. Traveling around the country in 2016, acquaintances mentioned that superstitious Tunisians, especially those living in the small villages of the interior and the South of the country, suspect that electrical transmission towers not only brought energy and telephonic communication to their homes, but that they also operated as secret listening devices. These towers, they said, were used by former president Ben Ali's regime to spy on them, to gather intel about potential uprisings so that he could quell them before they gathered steam. It is for this reason that these towers are sometimes referred to as *wudhin Ben Ali* or "Ben Ali's ear." Paranoia that the "walls have ears"[9] and that someone may be eavesdropping[10] remains.

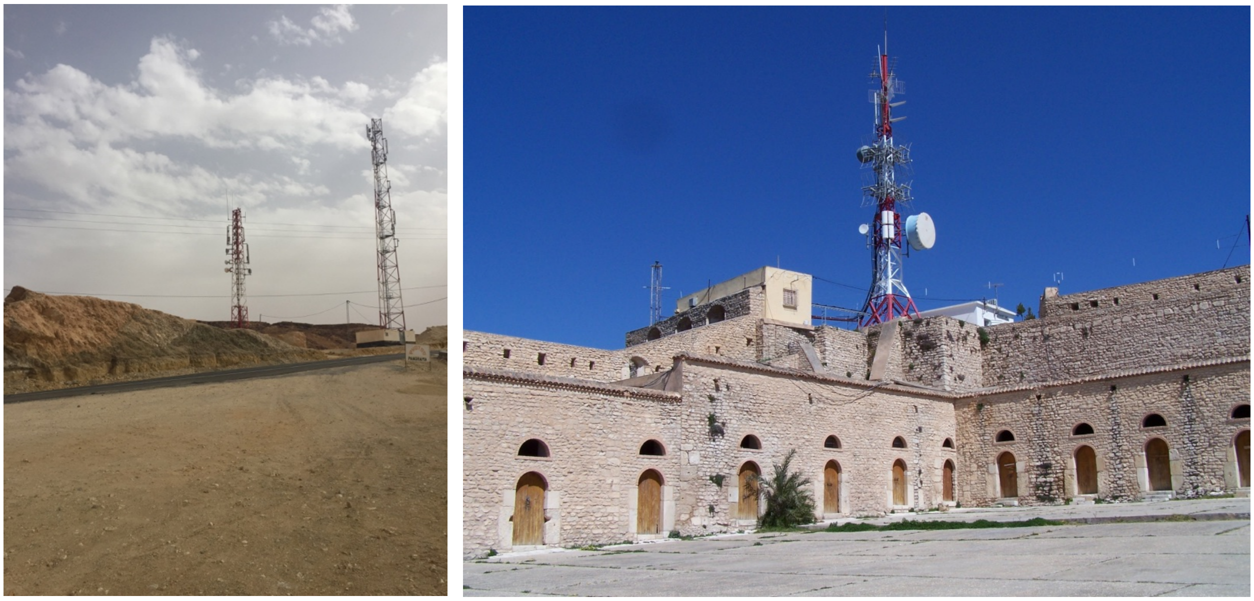


Figure 2 Transmission towers in the rural interior (left) and within the Ottoman fortress in El Kef (right). Photographs by the author.

This distrust of the government among rural agriculturalists in the interior and southern 'hinterlands' is easily traced to the 'modernization' projects carried out by Habib Bourguiba, Tunisia's first president, in the 1960s which involved the complete displacement of village residents from their homes to new state-built facilities with the infrastructure for electricity and plumbing.[11] Looking further back, however, Bourguiba's civilizing mission, especially in the interior, echoed the efforts of French colonialists during the protectorate era (1881-1956). But the government has 'listened' in other ways too. The fennec fox, an animal endemic to the Saharan desert, is well known in Tunisian lore as a wise creature, given his enormous ears. This conception gave life to the Labib (whose name literally means "wisdom"), the mascot for Ben Ali's 1990s environmentalist campaign. Especially strong senses of hearing and smell helped the Labib to detect litterers and noise-makers in order to right the wrong in defense of the people and the environment (see Chapter 3). During and following the revolution, statues and other visual representations of the Labib, which existed across Tunisia, were explicitly targeted as they stood as obvious public representations of Ben Ali and his failures, including his environmentalism campaign, which amounted to nothing more than re-naming main thoroughfares of towns across the country "Boulevard de l'Environment."[12]

---

[9] Michael Bull and Les Back call for a "sound history of surveillance," citing Foucault's video-centric study of Bedlam prison's panopticon which was "also a listening prison which, through a series of tubes, the inmates could be heard at all times" (2003:5).

[10] I have yet to see any compelling evidence that listening devices were, in fact, concealed in these structures. One Tunisian term for 'eavesdropping' or 'listening in' on a private conversation is *kasar wuthnīn* (literally meaning "breaking ears"). *Kasar wuthnīn* is often associated with gossiping or nosiness, *nasnīs*, which is itself an evocative onomatopoeia (p.c. Rim, 8/30/2016).

[11] See Jean Duvignaud's *Change at Shebika, Report from a North African Village* (1970).

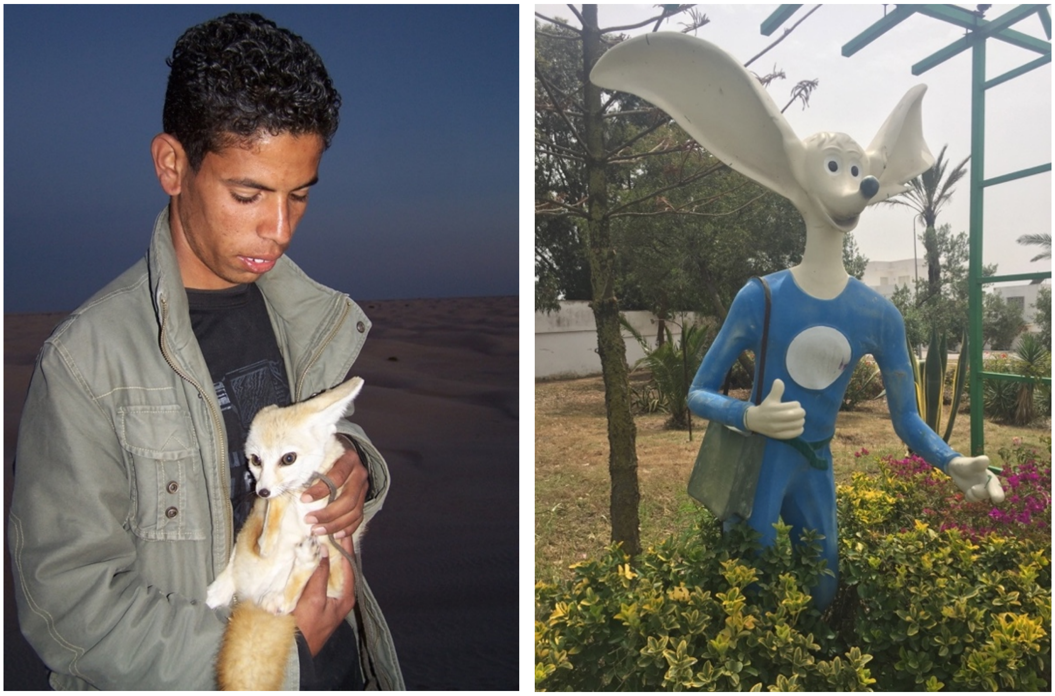


Figure 3 (left) a captive fennec fox and his owner, at the edge of the Sahara in 2009 and (right) a Labib statue in Sidi Bou Said in 2016. Photographs by the author.

It was not until my second and third visits to Tunisia, after the 2011 revolution – in the summer of 2013 and for my primary field research period in 2016 – that the more contentious and politically-charged aspects of sound in Tunisia, especially regarding musical sound in public spaces, exploded into my consciousness. It is hard to know how much of this realization must be credited to the development of my ethnomusicological thinking that took place in the interim or to the new emerging space for the voicing of opinions and histories previously silenced under the regimes of the former authoritarian presidents, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (1987-2011) and Habib Bourguiba (1959-1987).

Growing increasingly aware of political pressures and concerns over Tunisian musical sound, I turned my attention toward *ma'lūf*, the repertoire of Tunisian-*Andalusī* art music considered the "national music" of Tunisia and the most important *turāth* (musical heritage) of the nation. *Ma'lūf* is remembered by many as having played an important role in the twentieth-century Tunisian nationalist movement (1920s-40s), in the anti-colonial fight against the French (1956), and in Tunisia's first decades as an independent nation (1950s and '60s).[13] Now, at this new important juncture, the ongoing epoch of Tunisia's *second* revolution (January 14, 2011 -), I ask: why or in what ways does the study of *ma'lūf* matter? Building on my previous question regarding connections to place, doing research in the fallout of the revolution has pushed me to also consider the extent to which these connections have political, social, cultural, and religious consequences, and for whom. In the midst of large-scale political and socio-cultural transformation, which emerging or time-tested approaches to *ma'lūf* resonate with Tunisian listeners today, and why? By mapping connections, in this dissertation I explore how listening works as learning aid, descriptive documentation, instrument for informed governance, and guide for charting cultural and political paths forward.

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[12] See Darwish 2017: 308 for more on the role authoritarianism played in Ben Ali's environmental policies.
[13] For more on this history, see Davis 1986, 2004.

My intellectual interests in music-making and listening in Tunisia stem from a drive to better understand creative expression in a region marked by complex cultural landscapes. Tunisia – once known as *Ifrīqiya*, the origin of our term for the entire continent – is the farthest northern point of Africa. Defined both as nationally distinct *and* as a crossroads of cultural contact, Tunisians' multifaceted subjectivities are caught between Mediterranean, Indigenous (*Amazīgh*, i.e. Berber), European, Saharan, Arab, and Middle Eastern identities. The formal aspects and aesthetics of Tunisian musics – and Tunisians' listening practices, the focus of this dissertation – have been shaped by mixing, colonial occupation, cosmopolitanism, and resistance. Today, in post-authoritarian Tunisia, these geographical and historical layers, and the public's ways of relating to them, are being re-examined and re-conceptualized.

Theorizing listening to *ma'lūf* affords a point of entry into understanding the negotiations required for artistic and cultural life on the "balcony of Africa." Tunisia's northern peninsulas – Cape Blanc and Cape Bon – have been prized strategic locations, both militarily and for trade, from the days of the Phoenicians and Romans through and beyond the Second World War, when German troops occupied Tunisia and were stationed there. The bay of Tunis, tucked between these two protective peninsulas and centrally located along the Mediterranean Sea, has long been an active trading hub. Tunisia's rolling northern hills were once the breadbasket of the Roman Empire, but beyond its role as a fertile agrarian cradle, Tunisia has nurtured cultural emergence, revival, and reform as well. Numerous civilizations have invaded or risen and fallen[14] on what is now Tunisian soil, a country slightly smaller than the state of Florida. Although textbook histories, recount successive kingdoms with newcomers triumphing and reigning supreme over predecessors, far-reaching and all-encompassing cultural memory is extremely important to contemporary Tunisians' conceptions of their history. In general, contemporary Tunisian national identity is one characterized by inclusion, exemplified by Tunisia's history of religious tolerance; significant Jewish communities and smaller Christian groups have coexisted amongst their Muslim neighbors for as far as collective memory can recall.

Tunisia's history reads as a nearly exhaustive list of European and Islamic imperial powers. Carthage was the seat of two great empires; in the first few centuries of the Common Era, the region that is now the metropolis of Tunis was a booming Mediterranean trading port for Queen Elyssa (Dido) and her Phoenician subjects. Carthage was symbolically "sown with salt" and abandoned by the Romans in 436 AD. German Vandals and Byzantines (Christian Eastern Roman Empire) kingdoms each ruled successively thereafter. By the seventh century, Islamic invaders had made their presence known by laying siege to all strategically-important cities and buildings, ransacking what was left of local Roman temples and Christian basilicas across the country to piece together new mosques and fortresses from the rubble. Between the tenth and seventeenth centuries, Andalusian Muslim and Jewish immigrants fleeing the Reconquista and Spanish Inquisition sought safety in Tunisia and all along the northern shores of Africa. The *Andalusī* people brought with them their regionally specific customs, language, and music from medieval Islamic Iberia. In 1574, Tunisia became part of the vast Ottoman Empire until the French placed it under a Protectorate in 1881.

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[14] I am reminded of the theories of Ibn Khaldun, fourteenth-century sociologist and geographer, who held that empires naturally rose and fell every forty years (Rosenthal 1967).

With its contested senses of place and orientation, entangled affective orientations, and dense acoustemological layers, Tunisia is a rich research site for examining listening in terms of place, power, and practice. By approaching musical audition of *ma'lūf* in the wake of the 2011 Dignity Revolution, this project foregrounds the political, cultural, and social implications of articulating connections – geographical, emplaced, imagined, felt, sonic, and believed – in this post-colonial and profoundly cosmopolitan contact zone (Pratt 1992).

Listening and Listeners

Besides clandestine governmental listening-in, Tunisians speak of other powers, seen and unseen, that have the capacity to listen in Tunisia. Most notable, perhaps, are *jnūn*, beings in Islamic cosmology that share some characteristics of angels and some of humans. They come in many varieties: beneficent, maleficent, or innocuous toward people. Some have extra-human powers of audition and can hear across great physical distances while others are attracted especially to the sound of many people speaking at once (p.c. Hiba, 06/28/2016).[15] As further described in Chapter 1, "*Tunis al-Khaḍra',* Tunis the Green," Sufi tradition recognizes the ability of trees and flowers to speak and hear, though people must be well practiced to listen to them.

Like the case of the Tunisian fennec fox, there are numerous other accounts of non-human animals listening;[16] a lengthy example can be found in al-Ghazālī's treatise "On Music and Ecstasy" (from his *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, "The Revival of Religious Sciences") where he states that "all beasts … feel the influence of measured airs [music]" (219) and "every animal has a kind of pleasure in agreeable sounds" (705). In my many visits to the famous *Saf Saf* café in La Marsa, I was told that Fathia, the resident white camel whose primary task is posing with tourists for photographs, enjoys listening to recitation of *Qur'ān*. Indeed, there is a rather large mosque just beside the *café*. Camel drivers have also been known, as al-Ghazālī cites,[17] to have urged their caravans on by singing to them. The term *ḥadā*, while used more generally to mean "to urge, incite, or spur on" literally means "to urge camels on with music" (Hans Wehr dictionary: 192). The songs of the *ḥaddā'* (camel driver) were known to distract and lighten the load of the animal of burden.[18] Still, compared to humans, animals are considered to be relatively unrefined listeners;[19] one of many proverb-like inscriptions decoratively engraved on the Alhambra palace reads: "He who never hunted, never loved, never sought the fragrance of flowers or whose feelings have not been moved by melodies of music, he is not a human being, he is categorized as an animal" (my translation).[20] In Islamic thought, animals are also thought to be able, unlike humans, to hear the *'adhāb al-qabr*, the "Punishment of the Grave," the torment of the unrighteous after death and before the resurrection.[21]

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[15] Similarly, in Slovenian lore, witches are attracted to the sound of many women speaking at once (p.c. Ljoba Jence, 7/23/2008).

[16] It is no surprise that the non-human members of the animal kingdom have also been ranked in terms of how beautiful their voices are; this spectrum stretches, according to al-Ghazālī, from the nightingale on one end to the donkey – whose voice is "verily the worst liked" – on the other (209).

[17] "The driving-song behind the camels did not cease to be one of the customs of the Arabs in the time of the Apostle of God, and in the times of the companions [of the Prophet Muhammad], and it is nothing but poems equipped with agreeable sounds and measured melodies" (al-Ghazālī: 217).

[18] "And the camel, in spite of his stupidity of nature, feels the effects of the driving-song to such a degree that, hearing it, he counts heavy loads light, and, in the strength of his alacrity through listening to it, holds long distances short; such an alacrity is aroused in him as intoxicates and distracts him. They you will see, when the desert grows long to them, and fatigue and weariness under the loads and burdens seize upon them, whenever they hear someone strike up the driving-song, how they extend their necks and pay attention to the singer with ears erect, and hasten in their pace till the loads and burdens shake upon them, and often they kill themselves from the force of the pace and the weight of the burdens, while they do not perceive it through their alacrity (al-Ghazālī: 218).

But it is human listeners – and a particular subset at that – who constitute the primary subjects of my dissertation research. My reasoning for choosing to study listening and listeners rather than performance and performers is in response to the attempts of the Dignity Revolution to destabilize the hegemonic power structures of authoritarianism in Tunisia. Two important points require clarification: first, all performers are certainly *also* listeners as all types of musical performance require listening, in some form or another. Second, I do not mean to construct an event-based narrative of the revolution as a rupture; more specifically, I refer here to a period of revolutionary change and destabilization. Put simply, by inverting the traditional model for musicological research in Tunisia – studying music from the standpoint of listening rather than performing – I see this project as contributing to post-colonial efforts to understand musicking using a 'bottom-up' approach. Since all Tunisians are potential listeners but only a few call themselves "professional performers,"[22] my approach aims to encompass a much broader and more diverse public, in terms of socio-economic status, class, age, race, and religion. Besides the particular situations of my ethnographic sites in Tunisia, I aim in this work to further contemporary initiatives in ethnomusicology to recognize listening (1) as a complex learned cultural practice, (2) as an essential competency in musicking, (3) as shaped by historical, acoustic, political, ethical, embodied and place-specific factors, and (4) as a potentially active and agentive mode of personal and social engagement. Indeed, I further arguments that "audiences are agents of meaning, possessing the ability to resist, negotiate, or make alternate readings" (Bond 2017: 179).[23]

My focus on listening and listeners follows from recent work in the Middle East and North Africa that has emphasized the significance of performer-audience interaction and listening as laden with transformative power (Frishkopf 2001; Racy 2003, 2001; Hirschkind 2006; Shannon 2006; Jankowsky 2010; Kapchan 2013a, 2013b; Salois 2013; Tayeb 2018). Approaching *ma'lūf* through study of listening opens up new and productive ways of re-framing musical knowledge and political power and allows me to analyze complex histories and contemporary tensions around ownership, control, and access. By recognizing the important place of listening in musical practice, I aim here to point to the significant roles that unlikely actors – especially amateur musicians, *ma'lūf* enthusiasts, young Tunisians (in their 20s and early 30s), and individuals working outside of formal institutional structures – play and have played in questioning and countering hegemonic directives for musicking. These modes of critique take the form of "listening acts," which I theorize in my final chapter, "Listening Through and Against *Ma'lūf*." Ultimately, I contend, paying attention to listeners and listening begins to answer the calls of the public who continue to gather in the street demanding dignity, especially in terms of access to employment. Perhaps the most significant conclusion of my research is that in many ways, listeners are active participants engaged not only as *consumers* of heritage, but also as collaborative and creative co-producers. Listening practices, in this light, are performative; they do real work and are instrumental in making change. Ultimately, this work illuminates the crucial role that music-listening plays in both the reproduction and upending of social class and hegemonies of normativity.

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[19] As Dwight Reynold points out, however, medieval texts recount that the effect of *ṭarab* – an ecstatic state brought on by music – include behaving like animals. In al-Mas'ūdi's *Murūj al-Dhahab* (Meadows of Gold), he recounts the Qadi of Mecca's (the head judge) reaction to *ṭarab*: "He took off his sandals and hung them from his ears, then got down on his knees and began crawling around pulling at his ears, that the sandals were hanging from, shouting, "Take me to the Ka'aba [*bayt al-ḥarām*, the Meccan shrine built by Abraham] for I am a beast [*badana*] to be sacrificed!" Later in the same story, the Qadi challenges the Caliph himself – 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz – saying that if he had heard the salve girl sing, he would have shouted, "Climb on my back and ride me for I am a beast of burden (jackass)" (Reynolds 2019). For more on *ṭarab* see Chapter 3.

[20] "*Man lam ya'shiq mara wa-lam yabhath 'an rū'aḥ al-zahūr wa-taḥarkat mashā'arhū ma' inghām al-mūsīqa le ya'ad insān bil man ṣunnifa al-haywān.*" Original Arabic text found in *Golden Words from the Bastions of the Alhambra,* Walter J. Zupan: 60). Indeed, Al-Ghazālī goes as far as to say that those who are not moved by music are in fact lacking, "declining from symmetry, far from spirituality, and exceeding in coarseness of nature" even *beyond* animals (219).

[21] See Layla Mabrouk (2001).

[22] And a very *elite* few, if we are speaking of professional *ma'lūf* performers today.

[23] Bond indirectly cites Lagerkvist 2013: 30.

All of the listeners with whom I worked extensively are also music-makers, in some sense or another, though some do not identify as "musicians" per se. This distinction is associated with formal musical training and career-track professionalization. Some were instrumentalists of varying skills and experience, while others, especially those I met through my participation in two different singing clubs, were group or *kūrāl*[24] singers. Early on in my fieldwork, I decided to focus my ethnographic attention on a subset of these amateur enthusiast listeners: Younger Tunisians in their twenties and early thirties.

There was a wide range of reasons for choosing to work with these interlocutors, among the most significant being that it was younger Tunisians who found my research questions most compelling and were interested and eager to share their experience. The ease with which I formed these connections had much to do with my own age – twenty-seven – during my fieldwork. My network of young adult interlocutors connected me further and further to other individuals within the same age bracket, mostly their friends and colleagues. Working with young Tunisians was also a way to recognize the knowledge and experiences of an age group that has been politically involved in shaping post-2011 Tunisia, whether joining floods of people in the streets during demonstrations or taking personal initiatives to improve conditions in their households, schools, and neighborhoods, or at the national level. Working with young adult Tunisians, a marked departure from most research on Arab art musics, afforded me access to dissident political discourse. Both my emphasis on listening practices and on young adults enabled me to account for subjective, individual, personal, and plural aspects of Tunisian musical experience in my research.[25] Working predominantly with younger Tunisians, I did not speak at length with very many older Tunisians, who certainly have their own valuable experiences, sound knowledge, and opinions regarding Tunisian musical politics. However, many of my arguments and descriptions – especially those concerned with the *Andalusī* way of life – speak to the broader multi-generational Tunisian public.

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[24] This term, from the French, was used in Fatma's singing club (see Chapter 7).

[25] See also "Learning to Listen: Competency and the Multisensory Body" later in this introduction.

Research Background and Methodology

My primary ethnographic research period spanned eleven months – mid-January to mid-December 2016 – and was funded by a Long-term Study Grant from the American Institute for Maghrib Studies and Graduate Student Fellowship through the Sultan Program at the University of California Berkeley Center for Middle East Studies. My dissertation project emerged from my cumulative ethnographic experiences accrued over several visits in Tunisia during starkly different political eras: in 2009 under the authoritarian president Ben Ali, in 2013 following the Arab Spring under a post-revolutionary democratically-elected Islamic government, and in 2016 during secular governance.

My first sustained visit was in 2009, when I participated in the immersive School for International Training study abroad program, "Popular Culture and Globalization in the Arab World." The program included intensive Arabic language coursework in *Fuṣḥa* (Modern Standard Arabic) and *Darija* (Tunisian dialect), a thematic reading and discussion class, and a homestay with a Tunisian family in La Marsa. The study abroad group traveled extensively throughout the country and I had the pleasure of getting to know a diverse array of Tunisians through the study abroad network of homestay families that scattered its students across the Tunis suburb towns of Sidi Bou Said, La Marsa, and Kram. During this four-month period I studied both *darbūka* drumming (covering a mixture of Tunisian and Middle Eastern rhythms) and Tunisian violin performance practice and *ma'lūf* repertoire at a small music conservatory in Sidi Bou Said called Conservatoire de Musique de Sidi Bou Said. In the final month of the program, I carried out an independent study project for which I conducted an interview-based research project[26] exploring various Tunisian *fusion* music projects and theorized conceptions and politics around musical and cultural hybridity under the mentorship of Hatem Bourial, a Tunisian journalist and playwright. I further developed my 2009 research into my Musical Studies Honors project during my senior year at Oberlin College.

During the summer of 2013, between my second and third years of graduate school, I returned to Tunisia for one month of exploratory research having taken two years of additional Arabic language at UC Berkeley. This visit was a precarious one given that it came just two years after the 2011 Dignity Revolution and that there was a great deal of social unrest among Tunisians in response to the recent democratic election of the moderate Islamist group, Ennahdha. With protests erupting in the streets across the country, some of them violent, I spent more of this time indoors than I would have liked; this included a three-day national mourning period after the assassination of leftist leader Mohamed Brahmi during which time I was advised not to go out from my apartment. During my stay I was able, however, to attend several concerts during the Festival de la Medina and to take further *Darija* language lessons with a private tutor, with whom I also discussed Tunisian music. Though tensions were high, this visit was absolutely crucial for deepening my understanding of the revolutionary period. My 2013 visit enabled me to observe and discuss the revolution's more direct aftermath, contextualization that was key in framing the research questions and approaches that I employed during my dissertation research.

During my eleven-month ethnographic research period in 2016, I resided primarily in La Marsa, taking several trips to Tunis weekly for varies types of research activities. My regular engagements included weekly participation in the "Nādī Tahar Gharsa," the *ma'lūf* singing club led by Zied Gharsa that took place at and was organized by the Rashidiyya Institute, the most prestigious historic school for instruction in *ma'lūf*, Tunisian *Andalusī* art music. These rehearsals were, as I was told, less formal or structured than the lessons or theory courses offered by the Rashidiyya. The singing club has provided an opportunity for amateur enthusiasts to learn some of the repertoire from *shuyūkh* (sing. *shaykh*), musical masters since 1999.

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[26] Under the aegis of the Centre d'Etudes Maghrébines à Tunis (CEMAT), an overseas research center of the American Institute for Maghrib Studies based in Tunis.

My experiences at the singing club were invaluable for developing my competence as a vocal musician and exposing me to a range of repertoire. More directly important for my study, at the *nādī* I observed the social, acoustic, and political dynamics at play in this particular pedagogical setting, the only context (to my knowledge) of state-funded musical education for community musicking in Tunisia (see Chapter 5). In addition to the teaching techniques employed, the club was an intriguing space to observe how, if at all, the various songs were contextualized (often in terms of musical origin stories) and which musical theory aspects (especially the names, qualities, and associations of different melodic modes) registered as familiar for the participants. At our mid-rehearsal break (rehearsals typically lasted between 1.5 and 3 hours), I conversed and worked through translations of the poetry with my fellow participants, especially with Hiba, with whom I continued my conversations outside of the club and attended several concerts. Around June, a regular member of the club with whom I'd spoken on occasion invited me to join a different *nādī* that she was organizing outside of the Rashidiyya. She expressed to me that there were several others in the club who had been looking for something else than what Gharsa was delivering. Greatly intrigued, I agreed to help "audition" potential teachers and to join the club, which was kept very hush hush and secret from the Rashidiyya administration (see Chapter 7).

In addition to attending both singing clubs, I took singing and *ma'lūf* listening lessons with Sonia, a twenty-three-year-old female amateur *'ūd* player who had been trained at the Rashidiyya during her teenage years but who was now studying English language and literature at University. In her family's parlor, Sonia and I sang through the pieces we had been working on in Gharsa's and Fatma's clubs and we listened to various recordings of each one. In this way, I was able to observe the way she interpreted each song, putting her own spin on material she'd learned through the same channels, often times from Zied Gharsa *himself*, who had been her teacher. But most significant for my study of listening was the instruction she gave me regarding how to learn to listen to *ma'lūf*, first in terms of distinguishing the Tunisian *ṭabū'a*, the melodic modes, from the Middle Eastern and Turkish modes and second, to recognize the specific *ṭabū'a* by their particular pitch sets, stylistically-appropriate melodic exploration and development, stereotypical characteristic phrases (*jumla*), and expressive emotional qualities (*ḥess*, "feeling"). One crucial listening competency, she stressed, was the ability to name different modes upon hearing them. Besides practicing the pieces that we were learning in the clubs, she assigned a great deal of listening to me on YouTube as homework.[27] Repeated listening was key, along with learning to listen for microtonal particularities, idiomatically-appropriate modulations or forays to specific other modes or sub-modes, and picking out the common melodic phrases. As we got to know each other better and my particular research interests came to the fore, we began spending a significant part of our time together discussing Tunisian music history and practice as well (see Chapter 2). The combination of musicking, listening, and discussion was very generative.

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[27] In and of itself this mode of instruction is actually rather significant given that YouTube was banned and inaccessible in Tunisia until the revolution in 2011. The website's role since then has been enormous in terms of increasing access to all forms of audio media, from protest anthems to archival recordings of heritage musics.

Outside of the amateur singing clubs and listening lessons and conversation with Sonia, I attended numerous concerts and music festivals in Tunisia featuring a wide range of musical genres including *ma'lūf*, *ḥaḍra, al-mansiyāt, sṭambēlī, electronic dance music/alternative pop, jazz, fusion, rap,* and symphonic orchestral performances. Whenever possible, I attended events with my interlocutors in order to observe and discuss their listening experiences and reactions during breaks and afterwards. It also proved very helpful to have someone present to explain aspects of the performance to me and aid in translating and interpreting lyrics. These shared listening (and watching) experiences were useful referents for future interviews and conversations with my fellow attendees, especially when drawing comparisons or characterizing approaches to performance.

Though it was not part of my initial research plans, I spent quite a lot of time, collectively perhaps two months in total, traveling and living outside the greater Tunis area, staying primarily at the homes of colleagues and interlocutors. Most notable were my five trips to the city of El Kef where I stayed and studied with a family of musicians, music researchers, and music teachers. While staying with them, I conducted extensive formal and informal interviews with Rim, her brother, and her father. In El Kef I also observed casual group performance of instrumental *ma'lūf* and vocal *ḥaḍra* music, and attended the annual El Kef theater festival, which featured performance of *al-mansiyāt* and *sṭambēlī* music. Other significant excursions included a ten-day stay in Tabarsouk and Testour where I attended the Festival International de Testour (the International Festival of Ma'lūf) and a five-day visit to Djerba to celebrate the *Ziyāra* during the Jewish holiday Lag B'Omer. Also hugely influential were two day visits to Zaghouan, a mountain-side *Andalusī*-Tunisian town 57 km. (35 miles) south of Tunis, and short trips to Kairawan, Sousse, and Bizerte. These trips helped to develop my understanding of the diversity of Tunisian subjectivities; sonic environments and acoustemologies; locally-particular linguistic vocabulary and accents; and the range of musical genres, variants, styles, and intonation.

Talking with my interlocutors while walking through town became a central aspect of my research methodology and provided special insight, I posit, into questions of bodily engagement in social, sonic, and architectural space. So much of an individual's relation to place is expressed by moving and talking through it: specific experiences and stories (whether folkloric or historical, personal or national) are triggered, lexicons of vocabulary spring to mind and roll off the tongue, and situated knowledge is ready at hand.[28] Besides supplying references and stimuli for discourse, these wanderings provided opportunities for me to take in the sounds of daily life – which differ significantly from place to place in Tunisia – and experience different acoustic spaces of architectures and landscapes. Multisensory engagement, both explicit and implicit, was par for the course – tasting olives as we passed through market streets, drinking from public fountains and springs, and literally stopping to smell the flowers, especially jasmine and *nisrī,* a species of dog rose cultivar said to have been brought by the moors all the way from *al-Andalus*.

These experiences, integrated with discursive description, aided me in gaining access to Tunisian sensory landscapes. Having done this work, I argue with conviction that multisensory ethnographic engagement is an intervention into approaches to ethnography, which have traditionally separated and ordered the senses in problematically Eurocentric ways.[29] My methodological valuing of emplaced experience is tied in with recognizing multi- and inter-sensory embodied life, musical and otherwise. Allowing my Tunisian interlocutors to set our course toward geographic destinations that were meaningful to them was also a method of validating the uniqueness of their personal experiences, their places, their epistemologies, and their sounds. Grounding my research on listening in this way tethered sounds to bodies, places, poetics, and knowledge and opened up pathways to understanding acoustemologies, past and present. This is essential because, as Hiba once put it, "music lives with the people"[30] (p.c. 6/28/2016).

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[28] As Michel de Certeau writes, "What the map cuts up, the story cuts across. In Greek, narration is called "diegesis": it establishes an itinerary (it "guides") and it passes through (it "transgresses"). The space of operations it travels in is made of movements: it is *topological*, concerning the deformations of figures, rather than *topical, defining places*" (1988: 129).

No less important were considerations of political power, interactions, and historical baggage in terms of the construction of listening conventions and oppositional push-back. These, strictly speaking, fall outside of the rubric of Feldian acoustemology (2012) and I approach them in this dissertation by theorizing "listening through," "listening against," and "listening acts" (see Chapter 7).

Sometimes our wandering turned into treasure hunts in which my hosts – asking themselves something new about their own town or something they hadn't considered in years – were re-energized to do the leg work, to ask older shop keepers or neighbors about the history of specific buildings, where to find the Jewish cemetery, or the site of a particular *qubba* (a domed shrine dedicated to a local saint). In some cases, these were destinations my interlocutors had "always meant to explore" and they were glad to have the impetus of my presence to give them a fresh look at their familiar places. One frustration for me as a researcher was the common tendency for my interlocutors, when encountering difficulties in explication, to *take* me to places as a way of explaining. Though my observations were informative, our visits rarely seemed to have the desired explanatory effect that my interlocutors had hoped for. I provide an example of this sort of epistemic befuddlement in Chapter 3 on pages 64-65.

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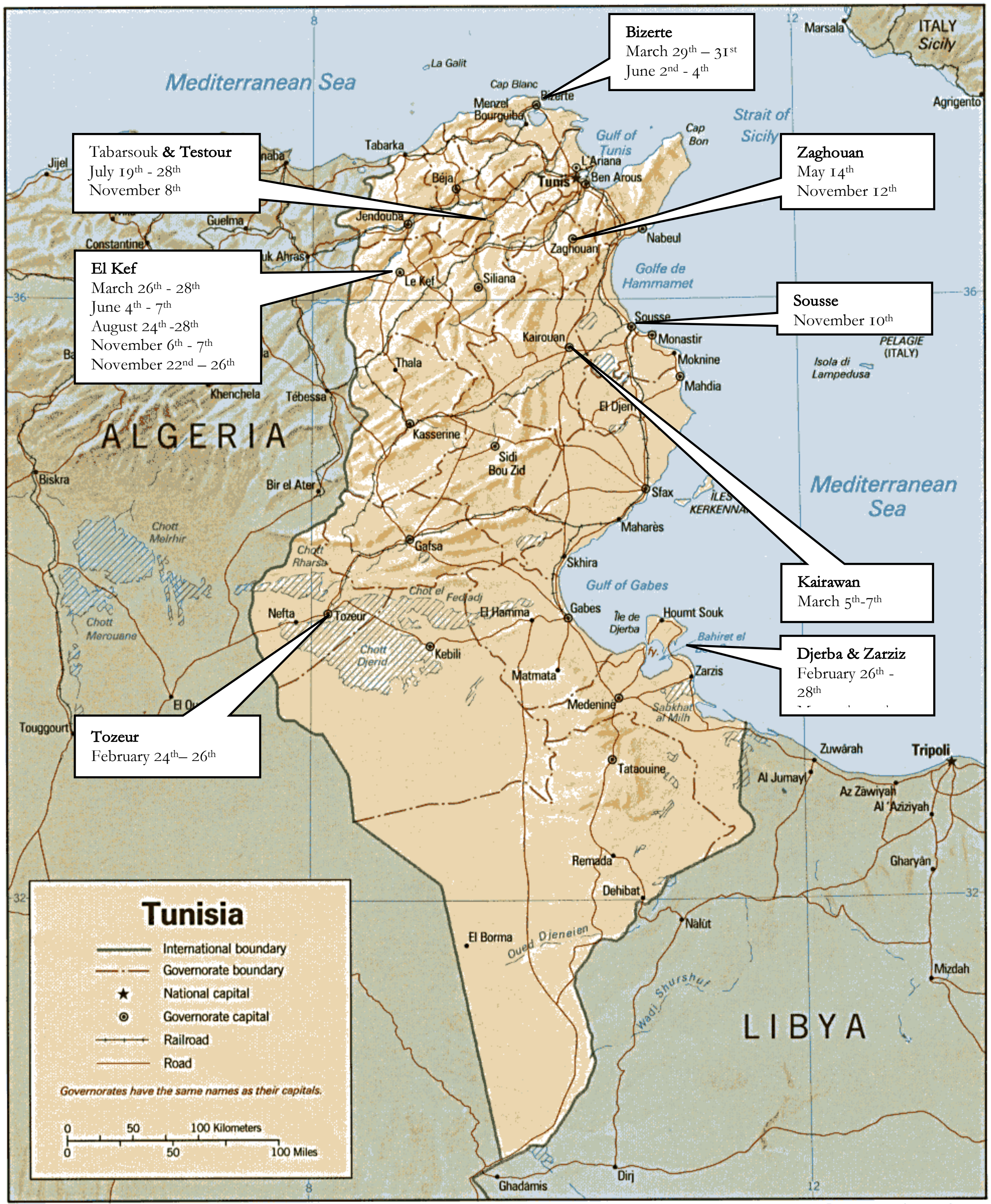
[29] For more on the history of the senses and colonialism, see David Howe's work, especially *Empire of the Senses, The Sensual Culture Reader* (2005) and "The Aesthetics of Mixing the Senses" (n.d.); Seremetakis "The Memory of the Senses: historical perception, commensal exchange and modernity" (1993) and *The Senses Still, Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity* (1994); and Porcello, Thomas et al. "The Reorganization of the Sensory World" (2010).

[30] "*al-mūsīqa taʿīsh maʿ ʿabīdi-hā*"


Mediterranean Sea
La Galit
Cap Blanc
Menzel Bourguiba
Bizerte
Tabarka
Béja
Tunis
L'Ariana
Ben Arous
Gulf of Tunis
Cap Bon
Strait of Sicily
Marsala
ITALY
Sicily
Agrigento
Jijel
Annaba
Guelma
Constantine
Souk Ahras
Jendouba
Zaghouan
Nabeul
Golfe de Hammamet
Le Kef
Siliana
Sousse
Monastir
Kairouan
Moknine
Mahdia
PELAGIE (ITALY)
Isola di Lampedusa
Thala
Khenchela
Tébessa
El Djem
ALGERIA
Kasserine
Sidi Bou Zid
Biskra
Bir el Ater
Sfax
ILES KERKENNAH
Mediterranean Sea
Maharès
Chott Melrhir
Chott Rharsa
Gafsa
Skhira
Gulf of Gabes
Chot el Fedjadj
Nefta
Tozeur
El Hamma
Gabes
Île de Djerba
Houmt Souk
Bahiret el Biban
Chott Merouane
Chott Djerid
Kebili
Matmata
Zarzis
Medenine
Sabkhat al Milh
El Oued
Touggourt
Zuwārah
Tripoli
Tataouine
Al Jumayl
Az Zāwiyah
Al 'Azīzīyah
Gharyān
Remada
Dehibat
Nālūt
El Borma
Oued Djeneien
Mizdah
Wadi Shurshuf
LIBYA
Ghadāmis
Dirj
8
12
36
32
Tunisia
International boundary
Governorate boundary
★ National capital
⊙ Governorate capital
Railroad
Road
Governorates have the same names as their capitals.
0 50 100 Kilometers
0 50 100 Miles

Bizerte
March 29th – 31st
June 2nd - 4th

Tabarsouk & Testour
July 19th - 28th
November 8th

Zaghouan
May 14th
November 12th

El Kef
March 26th - 28th
June 4th - 7th
August 24th -28th
November 6th - 7th
November 22nd – 26th

Sousse
November 10th

Kairawan
March 5th-7th

Djerba & Zarziz
February 26th -
28th

Tozeur
February 24th– 26th

Base 801544 (B01053) 12-90

Figure 4 A map of my travel outside of the greater Tunis area in 2016. Map drawn from the CIA Factbook.

Learning to Listen: Competence and the Multisensory Body

With the aural reflexive turn,[31] numerous social scientists and music scholars have taken up the challenge of critically considering the processes by which people learn to listen and how they themselves learn to listen as researchers. Along these lines, James Clifford famously asked, "but what of the ethnographic ear" (1986: 12).[32] How do we as researchers of sound "acquire expert ears into the world" (Feld 2012: 125)? These questions have shaped my ethnographic inquiries and are quite present in this dissertation, especially in regard to themes of listening to the sounds of daily life, to linguistic discourse, and to musical sound. While reflexive ethnographic listening has stemmed from critical "play back" of audio recordings from the field, my methodological reflections are more concerned with listening in terms of my habits of physical co-presence with my interlocutors, forming my intellectual intersubjective relationships, and recognizing my listening as providing an expressive emotional release for my interlocutors and sometimes for me. In terms of my discussions and interviews – the most important sources of data for my study – my ethnographic listening took many forms, ranging along a spectrum, from what I will call factual semantic listening to therapeutic listening. In all cases, my field listening practices were aimed at conveying mutual respect and affording reciprocity between me and my interlocutors.

My ethnography required the development of many domains of listening competence (Brinner 1995a: 30-40), which, in turn, enabled me to better understand the listening practices (and competences) of my Tunisian interlocutors. Brinner's concept of musical competence (1995a) is useful here for thinking through the various and diverse aspects of listening that are required for sound and music researchers and for the subjects of their research. He defines "competence" in regard to musical performance as "individual mastery of the array of interrelated skills and knowledge that is required of musicians within a particular tradition or musical community and is acquired and developed in response to and in accordance with the demands and possibilities of general and specific cultural, social, and musical conditions" (28). While his book does not extend beyond performance to include music listening (4), he does assert that "in most parts of the world, performers interact with their audiences" and musicians "may rely on particular audience responses," expectations, standards, and models (4). He also argues that the development of many musical competences requires social interactions, whether between musicians or between performers and their audiences (3).[33]

Much appreciated in terms of my own research focus, Brinner's "domains of competence" also take amateur musical practice into consideration as complement to the more common focus on specialists and professionals. In this way he acknowledges the importance of "amateur" or everyday musickers in "musically inclusive societies in which distinctions are not made between musicians and non-musicians," in participatory musical frames (2). This approach certainly resonates with the social dynamics and expectations of the *ma'lūf* singing club musicking and listening that I experienced in Tunis (see Chapter 5) and with the histories of participatory *ma'lūf judd* practice in sacred Sufi contexts (see Chapter 4). Brinner's categories of competence call attention to process-based aspects of gradual acculturation and learning[34] rather than demarcating binaries 'full' or 'inadequate' competence; he provides the terms "well-rounded competence" and "limited competence" to compare masterful competence with partial knowledge within and among communities (77). This framework also helped in identifying overlap between what are often considered as genre-specific competencies. Competence in the *ṭabūʻa* of *maʼlūf*, for instance, provided modal competence necessary for performing or listening to other Tunisian genres, like *ḥaḍra*. Several Tunisians have suggested to me that listening prowess in one musical-sphere aids greatly in developing new listening competences. Most often cited was that those well-versed in recitation of *Qurʼān*, or those who listen to a lot of recitation by Tunisians, will more readily and skillfully grasp *maʼlūf* modes and melodic phrases.

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[31] See Samuels et al 2010: 330.
[32] Echoing Veit Erlmann 2004.
[33] Brinner addresses the same concept of a lacuna in a Javanese repertoire in "Cognitive and Interpersonal Dimensions of Listening in Javanese Gamelan Performance" (1999).
[34] Rather than conceiving of the knowledge of a competent skill as "stocks of knowledge," Brinner investigates ways of knowing as situated, distributed, and relational (1995a: 29-43).

The domains of my ethnographic listening competence included: (1) musical listening – the recognition of musical genre, modes and sub-modes, modal modulation, song-form, stylistic differences, and differentiation between specific singers and instrumentalists by ear – acquired through close listening and singing with Tunisians (as discussed in the methodology section above); (2) discursive listening, that is listening to my interlocutors' speech as they conveyed musical historical narratives and their experiences and opinions to me, and (3) listening to the sounds of life in the city and its intermingling with musical and linguistic sound. Insisting on speaking at length with young adults was considered strange to some Tunisians, even to the point of laughably absurd. The vast majority of ethnomusicological study in Tunisia and elsewhere in the Arab world has disproportionately focused on documenting and preserving the expert knowledge of musical masters, who are typically men in their 60s and older.[35] On several occasions, it seemed I had little choice but to forfeit my own clout or the gravitas of my research in order to affirm the value of young adults' knowledge. As Les Back and others have advocated, listening to our interlocutors as ethnographers is a valuable form of "ethical care" that may aid in uncovering, and potentially bettering, structural inequalities (2007: 6-9). For me, as for Back, one of the goals of ethnographic listening is a social-justice-driven commitment to engagement not just by *hearing* stories of struggle but pointing to and working to dismantle structures that do violence (25).

Methodologically, by awarding attention to the "art" of ethnographic listening – and its inter-related relationships with other sensory channels – I join others in ethnomusicology, anthropology, and sociology, in advocating for integrated study of the senses, and for a "democracy of the senses"[36] that works to counter sensory hierarchies (Back 2007: 17). Important – in conjunction with my listening for 'data collection' – was therapeutic listening, which I feel is sorely needed during these challenging times in Tunisia. Young people, especially, struggle day-to-day not only with making ends meet, but with the weight of depression, self-harm, and suicidal ideation. To clarify, I am *not* a psychologist and certainly did not act in that capacity. Though it does not have a clear place in the descriptions and analyses of this dissertation, I hold that providing space for my younger interlocutors to express their frustration, desperation, and anger did as much, if not more, 'ethical' good for them as validating their opinions and knowledge of Tunisian music.

From a practical stand point, there were other advantages to working with young Tunisians, including the fact that overall, they have had much greater exposure to English – both formally in junior high and high school lessons and informally through the circulation of Anglophone media, especially TV and internet sites – than older generations. This eased some of the barriers toward communication because with many of them I could speak partially in English and partially in *Tūnsī*. I recognize that this dynamic is complex from the standpoint of language ideology, especially in the post-colonial context of contemporary Tunisia. However, I found that in terms of reciprocity, my speaking English with young adult Tunisians was considered greatly beneficial because developing English language skills opens new doors, inter-culturally and economically.

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[35] One clear exception is Glasser's discussion of amateur *Andalusī* music associations in Algeria (2016). Others have examined women's musicking in particular: Jafran Jones (1987), Davis (2009), A. Jones (2010), and Kapchan (2013).
[36] "Democracy of the senses" is Ernst Berendt's term for considering all sensory channels as equally important and of relative significance in different cultural contexts (1985).

Scope and Significance

The particular historical moment of my research in Tunisia – five years after the revolutionary ousting of the authoritarian president – provided rare opportunities for me to produce critical scholarship. The destabilization brought about by the 2011 Dignity Revolution greatly affected my ability to move between and among institutions – the Rashidiyya, the National Archive, the National Sound Archive, the National Library, and the Higher Institute of Music in Tunis – and to work with individuals who have starkly differing opinions and experiences and who, in many cases, work outside of formal institutional circles. In 2016, studying the "the national music of Tunisia" no longer required close affiliation with governmental institutions and officials and is freer of suggestion that scholars should speak only favorably of their patrons. I am grateful for the tremendous work of the researchers who came before me; I am indebted to them for providing the wealth of knowledge upon which my own research has been built. Having conducted fieldwork in Tunisia over sixteen months in total and having read closely the musicological and ethnomusicological scholarship on Tunisian art music, I see many ways in which scholarship on Tunisian music up to the 2011 revolution has been influenced by the hegemonic normative histories that have been constructed and promoted by the Tunisian government during the twentieth century. It is, of course, the nature of ethnography and history writing that the political situations and conditions of our research inform the findings of our work. I do not delude myself by thinking that my own project has resolved these issues. But I do hope that my emphasis on plurality, my frank discussion of aspects of musical and cultural history that have been overlooked, and my attempts to give voice to critique, count as moves toward greater transparency and equity.

In terms of scope, it should be noted that I have worked predominantly in Tunis and its suburbs, skewing my findings by region and therefore also by socio-economic standing, class, and other factors. My interlocutors were middle class – some of them *blēdī*, landed 'old money' social elites – and, for the most part, were highly educated cosmopolitan urbanites. That they were all intellectuals is no surprise, given the erudite cultivation of Tunisian *Andalusī* art music and the circles in which it is known and appreciated today. The question of who my interlocutors 'represent' is familiar to all ethnographers and I have grappled with it immensely, especially given my concerted effort to include diverse and dissident voices. To this end, in my fieldwork I chose to get to know a few people quite well and to have continued informal discussions over several months rather than shorter or more formally structured interviews. In this regard, I am confident that my writings represent my interlocutors well – indeed, there has been quite a lot of dialogic editing – but I am unwilling to venture that *they* or their experiences represent anyone besides themselves.

Some of my findings are mirrored in other scholars work who have focused their attention on the related genres of *Andalusī* music in other parts of the *Maghrib*.[37] The Tunisian *ma'lūf* world, however, is somewhat surprisingly insular and inward-facing due to a variety of factors including but not limited to the repertoire's minimal circulation on commercial recordings, the fact that its practitioners do not travel abroad to tour much, if at all, and that the 'scene' or community of practitioners and listenership is simply quite small.

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[37] See Chapter 1

In the field of sound studies, the anthropology of sound,[38] and music studies more broadly, it is my hope that this dissertation provides a new model for inquiry into the study of acoustemology and history of listening that takes into account (1) the particularities of contemporary culture, place, and practice; (2) architectural acoustics, spatializing musical practices, and other aspects of the materiality of sound; and (3) complex hegemonic structures and inequality, especially in terms of class.[39] Furthering the anthropological work of Keith Basso and Steven Feld, as explored in their seminal edited volume, *Senses of Place* (1996), my approach to acoustemology draws heavily on analysis of the phenomenological production of space and the multisensory experience of music, mood, and place. In contribution to Musical Studies, my theorization of Tunisian acoustemology also takes crucial questions of power dynamics and discrepancies, particular historical conditions, and architectural acoustics into consideration (see Chapters 3-5). The analytical framework of "listening through" and "listening against" – bearing in mind all that falls in between – is highly flexible and I hope it finds future use in application to other musical case studies, as may the highly salient concepts of "Listening Acts," as detailed in Chapter 7 and the "contextual gap" (Jankowsky 2017), which I develop in Chapter 4. In terms of folkloristics, my treatment of proverbs, sayings, and stories drawn from the *ma'lūf* provides a useful model for the study of music as integrated with the spheres of other expressive arts, including speech, crafts, and architecture.

In contribution to ethnomusicology, my project takes the study of musical, sonic, cultural, and political history seriously, recognizing that contemporary practice is deeply informed by complex, plural, and sometimes contradictory histories. A significant portion of my writing here examines the history of listening practices through primary and secondary literature and oral history. Documentation of these histories is valuable in and of itself, but histories are also instrumental in understanding the influences of power (classed, colonial, national, and gendered) and place (geographies, topographies, climate, chronotopes,[40] and perceived likeness) on musical practice. Piecing together these historical narratives and challenging those propagated by those in power is, as I argue in the dissertation, part and parcel of contemporary critical and creative listening.

Additionally, seeking out and including the opinions of those who dislike *ma'lūf* is a new approach in *Andalusī* music studies and in ethnomusicology in general (see Chapter 7). These positions and arguments are not 'oppositional' or 'dissident' per se, but posit that it is better – ethically and/or aesthetically – not to listen to *ma'lūf.* Interrogating these positions has provided great insight into the politics of music listening and the formation of differing acoustemologies among Tunisians. In the social scientific study of the *Maghrib*,[41] my project furthers a growing movement to acknowledge Saharan peoples, histories, and music as bearing marked significance in North African music and life.[42] This is a novel pursuit in *Andalusī* music research, which typically takes medieval Islamic Iberia as the principal, and sometimes only, geographic referent of note.

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[38] Feld and Brenneis (2004) have done a neat job of describing this discipline. See also Samuels et al. (2010).

[39] As I noted, the majority of my interlocutors were middle class, but I took all possible opportunities in many parts of the country to speak with Tunisians of other socio-economic classes and to ask them about their experiences with *ma'lūf* and their opinions about the musical and cultural politics.

[40] The concept of the "chronotope," literally meaning "space time," belongs to M. Bakhtin (1981).

[41] The *Maghrib* is the western part of the Arab world that includes Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco.

[42] See Chapter 2, final section on the "Southern Port."

The *Andalusī* Way of Life

At the municipal market in Tunis, my companion stopped beside a fragrant, golden stack of apricots and reminded me that certain commonplace things were brought to Tunisia by refugees expelled from medieval Islamic Iberia, from *al-Andalus*.[43] As I discovered, fruits were reliable elicitors of origin stories, along with *nisrī* flowers, *meshmūm* flower bud arrangements, *rigūta* cheese, pastries called *ka‘k waraqa*, ceramic tiles and roof shingles, *naqsha haddīd* (ornate stuccowork), and other architectural elements, embroidered textiles, and even use of specific colors: green and blue.[44] For Tunisians, these are artifacts of the "*Andalusī* way of life," connections to the romanticized locus of historical Arab grandeur and powerful lingering trans-Mediterranean and trans-temporal resonances.

My interlocutors impressed upon me the importance of understanding *ma'lūf*, also commonly referred to as *al-musiqa al-Andalusīyya*, as the musical part of the Tunisian "*Andalusī* way of life," an intricate cultural complex brought to Tunisia by the *Mūriskīyūn* from Islamic Iberia between the tenth and seventeenth centuries.[45] As I explore in Part II, Tunisian, *Ma'lūf* has three branches. The most well-known is *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* (meaning "light" *ma'lūf*) which – drawing on Medieval Arabic poetry on themes of love lost and descriptions of paradisiac places lifestyles – has a history of performance in *Andalusī* and Tunisian royal palaces, aristocratic homes, gardens, and *cafés*. Early musical ensembles were small, featuring a singer and a few instrumentalists. Traditional instrumentation included Tunisian *‘ūd ‘Arabī* (a four-stringed pear-shaped fretless lute), *nay* (a reed flute), *rabāb* (a two-stringed bowed fiddle), *riq* (small tambourine), *bendīr* (large frame drum with snares), and *naqqārāt* (little kettle drums). Today, ensembles often include a lead singer, chorus, and a combination of the following instruments: *‘ūd Sharqī* (Middle Eastern *‘ūd*), *qanūn* (plucked zither), many violins and cellos, upright string bass, *nay*, *darbūka* (hourglass drum), *riq*, *bendīr*, bongos, and sometimes piano.

The second branch is *ma'lūf al-judd* (meaning "serious" *ma'lūf*), whose historical contexts for performance were alongside sacred Sufi repertoires (like *dhikr* and *ḥaḍra*) in the *zāwiya* (Sufi lodge) and during religious and family celebrations. *Ma'lūf al-judd* shares melodies, rhythms, and song structures with *ma'lūf al-ḥazl*, but replaces the romantic courtly poetry with more sacred-themed text. Finally, the Tunisian Jewish repertoire of *piyyutim* constitute the third branch. As in the case of *ma'lūf al-judd*, *piyyutīm* share melodic material with the other branches, replacing the Andalusī Arabic poetry with Jewish liturgical poems in the Hebrew language. Unlike *ma'lūf al-ḥazl*, with its instrumental ensemble accompaniment and concert-like performance, *ma'lūf al-judd* is a more participatory music, meaning that traditionally audiences often sang along and added to the music by clapping rhythmically and playing percussion instruments like the *bendīr*. *Piyyutīm* sung in the context of Jewish prayer and for festive occasions are also participatory and include accompaniment on *‘ūd.*

The Tunisian *ma'lūf* repertoire is composed of thirteen *nūbāt* (sing. *nūba*) or musical suits, each composed of many songs, vocal and instrumental. Each *nūbā*, based in a different melodic mode (called *taba'*, plural, *tabūa‘*), holds its place in a standard order, which is conceived of as wheel. Each song type employed in the *nūba* – there are approximately ten – is characterized by a particular repeating rhythm, called a *mizān* or *wazn.* Before the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, performances are thought to have featured a single full *nūba* and, as is documented in the current written notations, there were many songs within each mode to choose from when putting together a performance of the suite (see Guettat 2000).

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[43] J.D. Latham cites a scientific study that has traced the *shāshī* apricots of Zaghouan (and *Andalusī* town) to a specific Spanish variant called "Temprano de Murcia" (T. G. Valdeyron and P. Crossa-Raynaud 1950 in Latham 1957).

[44] J.D. Latham provides historical details about many of these cultural aspects and many others (1957).

[45] Though this dissertation I address the *Andalusī*-Tunisian way of life, but many other salient categories of cultural-musical identity exist in Tunisia today including but not limited to Indigenous Tunisians, Black Tunisians, and Italian Tunisians.

The "*Andalusī* way of life" is embedded in daily sonic, social, and ethical practice as well as in historical memory and nostalgic imaginaries. It became increasingly apparent to me over the course of this project that reframing *ma'lūf* holistically was perceived by Tunisians as an anti-colonial move, more than a simple gesture that bridges the identity ruptures of traditionality and modernity, the sacred and the secular, and the popular and the elite. Such bridges render experiences of ambivalence and fluid affective orientations intelligible. Here, my scholarly efforts mirror Tunisians' efforts to integrate *ma'lūf* practice and its accompanying aspects into their lives: Hiba listening to *ma'lūf* on cassette tapes in her car; Yassine traveling to Testour to experience the *jaww* or "ambiance" of medieval *al-Andalus*; and Fatma searching for *ma'lūf ma'lūf*, the purest and most "authentic" rendering of the repertoire.

The constituent aspects of the "*Andalusī* way of life" were most clearly articulated to me by Aziz, an elementary school music teacher from El Kef (p.c. 8/25/2016). He provided the following nearly-rhyming list: (1) *al-Makān* – the place, (2) *al-Zamān* – the time, (3) *al-Insān* – the people, (4) *al-Khiṭāb* – the speech, and (5) *al-Ḥirf* – the crafts. All are essential, he said, for successful *ma'lūf* musicking and audition. Similar categories have been used to describe Arab music in general, as al-Ghazālī writes: "Al-Junayd said, 'Hearing has need of three things, and if they are not there, then [we] do not hear: time, place, and company" (1).[46] Aziz suggested that since these all must be fully comprehended to understand *ma'lūf* as a researcher, musician, or audience member, they might provide a useful frame for the organization of my research.

Taking his advice, I have loosely organized the dissertation around these concepts. The aspects of the "*Andalusī* way of life" fall roughly into the fields of *ma'lūf* sound knowledge activated when listening: (1) emplacement and transportation; (2) temporalities; (3) sociality, embodiment, and affective orientations; (4) discourse, rhetoric, politics, and ethics; and (5) architecture, and the inter-relation of sound with material arts. In terms of *al-insān* "the people," family and the familiar are encoded in the very name "*ma'lūf*," which literally means "familiar, accustomed, usual, or customary;" its performance is passed down within specific musical families and communities. *Andalusī*-Tunisian is one of many contemporary hyphenated identity categories claimed by many Tunisians. Yet, due in part to its status as the "national music of Tunisia," Tunisians from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds claim *ma'lūf* as their own. They feel that *ma'lūf* is just as much their *turāth* (musical heritage) as it is for their *Andalusī*-Tunisian neighbors (see Chapter 2 and Conclusion).

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[46] Outside of Arab music, similar categories exist in Javanese music and in many other musical worlds.

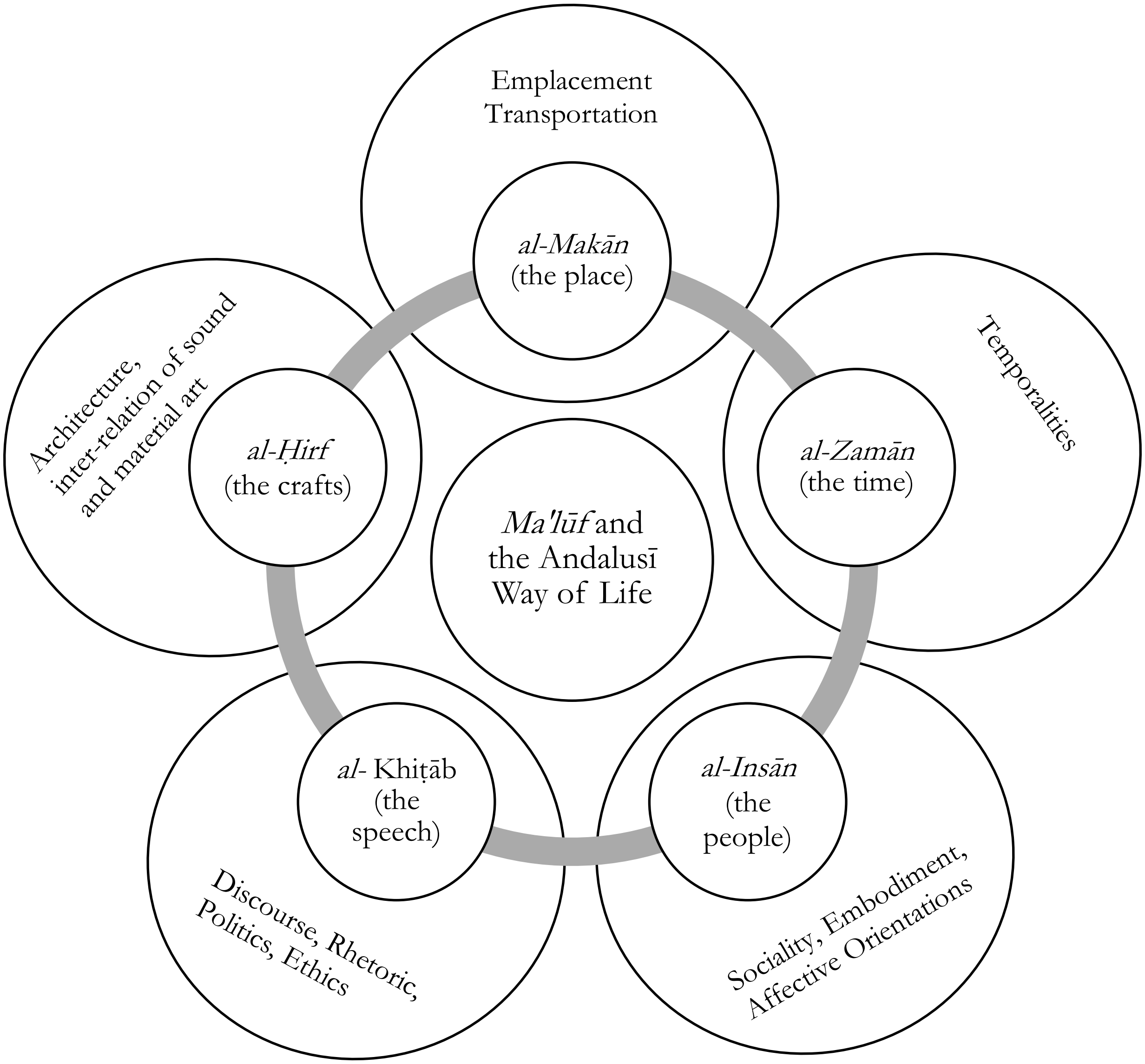
Emplacement
Transportation
al-Makān
(the place)
Temporalities
al-Zamān
(the time)
Architecture, inter-relation of sound and material art
al-Ḥirf
(the crafts)
Ma'lūf and the Andalusī Way of Life
al- Khiṭāb
(the speech)
al-Insān
(the people)
Discourse, Rhetoric, Politics, Ethics
Sociality, Embodiment, Affective Orientations

Figure 5 *Ma'lūf*, the *Andalusī* way of life, and the fields of *ma'lūf* sound knowledge

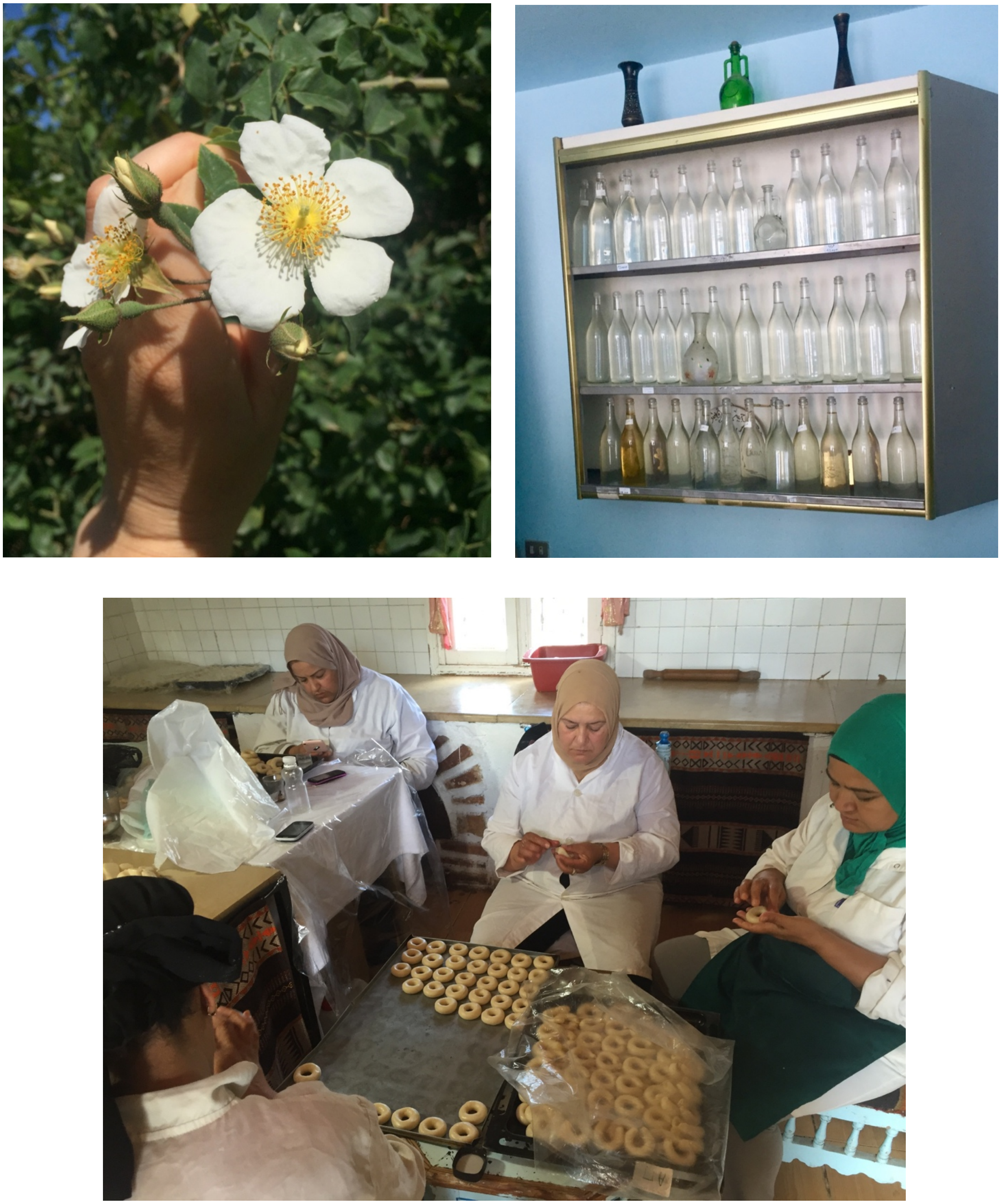

Figure 6. (top left) the *nisrī* flower (a white morph of *Rosa canina*), (top right) distilled *nisrī* flower water for sale, (bottom) the production of *ka‘k waraqa*, sweet pastries flavored with *nisrī* flower water. All photos taken in Zaghouan by the author.

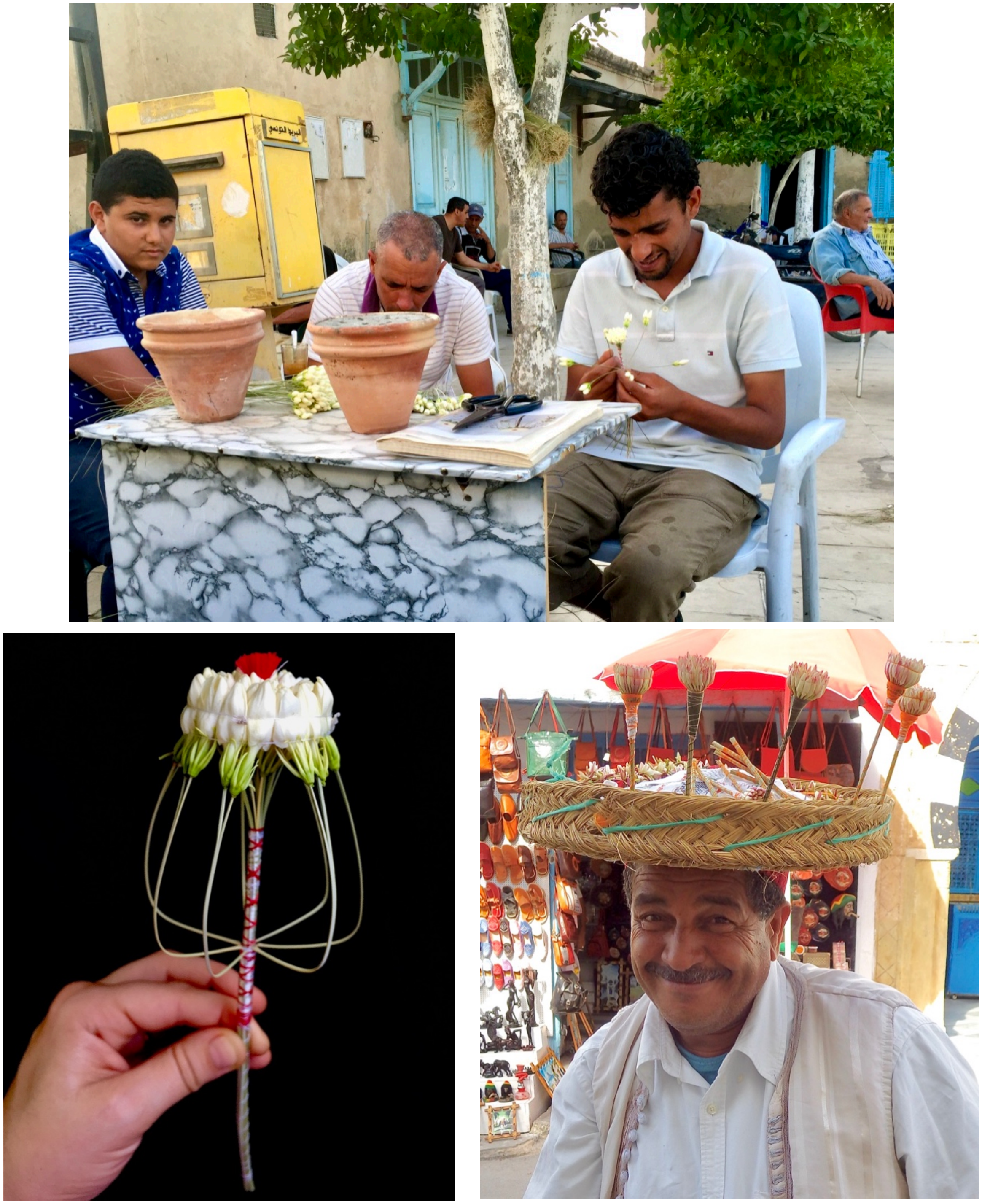

Figure 7 (top) the production of *meshmūm*, a decorative flower arrangement to be held or worn behind the ear. The photo was taken in Testour, which is famous for very elaborate forms like that pictured on the bottom left. (bottom right) a man selling *meshmūm* in the *Andalusī* town of Sidi Bou Said. Typically, the buds of jasmine flowers (*yasmīn* or *fil*) or lemon flowers are used. Often worn in the summer evenings, the buds release their fragrance over the course of the evening.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized in three parts — Part I. *al-Makān*: Listening for Place, Part II. Listening for Acoustic Spaces and Material Culture, and Part III. Listening for Politics. In the first two chapter of Part 1, I chart Tunisians' geographical listening maps, interconnected networks of places and temporalities – real and imaginary – which are *evoked* for listeners of *ma'lūf*. These maps bespeak diverse modalities of Tunisian subjectivity and the historical narratives in which they position themselves. I also discuss how these places are *invoked* during listening as authenticating referents that underpin specific political agendas, such as heritage-production projects.

Chapter 1, "*Tunis al-Khaḍra'*, Tunis the Green," centers on the most important geographic locus evoked and invoked in *ma'lūf* listening — *al-Andalus*, the lost paradise of medieval Islamic Iberia. Here I provide essential historical background and tease out inter-connected nesting references to "green places." These include the verdant geographic areas in Tunisia where *ma'lūf* is historically most well-known to the lavish pleasure gardens of *al-Andalus* and to the Islamic garden of paradise. I demonstrate how Tunisians string these places together by drawing similarities between (1) climates and topographies, (2) circulation of origin stories, (3) textual references in *ma'lūf* song texts, and (4) toponyms and naming practices, as well as (5) by framing of *ma'lūf* as a sort of living organism that can live in specific environments and geographic habitats.

In Chapter 2, "*Tunis al-Maḥrūsa*, Tunis the Well-Protected," I situate my discussion of listening within the context of three other important imaginaries employed in discursive constructions of present and past Tunisian place, in quintessential characterizations of 'Tunisianness,' and in defining the Tunisianness of *ma'lūf* and its audiences. These include the framing of the ancient port of Carthage and the port of Tunis as a bustling cosmopolis and as a hospitable and protected place of refuge. Finally, I address the "Southern Port," the gateway to the Sahara and key site for the import of Sub-Saharan African people sold as slaves in Tunis. I identify parallels and divergences between the experiences of forced migration across the Mediterranean and across the Sahara, considering how immigrants' musics have been heritagized, or not. By relating *ma'lūf* to *sṭambēlī*, especially in terms of acoustemologies, histories of audition, and listenership, I also advocate for more inclusive policies surrounding the construction of Tunisian *turāth*.

Chapter 3, "*Jaww*: Something in the Air," straddles my discussions of place and space. Here, I analyze the pervasive Tunisian concept of *jaww*, "musical atmosphere," as a richly multi- and inter-sensory, social, and affective phenomenon tied to particular geographic regional climates and anthropogenic place. Following from Tunisian epistemologies, I frame air as (1) a medium that conveys spirits, sounds, moods, inspiration, and (2) a quality of place-specific environments that affords the production and perpetuation of musicking. In the context of *ma'lūf* I theorize *jaww* as a dynamic "ecstatic feedback model" (Racy 2001, 2003) between performers and listeners. Considering the affordances and limitations of 'acoustemology,' as Feld and Basso have (1996), I argue for the integrated study of emplaced and embodied multisensory experience, especially in post-colonial musico-cultural contexts, like Tunisia. Finally, I discuss the class-based definition of *ma'lūf* as diametrically opposed to *mezwid*, a genre of working-class Tunisian popular song with bagpipe that many *ma'lūf* enthusiasts and 1990s government have described as a pollutant in the Tunisian soundscape.

Part II, "Listening for Acoustic Spaces and Material Culture," examines the history of twentieth-century shifts in the spaces, contexts, and purposes for *ma'lūf* performance and audition. In Chapter 4, "From a History of Performance Venues to an 'Audible Past,'" I demonstrate how the Tunisian government's strategic foreclosure of certain spaces for musicking and its establishment of new 'appropriate' venues – the imposition of a "contextual gap" (Jankowsky 2017) – resulted in extensive, if gradual, changes in *ma'lūf* listening practices. By tracing histories of listening practice and their corresponding acoustemologies, I complicate conventional scholarly framing of *ma'lūf* genre categories as delineated by repertoire and purposes for performance alone. I also explore ways in which Tunisian nationalist and French colonial ideological imperatives have shaped audience behavior as well as audience interaction with 'performers.'

In Chapter 5, "Acoustics, Aesthetics, and Acoustemologies," I argue that certain acoustic and aesthetic elements of *ma'lūf* musical sound – loudness, echo, reverb, directional listening, and call-and-response – are stylized artifacts of the music's sounding in specific historical-architectural environments and social contexts. By identifying changes and continuities in these musical qualities, I illuminate dynamic relationships between the repression of popular religious performance and the 'modernization' and 'secularization' of *ma'lūf* as an art music and as the official Tunisian national *turāth*. Then, I explore the roles that these tensions play in contemporary listening practice. Finally, I describe the significance of *al-ḥirf* – handicrafts associated with "the *Andalusī* way of life" – and theorize *zīna* (decoration) as an inter-related aesthetic concept that informs both the musico-sonic crafting of *ma'lūf* and the production of *Andalusī*-Tunisian material cultural objects.

Drawing upon connections with place explored in Part I and histories of the production of sonic-social-cultural spaces outlined in Part II, in Part III, "Listening for Politics," I present a synthesis of the complex political stakes and ramifications engaged in listening practices. Chapter 6, "*al-Khiṭāb*: Listening for Speech, Rhetoric, and Politics," details my ethnographic findings on three folkloric speech genres of discourse and meta-discourse relating to Tunisian *Andalusī* music: (1) *khiṭāb al-ma'lūf*, the messages and lessons of the medieval poetry used as *ma'lūf* song texts, (2) *ḥadīth al-ma'lūf*, folkloric stories, sayings, and magical elements associated with the repertoire, and (3) an allegorical usage of the fable, "the ant and the cricket."[47] This leads into my argument that themes relating elitism, privilege, and power to *ma'lūf* have structured post-2011 revolutionary musical politics and contemporary critiques of corruption, centralized control, and authoritarianism.

In Chapter 7, "Listening Through and Against *Ma'lūf*," I theorize inter-related modalities of engagement: "listening through" and "listening against." I define "listening through" as reproducing normative, top-down, and heavily-institutionalized sound knowledge. Using a 1935 letter accessed at the Tunisian National Archive in Tunis to crystalize my argument, I discuss how "listening through" *ma'lūf* follows from an acoustemological history of authoritarian measures of control, preservation, homogenization, and commodification as heritage. In contrast, by "listening against," Tunisians critique, challenge, and reclaim *ma'lūf* as collectively-owned, accessible, mutable, hybrid, and diverse.

Using ethnographic examples, I analyze how particular Tunisian *ma'lūf* enthusiasts and amateurs are, as they see it, morally conditioning their bodies for the better, questioning through critical listening, improving the level of musical performance, providing accessible education for young listeners, remembering Jewish Tunisian musicians, charting different maps and narratives, re-popularizing the repertoire through amateur singing clubs, and enlivening the repertoire by opening it up to new innovative additions. I theorize these aspirational actions and re-framings as “listening acts,” actions that follow from or are enacted in explicit critical and ethical audition. By calling attention to these examples, I do not mean to suggest that young Tunisians or my individual interlocutors are the most significant actors working toward positive change or that the majority of youth are involved in these pursuits. The field of ideals, actions, and perspectives is far more complex.

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[47] Of the three, only the proverbs have been addressed by other scholars (Rezgui 2010 [1922]).

Finally, in the Conclusion I step back to survey the “affective orientations” of Tunisian subject positions in relation to the geographies, historical temporalities, acoustemologies, and political ideologies examined in the dissertation.

Part I. *al-Makān* : Listening for the Place

Ṭarab [ecstasy] is what arouses people out of joy or sadness and is not confined to singing alone or instrumental music. People get aroused as a result of poetry, speech, mention of good deeds, beautiful places, wondrous views, and pleasing gardens.

— Ibn Ṭaḥḥān, *A Treasury of the Arts and Consolation for Sadness* (c. 1057).[48]

When we 'see' a landscape, we situate ourselves in it. If we 'saw' the art of the past, we would situate ourselves in history.

— John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (1973: 11).

For many Tunisians, there are profound and multi-faceted connections between musical genre and place. Songs, sounds, styles, aesthetics, and acoustemologies are *marabūt* – tethered as a camel to a home tent or grounded as a first stone to a fortification – to "sacred geographies,"[49] networks of localized knowledge and practice centered around certain special persons. These honorable people are Sufi Islamic (and occasionally Jewish) saints – called by the honorific titles *Wālī*, *Sīdī*, *Shaykh,* or *Lilla* for women – and Sub-Saharan African spirits. Their white-washed tombs (*qubba*, *marabūt*, *cupolas*) dot the Tunisian landscape.[50] In his recent scholarship, Richard Jankowsky has worked toward mapping this "sacred geography," paying careful attention to the "broader ecology of [popular] Sufi musics in Tunisia" or an "ambient Sufism," cross-cutting formal, performative, social, affective, and cultural aspects of all Tunisian musics and musicking (2016). Taking Jankowsky's lead, this dissertation, and especially this first chapter, is concerned with integrity, that is, with closely examining tensions surrounding the reification of geographic and cultural borders and boundaries, from Tunisian regions to multi-continental Empires. At the fringes of genre, Tunisian musical and linguistic sounds, modalities of vocal production, and timbres are closely associated with particular places within Tunisia and their topography, climate, resources, and customs. Places act as repositories for repertory knowledge, as containers for sound knowledge (Kapchan 2017) that is animated by human lived practice.

Tunisian *ma'lūf* – in all of its various permutations, its repertoire, practice, history, and lore – is inter-woven in an intricate web with other Tunisian musics, including those commonly considered as explicitly sacred (*ḥaḍra, ḥizib al-laṭif, rebbebia, tijaniyya,* and *sṭambēlī*) and others categorized as more strictly secular (*mezwid, gasba*, and *al-mansiyāt*). In pre-Arab times, the port city of Carthage linked what would become Tunisia with chains of Mediterranean exchange of commodities and ways of being. Later, the transplantation of *Andalusī* music to Tunisian environs came with a physical and sentimental re-mapping of Tunisia-as-*al-Andalus*. On camels rather than ships, trans-Saharan caravan trade – dating at least to the sixth century AD – moved instruments, sound aesthetics, and tens of thousands of displaced slaves to relocate in Tunisia. Besides cartographies of sacred place and Sufi calendrical pilgrimages within Tunisia, geographies of a cosmopolitan post-colonial European secularism expand the ‘place’ of Tunisia abroad to include large diasporic communities in France, Italy, and Israel. Geographies of radical Islam tie Tunisians and their soundscapes to the Libyan border and to terrorist cells that are storied to crop up, repeatedly, in the mountains bordering Algeria in Tunisia’s northwest. Historical flows of movement – whether forced or voluntary – are the stuff of cultural memory, compelling shared imaginaries, and cultural assemblage and amalgamation.

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[48] *Ḥāwī al-fanūn wa-salwat al-maḥzūn*, translated in Reynolds 2019.

[49] Jankowsky 2016.

[50] Clifford Geertz, in *Islam Observed* (1968), described similar shrines in Morocco: "The tomb (or in some cases the cenotaph) is a squat, white, usually domed, block-like stone building set under a tree, on a hill top, or isolated, like an abandoned pillbox, in the middle of an open plane. There are literally thousands of these graceless little structures scattered throughout the country (you can scarcely travel twenty miles without encountering one), but only a minority are, or ever have been, centers of developed cults, siyyids in the full sense of the term. The rest are mere sacred spots, places suitable for passing prayer or an ad hoc offering" (49-50).

To trace out these culturally-known connections, between places and between musics and places, is to engage a *relational* network of nodes and interstitial links. To tease these connections apart is to watch an insect ensnared in the fine fibers of a spider’s web that were, before being disturbed, nearly invisible, yet fully present and operational. These threads and junctures are *embedded* in material physical space, *emplaced* by practical and cosmological forms of dwelling, and *embodied* in the logic of meaning that constitute identity. The re-telling of origin myths nestles places into their grooves and the aura of spatially, and temporally far-away places fixes some as stubborn referents. The mutually-informing processes of musical creation of place and the localized impact of built environments on music are *dynamic* and on-going. The spider re-builds her web nightly and though the new web may look identical to the untrained eye, the reproduction is never quite the same.

In Chapter 1: *Tunis al-Khaḍra’*, “Tunis the Green,” and Chapter 2: *Tunis al-Maḥrūsa*, “Tunis the Well-Protected,” I investigate these diverse connections through analyses of Tunisians’ situated understandings of *ma’lūf* ‘in place’ and *ma’lūf*’s place within Tunisian spatial and social politics and history. Tunisians identify places as lost and found, as pristine, built, or re-built. In this dissertation I define “place” as a complex of geographic, topographic, climatic, chronotopic, and toponymic aspects of lived, likened, remembered, and created worlds. No less important, I recognize that places serve purposes – for life and work, exchange and development, magic, and refuge – and that they can be sites of strategic power, pooling wealth, and wrenching poverty. In what follows, I explore Tunisian ideas regarding the appropriate places and environments for *ma’lūf* listening, production, and habitation as well as significant historical and ideological ties with *al-Andalus*, medieval Arab Iberia. I examine the “importance of likeness” drawn by Tunisians between different places and the ways of life that ‘fit’ in particular climates and environments. In Chapter 3: *Jaww*: Something in the Air, I explore the Tunisian musical concept of *jaww* or “atmosphere” in terms of its multisensory phenomenology, sociality, and connection to geographic place and climate.

CHAPTER 1. *TUNIS AL-KHAḌRA'* : TUNIS THE GREEN

Green Places

Dating to Phoenician Carthage (814-146 BC), the beloved sobriquet, *Tunis al-Khaḍra'*, "Tunis the Verdant," bespeaks the mild, temperate, and relatively wet climate of the greener parts of Northern Tunisia. These "green places" include (1) the coastal areas along the north and eastern parts of the country, (2) the greater Tunis area – centered around the ancient port of Carthage – and (3) the *tell* region, the Northwestern plains which were the 'breadbasket'[51] of ancient Rome and which still supply Tunisia with grain for staples of bread and couscous (*cuscusī*). Tunisia's relative "greenness," especially in terms of the greater Tunis area, draws comparisons with other *Maghribī* ports and neighboring Mediterranean islands which are relatively less fertile (Clancy-Smith 2011: 34).

In Tunisians' understanding, *ma'lūf* – a term used interchangeably with *al-Mūsīqa al-Andalusīyya* – arrived from specific places, settled and grew in specific environments, and spread, to varying degrees, to neighboring areas. Though the depth of detail varies depending on whom you ask, the repertoire and practice of *ma'lūf* are said to have been brought by *Andalusī* people or "Moors," often called *Moriscos* or *Mūriskīyūn* in Tunisia, who left *al-Andalus*, Islamic Iberia, as their lands were gradually conquered and claimed by northern Catholic kingdoms and who were later expelled during the Catholic Spanish Reconquista and inquisitions. The *Mūriskīyūn*, bearing with them their music and way of life, emigrated to the Maghrib – now Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya – between the tenth[52] and seventeenth centuries, a sprawling span of time. According to popular Tunisian lore, during the later period of expulsion (after 1492), *Andalusī* refugees were welcomed by the Ottoman elites in Tunisia. They settled and founded towns across the northern and eastern littoral and in the fertile valleys of the rolling *Tell*, which follows the course of the Medjerda River.

In response to my open question "where do we find Tunisian *ma'lūf*," Tunisians responded most often with reference to geo-political regions within the country, stating that *ma'lūf* is sung and played in "the North," a politically-stable and geographically manageable region that stretches south as far as the municipalities of El Kef, Siliana, Zaghouan, and Sousse. The second area typically included was the Sahel, the Eastern littoral of the country stretching as far south as the port city of Sfax. Many, especially those familiar with the Northwest region, identified specific towns where the *ma'lūf* is well known, singling out a variety of "*Andalusī* towns" in the Medjerda River Valley, in Cape Bon (the Northeastern peninsula), along the Sahel, and just inland and south of Tunis.

My inquiry, ostensibly asking about geographic place, was answered on more than a few occasions, with "during *Ramaḍān*," the Islamic holy lunar month when Tunisians enjoy "returning" to traditional Tunisian cultural practices, for which many nurse a fond nostalgia. If the conversation was taking place in Tunis – for example over coffee along Avenue Habib Bourguiba, the *café*-strewn thoroughfare in the Tunis' *ville nouvelle* – respondents sometimes gestured toward the cultural heart of the city, the old *medina*, Tunis-dwellers' locus for the continuity of cultural practice, especially those associated with the Ottoman Bey, the aristocracy, and with the socio-politically well-to-do. Occasionally, those who knew me and my research well pointed out, figuratively or literally, "the Rashidiyya," the most famous school for the *ma'lūf* located in the Tunis *medina* or to Ennejma Ezzahra, the elegant palace of early twentieth century French musicologist, Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger located in Sidi Bou Said.[53] With a bit more probing, the bottom line for Tunisians was that *ma'lūf* was to be found in "green places," meaning geographic areas with a mild climate that received enough rain to support plentiful naturally-occurring, horticultural, and agricultural plant life. Through continued dialogue, it became clear that the situation of *ma'lūf* in "green places" hinged upon and enforced an integral relation between the presence of Arab-*Andalusī* music in the environment of medieval Moorish Iberia and *ma'lūf* within the habitats of Tunisia's Northwest fertile plains and wooded coastlines.

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[51] *Cura Annonae*, "care for the grain supply," was the ancient Roman term used to honor the goddess Annona (literally Latin annōna "corn, grain; means of subsistence", from annus "year"), the personification of their grain supply that was shipped into Italy from Roman Carthage. In artwork and on coinage, *Annona* is depicted standing between a *modius* (grain measure) and the prow of a ship, holding a cornucopia, and standing beside her mythological counterpart, Ceres, the goddess of agriculture, crops, fertility, and motherhood. Archaeological evidence suggests that the small island in the port of Carthage may have been used to enforce government control of *annonae* (grain and olive oil) collected from African interior areas and collected to be carried by sea to Rome (Hurst 1994: 111).

[52] Davis 2004: 2.

The connections between *Tūnsī* and *Andalusī* "green places" are constructed as sets of "likeness"[54] based upon similarities perceived between (1) geo-climatic "natural places" – biome, soil richness, geography, topography, climate, systems and bodies of water, (2) anthropogenic "built places" – named places, towns layouts, architecture, agricultural lands, bridges, and mechanisms for controlling water, and (3) cultural practices – music, clothing, festivals, customs, language, and beliefs. Here, my differentiation between "natural" and "built places" reflects the boundary work of my interlocutors rather than my own distinctions. The transformation of *ṭabī'ī*, "natural" environments into *mutaḥaḍḍira*, "civilized" places is an important constellation of processes in *Andalusī* history, both in Iberia and in Tunisia. The concept of "cultivation" is also central to the development of material cultural practices – like architecture and agriculture – as well as in the appreciation of intangible expressive arts, like music and poetry. Besides climatic and biome-specific connections, Tunisians identify aspects of topography and geophysical structures (cliffs, mountains, and valleys), bodies of water and waterways (coasts, bays, rivers, lakes, and reservoirs), and even shared endemic animal and plant life (olive trees and birds) as *Andalusī-Tūnsī* parallels. As many Tunisians advised me, "green places," especially wide expanses of valleys, pastures, and orchards, are best observed, as the *Andalusī* people did, from the vantage points of hill-side towns, fortresses, or scenic overlook areas.

Dede Fairchild Ruggles, scholar of Islamic gardens and landscapes argues that landscapes, and our perception of them, are dynamic and temporal rather than fixed. Here, her critiques of "landscapes" correspond with critiques of Schaferian-style (1977) construction of "soundscapes" as fixed and reified (Samuels et al. 2010; Helmreich 2010; Feld 1994, 2012, 2015). She writes:

> Landscape is generally too large to be apprehended in a single glance. It is revealed slowly as the individual moves through a site, down paths, under tree canopies, and around buildings. As the body moves through [the] space [of the garden], the head turns to look in one direction and then another, focusing on the distant and the close-at-hand, and finally scanning the full scene. In the Islamic context, the tension between the promise of a visual experience and its fulfillment is orchestrated by [structural] devices such as windows, doorways, and ornamental screens that temporarily curtail vision. To apprehend the view, the person is urged to step forward and train the eyes along a straight line, and then to make the visual sweep from side to side (Ruggles 2008: 6).

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[53] The palace is now a museum and houses the Centre for Arab and Mediterranean Music and National Sound Archive.

[54] I have chosen to use "likeness" here as the broadest concept to suggest *perceptual* resemblance and outward appearance, rather than "similarity" or "relatedness," which might suggest more *objective* commonalities.

Following Ruggles, I argue that for Tunisians, "green places" are not only environments where people cohabitate with plants, animals, and musics, but that they also suggest habituated views of particular sightlines down sloping narrow hillside streets[55] (often with stairs) and acoustic familiarity with reverberance of the *adhān* across valleys and the hills that hug them.

As I explore further in the following section, these cultivated "green places," towns or gardens, *afford* certain ways and histories of seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting, and smelling, key sensory and epistemological aspects of *Andalusī*-Tunisian life, both in common practice and in shared cultural imaginaries. By living, visiting, and musicking in *Andalusī*-Tunisian towns, Tunisians choose to participate in collective histories of both rupture and continuity. In one light, musicking in *Andalusī*-Tunisian towns memorializes the great disjuncture and alienation brought about by the irreparable loss of *al-Andalus* and its artistic forms. On the other hand, especially in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, these towns and the musical repertoires and practices associated with them are framed as sites of continuity and linchpins in the recovery, revival, and renewal of the (new) *al-Andalus* on Tunisian soil.

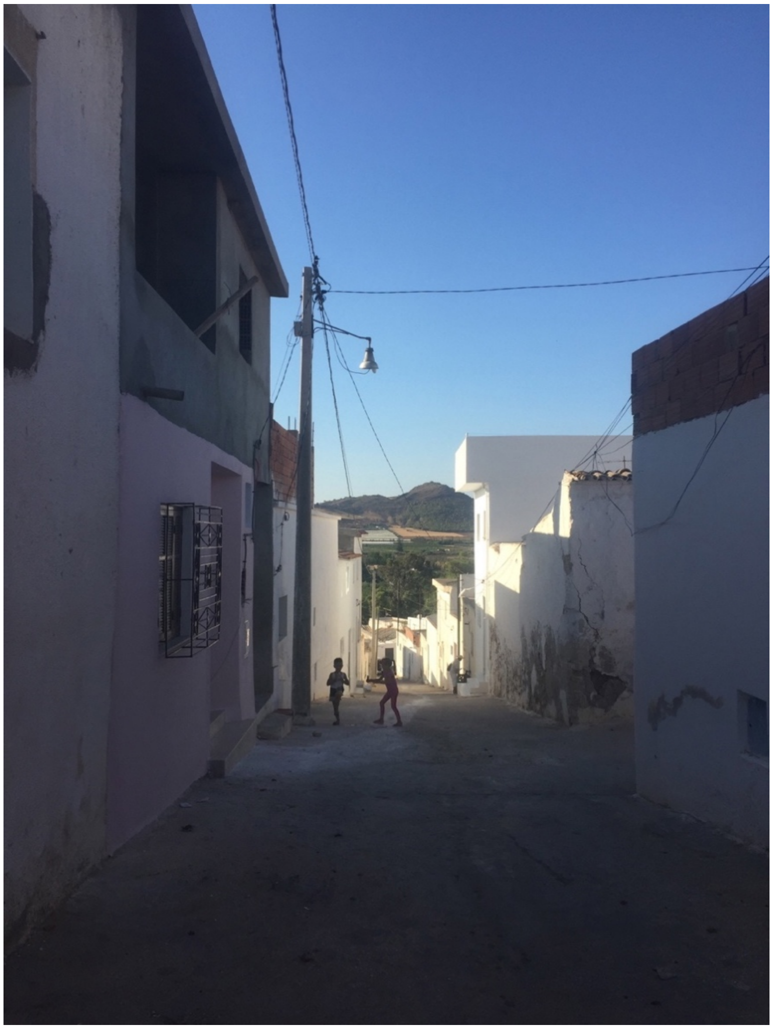

Figure 8 For a view that was especially reminiscent of *al-Andalus*, I was instructed to look down this particular street in Testour toward the agricultural lands and distant mountain (7/21/2016). Photograph by the author.

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[55] As was described to me on two separate occasions in Testour, by both Myriam and Firas.

The Importance of Likeness

In this section, I describe the "likeness" that many contemporary Tunisians draw between their own Tunisian aesthetic and cultural world and that of *al-Andalus*, especially in terms of musics, places, people, and ways of life. These emerging affective similarities, often grounded in the perceived "likeness" of physical places, play significant roles in anchoring Tunisians' individual and collective community identities as connected by kinship to the medieval *Andalusī* people. In doing so, they liken themselves to the 'refugees' who found safety in *Ifrīqiya*, the land that is now Tunisia as well as to other *Andalusī* people scattered along the North African coast, to contemporary Spanish people, and, more broadly, to Northern Mediterranean European peoples. As I discuss in Chapter 7 and in the Conclusion, these identity connections are laden with cultural capital including associations with erudition, wealth, intelligence, progress, claims to Tunisian land, and figure prominently in nationalist agendas, anticolonial and otherwise.

In my 2016 ethnographic study, I found three basic forms of the "charter myths" of the Tunisian *ma'lūf*, "stor[ies] of origin that provide a constitution for the current social order" (Glasser 2016: 43).[56] In the first and simplest of the myths, the *Andalusī* people settled and established towns in Tunisian environments that were most familiar to them and which reminded them of their lost homes in Southern and coastal Iberia. Practically speaking, settling in familiar types of places afforded them greater ease in transplanting and adapting their lives to the cultural, political, and social economies of *Ifrīqiya*. As the logic goes, with roughly the same natural resources available in the Tunisian Medjerda River Valley as in *al-Andalus*, the *Mūriskīyūn* could continue to plant the same crops, rear the same livestock, and maintain the same cuisines and foodways. This way they were able to continue harvesting the same cotton and wool to weave, felt, and embroider the same clothing and blankets and use the same clay to fashion the characteristically curved roof tiles that they had in *al-Andalus*. Explained to me as mutually-informing, natural environments supported the success of certain crops and provided the appropriate climate and resources – literally the correct air or *jaww*, as I explore in Chapter 3 – for the cultural continuity of musical performance and listening practice.[57]

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[56] Here I use Glasser's adaptation of Bronislaw Malinowski's term (1954).

[57] This concept that the music "fits" and thrives in particular environment calls to mind a parallel scientific model, the "Hutchinsonian niche." Pioneered by G. Evelyn Hutchinson in a 1957 paper, the duality between "niche" and "biotope" defines the "fundamental niche" as an abstract "multidimensional volume" bounded by the climates potentially tolerated by a particular species, and its ecological requirements (for example, soil type). The biotope, in contrast, is any geographical locality in which the environment corresponds with the niche space of the species (Colwell and Rangel 2009). To put the niche model in the terms of *ma'lūf* "habitats" and geographic movements, we may imagine a number of geographical localities that fit the parameters for *ma'lūf* to thrive. These suitable biotopes would include areas like coastal Northern California; Greece; and New South Wales, Australia; places where *ma'lūf* does not presently exist as a tradition, but where it *could*, given only the correspondence between local climatic and environmental niche requirements of *ma'lūf*. Hutchinson's "realized niche" represents, in niche space, the particular physical places (biotopes) where the organism (*ma'lūf*) is *actually* found. The "realized niche" always lies within the area of abstract niche space mapped out as the "fundamental" niche.
Setting aside clearly problematic differences concerning human agency and the idiosyncrasies of cultural life and musical practice, what is compelling about considering the niche model is the framework for understanding the affording of certain potential mobilities and changes and the occlusion of others. Working in the same period as Hutchinson, in his essay, "The Theory of Affordances" (1979), American psychologist, J. J. Gibson explored the notion of the "niche" as a "set of affordances" saying "the niche implies a kind of animal, and the animal implies a kind of niche" (128). Gibson also formulates, in his own way, a concept akin to Hutchinson's "fundamental niche" as "offerings of the environment that have *not* been taken advantage of, that is, niches not yet occupied" (Gibson 1979: 129, author's emphasis *sic*).

In this first explanatory charter myth, the *Andalusī* people left their homes in *al-Andalus* and searched for a place as familiar as possible. The work of "likeness," as it is invoked here, supports arguments for the authenticity, purity, and fixity of practices of *Tunisian ma'lūf as Andalusī.* Because the Andalusī people and their music did not need to change to adapt to a new and different environment, the music is presumed to have remained essentially the same since its arrival and thus since its heyday in *al-Andalus*. In this sense, Tunisian *ma'lūf* is *Andalusī ma'lūf.* In a second version of the myth, the "likeness" between Tunisian and *Andalusī* places sets the stage for less voluntary or agentive geographic determinism to take its course. In this model, because Tunisian and *Andalusī* "green places" constitute similar habitats, these environments produced similar people and afforded the development of similar and parallel cultural practices, including music and musicking.[58]

Determinist ideas came through, for instance, in assertions made by my *ma'lūf* teacher, Sonia, who said that people living near the sea will *naturally* tend to sing about the sea because of their immediate surroundings and daily experiences. By her account, the music that seaside people sang in Sidi Bou Said or Bizerte was therefore *naturally* similar to the songs sung on the Iberian coast in Valencia, for instance. In this sense, *ma'lūf* (or a *ma'lūf* potential) laid hidden, latent in these places, ready to be brought to life by performers and listeners who attuned and adapted to the particular environment. Within Tunisian scholarship, the acclaimed musicologist, Mahmoud Guettat argued in *Le Musique Arab-Andalouse* (2000),[59] that a similar type of music (with Tunisian *ma'lūf* as referent) developed simultaneously in Islamic Spain and the Maghrib and that the *Andalusī* refugees "merely enriched and reinforced a pre-existing tradition" (in Davis 2004: 39).

While parts of Guettat's "likeness" logic seem commonsensical, insistence upon *natural* similarities or on the convergent development of Tunisian-*Andalusī* and Arab-*Andalusī* music – given *solely* environmental, biological, and climatic similarity – is less convincing than the transplantation of musical material along with the culture-bearers themselves. Historically speaking, coastal Mediterranean areas have been traversed and inhabited by so many groups of people, that musical commonalities are best explained, I would argue, as the result of movement and circulation. Though none of my interlocutors pointed it out, the musics of *al-Andalus* had themselves been influenced itself by the Almoravid invasion of Moroccan *Amazīgh* people in the eleventh century, the Almohads in the twelfth century, and by many other waves of migration and influence from the coast of the *Maghrib.* The flows of influence have moved in both directions across the Mediteranean between Tunisia and Iberia. The environmental determinist narrative does not necessarily preclude the arrival and inter-mixing of *Andalusī* musical *influences* into previously separate practices. In contrast with the first charter myth, the second model supports an argument for the indigeneity of *ma'lūf*, framed here as a highly sophisticated art music, by emphasizing autochthonous origins for a music that is then only *secondarily* likened to *Andalusī* music, a largely independent European parallel form. This move effectively elevates the social status of the native Tunisian arts and counters French colonial narratives of Tunisian culture as base, lacking, uncivilized, and anti-modernity.[60]

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[58] Since geographic determinism already raises questions regarding Darwinian evolution, it seems appropriate to compare, metaphorically, the two narratives I have just described in evolutionary terms. This is all the more appropriate given that, as I found, Tunisians often spoke about musical history in the scientific terms of evolution. The first, a matter of transplantation from one similar environment to another can be compared to the evolutionary development of the wings, hands, and fins of mammals from a shared basic skeletal structure. The appendages that each evolved to become wings, hands, or fins are "homologous structures." In the case of the diaspora of *Andalusī* music, we can relate the "homologous structures" to the Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian, and Libyan *Andalusī* musics. The second myth describes a process of "convergent evolution," the similar adaptations of many organisms who are not genetically close relatives or phylogenetically descended from a common ancestor. Here the classic scientific example is the convergent adaptation of animals that allow for flight. The wings of birds, butterflies, and bats are not derived from a common set of shared bones – unlike homologous mammal hands, wings, and fins – but they developed to serve the same purpose given common circumstances and needs. The major flaw of this metaphor is the exclusivity of these two processes in Darwinian evolution; musical history, in contrast, is the result of voluntary action, politically- and socially-motivated imitation, and all manner of other messy and complex mixings and multi-directional flows.

[59] His 2000 publication drew extensively from his previous work, *La Musique Classique du Maghrib* (1980).

A third form of the charter myth posits that Ziryab Abu Al-Hasan Ali Ibn Nafi – the master *ūd*-ist and founder of the *Andalusī* school of music, named *al-Bulbul,* "the blackbird" or "thrush" for his prowess in melodic composition – passed through what is now Tunisia on his way from the court of Baghdad to the court at Córdoba.[61] In Mahmoud Guettat's telling, Ziryab "entered the service" of the Aghlabid kingdom based in Kairouan, the capital city and central trading hub in *Ifrīqiya*, between 816 and 836 AD (2000: 119).[62] There he was welcomed into one of the most illustrious and prosperous of courtly families before he eventually traveled to Qurṭuba (Córdoba). In this third narrative, Ziryab sowed the seeds for the birth of Tunisian *ma'lūf* even before he continued on to found the Córdoban school. Ziryab's seeds, sown in central Tunisia, then grew alongside their *Andalusī* counterparts (borrowing from the second myth), and the Tunisian musical practice was then re-enlivened and sustained by the infusion of knowledge from *Mūriskīyūn* emigrants' arrival from Iberia (borrowed from the first myth). Guettat points to *al-Hāyy al-Ziryābi*, the name of a Kairouan neighborhood still known as a quarter for artistic production, as evidence of Ziryab's presence and influence in *Ifrīqiya* from as early as the eighth century AD (2000: 119-120).[63]

Yet other variants incorporate aspects of Tunisian particularity, the inter-mixing of *ma'lūf* with other Tunisian musical forms and elements, and approaches to hybridity and purity. The usage of each of the three charter myths has shifted over time to reflect different socio-political agendas and have played roles in highlighting particular Tunisian identity formations and affective orientations,[64] as part of Tunisian efforts to emulate and/or level with the colonizer,[65] and to connect with pan-Arabists.

In his *Muqaddimah* ("Introduction") written in 1377 AD, Ibn Khaldun, the renowned *Ifrīqiya*-n historian and historiographer theorized the ecological adaptation of humans and other organisms to different environments. It seems only appropriate to bring his voice into the story of *ma'lūf* origins here as his expertise was, for the greater part, a product of the flowering of knowledge and scientific inquiry of the later periods – Almoravid (1085-1145) and Almohad (1147-1238) – of *al-Andalus.* In a section titled "The temperate and the intemperate zones, the influence of the air upon the color of human beings and upon many other aspects of their condition," Ibn Khaldun argues that "…the sciences, the crafts, the buildings, the clothing, the foodstuffs, the fruits, even the animals, and everything that comes into being in the three middle [climatic] zones are distinguished by their temperate (well-proportioned) character" when contrasted with those zones that are "far from temperate," where people go naked; trade, and industry have not developed; religion does not exist; and where there are particular crops and animals that are "inclined to be intemperate" (Rosenthal 1967: 58). In his usage, "temperate" suggests moderate and mild temperatures, rainfall, and weather. He posits that the environment and air also influence human skin color and physique (60).

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[60] For example, the director of the *dār al-thaqāfa* ("House of Culture") in Testour told me that before the *Andalusī* people came, all they had there were drums and flutes and that it sounded terrible.
[61] Famously, Ziryab was dismissed by the master musician with whom he was apprenticing as his musical acumen was perceived as a threat to the grandeur of the established Baghdadi masters.
[62] According to Algerian musicologist, Hadri Bougherara, the seventeenth-century scholar al-Maqarri documented that Ziryab arrived in Kairouan in 820 AD (2002: 56).
[63] Having visited Kairouan three times to date, I have found no such toponym extant in local usage today. Local belief has it that seven visits to the Islamic holy city of Kairouan – accompanied each time by a drink from Bir Barouta, an ancient well, to ensure your safe future return – is equal to *al-ḥajj*, the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca. Sir R. Lambert Playfair writes that "the pious believe that there is a communication between this and the holy well of Zemzem at Mecca. A pilgrim once let his drinking vessel fall into the latter, and on his return to Kerouan he found it in El-Barota" (1877: 1270)!
[64] See Conclusion
[65] See Albert Memmi (1957), Brown (1967), and Kheirredine Pasha al-Tounsi (1867).

Khaldun's theory diverges from arguments that position genealogy as the sole explanation for human difference by tying ways of being[66] to physical, geographic place or, as he put it, "the true nature of created beings and of geographical facts" (Rosenthal 1967: 62). Though inaccurate in its suggestion of the inheritability of acquired traits, Khaldun's model argues that the particular "physical circumstances" of places affect the pre-determined characteristics of descent. This balancing of the influences of nature and nurture, of determinism and potential for change, is also present in Tunisian explanations for the situation of *ma'lūf* and "the *Andalusī* way of life" within particular geographic and climatic zones, and as historically maintained by Tunisians of *Andalusī* descent.

The co-existence of these three non-mutually-exclusive "likeness" charter myths attest to Tunisians' grappling with the complexity of their history, the waves of exchange between the two Mediterranean shores, and especially to *Andalusī* emigration to Tunisia over the course of several hundred years. From the *Andalusī* founder narrative to the environmental determinist approach and to their various combinations, the myths' invocations today index political positions and ideologies. The persistence of the myths is evident in the continued connections that Tunisians make between *ma'lūf,* the green places described in its lyrics, and its trans-Mediterranean likeness. Recalling the spider's web of networked associations of place, the resounding of Tunisian *ma'lūf* in Tunisian places pulls at the sinews of *Andalusī* nodes, places, moods, and multi-sensory experiences. And, through discourse and rhetoric, *Andalusī* poetry and melodies have been inscribed onto the landscapes and soundscapes of *Tunisian al-Khaḍra*, "Tunisia the Green." These Tunisian "green places" are an extension of the cultural memory of *al-Andalus*; they act as a chronotopic hinge between contemporary life lived and the powerful collective imaginary of heritage.

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[66] The pairing of these influences is familiar from on-going debates over the relative importance of 'nature' (genetics) and 'nurture' (the impact of social and physical environment).

al-Tarsīm al-Firdawsi : Paradisiac Design

A further aspect of likeness, essential though less often explicitly cited by Tunisians in casual conversation, lies in connections of verdancy and "green places" with Islamic concepts of heavenly paradise. In these instances, "green places" are the cultivated anthropogenic fruit and flower gardens of the great Moorish palaces of *al-Andalus* – Medinat al-Zahara (the "city of flowers") near Córdoba and the Alhambra in Granada – which were built to resemble the collective imaginary of the gardens of paradise in heaven. This also concept extends to architecture in *al-Andalus* and was described in one instance by Yassine, my interlocutor, as *al-tarsīm al-firdawsī*, literally "paradisiacal design" (p.c. 5/7/2016). *Al-Firdaws* is the highest level of heavenly paradise, reserved exclusively for the most pious of Muslims. As Jonathan Glasser points out, the same term is used among Algerians and Tunisians in the construction *al-firdaws al-mafqūd*, "the lost paradise," which refers to the loss of Islamic Iberia to Catholic Spain (2016: 4).

Specific passages in the holy *Qur'ān* serve as principle referents for descriptions of *janna*, "heaven" or "paradise;" in fact, there are more than 120 such descriptions which, taken together, provide a vivid and specific description of its structure, qualities, and affect. Nader Ardalin, architect and scholar describes *janna* as "a walled garden of orthogonal geometry in plan, containing water courses laid out in precise straight channels emanating out from a central fountainhead[67] in the four cardinal directions, nourishing rows of fragrant flowers, shrubs, and beneath whose shadows are pavilions of everlasting bliss" (Ardalin 2002: 10). He argues that the architecture of the paradise garden, is a central concept in Islamic "senses of place" (*makān*) and contains, within its walls, a "total reflection of the cosmos," in which each structural and aesthetic element, symmetry, and balance, has not only practical purpose and beauty, but also profound philosophical and sacred meaning (10). It follows then – as Ibn 'Arabi, influential *Andalusī* Sufi *shaykh,* theorist, poet, and philosopher theorized in his classic work, *Fusus al-Hakim* – that the artistic and aesthetic architectural sights of the garden exercise and develop the practice of *'ayn al-baṣīra*, or "spiritual eyesight," the ability to see beyond literal, superficial, earthly, surface-level meaning to inner and more important value (Ardalin 2002: 10, 16). Further, it is through *'ayn al-baṣīra* that "seeing" in the paradisiac garden may "render possible the inner transformation of man," allowing him to understand *waḥdat al-wujūd*, "the unity of existence/being" and his place within it (10).[68] The most frequently cited *Qur'ānic* passages, marked for me by Hiba – a fellow member of the Nādī Tahar Gharsa, a singing club at the Rashidiyya school – are reproduced and translated in Appendix 1A.

Bearing these broader philosophical and ethical implications in mind, it comes as no great surprise that a great deal of responsibility and importance was placed on the aesthetic horticultural cultivation of *Andalusī* garden spaces. Similarly, clear parallels may be drawn between the skills honed by the finest architect and the artistry required for *ma'lūf* performance and listening. The horticulturalists' facility must be well developed, beyond crude skill and "needs to be combined with and elevated above a purely temporal aesthetic level to the higher spiritual real as well" (Ardalin 2002: 10). In this sense, architects of the classical Islamic world did "spiritual work" just as an excellent Tunisian musician, performing in nearly any genre, can be praised in a spiritual capacity with the exclamation '*andu rūḥ!* or *'andik rūḥ!*, "he has soul/spirit" or "you have soul/spirit" or "Allah!."[69]

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[67] Consider the similarities here with Snoussi's ideal in which four paths emanate from the center of the garden.

[68] See also the discussion of *waḥdat al-wujūd* on page 135.

[69] I continue a discussion of ethics, aesthetics, and morality of musicking in Chapter 6.

There is ample evidence to suggest that the association of heavenly paradise with garden imagery pre-dates the so-called Abrahamic religions, going back at least to the Sumerians who lived in and around Dilmun (now the Arabian peninsula) circa 3,500 to 2,000 BC.[70] In Sumerian mythology, Dilmun itself was a magical place of perfect peace where there was no illness or old age (Conklin 1998: 217). Eight fruit trees and vegetable plants grew in Dilmun, all said to have germinated from the fallen semen of Ea (Enki), a serpent spirit, and sown by Nintu, the earth mother (217). The Sassanian Persians (200-600 AD), created intricate mandala-like patterns in their gardens with pavilions placed at the intersections of four avenues, the model upon which the famed "Court of the Lions" at the Alhambra Palace in Granada, Spain was designed (Ardalin 2002: 12). The garden concept, philosophically conceived and physically manifest, was highly developed in Persia by the Achaemenid Period (500-300 BC, 10). In fact, the English word "paradise" is etymologically descended from the Persian *pairidaeza*, which referred to ancient walled gardens (10-1).

Alongside the long history of garden cultivation are long-standing conceptions of gardens as sites of plenty, abundance, luxury, and opulence. With the turning of the seasons, the garden also stands as a central poetic metaphor for the ephemerality and inevitable loss of life: once "the flowering landscape of earlier days" and now the "trace of something gone and irretrievable, a love and an era that slipped away, but is recalled in the poet's return to the place" (Ruggles 2008: 7). The sensory pleasures of the rose are penumbrated by the specter of its inevitable drooping just as humanity was exiled from the paradisiac garden of heaven and just as "the lost golden age in *al-Andalus* was eventually transformed into a longing for *al-Andalus* itself (which succumbed to Christian rule in 1492)" (7). Thus, "*al-Andalus* became the quintessential lost place" (7). The garden is a "main field or loci of a Muslim's referential journey in life. It is the place from whence he was plucked and to which he yearns to return" (Ardalin 2002: 10).

It is with a richer understanding of the history of Islamic paradisiac gardens that I approach a widely-known explanation of Tunisian *ma'lūf*, framed here as a sophisticated and intellectual music, provided by Manoubi Snoussi, musicologist and once personal secretary to the French colonial musicologist, Baron d'Erlanger. Snoussi's description of the aesthetic and meaning of Tunisian *ma'lūf* is recounted in Wolfgang Laade's liner notes to the Folkways record, *Tunisia Volume 1, The Classical Arab-Andalusian Music of Tunis*, which he recorded for the company in Tunisia in 1960.

> But there is another mentality behind it which in subtle words was explained by Mr. Manoubi Snoussi, former assistant to the Baron D'Erlanger. He said 'suppose I want to lay out a garden. What do I do? First I will build a circular wall around some space to be separated from outside. Just in the middle of the garden I will build up a pavilion open to all sides. Now sward and flowers will be planted and paths will be drawn which are all leading directly to the center[71], i.e. to my pavilion. There I will sit and look around. I may turn to this side or that side, and the view will always be the same. There is nothing irregular, nothing disturbing to my mind. And (according to the director of the paths) everything comes toward me. I am able to allow it to come or not, according to my mind, I can accept or refuse. There is nothing disturbing or alarming me. Thus it is with our music [referring to *ma'lūf*, which is clear from the context] (1962: 3)

As Ruth Davis gleans from this statement, Snoussi employs the concept of the garden and its characteristic features as a metaphor for explaining various aspects of *ma'lūf* (2004: 1) and for identifying the centrality of listening and the listener (p.c., 7/2/2019). In a creative analytic move, Davis extends the garden metaphor as a "backdrop" for her description of the suite form of the

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[70] See Conklin (1998: 10) and Crawford and Rice (2000: 217).

[71] This description suggests the *chahar bagh*, the layout of the classic rectangular Islamic garden in four quadrants, with walkways that intersect in the center (Ruggles 2008: 39).

Tunisian *nūba* and as a way of conceptualizing various musical formal elements like melody, mode, and rhythm (37). While *ṭarīq/ ṭarīqa* typically refers to a "path" in the metaphorical sense of a way of life, worship, or practice or in the musical sense in the laying out of a musical melody over time,[72] Davis' maps the *nūba* structure onto the classical garden structural plan. Complementary to Davis' extension of the garden metaphor are the conceptual frameworks of *al-tarsīm al-firdawsī* "paradisiac design" and *'ayn al-baṣīra*, the "spiritual eyesight" required to glean deeper meaning from visual garden design and aesthetics, musical or visual.

Snoussi's description highlights the experience of sounds as they play out over time and the appeal of a well-shaped performance as neatly-kempt hedges and rows, steady, patterned, and aesthetically pleasing in their familiarity and predictability. Davis' analysis of Snoussi's statement skims the surface of a multi-layered and complex aesthetic of experience particular to the Islamic garden, its recreations in North Africa, and the musical and sound arts associated with it. How much more may be gleaned from the notion that a listener or observer may "accept or refuse" everything that comes toward himself, especially in light of *'ayn al-baṣīra*, "spiritual eyesight?" In connecting these concepts, I argue here that integrated reading of studies of Islamic cultivated landscapes and soundscapes illuminates the philosophical and aesthetic structures that undergird *ma'lūf* in its social contexts and physical places, as a tradition loaded with potential to affect internal transformations for trained music practitioners and listeners. Laade continues his account of Snoussi's explanation of *ma'lūf*:

> Look at the ornaments of my bookcase.[73]" it was a large bookcase filling the whole wall and it was covered with fine designs of wood-carving: regularly turning and twisting lines – veritable arabesques. 'look at this,' he said, 'and do it quite relaxed.' Try to follow the lines in this or that direction. Your look may wander here and there. It will find many paths to follow and it is quite irrelevant whether it takes this or that direction. You may accept this way and refuse the other, you may even refuse to follow any line. Thus it is with our music (Laade 1962: 3).

In this explanation, Snoussi draws another analogy, common among Tunisians today, between craftwork and musical aesthetics.[74] Notably, here he describes the appropriate state for looking or listening as focused and attentive, but also relaxed (3). Most significant for my present questions about looking and listening, however, is his appeal to volition; the listener or viewer *chooses* and charts his or her *own* route in the garden or within the labyrinthine decorations of the bookcase. She may choose a more familiar and recognizable path, seen or heard by others before, or she may refuse paths altogether, forging her own way ahead. Orienting oneself and moving along the twists and curves of the carved bookcase calls to mind both the Tunisian Arabic term for the carver of such designs in wood or plaster – *kharīṭa* and the more literary meaning of the term: a map, etymologically that which is carved, cut, or shaped (Bond 2017: 128).[75]

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[72] I refer here al-Ghazālī's treatise "On Music and Singing" (*Ihya' Ulum ad-Din*), as translated to English by Duncan Black MacDonald.

[73] I imagine this bookcase and conversation were held in Ennejma Ezzahra, the ornately *Andalusī*-Ottoman palace of the Baron d'Erlanger in Sidi Bou Said.

[74] I explore links between music and architecture later in this chapter and concepts of architectural and musical decoration in Chapter 5.

[75] Bond notes that *kharīṭa* can also mean a scar on human skin: "In the context of Tunisia before 2011, with an imaginary landscape shared by government and national (and foreign) political actors, the lines (and "scars") on the map of history require careful examination" (2017: 128).

Or perhaps it simply isn't the *same* garden that arises in the mind of each contemplative listener; as Ruggles suggests, "Somewhere between the real and the ideal, the spiritual and the worldly, the quotidian and the extraordinary, lies not 'the Islamic garden' but a limitless number of gardens built (or imagined) in Islamic societies to sustain the body, inspire the minds, express individual and social values, and represent identities" (2008: 145). Like music listeners, "the gardens themselves are as diverse as the bodies, minds, values, and identities of the people who made and enjoy them" (145). Just as the gardener shapes hedges and coaxes fruit trees into topiaries and pleasingly symmetrical shapes, so too the musician takes care in voicing the *tariqa*, the "path" or shape of each musical phrase. After all, the *Andalusī* people are celebrated by Tunisians as the inventors of *ma'lūf* and modern agriculture and horticulture, the careful and sophisticated cultivation of 'wild' things, sound and plant alike.

In another extended landscape-based metaphor, Sonia described to me the "intelligence" of Arab music as located in the musician's ability to switch between the melodic modes. As she put it, many rivers "drop in" (lead) to the sea[76] and the musician must navigate the rivers and go between them. In her metaphor, *ma'lūf* is topographic, whether horticultural or riparian, and the musician charts a path through it, claiming, cultivating, refining, and re-structuring her environment as she goes. The listener follows, making her own choices of direction like the eye following Snoussi's bookshelf tracery. As Ruggles reminds, "God *created* nature, but the good steward [human kind] was empowered by God to control nature. That mandate is summarized in the *Qur'ānic* statement that God placed humankind not just upon the earth, but *over* it as its manager"[77] (2008: 88). This conception holds humanity as guardian, gardener, architect, and maker of places. And though "The fantastic gardens of the imagination and their real-life imitations seem deceptively frivolous, worldly, and exaggerated…their very artificiality held a powerful symbolism because they evoked a world of excess and wonder where nature was transformed by human endeavor, subject to human control, and made perfect and permanent" (88).

Metaphorical situation of *ma'lūf* in cultivated green landscapes, in gardens, along rivers, does important work emplacing and containing *ma'lūf* – as an abstract concept and as a way of life, lived practice tied to identity formations and politics – on Tunisian, and by extension, *Andalusī* soil. In Tunisian understanding, place-specific environmental conditions afford appropriate and successful performance and listening and are therefore crucial to the continuation of the socio-cultural meaning and value of the genre. Therefore, *ma'lūf* 'itself' is situated, embedded, or imbricated in place; as Martin Stokes (1997) and others have argued, musicking, listening, and the discourses that structure them are deeply implicated and dynamically active in the production and reproduction of place.

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[76] During our meetings early in my fieldwork, Sonia encouraged me to choose particular pieces within the repertoire or very detailed thematic questions because "*ma'lūf al-baḥr*," "*ma'lūf* is a sea," meaning that the repertoire is vast and replete with numerous items of interest (p.c. 4/13/2016).

[77] See Sura 2, verse 29: "He made for you all that lives on the earth" and the following verse, "I have to place a trustee on the earth," who was Adam.

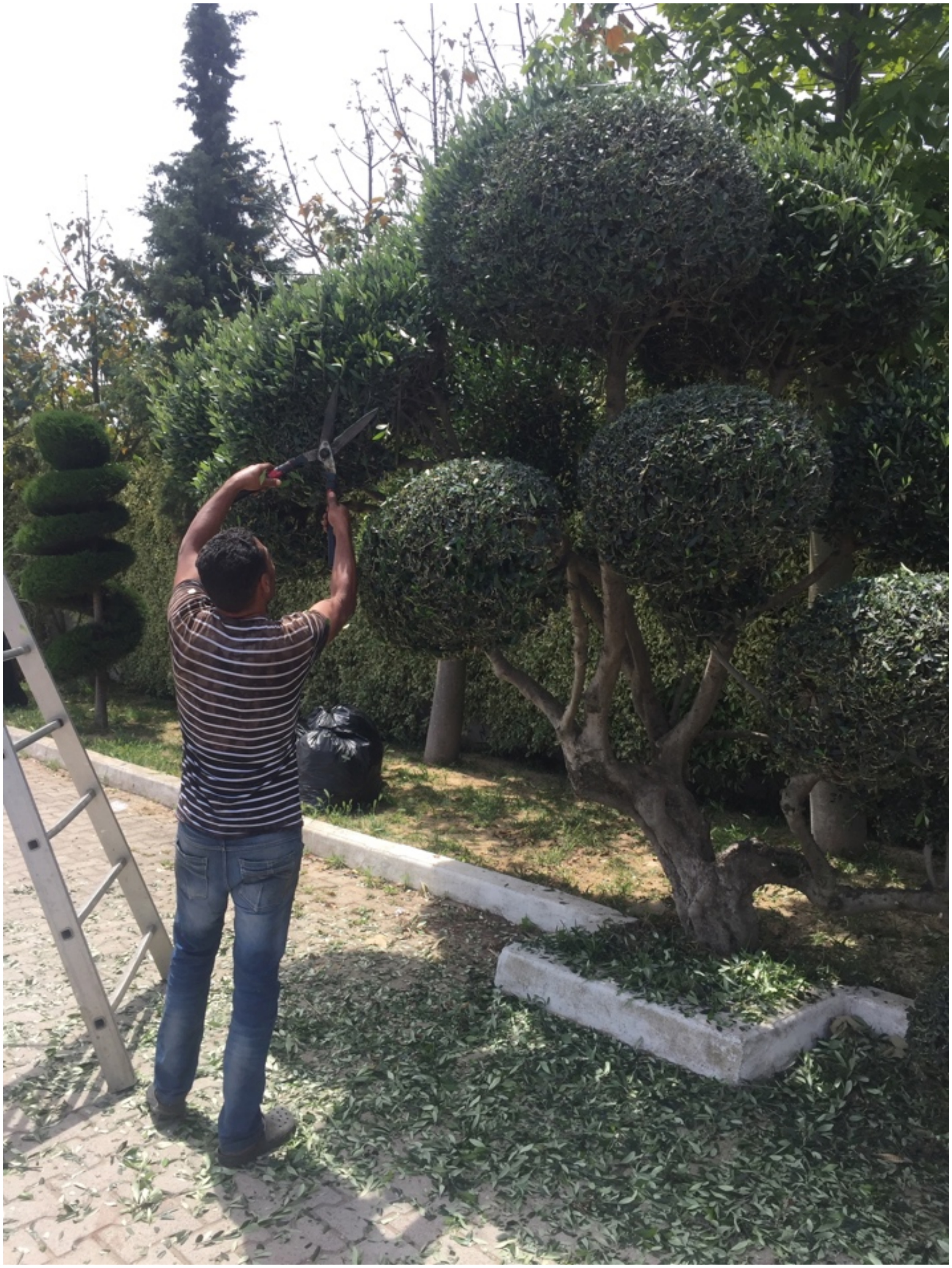

Figure 9 A gardener trims a topiary in the Tunisian *Andalusī* town of Sidi Bou Said, 2016. Photograph by the author.

Cultivated Soundscapes of the Paradisiac Gardens

Representations of earthly medieval *Andalusī* gardens (poetry and Islamic philosophical works) and descriptions of heavenly *firdawsi* (in the *Qur'ān*, *ḥadīth*, and Islamic preaching) describe not only the organization, architectural features, fauna, and flora of gardens, but also provide detailed information about the sensory experiences they provided. As with the layouts of the garden and reproduction of fruit trees, herbs, and flowers, the sounds selected for inclusion in actual Islamic paradise gardens mirrored those described in and inferred from religious texts.

In the linked literary traditions of *Andalusī*, Persian, Ottoman, Turkish, and Mogul poetry, medieval authors make frequent reference to birdsong heard within the garden, especially the cooing of doves and melodious strains of nightingales. Menuchihri, a Persian poet, described an anthropomorphic spring scene in a garden: "The dove is the muezzin and his voice is a call to prayer" (Ruggles 2008: 5).[78] Similarly, the *bulbul* (nightingale) plays the part of "preacher of the birds" who leads the other birds in their collective chorus, and who "induces the garden to ecstatic dance" (Schimmel 1976: 38). Records indicate that the Islamic pleasure gardens of the courts of *al-Andalus* were actually stocked with those very birds (Ruggles 2008: 5). Medieval Sufi interpreters, like Ahmed Ghazālī (d. 1126), attested that plants and non-human animals are all-the-time participating in *tasbīḥ* (prayer) (During 1997: 130) and especially in *dhikr*, the remembrance of God through the repetition of his name (Schimmel 1976: 23).[79] In the medieval Sufi tradition, the "tuning of the world" – as R. Murray Schafer, twentieth-century soundscapes studies author, called it (1977) – was concerned with many layers of soundscape phenomena from mundane and readily audible sounds to occluded or inaudible hidden sounds (During 1997: 133).

As During explains, in Ghazālī's gnosis, the song of the praise of all creatures creates "the inherent vibration of all that exists…whose inarticulated expression can be understood like a kind of music" (1997: 130). Ghazālī instructed his religious followers in best listening practice saying "Broaden your vision and realize in the span of life / That all that exists is occupied with saying 'la ilaha illa llah'" (130), the *shahada* prayer meaning "there is no god but god." As the *bulbul* incites ecstatic movement and dancing among the beasts and plants of the celestial garden, Ghazālī affirms that Islamic listening to the sounds of the *dhikr* of all creation is "accompanied by a state of ecstasy, at least at the beginning of this stage" (130).

Outside of this *samāʿ* or ecstatic mystical listening to the natural world, there is an additional category of listening through which individuals, mostly holy people or saints, may "perceive precise voices in certain sounds of nature, which transmit clear information to him or her of a mystical nature and does *not* induce a state of ecstasy" (During 1997: 131, my emphasis). This form of clairvoyance and "clear-audience"[80] is an audile technique[81] accessible only to spiritual listeners at an exceptional level of gnostic ability. Messages may be heard (deciphered) as they are transmitted through certain natural or accidental sounds in two modes: (1) short spurts of intense enlightenment when the listener may seize upon the significance or essence of something[82] through momentary comprehension of the secret language of plants or objects and (2) the reception of a supernatural message "addressed through the medium of a sound, a noise or a deformed word that itself has no meaning" (131). This third layer of the sounds of the world, neither the easily perceivable sounds of the mundane nor the inaudible hidden sound world, is the immediately transduce-able sonic conveyance of essential meaning, audible and know-able only through the cultivation of particular religious ontologies of listening (133).

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[78] Also see Hanaway 1976.

[79] As it is said in the *Qur'ān*, everything was created to worship God and to praise him with its own voice (Schimmel 1976: 23).

[80] For the reader familiar with sound studies, R. Murray Schafer's ethical soundscape-listening mandates "ear-cleaning" and "clearaudition" (1967, 1977: 10-11).

[81] "Audile technique" is Jonathan Sterne's term (2003: 92-5), which has been adopted widely within Sound Studies.

In Sufism, the earliest holy person recorded to have comprehended the chorus of these non-human utterances was Yunus,[83] who heard "Allah Allah" emanating "not only from the human voice, but…also as contained in the scent of flowers, the growing of trees and the humming of bees" (Schimmel 1976: 23). In Rumi's Persian poetry, plant leaves prostrate and violets genuflect (25) while, in a stunning inter-sensorial appeal, Persian poet Fariduddin Attar (d. 1220) describes the "mute eloquence" of the chorus of flowers, who are constantly in a posture of open-palmed prayer and who praise God with their colors, scents, and shapes (25).

Mystical attunement to the sounds of the paradisiac natural world requires foregrounding soundscape and landscape[84] in a given sound ecology *and* shaping its aspects to the acoustics of a religious-cultural worlding.[85] The cultivated landscape and soundscape of the garden, in its physical and abstract forms was, and to some extent remains an important paradigm for an acculturated, affective, and learned gnostic being-in-the-world. At multisensory, experiential, phenomenological, philosophical, and spiritual levels, existing in the garden comes along with modes of seeing, listening, smelling, and knowing. Given the strong inter-relation between Tunisia and *Andalusī* Sufisms, it is reasonable to bring these gnostic concepts of soundscape to bear on the matter of the soundscapes for *ma'lūf* audition. It is worth recalling here the shared temporality of (1) the *Andalusī* musical schools established by Ziryab, (2) Sufi literature describing non-human praise of God, (3) the famous *Ḥadīth Bayad wa Riyad* illustration of musicking and listening in a palace garden, and (4) archaeological and textual evidence indicating the inclusion of specific plants and animals in *Andalusī* pleasure garden.

In the Islamic sermons of the day, believers, through a practice of religious audition were guided to a sensorially-charged imagined paradise where "the *Kaouther* flows over pearls and jewels," where "horses and camels of dazzling whiteness are strutted about and where a kind of butterfly made of red rubies, called *Rafraf*,[86] served as mount" for anyone wanting a ride (Schimmel 1976: 22). The *Qur'ān* also promises believers that when they come to reside in paradise they will "hear no idle talk" (Sura 78, verse 32) from other people, plants, or animals, and that the only language spoken there is Arabic (Schimmel 1976: 22). This fantasy of effortless and perfect communication is essential for attaining the Sufi ideal of *jama'*, (in)gathering, union, and unity (During 1997: 133). Popular sermons of the day placed a personified figure called Riḍwān – meaning "God's approval of the faithful" – at the gates[87] of the heavenly gardens. Riḍwān examined all who sought to enter and celebrated worthy arrivals with musical fanfare.

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[82] This seems akin to the Northern Scandinavian practice of *joiking*, an indigenous Sami musical practice in which the essence of a physical place, person, or living creature is captured and re-expressed in the form of a song (See Jones-Bamman 1993).

[83] Yunus is known as "Jonah" in Judaism and Christianity

[84] Schafer uses the visual metaphor of "ground" and "figure" to explore the "background" and "foreground" attention in the practice/experience of listening to soundscapes and soundscape recordings (1977: 9).

[85] In Katherine Stewart's sense of the term (2012).

[86] *Rafraf* is an onomatopoeia meaning "flap, flap." Incidentally, *Rafraf* is also the name of a small seaside town in North central Tunisia, an area considered as part of the "*Andalusī* archipelago" (Glasser's term, 2016) in Tunisia.

Besides extending musical and Islamic frameworks to birdcalls and plants, another important acoustic sound within the earthly paradise garden was produced by water coursing through channels. The "animation" of water flowing within and below[88] the garden landscape/soundscape brought a sound to the fore that had otherwise been relegated to the background of daily life. Visually and sonically, flowing water – in fountains and along orthogonal channels called *chadar* – is one of the most compelling icons of life in Islam and the extensive use of waterworks within *Andalusī* pleasure gardens, homes,[89] and poetry attest to its centrality.[90] The paths of the Alhambra gardens in Granada follow close beside the sloping waterways, bringing the visitor's movements near the moving water where she may easily hear its rushing. Yassine, one of my Tunisian interlocutors described to me the paramount expression of the pleasure and innovative brilliance of the *Andalusī* people: if one was walking in the gardens and became thirsty, one need only extend a cupped hand to drink from the cool, clear waters flowing within arm's reach (p.c. 5/7/2016).

Fountains were another form through which architects and craftsmen shaped the soundscape of the garden to their personal fantasies or to suit the whims of their noble patrons. The *Andalusī* "predilection for zoomorphic fountains" led to the development of fountain statuary that moved, spoke, whistled, and sang. Beyond the more mundane stone and bronze animals-shaped water spouts, at the palace city of Medinat al-Zahara elaborate automatons were manufactured including a black amber lion who wore a necklace of pearls and spat water and, yet more remarkable, a set of bronze tortoises who croaked from the bottom of a water basin, likely producing a hissing sound when water was forced through inner chambers (Ruggles 2008: 80). Perhaps the most famous examples of animal statuary, though not mechanically impressive, are the twelve stone lions that support a water basin at the Alhambra.

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[87] Rumi is said to have identified music, in general, as "the creaking of the doors of paradise" and, when "a dry-minded person replied that he did not like the scratching of doors," Rumi is cited as replying with the retort "I hear the doors opening, but you hear them being closed" (i.e. he is not allowed to enter, Schimmel 1976:17).

[88] There are more than thirty references in the *Qur'ān* to "gardens underneath which rivers flow" (Schimmel 1976:15).

[89] Ruth Davis (p.c. 7/2/2019) recounts that when d'Erlanger and his family still occupied Ennejma Ezzahra, water ran through canals from the fountain in the courtyard (then uncovered) through the main entrance hall. The moving water was said, at that time, to keep the air in the house cool. The channels have since been covered up and are now dry.

[90] The four intersecting *chadar* are said to call to mind a microcosm of the layout of irrigated agricultural lands as well as symbolizing the four rivers of paradise (Ruggles 2008:131). Ruggles posits that the geometrical scheme of "cross-axial gardens" "became a powerful metaphor for the organization and domestication of the landscape, itself a symbol of political territory" (39). Sura 47, verse 16: "This is the similitude of paradise which the godfearing have been promised: therein are rivers of water unstalling, rivers of milk unchanging in flavour, and rivers of wine – a delight to the drinkers, rivers, too, of honey purified. And therein for them is every fruit and forgiveness from their Lord" (referenced in Schimmel 1976:15). Building from the same core "set of forms," (Ruggles 2008:131) a "cooling spray and pleasing sound" was created by water flowing across the scalloped surface of the *chini khana*, a channel with tiered niches at the Mogul Sukh Niwas pavilion of the Amber court (133).

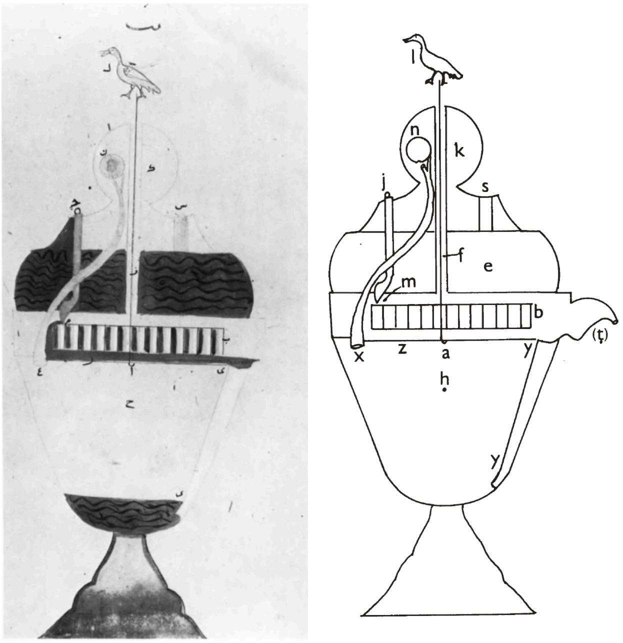

Figure 10 A mechanical drawing of an automated wine pouring vessel with a whistling duck from al-Jazari's *The Book of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*.[91]

While few fragments of the more complex automata have survived, plans and sketches of the time such as those in al-Jazari's *The Book of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*[92] (written in 1204 or 1206) and in the *Treatise of Pseudo-Archimedes* by the Banu Musa bin Shakir brothers,[93] reveal the complex mechanics of artificial birds that could whistle, sing, twitter, and screech as well as ducks that moved to 'drink' water from basins (Ruggles 2008: 82). In the book of the Musa brothers we also find a detailed sketch and textual instructions for the construction of a bull who "when offered a vessel (*ijjana*) containing water, drinks it and his voice and clamour are heard, so that anyone looking at him thinks that he was thirsty" (Hill 1979: 52). Through masterful use of simple machines that exploited the physics and acoustics of water and air displacement, medieval craftsmen engineered their chorus of beasts, at once a representation of paradise, an imitation of nature, and a cultivation of an emerging acoustic and multi-sensory ecology that musicalized natural soundscapes and set the sonic scene for additional musical overlay.

Just as the clearaudition of the speech of plants required certain skill and privilege, the paradise garden soundscapes of *al-Andalus* were only accessible to a select few. To physically manufacture, curate, and fine-tune such an environment required extraordinary wealth and power. The gardens of *al-Andalus* were living signifiers of political and cultural status and a manifestation of great economic capital. Expert architects, craftsmen and construction materials were imported from as far as Constantinople, Carthage, and the kingdom of the Franks (Ruggles 1993: 171). At the Ummayad palace of Medinat al-Zahara near Córdoba, only aristocracy, select guests, and their slaves were allowed within the garden cities' walls and still, entire areas of the palace were off limits to visitors (171). Keeping gardens in continuous bloom was also a challenge. As Ruggles asserts, "a permanent garden…embodied the concept of mastery and control over the most frightening experience, death" (87-8). In Chapter 7, I consider twentieth and twenty-first century Tunisian associations of greenness and gardens with *ma'lūf* and wealth, especially in terms of musical and economic corruption.

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[91] The directions read: "The steward brings this goblet in his hand and stands until he is permitted to put it down, in the middle of the assembly. He puts it down and stands aside. The bird rotates and whistles for a little while and then comes to a halt opposite one of the party. The steward takes the goblet and hands it to the one opposite whom the bird stopped, for him to drink. If he finishes all the wine it contains the steward takes it from his hand and departs. If he drinks some and leaves some the bird whistles so that everyone in the party can hear it, and the steward does not take it from him but tells him to drink what is left in it. So he drinks it. And even if he drinks repeatedly but still leaves some wine in it, the bird will whistle" (Hill 1979: 98)

[92] See Hill 1979.

[93] Also addressed in Hill 1979. The family name, "Musa" (also spelled "Moussa" by my Tunisian-Andalusian interlocutor with the same name) is clearly identified with Arab *al-Andalus* because, along with Tariq Ibn Ziyad, General Musa Bin Nusayir led the 711 AD siege of Iberia, first attacking the Southern coastline from the Strait of Gibraltar. Also, a famous master builder called "Musa" built a tower in the *Andalusī* town of Ghar al-Meleh (Mater 2009: 223).

Musicking and Listening in Green Places

Intermingling and joining with the natural soundscape of the paradisiac garden, the melodies and rhythms of *ma'lūf* are said, by contemporary Tunisians, to be well suited for performance and audition in lush gardens. Some suggestion for continuity, at least in regard to this association, may be found in the thirteenth-century love story, *Ḥadīth Bayad wa Riyad* (see Figure 11 below), thought to be the only surviving illustrated manuscript from the period. The anonymous book contains the most commonly reproduced depiction of musicking from medieval *al-Andalus*, an illustration, however fantastic, of courtly musical audition taking place under the trees on the grass carpet of a palace pleasure garden.

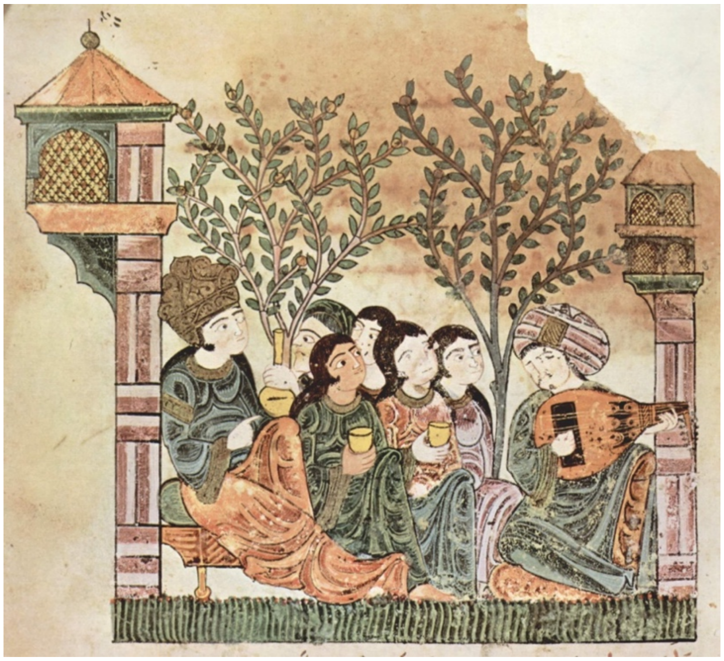

Figure 11 A performance and audition in a courtly pleasure garden as depicted in *Ḥadīth Bayad wa-Riyad*

Though concerts are rarely held in Tunisian gardens, orchards, or green open spaces today, there is living memory of such occurrences. Aziz, primary school music teacher and advocate for the arts remarked to me that in Testour, one of the Tunisian centers for *ma'lūf*, private concerts used to be held in the orchards of the well-to-do residents (p.c. 8/25/2016). Khalil, native of Testour and descendant of *Andalusī* refugees and a long line of *ma'lūf* lovers, recalls that during the first years[94] of the International Festival of Ma'lūf in Testour the concerts were held in the orchard belonging to a wealthy resident just outside of town, rather than in the outdoor event space of a hotel, as they typically are today. In a short article published in 1917, Baron D'Erlanger describes the meeting and of instrumentalists and singers in Tunisian private gardens, where listeners sit in the gazebo, "perfumed by the fragrance of flowers" (93). Similar garden performances appear to have a history in Algerian *Andalusī* performance and listening. In his detailed study of Algerian *Andalusī* music history, Jonathan Glasser (2016) interprets a photograph taken around 1900 of well-known Algerian musicians and their following of *mélomanes* (aficionados), all from distinguished families, who are posed in one of their personal private gardens. Given their apparent comfort in the place and that the property belonged to one of the men pictured, he postulates that they likely musicked and listened in the orchard habitually (2016: 118).

Historically, *ma'lūf* may also have been used in Tunisia to celebrate fruitful harvests and was performed outdoors in particular locations that predictably green up in the wet spring. I heard this, for instance, during the second meeting of the *nādī*, the amateur singing club of the Rashidiyya school, during our brief mid-session break. Besides checking cell phones for messages and visiting the restroom, the few minutes break offered a chance for discussion between singers and an opportunity to ask clarifying questions or request more historical background from the master instructor. For me and my interlocutor, Hiba, the break provided time for her to help me translate and understand the poetry of the song texts. On this particular day, we'd just finished learning a section of a *barwal* in *nūba ḥassein* (in *ḥassein sabāḥ*) when the director of the school sauntered in to make conversation. One participant asked him the meaning of a particularly archaic word in the *muwashashat* – *yanatheni*, meaning "to move like a branch in the wind" or to move "like the graceful twisting of (a woman's) wrist when dancing" – which led into an unsolicited description of historical performance.

According to the director – supported by others who nodded in recognition as he explained – the song we'd just learned was once used as part of a *kharaja* (plural, *kharajāt*, Sufi procession or parade) reserved for a festival celebrating the arrival of spring. At that time (a vague unspecified past), he explained, people would process to Bab Sa'doun, facing away from the city,[95] and sing the song we had just learned facing the vast expanse of undeveloped natural green space. He clarified that during those days the *ville nouvelle* had not yet been built, placing the reference point for "tradition" well before the start of the French protectorate in 1881. While I did not encounter any other references to this specific tradition, *ma'lūf* does have a history of usage, albeit lesser-known, in *kharajāt* for weddings and ritual contexts.[96]

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[94] The "Festival International du Malouf à Testour" began in 1966; I was pleased to attend its celebrated fiftieth anniversary installment in 2016.

[95] Appropriately, Bab Sa'adoun – now just a free-standing arch that was once part of the wall that surrounded the entire old city – faces Northwest, toward the richest agricultural areas of the country and the areas considered to have the greatest influence of *Andalusī* culture and music. See images in Appendix 1B.

[96] For more on *ma'lūf al-judd*, the sacred form of *ma'lūf*, see Chapters 3 and 4.

Ma'lūf as a Living Organism

Tunisians not only conceive of *ma'lūf* as like a garden that one cultivates and comprehends, but also as a type of living organism. Just as individual species of plants are adapted to life in specific habitats – appropriate climates, topography, and geography – *ma'lūf* is thought to grow and thrive best in certain environments. Allusions to *Andalusī* music as a tree abound in *Maghribī* and historic *Andalusī* sources; relationships between the *ṭabū'a*, the Tunisian musical modes, are often depicted in the form of a tree.[97] As Algerian author, Sid Ahmed Bouali, describes, the *shajarat al-ṭabū'a* is "the symbolic tree of Ziryab[98]," which "starting from its roots, from this land where our dead sleep, reaches upward, with a tranquil assurance, to become a soaring, teeming greenness, finally flowers and fruits, heavy with flavors and scents, and shadows fitting for sleep" (in Glasser 2016: 224, 274). Contemporary musicians continue to conceive of the modes as existing on a metaphorical 'tree' and I was given an assignment, as part of my homework for my singing and listening lessons with Sonia, to draw my own tree representing the relations between the Tunisian *ṭabū'a.*

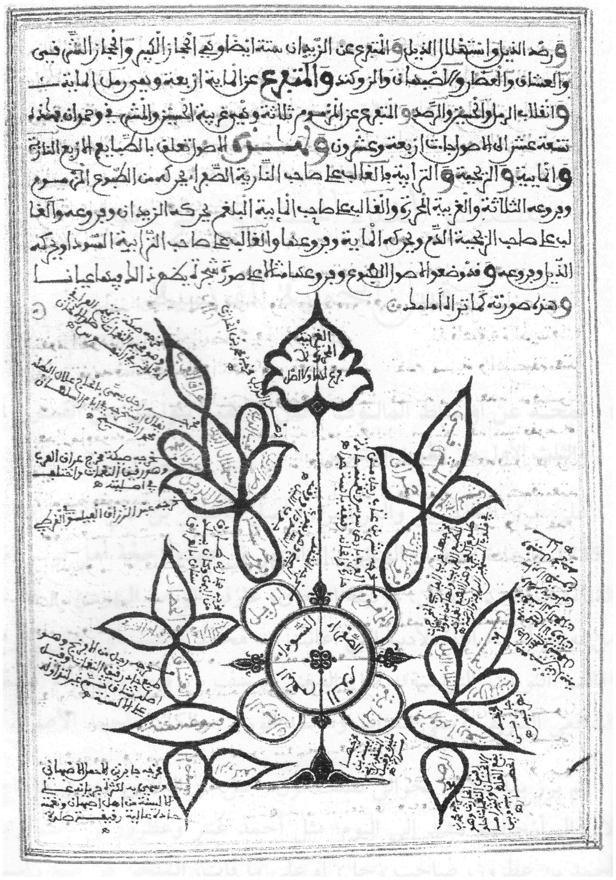

Figure 12 *Shajarat al-ṭabū'a* in Mukhtār 2014: 31

Extending the metaphor, *ma'lūf*, like any living thing, requires certain essentials. These include: (1) water: consider the presence of *ma'lūf* proximal to the Medjerda river and Mediterranean sea, (2) a nutrient-rich substrate: recall that fertile Tunisian soil, especially in the Northwest, stocked the

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[97] See Figure 13 below and Appendix 1c for several examples drawn from sixteenth through nineteenth century songbooks and treatises.

[98] For more on Ziryab, see page 9.

'bread basket of Rome,' and (3) a safe, protected environment: consider the "safe harbors"[99] of Carthage and Tunis. Though Darwinian evolution is a hotly contested subject among secular- and religious-leaning Tunisians,[100] Hiba, my *ḥijābī* interlocutor from the singing club, explained on several occasions that *ma'lūf,* as a cultural practice lives, grows, and changes with the people and must adapt to suit the needs and customs of the day. As she explained, if we consider *ma'lūf* to be like a living organism, we should also ask whether it also evolves and adapts to different places and circumstances over time.

Mounir, who proclaims distaste for *ma'lūf* music, pointed to something similar in his suggestion that perhaps *ma'lūf* would be more interesting, important, or "lively" to a wider audience today if it *had* adapted and changed to stay relevant to the times. In this sense, it is an endangered species today.[101] *Qānūn* player and *ma'lūf* composer, Hamdi, characterizes Hiba's "evolution" or Mounir's "adaptation" as the "development" that occurs when Tunisians live with and keep the *ma'lūf* close by as an aspect of their environmental *milieu.* As I argue throughout this dissertation, frameworks like these, that emphasize musical fixity are often associated with positions on notions of purity, authenticity, preservation, and progress. While narratives of musical *decadence* (French, "decline") follow from tropes of 'Arab decline' and focus on stagnation as a negative phenomenon, others engrossed in the 'scientific' project of "restoring Moorish music" tend to fetishize the music's "undeveloped" nature as a marker of fidelity, "faithfulness" to the true and authentic original form, thus stressing continuity (see Glasser 2016: 119).

Whether conceived of as growing wild or as a cultivar, *ma'lūf* and its habitats (landscapes and soundscapes) are understood to require custodial conservation and stewardship guided by wise historically- and culturally-informed patronage. Otherwise, they are considered to be threatened by risk of death and extinction. In this paradigm – which falls in line with tropes of 'the vanishing other'[102] and the preservationist directives of colonizers[103] who fear the effect of their own shadow cast upon the colonized[104] – anxiety over the loss of tradition as part of daily life. In an extended conversation, technical college student Dhia stated with conviction that the *ma'lūf* and the *medina* (the old city) in Tunis were the only traditional aspects of life remaining in twenty-first-century Tunisia. The connection between the two heritage objects was clear; the "old way of life" and the music that accompanied it had been preserved because of its embeddedness in the isolated physical-cultural environment of the medina. In the Tunisian discourse surrounding the heritage status of *ma'lūf*, cultivation and conversation – in terms of soundscapes, landscapes, and the practices they afford – are two sides of the same coin.

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[99] See Chapter 2.

[100] Hiba makes time for both long nights in residency at the hospital and for *tarawīḥ* (evening prayer) during *Ramaḍān.*

[101] The so-called "usefulness" of the *ma'lūf* plant, animal, or garden is another matter, which I examine more closely in Chapter 7: Listening Through and Against *Ma'lūf.*

[102] Clifford's critique of "the ethnography of salvage" is well known. In "the ethnography of salvage," we find the "persistent and repetitious 'disappearance' of social forms at the moment of ethnography's claim, as exemplified by the monograph, that it is preserving the record of the 'vanishing primitive'" (1981: 112-113).

[103] I lean here on Albert Memmi's 1957 characterization of the "colonizer" and the "colonized" in his classic analysis of the Tunisian struggle for independence.

[104] It is important here to review some major differences in the governance of art and culture in French colonial North Africa. In French Algeria, a policy of *assimilation* was employed while, having learned a sort of lesson from failures in Algeria, a policy of *association* was employed in the protectorates of Tunisia and Morocco. See Raymond F. Betts (1960) *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory* and Paul Rabinow (1989) "French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment" for more information on these topics.

The Garden in Sung Verse

Interwoven with the *concepts* of *ma'lūf* as a plant, garden, or green landscape and the *contexts* for its audition taking place within green environments is the thematic *content* of the sung poetry used in the genre. These poems, intoned to melodies that are said to affect and improve their reception, are the primary means of transport for listeners – performers and audiences – to *al-Andalus* and that imagined pagoda within the garden, as Snoussi described, where the heavenly scents and rich colors circulate and waft toward the listener (Laade 1962: 3). An examination of nearly any *muwashshaḥ* or other Tunisian poetry to be sung, reveals an abundance of references to the multisensory pleasures of the paradisiac gardens — fruit trees, flowers, and streams (see Appendix 1D for two examples).

Much of this poetry, derived from medieval texts, lacks narrative; often, it reads more like a collage of fragments, themselves saturated thematically with sentiments of loss, spurned love, and nostalgia. The florid and richly evocative *ma'lūf* verse and parallel Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew poetry of the same period and provenance[105] provide vivid snapshots that, like the memories of an aging lover, seem to come in and out of focus, crystal clear in the detailed description of the smells of different flowers and blurring in the use of (now) obscure or arcane words (Lowin 2014). It is not uncommon for flower and animal imagery to stand, allegorically, for relations between human characters, most often a lover and his or her unrequited or distant love. Davis reports that some of these metaphors, especially those concerning wine and intoxication, speak figuratively of Muslims' relations to God (2004: 3). Though I did not hear this specific explanation among my own interlocutors, *ma'lūf* poetry is certainly threaded-through with dense layers of abstraction and metaphor, which are meant to be contemplated, discussed, and analyzed. Indeed, one of the competences of skilled listening and a prerequisite for sincere performance is the contemplation of the ways that relationships, problems, and characters described in the texts may apply more broadly to life outside of the Edenic garden and to one's own life in particular.

Origins and Movements of *Ma'lūf*

Glasser, whose work has focused on *Andalusī* music revival in Algeria and Morocco, describes the mapping of what he terms the "spatial poetics of *Andalusī* music" (2016: 31): the production and reproduction of a "network of sites that for *Andalusī* music practitioners are linked by people, history, narrative, genealogy, movement, musical form, and affect" (31). He describes this network, much like the spider's web analogy I laid out at the start of this chapter, as a "palimpsest framework," that is, as a richly layered and dynamic phenomenon, "re-inscribed" through the daily work of musical practice, in which the residues of prior associations and linkages are retained (31). His analogy of the palimpsest[106] useful in my own work for reckoning the differences between the three "charter myth" variations for Tunisian *ma'lūf* development outlined earlier in this chapter. A palimpsestic framework is especially apt here given its capacity to represent 'both and.' That is, it allows Tunisian *ma'lūf* to stand as both Andalusian *and* Tunisian, at once the salvage of Moorish wreckage on the shores of Tunis and as indigenous *patrimoine*, as domestic and domestic-ated. In this light, we may view *ma'lūf* as profoundly emplaced and localized while still closely akin to its historic *Andalusī* patronage and contemporary *Maghribī* siblings. In this case of coherence, something called "*Andalusī*" may be liberally distributed across time, space, and distinctiveness, especially in terms of localized forms. Today, *Andalusī* is interchangeably and ambiguously used to refer to a broad pan-*Maghribī*[107] genre category, its local instantiations, and the historical-memorialized-imaginary music of medieval Islamic Iberia.

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[105] For more on the Tunisian *piyyutim*, see Chapter 4: From a History of Performance Venues to an "Audible Past."

[106] The textual underpinnings of the palimpsest seem all the more appropriate here given the cartographers' roles in the identification, inscription, and reification of spatial or emplaced geographies.

This doubling between *Andalusī* and *Maghribī* places – a tripling if extended also to Paradisiac heaven – does significant socio-political work in grounding the "*Maghribī-Andalusī* musico-geographic palimpsest" (Glasser 2016: 48). Here, the identification of the *Andalusī* people as exiles "provides a way to neutralize the sense of localized traditions while asserting that they came from the same venerable source — that we really are talking about an archipelago rather than an assemblage of islands" (47). The musico-geographic "*Andalusī* archipelago" points to historic Islamic *al-Andalus* as central and North African containers (for what remains of *ma'lūf*)[108] as its peripheral trailing[109] remainder, as a powerfully spatializing echo, and a richly chronotopic[110] visual-temporal metaphor.

There are more mapping legends rehearsed across the *Maghrib* and, in my experience, often relayed by Tunisians along with the basic charter myths I outlined earlier in this chapter. These myths, referred to as "the standard narrative" by Carl Davila (2013: 50), suggest that the localized groups of *Andalusī* people who were expelled from Moorish Iberia remained with their communities during and after the re-location, settling in existing places or founding new towns in North Africa together. This aspect of the legend foregrounds the inter-lacing of place with genealogy and, as I will argue later, with acoustemologies and histories of listening practice. Locale is crucial in claiming cultural continuity and drawing close linkages between *al-Andalus* in Iberia and the *Maghrib*. In order to synthesize and compare the accounts and timelines cited in recent ethnomusicological authorship on Arab-Andalusian musics in the *Maghrib* – Carl Davila on Morocco (2013), Jonathan Glasser on Algeria and Moroccan border lands (2016), Ruth Davis on Tunisia (2004), Philip Ciantar on Libya (2004), and Jonathan Shannon on Morocco, Spain, and Syria (2015) – I have created several maps to illustrate the key population movements, which may be found in the Appendix 1E.

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[107] In his recent book, *Performing al-Andalus*, Jonathan Shannon's (2015) work also brings to light *Andalusī* repertoire as known and practiced in Syria, extending Glasser's map of the "*Andalusī* archipelago," or the "*Andalusī* project" as he's more inclined to refer to it, across the Mediterranean.

[108] Here, we recall the predominant story of loss within the repertoire and practice of Arab-Andalusian musics, so well described by Jonathan Glasser (2016). Another form of "container" for *Andalusī* music are notebooks of song collections called *kunnasāt* (singular *kunnesa*, meaning "notebook") in Algeria and Morocco and *safa'in* (singular *safina* meaning vessel) in Tunisia and Libya (Davis 2004: 3).

[109] Tunisian are all too aware of the *Mashriqi* or (Middle) Eastern notion of North Africa as the "tail" of the Arab world, which centers the "head" in the Eastern Levant.

[110] The concept of the "chronotope," literally meaning "space time," comes from M. Bakhtin (1981).

The *Maghribī* Schools of *Andalusī* Music

Specific historical connections between cities of departure in *al-Andalus* and cities of arrival in the *Maghrib* are used to explain, in a sort of back-formation, contemporary[111] differences between the schools of *Andalusī* music in North Africa. Algerian musicologist, Hadri Bougherara (2002) described their similarities and differences as follows:

> What has really been the influence of this [Andalusī] musical knowledge in the regions of Northern Africa where the Andalusian expatriates found refuge? Following their forced emigration, the Andalusian refugees succeeded in making it to Tetouan, Fes, Tlemcen, Bedjaia, Constantine, Tunis, Kairaouan, Tripoli, and Derna, centers of art and culture. In music, for example, thanks to the miracle of the radio waves, when one listens today to a *nūba* interpreted in Tlemcen and compares it with the same heard in Fes or Tunis, one remains puzzled by the difference of tone and rhythm. Here, it leaves an impression of a delicious, very particular character, and there, the attributes of the other has a [different] distinct imprint, however agreeable [they each are] to hear.
>
> It is probably this difference that tells connoisseurs that Tlemcen has continued the musical heritage of the school of Córdoba and that Fes has collected that of the school of Granada. As for Tunis and Tripoli, they benefited from the Seville school.[112]
>
> — Bougherara (2002: 75-6) my translation from French to English

From my personal observations, the North African schools differ in their specific repertoire (the songs within each *nūba*); in the poetic texts used; the subtle specificities of modes, rhythms, and melody shapes; types of ornamentation and forms of stock filler (*layālī, zīna, yā-lā-lān, lāzima*), and in style and performance practice. To date, there are no known exhaustive attempts[113] to compare Libyan, Tunisian, Algerian, and Moroccan *Andalusī* musical forms (Davila: 57) though many of my Tunisian interlocutors (especially Hamdi and Khalil) would be very interested to learn from such a study

The map reproduced below loosely labels the genres of North African music claimed to have developed from particular *Andalusī* connections. As Glasser adds in his caption for the map, the areas marked as the 'ranges' for each genre and genre term radiate outward with fuzzy boundaries at their neighboring borders areas of contact (2016: 34). Most notable to practitioners and enthusiasts are the cities considered as "centers of gravity," as Glasser puts it (34), the "home" or "birth place" of the music, as so many of my ethnographic interlogutors described. Philip Ciantar's research on neighboring Libyan *ma'lūf* extends the range of that particular regional term farther across nation-state borders and identifies Tripoli as another significant musical center (2004: 36). Today, the following genre and term ranges are accepted: *al-āla* ("instrumental") in Morocco, *gharnāṭi* ("Granadan") or *ṣan'a* ("work of art") in Algeria, and *ma'lūf* ("the common or customary thing") in Tunisia, Libya, and north eastern Algeria (Davis 2004: 2).

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[111] Or perhaps the best moment to point to – as *qānūn* player and composer, Hamdi did – is the late Ottoman period in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[112] Wolfgang Laade states simply that it was these migration patterns than brought each local style to each of its new homes in particular North African towns: "thus we find the musical style of Seville in Tunis, that of Córdoba in Algeria, that of Valencia in Fez, and that of Granada in Tetuan" (1962: 2).

[113] Guettat (2000) has made a significant effort in this direction.

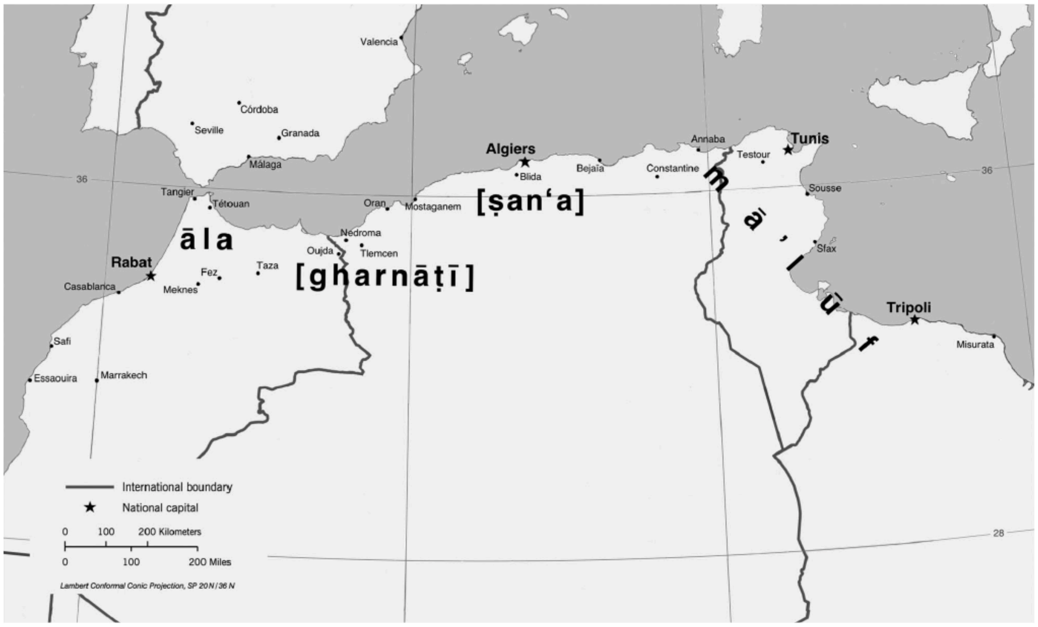
Valencia
Córdoba
Seville
Granada
Málaga
Algiers
Blida
Bejaïa
Annaba
Constantine
Testour
Tunis
Sousse
Sfax
Tripoli
Misurata
Tangier
Tétouan
Oran
Mostaganem
[ṣan'a]
ma'lūf
āla
Rabat
Casablanca
Meknes
Fez
Taza
Nédroma
Oujda
Tlemcen
[gharnāṭī]
Safi
Essaouira
Marrakech
36
28
International boundary
National capital
0 100 200 Kilometers
0 100 200 Miles
Lambert Conformal Conic Projection, SP 20N/36N

Figure 13 Map of *Maghribī* schools of *Andalusī* music (Moran in Glasser 2016: 34)

Some argue, however, that there is insufficient evidence to prove that (1) the differences between the North African schools are a direct result of specific historical migrations from *Andalusī* cities or (2) that present-day variation across the *Maghrib* is the direct result of pre-existing differentiated schools of musical practice and repertoire in Iberian Spain and Portugal. Beyond popular mythology and a few scattered historical documents, it is hard enough, as Carl Davila[114] argues, to find compelling evidence that *ma'lūf* and its North African kindred musics, are even all derived from *Andalusī* forms, let alone that they originate from specific lineages within historical *al-Andalus* (2013: 57). Considering the lengthly time frame of migration, as long as 600 or more years, it seems far more likely that temporalities of departure and arrival are responsible for the difference we see today more than the geographic origin of musical emigrants within *al-Andalus*.[115] Certainly, it is probable that the musical practice of twelfth-century arrivals in Tunis and the flood of arrivals around 1610 differed more than practices in neighboring cities in tenth-century Moorish Iberia. Another important historical point to consider is the extensive multi-directional circulation between *al-Andalus* and the *Maghrib* during the many centuries that Muslims ruled both areas.

Still, in the territory of the *Maghribī-Andalusī* musico-geographic archipelago, stretching across Iberia and the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean, the concept of shared common origins has compelling rhetorical value, as Jonathan Shannon claims (2015). In his multi-site ethnographic study of the rhetorical meaning of *Andalusī* musical nostalgia in the lives of contemporary Moroccans, Syrians, and Spaniards, Shannon returns to a shared sentiment he encountered in each of his research locales—regardless of differences, performers and enthusiasts of *Andalusī* music are all "sons of Ziryab" (2015: 143), that towering figure and "magician of the *oud*" (Bougherara 2002: 56).

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[114] As well as other specialists on Moroccan *Andalusī* music cited in Davila: Garcia Barriuso (2013 :84-85) and Chottin (see 1939: 92).

[115] That is, along with changes upon arriving in North Africa.

Tunisian *Andalusī* Towns

As part of my ethnographic research, I took careful notice of the areas and towns that Tunisians identified explicitly and repeatedly as "*Andalusī*" in terms of their character, history, and current habitation. These are the towns founded by or which otherwise came to be occupied by a large number of *Andalusī* people and their descendants. As J. D. Latham (1972), Beebe Bahrami (1995), Jonathan Shannon (2015: 90) and others have noted, towns characterized as "*Andalusī*" are scattered across the *Maghribī* coastline and the communities that reside there maintain strong cultural connections with their Iberian history, especially in terms of their music, cuisine, dress, architecture, and language. To some degree, these towns and their residents, distinguish their places and ways of life as separate from the surrounding cities, rural areas, or identity categories associated with the nation-state.

While Tunisian charter myths tend to center around specific musico-geographic origins in Seville (Ishbiliyya), suggesting immigration predominantly from that city, Testour, the most famous Tunisian "*Andalusī* town," was established by an *Andalusī* community transplanted not from Sevilla, but from Toledo. Individual families living in Tunisian *Andalusī* towns also trace their family origins to cities and regions outside of Seville; for example, I met a Sulamiyya[116] *ma'lūf* musician living and working in Zaghouan, who told me he[117] was from Chtiba (now Xabia), a small coasted town south of Valencia in Eastern Andalusīa. Besides these references to specific places, more general references to *al-Andalus* or *Hispania* are more common, especially when describing Tunisian music, places, food, periods of history, movement, architecture, or crafts like decorative tile or stucco patterns.

In both passing conversation and in-depth interviews, particular Tunisian *Andalusī* places came up again and again. First and foremost were the town of Testour and the Tunis *medina* (old city), with special emphasis on the northern neighborhood of Halfouine. At the next level of importance, in terms of *Andalusī* music and cultural heritage, are Zaghouan, located 57 kilometers (35 miles) due South of Tunis, and the northern port city of Bizerte (70 kilometers, 43 miles). Finally, placed at a lower tier yet, were many small towns northeast of Testour further down the course of the Medjerda river as well as several small port towns along the northeast coast between Tunis and Bizerte.[118]

For my interlocutors, many categories of musical-cultural objects and practices, at many scales of specificity, call to mind *Andalusī* places. Though broader categories – *Andalusī* food, architecture, music – did come up occasionally during conversation, *Andalusī* things were more often expressed in sets or lists,[119] substantiating claims for the cultural and social embedded-ness of *ma'lūf* within the Andalusian-Tunisian "way of life" and that that "way of life" is still known. Statements about the direct likeness of Tunisian-*Andalusī* came up often, especially while walking or driving through those areas or looking down on them from a promontory or across a valley.

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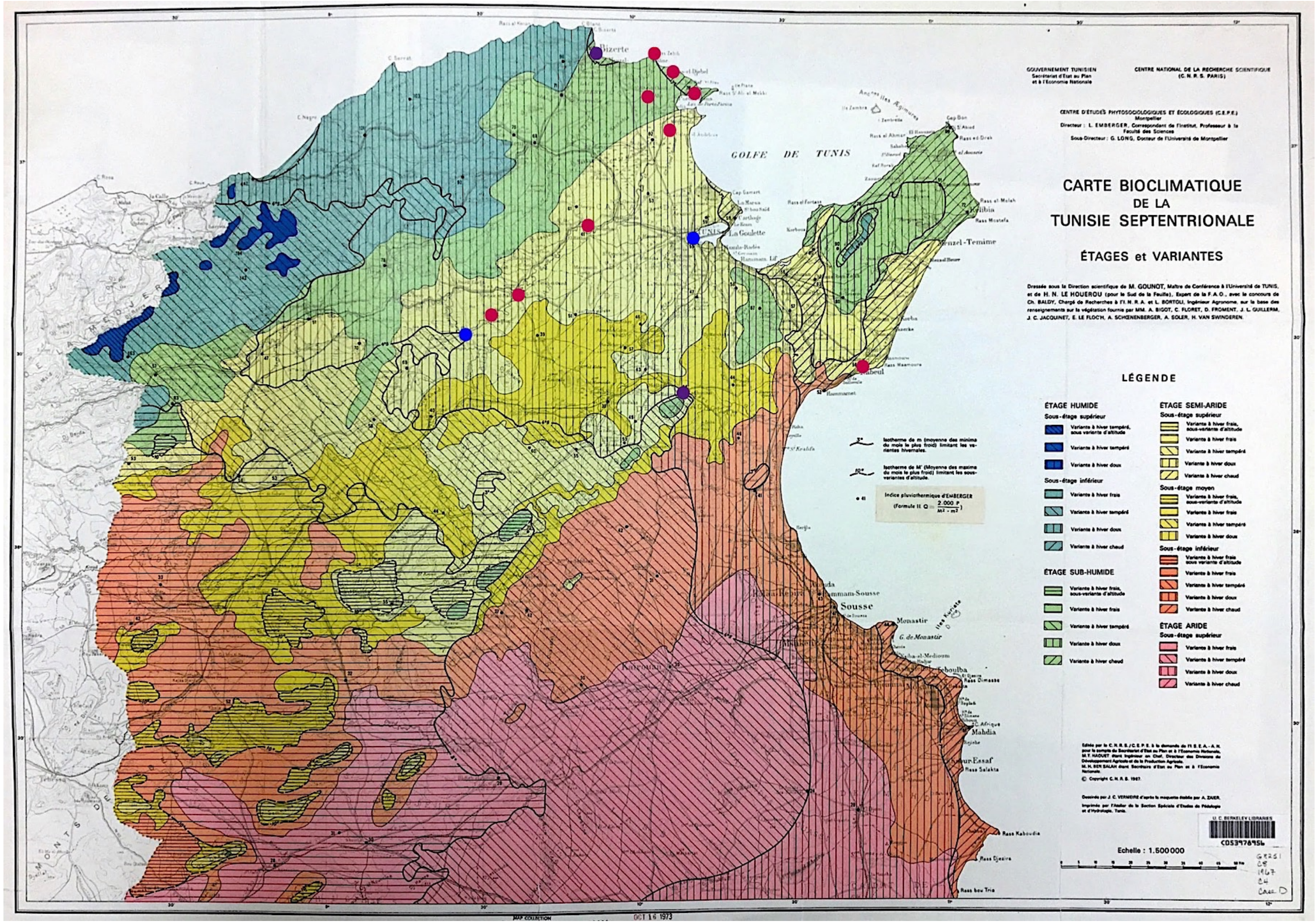
[116] The Sulamiyya are a specific Sufi order with a particular set of *nūba* and *ḥaḍra* repertoire and performance practice.

[117] He did not say "his ancestors," which I presume he meant, but identified *himself*, his musical practice, and the *ka'k waraqa* pastries he was selling, as from Chtiba, Spain.

[118] East to west, the port towns along the northern coast are: Sidi Bou Said, Ghar al-Melah (also called "Porta Farina"), Rafraf, Ras al-Jabel, Cap Zebib, and Bizerte. Slightly inland, we also find Qalaat al-Andalus and al-Alia.[118] Along the Medjerda, running north to south, Tebourba, Medjez al-Bab, and Sloughia were also noted. In addition, I received a few mentions of Nebeul and neighboring towns on the far northeastern Cap Bon peninsula (See Figures 14 and 15 below). Myriam, one of my interlocutors, told me that *all* of the towns between Tunis and Bizerte are *Andalusī*.

[119] For example, lists of fruits that originated in *al-Andalus*, lists of crafts, textiles, pastries, architectural techniques, etc. Some of these other items are treated more fully in Chapter 5.


GOUVERNEMENT TUNISIEN
Secrétariat d'Etat au Plan et à l'Economie Nationale
CENTRE NATIONAL DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE (C. N. R. S. PARIS)
CENTRE D'ÉTUDES PHYTOSOCIOLOGIQUES ET ÉCOLOGIQUES (C.E.P.E.) Montpellier
Directeur : L. EMBERGER, Correspondant de l'Institut, Professeur à la Faculté des Sciences
Sous-Directeur : G. LONG, Docteur de l'Université de Montpellier
CARTE BIOCLIMATIQUE DE LA TUNISIE SEPTENTRIONALE
ÉTAGES et VARIANTES
LÉGENDE
ÉTAGE HUMIDE
Sous-étage supérieur
Variante à hiver tempéré, sous variante d'altitude
Variante à hiver tempéré
Variante à hiver doux
Sous-étage inférieur
Variante à hiver frais
Variante à hiver tempéré
Variante à hiver doux
Variante à hiver chaud
ÉTAGE SUB-HUMIDE
Variante à hiver frais, sous-variante d'altitude
Variante à hiver frais
Variante à hiver tempéré
Variante à hiver doux
Variante à hiver chaud
ÉTAGE SEMI-ARIDE
Sous-étage supérieur
Variante à hiver frais, sous-variante d'altitude
Variante à hiver frais
Variante à hiver tempéré
Variante à hiver doux
Variante à hiver chaud
Sous-étage moyen
Variante à hiver frais, sous-variante d'altitude
Variante à hiver frais
Variante à hiver tempéré
Variante à hiver doux
Sous-étage inférieur
Variante à hiver frais sous variante d'altitude
Variante à hiver frais
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Variante à hiver doux
Variante à hiver chaud
ÉTAGE ARIDE
Sous-étage supérieur
Variante à hiver frais
Variante à hiver tempéré
Variante à hiver doux
Variante à hiver chaud
Echelle : 1.500000
GOLFE DE TUNIS
Bizerte
La Goulette
Sousse
Monastir
Mahdia

Figure 14 *Andalusī* towns of the Northern half of modern-day Tunisia as identified by my interlocutors. Note, I have chosen a climatic map to also demonstrate that *Andalusī* towns are, in fact, found in the "greener" parts of the country. Map drawn from: M. T. Haouet, étant Ingénieur en Chef, Directeur des Divisions du Développement Acricole et de la Production Agricole and M. T. Ben Salah étant Secrétaire d'Etat au Plan et à l'Economie Nationale, 1967. Modified by the author with the addition of colored town markers.

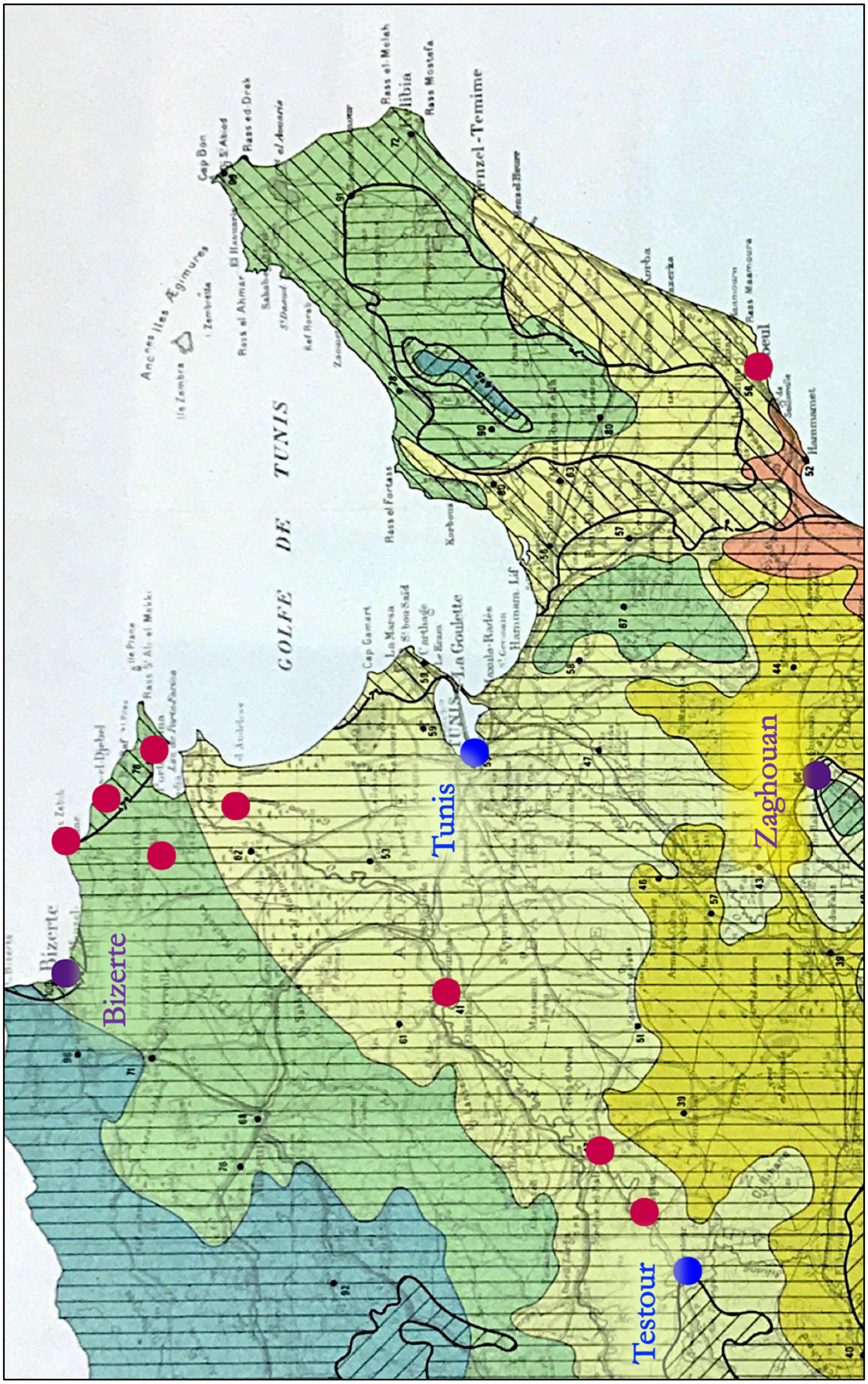
Bizerte
Tunis
Zaghouan
Testour
GOLFE DE TUNIS
Cap Bon
Cap Gamart
La Marsa
Carthage
La Goulette
Hammam Lif
Rass el Fortass
Korbous
Menzel-Temime
Kelibia
Hammamet
Iles Zembra
Anciennes Iles Ægimures

Figure 15 A more detailed map of the Tunisian *Andalusī* towns as identified by my interlocutors.

Once, when taking a taxi ride from Tunis to Carthage, Sofien, the astute driver, explained, intent on convincing me, that the seaside towns of Sidi Bou Said and Carthage were "just like Córdoba" (p.c. 9/17/2016). Proffered as evidence for the soundness of his comparison, Sofien told me that he had in fact visited Southern Spain as a tourist many years before and had seen Córdoba with his own eyes. It was no surprise to hear this said of Sidi Bou Said which, unlike the Roman-Phoenician port city of Carthage, is very widely known among Tunisians, locals and visitors alike, as an *Andalusī* place. The taxi driver who had drawn the comparison with Córdoba said that Sidi Bou Said and Córdoba were *kīf kīf* ("the same") because, as he explained, both cities are just on the edge of cliffs and, therefore, are up high looking down. Driving together toward the ruins and the sea, he gestured toward Bursa hill, the famed site where Queen Dido 'cut' a raw deal with the indigenous inhabitants and thereby founded Phoenician Carthage.[120] He pointed to the pale tan *Cathédrale Saint-Louis de Carthage* perched atop the hill's verdant crest, saying, "this is the [Arab] palace[121] of Córdoba."

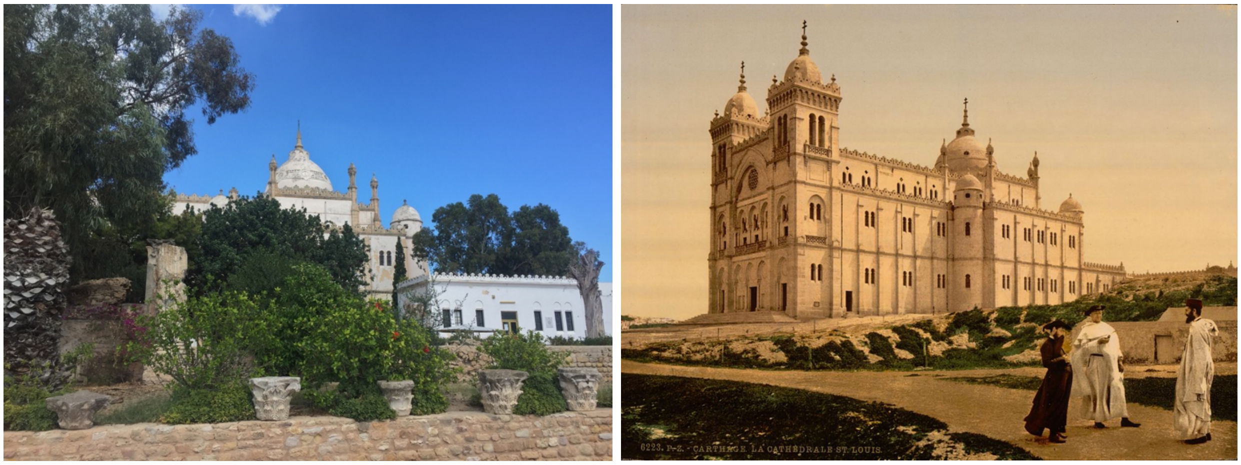

Figure 16 (left) Looking up Byrsa hill to the St. Louis Cathedral, author's photograph, 2016, (right) Color photochrom print of the St. Louis Cathedral of Carthage taken in 1899, image drawn from the public domain.

It is particularly interesting that he claimed certain topographic features and distant hilltop architecture as Spanish or *Andalusī* (he used both the terms "Hisbania" as well as "*Andalusī*") though he certainly did not consider the Roman and Phoenician ruins and present-day town of Carthage to be Iberian in any sense. His association of the Tunisian cathedral with the Great Mosque of Córdoba hinged on architectural aesthetic, and what he saw as likenesses in the landscape alone, with no need for recourse to 'factual' history. As illustrated in this anecdote, Sofien's way of *knowing* the place of Carthage or Sidi Bou Said and its various likenesses is built on particular localized epistemologies— ways of seeing, hearing, dwelling[122] and moving through space. Historically speaking, the Tunisian cathedral – 'sanctioned' to be built atop the ruins of an ancient church by Hussein II Bey between 1884-1890 under the French protectorate – was constructed according to the plans of the abbot Pougnet in what is called the "Byzantine-Moorish style." It was not uncommon for French colonial architecture to imitate surrounding local architecture (Rabinow 1989); but the taxi driver's association is a particularly intriguing articulation of an identity-based stylistic-semantic feedback loop wherein a French imitation of Spanish *mudéjar* architecture (a style of medieval Iberian architecture inspired by Moorish aesthetics and methods but more often constructed by and for Catholic Spaniards) stands in Tunisia for personal cultural heritage and proud affiliation with medieval Islamic *al-Andalus*. To clarify, I am not suggesting that the taxi driver *believed* that the modern French-constructed building had actually been built by medieval Muslim and Jewish refugees, or their descendants. Rather, this emphatically-expressed connection was a clearly meaningful demonstration of uncanny mirroring between Spain and Tunisia in which it seems that Tunisians can't help but produce or reproduce *Andalusī* things in Tunisia, especially given the similarity of their environments.

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[120] As legend has it, and as recounted in detail in Justin's history (AD 140), Elissa (or Dido), daughter of Pygmalion, the King of Tyre (in present day Lebanon) came to the North African coast, befriended the locals (likely Numidians) and purchased a plot of land "the size of a cow's hide" (Harden 1939: 3). Cunningly, she then cut the hide into thin strips, and laying them end to end, she circumscribed the entire plot of land that would become the city of Carthage. The cow's hide or "Byrsa" lent its name to the hill that overlooks Carthage upon which the settlement grew. Now, the St. Louis Cathedral stands atop Bursa Hill beside the ruins of both Punic (Phoenician) and Roman Carthage.

[121] What is further baffling is whether he was referring to the ruins that remain of the Umayyad Alcazár (the Arab palace of Córdoba), the Alcázar de los Reyes Cristianos, or the Mosque-Cathedral of Córdoba, which is still standing.

[122] Here I employ James Clifford's definitions for "dwelling," namely "…something more like habitus, a set of practices and dispositions, parts of which can be remembered, articulated in certain contexts…" (1997: 44).

I also found that in some cases certain pieces of architecture in Tunisian *Andalusī* towns are actually associated with different specific Andalusian places than those linked to the town's general identity.[123] For example, though the Tunisian town of Testour is likened to and historically connected with Toledo, its Great Mosque and clock tower was identified to me, on at least three occasions, as having been modeled after the great Mosque of Ishbilia, Arab Seville. This hodge-podge effect is most aptly interpreted, I argue, as a cosmopolitan appropriation of the best[124] of the past, that is, the survivors of the Reconquista and Spanish Inquisition took their skills, knowledge, and memories and re-built an *Andalus*, re-mapping onto Tunisian cultural, musical, and physical geography.

Toponyms and Naming Practices

As cultural geographers and anthropologists of place have rigorously researched and theorized, acts of naming places with "toponyms" are powerfully and profoundly political, whether in circumstances of colonial conquest, contexts of indigenous reclamation of once-appropriated land, as part and parcel of cartographic projects, or as a diasporic peoples' nostalgic homage to home. Besides place names, which I address in this section, names of melodic modes, rhythms, song forms, musical genres, and families are also extremely important devices in the spatial poetics and political cartography of *Andalusī* music. Each tells etymological and epistemological stories, some of which will be approached in later chapters. Etymologies – along with orthography, eloquence, and instruction – are significant *anthropotechnologies*,

> "techniques through which the communities of the human species and the individuals who compose them act upon their own animal nature with the purpose of guiding, expanding, and modifying or domesticating the biological substrate with the intention of producing that which, first philosophy, and later the biological and human sciences, tend to dominate as 'man'"(Ludueña in Gautier 2014: 17).

In this light we see the taming, an act of domination, of both 'natural' landscape and soundscape through the inscription of names onto physical place and a play of power, a war of words, in the assertion of ‘standard’ or ‘correct’ ways of remembering history and heritage (etymologies), ways of writing (inscription and orthographies), and ways of speaking (elocution, pronunciation).

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[123] This is intriguing given that medieval *Andalusīs* may not necessarily have been familiar with towns and cities outside their own. The amalgamation of locales represented in Testour, for instance, suggest that the *Mūriskīyūn* who settled there had emmigrated from several cities in *al-Andalus*.

[124] I use "cosmopolitanism" here in one of the ways it has been theorized by Thomas Turino (*Music as social life: the politics of Participation* 2008: "By its very nature, cosmopolitanism is eclectic, always combining cultural resources and habits from various sites within the [trans-state] formation, as well as unique aspects of a specific locale" (138).

Once inscribed, names leave lasting impressions on history’s palimpsest. We see the distinct vestiges, for example, of Arabic *Andalusī* place names[125] in their current Spanish forms Ishbiliyya in Sevilla, Gharnata in Granada, Qorṭaba in Córdoba, and Xabia in Shtiba. Despite the tendency for history’s victors to replace pre-existing place names with their own, altering the map so that it “confirms destruction of the original settlements and purports to erase the refugee’s right of return” (148), the names used by the *Andalusī* persist today in Spain and Portugal. Perhaps it is some aspect of their past grandeur that has so firmly embedded the names of Arab *al-Andalus* so deeply in the cultural fabric of the place, but it may rightly be the earlier empires, the Phoenicians or Romans, who are to thank for the ancient origins of the city names listed above.

In the case of Tunisian *Andalusī* places, the likeness drawn between Tunisia and *al-Andalus* is only occasionally conveyed through associative (named by connection with a previously named place), or commemorative (named to mark an event that took place there) naming practices (Monmonier 2006: 6).[126] Somewhat surprisingly, there are only two clear instances in which Tunisian towns are named after *Andalusī* places: (1) the Tunisian city of Beja, which gives name to the entire *welaya* (municipal area) and which is a duplication of Beja,[127] Portugal, and (2) the Tunisian area and town of Qala‘at al-Andalus, literally “Palace of *al-Andalus*,” a largely uninhabited stretch of the Medjerda river delta Northwest of Tunis between the city and the port of Ghar al-Meleh. As Yassine, a native of Beja, Tunisia explained to me, the *Andalusī* people who settled there chose the spot (the place, environment, and climate) that reminded them the most of Córdoba or other places in Europe (p.c. 3/3/3016). The town, he said, was founded by *Andalusī* emigrants who built “monuments” that were identical to those they had back home in Beja, Portugal. Their need to construct look-alike architecture was driven by what he described as a profound nostalgia that permeated and influenced every aspect of their lives. Compelled not only by nostalgia, but also by fear resulting from their traumatic experiences of the inquisition and exile, the *Andalusī* people who built the neighborhood of Halfouine in the Tunis medina, he explained, created compact labyrinthian winding alleys, some of which lead nowhere, to keep themselves safe from would-be Spanish pursuers. Tunisian neighborhoods that are considered particularly *Andalusī* in character are occasionally named as such; take for example “Les Andalouses,” (“The Andalusians”) the portside neighborhood of Bizerte said to have been inhabited predominantly by *Andalusī* people, adjacent to the Jewish quarter (p.c. Inese, 6/5/2016). Several streets and alleys in the Tunis medina are also named, presumably, after *Andalusī* residents, especially the elusive “Rue des Andalous.”[128]

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[125] I have known some Tunisians to use the old Arabic place names to refer to present-day places in Andalusīa, though use of the Spanish is also common.

[126] For more information on these categories, Monmonier suggests George Stewart’s *Names on the Land* (1945) and *Names on the Globe* (1975).

[127] Sir R. Lambert Playfair, suggests, however, that “Badja” might be derived from the name for the Roman town that once stood there, “Vacca” or “Vaga,” the latter of which has been found inscribed on ancient buildings (1877: 234). He quotes: “El-Edrisi (A.D.1154) says: ‘It is a beautiful city, built in a plain extremely fertile in corn and barley, so that there is not in all the *Moghreb* a city so important or more rich in cereals’” (234).

[128] This street is identified on all maps of the *medina,* but I spent an entire afternoon trying to find it and asking for directions. This experience seems a testament to the effectiveness of the medina as an *Andalusī*-built maze designed to obscure the locations of its residents.

In Algeria, Glasser has documented a "felicitous slip" among music practitioners in their referring to Iberia, *jazīrat al-Andalus* "the peninsula/island of *al-Andalus* " instead as *jazā'ir al-Andalus*, "the islands of *al-Andalus*" or even, "Algeria of *al-Andalus*," since "Algeria" literally means "the islands" (2016: 32). In this linguistic move, a creative poetics of inclusion, Algeria takes its place as an island within the archipelago of *al-Andalus*. Tunisians too put stock in this genre of language play; the Sufi magical tradition of re-arranging the letters of words to create new words, thereby revealing latent meaning, dates back to practices thought to have been developed in medieval *al-Andalus*. Numerology, interpreting meaning in the total sum of the numerical value of the letters contained in words and phrases is also counted as an *Andalusī* art among modern-day Tunisians. In a conversation about the social and creative advances of the *Mūriskīyūn*, Yassine told me that rather than blandly marking their front doors with a street number, the *Andalusī* decorated their doorways with elegant calligraphic phrases whose letters or the initial letters of each word totaled the houses' street address (p.c. 5/7/2016).

In a similar vein to toponymic inscription, Glasser describes the phenomenon of highly localized city-based fidelities to stylistic practices of performing Algerian *Andalusī* music. Over time, he explains, aesthetic preferences and other "desired qualities" become so thoroughly associated with place that they become "prescriptions for how 'Algiers' and 'Tlemcen' *ought* to sound—in other words, they are discursive constructions of musical place" (2016: 37, my emphasis). Just as the sounds of aural-oral-written place names are inscribed on cultural landscapes by their repeated usage, so too do the characteristic sounds of localized musical practice, regional linguistic particularity, and the sounds of the everyday embed themselves in the knowing of place.[129] Names of places and the names of the people who dwell in them seem to sit beside the ever-mingling natural and anthropogenic sounds that emanate from and reverberate through inhabited place.

Some Algerians identify traces of *Andalusī* place names in the repertory itself, suggesting that the non-semantic vocables *yā-lā-lān,* sung as melodic filler between *abyāt* (verses) – referred to by Algerians as *tarāṭīn* and by Tunisians as *zīna*, *lāzima*, and a variety of other names[130] – actually refers to a small river called "Lalán" in Spain (Glasser: 45-6). Stories of the expulsion of the *Mūriskīyūn* has left its mark on Spanish place names as well. In 2014, debates raged over whether it was ethically necessary to alter the violent and questionably offensive village names of "Castrillo Matajudíos" ("Little Hill Fort of the Jew Killers) and "Valle de Matamoros" ("Valley of the Moor Killers,") (Fotheringham 2014 in Shannon 2015a: 155). In the end, the residents of Castrillo Matajudíos voted to change the name of their town to "Castrillo de Mota Judíos" ("Little Hill Fort of the Jews") for perpetuity, but no such decision was reached in the "Valley of the Moor Killers." As Dr. David Levey, lecturer in linguistics at Cadiz University, stated in a news article, "matamoros," is so fully integrated into the Spanish vernacular[131] that it hardly has any remaining association with murder (Fotheringham 2014). [132]

The Spanish Sierra Nevada mountain pass called "Puerto del Suspiro del Moro" or "Pass of the Moor's Sigh" marks the place where, legend has it, in 1492 Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad XII –

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[129] Deborah Kapchan has termed this "sound knowledge" (2017).

[130] Further discussion on decoration and musical *zīna* can be found in Chapter 5.

[131] Matamoros is a common Spanish family name and is also the name of numerous other cities and towns in Mexico.

[132] For more on offensive and derogatory toponymy, refer to the excellent survey text, *From Squaw Tit to Whorehouse Meadow, how maps name, claim, and inflame* by Mark Monmonier (2006).

referred to as "Boabdil" by the Castilian Spanish – the last Islamic sultan of Granada, looked back over his shoulder at his kingdom for the last time and wept as he fled.[133]

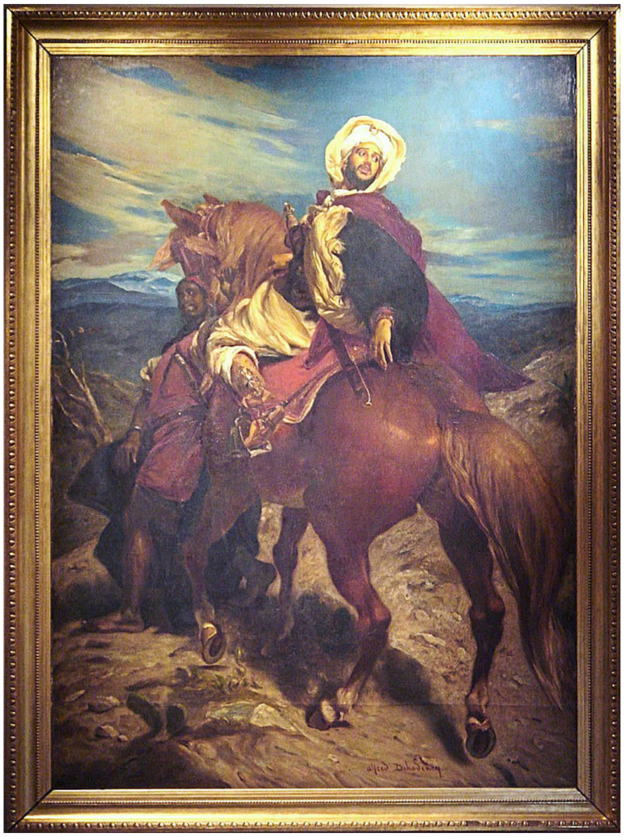

Figure 17 Les Adieux du roi Boabdil à Grenade, "The Farewells of King Boabdil at Granada" by Alfred Dehodencq

The Green and the Dry

To the majority of my Tunisian interlocutors, categorization of "green places," and the music and sounds suited to them, is not complete without recourse to the "opposite" places and musics, "the dry," rural areas in the interior. The binary oppositions drawn by so many of my interlocutors (Yassine, Sonia, Hamdi, and Firas, among others) between wet and dry places or green and desolate places map one-to-one onto deeply entrenched regionalist and classist tropes that set relatively affluent and cosmopolitan coastal and northern areas against the impoverished areas of the interior, which are often also stereotyped as 'backward' or 'traditional.' The rehearsal and reification of regional economic politics, and their imbrication with the qualities and characteristics of cultural and musical forms, are readily apparent in everyday discourse about music in Tunisia today.

However, for a binary that one might imagine is valanced as positive and negative (wet-wealth versus dry-poverty), connotations of regional ethnic-racial-cultural identity and their musics defy simple categorization. Yes, the regions that have shown the greatest economic and political success – thanks to reliable water sources, support of agriculture and the growth of urban centers tied to with Mediterranean trade, business, and tourism – are the northern and coastal areas along the Tunisian

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[133] Numerous European poets, playwrights, and painters have recounted this moment in a variety of nostalgic iterations.

Sahel (Eastern littoral area). But there is also, for Tunisians based in the capital as well as those from rural areas (from Bizerte to El Kef to Djerba and Zarziz) a sincere adoration and fascination with the dry chaparral, the *Chott al Jerid* (a vast desiccated lake), and the Saharan desert as the people, languages, cultural practices, and music of these areas emblematize ancient wisdom, moderate yet devout religious fervor, and the persistence of pride and tradition in the face of conquest.[134] Southern, inland, and dry places are valued as repositories of Berber traditional knowledge and practice as well as a stubborn and resolute love of land that yields little, but which provides enough to sustain life all the same. These are the places, as Ibn Khaldun put it (1377 AD), that hold tight to their *ʿaṣabiyya*, their tribal and familial feeling of groupness, as that has always been the only way to survive in such a rugged an otherwise inhospitable climate and environment (Rosenthal 1967).[135]

It cannot be over-emphasized that ready access to fresh water is viewed as the primary determinant of cultural life ways, the nature of community consciousness, and even *mentalité* ("mentality"), at least as many Northern Tunisians see it. Rather essentialist comments in this regard are commonplace and deeply rooted in Tunisian understanding. In the context of explaining how environment shapes the adaptation and development of genre, repertoire, and musicking and listening practice, Yassine explained his reasoning to me that the songs of people in the desert are "tough" and "harsh," because they are like the environment in which those people live (p.c. 3/3/2016). This "tough" music is a product, he said, of the difficulties of life in dry areas where one must go long distances just to find water and food is never plentiful, as opposed to the North where "water is everywhere." In a later conversation, he drew another stark contrast between people who live in the desert versus those who live by the sea where life is "easy" and there are "trees and aspects of paradise;" he argued that not only do environmental elements of climate, topography, and fauna and flora matter, but that the predominant colors of daily life also shape culture. For seaside dwellers, rich green and blue colors are influential and inspire particularly rich musical and other creative practices while the pale whites, tans, and browns of the desert simply do not provide creative inspiration. In further generalizations, he extended this concept to "all Arab music" in North Africa and the Middle East. It is key here to recall his subjectivity as a proud northerner from Beja, one of the greenest agricultural cities in the country, so his biases are apparent enough. As he put it, *les détails font la difference*, "the details make the difference," and in this case, the details are "the place, the weather, and the colors."

In a *ma'lūf* singing and listening lesson, Sonia, my teacher and *ʿūdista* insisted on setting me straight on the details of Tunisian musical geography. *Ma'lūf* itself, she explained, exists in all of Tunisia but those who live along the Sahel are more *involved* in it, sing it more often, and feel an affinity for it because they live directly beside the sea (p.c. 4/13/2016). Also, "they have this [*ma'lūf*-inclined] influence coming from Libya, from their neighbors." Their ways of life differ from those inland who are not influenced by others outside [other Mediterranean influences and peoples] but who are isolated and, therefore, stick to their old customs and live "directly in nature." It is more logical then, she said, for peoples living inland "to sing about nature, to sing about *degla* (dates) and the *ṣaḥrā'* (desert) and *nujūm* (stars) than to sing about *al-baḥr* (the sea)" and *lū'lū'* (pearls), to be inspired by things they know and experience in their daily life. Though *ma'lūf* was brought (the time-scale was not so clear here) to all parts of Tunisia, she said, it resonated and lasted in certain regional geographic areas; "that is why it is maybe easier to introduce something that is logic[al], that is not very shocking to the people, [something] they are used to." For both Yassine and Sonia, *ma'lūf* simply makes sense in certain places and to certain people but is indecipherable to others elsewhere.

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[134] Here I refer to the legends of *Amazīgh* (Berber) hold-outs against the *ghazawān* (entering by force or coercion), the onslaught of invading Islamic armies. The story of *al-Kāhina*, in all of its politically-charged permutations, tells of great warrior princess (Berber, Jewish, and/or Roman, depending on the narrative) who miraculously won battles against their better-armed adversary, the Islamic Arab invaders in the so-called *futuḥāt*, the "opening" of *Ifrīqiya* to Islam starting in the 670s AD. For an excellent social-historical-political analysis of the story of the *Kahena*, see Hannoum (2001).

[135] See especially Chapter 2 "Bedouin civilizations, savage nations and tribes and their conditions of life, including several basic and explanatory statements" (Rosenthal 1967).

For Sonia, proximity to Tunis also matters; the closer a town is to *Tunis al-'āṣima*, the capital city, the more likely one is to find that *ma'lūf* is practiced there. Sonia's musico-geographic map and her capital-centric 'logic'[136] are a product, at least in part, of her *blēdī* family's (aristocratic, old money) multi-generational history of dwelling in the Tunis medina. Her historical narrative of the spread of *ma'lūf* across the country is also influenced by the Rashidiyya and Ministry of Culture's twentieth-century initiatives to distribute 'culture' across the entire emerging Tunisian nation. That is to say, the parts of history she takes as 'givens' – the presence of *ma'lūf* in the central Tunisian city of Kairouan, for instance – point to the success of nationalists' incomplete project of re-mapping *Andalusī* music as *Tūnsī* music, extending the geographic reach of the Rashidiyya school through the establishment of satellite schools and ensembles in many cities and towns across Tunisia, including sites near the borders of the Sahara desert. Though regional binaries of "the dry" and "the wet" persist today, modernist nationalist narratives continue to mask gross economic inequities across regions, favoring an image of uniformity over the regionally-discrepant fractures of alterity.

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[136] Tunis/Carthage-centric logic has been concretized over the course of several millennia, but one important component of regional distinctions is rooted in association of Tunis with Arab (more specifically Arab-*Andalusī*) and everywhere else with the Berbers. As *Andalusī*-s entered into the Hafsid aristocracy and centralized Emirism came to dominate, the Arab-ness – and later Ottoman-ness and French-ness – of Tunis became further distinct, at least in its framing, from its surrounds. As Rouighi argues, this centralized place of power "made the idea of *al-Andalus* an instrument of dynastic ideological domination" (174).

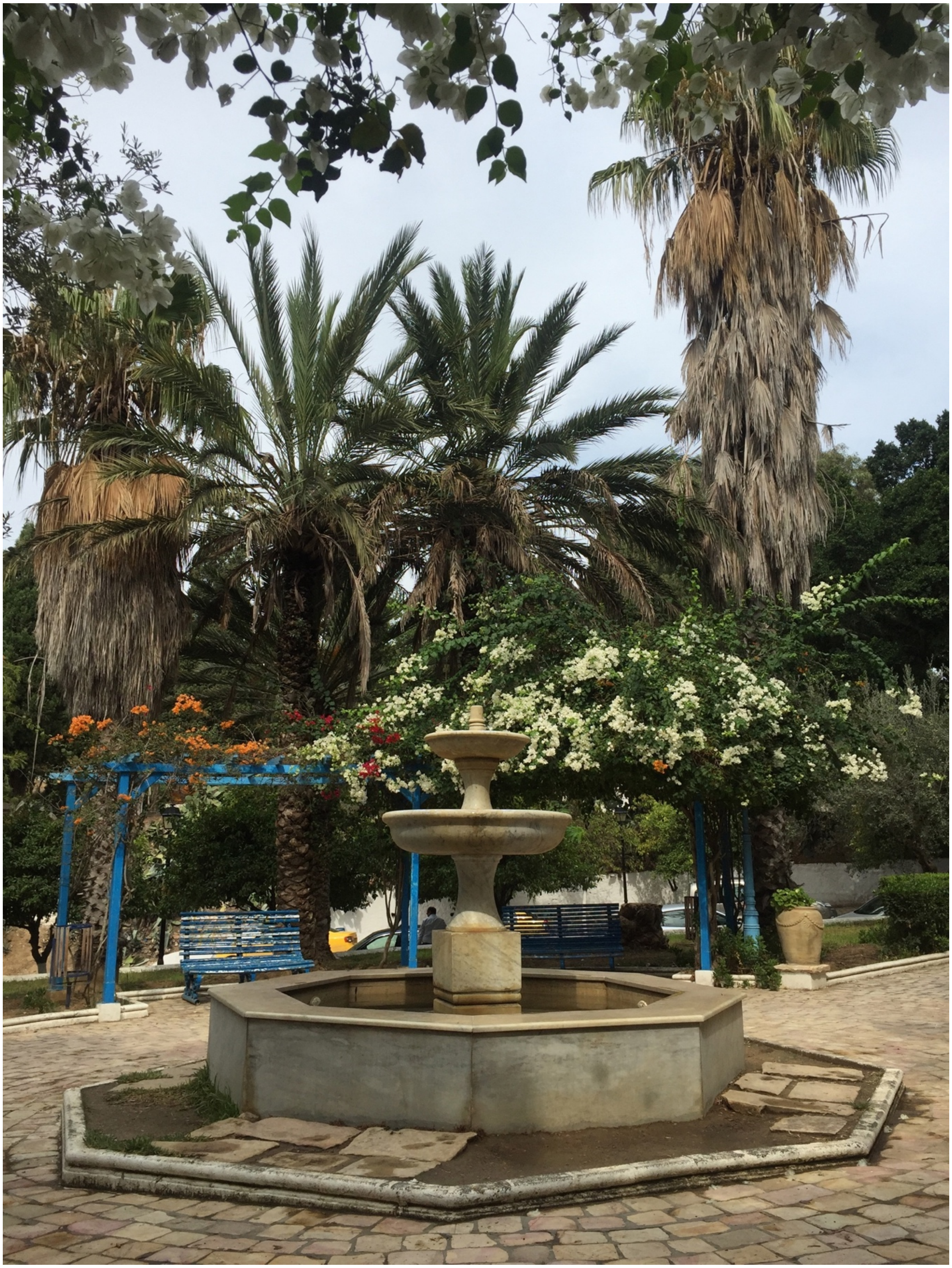

Figure 18 The courtyard *Andalusī*-style garden in Sidi Bou Said, Tunisia, 2016. Photograph by the author.

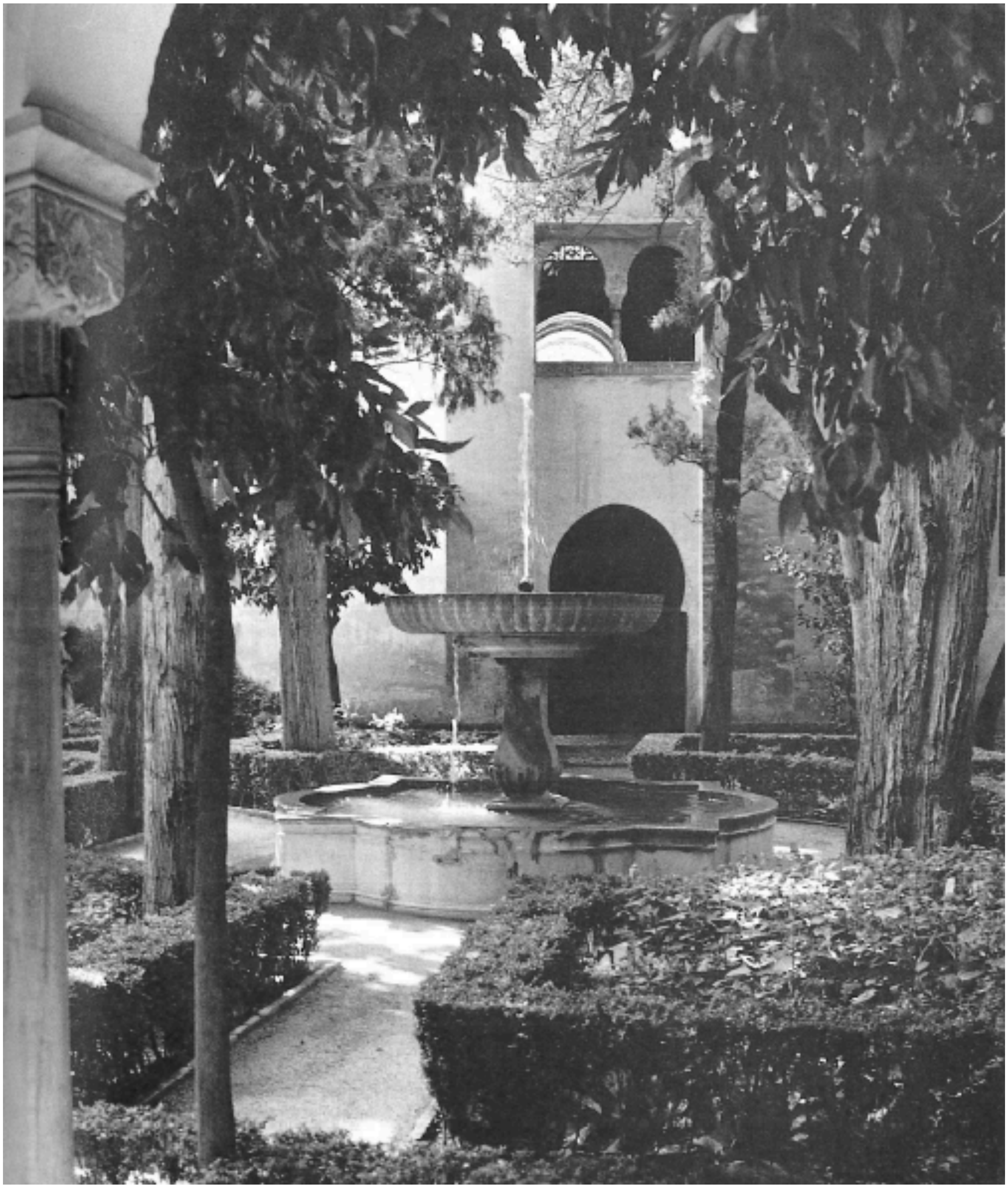

Figure 19 "The Garden of Daraxa in the Alhambra, looking up to the window of the Sale de las Dos Hermanas. An arcade runs round three sides of the garden, and in the center a Moorish fountain brought from the Mexuar by Charles V is raised on a Renaissance pedestal" (Brookes 1987: 62).

CHAPTER 2. *TUNIS AL-MAḤRŪSA* : TUNIS THE WELL-PROTECTED

In addition to its title *Tunis al-Khaḍra'*, "Tunis the Verdant," Tunisia has also been famously known as *Tunis al-Maḥrūsa* or Tunis the "Well-Protected." In this chapter I explore some of the histories of mobility and contact that have led to the Tunisia's reputation as a sheltered haven and that have afforded the development of cosmopolitan ethos, ethics, and aesthetics alongside trade and migration. I interrogate relations between the geography, topography, and cultural history of the major Tunisian ports of ancient Carthage and present-day Halq al-Wad (La Goulette), adjacent to the city of Tunis. Then, I posit that certain forms of sociality – cosmopolitanism, in particular – are wedded to the particularities of Tunisian place and that they influence and afford specific listening practices. Following the first two sections, which focus on the port cities of Carthage and Tunis, I argue for the significance of the often overlooked "Southern port," the gateway to the Sahara Desert, as a crucial cultural contact zone.

Finally, I draw parallels between two musics of forced exile: *Andalusī ma'lūf* and *sṭambēlī*, an Islamic ritual healing music performed by Tunisians of Sub-Saharan African descent. The rich histories of dwelling and exchange in the fertile coastal areas surrounding what is now Tunis are relatively well known; it is simple enough to ascertain their value as Mediterranean hubs for goods, people, and ideas. Looking south, however, the history of the trans-Saharan slave trade, far less pleasant or popular to consider, also constitutes a crucial network for thinking through Tunisian place-based associations in music-making and listening. My intention in presenting these key historical moments and archaeological background is to provide necessary context for my interpretations of contemporary Tunisians' framings of these histories, everyday discursive slippage between temporalities, and the imaginaries and *mentalités* that underpin Tunisian musical identities today.

The first development of a Mediterranean port in *Ifrīqiya*[1] (now Tunisia) was initiated by the Phoenicians, who founded the city of Qart Hadasht, later to be become "Carthage," in 814 BC. Qart Hadasht – which quickly developed into one of the most important trading hubs for the Phoenicians, and later for the Roman Empire – was established nearly three hundred years after the inland[2] settlement of Punic Utica (1100 BC). This history is inscribed on the land in the meanings of their toponyms: "Utica" played "old town" to "Qart Hadasht," the "new town." The Phoenicians, masterful seafarers and traders of Tyrian purple dye,[3] tin, and other commodities, were adept at locating safe natural harbors all along the rocky North African littoral.[4] Spaced equal distances apart – about 50 kilometers or so – the ports first served as overnight resting areas for enormous crews of oar men (p.c, Mounir Khelifa, 02/06/2016). With the port and settlement atop the stronghold of the city, Byrsa Hill, the Carthaginians countered attacks from both land and sea and Carthage became the protectress of nearby Phoenician Sicily and eventually all of Western Phoenicia (Harden 1939: 5). In the fifth century BC, the well-protected coast of Carthage was fortified with a substantial city wall that ran from the base of Byrsa Hill to the edge of the Lake of Tunis.[5]

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[1] *Ifrīqiya* (place name used during the medieval period) is derived from the Latin "Africa Proconsolaris," which referred to the Roman province containing what is now the northern Libya, Tunisia, and Eastern Algeria. "Africa Proconsolaris" – the linguistic origin of both the English and Arabic terms for the entire continent – may have been derived from a *Tamazight* word *ifri*, meaning "cave," in reference to indigenous troglodyte dwellings (Michell 1903: 161) or from the Phoenician *afar* meaning "dust" (Venter and Neuland 2005: 16).

[2] Utica was approximated 50 kilometers (31 miles) from Carthage and about 16 kilometers (10 miles) from the coast.

[3] The dye was produced by grinding up the flesh of the Mediterranean Sea mollusk, *Bolinus brandaris*.

[4] That is, bays or inlets where the topography, water currents, and winds were conducive to mooring.

[5] The Romans rebuilt and extended the wall to circumscribe the ports in the second century BC (Hurst 1994: 45).

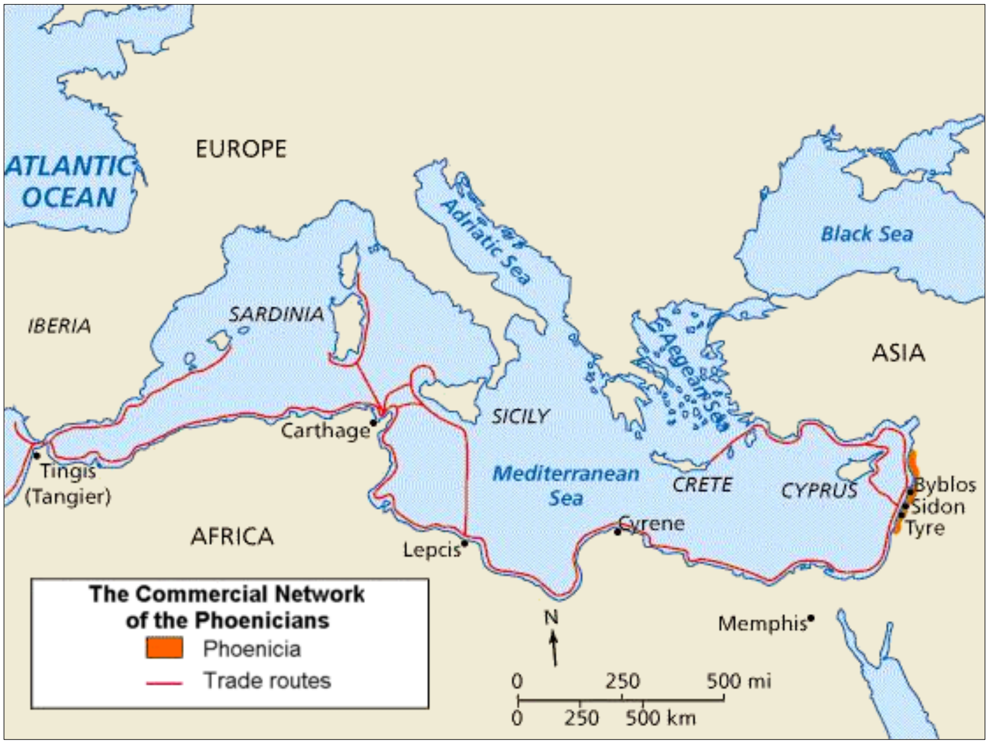
ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
IBERIA
SARDINIA
ASIA
Aegean Sea
SICILY
Carthage
Tingis (Tangier)
Mediterranean Sea
CRETE
CYPRUS
Byblos
Sidon
Tyre
Cyrene
AFRICA
Lepcis
Memphis
The Commercial Network of the Phoenicians
Phoenicia
Trade routes
N
0 250 500 mi
0 250 500 km

Figure 20 Map of Phoenicia and its Mediterranean trade routes. Additional coastal towns along North African coast included, moving East to West: [Tyre], Alexandrie, [Cyrene], Arae Philenorum, Leptis Magna, Sabratha, Hadrumete, [Carthage], Hippo, Icosium, Tanger, and Lixus. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phoenicia. Creative Commons license, no alterations made.

Archaeological[6] and ancient literary[7] evidence suggest that it wasn't until the third or second century BC, however – well into Carthage's growth as a trading post and pushing up on the date of the Roman siege (146 BC) – that the natural port was significantly altered to improve its function (Hurst 1994: 40). It was then that the Punic Carthaginians dug a deep circular internal port which did not open out into the sea directly, but which was connected by a narrow channel to a rectangular external docking area for large vessels (Harden 1939: 7-8). Evidence for the uniquely protected improved port abounds; Orosius (fifth century AD) described its protective layout, "…here Byrsa overhung an arm of the sea which was called *stagnum* (ie. pond) because it was calm, being protected by a tongue [isthmus] of land" (9). It is likely that the coastline has shape-shifted substantially over time and that in antiquity the Lake of Tunis (called al-Buhaira today) was much larger and connected with the circular port of Carthage (Hurst 1994: 43). If so, the combined natural harbor would have been quite large, certainly an impressive sight to behold. The city and people of Carthage carried out an enormous civil engineering project within the last century Phoenician control to create the two fortified harbors of Carthage (47). This is significant because the motivation for the project appears to have been a response to an increasing need to protect the city's inhabitants and their military fleet rather than a drive to expand import and export capacity (47). What Cicero said during Roman occupation of the area remains true today: "Carthage was surrounded by ports" (Harden 1939: 8).

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[6] Most notably, the connection of the circular harbor to the sea has been established from molluscan deposits (sea shells) and potsherds (broken ceramics) in the silt, which were used to establish the date range (Hurst 1994:43)

[7] D. B. Harden cites, among others, Appian, Diodorus, Justin, Polybius, Strabo, Virgil, Cicero, Zonaras, Orosius, and Livy (Harden 1939: 1,8,9)

Under the Phoenicians and later as an independent city, "Carthage emerged as the first great *Maghribī* civilization," not only as a thriving trading center, but also as a place of learning (Naylor 34). Historian Phillip Naylor argues that it was its "transcultural sensibility" that was responsible for the city's success: "The Carthaginians possessed an appreciation and ability to understand and relate to peoples of different cultures, ranging from Saharan Berber traders to ethnically diverse mercenaries" (2009: 34). But it was the fortification of Carthage after the second Punic war (218-201 BC) that likely sparked the Third Punic war (149-6) and consequent Roman siege of the city (49). By this time, Carthage was a highly-coveted prize and had become *too* "well-protected" for Roman imperial taste; as the senator Cato the Elder (234-149 BC) famously shouted, *Cartago delenda est*, "Carthage must be destroyed!"

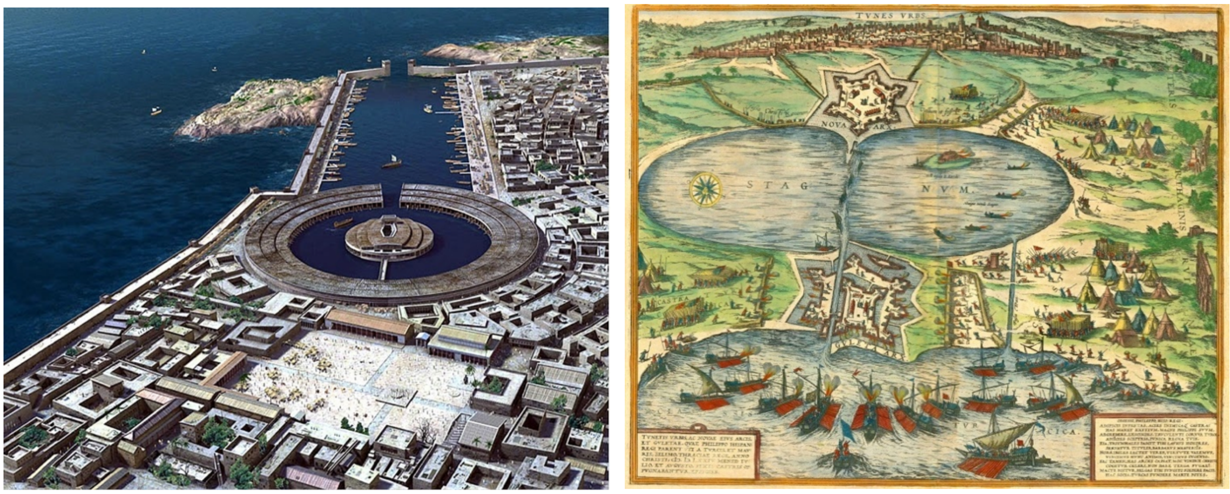

Figure 21 (left) A recreation of the port of Carthage, with its interior dock (probable military shipyard) and the commercial dock outside. Image from Gallo 2013. (right), "Tunes Urbs," depiction of the port adjacent to Tunis by Franz Hogenberg (1595) from Civitates Orbis Terrarum. Image drawn from the public domain.

It wasn't until the second century BC that a place called "Tunes" came into being, an *Amazīgh* town, later occupied by Numidians.[8] As had been the case with Carthage, its neighbor to the north, Tunes' (Tunis) hilltop situation was a prime strategic location, especially for spotting approaching ships. Still, passing through many hands over the first centuries of the Common Era – the Romans (146 BC-698 AD), Byzantines (534-705 AD), and Vandals (fifth and sixth centuries) – Tunis did not become a particularly important city until the eighth century AD, when it was seized by Arab control. With their destruction of Roman Carthage in 698 AD, the Arabs transformed Tunis and its port into their primary base for military and trade operations. Subsequently, they gained control of the strait of Sicily, a thoroughfare of paramount importance for Mediterranean Sea trade. After a brief occupation by the Normans, Tunis became the central locus of armed warfare between the Spanish-Habsburgs and Ottomans in the sixteenth-century[9] (Clancy-Smith 2011: 23).

It is no coincidence that the Phoenician port system, re-enforced by Roman fortification in the first century BC, is directly mirrored in the topographic layout and structure of the port near Tunis, which was developed many centuries later (Hurst 1994). The natural bay and protective sandbar formation found today at both Carthage and the bay of Tunis were created in the same manner by deposits of alluvial sediments (silt) from the Medjerda River, which were drawn along the coast by prevailing northeasterly winds (43).[10]

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[8] Tunes was one of the first towns to have been clearly conquered and claimed by the Phoenicians.

[9] The armies were led by Charles V and Kheirredine Barbarossa, famed military general and the historic personage of the pirate (corsair) "Red Beard," who has figured in numerous stories and films.

Again, as had been the case in Carthage, the lay of the land in and around the bay of Tunis at La Goulette and the inland lake formation allowed for the development of a nearly ideal port system which was especially well protected from harsh water currents and winds of the open sea (Clancy-Smith 2011: 23). Additional protection came with the construction of a formidable Ottoman fortress built by Kheirredine Barbarossa in 1534, further fortified by the Spanish in 1535, and mostly dismantled when the Ottomans once again gained control in 1574 (23). At that time as today, the port was located northeast of the city in adjacent Halq al-Wad or La Goulette, a narrow strip of land between the gulf of Tunis on the Mediterranean Sea and the inland Lake of Tunis (al-Buḥaira).[11] As was true of its ancient counterpart in Carthage, large vessels bearing imports or passengers moored to offload goods and travelers onto smaller craft for transport across the lake to the city of Tunis proper at the start of the narrow strait.[12] Well before the influx of French, Italians, and Maltese during the period of the French protectorate (1881-1956), Halq al-Wad acted as an important temporal and spatial buffer between the rough seas and the comfortable living of the city.

With topography in mind, the port's epithet, *al-Maḥrūsa* or "the well-protected," is well deserved. Julia Clancy-Smith argues convincingly that the significant distance between the open sea and the city of Tunis was key to the development of Tunisia's economic and cultural dialogue with Europe, and at least partially responsible for the growing diversity of expatriates, refugees, migrants, and visitors who flocked to North Africa, and to Tunis in particular, under Ottoman rule during the nineteenth century (2011: 23-4). Given the substantial parallels in the more ancient topographic history of the natural and build ports of Carthage, I postulate that the same conclusions may be extended to life and circulation in ancient Carthage.

Also significant to the history of movement, circulation, and inhabitation of the area is the location of the port of Tunis *vis a vis* the North African Coast line. The city of Bizerte and the northwestern Cape Bon peninsula are the most northerly points of Africa and control of their shore has been crucial in Mediterranean conflicts from the days of the Phoenicians and Romans through World War II. Important as well, the Tunisian populations have been concentrated, at least since the period of Roman conquest, in the urbanized North of the country, so control of Tunis by sea grants not only access inland but also implies reign over the entire territory. *In media res*, Tunis became a cosmopolis, a world city *par excellence*, and Bizerte the sentinel's crow's nest.

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[10] Though the naturally occurring sandbar and inner lake or lagoon formation in each port appears now to have created a perfect safe mooring, there is not enough evidence to prove conclusively that ships *ever* docked on the site where the port was built before its dredging and enlargement in the second or third century BC (Hurst 1994: 43). There may have been other entries and areas for docking closer to the Lake of Tunis (45).

[11] Meaning "the throat of the river (Medjerda River)" in Arabic and "the throat" in Italian, respectively.

[12] The arrival point in Tunis was through the aptly named Bab al-Bahr, "the door of the sea," which was re-named Porte de France, "the door of France," during the French Protectorate period.

Safe Harbor: Tunis as Cosmopolis

> We all fit into the substructures of the environment in our various ways, for we were all, in fact, formed by them. We were created by the world we live in.
>
> — J. J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (1979).

In this section, I consider the implications and potential insights of extending current theorization of cosmopolitanism[13] beyond bodies,[14] practices,[15] and ethics,[16] to places, to complexly peopled landscapes-soundscapes and emergent environments. Essentially, the phenomena of musical life in Tunis as cosmopolis beg the question: how are contemporary Tunis-dwellers' musical cosmopolitanisms[17] informed by histories of real and imagined place? Further, in what senses might *places* be considered cosmopolitan?

In the previous section, I argued that the lay of the land in and around the bay of Tunis at La Goulette allowed for the development of an especially safe harbor, an ideal port system that protected ships from the dangers of wind, water currents, and armed attack by sea (Clancy-Smith: 23). This argument is couched in American psychologist, James J. Gibson's "theory of affordances" (1979), a popular theoretical framework among ethnomusicologists in recent years.[18] *Affordances* are qualities of environments and objects that "provide" for or "furnish" particular behaviors (Gibson 1979: 127). Affordances are "neither an objective property nor a subjective property," (129) but "the complementarity of the animal and the environment," a relationship between actor and thing (127). Affordance theory is particular helpful for theorizing relations between music and place because "[affordance] is equally a fact of the environment and a fact of behavior. It is both physical and psychical, yet neither. An affordance points both ways, to the environment and to the observer" (1979: 129). In this way, the ambiguity of *affordance* captures the interconnected nature of life and earthy substrate, habit and habitat, the co-production of anthropogenic place in material and mind. In other words, "Places, we realize, are as much a part of us as we are part of them, and senses of place – yours, mind, and everyone else's – partake complexly of both (Basso 1996: xiv).

The affordance of safety in Carthage and Tunis is closely tied, I argue, with concepts of cosmopolitanism, a form of openness, receptivity, and hospitality. The history of nineteenth-century Tunis, which I explore here, exemplifies many of these interconnections. Abdelhamid Largauèche (2001), Tunisian professor of history, has written on the structures and institutions that nurtured the development of elite, urban Tunisian cosmopolitanism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He defines cosmopolitanism as an openness towards the foreign, acceptance of the incorporation of foreign into the local, an ethics of tolerance, and a proclivity for borrowing (120). Framing the city as marketplace, A. Largauèche connects cosmopolitan tastes, ideals, and ethics to socio-economic histories that favored the accumulation of wealth principally through demographic and economic diversification measures (118). The temporality he refers to as *la belle époque* (c. 1705-1818) was a period of relatively tolerant coexistence in Tunis, which was contingent, he argues, upon mutual economic interests (123) in Mediterranean trade, networks of artisanal industry, the accumulation of agricultural surplus from the interior (118), and extensive privateering and corsair activity at sea (119).

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[13] According to third-century AD biographer, Diogenes Laërtius' *Lives and Opinions of Eminant Philosophers*, Diogenes of Sinope (a Cynic philosopher, who lived roughly between 412-323 BC) was the first to use the term κοσμοπολίτης (cosmopolitan), meaning "world citizen" (Chapter 6, paragraph 63).

[14] As in Motti Regev's study (2013) of aesthetic cosmopolitan bodies in late modernity.

[15] As in Martin Stokes's (2007) discussion of musical cosmopolitan practices (11, 21).

[16] As in Kant (1795), David Harvey (2009), Abdelhamid Largauèche (2001).

[17] In future research I anticipate studying the complex convergences and layering of patriotic, diasporic, and discrepant (Clifford 1997) cosmopolitan formation in Tunis and between Tunis and France.

[18] See Bonnie Wade 2013 for one example.

A. Largauèche focuses on the importance of place in his description of the Tunis *medina* as a persistent "spatial-cultural reference point" (125) for the continuity of Tunisian cosmopolitanism (2001: 126). In his theorization, the *medina* was established as a sort of cosmopolitan chronotope[19] through successive movements and inhabitations: influx of diverse peoples, inter-ethnic and inter-religious "mingling," emergent "communal autonomy," and politically-motivated immigration of laborers under the French Protectorate (126). Tunis, like other early modern cities, developed place-based "cosmopolitan predispositions," namely mobility, affluence (capacities to consume), curiosity about places and peoples, diverse cultural and linguistic competences, and the ability to appreciate things of the other (Beck 2006: 42-3). These dispositions were, in part, afforded by and consequence of Tunis' uniquely hospitable topography.

The nineteenth century was a period of great migration between Europe and North Africa. Thousands of immigrants of humble economic status relocated to the boom town ports of Tunis, Algiers, Tangier, and the coastal Levant from the Mediterranean islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Greece, Malta, and the Balearic Islands (Clancy-Smith 2011: 3). Both migrant workers and more elite families took up residence in the Tunis area and neighboring La Goulette, remaining for generations, and established communities alongside one another. Their presence reconfigured an already religiously, racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse population. Terms like 'creole,' and 'hybrid,' as vague or problematic as they may be, provide some language for describing the nineteenth-century emergent public during this time period. The mixed sociality developed over generations in the greater Tunis area and differed distinctly from situations of brief contact.[20] The nineteenth century was a heightened period of mobility in Tunisian history, guided by historical geopolitical circumstance, people's need to get by, and perhaps by residual[21] proclivities for hospitality in Carthage and Tunis. In these movements, the dislocation and re-entangling of senses of self and community took place within layered, complex histories of land use, import, and export.

Tunis' particular history exemplifies Kant's positioning of economic trade relations and interdependence as sustaining forces in cosmopolitan international relations (Harvey 2009: 18),[22] especially given that early modern Tunis was as a *ville ouverte* (open city) known for its inclusivity and hospitality (A. Largauèche 2001: 117).[23] Intriguingly, in historical accounts it is more often the

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[19] See Bakhtin 1981.

[20] Still, there is a dearth of information regarding the lives of everyday people, complicating assessment of the demographics and the populations' understanding of itself during the Ottoman 1800s, especially before the French protectorate began in 1881 (Clancy-Smith 2011: 10).

[21] I refer here to Raymond William's definition of "residual," that which "has been effectively formed in the past, but is still alive in the contemporary cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present. Thus, certain experiences, meanings, and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture, are nevertheless lived and practiced on the basis of the residue – cultural as well as social – of some previous social and cultural institution or formation" (1977: 122).

[22] Kant's "ethical cosmopolitanism," outlined in his essay "Perpetual Peace" (1795), is established through "increasing interdependence through trade and commerce" (Harvey 2009: 17) and is maintained by universal moralities including hospitality (18).

[23] During the Ottoman period Tunis was *also* notorious for its role as an active trading post for the lucrative business of maritime hostage ransoming and sale. Tunis-based corsairs and privateers thrived in the seventeenth century (Largauèche

city than its residents that is granted descriptors of hospitality (Clancy-Smith, 23). With a significant population of "resident foreigners"[24] living in Tunis, identities of dweller and traveler, stranger and neighbor likely meant little; the national and ethnic affiliations of residents and aesthetic styles ebbed, flowed, and mixed from the eighteenth through the twentieth century (A. Largauèche 2001: 120). In Tunis, we see examples not only of Kant's "cosmopolitan right" – the right of a stranger to hospitality, not to be treated as an enemy when he arrives in the land of another (1795, 11-12) – but also manifestations of Kant's "special contract[s] of beneficence," (Harvey 2009: 18) which gives outsiders, in this case especially Maltese, Sicilian, and Italian itinerant-turned-resident laborers the right to *stay* and become fellow inhabitants (Clancy-Smith 2011: 3). Historian, Kenneth Perkins, affirms that, "In keeping with its maritime links around the Mediterranean, the city [La Goulette] had a cosmopolitan air and, even after independence, remained one of the most ethnically and religiously mixed communities[25] in the country" (2014: 07).

'Hospitality' as an economically-driven cultural ideal flourished along with the tourism industry under the French Protectorate. For the greater part of the twentieth century, "sea, sun, sand" tourism has been crucial to the Tunisian economy. During its peak (1960s to 1973), tourism accounted for approximately one fifth of annual total revenue in Tunisia (Perkins 2014: 158). Tourism constituted 18.4% of the gross domestic product in 2000, 18.5% by 2005, and 16.1% in 2010 (Lanquar 2011: 6). Post-Dignity Revolution (2011), the Tunisian Ministry of Tourism has scrambled to re-establish Tunis as a safe, hospitable, tolerant, and open (that is, accessible, affordable, and open-minded) place in the global imagination and pocketbook. These attempts have been severely hindered by two terrorist attacks that killed and injured foreign tourists: the March 2015 armed attack on the Bardo Museum and the June 2015 Sousse beach resort shooting. The contribution of Tourism to the country's GDP now hovers at around 6.5%, still employing 11.5% of the working population. Countless employees in hospitality remain jobless and many have left Tunisia to join radical Islamist groups in Libya and Syria, including *daesh*[26] (p.c. Emna and Myriam).

Drawing on Affordance Theory, we see how particularities of place and cosmopolitan sensibilities emerge from geographies, topographies, and forms of dwelling. But pushing theoretical boundaries further, I take Steven Feld's question to heart: how can anthropologists "acquire expert ears into the world" (2012: 125)? Or attune our ears to history and the "audible past" (Sterne 2003)? How might scholars of sound investigate urban place as *sounding* cosmopolitan? By what processes and practices do people and other actors emplace sound and, ontologically speaking, how do listeners learn to listen to place and access or tap into emplaced sound?[27]

2001: 119). "In 1654 the number of Christian hostages obtained through capture at sea reached more than 6,000 in Tunis alone, out of a city population of no more than 100,000 souls" (119).

[24] The lack of terminology for describing immigrants demonstrates the very real question of mutable and indeterminable identities in the cosmopolitan place (Clancy-Smith, 23).

[25] I second Clancy-Smith's frustration that La Goulette and its important history have been "eclipsed by its sister cities, whose glorious achievements conferred third-class status – at best – upon the port; most histories focus on Tunis or Carthage" (2011: 356). La Goulette is mentioned only a few times in Perkin 2014.

[26] *Daesh* is the Arabic acronym for ISIS (The Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham): *al-dawla al-Islāmiyya fī'l-'Irāq wa-Shām.*

[27] See Jocelyne Guilbault's influential article "Audible Entanglements: Nation and Diasporas in Trinidad's Calypso Music Scene" (2005) for one approach to answering this question. "Audible entanglements" may "assemble social relations, cultural expressions, and political formations (Guilbault 2005: 41)" and make audible "a reworked articulation of nation and diaspora" (48).

As introduced earlier in this dissertation, *acoustemology* – "acoustic ways of knowing, tracking orientations to the world through sound" (Feld 2012: 126)[28] – is a critical tool for comprehending the emplacement of sound as a dynamic and interpretable "poetic cartography," (Feld 2012: 126) as a system for ordering and structuring time and daily life (131), and as a mode of mastering locality (126). Re-focusing sounding in ecological and cosmological dimensions effectively situates histories of listening, knowing through sound, aesthetic proclivities and performance practice as emplaced "local knowledge"[29] *and* knowledge of locale. As anthropologist Keith Basso articulates,

> Inhabitants *of* their landscape…are thus inhabited *by* it as well, and in the timeless depth of the abiding reciprocity, the people and their landscape are virtually one. This reciprocal relationship – a relationship in which individuals invest themselves in the landscape while incorporating its meaning into their own most fundamental experience – is the ultimate source of the rich sententious potential and functional versatility of…place (names)" (1996: 102, author's emphasis).

Through his rich work describing Apache stories in physical space and cultural memory, he theorizes that "when places are actively sensed" and dwelt in, "physical landscape becomes wedded to the landscape in the mind, to the roving imagination…" (107). In this way, Feld, Basso, and their lineages examine dynamic relational systems of sounding bodies (organic and machine), structures (architectural and natural), and dynamic environments acted upon by mechanisms of eco-acoustic "coevolution" (127).[30]

The credo of the anthropologically-informed ecologist[31] is that places, habitats, and environments – from the densely forested to the concrete jungle – are profoundly peopled. Truly, "Nature is not that upon which culture builds, but rather both terms, nature and culture, are mutually constituted through the politics of life" (Ochoa Gautier 2014: 9). With anthropogenic place in mind, the capacities and attributes traditionally ascribed to people may also be imparted to environments, geographies, and built urban architectures.[32] In Tunis, in this hybrid anthropo-topo assemblage, I see ample room for theoretical expansion of place as cosmopolitan in terms of its openness and receptivity[33] to diverse practices, aesthetics, and ethics. Extending cosmopolitanism to urban spaces also follows from current social scientific trends in post-human studies, where human agency is extended beyond the human to complimentary objects, technologies, and networks. Conceptual blending of humanity with physical space complicates abstraction of people and human attributes from urban environments.[34] Relatedly, important scholarly efforts have been made recently to historicize and re-people "liquid continents,"[35] such as the Mediterranean Sea and other bodies of water.

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[28] See also Chapter 1, "Acoustemology" in *Keywords in Sound* (2015) and Rice 2018.

[29] Geertz's term from his 1983 collection, *Local Knowledge, further essays in interpretive anthropology*. Regev explores related notions in his theorization of pop-rock music as "agents of cultural change at the material, physical levels of…urban spaces" (2013: 160). Acoustemology as framework is productively elastic in its capacity to jump between scales; for instance, while Motti Regev (2013) is concerned with emplacing music in the expansive cosmopolitan geography of global electronically-mediated soundscape, Feld approaches highly localized musical epistemologies.

[30] Feld does not clearly define what he means by aesthetic and ecological "coevolution" in *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra* as (2012) or in his earlier authorship. He makes a compelling case for the influence and integration of the sounds of the natural world into human cultural and musical practice but does not explain the evolutionary impact on the non-human actors in his story. He comes closest to pinpointing an example in his discussion of the "bufo variations," music mixed to sample calls of *Bufi regularis*, when he asks "Do the concrete sewers [that he'd noted greatly amplified the toad call] turn the toads into rock stars capable of attracting massive numbers of groupies" (132)?

[31] I refer the reader here to tropical ecologist and reforestation specialist, Robin Chazdon (2014) *Second Growth.* Research efforts toward better understanding urban spaces as peopled are mirrored in relatively recent (since the 1970s) approaches toward human dwelling in and sustained alteration of natural landscapes, particularly tropical rainforests: See Balée and Campbell (1990), Ross (2011), Campbell et al. (2008), and Balée (2006)

[32] This concept is related to Arjun Appadurai's *Social Life of Things* (1986).

[33] As Appiah explains, cosmopolitanism refers not only to conditions where diverse peoples live alongside one another and interact (multiculturalism), but an *openness* toward others' difference and cohabitation (2007). In the same vein, Ong further clarifies that some people who may travel widely may never become cosmopolitan (1999).

Historical ecologists and anthropologists studying forests as anthropogenic landscapes argue that "human interaction with landscapes in a broad variety of historical and ecological contexts may be studied as a total (integrative) phenomenon" (Bailée 1998 in Bailée 2006, 5.1). Taking metaphors to task,[36] I point here to Richard Werbner's concept of "rooted cosmopolitanism." Leaning on the notion of "roots," a familiar emplacing botanical metaphor and one used often in the context of *ma'lūf*, Werbner presupposes nourishing physical substrates, a rich loam soil for sustainable sensibilities and ideals. In my experience, Tunisians often foreground the particularities of place – geography, topography, climate, proximity to bodies of water, and natural resources – in their often-times-determinist assertions that certain musics, like living organisms, seem to *belong* in certain environments. I want to suggest, however that rather than determining life-ways and attitudes, places provide "conditions of possibility."[37]

Finally, I return to Largauèche's articulation of the Tunis *medina* as a "spatial-cultural reference point" (2001: 125). Beyond physicality, places stand in as icons and indices, as mnemonic devices, and as conceptual containers for histories, stories, repertory, and other forms of sound knowledge. For Tunisians, histories of disjuncture, forced mobilities, and present place are negotiated by collapsing spatio-temporal experience into heritage products like the origin myths associated with *convivencia* (coexistence) in medieval Andalusian Spain.[38] Cosmopolitanisms are transmitted through narratives of place and emblematized in Tunis as chronotopic cosmopolis.

As I have argued in this section, thinking through things as socially networked and approaching landscapes as humanly modified open up new perspectives for researching musical continuity and emergence, hybridities, and emplacement of cosmopolitanism(s). A lens of ecological dynamism animates residues of human habitation as latent actors in contemporary anthropogenic cities and forests alike. In this light, Carthage was never thoroughly sewn with salt. Affordance theory and acoustemology offer helpful tools for re-peopling place as complex relational systems of sound, sensibility, people, and place. With affordance in mind, it is no great leap to imagine emergent acoustemologies and practices of "listening to/in place" as co-produced by human creativity and environmental conditions.

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[34] John Urry, for instance, describes the post-human condition as characterized by "hybrid geographies" composed of bodies and machines (2007/10: 35), where "humans are intricately networked *with* machines, and also with software, texts, objects, [and] databases" such that "the social is heterogeneous" (34).

[35] "Liquid Continent" is Purcell and Horden's term (2003). I refer here to scholarship on the Atlantic Ocean (Gilroy 1993), Mediterranean Sea (Braudel 1949, Shannon 2015b, and numerous other authors), and other watery expanses (Klein and Mackenthu 2004).

[36] After all, "The price of metaphor is eternal vigilance" (Wiener in Lewontin 2000: 4).

[37] This is a Kantian concept, used in Guilbault 2005: 47.

[38] See Shannon 2015a: especially pages 125-157

Safe Harbor: Tunis as Refuge

The weary Trojans ply their shattered oars
To the nearest land, and make the Libyan shores.
Within a long recess there lies a bay:
An island shades it from the rolling sea,
And forms a port secure for ships to ride:
Broke by the jutting land, on either side,
In double streams the briny waters glide,
Betwixt two rows of rocks: a sylvan scene
Appears above, and groves for ever green:
A grot is formed beneath, with mossy seats,
To rest the Nereïds[1], and exclude the heats,
Down through the crannies of the living walls
The crystal streams descend in murmuring falls.
No halsers[2] need to bind the vessels here,
Nor bearded anchors; for no storms they fear.
Seven ships within this happy harbor meet,
The thin remainder of the scattered fleet.
The Trojans, worn with toils, and spent with woes,
Leap on the welcome land, and seek their wished repose

— *The Aeneid of Virgil*, Book 1: 226-244, 29-19 BC,
Trans. Dryden 1964.

For nearly three millennia now, Carthage, and its more recently-developed neighboring port at Halq al-Wad, have been known as places of mixing and cultural contact[1] and as a political border zone between *Ifrīqiya* and points north, east, and west. These ports connect Tunis to the cultural and musical worlds of mainland Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Malta, France, Iberia, Turkey, and the Levant, and make Tunis – the city, *al-ʿāṣima*, and the country, *al-bled* – the “balcony of Africa.”[2] Lest we romanticize these ports as idealized spaces of ‘free exchange’ or as a ‘save zone’ during armed conflicts, Carthage and Tunis have always been places of imperial control, colonial conquest, violence, discrimination, poverty, policing, and expulsion. Seizure of Tunisia, the land and the sea that surrounds it, was achieved through successive conquest of these ports and their cosmopolis by the Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Hafsids, Ottomans, Spanish-Habsburgs, and French, each rising and falling like waves in the tides of history.[3] The title *Tunis al-Maḥrūsa* speaks to the experiences of people and peoples who had been ‘out to sea’ before arriving in Tunis. The geography and human-modified landscape of the ports afforded not only *protection for* ships and their crew – both well-to-do and down-and-out – but also *protection from* the ingression of adversaries through the double-stop port systems. The *abwāb* (doors or gates) studding the walls of the Arab-built fortifications surrounding the old city of Tunis were also once guarded for protection. As the wall deteriorated, the remaining archways, like ossified sentries, lent their names to neighborhoods and metro stops.

I have argued that particular characteristics of the Tunisian landscape – natural, man-made, and everything in between – contributed to shaping localized forms of rooted cosmopolitan ethics, cultural exchange, and expectations surrounding mixing and hybridity. Further, as I explore in this section, Tunis has played important roles as a “well-protected” refuge or a place of “salvation” historically and in the collective imaginary of Tunisians, past and present. *Tunis al-Maḥrūsa* is alive and well in present day conceptions of Tunisia as a hospitable, welcoming, and tolerant place, especially in stories of the reception of *Andalusī* people expelled from Iberia between the tenth and seventeenth centuries. Though one may assume that this historically-situated set of expectations and ideals holds little stock today, we can recognize familiar motifs resurfacing in contemporary politics, especially in Tunisians’ reactions to civil war in neighboring Libya and in responses to the current refugee crises in the greater Mediterranean. I refer here to the mass flight of Libyan refugees across Tunisia's permeable southern borders during the on-going civil post-2011 conflicts, the question of refuge for displaced persons from Syria and Yemen, and, perhaps most pointed in Tunisian discourse, the on-going conflicts in Israel-Palestine.

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[1] Nymphs of the sea

[2] One who begs or pleads

[1] See Pratt 1992 for more on “contact zones”

[2] As a friend living in Halq al-Wad put it.

[3] Ibn Khaldun (1377) would identify this recurring pattern as the regular cycles of history that last each about 40 years. See Rosenthal 1967, especially Chapter 4 “Countries and Cities, and all other forms of sedentary civilization.”

Twentieth and twenty-first century rhetoric of 'salvation' in Tunisia is enlivened by strong senses of pride – not unshaken since 2011 – especially within the Tunis metropolis and northern cities. Contrary to popular media coverage, these senses of pride are not always tied to nationalist sentiments. 'Salvation' narratives center around the following key themes: (1) a long history of Jewish, Muslim, and Christian co-habitation, which is often associated with *convivencia* in medieval *al-Andalus*; (2) a historically strong economy of hospitality-for-sale in the arena of international tourism;[4] (3) the distinction of being the first nation in the Arab world to have emancipate slaves (in 1846) and; (4) its liberal and progressive history in terms of women and family law, secular government, and moderate Islamist population. I draw these particular themes and characteristics together as they are all tied to Tunisia's identity and its politics of inclusion, exclusion, and cosmopolitanism.

In my conversations with Tunisians, I noted a recurring articulation of Tunisia as one of the most sought-after, if not *the* preferred destinations for the people expelled from *al-Andalus*. Paired together, the honorifics[5] "Tunis the verdant" and "Tunis the well-protected" bring to mind a *Qur'ānic* paradisiac garden, safe from the control of the Christian oppressors.[6] Besides cultural memory and lore, there is minimal extant historical evidence of the official policies concerning the reception of Muslims and Jews from *al-Andalus*, nor, to my knowledge, do we have written accounts of the experiences of *Andalusī*-s after their arrival. According to historian Andrew Hess, the pattern *Mūriskīyūn* settlement along the "Muslim edge of the frontier" reflected the "localization" of *Maghribī* life at the turn of the sixteenth century, especially in terms of the lack of cohesion within the Ottoman Empire (Hess 1978: 121). With Morocco as his referent, Hess writes that exiles established independent city-states (like "Salé"), joined pre-existing *Morisco* communities (such as Tetouan), or submerged themselves in old Moroccan cities (like Fez; 1978: 121).

In Tunis, however, there was a "more organized reaction to the plight of the Moriscos" in which the Ottoman ruling administrator of the day, Osman Dey, "presided over their resettlement in agricultural areas" (Hess 1978: 121).[7] This sixteenth- and seventeenth-century concerted effort for 'rescue' contrasts with earlier waves of *Andalusī* immigration to Tunisia, which appear to have more sporadic.[8] By the late sixteenth century, despite deep fractures in the Ottoman empire, policy stated that the *Moriscos* or "Hispano-Muslims" were to be welcomed into safety and assisted as refugees

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[4] Bond writes that from the late 1990s to early 2000s, public spaces in downtown Tunis were strewn with red and white flags which greeted Arabophone tourists with the phrase *Tunis balad al-amn/al-amān*, "Tunis, a country of safety" (2017: 140) or even *Tunis balad al-amn wa-'l-amān,* which employs synonyms meaning "safety." For more on "hospitality" and the tourist industry, see Hazbun 2007-8.

[5] We could also add *Tunis al-Muttaḥaḍḍira*, "Tunis the civilized," which connotes Islamic governance and erudition.

[6] Shannon duly reminds us that the politics surrounding control of *al-Andalus* have found their way into the rhetoric of Muslim extremist groups like al-Qā'ida who "have been drawing on the narrative of *al-Andalus* for some years to support their cause (Shannon 2015a: 167). Zacarius Moussaoi, the so-called twentieth hijacker of the 9/11 attacks, claimed in court that his principle demand was 'the return of Spain to the Moors'" (Shannon 2015a: 167).

[7] Hess cites Latham 1957.

[8] Still, as Ramzi Rouighi reports, Hafsid rulers, from 1229 to 1572, saw opportunity in the situation and "encouraged elite *Andalusī*-s to join their court and appointed them to prominent official positions." The new arrivals were indebted to the Hafsids and fortified their ranks (2011: 17).

"in whatever regions of the empire they happened to reach" (Hess 1978: 121). During the first decades of the seventeenth century, especially in the years 1609 and 1614, an estimated sixty to eighty thousand *Andalusī* people arrived in the area that is now Tunisia.[9] According to historian Ibn Abi Dinar, who wrote his *Kitab al-mu'nis fī akhbar Ifrīqiya wa-Tunis* ("The Book of Sociability in Greater *Ifrīqiya* and Tunis") sometime between 1609 and 1645:

> In that and the following year, the Andalusians arrived from the lands of the Christians after the keeper of Spain had expelled them. Their numbers were high, but 'Uthman Dey welcomed them in the country and sent the destitute among them to be helped by the people. He granted them permission to settle wherever they wanted, so they bought lands and built on them,[10] and spread themselves into various regions, as a result of which the whole country prospered. Among their famous cities are Suleyman, Bali, Niyanwa, Qirinbalia, Turki, al-Jadida, Zaghouan, Tabarba, Quraish al-Wad, Majaz al-Bab, Sluqiyya, Testour (which is one of the greatest and most prosperous), al-Aliya, al-Qal'a, and others.[11] They are more than twenty cities. They now have great cities where they planted vines olive trees, orchards, and leveled roads for travelers' coaches. They are now considered natives to the land (190-202).[12]

Who exactly these migrants were remains relatively unknown. I have heard Tunisians characterize them interchangeably as impoverished religious refugees or as opportunistic landed aristocrats; they are likely to have included representatives from both categories and everything in between. Intriguingly, Hess claims that *Moriscos* were "unpleasantly" received in regions of the Maghrib where strong "tribal" affiliation[13] prevailed over Ottoman coherence. Latham concedes, "How far the Morisco immigrant with his linguistic and cultural distinctiveness was a *persona non grata* to the indigenous population is a question to which we have no clear-cut answer" (1957: 225). Records also suggest that *Andalusī* arrivals were given special and coveted allowances including waived entrance fees for their ships, a three-year exemption from taxes, and freedom from the jurisdiction of local Tunisian *qāda* (governors, 223-224). The continued salience of regional difference today – especially animosity between regions in regard to government-based financial aid – follows logically from pre-existing internal regional diversity, the prevalence of place-specific genealogical and "tribal" identities, and the haphazard Ottoman success in securing sovereignty over the territory (D. Largauèche 2001).

The "unpleasant" reception of the *Andalusī* immigrants strikes a chord with some of the sentiments I encountered in El Kef, a city in the far Northwest, close to the Algerian border. For instance, Aziz, a music teacher, atheist, and proud socialist, explained that when the *Mūriskīyūn* arrived they were welcomed by the Dey, who immediately invited them to join the pre-existing aristocratic class, and who gifted them the best parcels of agricultural land in the country.[14] What right, he said – regardless of their supposed status as "refugees," or Muslim brothers of the *umma* – did these foreigners have to lay claim to Tunisian soil especially the richest soil in the territory (p.c. 8/25/2016)? Outside of the sprawling cosmopolis of Tunis, *Andalusī* arrivals were perceived, it seems, as relatively more foreign and somewhat more suspect. Aziz and his family went so far as to suggest that the *Andalusī* were no better than Tunisians who were complicit in French colonialism or, like the Banu Hilal, invaders carrying out the Arab Islamic conquest of North Africa during the eighth century (p.c. 11/24/2016).[15] This association is tied quite decidedly to the place and people of El Kef, where "tribal skirmishes" on the Algeria border were used by colonials to justify the establishment of the French protectorate in 1881 (Perkins 2014: 15).

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[9] Lionel Lévy, *La nation juive portugaise: Livourne, Amsterdam, Tunis.1591-1951*, éd. L'Harmattan, Paris, 1999, p. 59

[10] As Latham confirms, "The influx and resettlement of the Moriscos were essentially the outcome of conscious policy on the part of 'Uthman Day (1593-1610), who was prepared not only to encourage the immigration of these unfortunate victims of Spanish Catholic intolerance, but also to render practical assistance of a most constructive kind" (1957: 223).

[11] Some modern names of these places have changed slightly: Soliman, Grombalia, Turki, Tabourba, and Medjez el-Bab.

[12] In Nabil Mater's English translation (2009: 219).

[13] Hess makes frequent use of the term "tribal." I have found that reference to "tribes" or "tribal fidelities," especially in colonialist French and Anglophone histories, is used so vaguely to the point of carrying no significant meaning at all. In these histories, "tribe" is frequently used to refer to non-urban communities, especially in the interior where Arab influence has been less strong. A classic example is seen in French Marxist scholar Lucette Valensi's teleological narrative in *On the Eve of Colonialism* (1977 [1969]), when he describes the "extreme fragmentation" (7) of the people of "the thinly populated land" (1). Like the state, the notion of tribe is mostly a source of confusion. Ramzi Rouighi agrees: "On the one hand, a tribe can refer to a small group of nomads with a few goats and maybe a dog. On the other, the term is used to describe a great number of groups who may share elaborate ideas of collective genealogy. In a few cases, tribes founded urban dynasties and even empires (2011: 9).

His vitriol appears to have some historical truth to it. Ramzi Rouighi, historian of medieval *Ifrīqiya* states that indeed, the Andalusī "became an important component of the elite" in Tunis starting in the thirteenth century, playing influential roles in politics (2011: 17). They brought "a particular form of political expertise and cultural refinement" with them and also became prominent intellectuals. While the Hafsids had clear strategic political reasons for inviting the *Andalusī*-s,[16] *Andalusī* elites also used their "forced exile to elicit sympathy" from them (17).

By historians' best reckonings, the *Andalusī* were also used as a "military weapon" (Hess 1968: 24), pawns for the "grand strategic plans of the [Ottoman] Sultan" (17-8). By supporting the revolts of Muslims against Catholic oppressors in Spain during the sixteenth century, the Ottomans distracted the Spanish-Habsburgs with conflicts "at home" in Iberia, meanwhile sneaking in to seize their intended prizes, Tunis[17] and Cyprus (Hess 1968: 24). At the same time, the Spanish-Habsburgs attempted to rally support among North Africans *against* the Ottoman "onslaught" in their own lands (Feridun In Hess 1968: 18). The *Mūriskīyūn* who remaining in Iberia[18] were considered an internal threat. They were the thorn in Spain's side that led to their final large-scale expulsion in 1609 (5), when the Strait of Gibraltar "became the dividing line between two civilizations" (25) whose histories had been so thoroughly entangled during the sixteenth century. The final expulsion ended eight hundred years of "more or less continuous exchange in population… between the Maghrib and the Iberian Peninsula" (6). In addition to pointing to the roots of Tunisian hospitality in the reception of the *Mūriskīyūn*, Clancy-Smith argues that Tunis also "acquired even greater importance as an Islamic haven for refugees unwilling to live under infidel rule" when the city of Constantine fell to the French army in 1837 (2011: 34).

However wealthy, privileged, or naïve Tunisians imagine them to have been, it is clear that the *Andalusī* who made their way safely to the well-protected shores of Tunisia found new freedoms. Moriscos in Spain were compelled to convert – at least superficially – to Christianity, change their names, speak exclusively Castilian Spanish, and wear Castilian clothing. Sixteenth-century "tamed"[19] Moriscos for forced to abandon or otherwise mask their cultural practices and identities. For many, a well-protected and verdant Tunisia would have to do for a new *al-Andalus*.

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[14] Or perhaps they bought the land at a low cost, relative to their greater wealth.

[15] Bond describes similar projection of the language of modern French "colonialism" onto the Roman oppression of the Phoenicians (Bond 2017: 151). See also the Conclusion of this dissertation.

[16] As Rouighi writes, "The expertise and sophistication of Andalusis and their victimization at the hands of Christians were ideas full of political significance and were neither arbitrary nor neutral" (17).

[17] Period documentation may be found in Katib Chelebi's *Tuhfat*, which lists the reasons for the Ottoman grand admiral, Kheirredine Pasha al-Tounsi's occupation of Tunis, arguing that "besides providing a secure port, the seizure of Tunis would allow the Ottomans to winter the fleet in a well-guarded harbor" (Hess 1968: 10).

[18] The majority of *Moriscos* stayed in Iberia as nominal Christians into the sixteenth century.

Standing atop a hill looking out on Testour – the quintessential Tunisian *Andalusī* town – taking in the expanse of valley and river below, I am not transported to *al-Andalus*. Maybe I am already there. Considering the many percarities in Tunisians' lives today, age-old questions of what it means to be home, to save or be saved, to welcome or be welcomed, are pertinent as ever. These questions and their many answers inform musical Tunisianness in sound, sentiment, and memory. For a moment I imagine I am Muhammad XII, the last Moorish king, gazing one final time over his lost kingdom. In the wind that comes from the northwest, I can almost hear him weeping.[20]

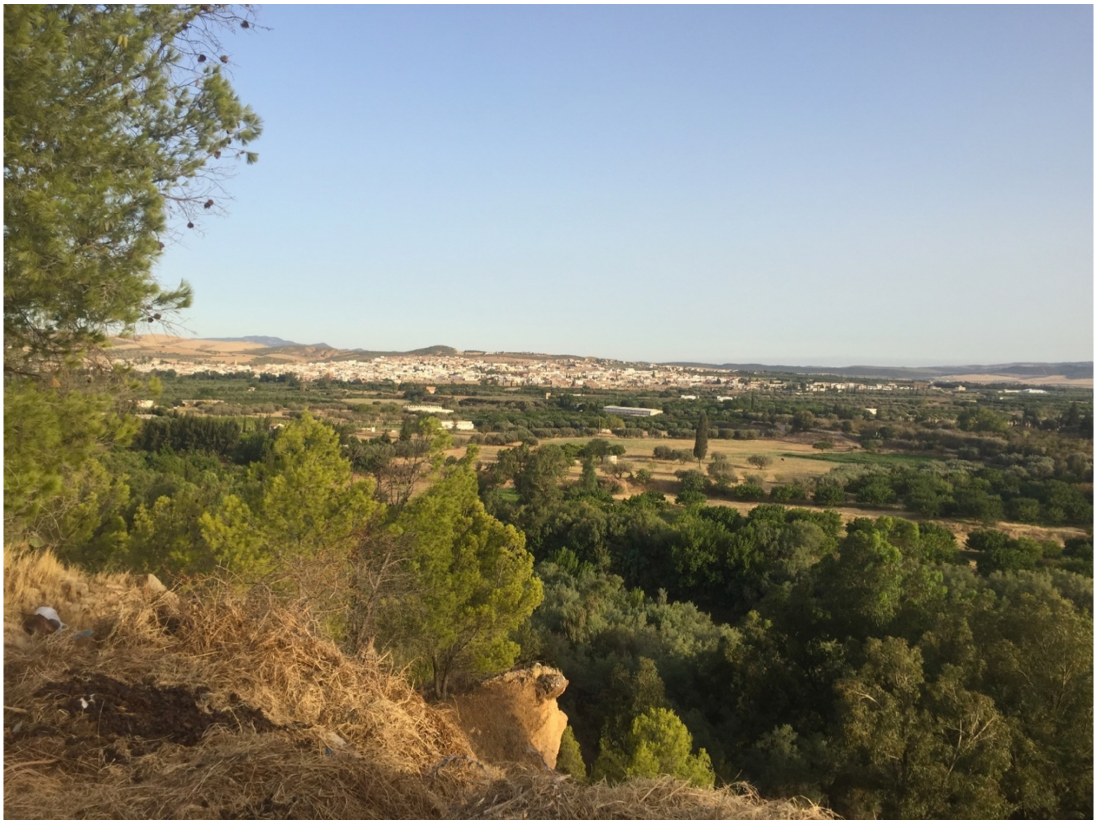

Figure 22 Looking out toward Testour, Tunisia, 2016. Photograph by the author.

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[19] Shannon's tongue-in-cheek descriptor (2015: 172).

[20] This affective sorrow for the loss of *al-Andalus* is taught in Tunisian schools. Mounir Khelifa recalled being encouraged to weep when learning *Andalusī* poetry as a child in the 1970s (personal communication). Habib Bourguiba, Tunisia's first president, was known to weep publicly on many occasions including upon reading of "Tunisia's sufferings" in *La Tunisie Martyr*, an early anticolonial magazine (Hopwood 1992: 110) and when visiting Jugurtha's tomb in Turkey (108). As Alexander E. Elinson writes, "The story of the 'Moor's Last Sigh' may or may not be true. However, it has been recorded and repeated so many times, that it is accepted as either truth or legend, and the story cannot help but tinge every look up and back at the glorious Alhambra with a sense of loss and nostalgia" (2009: 2).

The Southern Port: Gateway to the Sahara

Eurocentric histories and Arab Nationalist narratives have long-celebrated Tunisia's prominent place in the histories of empire and the exchange of commodities, people, and ideas across the Mediterranean Sea. Deplorably overlooked and under-studied, however, are the inland gateways to the Sahara Desert, places of immense import for greater Tunisian history. Not unlike the Mediterranean, the "history of the Sahara is marked by the constant flux of peoples and caravans linking the shores of seemingly intractable terrain" (Lydon 2005: 294).

Excellent Africa-centered scholarship[21] has emerged recently focusing on the Sahara as a peopled place of dwelling and movement, traced though with routes as established, trafficked, and lived in as Mediterranean courses. Newfound interest in the Sahara followed from the mobility turn in anthropology and growing political awareness of *Amazīgh* and African-origin community activism. The greatest challenge undertaken in these projects has been a collective effort to reconceptualize the desert as a cultural-geographic area, an occupied space rather than a 'line in the sand,' a barrier or desolate margin between North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. It is a post-colonial move to "transcending this artificial divide" (Lydon 2005: 293), to map trans-national, trans-racial, trans-religious, trans-cultural historical linkages, and emergent hybrid cultural forms endemic to Saharan places from the eastern to western sides of the continent. Depictions of the Sahara as the wild, mysterious, inhospitable, and unoccupied 'natural'[22] boundary (Brown 1997: 7) segregating the *Balad al-Sudān* (the "land of the blacks") from the *Balad al-Biḍān* (the "land of the whites") abound in scholarship from Heroditus (Lydon 2005: 295) to Ibn Khaldun (Jankowsky 2006: 380), to colonialist travel literature and ethnographies. French colonialists also inscribed the Sahara as empty, vacuous space on their maps, struggling to find language within their racial categories for anyone between "black" and "white" (Lydon 2005: 312). Reproduction of the Sahara as barrier affirms and re-entrenches racial binaries.

Two of the most significant events that influenced Saharan history were the introduction of dromedary camels as work animals after the second century AD, and the spread of Islam, starting in the eighth century (Lydon 2005: 296). Use of camels greatly increased mobility for itinerant and semi-itinerant Saharan people, revolutionizing caravan trade of goods in terms of efficiency, volume, and reliability. The growing foothold of Islam aided in building shared cultural practice and identities among Saharans (300) and encouraged the development of scholarly and commercial networks (296). Pursuit of gold and other commodity goods tempted waves of North Africans toward desert oases. Regular caravan routes (305) – charted through the sand using the stars, a few fixed landmarks, and intimate localized knowledge of seasonal weather patterns and their effects on shifting dunes[23] – were established between key trade points (296). While Carthage the cosmopolis may have been "the first city state to attempt to rule an empire" (Warmington In Naylor 2009: 26), from the early days of Islam, the city of Kairouan, conquered by the Arabs in 670, became the seat of power. Kairouan – meaning "camp" or "caravan" from the Middle Persian word *kārāwan*[24] – had already been a busy market town for centuries. For the first wave of Arab occupants, the great mosque and fortifications of Kairouan marked the Western frontier of Arab Islamic expansion in North Africa (Naylor 2009: 64). The year 909 marked the fall of the Aghlabides and Kairouan, their Islamic holy city capital. For the next two hundred years, the Fatimids (909-1171) reigned from the Eastern coastal city of Mahdia, a location deemed more easily defendable.[25]

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[21] Lydon provides a short bibliography in footnote 40: "E. Ann McDougall, a pioneer in the economic and social history which concerns us, discusses the state of the field in a review article 'Research in Saharan History," *Journal of North African History* 39 (1998), pp. 467-480. Most historians at the history department of the Universite de Nouakchott (Mauritania) specialize in the Sahara. See also Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh (318).

[22] L. Carl Brown writes, "The Maghrib, in a sense, can be seen as an island surrounded by seas of sand as well as of salt water, for the Atlantic and the Mediterranean link up with the world's largest dessert, the Sahara, to give the Maghrib reasonably distinct borders. The phrase adopted by early Muslim geographers – *jazirat al-Maghrib* ("island of the Maghrib" or "island of the West") – indicates their perception of this reality" (1997: 7-8).

[23] Again, parallels can be drawn to navigational techniques for seafaring.

Like the seafaring Ottoman corsairs, long-distance Saharan caravan drivers were go-betweens, long-distance travelers who moved through multiple "epistemological landscapes" (Lydon 2005: 294). They were often skilled polyglots who played on many stages, orchestrated complex transactions, and worked opportunistically across different market economies, currencies, and municipalities (300). While the Phoenicians (814 BC-146 BC) traded in tin, precious metals, purple dye, and textiles, wine, and olives (Naylor 2009: 25-6, 28), trans-Saharan caravan drivers traded in luxury items of gold, ivory, tea, sugar, tobacco, gum Arabic, ostrich feathers and oils, books, rugs, guns, and slaves (Lydon 2005: 302). Gold trade routes have been dated to as far back as the Roman period (146 BC-435 AD). By the time the Arabs usurped the business, their predecessors, the Byzantines, had established regular routes terminating in *Ifrīqiya* in Kairouan and Tunis where gold was then shipped to more distant locales. Estimates place the total number of sub-Saharan slaves brought to North Africa at around 7.8 million individuals,[26] a similar figure to the number of slaves shipped across the Atlantic (Austen 1979 in Jankowsky 2010: 50).

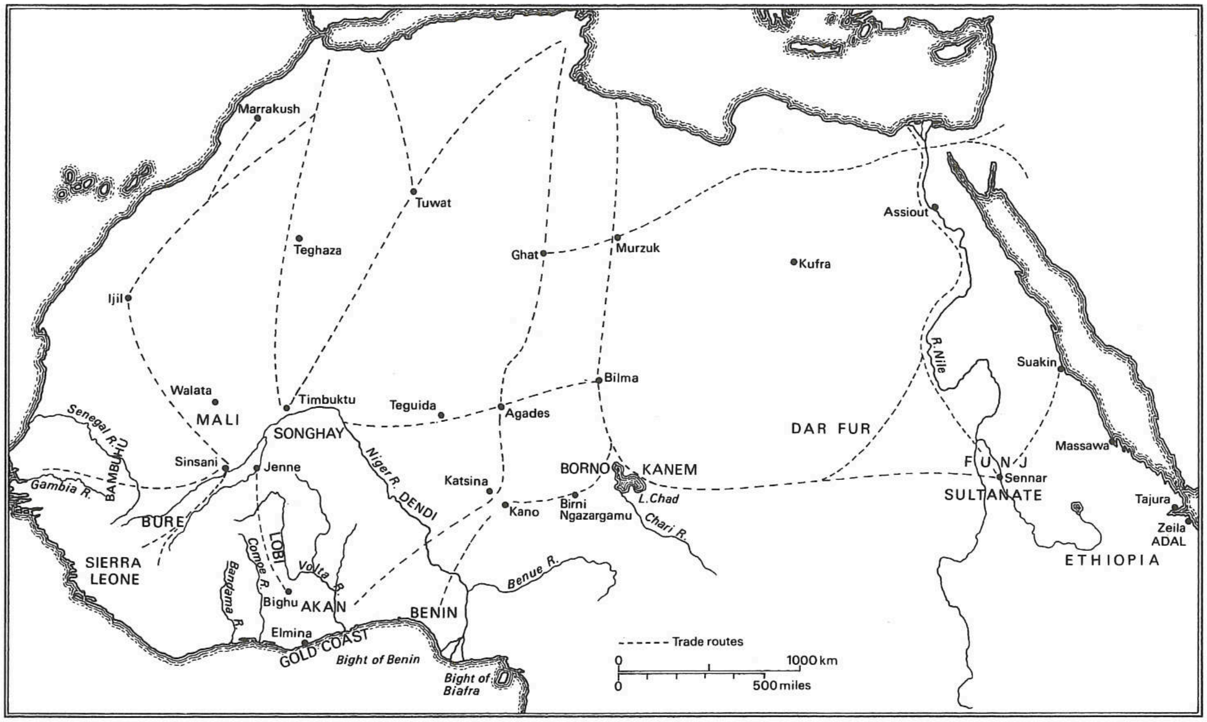
Marrakush
Tuwat
Teghaza
Ghat
Murzuk
Kufra
Assiout
Ijil
Walata
MALI
Timbuktu
Teguida
Agades
Bilma
SONGHAY
Senegal R.
BAMBUHU
Gambia R.
Sinsani
Jenne
Niger R.
DENDI
Katsina
Kano
BORNO
KANEM
Birni Ngazargamu
L.Chad
Chari R.
DAR FUR
R. Nile
Suakin
Massawa
FUNJ
SULTANATE
Sennar
Tajura
Zeila
ADAL
ETHIOPIA
BURE
SIERRA LEONE
LOBI
Bandama R.
Comoe R.
Volta R.
Benue R.
Bighu
AKAN
BENIN
Elmina
GOLD COAST
Bight of Benin
Bight of Biafra
Trade routes
0
1000 km
0
500 miles

Figure 23 "The major routes of the trans-Saharan slave trade (Lovejoy in Jankowsky 2010: 52).

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[24] Dating from the second to ninth century AD.

[25] Tunis did not become the capital and seat of administration until the Hafsid dynasty (1227 to 1574, Naylor 2009: 97).

[26] A shocking 2.4 million are thought to have died during the treacherous journey (Austen 1979 in Jankowsky 2010: 50).

Black Africans were forced across the Sahara to the "southern port" of Kairouan and subsequently to the Suq al-Berka in Tunis, a market considered so important as to be located close to the great mosque (Jankowsky 2010: 53).[27] At the height of the slave trade (1705-1846), more than 100,000 black slaves were brought to Tunis (Austen 1979 in Jankowsky 2010: 50),[28] where most were purchased by aristocratic families and tasked with domestic work, guarding homes, and the production of *sheshiya*-s (red wool caps) and other artisanal crafts (53). Drawn from a range of different geographic areas and cultural groups, black Tunisians are considered today as *al-nāss al-ākharūn*, "other people," who fall into two broad categories: (1) the *wargaliyya*, blacks from Southern Tunisian oases who are considered as more or less 'indigenous' and (2) the sub-Saharan blacks who were brought as slaves (Zawadowski 1942 in Jankowsky 2010: 16). There have also been many more recent waves of sub-Saharan African immigration in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, especially from neighboring Libya, Niger, and other parts of post-colonial Francophone Africa.

Working in a similar vein to Lydon, Richard Jankowsky's musical ethnography provides a comprehensive study of *sṭambēlī*, a ritual healing music performed by black Tunisian musicians. His work explores the history of black Tunisian musicking as a "history of geo-cultural movement between sub-Saharans and North Africans" (Jankowsky 2006: 405), focusing on musical efficacy (2007), trance, and the politics surrounding the performers and diverse clientele who employ *sṭambēlī* musicians (2006, 2010). By invoking white saints (Sufi Islamic historical figures) and black spirits (based on sub-Saharan animist spirits) through specially-coded rhythms, melodic modes, melodies, movements, and colors, "*sṭambēlī* recreates its own movement – the movement of sub-Saharans – across the Sahara and its ensuing historical encounters in North Africa" (405). Like the cultural space of the Sahara, "*Sṭambēlī* is an autonomous sphere of cultural creation that draws on but is not reducible to, any of its sub-Saharan, Islamic, Tunisian, or Ottoman referents;" this way, *sṭambēlī* is more about *routes* than *roots* (405).

Considering Tunisia's histories of movement, trade, mixing, hybridity, and cosmopolitanism from both northern and southern ports, there are certainly meaningful similarities and parallels that may be drawn between *sṭambēlī* and *ma'lūf* in terms of socio-cultural history, performance practice and context, and formal musical characteristics. But I am likely the first to explicitly discuss *sṭambēlī* and trans-Saharan connections in a project focused on *Andalusī* music; the two musics are rarely mentioned in the same sentence, partially because the socio-cultural status attributed to the two musics are diametrically opposed.[29] While performance venues, music schools, and media emphasize differences between the two, bringing *ma'lūf* and *sṭambēlī* into the same conversation furthers my approach to accurately represent a complex ecology of Tunisian musical and sonic practices and the inter-mingling of their practitioners and listeners who have lived side-by-side in the Tunis medina for generations. Meaningful mapping of the geographies of Tunisian musical sound over place and time require close attention to the overlays, intersections, polarizations, and entanglements of practices, and their constituents.

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[27] The market was established by Yusuf Dey during his reign from 1610-1637

[28] These numbers may be compared with the trade of slaves in other *Maghribī* places around that time: in Algeria 70,000, in Morocco 520,000, in Libya 430,000, and Egypt 800,000 (Austen 1979 in Jankowsky 2010: 50).

[29] *Ma'lūf* is framed as secular and *sṭambēlī* as sacred, *ma'lūf* as white and *sṭambēlī* as black, *ma'lūf* as refined high art music performed by professionally trained musicians and *sṭambēlī* as a crude and rough folk ritual, *ma'lūf* as courtly and high class and *sṭambēlī* as the music of former slaves. Finally, the *sṭambēlī* "scene," is associated with heavily racialized and classed expectations for performers whereas *ma'lūf*, as the established state-supported "national music" is imagined to be open and accessible to all Tunisians.[29] In reality, however, the vast majority of professional *ma'lūf* musicians are relatively fair-skinned and financially well-to-do urban Tunisians.

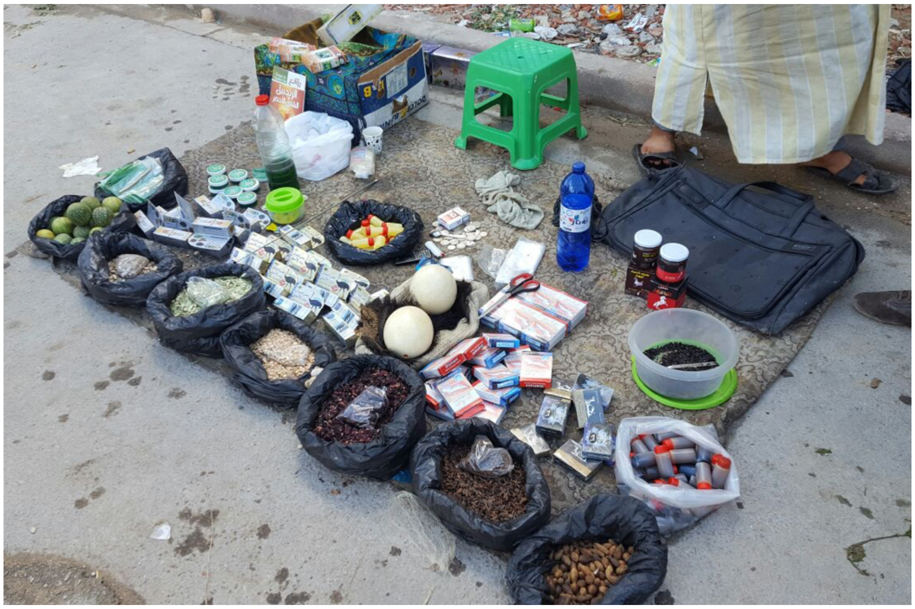

Figure 24 Incense, ostrich oil, and ostrich eggs brought from across the Sahara for sale at the weekly outdoor vegetable market in La Marsa, 2016. Photograph by the author.

Keeping in mind discrepancies between the relative wealth/poverty and dominance/alterity of the arrivals and their reception, the greatest commonality shared between black-categorized *sṭambēlī* and *Andalusī*-categorized *ma'lūf* is their categorization as diasporic and, to some extent, foreign. Overall, for northern Tunisians, *ma'lūf* is more readily considered thoroughly "Tunisian" than *sṭambēlī* given the assumed cultural, class-based, and religious kinship between Andalusians and Tunisians. In many ways, *Andalusī* immigrants saw themselves as members of an Arab collective that included non-black Tunisians. However, as I explore more deeply in the last section of Chapter 7, in Tunisia's South, *ma'lūf* is sometimes disliked because it is considered as unpleasantly foreign and unfamiliar as European opera (p.c. Rebecca Gruskin, 06/07/2016). On the other hand, my Tunis-based interlocutors expressed to me that they had no interest or didn't enjoy *sṭambēlī* because of its otherness, explaining that it sounded too "strange," "exotic," "rough," or "boring."

Convergences also exist in terms of performance contexts and musical uses: both *sṭambēlī* and *ma'lūf* engage the efficacious and healing potential associated with particular musical modes, using them to affect moods and feelings. For *sṭambēlī*, staged non-ritual performances in secular settings – called *khidma sūrī* meaning "foreign work" or "French work," (Jankowsky 2010: 178) – for non-initiated members of the general public are growing in popularity today. It is no small matter either that public audition of heritage objects, *sṭambēlī* and *ma'lūf* alike, takes place in the Tunis medina in staged, folkloric capacities. Both are urban-based musical practices with specific genealogical lineages of musicians living in the same areas. *Sṭambēlī* and *ma'lūf* also both currently fall outside the interests and influences of mainstream record companies or popular music circulation. Though one can find some *ma'lūf* recordings on LP, tape, and CD in the city, these recordings were never mass-marketed; there isn't and has never been a commercial market for *ma'lūf* or *sṭambēlī* recordings. While there are overarching differences between *sṭambēlī* and *ma'lūf*, at a musicological level of analysis there are many commonalities. Perhaps most significant are their shared tonalities and melodic modes, many of which are also common to other Tunisian musics. To my knowledge, *ma'lūf* is distinct among *Maghribī Andalusī* musics[30] in its inclusion of a pentatonic mode called *rasd 'abaydi*,[31] literally "the slave's rasd." While the pentatonic mode does not have an entire suite devoted to it in the official *ma'lūf* canon, there are an assortment of individual *ma'lūf* pieces in the mode and students learn to play and sing in *rasd 'abaydi* in formal music conservatory lessons today. In Tunisia, the mode has distinct associations with black Tunisians and with Sub-Saharan Africa.[32]

Another similarity is that *ma'lūf* and *sṭambēlī* songs are both compiled into suites – called *nūbāt* (sing. *nūba*) and *silsila* (pl. *silsilāt*) in sṭambēlī – in which one song is followed immediately by the next, often seamlessly with no pause, and often times speeding up in tempo over the course of the suite. There are also parallels in the instrumentation and orchestration of the two traditions, especially between the plucked lutes, the '*ūd* used in *ma'lūf* and the *gumbrī* used in *sṭambēlī* and in the use of *benādir* (sing. *bendīr*) frame drums. I have also noted some convergence in desired timbral aesthetics, especially in the buzziness of the *bendīr* (frame drum) snares, as employed in religious *ma'lūf judd*, and the sympathetic metal rattles which are often attached to the *gumbrī* and which share much with the clattering sounds of the concussive *shaqāshiq*[33] clappers used in *sṭambēlī*. Additionally, in some manifestations of each there is a preference for roughness in the attack and sound envelope of the plucked chordophones. In the traditional style of Tunisian *'ūd* (*'ūd 'Arabī*) performance, the plectrum slaps against face of the instrument and a distinct clacking sound is produced on each attack as the musician plucks exclusively in a downward motion. Also, like *gumbrī* playing and unlike *Sharqī 'ūd* performance practice, *'ūd 'Arabī* is not strummed.

Looking to the north and to the south, Tunisia's musical history has been shaped by its geo-political situation. From its paradisiac green places (*Tunis al-Khaḍra'*) of refuge to its well-protected and cosmopolitan port (*Tunis al-Maḥrūsa*) to its "southern port," Tunisian acoustemologies, practices, and politics continue to structure *ma'lūf* audition, the subject of the remaining chapters.

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[30] Salah El-Mahdi alludes to a "rasd knaoui" used in Morocco, but it is unclear whether or not it is used in *Andalusī* music (1972: 45)

[31] I have seen *rasd* is spelled with a *del* or with a *te* in Tunisian contexts. The *Sharqī* equivalent spelling is *rast*.

[32] As I have not studied *sṭambēlī* music closely, I am not aware if there are borrowings in the other direction, i.e. use of heptatonic modes in *sṭambēlī*.

[33] *Shaqāshiq* is an onomatopoeia derived from the same metallic sound as *shaqshūqa*, the dish of scrambled eggs, onions, and peppers that requires some clattering between pan and spatula in its preparation.

CHAPTER 3. *JAWW*: SOMETHING IN THE AIR

On an already-hot April afternoon, a few days after his much-anticipated first visit to the well-known Andalusian-Tunisian town of Testour, my friend and music improvising partner, Yassine and I sat down to juice and cookies in my La Marsa apartment. Yassine had text messaged me updates from Testour, promising in a phone call earlier that day to relay every detail of his experience to me. He described arriving by *louage* (collective taxis between towns) from his home in Beja and stepping out into the town. Immediately he felt a change; he was, as he said, "breathing Andalusian air" (p.c. Yassine, 4/6/2016). What felt different, I asked? In Testour, he explained, it became clear to him, experientially, why all the town's residents were artists, musicians, innovators, and inventors. A romantic through and through, Yassine felt inspired even in those first intoxicating lungfuls. He halted his narrative for a moment and performed a deep, dramatic breath for me, as if for a doctor listening by stethoscope. It was a feeling in the air. Creative urges and insight flooded his system. Being a violinist who typically travels with his instrument, he found himself playing in different places throughout the town, testing out new ideas and experiencing how they sounded in different acoustic spaces — by the Medjerda River after a lunch of special local *rigūta* cheese and bread and at the *dār al-thaqāfa* (municipal "house of culture"), the former home of famed Jewish songstress Habiba Msika.

It is no wonder, Yassine explained, that the people of Testour had constructed such ingenious architectural feats as the clock tower on the *sawmaʿ* (minaret) of the *jāmaʿ al-kabīr* (great mosque) and designed a system of white flags to inform the deaf and distant during the holy month of *Ramaḍān* that the *maghrib* prayer time had arrived and with it the prescribed *ifṭār*, the evening fast-breaking meal. Walking through the uniquely *Andalusī*-style cemetery, he wasn't surprised to see dozens of graves adorned with ʿ*amāma*,[1] carved stone sculptures in the shape of the turban worn by the great *Andalusī* philosophers, mathematicians, scientists, poets, and religious leaders.[2] He was pleased to hear that I had committed to spending nine days in Testour for the Festival International du Malouf à Testour that coming July. It was imperative for me to be there, he said, if I wanted to understand *ma'lūf* as an integral aspect of the Tunisian-*Andalusī* cultural way of life. Only by visiting could I learn what differentiates the '*Andalusī*' place and people of Testour from neighboring Tunisian communities just a few kilometers down the road.[3] I was urged by many of my interlocutors to visit Testour, the "birth place" of Tunisian *ma'lūf*, and other important *Andalusī* places in Tunisia like seaside Sidi Bou Said and Bizerte, and mountainside Zaghouan.

Four months later, I sat in the open-air courtyard of the famous *Andalusī* café in Testour drinking *citronade* surrounded by the late afternoon light and fragrant orange trees, referred to locally with the Spanish *naranj*, rather than *burdugān*, the more common Arabo-Berber inflected term. The café was situated at the juncture of the town's four quarters at the end of the Rue Principal, between the *ḥammām* (thermal baths) and Great Mosque, a row of shops along the road, and several homes. Our company was Firas, Testour-born insurance broker and self-declared lover of *ma'lūf* music, who had been assigned by the festival's volunteer committee to welcome me and my husband, Alex. We'd spent the first part of the day walking through the town together learning about the unique history of the place. Firas identified himself and his entire family as *Andalusī*, tracing their lineage as direct descendants of *Mūriskīyūn* who fled from Toledo. As I came to learn over the following weeks, his family is one of the oldest, most well-known, and well off in Testour.

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[1] *ʿImāma* in Fuṣḥa.

[2] *Al-Andalus* and its flurry of scientific, philosophical, and musical developments is considered by Tunisians to be the pinnacle of the Arab past. Today, *al-Andalus* and its North African settlements are surrounded by an aura of nostalgia, loss, and sophistication.

[3] Because significant renovations were currently under way at the only hotel in the town of Testour, I spent a week and a half living at the modest and otherwise empty "Hotel Thugga" in Tabarsouk. Going between the two every day, I did in fact notice many differences in architecture, sociality, and even in the phenotypical look of the local people.

At the *café*, we sat quietly, listening to the birds in the trees and chatter from neighboring tables. Finally, plucking up the courage to pose a potentially presumptuous question, I asked: "Do Tunisians of *Andalusī* heritage listen to *ma'lūf* differently from other Tunisians?" My worries were assuaged as his entire face grinned and he replied, "of course, there is a difference" – a difference that has everything to do with context and with *jaww*. As he spoke, he stretched out his arms, fanning that special air toward his body. Though I had a sense of what he meant, I asked him to clarify; he continued, explaining that he and his family and friends grew up not only in the *jaww* of *ma'lūf* – amidst the "environment" or "atmosphere" of *ma'lūf* music, a concept I'd encountered before – but in the *jaww* of *al-Andalus*, within the ambiance that creates and sustains *Andalusī* music and other cultural traditions like architecture and food ways. Being familiar with the environment of Testour deeply affects a person's understanding of and interest in *ma'lūf*, he said. "Familiar," that is, not only in the sense of knowing it well, but of being a member of "one big family" that has lived there together for generations (p.c. Firas, 7/21/2016).

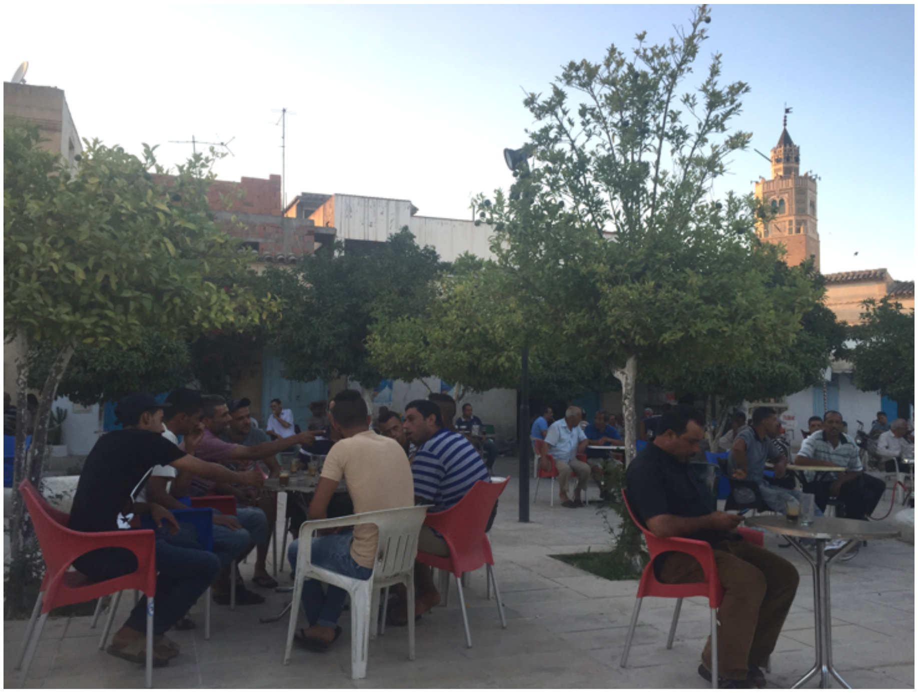

Figure 25 A busy hour at the central *café* in Testour. I was the only woman in the courtyard every time we visited. You can see the famous *sawma'* of the *jāma' al-kabīr* in the upper right corner. Photograph by the author.

In this chapter I address various aspects of the meaning and significance of *jaww*, both in relation to music specifically and to broader aspects of Tunisians' everyday life. Yassine's performative deep breathing and Firas's emphatic gestures, motioning air toward him from all sides, signaled to me just how fundamental the polysemic valences of *jaww* are for Tunisian's musical and identity constructions. I take a step back in scale, moving outside the genre-repertoire-practice complex of *ma'lūf* and the world of Tunisian-*Andalusī* culture, to examine various facets of *jaww* more broadly in *Tūnsī* life. At once, *jaww* may describe anthropogenic place within particular environments (their "climates," "atmospheres"), social inter-subjective feeling (in its meaning of "mood" or "vibe") and the "ambiance" and "pleasures" of dynamic, interactive social events. I explore *jaww* in terms of (1) learning to listen and shaping the sensorium; (2) knowing one's self as Tunisian through and by musical and non-musical sound; (3) telling histories of place-specific musico-geographies; and (4) supporting the cultural continuity of performance and listening practice. In the final section, I explore relationships between the *jaww* of *ma'lūf* and *mezwid*,[4] a genre of music often described as "noise" by *ma'lūf* aficionados and socially-elite Tunisians.

The experiential phenomenon of *jaww* is immersive, pointing to "air" as a seamlessly transductive[5] medium through which actors – corporal and invisible, present and past, fleshy and imagined – convey power, sentiment, and knowledge. As a site of multisensory experience, I investigate how sustained emplaced dwelling in *ajwā'* (plural of *jaww*) is thought to shape sensory faculties, how, for instance, Testour-ians are thought to learn to listen differently from other Tunisians. Further, I examine ways in which experiences of/in *jaww* are transformative for the people present. How, within social and environmental immersion, states of poor health (physical, psychological, and emotional), malignant possession, or identity confusion are ameliorated by the transduction of certain multisensory agents through the air. How *jaww* both *is* and *does;* how it affects and is affected. Close study of *jaww* has been overlooked in Tunisian and international ethnomusicological research to date, due in part to how implicitly it is understood. Here I present its material implications in an anthropological approach not only to sound or to air, but to holistic inter-sensory engagement attuned to the particularities of place.

In each of the following sections, I illustrate ways in which *jaww* facilitates the conduction of the following agents through air: knowledge (creativity and inspiration), affective moods (social feeling, pleasure, and sentiment), spirits and spirit-purifying forces (*jnūn* and magical elements), smell (aromas and odors), and sound (music and speech). Narrowing my focus in the final section, I describe the nostalgic *jaww* of *ma'lūf* in detail, focusing on the historical imaginaries of Sonia, one of my interlocutors. Overall, her descriptions align with impressions I received from informal conversation with other Tunisians. I draw upon Racy's (2008) and Jones' (2010) work to analyze the *jaww* of *ma'lūf* not only as a sonic "dynamic feedback model" between musical performers and listeners, but also as part and parcel of the collective production of *Andalusī*-Tunisian place and community today. In this vein, I theorize *jaww* as the social multisensory experience of place-time.[6]

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[4] See the final section of this chapter, "Trash in the Soundscape: Pollution, Noise, and *Mezwid*."

[5] Here I follow Stefan Helmreich's definition of transduction: "Transduction names how sound changes as it traverses media, as it undergoes transformation in its energetic substrate (from electrical to mechanical, for example), as it goes through transubstantiations that modulate both its matter and meaning" (2015: 222). Air is one form of matter through which sound (and many other things) may move, often times producing an experience of "immersion—a sense of presence and immediacy" (2015: 225).

[6] The Tunisian concept of *jaww* appears to share a great deal with the Japanese "acoustic philosophy" of *hibiki*, as described by Abe (2018: 3,5). *Hibiki* or musical "resonance" is characterized by a type of sonic "fullness" (28,108) produced by the entanglement of sound, space, and time in "local forms of audition" (xxiii). In the context of *chindon-ya* musical street performances advertising different business to the public, "dynamic interrelations of sound, history, and sociality produce space" (xxii). Like *jaww, hibiki produces* sociality acoustically and affectively and *is produced* by particular historical and political resonances (4,107).

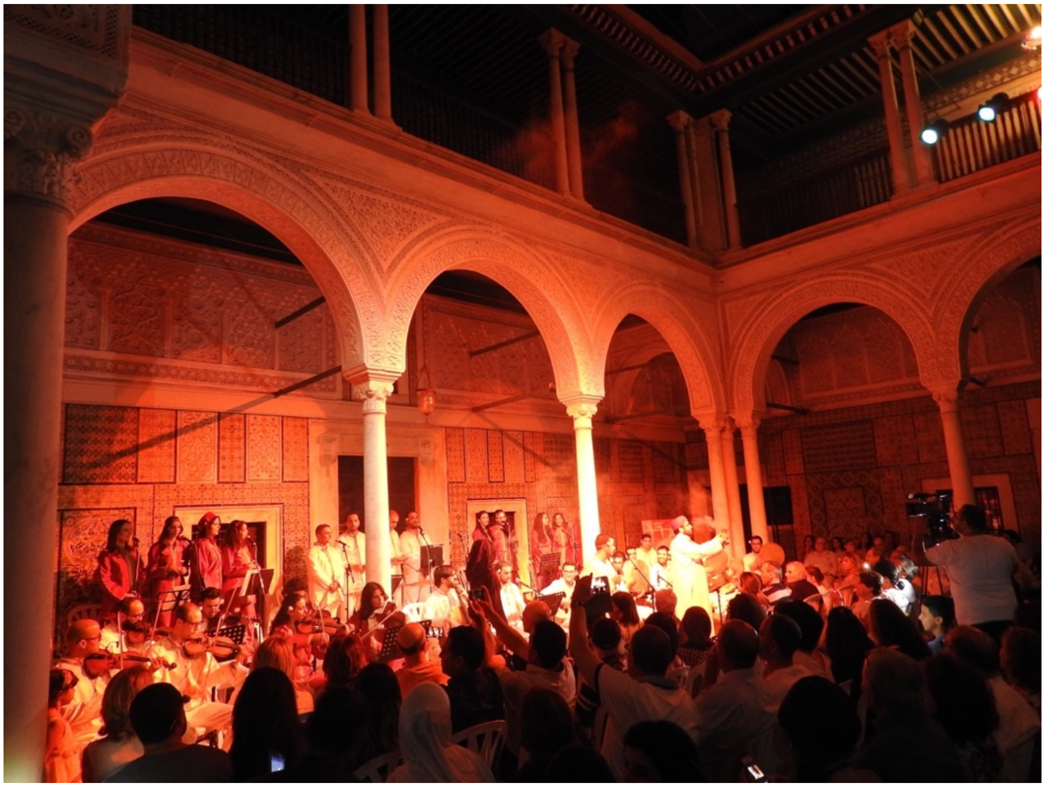

Figure 26 *Jaww al-ma'lūf*, a performance of a mixed set by French ensemble "Eṭṭarab" in Tunis, Dar Hussein, 2016. The man standing in front is holding *bkhūr*, burning incense. Photograph by the author.

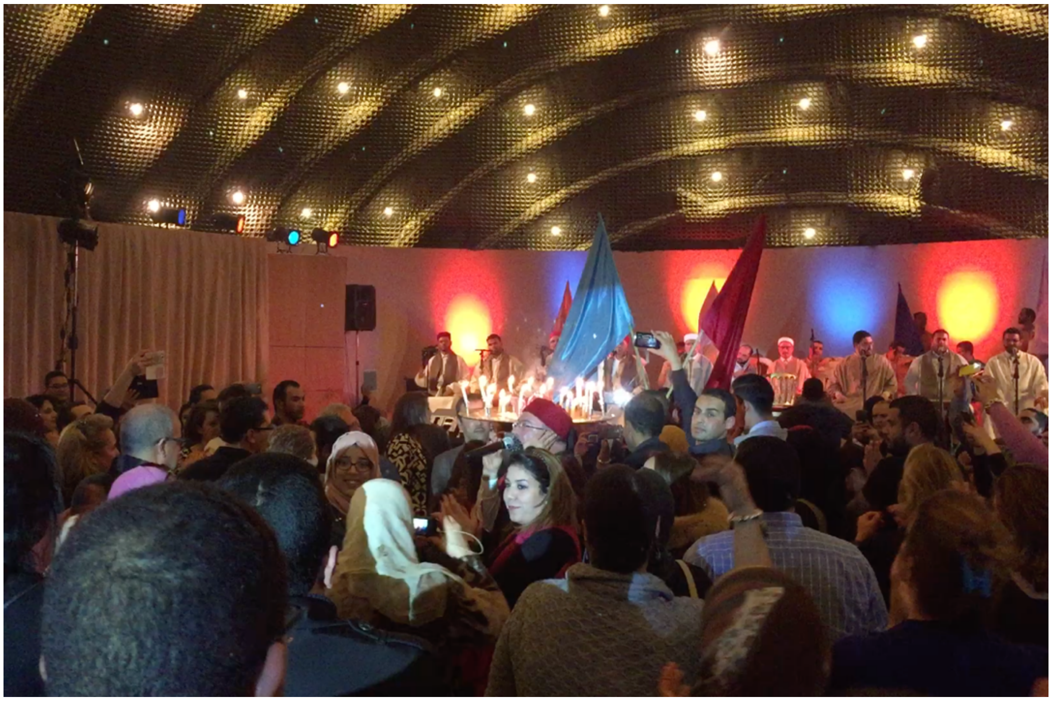

Figure 27 *Jaww al-haḍra*, a performance by "Hadhra Rajl Tunis" in Tunis, Palais de Congress, 2016. Photograph by the author.

Jaww as Atmosphere and Climate

The literal meaning of the Arabic word *jaww* is "air" or "atmosphere," and it is commonly used in this sense in Tunisia and other Arabophone contexts today. In Tunisia, as in other locales, it may also refer to "climate," and in Tunisia, to "weather." As discussed in Chapter 1, the climate, temperature, and weather patterns of Tunisian locales are considered by Tunisians as key aspects of the environment, influencing the local people in terms of their physicality, preferences, and proclivities. In this sense, *jaww* can also mean "environment" in Tunisian parlance.

The characteristic *jaww* of Tunisian regions, towns, and music performance venues are considered to sync or jibe best with certain types of people, typically broken down, not unproblematically, in terms of socio-economic class, race, religion, gender, and aesthetic "taste" groups. In terms of musical practice, genres associated with these subject-identity categories also "belong" to/in anthropogenic locales. *Ma'lūf*, for instance, is associated with and thought to thrive in climates with plentiful rain, ample sun, skies clear of pollutants (smog), temperatures tempered by higher elevation, and clearly delineated seasons and agricultural growth periods.

Compare, for example, the *ajwā'* (plural of *jaww*) of two gendered social environments that are each suited to particular persons. Men's cafés in Tunisia are full of cigarette and *shīsha* (hukkah) smoke, dense with the taste of thick coffee drunk by day laborers, loud with TV and/or radio broadcasting blaring *mezwid* or pop music, interjected with the slap of continuous card games of *shkuba* and inflected with bawdy jokes and talk of nothing of import. Cafés like these are considered places for men, from *shabāb* (youth) to elderly working class *sha'bī* people (common people, now mostly un- or under-employed).[7] On the other hand, consider the *jaww* of a women's *ḥammām*, the public bathhouse that remains an intergenerational space for Tunisian women of all racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. The air is heavy with hot, humid steam, the unctuous smell of *ṣābūn akhḍar*[8] (green olive oil soap), the raw yet satisfying sensation of a full-body scrub in the expert hands of a *harza*[9] (scrubber) armed with her *kessa* (loofa), the rough feeling of *tfal,* a volcanic clay used as a skin treatment, smeared across your face, the sounds of continuously rushing water, talk and gossip about life, the *qubqab* of wooden bath sandals or the "*shlek*" of *shleka* (flip-flop sandals) on the wet floor, all reverberantly bouncing off the thick, tiled stone walls. And afterward, the acrid flavor of *lūben 'arabī* (a natural tree sap gum) and refreshing pomegranate or lime soda in the cooler *dokkena* (changing area). The *jaww* of these places wraps you in itself, stimulates and ensconces your senses, and lingers vividly in memories.

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[7] I have, however, seen and heard many stories of Tunisian women who attend men's cafés to make a statement, calling attention to their equal right to occupy Tunisian spaces of their choosing.

[8] Olive oil soap is remembered as a product traditionally produced by Jews, especially the Italian "Grana," who emigrated predominantly from the city of Livorno. Another female-gendered space that is associated with a specific *jaww* is the practice of *firqa ṣābūn*, washing laundry by hand. The comedy group, *Firqa Saboun*, riffs on the caricatures of two geriatric women doing wash together, poking political jokes and playing at lewd body and toilet humor.

[9] The woman whose job it is to scrub is the *harza* (the scrubber) and the patron(ess), the scrubbed, is the *hokk.*

Knowledge, Creativity, and Inspiration

As Yassine described to me in his account of his visit to Testour, the *jaww* in particular places is imbued with the thought patterns and creative ingenuity of the people who live and once lived there. The conveyance of thoughts through the air in these places is not only significant as a form of inspiration for insight, as Yassine described, but plays an important role in the epistemology of history and cultural life. For Tunisians, embodied physical presence *in* place allows them to know things better. When someone travels somewhere to learn about its history or to see what life is like for its people, they will understand it more accurately, more fully, more intuitively, and more sincerely because they have gone there. Interwoven into this epistemology, the value of immersion in the *jaww* of specific places bespeaks emic notions of cultural intimacy. Learning and knowing about life and history, for Tunisians, is a fabric stitched through with feelings. Overall, I have found that Tunisians trust information that comes to them affectively, that is, in this sense, through a form of intuition without their explicit awareness or thought. Indeed, this epistemology is not unrelated, however loosely, with the mode of the Prophet Muhammad's revelation, which came to him as self-contained units of information in "true dreams" (i.e. visions) and during visitations of angels. When it comes to knowing through *jaww*, to "get it," as Americans might say, "you had to *be* there."[10]

These relations between ways of knowing and *jaww* have major implications for ethnographic methods of inquiry. During my research period, whenever possible I followed Tunisians' suggestions for how best to internalize aspects of regionally- or locally-specific history and cultural practice. Interestingly, learning by way of Tunisian epistemic *jaww* shares much with anthropological methods of participant observation, emphasizing experiential learning through sustained engagement with the sensory world, or sensorium, as emic-ally produced and understood. Despite my sincere attempts to follow Tunisian epistemological models for learning through physical presence and multisensory immersion in the *jaww* of various places – buildings, neighborhoods, and towns – by my own reckoning, I sometimes failed. Not for lack of persistence on my part. The ineffective transduction of the sentiments that Tunisians hoped I'd come to understand is a testament to the intricate, culturally-specific, and inimitable definition of local(ized) knowledge and knowing. The following anecdote illuminates this point.

When visiting the city of Kairouan[11] with Meher, whose family has lived there for at least four generations, we searched together for *Andalusī* and Jewish aspects of its history.[12] At the *Musée Rakkada*, a former palace of Tunisia's first president, Habib Bourguiba now used as a museum for archeological artifacts from the city, we encountered an elderly man lounging and chatting with friends in a sitting room adjacent to the museum. Upon meeting us and hearing of our interests, he urgently felt the need to explain, to me as an American *and* to Meher as a young Tunisian, the closeness between Jews and Muslims, historically and today, citing their peaceful and mutually-beneficial co-habitation in *al-Andalus* and their continued peaceful relations upon relocation to Tunisia. He likened Judaism, Christianity, and Islam to three flowers blossoming on the same tree, insisting that all learned and wise people, regardless of their religion, can see that there are far more similarities than difference among the *Ahl al-Kitāb* (the "people of the book," an Islamic term referring to the combined community of Jews and Muslims). He insisted that to fully comprehend the history of Muslim and Jewish co-habitation in *al-Andalus* and their continued peaceful relations upon re-locating to Tunisia, we must go to visit the tomb of Sidi 'Amor Abbada, a blacksmith and revered Muslim saint who lived in Kairouan during the nineteenth century and who was known, evidently, to epitomize that history.[13]

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[10] Consider the forms of "authority" explored in James Clifford's "Introduction: Partial Truths" to *Writing Culture* (1986). Here, as Clifford reminds, "the ethnographer no longer holds unquestioned rights of salvage…" (1986: 16). Further, "Who has the authority to separate science from art? Realism from fantasy? knowledge from ideology? Of course such separations will continue to be maintained, and redrawn; but their changing poetic and political grounds will be less easily ignored. In cultural studies at least, we can no longer know the whole truth, or even claim to approach it" (25). See also Grenier and Guilbault, "'Authority' Revisited: The 'Other' in Anthropology and Popular Music Studies" (1990).

[11] Today, Kairawan is considered to be the seventh most important Islamic city.

[12] Meher, a Muslim by birth, has a strong affinity for Jewish people and a deep interest in Jewish Tunisian history. He is active in an International dialogue organization called the "Muslim Jewish Conference" and also works with "Yalla Young Leaders." The most significant evidence for this period is literary; a famous tenth century letter from Sherira Gaon, the head of the Jewish Academy of Pumbedita (modern day Fallujah, Iraq), was written to the Jewish community of Kairawan. In the eleventh century, Kairawan boasted two famous rabbis (learned Jewish scholars and leaders), Nissim ben Yaakov and Hananel ben Hushiel. Hananel ben Hushiel was the teacher of Isaac Alfasi (of Fez), who studied in Kairawan and wrote the first major legal commentary on the Talmud (see Brody 1998).

And so, hopeful that we might find another knowledgeable person or explanatory signage, we traveled across town to his shrine. Though we did find some signs about the saint and many physical artifacts there – mostly enormous wooden carvings of everyday objects – there was nothing and no one there to speak of his tolerant attitude or position toward Muslims and Jews. Meher had also expected to find more tangible records, but he seemed more content than me. What became clear to me only after we'd spent time wandering inside the shrine and had left for home was that there was something in the *jaww* of the place, in the ideas and feelings in the cool air of his burial chamber, that could explain the saint's philosophy more directly, provided that one had the epistemological framework to recognize and receive that information. A sign would have been a helpful translation of that meaning, but it seems I hadn't absorbed the knowledge effectively. As it turned out, "you had to be there" to understand, but you also had to be a Tunisian who had developed the epistemological means to the *meaning*.

Relatedly, the wisest and holiest Tunisians revered as saints in life and after death attained wisdom intuitively. Though everyday people are not capable of immediate clairvoyance or clairaudition, physical immersion in the *jaww* surrounding a Sidi's shrine is said to afford the closest approximation – the quickest and most thorough transduction – of his or her saintly wisdom. Parallels resound between Tunisian place-based epistemologies and the Apache concept that "wisdom sits in places" (Basso 1996: 122). Tunisians, like the Apaches in this regard, "view the landscape as a repository of distilled wisdom, a stern but benevolent keeper of tradition, an ever-vigilant ally in the efforts of individuals and whole communities to maintain a set of standards for social living that is uniquely and distinctly their own" (63). As my experience at the museum exemplified, ideas and models for ethical behavior may hang suspended in the air, waiting to be sensed, around certain personages who are, in turn, tied to the places of their interment.

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[13] In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Kairouan (now the seventh holiest Islamic city) was considered the second-most important city among world Jewry. It was home to great Jewish rabbinic scholars and lively intellectual and religious Jewish life. The custom of going on a *ziyāra* (a "trip," literally) to visit the *qubba* (burial site and shrine) of a *Walī, Sīdi,* or *Maribūt* (a Muslim saint) is an important aspect of *Maghribī* Sufi practice and is still relatively common among Tunisian Muslims and Jews. By visiting the physical place, pilgrims receive *baraka* (blessing) that is concentrated in the area around the remains of the saint. *Baraka* may bring health, wealth, peace, and (as in this story) wisdom, to the pilgrim.

Mood, Sociality, and Feeling

Perhaps the most common meaning of *jaww* is simply “mood” or “state.” It is not uncommon for Tunisians, especially youth, to greet each other with *jawwik behi?* (“your mood/state is good?”). *Jaww* is used more specifically to mean “fun,” or “pleasure,”[14] or a “good time;” the Tunisian Arabic construction *naʿmlū jaww*, literally “we are making *jaww*,” means “we are having fun” and is ubiquitous among youth.

In these senses of the term, *jaww* is a goal of social interaction, describing both the capacity and product of just the right factors. *Ajwā’* as forms of affective sociality and emergent inter-subjective feeling hinge upon the value that Tunisians place on togetherness. Unlike introspective models of comprehending the self through hermitage, isolation, and solitude, the Tunisian tendency is to consider the self as insignificant, if not understood in relation to the collective. In Arabic, *waḥīd/waḥīda* means both “alone” and to be “lonely” and those who keep to themselves are often considered to be unwell. For Tunisians, if a friend or family member is acting despondent, it is important to act fast, before he drifts farther away. As I’ve witnessed, in these situations the best solution is to alter his *jaww* by changing his sensory environment and by positioning him close among others.

Recommended and practiced by young Tunisians, an excellent way to improve someone’s *jaww* is to attend a musical performance or comedy show. Especially popular among urbanites in Tunis today are *ḥaḍra* performances.[15] In twenty-first century city life, *ḥaḍra* is typically a staged, stylized performance of the Sufi ritual of *dhikr*, a repetition and remembrance of God exemplified through and nestled among honorific songs praising local Muslim saints (called *Sīdi* or *Lilla*). Tunisian and other North African *ḥaḍra* ensembles’ practice and repertoire are place-specific and associated with local saints, but the troupes that currently give large-scale staged shows in the greater Tunis area focus on songs that are widely familiar to general audiences alongside their local canon of songs. The *jaww* of these musico-social one-off events is celebratory, joyous, lively, and comforting in their familiarity. Singing along with vocal and instrumental performers and with other audience members and packed into a crowded, tight space, the affective energy of unity or togetherness ripples across the group. Social feeling is in the air – stimulated, communicated, and sustained through physical proximity, movement,[16] participatory musicking, and multisensory overload – and the *jaww* is catching.[17]

The *jaww* characteristic of genres of Tunisian music orders and mediates the moods, behaviors, and associations that are socially appropriate for audiences. The *jaww* of/for Tunisian *ma’lūf* differs from that of other Tunisian musical genres like *ḥaḍra, mezwid,* or *sṭambēlī.* Encapsulated in sensations and physical movements, *jaww* may be elicited outside of an original social context or particular place using sensory triggers like pre-recorded audio, incense, and food and drink like pastries and mint tea. *Jaww* binds people to places and time, fills and occupies spaces physically and emotionally, and moves across and between people. *Jaww* is "good to think with," as Claude Levi-Strauss theorized (1964, 1966), a structure of thinking for social unification, cohesion, inclusion, tolerance, nationalism, and heritage preservation.

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[14] Taken out of the context of music and celebratory ambiance, the hilarity of my question, *shnuwwa al-maʿna mtaʿ jaww* (“what is the meaning of *jaww*?”) once elicited laughter from an interlocutor who responded, barely able to contain himself, that it means “pleasure,” but colloquially it also means “sex.”

[15] For detailed analysis on the older forms of *ḥaḍra* as used in the Sufi lodges (*zāwaya*), see Jafran Jones 1977; and for an analysis of contemporary *ḥaḍra* spectacles, see Jankowsky 2017.

[16] The ritual repeated movement of *dhikr* and of *ḥaḍra* are key to Sufi practical concepts of unification with each other and God. Today, the same gestures of the *zāwiya* persist, though they are not synchronized across the group and are often stylized in folkloric capacity and performed by “professional” dancers on stage.

[17] This reminds again of Abe’s study of resonance in Japanese *chindon-ya* music where *nigiyakasa* (“noisiness” or “liveliness”) is a desired aspect associated with festivity, prosperity, and sociality (2018: 79). In a wonderfully cross-sensorial concept, drumming “makes the blood noisy” (79). A similar sonic-social noisy environment is called *ramé* in Balinese music and refers to a sort of fullness, “activity, or “boisterousness” required for ceremonies (Gold 2005: 7,14,77,150).

For Tunisians, *jaww* can also capture the zeitgeist, the spirit of the times or of certain periods in Tunisian history, especially *la belle époque* ("the golden age") or *ayyām zamān* ("the old days"). Widely available pirated compilation mix albums featuring period recordings of classic popular songs from this "golden age," roughly the 1930s through 1970s, are commodified and marketed as *jaww ayyām zamān*, playlists for the re-creation of genre- and period-specific *ajwā'.* The covers of these cassette tapes and CDs boast black and white photos of each *muṭriba* (singer) or *nejma* (star) along with images of gramophones and radios, classic iconography of sound-reproduction devices from *ayyām zamān* that index nostalgic longing for the way things used to be.

Other common compilations, like the examples depicted below, are wedding music albums to be played during wedding parties to provide *jaww al-'arūs* or *jaww laarousette* (the "*jaww* of the wedding" or "*jaww* of weddings") or even *ajwā' al-'arās* (the multiple "*jaww*-s of the weddings"). Album covers, whether advertising rap, *mezwid,* popular wedding music classics, or *ma'lūf*, are often emblazoned with starbursts in Arabic or transliterated Arabic touting, "100% Jaww" or the French gloss, "100% Ambiance," suggesting to potential listeners that all they need to do is to load the recording in their car or home stereos to create and enjoy the mood of particular socio-musical occasions. For some, the desired mood may be the erudite sophistication of *ma'lūf*, the nostalgia of classic twentieth-century popular radio songs, or the exuberant and light atmosphere of Tunisian wedding parties.

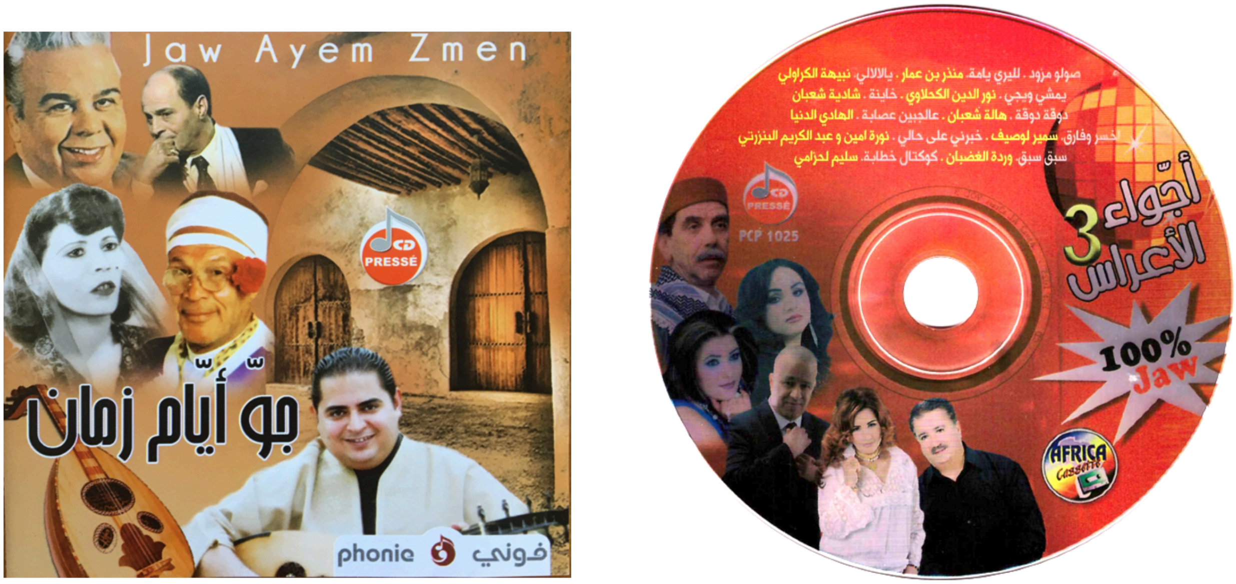
Jaw Ayem Zmen
جو أيام زمان
CD PRESSÉ
phonie فوني
صولو مزود . لليري يامة. منذر بن عمار . ياالالي. نبيهة الكراولي
يمشي ويجي . نور الدين الكحلاوي . خاينة . شادية شعبان
دوقة دوقة . هالة شعبان . عالجبين عصابة . الهادي الدنيا
الخسر وفارق. سمير لوصيف . خبرني على حالي . نورة امين و عبد الكريم البنزرتي
سبق سبق. وردة الغضبان . كوكتال خطابة. سليم لحزامي
CD PRESSÉ
PCP 1025
أجواء الأعراس 3
100% Jaw
AFRICA Cassette

Figure 28 (left) *Jaww Ayyām Zamān* ("Jaww of the Old Days") and (right) *Ajwā' al-'Ārās*, ("Jaws of Weddings") with "100% Jaww"

Though access to affective states and modes is presented here as "ready at hand," packaged and marketed to be consumed as commodities goods, any Tunisian would tell you that solo listening – outside the multisensory social milieu of live performances and celebratory events – is a cheap imitation of the multi-facetted sensorially-dense *jaww* that requires, as one of my interlocutors put it, "good company, good food, and good music." Sincerity matters and faked *jaww* is unconvincing.

Spirits and Spatial Occupation

One afternoon, walking down Rue Ibn 'Arafa with Emna, a neighborhood friend, I asked if she too had been kept up the previous night because of a loud celebration taking place between our houses. No, she said she hadn't heard a thing, which surprised me given how loud my experience of the music and *Qur'ānic* recitation had been. I described what I had been able to pick out by listening out my bedroom window. Emna identified the celebration as an instance of *ḥizib al-laṭif*, a social musical event performed to cleanse a physical space of its spirits, especially during housewarming parties when new occupants are moving in. Emna recalled also that her family had hired a musical troupe for *ḥizib al-laṭif* gathering at her family's house when her grandfather had passed away.

It is a common Tunisian conception to suspect the air of harboring sinister, innocuous, or benevolent entities, principally *jnūn* (singular, *jinn*), a category of non-human non-godly being in Islamic cosmology. We don't notice *jnūn* most of the time, though the more malicious sort can wreak havoc on our lives, if they so choose. The air of vacant or abandoned spaces must be approached with caution and, if possible, cleansed of maliferous elements before people occupy that space again. Ritual fumigation is a process laden with multisensory elements and involves filling the air with efficacious sound – music, speech or liturgical text – and the smoky-sweet smell of *bkhūr* (incense).[18] It is the presence of these purifying elements introduced into the air that counters and disrupts the workings of *jnūn* and *shayāṭīn* (satans) and evicts them from the space, at least for the time being.[19] Although, to my knowledge, the concept of *jaww* is not used explicitly in discourse surrounding *ḥizib al-laṭif*, the sonic ritual practice directly engages the same concept of presence, transduction, and communication with invisible elements that occupy the air in enclosed in spaces.

For many Tunisians, notions of occupation extend to the human body as well; possession by malevolent forces may affect the physical and psychological health, behavior, personality, and tastes of the affected party. In certain forms of trance and spirit possession that may take place temporarily during *dhikr*, the repetition of the name(s) of God is accompanied by repeated formalized movements, or musical *ḥaḍra.* While some Tunisians I spoke with characterize *ḥaḍra*-induced ecstatic states – called *melbūs* (when a person is literally "worn" as the clothes of a spirit) or *meskīn/meskīna* (meaning that a person is "lived in" by a spirit) – as a pleasurable release, others are warier and even fearful of entering the *jaww* of *ḥaḍra* , which might, involuntarily, alter their state or experience of reality. In *sṭambēlī* musical rituals, "white saints" (Sufi saints) and "black spirits"

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[18] Similar multisensory aspects are employed in other musical contexts including ritual Balinese gamelan performances; "Remember that the sense of *ramé* is of utmost importance: sonic spaces are filled with sound, physical spaces with people and movement, the air with incense, and the present with references to Bali's past" (Gold 2005: 77).

[19] In eighteenth-century Jewish thought in what is now Poland and Lithuania, demons and spirits called *dibbuks* inhabit abandoned and remote places, including some forests (Hundert 2004: 143). Occasionally, however, they "penetrated people's houses" and new human homeowners would need to "perform rites necessary to ensure that the dwelling would be free of demons" (143). In an account from 1752-1753, *dibbuks* were said to have pressed their case of home-ownership against new human occupants in court, to be adjudicated by a Rabbi. They claimed that it rightfully belonged to them (143). In the end, the Rabbi found in favor of the humans but warned everyone to be very careful in their future dealings with *dibbuks*, and not to give them any basis for entering their homes, because demons also follow Judaism law (*halakhah*) and therefore have the right to legal recourse (145).

(animist spirits of a Sub-Saharan African pantheon) are identified as having possessed individuals and are engaged through specific musical modes and rhythms unique to each imposter. Both *sṭambēlī* and *ḥaḍra*, though typically performed or led by people of particular religious, racial, and ethnic backgrounds, are used to treat and are attended by Tunisian of diverse backgrounds including Jews.[20]

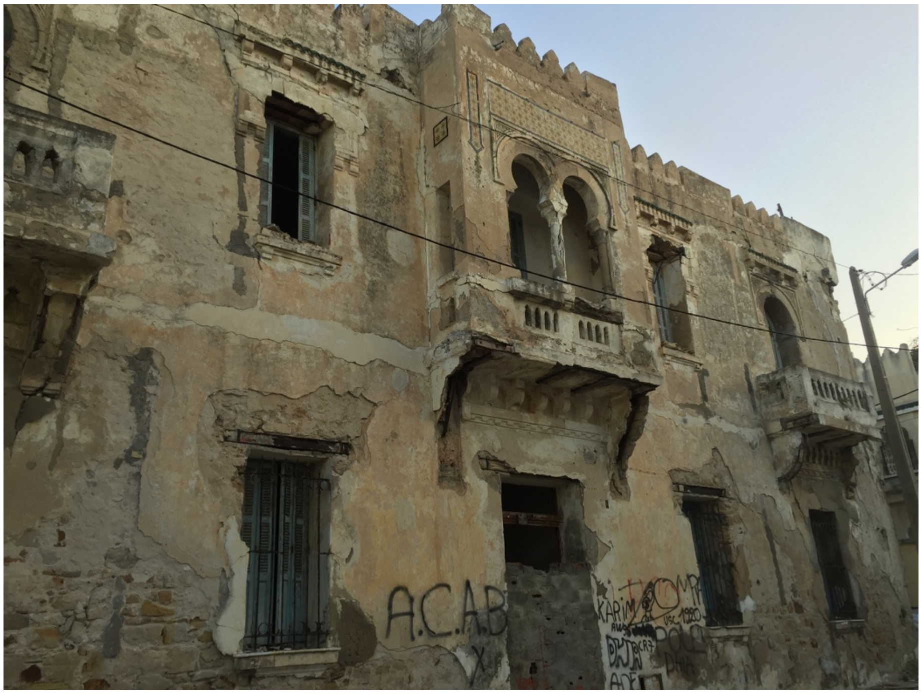

Figure 29 An abandoned French colonial building near by the sea in La Marsa. Photograph by the author

Besides religious-based concerns regarding the presence of non-human entities, I noted that residents of Tunis, La Marsa, and the surrounding suburbs have an unspoken custom of marking off certain types of abandoned buildings as areas that should not be re-occupied, at least in the short-term. In La Marsa I often passed by the once-sumptuous and now-decrepit homes of wealthy French administrators and colonials, dating to the protectorate era (1881-1956), which appear to have been purposely shuttered-up and left to deteriorate. It seems a directly related phenomenon that, after they were thoroughly looted and vandalized in 2011, the many residences of the former authoritarian president, Ben Ali and his extended family, were cordoned off and left vacant. Perhaps they will be re-purposed at some future date, but for now, these two types of buildings – those from the era of French colonialism (*al-ḥimāya al-faransiyya*) and from Ben Ali's regime – are lumped together as places that should remain desolate and uninhabited. Their smoke-charred ruined skeletons loom large as everyday unsightly memorials to painful eras past. They have about them an aura, a *jaww* even, of "pride before the fall," of *decadence* and melancholy. When the air and energy that circulates through or around buildings is *meskīn/meskīna*, "lived in" by spirits, it is ill-advised to unsettle the dust.

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[20] Albert Memmi provides a detailed description of a spiritual exorcism in a Jewish home in his 1953 semi-autobiographical novel, *La statue de sel* (The Pillar of Salt).

Odors and Aromas

Scents, pleasant and unpleasant alike, are also important elements that disperse, gather, and linger in the air of certain environments. Odors act as key sensory indexes for the *ajwā'* of different places, events like *ḥaḍra* musical performances, and celebrations of Islamic and Jewish holidays, especially *al-ʿĪd al-Kabīr* and *Lag b'Omer* (or *Ziyāra*), respectively.[21]

Typically burned in a terracotta or metal *kanūn*, Tunisian *bkhūr* (incense) includes a wide range of plant- and mineral-derived substances, each associated with certain purposes, occasions, origins, and even with specific religious and ethnic groups in Tunis.[22] Some *bkhūr* are used simply to perfume the home, typically burned in a doorway or window during housecleaning with soaps and bleach. Other types of *bkhūr* are released, as already noted, into the air to drive out bad spirits, to clear thoughts, to bring serenity and peace of mind, or as aphrodisiacs. As with culinary spices, like *ras al-hanūt*,[23] it is common to mix several types together to create blends. Using *bkhūr* and scenting the body are considered important habits of good personal hygiene and religious purity in Islam. At a basic level, bad odors should be countered with good,[24] as the following Tunisian proverb reminds with regard to halitosis: *fom labakhr sewek harr*, "for very bad breath, use very strong *sewek* (a strip of bark traditionally used as a toothbrush)."

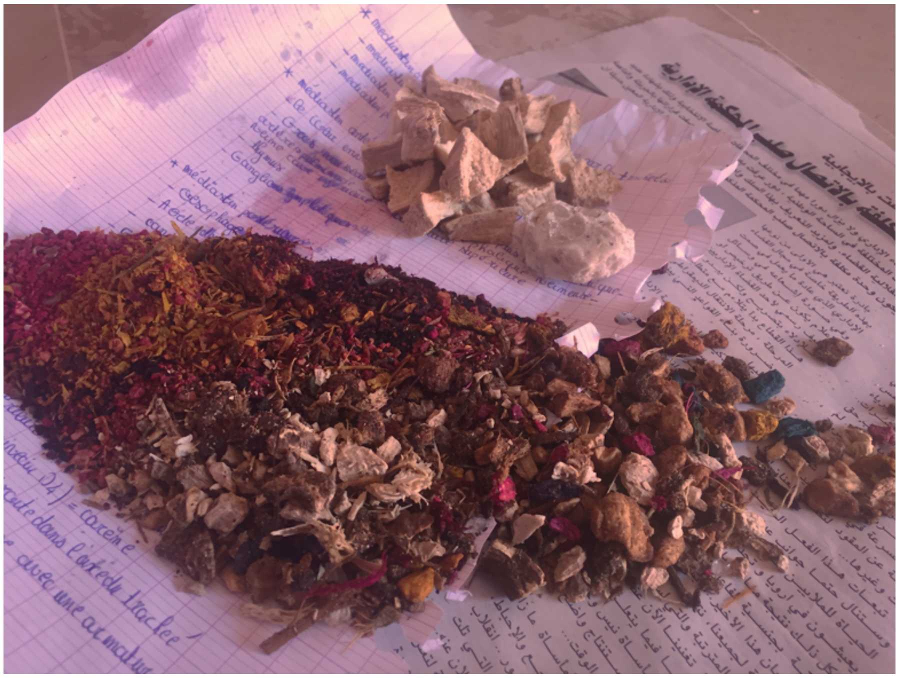

Figure 30 An assortment of different types of *bkhūr* from the market in La Marsa. They came wrapped in a cone made from reused paper: a child's French homework and an Arabic newspaper. The larger wooden pieces are called *dād* and protect from bad spirits entering the house. They are also placed in windows and near doors.

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[21] For example, for Jewish Tunisians living in Djerba and Zarziz, the thick smoke of *mishwī* (barbequing meat) calls to mind the *jaww* of *Lag b'Omer*, a revelrous commemoration of the death of the second-century Rabbi Akiva. For Tunisian Muslims, the charred smell of grilled lamb connotes *'Īd al-Kebir* (*Eid al-Adha*), an annual sacrificial feast honoring the *Qur'ānic* story of Abraham's sacrifice of a ram in place of his son, Ishmael.

[22] One of my Tunisian Muslim colleagues, Taha, once brought me a gift of a special powdered *bkhūr* from his home town, near Sousse, that he said everyone still uses, but which used to be made and used exclusively by Jewish Tunisians.

[23] Literally meaning "head of the shop," "the best a shop has to offer." In the United States, we'd say "top shelf." In Tunisia, *ras al-hanūt* is typically composed of ground coriander, caraway, pepper, garlic powder, clove, rosebud, and cinnamon, though it may include upwards of twelve ingredients.

[24] There is a long history of aroma therapy for the treatment of many ailments in the Islamic world (Ruggles 2008: 57).

In general, it is important to contain the circulation of the smells of daily life to their respective areas within the home, especially when it comes to containing the aromas of cooking in the kitchen and sequestering malodorous ones in the bathroom. When in the process of cleaning the house, however, it is typical to open all windows and doors to let pleasant light breezes (*nisma*) blow through, spreading the scent of *bkhūr* throughout the house. In certain towns, prevailing winds that come from certain cardinal directions or from "the mountains" or "the desert" may bring with them beneficial effects or risks to one's health.[25] In general, towns on or nearby mountains are said to have cleaner and healthier air. Though I have not heard of any specific contemporary examples, *Amazīgh* orientation of homes was influenced by associations with directional winds, seasons, and fertility (Bourdieu 1979: 133-53).[26] Home orientations were also prescribed in medieval *Andalusī* treatises (Ruggles 2008: 34). In one such example, Ibn Wafid advises, "it is preferable that the houses…doors and windows open eastwards. This is because the east winds are more salubrious than the winds from the west, and also because the heat of the sun removes the ill effects of bad air. The houses should be tall and broad with wide doors so that they are well-ventilated. In this way their inhabitants will remain healthy" (34-5). Finally, the common Tunisian phrase, *riḥt al-blēd*, literally "smell of the country," refers to any familiar sensuous reminders of Tunisia as home, be they olfactory[27] – etymologically, *riḥ* refers to both "spirit" and "wind" – gustatory, or auditory.

Musical *Jaww* as Dynamic Feedback Loop

In this section I examine the role of *jaww* in Tunisian music performance and listening contexts, drawing on my own observations and the work of other scholars. I extend Jones' (2010) theorization of Tunisian *jaww* as it relates to the concept of *ṭarab*, a state of sound-generated ecstasy for musicians and listeners of Arab-Persian-Turkic art music performance[28] and in the context of Sufi religious *dhikr*.[29] I consider the implications of Jihad Racy's performer-audience ecstatic feedback model (1991) in terms of Tunisian *jaww* and argue for *jaww* not only as a quality of social events, but as (1) a site of multisensory knowledge, (2) a phenomenological circulation of sentiment, and (3) a social mode of producing senses of place.[30]

In her compelling and historically-informed dissertation study of women's performance of Tunisian *ma'lūf*, Alyson Jones (2010) discusses gendered aspects of Tunisian musical *jaww.* Her research focuses on the experiences of professional female working musicians who play *ma'lūf* and other music for paid gigs, predominantly weddings. In the context of her project, she defines *jaww* as a "heightened festive atmosphere" during wedding celebrations and as a social goal for music-makers that also provides invaluable practical experience improvising and "playing out" (Jones 2010: 237).

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[25] I have heard such references made in Zaghouan and El Kef. In the southern Tunisian phosphate-mining town of Métlaoui, winds blowing from the phosphate-washing plants and chemical processing factories are said to carry cancer with them. Mine workers in colonial-era tunnels would also watch the flames of their carbide lamps for evidence of invisible toxic gasses in the stagnant underground air; if the flames went out, workers would immediately evacuate the tunnel for fresher air above ground (for more on this topic, see Gruskin "Phosphates: Local Resistance, Global Agriculture, and Environment in Gafsa, Tunisia, 1890s-1960s" (forthcoming).

[26] Today, sacred buildings and monuments, however—from the *jāma' al-kabīr* (the mosque) to the Sidi's *qubba* (Saint's shrine) to human graves—must always orient toward the holy city of Mecca.

[27] For description of the scents and *jaww* of *Andalusī* and *Andalusī*-style Tunisian gardens, see Chapter 1.

[28] Racy 1991, 2003; Danielson 1997; Shannon 2003, 2015; Stokes 2009; Lagrange 1996.

[29] During 1988; Frishkopf 2001; Hirschkind 2006.

[30] A closer examination of the ambiguities of 'sacred' and 'secular' in Tunisian *ma'lūf* can be found in Chapter 4.

Before examining her work further, it is important to identify some major differences between the performance contexts, repertoire, and constituents of Jones' research in comparison to my own. Jones engages directly with the discourse and socio-musical dynamics of wedding parties – characterized in general as lively, festive, and often as *sha'bī,* meaning "popular" or "of the people" – where *khafīf* (light) selections are drawn from the *ma'lūf* repertoire. These selections are typically considered to be 'peripheral repertoire' by more 'serious' concert musicians and listenership, especially when performed outside of their *nūba* (suite) as stand-alone pieces or as components of a *waṣla* (a sequence or short grouping of songs) alongside non-*Andalusī* classic wedding songs: popular radio songs and *mezwid.* Put bluntly, as many of my interlocutors have, music at weddings is for dancing, and music at concerts is for listening. The *jaww* for each, as one might imagine, differs markedly. As Jonathan Glasser (2010) has written similarly regarding Algerian *Andalusī* music, contexts for *ma'lūf* performance and listening profoundly affect the constitution of the genre category itself and socially structure appropriate behaviors for listening, the ethical value of listening, and the politics of affective identity orientation. Still, revelry aside, decorum and sophisticated performance of class are still of utmost importance at weddings, lest gossip over some *fitna* (social *faux pas* or catastrophe) ruin the good *jaww* (2011: 17).

Most importantly, as Jones identifies, the creation of appropriate *jaww* is dependent on the interactions between performers and audience and is a process-based goal-driven musico-social concept (262). The competence of both musical performers (wedding performers for Jones) and audiences (Racy 1991, 2003) is judged by their cooperative ability to create and sustain *jaww* during an event. In the context of wedding performance, the aim is to "incite as many people to dance as possible" (2010: 262), to compel their participation in creating the ambiance, and to *a'mal jaww* ("make a fun time"). As Jones' interlocutors and my own have described, a "good *jaww* causes people to dance, which increases the *jaww*" and "this better *jaww* further encourages the musicians to play out and improvise more, creating an even hotter *jaww* and getting more people to dance and have a good time" (263). This sociality feeds itself.

During weddings, important types of interactions include interjections from musicians and from the reveling attendees. For example, musicians may direct the audience to "*zugharāt al-'arā'is,*" to ululate as the bride and groom enter the room. Listeners and musicians may also make exclamations of approval such as *aywa!* ("yes!") and *Allah!* (literally, "God!") (264). This interactive relationship, especially as peppered with *istiḥsān* (compliments and exclamations), is common to many other practices of Arab musicking and listening, as described by Racy (1978: 51, 2003: 131-3), Marcus (2007: 115), During (1988), Danielson (1997: 9), and many others. From the standpoint of sound, one especially poetic account of "*ṭarab andalou"* (*Andalusī ṭarab*) comes from Hadri Bougherara, a musicologist from Tlemcen, Algeria: "The perfect harmony between the instrumental play and the very pleasant poetry, moving indeed, constitutes the musical pieces. In a successful *ṭarab*, the [music] lovers are usually made to vibrate and [the music] keeps them in a kind of blissful rapture (2002: 35, my translation from French)."[31]

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[31] The original French reads: *Harmonie parfaite entre le jeu instrumental et la poésie très agréable, voire émouvante, constituent les pièces musicales. Un Ṭarab réussi, fait généralement vibrer les mélomanes et les maintient dans une espèce de ravissement beat* (2002: 35).

The idea of audiences, performers, instruments, and voices vibrating together within shared space is more than a figurative description.[32] Quintessential to musical *jaww* and to *ṭarab* is a co-sounding from which emerges musically-generated and -mediated experience. It is this cyclical, ever-building dynamic that defines *ṭarab* – a concept and term associated more strongly with the Middle East than North Africa – which has been theorized by Jihad Racy using the "ecstatic feedback model" (1991, 2003). Like Tunisian *jaww*, the dynamic he theorizes is dependent on live-ness, on situations where performers and audiences interact, and where music is creatively and "collectively based, socially experienced, and outwardly directed" (9). As is the case of *jaww* for *ma'lūf*, either in dancing (Jones 2010) or in focused and contemplative listening contexts, Racy writes that successfully reaching the goal state of "ecstatic experience" requires "an educated and responsive audience" (1991: 10). That is, the presence of at least a certain critical mass (2003) of "initiated listeners, as an indispensable source of inspiration" is required to create *ṭarab* (Racy 1991: 9). As I discussed in the Introduction, "Learning to Listen," education (formal and informal, musical and social) and experience are key to idiomatically acculturated and appropriate social listening practice and, as with *ma'lūf* performance practice, one must first become an adept listener before one may begin to sing or play music.[33]

Interestingly, the term *jaww* also appears in Racy's work on *ṭarab*, although his usage, reflecting that of his predominantly Egyptian interlocutors, differs somewhat. By his definition, *jaww* refers to the "ambiance" (1991: 14) of a particular event setting necessary for musicians to reach a state of *salṭanah*,[34] modal ecstasy experienced by performer(s), especially singers, when they listen to themselves and other musicians (13), which allows them to reach a "higher plateau of creativity" (8) and to produce idiomatically appropriate (20) yet novel improvisations (18-9). In *Sharqī* (Middle Eastern) performance of Arab art music, it is *salṭanah* then – collectively produced by the performing musician and listening audience – that circulates between individuals in the event space, and which leads to *ṭarab*, an "extraordinary emotional state evoked by the music" (Racy 2003: 6), a state of "enchantment" (Danielson 1997: 11-2), "aesthetic emotion" (Lagrange 1996: 17), or the deep feeling roused by music (Shiloah 1995: 16).

Besides *jaww*, Racy lists several other essential factors needed for reaching *salṭanah* and thereby achieving *ṭarab* among the audience members. These elements are: "Eastern soul" (local disposition), genuine artistry (expertise and sincerity), feeling (expressive emotion or spirit), good health and mood of the performers' bodies and spirits (well fed, not ill, emotionally prepared and undistracted), selection of cosmologically appropriate and context-specific repertoire, and an audience capable of and willing to listen actively and creatively (2003: 120-41). The aspects of *jaww* (ambiance) that are important for his interlocutors' live performances of *ṭarab* music include environmental conditions that aid in "establish[ing] communication" (1991: 16), affording interactions between performers and audience. These include a good, working sound system that is familiar and personally adjusted to the performer(s) and that allows them to hear the audience, as well as enough light for performers to be able to "survey" (17) the audience members for visual engagement and feedback (130-1). A skilled performer builds intimacy with an audience by "testing basic audience reactions through a few musical trials" in different modes or styles and establishes rapport by speaking directly to audience members (17).

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[32] I am reminded here of Henriques *Sonic Bodies* (2011), in which he describes and theorizes Jamaican dance hall sound systems that are meant to physically vibrate the ground, walls, and bodies in its sonic-physical proximity.

[33] Outside of the Arab-Persian-Turkic world but not musico-historically disconnected, per se, similar feedback dynamics between musicians and audiences may be found in Indian Classical music (see Alaghband-Zadeh 2017).

[34] According to Racy, *salṭanah* is thought to be derived from the verb *tasalṭana*, "to dominate," "to reign over," or "to experience a sense of authority" (1991: 13).

In Tunisian musical discourses – for *ma'lūf* and other genres like *ḥaḍra* – the terms or concepts of *salṭanah* and *ṭarab* are not widely used, especially not by the younger generation of listeners, who use *jaww* to encapsulate many of the elements of Racy's *jaww-salṭanah-ṭarab* complex. Sonia, the Tunisian woman with whom I had regular *ma'lūf* listening and singing lessons, described the closest experience to *salṭanah* that I have encountered in Tunis. Swaying slightly, moving her head subtly from left to right, she told me that when experienced listeners are moved by a beautiful *istikhbār* (instrumental improvisation) or *'arūbī* (vocal improvisation), they may become – and here she quickly crossed her arms tightly across her chest and inhaled sharply, still moving slightly from side-to-side – *yatsannat* (chained) to the *ṭaba'* (the melodic mode). This sort of state, she explained, can only occur if the *jaww* is right, and *yatsannat* is a potential experience for only *some* highly competent audience members. The musician, she explained, can also be affected by the overpowering grip of melodic mode in what is called *yatsalṭan*, a verbal form of the word *salṭanah.* But those particular terms only came up once – organically, but somewhat in passing – and she described similar experiences with a variety of other descriptors, for instance becoming "attached" to the melody or "chained" to a mode and forced to follow.

Jonathan Shannon cites one intriguing mention of *ṭarab* from an established music scholar in Fez, Morocco who compared *ṭarab al-Andalusī* – in this sense, *ṭarab* that characteristically manifests during live musicking of *Andalusī* music – with *ṭarab al-Sharq* (*ṭarab* in the Arab East, Turkey, and Iran) (2105: 104). The Moroccan musicologist reasoned that because the *Andalusī* music developed among the sophisticated and erudite people of the palaces of *al-Andalus*, audience behavior and reactions are closer to European understanding of emotionality: more refined and controlled in comparison with the 'baser' exuberance of the Middle East. The Moroccan musicologist suggested that he found "Eastern" sentimentality to be excessive; "We [*Maghribī* inheritors of *Andalusī* music] are moved by the music, but we don't lose control or weep unless it is called for" (104).

One aspect of Racy's theorization that resonates well with Tunisians' experiences of *jaww* is the idea that *jaww* either is or isn't present, with little gradation between. *Jaww* is called out here during conditional moments of failure, when *salṭanah* or *ṭarab* cannot be reached. As Racy describes, mistakes or lack of spirit on the part of musicians are blamed on "salṭanah spoilers" or a distinctly lacking atmosphere, called out in statements like *mā fīsh jaww* or "there is no atmosphere" (145). A similar expression exists in *Tūnsī* language: *mā famesh jaww* ("there is no *jaww"*) or *mā 'andūsh rūḥ* ("he [the musician] has no spirit").

In sum, in Tunisian contexts of *ma'lūf* performance and listening, the concept of musical *jaww* encapsulates a much wider set of components than *jaww* as "ambiance" in Jihad Racy's Arab music "ecstatic feedback model" (1991, 2003). The Tunisian musical *jaww* complex includes, for all manner of live musical performances: (1) the environment, (2) the socially-engaged dynamic processes in which sound, scent, mood, ideas, and other air-borne elements circulate, and (3) the cumulative pleasurable feelings produced. Also key, the transmission of heightened feeling is as significant in its movement among audience members as it is between the musicians and listeners. Racy's model is helpful in that it illustrates dynamic relations between performers and audience and the important role of creative listening in Arab music. In contrast with Racy's definition of *jaww* in Egyptian contexts, in the Tunisian case it is important to recognize *jaww* as precondition as well as process and product.

The *Jaww* of *Ma'lūf*

During my *ma'lūf* lessons, Sonia and I sat together on one of the firm sofas in her family's parlor, the part of the home kept immaculately clean for entertaining visitors. The room boasted a variety of decorative objects, expensive carved wooden furniture, paintings, a little ivory statue, and framed *Qur'ānic* verses calligraphed in metal relief. Across the hall was the living room, where the family actually spent their time and, farther back, the kitchen, bathroom, and bedrooms. Sonia's family's house was one of the most sumptuously furnished of the family homes I came to know, signifying that her family was upper-middle class or even of a higher elite status. Indeed, her mother is a highly-educated English teacher and her father a musician affiliated with the prestigious Rashidiyya school of music. Once, Sonia, situating her position as a bearer of authoritative knowledge, reminded me – I was sure she'd never told me explicitly before – that her family knew everything important about the *medina* in Tunis and about Tunis-based musical practice because her ancestors had lived in the *medina* for generations, at least until moved to their current residence outside the old city close to Bab Sa'doun and the Kasbah area. Without articulating it directly, this assertion identified her family as *blēdī*, established local elite, and as aligned with a genealogy of old-money aristocracy and urban *ma'lūf* patronage.

With our backs to the front windows of the house, our musicking and listening was interspersed with the pleasant sounds of the outdoors: song birds sunbathing in the small front yard, the shuffle of dry, magenta bougainvillea leaves scuttling along pavement and collecting in nooks and corners outside the house, and the occasional disruption of dogs barking or a distant car alarm. Our lessons, without any planning, never seemed to coincide with any of the daily *adhān*-s (calls to prayer), *Qur'ānic* recitation, or broadcasted preaching for Friday *jum'a.* It was little surprise to me that she had chosen this liminal spot, just between the domestic social sphere of the home and the cultivated, natural world of the outside. Learning by listening in this sort of environment was well aligned with what I'd learned of the place of *ma'lūf*, of the venues and spaces well-suited to its performance and listening practice, and emic ideas regarding the cultivation and conservation of a particular acoustic ecology. It was from within this setting, forty-five minutes into our nearly three- hour conversation, that we spoke explicitly about the *jaww* of *ma'lūf* (p.c. Sonia, 12/13/2016).

I opened by explaining that I'd become very interested in the intersection of sensory experience, specific Tunisian places, and the social aspects of Tunisian *jaww* as it related to music. I asked, "what is the *jaww* of *ma'lūf* and what distinguishes it from the *jaww* characteristic of other Tunisian genres?" Checking that I knew the "real definition," the literal meaning of *jaww* as "atmosphere," she went on to confirm my suggestion of various musical *ajwā'*, that *jaww* of *ma'lūf* is not the same as of *mezwid* or *ḥaḍra* music. Her first explanatory move was to refer me to old videos I could watch on YouTube – performances of Tahar Gharsa – to observe the *jaww* of *ma'lūf* epitomized by his performances of the repertoire. She told me that I would find commonalities between all of the videos and that by watching several, I would form an accurate impression of the appropriate *jaww* of *ma'lūf.* These aspects included the performance and sounds of *ma'lūf* standard repertoire along with the "setting and everything." In a revealing slip, she described Zied Gharsa (rather than his father, who she'd referenced moments earlier) sitting with his *'ūd*, with people wearing traditional clothing (like the *jibba*): and "they just do like this," she said, demonstrating their movement, swaying subtly with her head and upper body. Clear already from her description of *jaww* were directives for performance practice, appropriate behavior,[35] sartorial standards, instrumentation, and appropriate listening responses.

She continued, describing the *jaww al-ma'lūf* in terms of mood and the patronage of performers and listeners more specifically:

> The *jaww* is sophisticated, ok, only…I don't know…the upper class, they have the chance to witness this, ok, to actually feel this, the *ma'lūf*, it's not very…it's not reachable for everyone. Not everyone can sit with Tahar Gharsa wearing very good [clothes]. It is private. The *jaww,* I would say it is, well, it is very normal, but the upper class, at that time, they saw art as something very original and very beautiful, as something they should conserve or something they should protect, that's why it was not very accessible to the, you know, middle class or something (p.c. Sonia, 12/13/2016).

Her explanation about the limits of the *ma'lūf* listenership or *clionāt* (consumers or "clients") of the "upper class" – at least at live performances with excellent musicians, which seem standard to her – identifies the genre as reserved for those socially capable of creating and sustaining a "sophisticated atmosphere" for musicians and guests. The imperative to "conserve" and to "protect" the precious *ma'lūf* implies that, like a fragile object, the music should be handled only by experts. In this sense, as Alaghband-Zadeh has explored in the context of Hindustani Classical music listening, "…since the identity of the good listener is a classed identity, ways of listening are a site for the embodied reproduction of social class (2017: 228).

Audition should be reserved for initiates and those already thoroughly familiar with appropriate decorum and behavior. As Sonia stated, *ma'lūf* was "not reachable for everyone," because only expert listeners had the skillset to access the feelings it encoded. More literally, those listeners were the only ones to whom a private invitation would have been extended or who could have afforded attending more public concerts. The picture Sonia paints reveals details not only regarding the habituation and listening competencies of audiences, but also clear social class delineations. Also, reading a bit deeper into the parameters Sonia outlines, I suspect, as described by Jihad Racy in Arab music more broadly,[36] that keeping the audience numbers down to a small, intimate group size may have also been important for creating and maintaining the right *jaww.*

Interestingly, the case of classed audition that Sonia described and other instances I have observed leave significant room for upward social mobility. Practically speaking, regular concert attendance, for example, affords the possibility that individuals of lower social and/or economic standing might indeed aspire to and achieve the 'sophistication' associated with *ma'lūf* connoisseurship by honing their listening skills and mirroring their comportment to match those of a predominantly *bledī* audience. By my observation, the most notable barrier to this mobility is not experience, as Sonia suggests, but skin color.

A familiar trope in musical practice, the *jaww* should be reproduced so that 'the music itself' can re-occur. In another sense, by Sonia's reckoning, there *is* no *ma'lūf* abstracted from the phenomenological context required for its co-production between performers and listeners. Here and elsewhere, she oscillated between using *jaww al-ma'lūf* to refer to the "atmosphere" created during music performances and to the broadly-defined temporality of this "golden age."

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[35] Jihad Racy cites the term *adāb* (singular, *adab*) to describe "codified rules of conduct pertaining to members of various professions (Racy 2003: 226)

[36] See Jihad Racy (2003) Chapter 5, "Salṭana:" 120-146.

To Sonia, what remains today – from the standardized transcriptions of the repertoire published by the Ministry of Culture to the learning, performance, and listening of the repertoire – is an emaciated form of the romantic, idealized social sounding of *ma'lūf* during its golden years, within its perfect *jaww*. Her reticence to imagine more open and accessible contemporary scenarios for music appreciation speaks partially to her classed experience. Other Tunisians with whom I worked expressed different frameworks for understanding the social roles *ma'lūf* does or could play in everyday life for a more inclusive set of actors.

Sonia described the *jaww* of *ma'lūf* concerts during the golden era – the 1930s through 1970s – as an "escape toward sophisticated art" for listeners at the end of a long workday. It was "glorious" and *majestueux* (French, "majestic"). Those people came to "listen and absorb" everything good around them, to love and conserve the music, and to experience the *jaww*. There was also, as she differentiated, a second category of attendees who came only to make a social class statement by associating themselves with genuinely committed and sincerely erudite expert listeners. You have the real listeners and then, as she put it, "you have the other people who, say, well, we're just here." As she explained, when both sorts of listeners were present at the same concert, the two groups may have, in effect, created and experience two distinct *ajwā'*, two distinct ways of listening and experiencing the music and two competing moods circulating among them.[37]

Sonia explained that, even today – well past the golden era temporality she defines as *jaww al-ma'lūf* proper – during performance of *ma'lūf* you hear in *waṣlāt* (shorter sets, not a performance of a full suite) that the *jaww* is still *serein* (French, "serene"). Even when the tempo increases, for example, during songs with the underlying rhythm of *khatm*, the audience, she says, does not feel the motivation to dance. For Sonia, this concert setting – serious listening for the sake of artistic pleasure and heritage appreciation – is diametrically opposed to the wedding celebration setting where, even when the musicians might play a piece of *ma'lūf*, everyone feels the desire to dance, and is allowed to. In the *jaww* of serious listening, the audience does not even feel the urge to dance because the proper listening practice is to attend, in real time, to the melodies, artful improvisation, and poetic lyrics, which describe feelings and multisensory experiences with expressive language.

She pointed to a video example to illustrate her argument, a performance by Soubay la Rachid of a song composed for Salayha, a popular Tunisian media star icon. Strangely, the song Sonia chose as exemplary did not belong to the *ma'lūf* canon. At the end of the story she tried to recall the *ṭaba'* (melodic mode) that the song was composed in and, deciding it wasn't actually important, simply said, "well, it was *ma'lūf*." This suggests a formulation of *ma'lūf* as principally categorized by *jaww* or style, which might, in practice, supersede parameters of *ma'lūf* as a strictly closed set of repertoire, as it is defined by the Ministry of Culture and most practitioners. As she described, at the beginning, before the tempo and underlying rhythm were established, there was a gorgeous violin improvisation and, even without the pulse or anyone singing yet, the audience was "totally captivated" by his playing. When he hit a high note, everyone let out a sigh together, "ahh," and when he finished, the music continued without a pause. Everyone was applauding for him. Summarizing her points, she said "It [the *jaww*] depends on the people who are listening." No two people, if you "put *ma'lūf* with them" will have the same reaction; the moods and sensations experienced are quite variable, interpretable, and individual.

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[37] This description matches very closely Alaghband-Zadeh's interlocutors' accounts regarding Indian Classical music: "Just as the old-middle-class critique of the new middle class casts them as obsessed with shallow materialism, conspicuous consumption, and making money, so the stereotypically bad listener only goes to concerts to show off his or her fashionable clothing and is inattentive, impatient, stingy, superficial, and into fads and gimmicks" (2017: 222).

The depictions of appropriate listening that Sonia expressed raise the question of the role that *jaww* as anthropogenic and climatic environment plays in developing listening competence. While the "Andalusian air" of rural *Andalusī*-Tunisian towns is thought by some to shape familiarity with *ma'lūf* and listening faculties, the equally influential listening politics and paradigms of urban Tunisian audiences are less preoccupied with climatic and anthropogenic environmental conditions and parallel (re)constructions of Iberian-North African *al-Andalus*. However, these two frameworks and their constituents are not necessarily in opposition; many of the *blēdī* (landed social elites) of urban Tunis are descended from *Andalusī* roots. But while locals of Testour hold fast to their *Andalusī* identity, the *blēdī* of the port city of Tunis count themselves as coastal European-oriented cosmopolitans. Descendants of this urban aristocratic class – like Sonia – are also deeply tied to place, but an urban outward-facing rather than rural insular one. And so, while Testour remains a locus of historical *Andalusī* folkloric authenticity and continuity, Tunis-based listenership has cornered the market on what is described as sophisticated, worldly, and refined listening practices. Much further research is needed on the identity category of '*Andalusī*-Tunisians' and their communities *vis-à-vis* non-hyphenated or differently hyphenated Tunisians.

Sonia had more to add about the listeners of *ma'lūf qabl* (the "early *ma'lūf*"): "People back then were very [emotionally] needy and selective. The people who were very interested in the *ma'lūf* were there not only to see the singer, but for the rhythm, the lyrics, the notes, everything!" When I asked about the situation today, Sonia explained that the era of the *jaww al- ma'lūf* started to collapse around the turn of the twenty-first century due to "globalization," "media," the growing popularity of other competing genres, and the loss of strong senses of Tunisian identity. Nowadays, she explained, so few people attend performances of *ma'lūf* to listen for the sake of listening or as an effort to protect and conserve the art. Most of the people who know how to listen are musicians themselves who already understand the value and history of the music.

She bemoaned, as had others among my interlocutors, that for the vast majority of Tunisians today, their only exposure to *ma'lūf* is in the context of wedding music, a *jaww* within which, as she'd already detailed, one simply is not given the chance to comprehend and appreciate the nuances and sophisticated depth of the music. Sonia doesn't blame them; when uninitiated Tunisians hear *ma'lūf* performed at weddings, they dance because they don't know what *else* to do. These listeners might be trying to listen, as Sonia put it, but they are still far away from *ma'lūf* and lack the familiarity and intimacy to "taste" it. Still, she said, "in a small percentage of people, there is a lot of hope." There are young musicians who are still drawn to audition; their labors of patronage – typically as adept listeners *and* musicians – are an *homage* to the late masters, and they pay due deference to the genre's importance and its compelling multisensory musico-social *jaww*.

Trash in the Soundscape: Pollution, Noise, and *Mezwid*

As an ethnographer studying Tunisian *ma'lūf*, a genre typically considered to be a classical Arab "high art" music, I was taken aback by how often *mezwid* music came up in conversation. *Mezwid* is a Tunisian bagpipe which also lends its name to the genre of popular song centered around the instrument or its synthesized derivatives, with singing, and percussion. The more I asked, the clearer it became; Tunisians *love* or love to *hate mezwid*, the characteristic timbre of the bagpipe, the music's stylistic vocal qualia, and the sociality surrounding its performance. Though the musical practitioners and enthusiasts of the erudite world of Tunisian art music often insisted that they themselves had nothing to do with *mezwid*, the 'crude' and low-class music of the masses, rhetorically, their self-identified subject positions stand in dialogic opposition to the sphere of *mezwid*, rather than outside of it.

As I explore in this section, the *jaww* that creates and is created by *mezwid* music is cast by the *ma'lūf* listenership and by government bodies as a social conduit of anti-modern, rowdy, crude, and antagonistic behavior. In the circulation of *mezwid* sound in urban *jaww* that is, in urban environments, *mezwid* is glossed as unhealthy, polluting, and dangerous. As I will argue presently through the close analysis of a piece of government-sponsored media, Tunisian constructions of *mezwid* musical sound as urban noise pollution reproduce deeply entrenched and racialized social-sonic dichotomies of low and high class, traditional and modern, and rural and urban.

Mezwid, the instrument and song form likely arrived in rural, Southern Tunisia in the nineteenth century from Libya and other Saharan origins. By the early twentieth century, sub-Saharan African slaves had brought *mezwid* to Tunis – the cosmopolitan Mediterranean capital – where, as Kathryn Stapley has written, it was propagated by post-emancipation black Tunisians in the contexts of Sufi ritual worship and by itinerant street musicians (2006: 256). In the first decades of its urban manifestation, Tunisian Jewish musicians also joined in *mezwid* composition, performance, and listenership, introducing the music into the context of marriage celebration, spaces now considered quintessential to *mezwid's* typical *jaww.* French colonial appropriation and privatization of Tunisian public land between 1881 and 1956, especially the areas of greatest agricultural potential, led to the fracturing of location-specific systems of tribal affiliations, the quick deterioration of the pastoral economy, disenfranchisement of semi-nomadic groups, and wide-scale unemployment (245). These changes resulted in the mass emigration of many Tunisian ethnic, racial, and religious groups from rural areas to Tunis, the urban center, in search of new forms of income. This relocation reached its climax in the 1950s and 60s (Davis and Jankowsky 2006: 78). Most of these immigrants took up work as day laborers, living in ramshackle shantytowns (246). It is from within these communities of the marginalized new urban poor – migrant workers, beggars, Jews, and the descendants of sub-Saharan slaves – that the genre of *mezwid* emerged.

Mezwid song lyrics document the economic and social struggles of these urban poor, featuring themes of unemployment, poverty, forced migration, and forbidden love. They were also forums for expressing explicitly political critiques of Tunisian presidents and politicians. Gatherings of *mezwid* musicians and listeners were spaces where exhausted and frustrated workers could let off steam together, talk about their experiences, and dance, another important form of release. In these contexts, similar to those of weddings, drinking alcohol was common as were violent outbursts and brawls. The first commercial recordings of *mezwid* for popular consumption, the songs of Hedi Habbouba, were released in 1974, furthering the mass appeal of the genre among the urban poor and heralding the "golden age" of *mezwid* in the 1970s (246). In many ways, the story of Tunisian *mezwid* parallels that of *rai* music in Algeria, which, unlike its Tunisian counterpart, gained international recognition as a type of world music starting in the 1980s.

Since its inception, *mezwid*, has been considered by Tunisian government, media bodies, and the higher classes "a symbol of cultural degradation and moral depravity" (Stapley 2006: 243). These associations can be traced to performance of *mezwid* in the context of rivalrous alcohol consumption, dancing, and the free intermingling of men and women, activities that were not considered 'respectabile' to many early in the twentieth century. In addition, the laborers who pioneered the genre were called *bandī*, from the French *bandit*, "bandit," marking *mezwid* music making as the work of thieves, crooks, or delinquents. In terms of its relation to more 'sophisticated' music, *mezwid* and its practitioners are stereotyped as undereducated, musically inexperienced and unrefined, and money-grubbing.

The social stigma attached to *mezwid* music and sound has been paralleled by a blanket media ban established by the government decree (Saidane 2014). It wasn't until 1988 that *mezwid* made its first appearance on a variety show called Alwan, which was aired by the Tunisian national television broadcasting company. According to Stapley (2006), a public outcry ensued, a scathing critique was published days later in the *La Press*, Tunis' Francophone newspaper, and the director of the TV network was promptly dismissed. The early 1990s saw a public re-examination of the place of *mezwid*. In a widely televised 1991 performance, Fadhl Jaziri and Sami Agrebi included the most popular *mezwid* performers of the day alongside concert and variety show singers in their enormous staged fusion music spectacle (Jankowsky and Davis 2006: 79). Here the classic *mezwid* sound was mixed with reggae and rock instrumentation: electric bass, guitar, keyboard, and drum set. Jaziri and Agrebi's fusion project worked to create novel combinations *and* to "folklorize" the musics they chose to represent. It was within this new frame as Tunisian "folk" music that *mezwid* has gotten closest to acceptability in terms of governmental categories of heritage worth protecting and preserving. This and other early 1990s media phenomena turned the tables for the popular genre and record sales skyrocketed, especially among the teenage crowd as pre-recorded *mezwid* became more openly enjoyed by a broader Tunisian demographic. Still, associations of *mezwid* with immorality, crudeness, unemployment, and the lower classes persist.

I turn now to an analysis of a series of public service ads that aired on Tunisian television as part of an environmentalist initiative of the Tunisian Ministry of the Environment and Sustainable Development in 1991.[38] The three short videos that are of particular interest address the problems of litter, air pollution, and noise pollution. The hero of these videos is the "Labib," the fennec fox mascot of Ben Ali's 1990s environmental campaign that I discussed briefly in the Introduction. Following the 2011 revolution – statues of the Labib, in parks and along roadsides throughout the country – were torn down by protestors; he had, by that time, come to stand not only for Ben Ali himself, but for his failures to serve the public and effect any positive change, especially in the interior and south of the country, and certainly in terms of environmentalism. In each video, the Labib, with his naturally large ears and acute hearing and smell, senses anthropogenic pollution as disturbances in the general environment or the *jaww*. In each instance, he speeds to the rescue from his serene, natural, quiet, and rural desert habitat to zap away smelly rotting litter left on the beach, the smoke generated by burning trash, and the urban noise of the *mezwid* bagpipe, cars honking, TV, and radio (see Figure 31 below).

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[38] Many thanks are due to Nesrine for her assistance in translating and interpreting these videos.

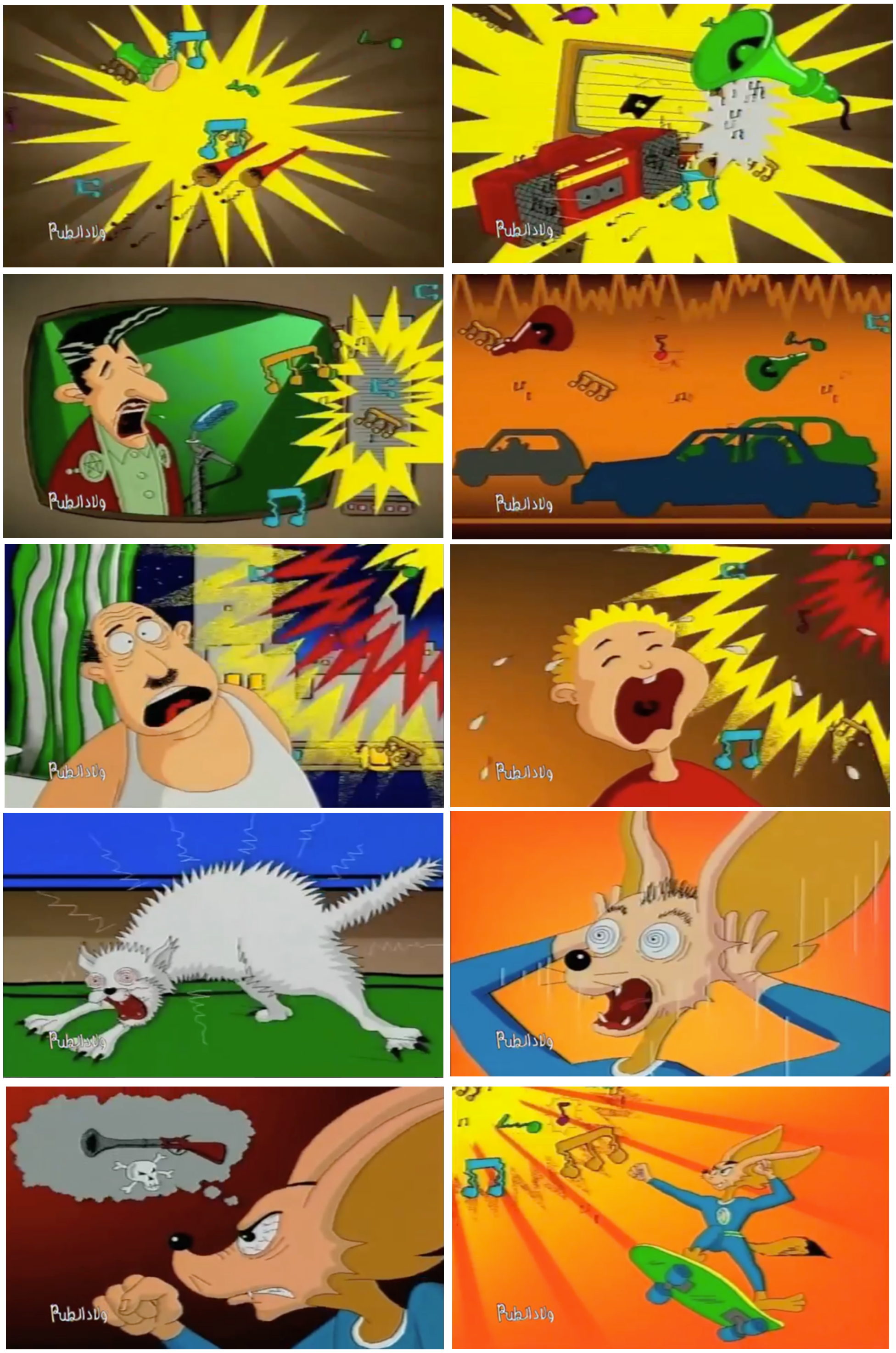

Figure 31 Images from the 1990s environmental campaign video illustrating sources of noise pollution (live music, electronically mediated recorded music, TV broadcasts, and traffic noise), reactions to noise pollution (an incensed cat, man and baby awakened from sleep, and the crazed Labib whose thoughts turn to violence), and the Labib skateboarding through the air to the rescue to silence the sounds. I discovered the video on YouTube as re-presented by the TV show "Wled El-Pub," but it has since been removed.

This government-sponsored public service media asserts several salient claims. First, that noise pollution is identified as a genuine form of pollution, a type of contamination alongside more traditional categories of littering and air and water pollution. Second, the loud, reedy, buzzy timbral sound of the *mezwid* is foregrounded as exemplary of noisy sonic *disruption* of life. This follows closely from long-standing conceptions of *mezwid* music as a form of politically-disruptive dissent. But choosing to reproduce only the characteristic bagpipe sound, without its accompanying singing and drumming, the designers of the video disavow any engagement with the *semantic* content of *mezwid's* politically oppositional lyrics. Framing bagpipe sound as metonymic for the genre at large also centers on timbral qualities that index racialized alterity and classed otherness.[39]

The integration of *mezwid* sound with the noise of traffic is a revealing combination as well. In my own experience, many taxi drivers are avid *mezwid* listeners. The linkage of *mezwid* to noisy traffic – a frustration of taxi drivers' work – resonates with *mezwid*'s use as an expressive art form in the neighborhoods of poor laborers in 1950s and 60s Tunis.

A third claim furthered in the final video is that the audible production of *mezwid* is not only experienced as noise because it interrupts life, both human and canine, but that its performance in these contexts is *ethically* inappropriate. The voice over towards the end of the final video makes the explicit statement in Arabic that "afternoons are for resting, and nights are for respecting others." This seems to refer directly to evening and late-night music making, by far the most popular time for *mezwid* performance during summer weddings. Emanating from government sources, the statement about "respect" aligns ethical behavior with specific normative concepts of "common decency," and, in doing so, forecloses on specific racially and socio-politically charged forms of sociality. Finally, we see depictions of the *effects* of noise pollution: the screaming of grown men and babies alike, crazed cats, and the eye-spinning psychological derangement of the Labib, which transforms into his blood-shot thoughts of violent aggression.

These videos are one product of the complex entanglements of musical sound, urban noise, alterity, nationalism, race, class, and hygiene that continues to play out today in Tunisia. As David Novak articulates so astutely in his "noise" entry in *Keywords in Sound*, "without attention to its specific manifestations, noise can only reinforce cultural binaries." The rhetoric of noise pollution propagated by public service ads like these present the subjectivities of certain music makers as "powerful antisubject[s] of nature" (2015: 133) who are set against, as I discovered in my own ethnographic work, norms of 'sophisticated' nationalist modernities in which natural, pristine environments – sonic and material – are protected and conserved.

But we are now in a post-Labib age, nearly thirty years on since these videos first aired and since public staged music events first included *mezwid* players. Today *mezwid* is one of the most popular musics among Tunisian youth, the urban working class, and unemployed and under-employed communities. It has yet to be seen what long-term social, political, and cultural shifts will follow the 2011 Tunisian revolution, a movement that many Tunisians consider to have been an outright failure, not worthy even of the term *thawra*, the name 'revolution.' Free press and media – online, on the radio, on television, and via newspapers – are just now beginning to come into their own. Many Tunisians, despite the weight of pessimism and disillusionment, eagerly await new initiatives in cultural, musical, and environmental protection and conservation. They are hopeful that the government can ‘clean up their act,’ so to speak, and lead cultural policy toward a more equitable future. But they are not waiting on the sidelines either; greatly empowered by computer technologies like free recording and mixing software and web platforms for media sharing, producers of musics historically banned or supressed by the government, especially *mezwid* and rap, continue to musick.

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[39] Though space does not allow a fuller foray into Tunisian timbral histories and epistemologies, my preliminary ethnographic inquiries into the subject suggest that the buzziness of both the *bendīr* (which has three snares that beat against its membrane) and the double-reed *mezwid* sonically index rurality, indigenous Others, and sub-Saharan blackness for Tunisian listeners, at least those based in Tunis. I would like to pursue more questions regarding racialized timbres in future work.

Set in stark relief against *mezwid*, its socio-musical opposite, the nostalgic Tunisian *jaww* of *ma'lūf* is a complex triangulation of climatic environmental conditions, anthropogenic place-making, and phenomenological multisensory social engagement. Both pre-existing and emerging, recreating and transforming, these elements are all crucial to the continuity, revival, and localized cultural meanings ascribed to the genre.

Part II. Listening for Acoustic Spaces and Material Culture

I have vivid, lasting memories of visiting archaeology museums and ancient ruins with Tunisians. Besides the rare opportunity to see startlingly intact Roman murals, mysterious Phoenician sarcophagi, illuminated pages of *Qur'ān* calligraphically inscribed in the *Maghribī* Kufic-derived style, and Ottoman period decorative painted tiles, visiting museums proved to be generative opportunities to observe Tunisians interacting with material cultural relics of the past. I was surprised every time that my companions, invariably, reached up to touch the carved tunic or shoulder of a centuries- or millennia-old marble statue. My heart raced the moment Myriam, one of my interlocutors, climbed over a set of velvet stanchions in order to stoop down just beside a mosaicked Byzantine bath to examine more closely what was written and depicted at the bottom of the basin. Looking left and right for museum attendants or armed guards, I was unsure if I should follow her. I never mentioned my own discomfort with touching museum displays of artifacts of Tunisia's many-layered cultural history. In fact, warning signs forbidding touching objects in Tunisian museums are uncommon and, as became clear over numerous visits, Tunisian expectations for museum decorum differed from my own. I have watched museum attendants run their fingers across Latin engravings on stone *stelae*[40] as they read them aloud and explained their significance to visitors. For Tunisians of all ages and backgrounds, physically touching historical objects like buildings and ruins is an important sensory mode of engaging with the past and reifying cultural heritage. Archaeological ruins, many of which are UNESCO world heritage sites, are a perfectly good place for a picnic and it is common for shepherds to graze their flocks in the rubble (see Figure 32 below).

The ready immediacy and observability of physically touching artifacts is an appropriate and useful analogue for approaching the material aspects of acoustic sound and acoustemologies, the social, cultural, and personal ways of knowing and being with those sounds. In this Part, I move from the sensory analogy of haptics (touching) toward a broader over-arching theorization of the aesthetic practices of Tunisian interaction with heritage objects: musical, sonic, and material. I achieve this aim by focusing on the acoustic properties of built and re-purposed listening spaces, the sonorous aesthetics that emerge from sounding in these spaces, and the *ma'lūf* acoustemologies and listening practices imbricated with these architectures.

In Chapter 4: "From a History of Performance Venues to an Audible Past," I provide an overview of the history of shifting and contested choices of venues and contexts for live *ma'lūf* audition over the course of the late nineteenth, twentieth, and early twenty-first centuries. Highlighting histories of listening practice and their accompanying acoustemologies, is a critical intervention into conventional scholarly framings of *ma'lūf* genre categories as delineated by repertoire and by purposes for performance. Additionally, I explore ways in which a variety of Tunisian and French ideological imperatives have shaped audience behavior, interaction, and participation.

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[40] A *stele* is a stone erected as a monument and often inscribed, carved in relief, or painted with text or ornamentation.

Figure 32 A sheep strays far from his shepherd while other graze nearby in the ruins of the ancient Roman city of Dougga, a UNESCO World Heritage site. Photograph by the author.

Then, in Chapter 5: "Acoustics, Aesthetics, Acoustemologies," I turn to the acoustic qualities of these particular spaces and show how they are wedded to stylized aesthetics and musical formal features, like the relationship between echo and antiphony. My extrapolations here, based on historical records and my contemporary observations of music inside old venues, elucidate the ways in which architectural acoustics have shaped the aesthetic experiences of and expectations for *ma'lūf* audition. Here I have chosen to focus on (1) amplification, loudness, touching, and the imposition of a regime of "sonic proxemics," (2) reverberance and echo as spatializing aspects of musical sound, and (3) perceptions of the movement of musical sound and focused, directional listening.

In the final section of Chapter 5 – "*al-Ḥirf:* Listening for the Crafts and Decoration" – I attend to the terminology, aesthetics, and styles of *zīna* or "decoration" in *ma'lūf* and their correlates in architecture, handicrafts, and textiles. In line with the integrated Tunisian framework of the "Andalusī way of life," I approach music production, performance and listening, as tethered to rich traditions of material culture production. Where appropriate, I have extended acoustic and acoustemological analysis past music listening venues in the stricter musical and architectural sense to the broader soundscapes of urban and rural life. This effort follows from Tunisian insistence on the primacy of place and from my own scholarly attention toward sound, music, and practice as embedded, embodied, and emplaced in Tunisian everyday life and environments.

CHAPTER 4. FROM A HISTORY OF PERFORMANCE VENUES TO AN "AUDIBLE PAST"

The Branches of *Ma'lūf*

Histories of Tunisian *ma'lūf* – written and oral, formal and informal, Tunisian and foreign – have awarded only minimal attention to the types of spaces or characteristic venues commonly used for performance and audition. Historiographically, this oversight is the result of more than a century's preoccupation with preserving the melodic and rhythmic musical aspects of the repertoire, which were transmitted orally before the twentieth century and which have now been transcribed and represented in Western staff notation.[1] This is no particular surprise given musicology's long-time fixation on "the music itself" and the Tunisian ideological rhetoric of Nationalist heritage construction – which required reification, documentation, standardization, and canonization of repertoire – from the 1930s through to today. It was not until the watershed research of later twentieth century ethnomusicological ethnographic researchers – most significantly that of Lura Jafran Jones in 1977 and Ruth Davis in 1986 – that close observation and detailed documentation of Tunisian performance practice, contexts for performance, and the social aspects of musicking became topics worthy of considering.

Davis' and Jones' publications provide articulate description and rather clear differentiation between separate clusters of musicological, social, religious, and classed cultural aspects. Rarely construed as bounded 'genre' by researchers or musicians, various forms of *ma'lūf*, when they are differentiated, are associated directly and often *exclusively* with certain venues, repertoires,[2] contexts for performances, and differing uses. It is from examination of these clusters – venues, repertoires, contexts, purposes – that scholars have, for the most part, drawn categorical distinctions between two primary forms of *ma'lūf*.[3] Yet, written references to "*ma'lūf*" as term and concept *without* any further qualifiers abound in both contemporary and historical documents. These ambiguous usages cloud matters of distinction but also, as I argue, point to the constructed or produced nature of now-standardized, codified, and naturalized genre conventions.

The classical binary is as follows: On one side is *ma'lūf al-ḥazl*, literally meaning "the light *ma'lūf*," classed as the dominant high-art form associated with the palatial courts of *al-Andalus* and historically played as private entertainment for pleasure in 'secular' and 'private' contexts including in (1) the Ottoman Tunisian palace for the *Bey* and his court,[4] (2) the homes, gardens, and courtyards of aristocratic social elites, and in (3) the more public, popular, vernacular, or 'vulgar' context of public *cafés*. The repertory of *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* draws upon the classical Arabic poetry – with lighter themes of paradisiac gardens (see Chapter 1), and love lost – thought to have been composed, at least in part, in medieval *al-Andalus*. Distinct from this is the music presently most commonly referred to as *ma'lūf al-judd*,[5] meaning "the serious *ma'lūf*." This form of *ma'lūf* was reserved for ritual sacred use (1) in the Islamic Sufi *zāwiya* (the "lodge" or meeting house of the Sūfī brotherhood) and (2) for (semi)-private communal family lifecycle celebrations (circumcision, teeth cutting, weddings) and public holiday celebrations in the forms of Sufi *kharajāt* (sing. *kharaja*) and *ziyārāt* (sing. *ziyāra*).[6] The content of the texts of the repertory(ies) of *ma'lūf al-judd* are explicitly sacred, in contrast with those of *ma'lūf al-ḥazl*. For a detailed synthesis of documented spaces and contexts for performance, see Figure 33 below).

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[1] See Baron d'Erlanger (1935-1959) and Davis 2001a.

[2] The construction of repertoire here is primarily based upon poetic song texts and secondarily on melodic modes, rhythms, and song forms.

[3] Robert Lachman (1940) and Ruth Davis (1998, 1999) have also documented and researched a third "branch" of Tunisian *ma'lūf* (though not always framing it as such) in the Djerban Jewish repertoire and practice of *piyyutim*.

[4] The Husseinid Beylical period stretched from 1705 to 1957. The Bey's court ensemble was dissolved in 1942 at the death of Ahmed Bey II (Davis 1986: 122).

[5] Religious forms of *ma'lūf* have many names today and a wide array of terms can be found in scholarship to date. J Jones simply uses the term *'Issawiyya*, the name of the Sufi *ṭarīqa* with whom she worked (1977). Davis refers to the form of *ma'lūf* performed in the *zāwiya* as *ma'lūf khām*, (literally meaning "rough," "crude," or "unrefined *ma'lūf*"), reserving the term *al-judd* for *kalem al-jadd*, the sacred song texts, and *kalam al-ḥazl* for "profane texts" (1986: 82-3).

In practical usage among Tunis-based professional musicians, aficionados, and amateurs today, *ma'lūf Tūnsī*, the *ma'lūf* genre-repertoire-practice, stands as a somewhat lopsided binary, clearly favoring *ma'lūf al-ḥazl*. The Tunisian modernist nationalist project of heritage construction and French colonial musicological researchers' approaches have entrenched this binary over the course of the twentieth century for an assortment of political reasons. The polarization of the two forms rides on the heels of binary categorization of the sacred/religious and secular, public and private, and folk vernacular/high art. This difference-making has self-perpetuated. While Jones[7] and Davis focused their research on the performance of separate forms of *ma'lūf* and their associated clusters of context-repertoire-practice, each also spoke directly to overlap between the two forms in formal musical aspects, nomenclature, and terminology. These shared aspects suggest, as they both claim, dynamic relationships between the forms. This seems no surprise given their historical co-existence; likely moments of convergence, synthesis, exchange, addition, and divergence;[8] and even, as several of my Tunisian interlocutors insisted, a common origin and musical ancestor.[9] A review of the literature and the statements of my own interlocutors show no consensus on the historical developments of the two forms, but nearly all consider their histories to be intertwined.

As Jones wrote in a 1982 article on the role of Sufi Brotherhoods in the preservation of Tunisian art music, "the characteristics that lead to this apparent dissimilarity are interesting, for the two genres have many structural and musical features in common, which hark back to their shared moments of history" (112). She goes on to draw connections between "occasional pieces of shared repertoire," similar basic suite and song structures, nomenclature, and perhaps most significantly, "the near congruence of musical modes" (1982: 113). Indeed, looking beyond their purposes for performance,[10] there is much in common between the two forms. Thanks to her detailed account of the changes resulting from the "modernization"[11] of *ma'lūf* – especially regarding context for performance, practice, and teaching – Davis' work is especially useful for reconstructing, as well as we might, a timeline for the shifting venues of *ma'lūf* within the twentieth century. As I argue in this chapter, this record of venue changes, contextualized within the political, religious, and social *milieu*

In my own experience, the term *ma'lūf al-judd* is used as a more general term, included in which we find a variety of sub repertoires and styles: the form practiced by the 'Īsawiyya and the Sulamiyya, among others. The musical genre, practice, and repertoire may also be referred to simply by the name of the *tariqa* as Jones did. *Nūba* can also stand as a name for *ma'lūf* when paired with *ḥaḍra*. I heard the term *ma'lūf khām* used only once in passing in Testour.

[6] Rezgui lists six important occasions for Sufi musicking, most of which are concerned with childhood development: birth, cutting of the first tooth, cutting of the first lock of hair, circumcision, childhood memorization of sections of the *Qur'ān*, and weddings (2010 [1922]: 159-190). As Jones stated in 1977, and as is true today, fewer of these events are regularly marked with parties and music than in the past (34).

[7] Jones' research was concerned with the *'Isawiyya*, a Sufi *tariqa* (formal order or religious path) and Chapter 10 of her dissertation is devoted entirely to comparisons between 'Isawiyya music and Tunisian *ma'lūf*.

[8] Especially in terms of melodic material.

[9] There is no agreement on when and where this common ancestor existed.

[10] Formerly these were conceived of as "functions;" see Alan Merriam's foundational text *Anthropology of Music* (1964) for his compelling views on the various "functions" of music in non-western contexts.

[11] The Arabic term for "modernizations" is *taḥdīth*, though the word *taṭwīr* "development" is also common.

of the period, may contribute substantially to our understanding of the trans-historical dimensions of *ma'lūf*, what Jonathan Sterne (2003) has called "the audible past."

I hold that through careful study of the artifacts, inscriptions, and records of this lived, embodied, emplaced, sensory past and theoretic acknowledgement of the "historicity of hearing" (Sterne 2003: 6) we may better interrogate present day listening practices, acoustemologies, and the contested ethical and political implications of *ma'lūf*. Admittedly, the archive is thin[12] and relatively little has been written explicitly on *ma'lūf* reception history[13] or its "audible past," per se. In that sense, this is a speculative history. Sometimes change is hard to put one's finger on; only in the moments of rupture, when the familiar falls out beneath our feet, do we tend to mark the habitual,[14] affective, and implicit practices of the everyday[15] as we scramble to find our footing again.

My historical and historiographical analysis in this chapter and throughout this dissertation, aims to work against the reproduction of episodic, catastrophic, rapturous histories and toward a better understanding of gradual, complex, and multi-faceted change, allowing room for continuities, residues, paradoxes, and ambiguities of life. This approach is also informed by movements in post-colonial studies. In this project, I respond to an ethical imperative – from Tunisians and Americans, scholars, musicians, and listeners – to deeply interrogate, and to ultimately destabilize, colonial incursions into Tunisian musical and cultural frameworks and practices.

As I explore in this chapter, present day performance and listening practice, standardized formal features, and aesthetic preferences – however 'purified' and 'scientifically' rendered – are also archives, records[16] (again, however biased), or inscriptions of the material trappings of past performance spaces and lived practices that have manifested with(in) them. My 'archaeology of the present' is also not unrelated to projects undertaken by music scholars working within historical performance and the early music movement and in the same vein of recent sound studies scholarship on acoustemology. Rather than re-creating[17] the historically 'correct' performance techniques and sound qualities of certain historical periods, like scholars of historical performance, I am listening for the threads of experience that inform practice today and critically approach the ways these sonic-social experiences have been framed and written into history.

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[12] In terms of oral history, few individuals are still living who could tell of their experiences of listening before the independence period. Additionally, as I did not work directly with many older Tunisians, I did not have opportunity to ask directly after their earliest experiences of listening to live performances of *ma'lūf*.

[13] As Sterne rightly notes, given the ungainly scope and often times invisible subjects, these (re)constructed narratives of the "audible past" are no more than "deliberately speculative histories" (27). Like Sterne, I am relatively less interested in establishing a set of rigorously interrogated historical "facts" and more interested in the lines of contemporary practice, reasoning, questions, stakes, and ethics raised by considering this *sort* of past.

[14] In the sense defined by Pierre Bourdieu (1990) "Structures, habitus, practices" in *The Logic of Practice*, and further defined by Jonathan Sterns as "a set of dispositions…socially conditioned subjectivity: it combines all those forms of informal knowledge that make up social life. Habitus is a mix of custom, bodily technique, social outlook, style, and orientation (2003: 92)

[15] I allude here to Kathleen Stewart's *Ordinary Affects* (2007).

[16]Martin Daughtry has recently theorized layers of sonic inscription as "acoustic palimpsests" through which we may attempt the "reverse engineering of musical texts and listening activities" (2017).

[17] Either in textual description or in musical performance.

Figure 33 The chart below outlines "traditional" categories and contexts described by Jones, Davis, and nineteenth-century French colonial essayists, Jacquinot D'Oisy and Charles Lallemand:

Performance venues	**Performance context**	**Private or public**	**Religious or secular**	**Musical purpose**	**Repertoire**	**Performer and audience demographics**	**What to *do* while listening**
Zawiya (Sufi Lodge), shrines of a saint or an □ "important person in the community" (31)	T An aspect of weekly Friday rituals □ Communal celebrations: religious and for family occasions □ "Community Festivals of a religious nature" (like *Mauled*, the birthday of the Prophet) (31)	T Public Festivals T A reputable and accessible space □ Private Festivals (like circumcisions) (31)	□ Sacred / religious □ Semi-sacred, the *ˆzawiya* "has an air of sanctity, yet the restrictions for its use are not rigid" (31)	✪T Performed after *hadhra*, used to change the atmosphere and calm the audience after trance, ✪ Rehearsals ✪ Forum for learning repertoire for novices □ "Rehearsals or learning sessions for younger members of the *Firqa*" (32) ♪*Sama'* religious "listening audition" (110)	✪ *Ma'luf Kham* (sacred repertoire) ✪ *Kalam al-Judd* T Profane Andalusian repertoire □ *'Isawiya* □ More particularly sometimes referred to as *Nuba(t)* alongside other repertoires of *hadhra* praise songs, and *hizb* (pl. *ahzab*) set of devotional texts resigned for recitation as *dhikr* (remembrance of the name of God) (31)	*Performers:* ✪Men, Sufis associated with particular brotherhoods: especially *'Isawiya, Shadhliya, Sulamiya* □ *'Isawiya Firqa* (ensemble): no more than 12 performers, younger and old men, non-professionals, not affluent or well educated □ Many occasional participants, Women and children, "non-Muslim visitors" (31), flexible and fluid, "anyone who wants to participate in the performance" (28), "regular spectators." T Lower classes ★ the community at large (3)	T Entire congregation sings □ Clapping in some contexts, much variation among *zwaya*, □ Stipulations against drinking alcohol ♪*Sama'* religious "listening audition" (110) □ Miraculous and spectacular performances (more typically accompanying *hadhrat*) (36)
Just outside *zawiya*, sometimes through town	□ "Community Festivals of a religious nature" (like *Mauled*, the birthday of the Prophet) (31)	T Public Festivals T A reputable and accessible space	✪ Sacred or religious	□ Musically accompanied a *kharaja* or *ziyara* (religious processions and travel between *zwaya*) ★Pilgrimages	✪*Nuba* and *hadhra* songs	Same as within the *zawiya* (see above)	Walking with the procession, clapping, *zagharat*, audience participation
Typical homes	□ Communal celebrations: religious and for family occasions □ Family Festivals Weddings, circumcisions	□ Private or somewhat public, depending on local custom	✪ Secular or Religious	Pleasure/ Entertainment, necessary for creating celebratory atmosphere	*Ma'luf Judd* OR *Ma'luf hazl*	*Performers:* T Lower classes □ *'Isawiya Firqa* (ensemble): no more than 12 performers, younger (youth) and older men, non-professionals (meaning they had other jobs too)	□ Eating - meals of couscous and meat for the guests (during) and musicians (afterwards)
Aristocratic home	✪ Entertainment	T Private	✪ Secular or Religious	Pleasure	□ *Ma'luf* (no qualifier)	*Performers & Audiences* T Aristocratic or Bourgeoisie amateur musicians, wealthy, educated	□ Listening, drinking mint tea, eating "sweetmeats" (pastries, confectionaries)
Cafés	✪ Everyday entertainment Rehearsals	T Public	T Secular	✪Pleasure/ Entertainment, for a profit, rehearsals	✪*Ma'luf* (no qualifier) and occasionally *Ma'luf Judd*	*Performers & Audiences* Lower classes, T Jews, Men #Women	★Eating, drinking, T Smoking *takhruri* or *taqruri* (Marijuana)(431) #Making and drinking coffee, playing cards and gambling

Key 1: # Jacquinot D'Oisy 1887, ‡ Charles Lallemand 1890, □ Jones 1977, ✪ Davis 1986, T Davis 1996, ★ Davis 1997, ♪ Jones 1982

Another important point concerns emic and etic frameworks of value for historical 'authenticity.' As Dwight Reynolds (2010) elucidates, though the Western European tendency[18] during the modern period has been to look to historical documents and other artifacts in order to "recreate" historical performances of the past, musicians working within Arab musical genres look primarily to present-day practices as the best representation of musical continuity and, therefore, historical 'authenticity.' This point is key – though I find Reynold's statements somewhat strongly worded,[19] at least as it might apply to the Tunisian case – in terms of Tunisians' twentieth-century theoretical and practical approaches toward the creation of national heritage. Just as Jonathan Sterne identifies the "audible past" he has studied as particular to the "Western world," so too should attempts to understand Tunisian listening and performance histories be reckoned from within emic frameworks for meaning and value-making. However, it would be equally naïve to ignore the significant influences of French colonial conceptualizations of authenticity and music history on Tunisian thought and institutional missions; many, even *most* of the social elites who led the early Rashidiyya and who made the grade as nationalist political leaders had been educated in Paris. It is from within the tension, contradiction, and ambivalence *between* these frames, and everything that falls between, that the politics of present-day Tunisian listening emerge.

The Moorish *Cafés* of Tunis

Urban coffeehouses in Tunis – called *qahwa* or *café* – date at least to the sixteenth century,[20] though coffee drinking predates that time significantly (Clancy-Smith 2011: 138). Coffee shops have long since been important places of sociality in Tunisia, especially in the nineteenth century as a steady flow of migrants – down-and-outs and fortune-seekers alike – set their course for Tunis from mainland Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Malta, and other Mediterranean locales. Nineteenth century *cafés* and Italian and/or Jewish-run taverns were destinations not only for drinking coffee, but also for socializing, gossiping, playing cards, storytelling, and during *Ramaḍān* especially, watching night-time bawdy puppet shows.[21] Coffeehouses were a lucrative business; by 1846 there were over 100 coffee shops in the Tunis medina (138) and by 1860, as many as 260 (139).[22]

Records of historical linkages between *cafés* and *ma'lūf* are few and far between, but, in stitching together the extant historical fragments we may shed some light on what experiences of musicking and listening were like and who moved through these spaces. The most compelling evidence comes from d'Erlanger's 1917 article in the *Revue Tunisienne*. Clancy-Smith (2011) cites musical performance in *cafés*, and, drawing on both d'Erlanger's essay and her own interviews, Davis (2004) attests that *ma'lūf* was often times played within bustling *cafés* – interchangeably referred to as "Arab," "Moorish," or "Turkish" – and just outside their doors.[23] Clancy-Smith identifies many *café* musicians of the day as non-Muslim "Jews, Maltese, and Sicilian" (Davis 2004: 139). Shaikh Ahmed al Wafi, the famous early twentieth-century *ma'lūf* master, referred to female *café* singers of the early twentieth century, as "*'alājī*,"[24] a term used to describe Christian slave girls brought to Tunis before 1882.[25] Contrasting *ma'lūf* performances with other types of music, Tunisian author, Sadok Rezgui wrote in 1922 that "respectable" male musicians gathered to rehearse in specific all-male *cafés* in Tunis whereas women, non-Muslims (mostly Jews), foreign, and lower class musicians formed the ranks at the *cafés chantants*, singing and play a wide variety of Tunisian and Arab music (A. Jones 2010: 81). "Respectable" Muslim coffeehouses, unlike Jewish taverns, were places "where music may be heard"[26] and where the ensembles are "free of women" (Rezgui 2010 [1922]: 98 in Jones 1987: 74 in A. Jones 2010: 83).

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[18] That would be the "etic" approach, in this case.

[19] Reynolds does allow for "some circles of purists" within the Arab world, who reject the musical changes of "modernization" (for example, the growth in the size of musical ensembles) as non-authentic (2010: 177).

[20] Or since the seventeenth century, as Kallander writes (2013: 68).

[21] These puppet shows, Clancy-Smith notes, had at least two convergent origins; these were the Ottoman Turkic form called *karakuz* and the Italian *pupazzi* (2011: 139). In addition to these two forms, Charles Lallemand wrote in 1890 of "ombres chinoises," or "Chinese shadow" plays (79).

[22] That's roughly one *café* for every seventy-eight males, out of a total population of 100,000 (Clancy-Smith 2011: 139).

[23] "Musical bands with Jews, Maltese, and Sicilian musicians entertained passers-by in the street" (Clancy-Smith 2011: 139), which she likely learned from Lallemand's book where he writes *Il y entend de conteurs et des chanteurs qui viennent égayer la clientèle moyennant quelques caroubes*, meaning "He hears storytellers and singers who come to cheer the clientele for a few carabs [a small amount of money]" (79). Lallemand also mentions that there were some

The proprietors of the first Tunisian coffeehouses were predominantly Ottoman Turks (Clancy-Smith: 139), but by the nineteenth-century the profitable industry was controlled by the *blēdī*, "haughty city nobles, who disdained the rough denizens of the popular suburbs and scrupulously observed behavioral norms — a reserved demeanor, moderation, and circumspection in public" (139). "A baldi [sic, (*bledī*)] did not sing, eat, or in any way call attention to himself while walking through the streets of Tunis" and "The sure mark of a hayseed was a man who conversed in a loud voice which could be overheard by passers-by; among the leading nobles it was even considered improper to be seen in *cafés*" (139). In this caricature, we see the characterization of an appropriate comportment and decorum in terms of the sound of speech, public space, and the environment of the *café*. Public coffeehouses were also deemed inappropriate environments for highly religious men, who took their coffee in the privacy of their own homes (139).

Youssef – a highly educated young man from Sidi Bou Said, a cliff-side *Andalusī* town in the suburbs of Tunis on the coast – told me, during an informal interview, that families like his father's, Ben Soltanes, are *blēdī* meaning that they come from old money and, most significantly, that they are landed aristocracy (p.c. 8/10/2016). According to him, it is *blēdī* families, especially those in and around Tunis, who have kept the traditions of expert *ma'lūf* performance and listening alive over the centuries. Since patronage fell to the *blēdī* of *Andalusī* origin, it follows then that *ma'lūf* might take place within the public social spaces managed by Tunisian *blēdī* individuals. These coffee houses were, and still are, often referred to by Tunisians as "*Andalusī*" or "Moorish" *cafés* ("*café Maure*" in French or "*qahwa Andalusīyya*" in Tunisian Arabic). Still, a conflict remains regarding *blēdī café* patronage and the appropriateness of music; it is worth differentiating here between owning and operating a *café* and everyday musical performance and audition by *café* customers: the latter appears to have been a social *faux pas* for elites.

Youssef suggested another significant connection between coffee, sociality, and music. He described attending *sahariyāt* (sing. *sahariya*) at the 'Isawiyya *zāwiya* in Sidi Bou Said. These gatherings, as he

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outdoor *cafés*, and some, like the *café* on Rue Rouk el Belat where the benches, chairs, and stools are almost all in the street (82). The central *café* in Testour (still operating) is a classic venue for *ma'lūf* musicking and similar (though no longer extant) *café* spaces have been pointed out to me between the Jewish and "*Andalusī*" quarters beside the medina in Bizerte, and at the foot of the hill leading up to the medina in Zaghouan.

[24] See A. Jones' 2010 for a much more complete history regarding the musical performance of women in Tunisia. This is the same term used to describe the "princesses" of the Bardo. See Chapter 7 in this dissertation for a discussion of Zmorda 'Algiyya, whose stage name derived from this term.

[25] Alyson Jones (2010: 76-7) cites Lura Jafran-Jones, who cites Tunisian historian 'Uthman Ka'ak, who wrote on Ahmed Al-Wafi in 1982.

[26] This indicates, perhaps, a less noisy or distracting environment.

described them, lasted all night and contained extensive *dhikr* (the ritual repetition of the name of God), *ḥaḍra* songs (songs celebrating local saints), and *nūba* (an alternate term for *ma'lūf al-judd*) – which created and sustained a *jaww* of heightened energy in which he felt odd and people behaved strangely. The night-long musicking was sustained, he explained, through continuous drinking of an especially strong type of coffee and smoking cigarettes.[27] Despite the so-called eschewing of *café* sociality among *blēdī*, we see in this case the potential, no less *requirement*, for *blēdī* coffee-drinking alongside *ma'lūf* performance and listening in both ritual context at the *zāwiya* and in the mundane *cafés* which they managed.

With the sociality of coffee drinking and musicking in mind, it is less surprising that there are various cases in the greater Tunis area where *café* and *zāwiya* spaces converge in terms of their uses.[28] Consider, for example, the famous Qahwa al 'Aliya (high up *café*)[29] – also called Café de Nattes (*café* of mats) – in Sidi Bou Said. A closer look at the history of the building reveals that the structure was once wholly devoted to use as a tomb and shrine (*zāwiya*, *qubba*) for the local saint, Sidi Abu Said. In the eighteenth century, however, the men's entrance of the shrine was converted into a *café* and the side entrance, originally for women, became the common entrance for all entering the *zāwiya* (see Figure 34 below, Davis 2004: 50, footnote 3).

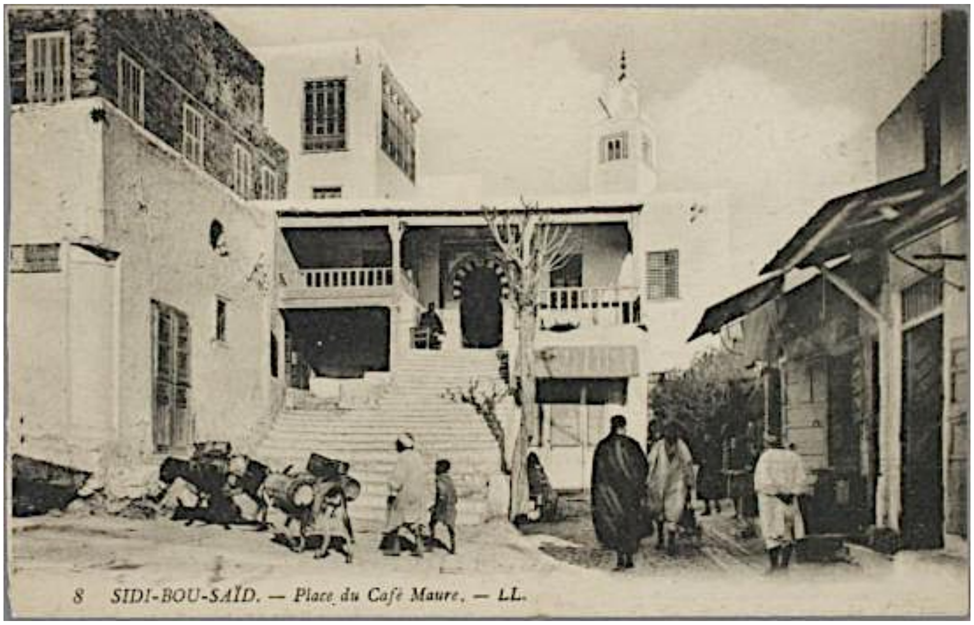

Figure 34 A postcard depicting Café de Nattes in Sidi Bou Said, circa 1890.

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[27] Islamic scholars have long debated the lawfulness of coffee drinking. Few, even among the Wahhabi, currently consider it an impermissible "intoxicant" and many have "contended that it has the virtue of keeping drinkers awake and therefore was a valuable aid to the pious in their nocturnal devotions" (Zubaida 2000:217). Some have "applauded the introduction of coffee as a replacement for the earlier addiction to wine. The term *qahwa*, from which the English word 'coffee' probably derives, was an earlier Arabic word for wine." (217). In an interesting reversal, one Tunisian word for trance or the affected state from participation in *dhikr* is *ḥamra*, the same word used to describe inebriation from alcohol. *Ḥamra* literally means "red" but may also refers to wine and alcohol in general. The more standard Arabic term for drunkenness is *khamr* or *khamra.* For more on coffee in the medieval period, including the relation between coffee and wine, see Ralph S. Hattox (1985).

[28] And, as I explore in Chapter 5, in terms of their acoustic characteristics.

[29] The place is atop the hill, overlooking the town.

Another intriguing example is discussed by Charles Lallemand (1890) in a chapter about *cafés* in Tunis in his orientalist travel log, *Tunis et ses environs:*

> The most curious of the Arab cafés is, without a doubt, the café of the marabouts, which is in the Souk Ettrouk. It is reaches by a few steps of stairs and a long corridor at the end of which is a large room, very high, with a large number of columns painted red and green, in lilies, and supporting arches. What gives this place the appearance of a religious edifice is that it is illuminated from above by means of very high openings above the ground…The periphery and the middle are covered with mats on which the players, smokers, coffee drinkers and sleepers stay. In this café, strange thing! There are tombs! They contain the bodies of holy characters, marabouts! That's what made the café called the café of marabouts. Those tombs are surmounted by large green and red standards. They are separated from the customers only by a slatted (or latticed) barrier. (82-3).

The idea of drinking, smoking, and sleeping nearby the remains of a deceased person, however saintly, struck the Frenchman as strangely macabre; I too was a bit surprised the first time I saw the Sidis' tombs inside the still popular Café M'Rabet in the heart of the Tunis medina. Incidentally, today few people sit on the mats and cushions in the large room or narrow passageway adjacent to the tombs; unless the weather is particularly unpleasant, most prefer the two patio areas outside reached by passing through the high-ceilinged main room. Café M'Rabet is the very *café* where, as Davis attests, Baron d'Erlanger's musicians liked to perform *ma'lūf* and where they were later banned from playing by the Rashidiyya (1997b: 85).[30] Not dissimilarly, today and likely for centuries, the clatter of cups and talk from the adjacent outdoor *café* is easily audible from inside the nearby *zāwiya* or shrine for Sidi Bou Makhlouf in the city of El Kef. There is little reason to believe there has ever been anything irregular or inappropriate about Tunisians drinking, smoking, socializing, and musicking in the presence of a saint.[31] More than anything originating within Tunisian discourse and practice, it is European colonialist incursion that has led to strict delineation of 'religious space' from 'secular space.'

Popular Tunisian narratives of the revival of medieval *Andalusī ma'lūf* in the nineteenth century credit late Ottoman rulers with increased support of *ma'lūf*, especially Al-Rachid Bey (ruled 1756-9), for whom the Rashidiyya school of music is named. My interlocutors emphasized Al-Rachid Bey's personal love for *Andalusī* music, his skill as a trained amateur musician, and his patronage of *ma'lūf* among his palace musicians.[32] If you consider (1) the growth of coffeehouses run by Ottoman-Turks and later by Tunisian-*Andalusī blēdī* alongside (2) the direct financial support of popular Sufism through Ottoman investments in particular *zāwāya* and *ṭarīqāt*, (Rezgui in Jones 1977: 39) and (3) the ruling elite's commitment to 'rescuing' *Andalusī* refugees, Ottoman-Tunisian leaders and aristocracy were strong patrons of *ma'lūf* in the palace and in the everyday contexts of casual social entertainment and religious ritual in *cafés* and *zāwāya* alike.

Another interesting connection between *zāwiya* and *café* sociality concerns Tunisian women's presence, participation, and listening during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Although, by all accounts, *ma'lūf* performance fell almost exclusively to male practitioners before the mid twentieth century,[33] the question of female listenership remains less clear. Anecdotally, primary documents note the presence of women in a variety of contexts and venues. In a short descriptive essay published in 1887, Frenchman Paul Jacquinot D'Oisy, describes women in a Tunis *café* who have their own games – namely "Arab" and "Turkish" checkers – which they play independent from the male customers (144). Writing three years later, Lallemand describes, with contempt, women bringing their daughters with them to watch 'crude' evening puppet show performances in Tunis *cafés* (1890: 79). It was not uncommon, whatsoever, for women to own and manage *cafés* during the nineteenth century (Clancy-Smith 2011: 139), though little can be deduced regarding their physical presence, movement, and social place therein. Though it is thought that *café* clientele in the nineteenth century were predominantly male, women of the elite class often owned and rented commercial properties (Kallander 2013: 18).[34] Kallander warns against unsubstantiated assumptions that "women were considered marginal" in the nineteenth century (2013: 18). Such warnings should extend, I argue, to the question of female *ma'lūf* listenership.

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[30] See further discussion later in this chapter.

[31] In 2016, I had tea and sweets while singing *ḥaḍra* songs with an inter-generation gathering of women seated beside the sarcophagi of saints in El Kef.

[32] Legend has it that he abdicated his throne to pursue his study of *ma'lūf* full time and that he composed many of the instrumental *ma'lūf* pieces himself (*al-mṣadir, al-tawq, and al-silsila*) (Davis 1986:64, 66).

[33] Regular exceptions are made for women participating as solo or lead singers of ensembles.

Some historical evidence suggests that it was not considered morally appropriate for Muslim men to view women while they sang or listened.[35] In the medieval Arab courts, *qiyān* (female singing slaves) and female aristocratic amateurs likely performed for male listeners from behind a screen (A. Jones 2010: 70). Baron D'Erlanger's essay provides another example of women's hidden hearing; he describes how, during one of numerous *ma'lūf* performance at his palace, Ennejma Ezzahra in Sidi Bou Said, women crowded in to listen to the musicians from "behind the grills[36] that separated them from the men"[37] (d'Erlanger 1917: 94; Davis 2004: 48; A. Jones 2010: 81). The separation of women from men has had much to do not only with the sexualization of female bodies, but also with the figure of the *dancing* woman who, by her movement, might woo even a morally upstanding religious man to take part in lude and forbidden acts (Jones 2010). Indeed, the sexualized connotation of women's dancing is quite likely one of the reasons that dancing to *ma'lūf* is so clearly considered taboo among the art music and heritage preservation circles in Tunis today. Hidden or secret hearing of music or speech does not always have negative sexualized implications; on the topic of invisible listeners, Emna reminded me that *jnūn* may be anywhere listening to the daily proceedings of our lives.[38]

Jones clearly indicated the attendance of women, children, and men at weekly *ḥaḍra* and *ma'lūf al-judd* performances during Friday *jum'a* prayer (1977: 31) which were "weekly public ceremonies" (*ḥaḍra*) followed by "concerts" of *ma'lūf* (Davis 1997a: 3) "attended by the community at large" (Davis 1996: 433). Jankowsky points out, however, that "even when ceremonies involve men and women, genders are physically and spiritually separated while sonically unified"[39] (2006: 407, note 16). Jankowsky describes the situation thus,

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[34] Owning and renting properties, as Amy Kallander details, was one of the many forms of women's power within the Bardo Palace complex of the Bey (Kallander 2013:18).

[35] However, as voyeurism and eavesdropping are such familiar tropes and subjects of fascination in colonial orientalist narratives, it is unclear whether and to what extent these questions of common decency were informed by European norms.

[36] They "strained to hear" from behind grills in "a public home" (Davis 2004:50, note 2).

[37] In the Bey's *harem*, the homes occupied by the wives and families of the ruler, women were sometimes separated from men in other rooms by "windows…filled with complex stuccowork, and grilled windows [that] allowed the women to observe activities in the entrance halls below" (Kallander 2013:82).

[38] She referred me to a *sūra* in which *jnūn* secretly listen to Mohammad's recitation of the *Qur'ān* and later preach what they heard to other *jnūn*.

[39] This "sonic unification" seems a rather more complicated mater, having much to do with perception, especially regarding *architectural listening* (see Chapter 5 page 108) and *directional listening* (see page 128-130).

> In an adjacent room, is a gathering of women who, sealed off visually from the men,[40] take part in the same ritual, but become possessed by *jnūn* (spirits; sing. *jinn*). The chants performed by the men order the women's ritual experience, but the women respond by dancing and becoming possessed. The men create the sonic context of the full female gathering (407, note 16).

His example is germane here as his observations were made in the greater Tunis area. Though he describes the separated gendered groups during the *ḥizib* and *dhikr,* rather than specifically during a presentation of *ma'lūf al-judd*, it is understood that *ma'lūf* would have immediately followed *dhikr* and that people would likely have remained in their gender-segregated areas. Alyson Jones adds that at the end of the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth, it was considered appropriate for women to perform in the context of the Sufi *zāwiya* only if their audience was exclusively women; here, the intermingling of the genders, not only as performers but as *listeners*, brings "reputability" and morally decorous behavior into question (A. Jones 2010: 77). Besides the *café* and *zāwiya* contexts, women have been part of the *ma'lūf* listenership for centuries during weddings and other lifecycle rituals. Radio broadcasting provided new meditated "opportunities to advance their [women's] economic and social status" (2010: 111) The emanation of the speaking and musicking voices of women, from behind the grates of early radio speakers, posed new questions about the decency of the acousmatic[41] vocal sounding of female performers, and challenged conventions surrounding mixed audiences and the delineation of 'private' and 'public' space.

In conclusion, though instrumental performers were almost exclusively male before Tunisian independence (J. Jones 1977: 77; Davis 1997b: 103, note 17), women were among the regular listenership of live *ma'lūf* performance in a range of nineteenth century venues categorized as 'private' or 'public'[42] and 'religious' or 'secular.' In *cafés* and *zāwāya*, during weddings and other celebrations, women participated by listening, clapping, dancing, and singing. As I have argued in this section, despite their binary framing, much overlap existed in the uses, activities, sociality, and music of nineteenth and early twentieth century *cafés* and *zāwāya*. In the next section I explore how a two-pronged political approach cast *ma'lūf* performance and audition in these spaces as equally, though differently, problematic.

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[40] In the case of larger Tunisian mosques, I have observed a decorative filigreed wall between the women's and men's areas that allows sound to easily flow between while obscuring vision.

[41] The "Acousmatic voice," a concept that dates back to the ancient Greeks, is employed extensively and perhaps most notably by French film sound theorist Michel Chion refers to off-stage sound in film where the voice is audible, but the body of the speaker is not visible to the audience. See *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen* (1994).

[42] Kallander makes a strong case that distinctions between "private" and "public" spaces are simply not applicable to eighteenth and nineteenth century study of Tunisia (2013: 5) as these concepts were shaped largely but colonial incursion and exaggerated in the hyper-sexualization of Arab society (177).

“Modernizing” *Ma’lūf*: Respectability and the “Contextual Gap”

It used to be that no one paid attention to the harmonious sounds of amateur societies. Gossip, politics, debate, whist, dice – it all took place at the same time as a quartet or symphony… [Now there is silence] during the arias, the string quartets, and even the piano sonatas

— Castil-Blaze, *De l’Opéra en France* (1820) in Johnson 1995: 227.

The musicians have forsaken the cafés, and one hears there only the hoarse coughing of the hashish smokers as their cards slap rhythmically onto the tables.

— Baron d’Erlanger 1917: 94, Trans. Davis.

In this section I propose that the early twentieth-century project of certain Europeans and Tunisians to elevate the ‘respectability’ and social status of *ma’lūf* was tied directly to the institutions of ‘modern’ acoustic spaces, sound, and listening practices. For *ma’lūf* to become the *patrimoine* or *turāth,* (heritage) of a ‘modern’ nation-state, it needed to ‘clean up its act.’ The primary transitions of *ma’lūf* venues in the twentieth century have been from public *cafés* and *zāwāya* to secular(ized) French colonial-style concert halls, summer festival stages, conservatories, preserved historic homes, and *diyār al-thaqāfa*. As I explore in this section, this physical relocation was accompanied not only by changes in the contexts and purposes for performance but also by new forms of audience involvement in musicking, and in bodily comportment, behaviors, and decorum of audience listening. Writ large, these transitions have been consistently glossed as transitions from “traditional” to “modern” (Davis 1997b), “sacred” to “secular” (Jones 1977: 35, 42), and “private” to “public” (Davis 1996: 433). These broad and oversimplified glosses – however bandied about in recent and older musicological literature, alike – occlude as much as they illuminate.

I seek to problematize these hard-and-fast binary categories and their association with colonialist economic and political missions in order to account not only for changes in venues and practices, but also for the ways in which institutions and individuals have employed an ideology of difference-making in constructing national heritage through the reification of ‘traditionality’ and ‘modernity.’ By drawing on previous scholarly publications in relation to my fieldwork, I explore the fundamental re-framings of musical value and meaning involved in the ‘modernization’ of Tunisian *ma’lūf*. The practical work of re-framing, re-structuring, and re-configuring *ma’lūf* as ‘modern’ has also meant the collapsing of diverse practices, acoustemologies, and associations of *ma’lūf* into a category of ‘tradition,’ against which modernity could emerge. Jones, who worked exclusively among the ‘Isawiyya, stressed that much variation existed, geographically speaking and among the different brotherhood traditions, and that performances themselves were quite flexible. Similarly, Davis cites rich regional variation and difference in secular *ma’lūf* forms and repertories particular to different *shuyūkh* and their students (2004).

Tunisian musicological scholarship of the past century has almost invariably favored the historical trajectory of *ma’lūf al-ḥazl*, the courtly art music, as primary. Then and now, the choice is tied up in nationalist selection of the *Andalusī* past as the most prestigious, sophisticated, serious, erudite, affluent, and powerful temporal, geographic, and musical referent for the emerging Tunisian nation state and its citizens. In these contexts, the tradition of *ma’lūf* has been construed as a continuous lineage descending from the most sophisticated performances of all, those said to have taken place in the medieval palatial courts and gardens of Al-Andalus. On Tunisian soil, the story of continuity threads through to private courtly performance in the Ottoman Bey’s palace at the Bardo and his seaside summer retreats in La Marsa, Sidi Bou Said, and Hammam Lif.[43] The history writing of *ma'lūf* as a *musique savante*, a "scholarly music," not only evokes Tunisian and *Andalusī* grandeur and sophistication, but also positions *ma'lūf* as congruous with a distant European past, a key aspect of the production of a Tunisian musical modernity in the likeness of the 'Western world.' The reformers of *ma'lūf* at the Rashidiyya and the early Ministers of Culture grappled with the question of what to make of the parallel Tunisian practices of *ma'lūf al-judd* in the context of Sufi sacred or para-religious gatherings in the *zāwiya* and their association with the celebration of religious holidays and family life-cycle celebrations. For different reasons, they were also concerned by the performance of *ma'lūf* in public coffeehouses.

Their solution – adding to the urgency and gravitas of their mission – was to standardize a narrative of salvation and rescue not dissimilar to the story of the rescue of the *Andalusī* refugees (and their music) on Tunisian soil hundreds of years earlier. This salvation narrative played a two-fold role in the *ma'lūf* revival movement of the 30s, 40s, and 50s.[44] First, the Neo-Destour nationalists of the Rashidiyya saw as their mission the preservation of *ma'lūf*, which they framed as a vanishing musical tradition and repertory[45] that was suffering from the detriments and losses of oral-aural transmission and from *decadence,* general neglect that left *ma'lūf* vulnerable to the "polluting" influences of European and Egyptian music (d'Erlanger 1930-1959). Second, and no less important, the Rashidiyya saw its mission as rescuing the audition of *ma'lūf* from its low-class, disreputable, and socially taboo associations, which they perceived to be deeply tied to the contexts and venues for its performance (Davis 1996: 431). These problematic associations, as d'Erlanger describes them in his well-known tome, *La Musique Arabe* (1930-1959), stemmed from Islamic concern over public musicking – especially in *cafés* where smoking, gambling, and prostitution are said to have frequently occurred.

Musicians who played in *cafés* were perceived by Muslims of the higher classes to be improper primarily because of the 'disreputable' behaviors – prostitution, drinking, smoking of marijuana, and gendered mixing – that went on in *cafés* and taverns where they rehearsed and performed. Another important component concerned economic aspects of music-making; musicians who played for money in bars, *cafés*, and music halls, were differentiated from those impassioned amateurs, who played solely for pleasure and who had no need, thanks to their personal wealth, to ask for payment.[46] Renowned Tunisian musicologist Mourad Sakli has written that in commercial contexts like taverns and disreputable *cafés*, audiences were seated in rows and served drinks while they watched and listened to performers who were up on a raised platform (Sakli 1994: 309 in A. Jones 2010: 82). For Rezgui (1967), it was the presence of alcohol and women that were the ruin of musical performance (in A. Jones 2010: 83). As Alyson Jones is quick to note, for women in the twentieth century it was informal gossip and public opinion that concretized these associations and seriously impacted their potential to be musical performers.[47] Making money by singing was inextricable from making money as a prostitute.[48] In terms of gendered and classed aspects of 'reputability' today, Tunisian women of more conservative or devout Islamic backgrounds are at least as concerned with mixed-gender audiences as they are with the genders of performers (A. Jones 2010).

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[43] These palaces were constructed in the late eighteenth and early ninetieth centuries. See Any Kallander 2013: 79.

[44] Alyson Jones frames the Rashidiyya's goals similarly as a "rescue operation to save Traditional Tunisian music" (2010: 101).

[45] This narrative ties into broader pan-*Maghribī*, pan-MENA, and pan-Arab narratives of the lost paradise of *al-Andalus* (see Glasser 2016).

[46] As elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East, the social standing and associations of "professionals" versus "amateurs" has oscillated widely during the late nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. While "amateur" music-making was considered more reputable and sophisticated during the late nineteenth century and through the early years of the Rashidiyya, after independence the tide turned to favor those musicians who held a certificate of completion of schooling at the national conservatory of at the Rashidiyya. Today, "professional" musicians, who teach or perform for money, are typically considered as more authoritative culture bearers and representatives of the traditions of *ma'lūf.*

From the 1910s through early 1930s, d'Erlanger, played a significant role in the push for the dissolution of stigma surrounding public musicking. The nationalist *ma'lūf* revival movement owes much to his stalwart support, his connection to the 1932 Cairo Congress, and the clout *ma'lūf* garnered through the involvement of a well-known French patron, scholar, and enthusiast (Davis 1997c: 503).[49] D'Erlanger, a proud eccentric, led by example and performed his own conception of how Tunisians – who had allowed *ma'lūf* to fall into a state of *decadence – ought* to act. Though Muslim "gentlemen" considered it untoward to carry their own instruments in public at that time,[50] the Baron could be seen "carrying his *'ūd* in public…perambulating the streets of the village [Sidi Bou Said], singing the *ma'lūf*" (Davis 1986: 94-5). Consider this characterization alongside Clancy-Smith's picture of the Tunisian *blēdī* (here an easy stand-in for "gentlemen") for whom singing in public was frowned upon (2011: 39).

The emergence of new venues and contexts for learning, performing, and listening was part and parcel of the early nationalists' campaign for the social elevation of *ma'lūf.* The Rashidiyya's revival movement modeled itself directly after d'Erlanger's approach in that the traditions of the *zāwiya* were musically, but not socially, replicated within his aristocratic palace. The narrative of salvation championed by the Rashidiyya and later by the Ministry of Culture capitalized on the prestige of elite, secular, private performance in aristocratic homes and palaces while relying, behind the scenes, upon the knowledge of *shuyūkh* associated with Sufi brotherhoods. This narrative worked explicitly to counter popular histories of community participation in Sufi *zāwāya* and the illicit connotations of performance of instrumental ensembles in *café*s. In the hands of influential institutions and individuals like Baron d'Erlanger, Mohamed Triki, and Salah Al-Mahdi, the official form of *ma'lūf* recognized by the state was fully transcribed, scientifically 'purified' of imperfections, mistakes, and foreign influence, and taught (both as music theory and as practice) in schools modeled directly upon European conservatories.

Formal institutionalization, professionalization, systematic structuring, and standardization shaped the repertoire of *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* into a form held up as authoritatively correct, reputable, authentic, modern, and – in keeping with political currents central to mid-century emerging Tunisianness – thoroughly secular. For Tunisian musicians schooled in conservatories and at the Rashidiyya institute, the veracity of the repertoire codified in the transcriptions contained in the nine fascicles published by the Ministry of Culture is maintained by decades-long institutional fidelity to the government approved scores.[51] Since Tunisian independence in 1956, the *ma'lūf* repertory presented as *turāth* or *patrimoine* has rarely been contested and is now normalized as *the* authoritative form. Nevertheless, historical accounts, like Davis', describe the process of selecting and fusing together this musical material, an amalgamation of regional iterations of *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* kept alive by musicians who were also active in the *zāwāya*. Broadly speaking, within the process of *ma'lūf* heritagization and the professionalization of musicianship (roughly between the 1930s and 1960s), while *zāwiya* and *café* contexts fell out of use, many of the typical venues and contexts for *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* musicking remained constant in what emerged as the "modern" unqualified *ma'lūf* proper.[52]

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[47] As she put it, "Although not much documentation about these early performers' activities survives, and even if these performers did not explicitly engage in prostitution, in the Tunisian collective imagination they are still associated with performing in disreputable contexts and exhibiting their bodies to male audiences" (A. Jones 2010: 87).

[48] Here the history of singing slave girls (pl. *qiyān*, sing. *qayna*) in the medieval Arab world set the precedent for connections between women's musicking and sex. See A. Jones 2010 and Dwight Reynolds' "the Qiyan of Al-Andalus" in the edited volume *Concubines and Courtesans: Women and Slavery in Islamic History* (2017) for a detailed account.

[49] Davis 1997c "Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger"

[50] The custom – according to Andelhamid Belalgia, one of Ruth Davis' informants – was for gentlemen to hire boys to carry their musical instruments through the streets. The boys were instructed to keep a certain distance from the owners of the instruments "to spare them the embarrassment of being associated with the instrument in public" (1986: 88).

After independence, the government continued the Rashidiyya's approach; "rather than fostering the traditional types of performance practice and social contexts, the government created the mechanism whereby the innovations of the Rashidiyya would be extended throughout the nation" (Davis 1997a: 6). This "mechanism" was the establishment of a new network of amateur ensembles and music schools in *diyār al-thaqāfa* and summer festival competitions across Tunisia (Davis 1997a: 6). Following trends set by heritagization projects underway in Egypt, particularly the *Firqat Mūsīqā al-'Arabiyya* founded in 1967,[53] "rather than emulate the earlier ensembles…the new ensembles introduced radical changes in transmission, performance practice and context, clearly derived from Western orchestral models" (Davis 1997b: 78). In the 1930s, this initiative to raise the social status of *ma'lūf* and to "maintain the highest possible performance standards" led to the Neo Destour-backed and Rashidiyya-imposed "prohibition on traditional *ma'lūf* activities" like performance in *cafés*, which were, in effect, purged of *ma'lūf* performance by 1956 (Davis 1997b: 85).[54] Davis' gloss of Saleh El-Mahdi explanation reads, "By providing a serious, academic environment for the *ma'lūf*, the Rashidiyya also represented a positive attempt to dissociate the repertory from the environments associated with lower-class professionals, such as *cafés* with their hashish smokers and wedding celebrations with their alcohol, where Egyptian and 'inferior' Tunisian songs were also paraded" (1997b: 81). Those who resisted exclusive alignment with the Rashidiyya school and ensemble took their instruments out to the suburbs to play with local groups there. The Rashidiyya's explicit suppression of traditional performance venues and contexts also led, at least in the city of Tunis, to a decline in *ma'lūf* performance at weddings (Davis 1997b: 85).

These new regulations imposed by the Rashidiyya,[55] especially as they applied to venues and occasions for performance and listening, constitute a clear instance of what Richard Jankowsky has termed a "contextual gap" (2017: 872).[56] In the context of folkloric staged performances of *ḥaḍra* (ritual Sufi music) today – a phenomenon historically and culturally intertwined with the heritagization of *ma'lūf* – Jankowsky describes a "contextual gap" as a rift created between the older practice of ritual musicking and listening and the contemporary staged spectacles extracted from their religious context (2017: 872). His arguments about this gap regards *context* specifically, drawing attention to the ideological imperatives that underlie "strategies for either minimizing or maximizing the social and conceptual space between two contexts" (2017: 872). Along with changes in modes of education, and the "professionalization" of *ma'lūf* performance by practitioners trained and vetted through approved channels, the gap was instituted, in effect, by relocating *ma'lūf* performance from its typical venues and contexts, to new ones.

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[51] *Al-Turāth al-Mūsīqī al-Tunisī* (The Tunisian Musical Heritage) was published over the course of the 1960s and 70s.

[52] For more on the particularities of the architectural and acoustic qualities of these spaces, see Chapter 5.

[53] See Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (1984, 2001).

[54] Davis explains that the *firqa* that had been put together by Baron d'Erlanger for the 1932 Cairo Congress regularly performed for a committed public audience who sang along (1986: 86) at Café M'Rabet (in the medina) every Saturday morning from the 1920s to early '30s "attracting a large, regular crowd." But, "with the creation of the Rashidiyya, d'Erlanger's musicians were absorbed into its [the Rashidiyya's] ranks and the café concerts ceased" (1997b: 85).

[55] I have not found any information regarding whether the Rashidiyya had any true legal power; it seems they 'regulated' through mechanisms of social shaming and economic incentivization, and the leverage of cultural capital.

[56] Jankowsky's "conceptual gap" is based upon Bauman and Briggs' (1992) "intertextual gap," the "relative fit or lack of fit between a particular text and the genre of text with which it is associated" (Jankowsky 2017: 872).

In their pursuit of the modernization and secularization of *ma'lūf*, the Rashidiyya and Ministry of Culture made an explicit effort to salvage and rehabilitate what they saw as the vestiges of a once-great *Andalusī* art music from (1) the *café*, a social-sonic space tainted by the depravity of smoking, drinking, and licentious or imprudent interactions between men and women and, as I describe in the subsequent section, from (2) the *zāwiya,* a 'backward' religious contexts where *ma'lūf* had, by their account, been 'adapted' for ritual use. Along with the publication and promotion of new written forms of repertoire-ial authority (*al-Turāth al-Mūsīqī al-Tunisī*), this relocation had marked material effects on the livelihoods of musicians, listeners' access and opportunities for participation, the musical material performed and – though little has been written about it – on the practice and value of listening.

Modernizing *Ma'lūf*: Repression of Sufism and the Rise of Scientific Listening

In some communities the firqa continued their traditional musical activities outside the zāwāya; but they had been uprooted from their cultural and spiritual roots, and operated in a limbo which was not alleviated by the new, alternative social contexts for the ma'lūf provided by the government.

— Ruth Davis, *Modern trends in the ma'lūf of Tunisia, 1934-1984* (1986: 141).

The audience is frequently the most serious and least controllable source of Noise. Walking and shuffling of feet can, however, be successfully quieted by carpeting or resilient flooring.

— The Celotex Corporation, Hale J. Sabine, *Less Noise, Better Hearing* (1941-50: 39).

The Rashidiyya's official narrative of salvation and intervention in the name of 'modern' and 'secular' progress[57] is penumbrated by a darker story that does not feature in their official narrative. Social stigma was not only attached to 'public' musicking in spaces deemed morally corrupt, but shame also came to be attached to Sufi practice, the physical place of the brotherhoods' *zāwāya*, the *mashāyikh*, and the musicians who worked in these circles.[58] Bitterness toward Sufis who were directly affiliated with specific brotherhoods was sown toward the end of the Ottoman Beylical when Muhammad Sadok Bey and his minister, Khasnadar – notoriously "enthusiastic patrons" of the Sufi brotherhoods – are said to have donated too generously to the *zāwāya* in what came to be branded, in public opinion, a corrupt misuse of public funds (Rezgui in Jones 1977: 39).[59] This economic patronage set the tone for sustained paranoia and suspicion of Sufis, linking them also with French administrators during the protectorate, suggesting cooperation, sordid fidelities, and preferential treatment (Jones 1977: 39).[60] During the first half of the twentieth century, Tunisian Jews, who were awarded some special privileges under the protectorate,[61] experienced similar stigma as their Sufis counterparts, scapegoated for anything that went awry in early anti-colonial resistances and the growing independence movement. Jews, like *tariqa*-affiliated Sufis, were readily accused of taking bribes from the French, conspiring against their fellow Tunisians, and betraying their neighbors. Rim, a music teacher in El Kef, told me that those considered to be traitors were called *mutaran*, a derogatory name for anyone who gave up their Tunisian identity for that of the colonizer (p.c. 11/25/2019). Similar language has been used since the 2011 Dignity Revolution to describe Tunisians who changed party affiliation at the drop of a hat, went back on political promises, or failed to show up for strikes and protests.

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[57] For an excellent study of parallel twentieth-century musical 'progress' in Egypt, see Anne Elise Thomas 2006.

[58] See J. Jones 1977.

[59] This was confirmed by several of my interlocutors, especially Rim.

[60] Dating to the 1860s, celebrated statesmen, Kheirredine Pasha al-Tounsi also distrusted Sufi groups and their leaders (personal communication with Dr. Safwan Masri during a lecture in February 2018).

[61] French colonial policies, allowing some Tunisian Jews to become naturalized citizens, were established with the intent purpose of pitting Tunisians against each other and weakening the rise of anti-colonial movements (Perkins 2014: 50-1).

Shaming of Sufis continued from the 1920s through the 1940s as anticolonial 'progressives' framed them as anti-nationalist in their perceived allegiance to both their *shaykh* and to the French, anti-modern in their religious adherence and practices,[62] and suspicious in general, given the guarded secrecy surrounding their practices in the *zāwāya* (Jones 1977: 39). By the days of independence, Tunisia's first President, Habib Bourguiba and Salah al-Mahdi, his director of Music and Popular arts, had changed their tune, if superficially. They voiced concern for the "legitimization" of the brotherhoods as "genuine repositories of national folklore," which therefore warranted some government protection. Al-Mahdi garnered some small funds this way,[63] "counterbalancing the hostility of some people in the independence party" (Jones 1977: 40). In 1977, Jones wrote that the 'Isawiyya practitioners with whom she worked still continued to refer to a "law" that banned "the specific practices that were characteristic of the 'Isawiyya." After doing a great deal of research into legal history, Jones states that she was unable to identify any such law (38). This lasting misunderstanding attests to the prevalence of anti-Sufi sentiment that persisted through to the late 1970s and, as I've witnessed in various forms and forums, to today.

By 1966, many *zāwāya* had been "transformed into centers serving some secular function of the state" (Jones 1977: 39). Indeed, I have also heard from my own interlocutors that the *zāwāya* were not only appropriated to be transformed into government buildings, but that many were closed and abandoned. Not only were *zāwāya* lands confiscated, but possessions associated with the brotherhoods were also seized by the government (Davis 1986: 141). In the case of the Rahmania *zāwiya* of Sīdī Ben 'Aīsh in El Kef, the entire area was transformed into a museum of culture. But musical practice at the *zāwiya* had already begun to wane at the turn of the twentieth century (Jones 1977: 27) as Sufi brotherhood attendance and musical practice "fell into political disrepute" (Jones 1982: 119) and social stigma weighed heavily on the practitioners of religious *ma'lūf*. My own interviews confirm this decline. When asked directly whether Sufi saints associated with *zāwāya* still lived today, Mounir Khelifa, told me that the last one died around 1920. It seems that the conditions or parameters for potential sainthood did not make it to the days of 'modernity.' Though the social and religious importance of past *Sīdi*-s remains strong among Tunisians today, the calendrical celebrations that honored them and the regular ritual practices that once enlivened their *qubba*-s, *madrasa*-s, and *zāwāya* dwindled for the greater past of the past century.

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[62] Davis cites government repression of their "arcane mystical and extreme physical practices and esoteric beliefs," including trancing (1986: 83,143). Jones describes some of these spectacular and miraculous aspects of performance, most of which she observed, including: eating nails, broken glass, hot coals and scorpions, rolling on a bed of nails or spiny cactus fruits, putting sharp pointy objects through the flesh or their abdomen or face, lacerating themselves with swords, and imitating the behavior of different animals (1977: 36).

[63] Davis dubs this move the "mock return of the Sufis" (1986: 143).

These processes resulted in the "irrevocable undermining" of Sufi musical practice in the *zāwāya* ritual context, the "dramatic demise of the traditional centers for communal music making," and loss of "the principle patrons of the oral traditions" (Davis 1997a: 6). Driven outside the *zāwāya*, some of the musicians who had learned and practiced within the brotherhoods went on to apply for "cards of professionalism" and to perform in the new contexts and venues created and facilitated by the state, including staged secularized performance at regional festivals (Jones 1977: 41). Davis cites a fascinating instance of shifting venues and contexts in the town of Testour; in the early 1960s the government built, as they did in so many Tunisian towns, adār *al-thaqāfa* or "house of tradition," a building intended for the preservation of history and local traditional arts, material and intangible. The local Sufi *firqa* (musical ensemble) relocated to the new space, intent on continuing their rehearsals but, as Davis explains, "the musicians felt uncomfortable in the strange environment which lacked the atmosphere and traditions of the *zāwiya*" (1997a: 8). Rehearsals gradually slackened to the point of ad hoc lessons in *cafés* and private homes (8). Though Davis does not furnish the statement in its original Arabic or French, her interlocutor was almost certainly referring to a distinct lack of *jaww*, the "atmosphere," "ambiance," or "environment" that once came to life during musicking in the physical, acoustic, and social milieu of the *zāwiya*.

Returning to Jankowsky's "contextual gap," in the case of the Sufi *firqa* in Testour, the alteration in venue created a gap too wide to sustain musico-cultural continuity. As this anecdote illustrates, the loss of the *zāwāya* as both a physical acoustic space and a socio-religious context for performance and listening, also constituted a loss of emplaced epistemic and practical knowledge. Without the precursors for and perpetuators of *jaww* (the circulation of sacred and social feeling) or the appropriate acoustic and acoustemological particularities of the familiar physical, material, and architectural environment,[64] *ma'lūf al-judd* floundered. Government repression and public distrust of Sufism and the musics associated with it took its toll; as less music took place within the *zāwāya*, fewer people attended and the space emptied (Davis 1996: 435), leaving them seemingly more 'available' for other purposes.[65]

In the name of modernization, related transitions in place and practice were carried out in and around Tunis. From its inception in 1932 through the 1940s and 50s, the Rashidiyya institute held regular (mostly weekly) performances of *ma'lūf* featuring their amateur musician students in the courtyard of the Ottoman-period home that acts as its headquarters in the Tunis medina.[66] These performances were open to the public:[67] many people attended regularly and, in this sense, the musical gatherings felt more like a club or association than a formal concert.[68] In these contexts, as Davis reports, the audience was "attentive and respectful," which in this case implied that "they sang along with the chorus, but unlike the *café* and wedding audiences, they refrained from talking through the performances and they waited until each piece had finished before applauding" (1997b: 84). The interaction between 'audiences' and 'performers' during these meetings likely mirrored the engaged participation in the by then somewhat-outmoded *zāwāya* context. Though the audiences of enthusiasts appear to have been familiar enough with the *ma'lūf* melodies to join in song, it is not surprise that they might have needed song sheets for the lyrics as they may have been more accustomed to the religious-themed poetry used for *ma'lūf al-judd.*

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[64] This points to what Abe terms "the inseparable process of producing acoustic and affective resonances" (2018:190). See Chapter 5 for more details on changes in practice.

[65] While the government transformation of semi-sacred *zāwāya* buildings into party headquarters "dealt a lasting blow" to *zāwiya* musicking in the city of Tunis, brotherhoods outside Tunis recovered, somewhat, after the "government's original shock had subsided" (Davis 1996: 435). Post-2011 *Thawrat al-Karāmah* or "Dignity Revolution" has seen both wide spread vandalization of *zāwāya* during the rise of Salafism under the Ennadha party (2011-14) and, more recently, a resurgence and renewed interest in Sufism under the administration of the secular Nidaa Tunis party (2014-present).

[66] Here, "amateur" indicates that they were not being paid, or not being paid very much.

[67] Davis suggests that a small, nominal fee was charged (see Chapter 5).

[68] Indeed, these gathering set the precedent for the development of the Nādī of Tahar Gharsa, which began in 1999.

In 1972, the government carried out what they called a "professionalization" of the Rashidiyya ensemble, replacing the amateur Rashidiyya-graduate musicians with "professionals" selected from the ranks of the Tunisian Radio ensemble, who modeled their orchestration and style on European orchestral practice (Davis 1996: 436). This move toward 'modernism' coincided with the physical re-location of concert performances from the courtyard of the Rashidiyya Institute to the municipal theater in the Tunis *ville nouvelle*, where the radio ensemble held its performances on the same stage as the Tunisian Symphony Orchestra. Here, the paradigm shift included the adoption of European formal clothing for the performers, the issuing of paid tickets, and the distribution of programs for the audience (436). This was a marked departure from participatory sing-along of previous decades in the Rashidiyya courtyard (1997a: 84) and, as such, concern was taken to explicitly (re)educate listeners in appropriate behavior during audition. Again, the audiences at the municipal theater were instructed to remain silent throughout the performances (436). Public reception of the concerts held in the municipal theater was unequivocally poor; as Davis put it, "The government's experiment was not a success: the new ensemble proved a strain on the Ministry of Culture's budget, and, despite the Rashidiyya's historic commitment to the *ma'lūf*, its repertory was increasingly duplicating that of the Tunisian Radio Ensemble" (436). In 1979, the government suspended the ensemble's "professionalization" funds and the Rashidiyya reverted back to its amateur ensemble model, firing Ben 'Aljia, the radio ensemble director and many of his musicians (436).

By the 1980s and 90s, Rashidiyya performances had migrated again to the gracious main concert hall of the National Conservatory of Music, which had formerly housed the French conservatory during the protectorate. "Framed by microphones and loudspeakers," the performers were observed by a silent seated audience who clapped only at the conclusion of pieces. Programs listed the repertoire to be presented in "exact sequence" (Davis 1997b: 76). Davis compares this "polite" audience behavior to that of audiences listening to performances of the Arab Music Ensemble in the Egyptian theaters and concert halls. Among Egyptian audiences, Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco writes that "the rules of conduct observed in concert hall performances of Western 'art' music were emulated" (1984: 281 in Davis 1997b: 96). In the Egyptian case, it was not audience singing that was shushed, but the formerly idiomatically appropriate ejaculations of listeners enjoying the music. As in the Tunisian case, "appreciation" was limited to clapping at the end of pieces (1984: 179 in Davis 96).

The quieting of audiences has at least one earlier precedent documented in 1917 by Baron d'Erlanger.[69] Here he describes the *ma'lūf* performances specially curated by him for his pleasure and musicological research at Ennejma Ezzahra, his cliff-side Moorish palace:

> The master of the house is looking forward to the night, when we will gather together his close friends and summon his musicians. He too will take part in the concert, perhaps playing the lute or, if he is gifted with a

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[69] A rather different anecdotal "quieting" is mentioned in Davis 1996 where she cites Hamadi, a musician who sang *ma'lūf* in the famous *Café* de Nattes in Sidi Bou Said, who told her that sometimes "a *darbūka* player would join them, but the harsh tone of his instrument usually upset the *taqruri* [marijuana or marijuana cut with tobacco] smokers, who would force him to stop" (431). It seems that even in older venues and acoustic spaces, *ma'lūf* performance, or at least that of percussionists, can be *too* loud. There is a brief mention also in Davis (1996: 430).

> pleasant voice, he will sing…He has chosen the finest room in his palace for his concert hall; his musicians will be wearing magnificent costumes, and everyone will be dressed in harmonious colours. *No sound will be allowed to distract the listeners; the servants waiting on him will be shod in the softest leather.* The low tables laden with the most beautiful dishes containing savories and sweetmeats; perfumes will drift through the atmosphere; often in his rapture he will forget the passing hours… (d'Erlanger 1917: 94, translation in Davis 1996: 430, my emphasis).

Here we may glimpse an intriguing intermediate venue, context, and form of listening practice that bridged categories of sacred and secular (d'Erlanger's musicians were drawn from the ranks of the brotherhood for his audition pleasure), the private and the public (the musicians who are accustomed to public performances play for d'Erlanger in private consort at his home), and the popular and aristocratic (the performance venue is similar to those classically used for *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* but again, featured musicians accustomed to vernacular performance in *zāwāya* and *cafés*). In terms of the "contextual gap" of the twentieth-century *ma'lūf* revival, d'Erlanger's curation, and preservation of tradition stands as an intriguing predecessor to the initiatives of the Rashidiyya, which formed a matter of months after d'Erlanger's ensemble performed at the Cairo Congress in 1932. Reviving instrumentation that had, for the most part fallen out of fashion during the nineteenth century – the '*ūd 'Arabī, rabāb* and *naqqārāt* – the "atmosphere" cultivated by d'Erlanger and his musicians and the listening practice associated with it operated within his broader goals of "purifying" and rehabilitating the repertoire. This early example of d'Erlanger's quiet and attentive audition for the purpose of transcription is a key in contextualizing the emergence of "modernized" and "secularized" listening behaviors and ideologies among the public in the twentieth century.

Baron d'Erlanger's transcriptions[70] – an early form of *ma'lūf* inscription – came to stand for 'the music itself,' reifying and fixing repertory outside of lived practice and setting the stage for the gaping contextual gaps that would soon be instituted by the Rashidiyya and the early Tunisian government.[71] These transcriptions performed a schizophonic splitting of *ma'lūf* sound from its physical performance spaces and contexts, facilitating the rationalization of the acceptability of the relocation of *ma'lūf* performance and audition into new "modern" spaces. His model for scientific listening, was taken up by early transcribers at the Rashidiyya, most notably Mohamed Triki, who had received a degree in music in France. Considered within Johnathan Sterne's frames of "histories of hearing" (2003: 6) and genealogies of "audile techniques,"[72] (90) d'Erlanger's project of abstracting sound from context fits neatly with broad paradigm shifts underway during the first decades of the twentieth century and with standard musicological practice of the day.

While the musical transcription and venue alteration share some common roles in the institution of the contextual gap, it is also important to consider the relative impact that these changes had on the experience of musicking and listening. While major shifts in venue directly affected acoustic space, possibilities for the spatial arrangement of performers and audiences, and the affordance of certain social and musical interactions, acts of transcription and the gradual introduction of musical notation did not necessarily alter the experience of musicians. Transcriptions have diverse purposes – from descriptive documentation to prescriptive prompt to memory aid device – and though their use in *ma'lūf* points to shifts in conceptualization of knowledge and performance, transcriptions did not necessarily change the listening experiences of audiences.

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[70] See also Davis 2001c, "The Use of Western Notation in Tunisian Art Music."

[71] The audio recordings made at the Cairo Congress on Arab Music in 1932, recorded directly onto metal plate disks, (Davis 2001a) are another objectified representation of "the music itself".

[72] "Body techniques," upon which Sterne's term is based, is Marcel Mauss' concept, coined in his eponymous 1973 essay.

In his watershed book, *The Audible Past*, Sterne explores the ideologies, habits, epistemologies, and rhetoric surrounding "Western" listening (especially musical listening) that developed alongside mechanisms for sound reproduction. Wary of the pitfalls of reifying a history of "acoustic modernity" as a rupturous departure from tradition, Sterne traces threads of listening practice as interwoven and embedded in material cultural objects[73] like stethoscopes, radios, and phonographs dating as far back as the eighteenth century (2003). Like Sterne, in attending to all manner of intermediary shifts in practices and their associated materialities, I seek the story of the *long durée* of the sonic-social "modernization" of *ma'lūf* performance and listening practice.[74] It is through analysis of material history and first-hand accounts that we many better understand lived experience and ultimately shed light on the stakes of *ma'lūf* listening today.

D'Erlanger's quiet, focused listening practice – recall, "no sound will be allowed to distract the listeners; the servants waiting on him will be shod in the softest leather" – is a product of a discourse of scientific and rational listening that emerged in Europe and the United States during the 1920s (Sterne 2003: 88-89). This scientific "orientation toward listening" descended, Sterne argues, from a long history (1760-1900s) of focused, attentive[75] medical listening which gradually became common practice for listening to recorded music in the 1920s (89). Scientific listening, like that employed by Baron d'Erlanger's for transcription of the *ma'lūf* repertoire, is developed, Sterne argues, through repeated practice (90) and is characterized by the following criteria:

(1) Listening is articulated as a "technical skill that can be developed and used toward instrumental ends" (93)

(2) Listening is constructed as a discrete activity which can then, through the separation and isolation of the senses, be intensified, focused, and reconstituted (93)

(3) Acoustic space is reconstructed and formed *for* the intent purpose of listening and into a bourgeois private space (93)

The practices of medical auscultation[76] Sterne describes, especially for early stethoscopic listening, required framing, extreme concentration, and attentive listening through the intent separation of hearing from the other senses (111) and the separation of self from the soundscape surrounding the listener. Sterne quotes a 1876 that calls to mind d'Erlanger's scientific *ma'lūf* listening: "To develop and cultivate by practice the power of concentration, is an object which the student should keep in view (111). Generally, at first, *complete stillness in the room* is indispensable for the study of auscultatory sound; with practice, however, in concentrating the attention, this becomes less and less essential" (2003: 111, my emphasis).

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[73] Thompson also grounds her work in material artifacts: "By starting here, with the solidity of technological objects and material practices of those who designed, built, and used them, we can begin to recover the sounds that have long since melted into air" (2002: 12).

[74] In *Helmholtz and the Modern Listener* (2012), Benjamin Steege provides analysis of related situations that led to a "new style of listening" – tied to aesthetic, philosophical, literary, ethical, and political turns – and which was characterized by a "preoccupation with certain kinds of *detail*" (15, emphasis sic).

[75] For more on the development of the importance of "attention" in modern aurality, see Steege 2012, Chapter 3.

[76] "Auscultation," in this case *mediate auscultation*, refers to "the practice of listening to movements inside the body with the aid of instrument," especially a stethoscope for diagnosis (Sterne 2003: 99).

Returning to the history of the venues and spaces for public or larger-scale performance and listening, the ritual space of the Sufi *zāwiya* and the bustling sociality of the *café* certainly did not provide the appropriate sonic or social space for the focused, attentive, and discrete listening of idealized, discerning, modern audiences (Sterne 2003: 162). The eschewing of various participatory aspects of *ma'lūf* musicking, listening behaviors, and forms of sociality was closely coupled with shifts in venues; both were key aspects of the enforcement of the "contextual gap" between "traditional" and "modern" performance and listening practices. Audiences once let loose *zagharāt* – high-pitched ululations that express happiness in socially contexts – at appropriate moments, clapped, and sang along in *zāwāya* ritual contexts; other casual audiences chatted, smoked, drank, ate, played cards, gambled, and solicited women during *café* performances and rehearsals. 'Modern' audience members focused on the role of listening audience member, that is, avoiding the 'distractions' of singing, talking, making handicrafts, or carrying out domestic chores while listening. The layout of staged concert hall performances also marked distinctions between audiences and performers and the new relations imposed between them. These idealized behavioral changes in audience listening practice[77] – described in texts as absolute, though few if any records exist of actual adherence to the new policies – were tied not only to 'scientific' listening practices of expert musicologists, but also to rhetoric of bourgeoisie middle class respectability.

The etiquette that accompanied the 'modernization' of newly 'respectable' *ma'lūf*, I argue, was modeled upon the fashions surrounding public attendance at operas and symphony performances in Paris and elsewhere in Europe around that time. James Johnson (1995) has written extensively on the social listening habits of Parisians between 1750 and 1850, asking primarily: Why did audiences stop talking and start listening? He attempts the ambitious task of "sketch[ing] the process by which a cohort of spectators passe[d] from one type of listening to another" (1995: 2) by tying new aesthetic styles with "the emergence and refinement of new modes of perception" (1995: 3) and to larger social transformations (Johnson 1995: 4). As far back at 1762, Count Francesco Algarotti argued vehemently that concert halls and theaters should no longer be "a place destined for the reception of a tumultuous assembly, but as the meeting of a solemn audience" (Thompson 1995: 46); reverent "devotional silence" was impressed upon concertgoers (Ochoa Gautier 2015: 187).

Johnson locates the instruction of French audiences' silence in a proliferation of period etiquette books and in conversation and imitation among the bourgeoisie.[78] Amidst heated class-based tensions between the Parisian aristocracy and the growing middle class, Johnson argues that silence and perfectly mannered behavior became central to the self-conception of the bourgeoisie[79] (1995: 233) and paramount to avoiding embarrassment or lowering oneself in "good company."[80] The golden rule of "bourgeoisie decency" was not to bother others (231). A "certain fastidiousness" governed not only sound emanating from the audience – "'the highest breach of politeness' was to hum with the music" (232) – but constrained bodily movement as well: it was considered inappropriate to tap the rhythm with the hands, head, or feet, and to turn ones' back toward the stage during the performance (232). In the French case, as in Tunisia, rhetoric of appropriate behavior took a controlling tone, whether meted out by administrative personnel or fellow concert attendees.

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[77] In order to highlight the "social relations of musical spectacle" and "historically inflected patterns," Lewis Kaye (2012) has proposed the concept of "conditions of audience" to describe the "specific architectural and spatial conditions that frame the experience of sound" and to get past the "static understanding of the audience" (63). See Tsioulakis and Hytönen-Ng 2017 for a wide range of approaches to theorizing audience vis a vis performer(s).

[78] During a violin recital, "one-half of the hall acted as police, so to speak, and demanded silence" (Johnson: 233).

[79] Because, "in politeness, all men are equal" (Raisson and Romieu, *Code civil* 1828: 52 in Johnson 1995: 233, note 28).

[80] As he put it, "to display proper manners confidently and knowingly went with success as its virtual companion; but the nature of the success also entailed caution, prudence, and, perhaps at the extreme, fear" (Johnson 1995: 229). Also,"a ruined aristocrat was still and aristocrat; a ruined bourgeoisie was *déclassé* (Johnson 1995: 231, note 19).

With the institution of audience silence, Johnson traces what he sees as a "shift from superficial to engaged listening" (Johnson 1995: 3). Indeed, "modern subjectivity demanded a specific type of listening constituted by silent attention, understood as a crucial dimension of an ideal, rational subject that is in control of the production of meaning" (Ochoa Gautier 2015: 186). While the Rashidiyya administrators and ensemble directors of the earlier twentieth century likely hoped to witness similar transformations and betterment of their attendees' performance of listening, the firsthand accounts I have heard from Tunisians suggest that the opposite more often took place. Sonia, for instance, described bourgeois audience members, specifically, as tuned out, entirely disengaged, and uninterested in learning by listening; if they *were* following the innovative moves of improvisations – surprising modulations, beautifully idiomatic mode-specific phrasing – she said they would display this with verbal expressions of delight and encouragement (*istiḥsān*),[81] gasps, quick intakes of air, and clapping, if not also singing along with antiphonal refrains. For Sonia, and many of my other interlocutors, engaged silent audition is hypothetically possible, but stilted and uncommon; controlled and appropriate movements and verbal involvement remains an important aspect of audience behavior. As Johnson put it, "politeness invented boredom" (1995: 236). Now that they "made you listen," "politeness may have created a private space for inner communion, but it also had its victims" (236).

Like Johnson's case in Paris, nineteenth century 'modernization' of *ma'lūf* and the "transformation of behavior was a sign of a fundamental change in listening, one whose elements," – as I explore in the next chapter – "included everything from the physical features of the hall to the musical qualities of the works" (Thompson 1995: 1-2). Increased institutional control surrounding Tunisians' audience listening behavior paralleled and mutually informed the drive for increased control over both the physical spaces for performance and the acoustics of those buildings. Emily Thompson (2002) picks up the story of the production of sonic modernity across the Atlantic in the turn of the twentieth century United States. She argues that in the early 1900s, "a fundamental compulsion to control the behavior of sound drove technological developments in architectural acoustics" (2002: 2). "Modern" men, Thompson writes, demonstrated their technical mastery over their environment, transforming relationships between sound, space, and time (2002: 3-4).

Interest in sound control had much to do with the rising decibel levels of the noise of urban 'modernity,' from building construction to the sounds of street traffic. This fed into a desire to combat 'excessive' reverberation in spaces for musicking and public speaking. Reverb was construed at the time as noisy, distorting, and distracting from music 'itself.' The "extractive, modular approach" (2017: 871) of the contextual gap was predicated on the abstraction of "the music itself" from its physical and cultural contexts" (Jankowsky 2017: 872). As I examine in Chapter 5, the pursuit of 'modern sound' in Tunisia resulted not only in the displacement of musicking and listening from particular venues and social, religious, and cultural contexts, but also in the schizophonic severing of musical practice from the reverberant environments that had, for centuries, scrawled their acoustic signature[s], on the resonant resounding of *ma'lūf*.

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[81] *Istaḥsān* is the term employed by El-Shawan 1980 in Davis 1986: 173-4 and by Racy (1978, 51). Alaghband-Zadeh suggests the useful term "audible listening" (2017: 228) to describe "active listening behaviors" (227) in Hindustani music listening practice.

CHAPTER 5. ACOUSTICS, AESTHETICS, ACOUSTEMOLOGIES

Harmonics is an obscure and difficult branch of musical science, especially for those who do not know Greek. If we desire to treat of it, we must use Greek words, because some of them have no Latin equivalents. Hence, I will explain it as clearly as I can from the writings of Aristoxenus, append his scheme, and define the boundaries of the notes, so that with somewhat careful attention anybody may be able to understand it pretty easily.

— Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, *De Architectura* (1st Century AD)[1]

Acoustically architected space resounds in a very social manner.

— Lewis Keye, "The Silenced Listener: Architectural Acoustics,
the Concert Hall, and Conditions of Audience" (2012: 63).

The Acoustic Turn

The 'acoustic' or 'auditory' turn in music research constituted a re-centering that heralded the formulation of sound studies around the turn of the 21st century. Though several different, often intertwining, genealogies of thought exist within the humanities and social sciences,[2] all would agree that the terms 'acoustic,' 'auditory,' or 'sonic' turn refer to "the increased significance of the acoustic as simultaneously a site for analysis, a medium for aesthetic engagement, and a model for theorization" (Drobnick in Porcello et al. 2010: 55). Growing interest in sound has prompted an efflorescence of diverse studies and writings about listening, covering a wide array of theoretical, ethnographic, and analytic realms. Many scholars bemoan the marginality of acoustic studies across the discipline. Steege, for instance, remarks upon "the irony of the historical inaudibility of acoustics" (2015: 28) and calls for better treatment of the architectural acoustic aspects of listening in the writing of music history.

Ethnographic study of acoustics begs co-presence and the coproduction of spaces with sounding and listening bodies. Jonathan Shannon has recently explored what he calls *architectural listening* within the "cultural logic of built environments (2018: 163)," arguing that "to listen to songs architecturally, and to behold architecture sonically, we must understand song forms contributing to the construction of the built environment and the built environment as reverberating with a particular soundscape" (162-3). Indeed, as Abe explores in the context of processional musical street performance, *hibiki* or "resonance" relies upon finely-tuned place-specific knowledge of architectural acoustics – "walls, streets, buildings, and the atmosphere [humidity, weather]" – and the active role they play in enticing listeners (2018: 108-9). Relatedly, for Barry Blesser and Linda-Ruth Salter (2007), *aural architecture* does not refer only to *spatial acoustics*, the physical properties of sound waves, but also to *cultural acoustics*, "the way that listeners experience the space" (2007: 5). This distinction – pointing to the endowment of sensory and spatial perception with complexly valanced and subjective meaning – is the very difference between the theorization of Schafer-ian "soundscapes" (1977) and Feld-ian "acoustemology" (2012).

Ana María Ochoa Gautier guides the historian of sound to the "nooks and crannies of history," where she may hope to find "the traces left by audibility…enmeshed in different practices" (2016:

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[1] Marcus Vitruvius Pollio. 1914 [30-15 BC]. *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Morris Hicky Morgan. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

[2] Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier suggests at least those of Jonathan Sterne, Steven Feld, and Peter Szendy (2016: 6). I would certainly add soundscape environmentalist, R. Murray Schafer, and theorist and composer of *musique concrète*, Pierre Schaeffer, to that list.

6). Like Steven Feld, Keith Basso, and their lineages, Ochoa Gautier looks for the inscription of sound in practice, on bodies and physical objects, and as indexed relationally in natural features and place. It is from these constitutive fragments that we may piece together what I refer to as "somewhat audible pasts."[3] Through this approach, we many recognize and value the inscriptions of sound practice on/in extant architectures, physical acoustic frames that have shaped the living aesthetics of musical sound and on audience expectations for listening. As I theorize here, anthropo-spatial-sonic relations emerge from acoustic particularities, leaving 'room' for shifts across time in musical aesthetics; listening expectations, taste, and norms; and forms of sociality including comportment, behavior, participation, engagement, and interaction. The form of ethnographic methodological listening I concern myself with here,[4] not unlike that of my interlocutors, is a culturally-informed acoustic approach to historicized musical sound.

In the following chapter, I explore this inter-relation of room acoustics, acoustemologies, and aesthetics, arguing that the characteristic acoustics of historical spaces for *ma'lūf* have left their mark on current soundings in the form of various aesthetic aspects and sonic qualities of the genre. In producing this analysis, I seek to dispel conceptions of architectural acoustics as a 'pure' scientific study outside of the realms of culturally diverse aesthetic preferences. Listening for fragments of *ma'lūf*'s 'somewhat audible pasts,' is an effort to trace a history of cultural practice across the schisms strategically imposed by institutions through the "contextual gap" (Jankowsky 2017) — the re-location of *ma'lūf* from traditional venues of the *zāwiya* and *café* to European-style concert halls and conservatory spaces, which I discussed at length in Chapter 4. Where does listening to "spaces speak"[5] or listening for *ṣūt al-blāsa*,[6] the "voice of the place" take us?

To begin answering these questions, I draw upon my own observations and historical written accounts of the architectural spaces previously and currently used for *ma'lūf* performance, paying special attention to the acoustic properties of the materials used and the practical influence of these acoustics on sound qualities, perceived and aestheticized in musical choices and conventions. Next, I examine two specific case studies: (1) the spatial-social history of loudness, intimacy, and touching and (2) reverberation and echo as spatializing sonic practices and formal musical features.[7] The Euro-American science of architectural acoustics has always been wedded to its practical application, a bent toward the bettering of spaces for musical sounding. This project, while presented as a universal and objective pursuit, has been deeply informed by culturally-specific preferred aesthetics and acoustemology. As I argue in this chapter, these biases feature front-and-center in the so-called teleological 'modernization' of *ma'lūf* sound and listening practices. Though it is not a central topic of this chapter, I address Tunisian use of electronic amplification and reverb in performances of *ma'lūf* in the section entitled "Acoustic Attributes of Venues for *ma'lūf*"and in "Sonic Proxemics: Loudness, Intimacy, and Touching."

The field of architectural acoustics – especially for the design of concert halls, opera houses, auditoriums, rehearsal rooms, and other spaces for listening – burgeoned around the turn of the twentieth century. As Emily Thompson has documented, the drive to shape aural experience through design was mirrored in other architectural projects of the early twentieth century that aimed to improve mental, physical, and social health, and overall quality of life through controlled, efficient, and commoditized spaces (2002: 3-4).[8] We see a reprise of related ideas surrounding the conservation of sound and control of noise in R. Murray Schafer's (1977) environmentalist appeal for the "acoustic design" of world soundscapes, the "tuning of the world."

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[3] Sterne's "audible past" refers to a history of sound reproduction around the emergence of 'modernity' as shaped by listening techniques and material culture (2004).

[4] See the Introduction sections "Learning to listen" and "Research Background and Methodology."

[5] See Blesser and Salter, 2007.

[6] *ṣawt* in *Fuṣḥa.*

[7] See also "Sound Movement and Directional Listening" later in this chapter.

The goal of American modernists of the 1920s – like their parallels in Europe – was the complete technological control of their environment and uniform standardization of built acoustic spaces (Thompson 2002: 4).[9] This movement essentially involved the "progressive reform" (6) of the abatement of urban noise, including what was perceived as "excessive" reberberation (2002: 3). Thompson calls attention to the interconnections of ideology, design, and behavior, especially in terms of the overarching theme of control; "by minimizing reverberation and other unnecessary sounds, the materials created an acoustically efficient environment and engendered efficient behavior in those who worked within it, and began the process by which sound and space could ultimately be separated" (7). This ideology-design-behavior complex applies fittingly to the listening changes I describe in this section, speaking to the colonialist and nationalist transformations of the physical venues, ideological frameworks, aesthetics, and acoustic practices of *ma'lūf* audition over the course of the twentieth century. In light of well-founded critiques of the projects and orientations of sound studies,[10] the work presented here investigates acoustic effects in order to more holistically address the reproduction and dissolution of hegemonic power structures and to recognize the compromised 'audibility' of 'somewhat audible pasts.'

Acoustic Attributes of Venues for *Ma'lūf*

The range of acoustic spaces used for the live performance and audition of *ma'lūf* has expanded significantly since its early revival in the 1920s and 30s, especially with the national heritagization of *ma'lūf* in the 1950s and 1960s, and through the canonization and standardization of the repertoire at conservatories from the 1970s to today. Proponents of modernism led systematic relocation of *ma'lūf* from older acoustic spaces to new ones in an attempt to 'elevate' the respectability of musical performance.

Prior venues for *ma'lūf*[11] listening and performance include the contained spaces of the *zāwiya* (Sufi brotherhood); the aristocratic home (typically in parlor-type rooms); the covered courtyard of Baron d'Erlanger's Ennejma Ezzahra; the entertainment hall of the Bardo Palace of the Bey;[12] and *cafés*. Open-air music listening was limited to processions within and between neighborhoods (*kharajāt*), performance in the open-air rectangular courtyards (*ṣḥūn*) of aristocratic homes, the private gardens of *blēdī* (landed aristocracy), and at *cafés*.[13] Newer spaces include, most notably, the indoor venues of the Théâtre municipal, the French colonial National Conservatory of Music, large rentable wedding hall venues, and occasional performances in lobbies of hotels.[14] Since independence, outdoor venues have also include summer festival stages, which typically take place outside of hotels, where domestic and international visitors stay. In 1964, the annual Festival International de Carthage was established in the refurbished ancient Roman theater in Carthage.

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[8] From office buildings to hospitals, schools, homes, restaurants, and even shooting ranges and bowling alleys (see The Celotex Corporation, Sabine 1941-50).

[9] "The result was that the many different places that made up the modern soundscape began to sound alike" (Thompson 2002: 4).

[10] Including Stadler 2015 and Cusick 2017.

[11] Here I have chosen to lump together the subcategories of *ma'lūf al-judd* and *ma'lūf al-ḥazl*. As I will discuss further in this chapter, shifting emic sociological and cultural categorization of *ma'lūf* in the Twentieth century have led, practically speaking, to an inter-weaving of the performance practices, formal musical features, stylistic elements, and listening practices of these two forms.

[12] See "Sound Movement and Directional Listening" later in this chapter

[13] Based on my interviews, *café* performance sometimes took place outdoors in Tunis, Testour, and Bizerte.

In terms of architectural acoustics, these spaces for musicking fall roughly into five distinct categories. As there are vast numbers of specific venues worth considering, I employ this typology to facilitate the classification of overall acoustic properties that have shaped and continue to affect listeners' preferred aesthetics for *ma'lūf.* [15] These architectural types and their particular acoustic properties map onto the following venues for performance:

(1) Smaller enclosed structures: *zawāyā* (Sufi lodges), *cafés*, parlor rooms of aristocratic homes

(2) Larger enclosed spaces: Théâtre municipal, National Conservatory of Music, wedding halls

(3) Semi-enclosed spaces with reflective surfaces: *ṣḥūn* (courtyards), Rashidiyya school[16]

(4) Open-air venues with significant reflective surfaces: Roman Theater of Carthage, processions

(5) Open-air venues with minimal reflective surfaces: gardens, orchards, some outdoor stages

Written records and anecdotal accounts suggest that the architectural acoustic Types 1, 3, and 5 were typically employed before the twentieth century.[17] Architectural acoustic Types 2 and 4 were adopted over the course of the twentieth century during the Rashidiyya-spurred revival and national heritagization of *ma'lūf* and as part of the initiative to 'modernize' repertoire and practice. Broadly speaking, the institution of the conceptual gap to produce 'sonic modernity' amounted to the relocation of *ma'lūf* sounding from Type 1 to Type 2 spaces. At the end of this section, I discuss a recent return to Type 1 venues.

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[14] See Alyson Jones 2010 on wedding halls. The Théâtre Municipal opened in 1902 and was at first used only for Opera performances by visiting troupes, mostly Italian, and for the Tunisian National Symphony Orchestra (Davis 1997: 89) and (Clancy-Smith 2011: 138). On hotel performances, see Davis on Tahar Gharsa (2004).

[15] To be clear, these five categories are an etic construction of my own and the acoustic properties I describe here are my own observations, not drawn from my interlocutors' descriptions, unless otherwise noted.

[16] The Rashidiyya, while not established until the 1930s, is housed in an Ottoman-era home of this type.

[17] I do not wish for this vague temporality to suggest that an abrupt rupture of schism took place, architecturally and sonically, during the twentieth century. In this context, "before the twentieth century" most aptly refers to the nineteenth century.

(1) Smaller enclosed structures: *zawāyā* (Sufi lodges) and *cafés*

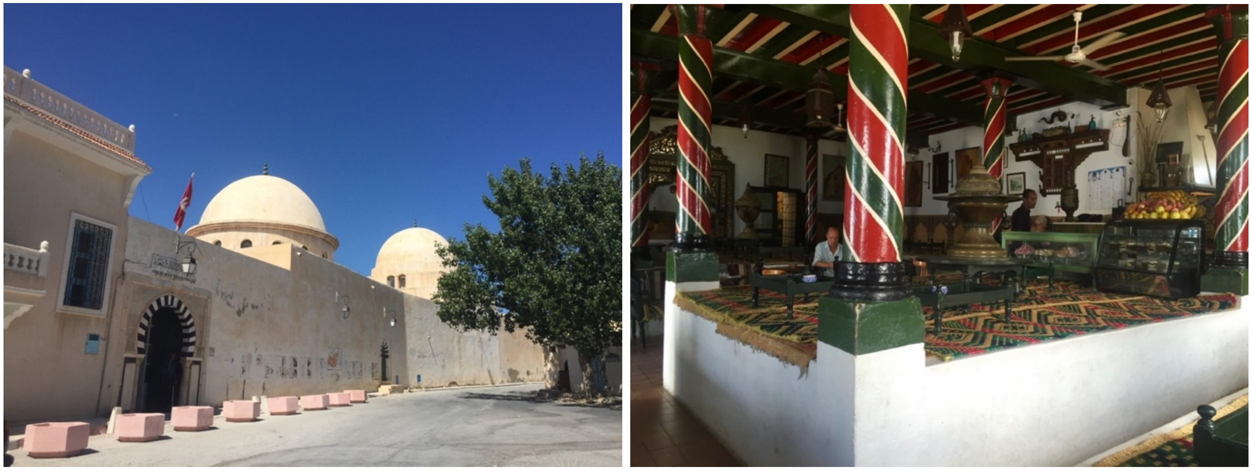

Figure 35 (left) The Rahmania Zāwiya of Sidi Ben ʻAīsh now houses the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires in El Kef (right) *Qahwa al ʻAliya* (high up *café*) – also called *Café de Nattes* (*café* of mats) in Sidi Bou Said. Photographs by the author.

(2) Larger enclosed spaces: Théâtre municipal and National Conservatory of Music. For more examples, see Appendix 2A.

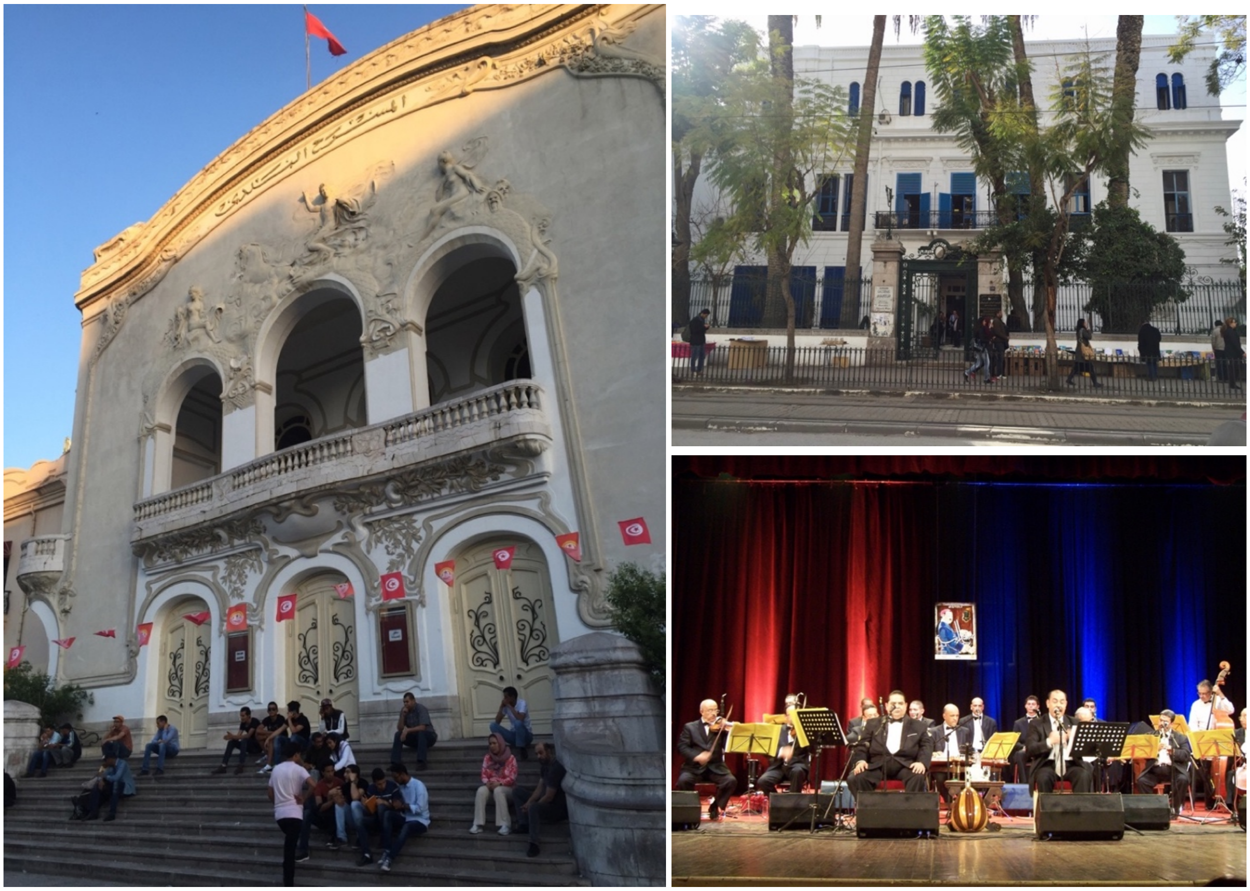

Figure 36 (left) Théâtre municipal, Tunis *ville nouvelle* (top right), National Conservatory of Music, Tunis *ville nouvelle* (bottom right) inside the Théâtre municipal with Zied Gharsa pictured left, Lotfi Bouchnak pictured right. Photographs by the author.

(3) Semi-enclosed spaces with reflective surfaces: *ṣḥūn* (courtyards)

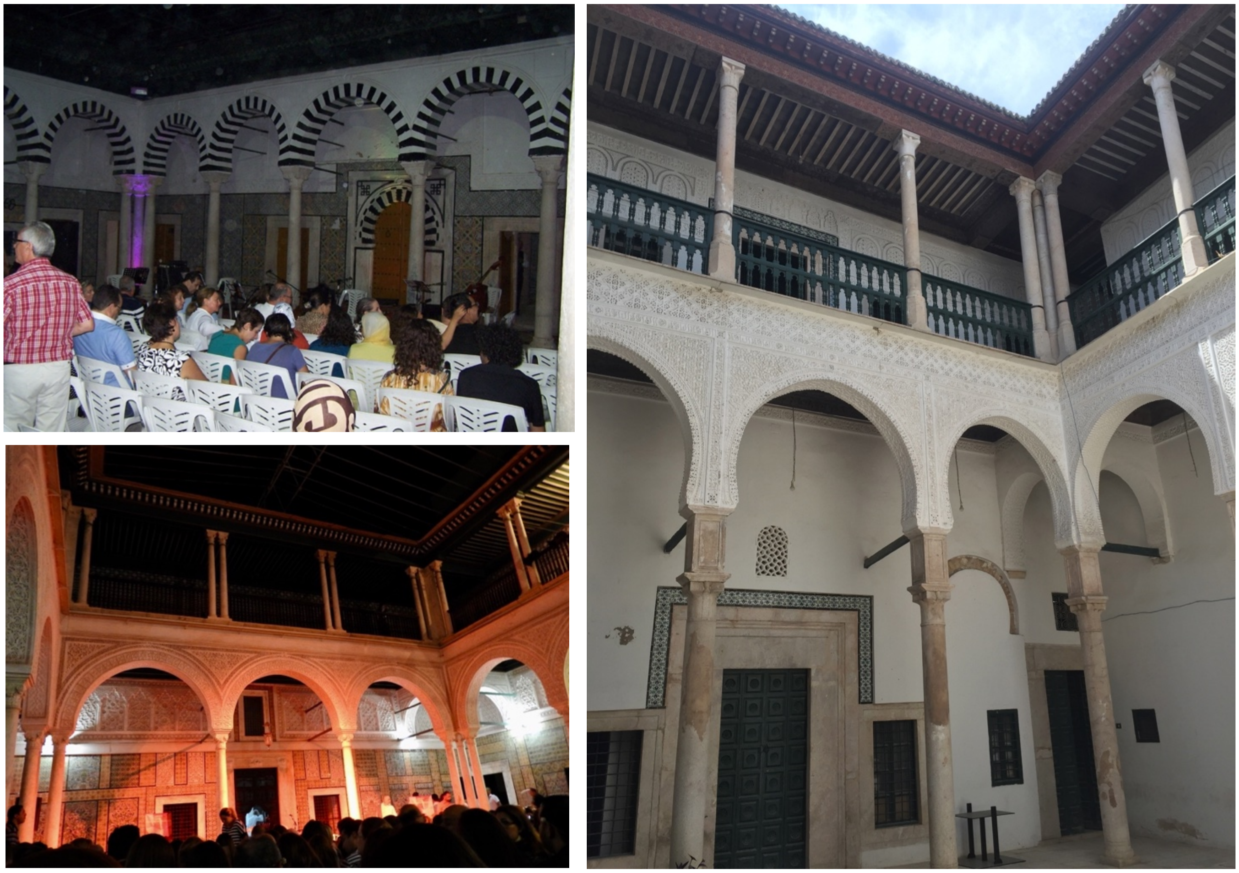

Figure 37 (top left) Centre Culturel Bir Lahjar, Tunis Medina, (bottom left) Dar Hussein, Tunis medina, (right) typical Ottoman courtyard, Tunis. Photographs by the author.

(4) Open-air venues with significant reflective surfaces: Roman Theater of Carthage

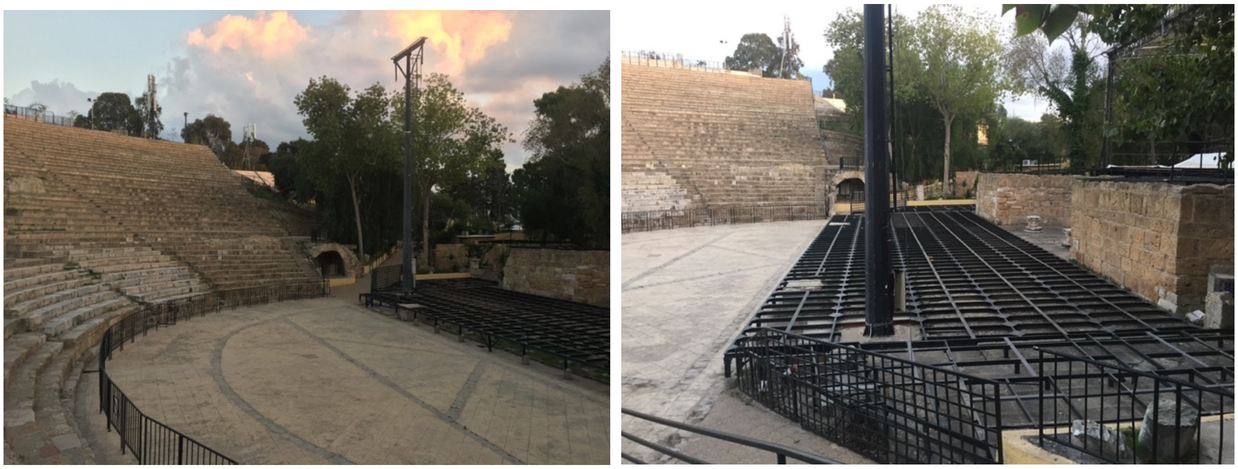

Figure 38 (left) Roman Theater at Carthage (right) setup for wooden stage. Photographs by the author

(5) Open-air venues with minimal reflective surfaces: outdoor stages

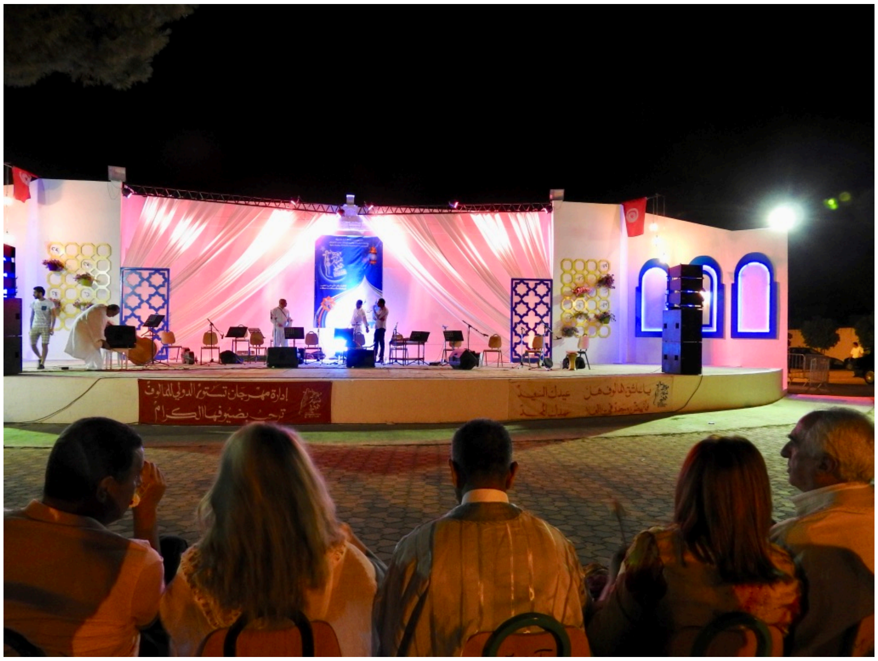

Figure 39 The honored judges sit at the front of the audience at the Festival International de Testour. Photograph by the author

Before continuing, I will provide an overview of architectural acoustics and a brief history of acoustics in Islamic architecture in order to ground my arguments.[18] Listeners in semi- and completely-enclosed small and medium sized spaces perceive both *direct sound*, the first sounds traveling directly from a source to the human ear, and *reflected sound*, indirect sound waves that reach the ears only after striking flat surfaces, like walls, and bouncing back into the air. In enclosed spaces, *direct* sound blends with the waves of sound that ricochet off solidly built walls (*reflected sound*), creating a diffuse mixture called *reverberant sound*, or *reverb* (Backus 1977: 164). This phenomenon is exaggerated in smaller enclosed spaces, which also amplify sound. Here it is worth clarifying the difference between *echo* and *reverb*, as I will consider them each more closely later in this chapter. Whereas reverberations prolong the originating sound and may alter its timbre, echoes are delayed, reaching the listener at least one-fifteenth of a second after the initial sound (Hollander 1981: 1). In terms of psychoacoustic perception, echoes, unlike reverb, are identified by a telltale, if momentary, break of silence or markedly diminished amplitude between the initial and secondary sound. Due to this delay, the echo is perceived as a new sound, separate from what came before.

In the small, enclosed spaces of Islamic *zāwiya* (Sufi lodge), the four solidly-constructed and typically flat walls, floor, and ceiling create an acoustic space that is extremely 'live,' naturally amplifying sound, and creating ample reverberation.[19] In the case of Tunisian *zawāyā,* the convex surface[20] of the domed ceilings – *qubba* in Tunisian Arabic[21] – concentrate reflected sound and direct it downward into the space below, effectively exaggerating reverb and the experience of amplified loudness. Domes also offer the added feature of delaying first reflections as direct sound skims over their surface before hitting a flat surface more perpendicular to the sound source. A room consisting of only planar surfaces and no curved surfaces creates acoustically undesirable reverberation, both by Euro-American and Arab standards.

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[18] See also *Music, Sound, and Architecture in Islam* (2018) edited by Michael Frishkopf and Federico Spinetti and diagrams in Appendix 2B.

Islamic architecture across the world stands as acoustic testament to the primacy of sound and listening in these diverse societies.[22] As acoustic engineers, North African Sufi architects inherited and adapted these architectural forms. Some Tunisian *zawāyā* have specially designed rooms (as part of their *madrassa* or "school") for training students in the recitation of *Qur'ān.* These rooms – like the one I visited at the *zāwiya al-Raḥmānia* of Sidi Ben 'Aīsh in El Kef – are extremely resonant, reverberant, and amplificatory, while still delivering a clean and undistorted sound. During my visit in El Kef, the museum attendant demonstrated the acoustic qualities of the entirely empty room by delivering a phrase of the *adhān* (call to prayer) for me and Rim, who had accompanied me. Besides a large domed ceiling, smaller concave surfaces in the upper corners below the larger dome (*semi-domes*) add to the room's reverberant sound and amplificatory power. The same technique of *semi-domes*[23] is exhibited in the nearby shrine of Sidi Bou Makhlouf and in the interior of the Great Mosque of Kairawan.[24] Another well-known Islamic acoustic architectural technique is employed in the *miḥrāb*, a niche carved into the wall of Islamic places of worship facing the *qibla,* the direction of the Islamic holy city of Mecca. Taking on different shapes and decoration in different cultural areas of the Islamic world, the *miḥrāb* is indented so that when the *imām* or other leader of prayer must face the *qibla* (toward the wall), away from the listening congregants, his voice is carried by the curve of the niche and projected back towards the people positioned behind him. Though the large ceiling domes, *semi-domes*, and *miḥrāb* were explicitly designed to aid directly in the sounding and delivery of voiced text, in the form of liturgy and prayer, their effects can also be heard in the acoustic characteristics and aesthetics of the musics – like *ma'lūf al-judd* – that have traditionally been practiced within them.

As in any physical space, the size, shape, and materials used for construction affect the characteristics of the sound produced and propagated within. The building materials used in the construction of Tunisian *zawāyā* – and in *cafés*, many of which share structural and sonic qualities – include terracotta clay bricks or blocks of concrete (cinder blocks) covered in a thick layer of white plaster and stucco work, which are typically made from lime[25] (*chaux*, in French) and gypsum[26] (*jibs*, in Tunisian Arabic), respectively, mixed with sand, and water. The resulting wall exteriors are dense, smooth surfaces that afford more *reflective sound* than more porous materials.[27] It is also quite common, especially in Ottoman-era buildings and in many Tunisian *zawāyā*, for walls to be covered in glazed ceramic tiles (*zalāj*), which create an added smooth, hard layer for sound refraction.[28] Though secondary to the walls, ceiling, and floor – the most acoustically significant flat surfaces – courtyards of some *zawāyā* feature marble columns and capitals re-purposed from Phoenician and Roman ruins throughout the country. When positioned between the musicians and listeners, these additional hard-surfaces further impede *direct sound* and add to reverberant sound reflections. Architectures like these leave distinct imprints on the sounds created within them, "sound[ing] the acoustic signature of each particular place, representing the unique character (for better or worse) of the space in which it was heard" (Thompson 2002: 3).

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[19] In comparison with the fully enclosed type, open-air courtyards are relatively less reverberant and less naturally amplified because much of the sound diffuses, unobstructed, in all directions through the opening in the center of the square. With fewer reflective surfaces to contain the spread of the sound and focus it inward, sound decay occurs more quickly and *reverberation time* is shortened. The materials used to cover the walls of aristocratic courtyards – plaster and fired, glazed ceramic tiling – are similar to those used in *zawāyā* and *café*s; their firm, smooth, and dense, qualities augmenting reverberation produced by the physical layout of the architecture.

[20] As with the reflection of light, the angle of sound wave reflection is equal to the angle of incidence.

[21] *cupola* in Italian and *coupole* in French

[22] The list of architectural feats and wonders is far too extensive to survey here. Consider the legendary Persian music hall of the great palace of Ālī Qāpū in Isfahan, which features dozens of honeycombed miniature *cupolas*, cut out areas, whose "highly polished walls produce extremely long reverb" (Doyle 2005: 42)

[23] The Arabic for a pocket or cavity, *jayūb*, which one might call these depressions, has the same root as "to reply" or "to answer," suggesting acoustic echo as the shared concept.

[24] See images from George Marcais (1926).

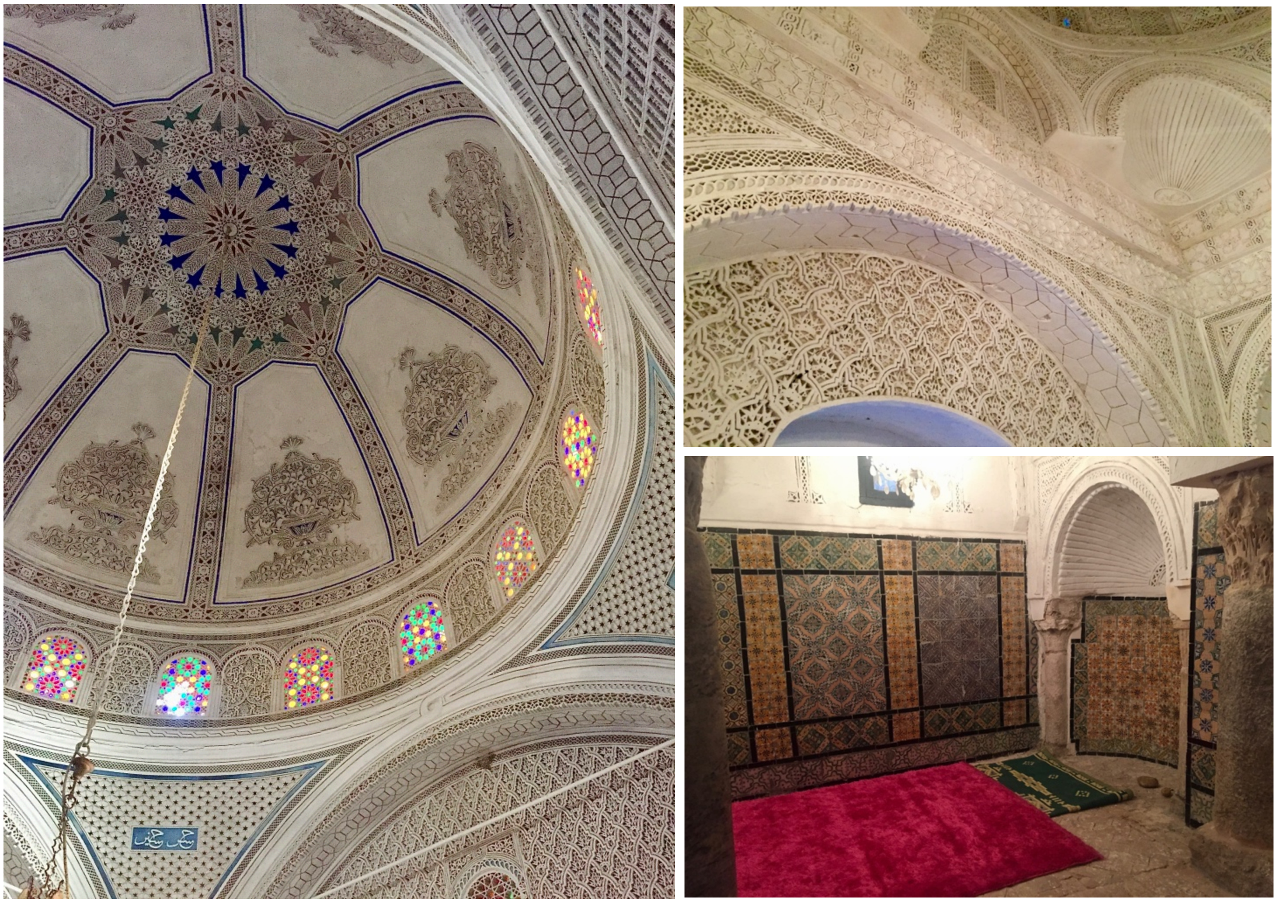

Figure 40 (left) Dome shrine (*qubba*) of Sīdī Ben 'Aīsh at the Rahmania Zāwiya in El Kef, (top right) "semi-domes" at the shrine of Sidi Bou Makhlouf in El Kef, (bottom right) an ornate *miḥrāb* in the shrine of Sidi Bou Makhlouf in El Kef. Photographs by the author. See also Appendix 2C.

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[25] Lime has been used as a building material at least as far back as the ancient Egyptians and Greeks. Lime is garnered from crushed limestone and, as it is too caustic to be used as plaster in its natural state, is burned to create quick lime (calcium oxide) and mixed with water to become calcium hydroxide (Beard 1983: 10).

[26] Gypsum is calcium sulphate, a white powdery mineral that occurs widely and plentifully in nature (Beard 1983: 10).

[27] Plaster, concrete, and glass are considered "materials with low absorption coefficients," meaning that when hit with sound, "each soundwave will lose very little energy at each reflection" (Sabine and the Celotex Corporation 1941-50: 19).

[28] For more about the aesthetic aspects of ceramic tiles, see the last section of this chapter.

An additional consideration is the density of tightly-packed homes in Tunisian urban built environments, which are typically connected to one another in the *medina* (the old walled city), through which narrow roads and winding alleys (*dribāt*, singular *driba*) afford passage. As sound spills out of open-air courtyards, it bounces between nearby, often taller architectural structures, which, with their flat, white-washed and tiled walls, contribute additional reverb and augmented amplitude.[29] As is readily apparent everywhere in Tunisia during summer months, the season for weddings, sound, especially electronically amplified sound, is further mediated by the architecture of city. At times radiating great distances, the sounds of wedding music from different homes intermingle in the evening air.[30]

It is commonplace for the sound of music from different homes to converge, somewhat cacophonously. These are the types of anthropogenic urban soundscapes – propagated by architectural reverberation and nonexistent sound ordinances – that would have been construed as noisy[31] and as non-modern or anti-modern in Thompson's history. While twentieth century American acousticians of the new guard sought to create silent 'refuges' from the onslaught of city noise (Thompson 2002: 171), the sonically full and reverberant Tunisian *zāwāya* have long stood as community refuges, safe places for people seeking shelter, food, care, and protection.[32] These paradigms of sonic safety are very clearly at odds.

Along with architectural acoustic attributes, it is also worth considering the sounds of life that have co-existed within the soundscapes of *ma'lūf* audition. Davis writes that in the first few decades of the twentieth century, regular *café* customers sang along with *ma'lūf* performances, constituting a fan following (1986: 86). In the case of the urban *café*, Lallemand's in-depth description of Tunis' coffee and *café*-centric culture is surprisingly well attuned – if orientalist, judgmental, and racist – to the sounds of the social and the practical sounds of the place (1890). He describes the pounding blow of the manual grinding of coffee into a fine powder, so forceful that it shakes the walls (Lallemand 1890: 74) and the clanging of coins thrown on the top of the brass coffer, alerting the *kaouadji* (*qahwājī*, coffee maker) to put another tiny coffee pot on to boil (81). He also comments, in great detail, upon the slurping[33] sound Tunisians make while drinking the very hot liquid which he "smells with a certain sound" (75).

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[29] Few scholars have examined acoustemology within urban environments. Jonathan Shannon's cultural geography of Aleppan song (in Frishkopf and Spinetti 2018) and Sarah Hankin's (2013) study of multicultural Israeli acoustemology are perhaps the first in Middle Eastern and North African studies.

[30] As discussed in Chapter 4, these are the types of anthropogenic urban soundscapes – propagated by architectural reverberation and nonexistent sound ordinances – that are construed as noisy and as anti-modern in Thompson's history (2002). While twentieth century American acousticians of the new guard sought to create silent "refuges" in the onslaught of city noise (Thompson 2002: 171), the sonically full and reverberant Tunisian *zawāyā* have long stood as community "refuges," safe places for people seeking shelter, food, care, and protection. These cultural paradigms of sonic safety are very clearly at odds.

[31] As Sabine and The Celotex Corporation explained noisy reverberance, "The annoyance and confusion due to excessive reflection of unwanted sound, or noise, is due both to the magnification of the original sounds to unnecessarily high intensities and to their prolongation by reverberation. There is evidence also that much of the distracting quality of noise in a highly reflective room arises from the fact that most of the sound energy created by a given noise source strikes the ear from many directions other than that of the source itself" (1941-50: 20).

[32] J.D. Latham affirms that historically at the zāwiya "criminals and debtors could take refuge and receive sustenance from the marabout" (1957: 230). Other sacred places with similar acoustics like churches and synagogues have also served as important refuges and safehouses.

[33] "The Tunisian does not drink his coffee like us. He smells it with a certain sound. The noisy way of savoring *mokka* [a high-quality Yemeni bean brought through Cairo] would not be precisely appropriate for one's having dinner at 'Saint Germain's Faubourg select,' [the elite upper-class hotels and eateries in the Faubourg Saint-Germaine district in Paris]

For the most part, movement from audition in architectural spaces Types 1, 3, and 5 to Types 2 and 4 has meant the use of venues considered entirely new for *ma'lūf* at the time, especially those associated with and built during the French colonial protectorate. The Théâtre municipal, built in 1902, only began hosting concerts of *ma'lūf* by the Rashidiyya ensemble in the early 1970s (Davis 2004: 72). Similarly, the large rehearsal auditorium of the Conservatoire National de Musique de Tunis, founded in 1896, was only used for *ma'lūf* performances beginning in the 1980s (72).[34] Heavily influenced by European and colonialist ideals, venue changes during the first decades of Tunisian independence in the name of 'modernization' and 'professionalization' (1960s and 70s) amounted to the crowding out of lower class musicians alongside the standardization, codification, and systemization of mixtures of *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* (art music form) and *ma'lūf al-judd* (sacred form) as unqualified "*ma'lūf*."

Acoustically speaking, the sonic qualities of these large new colonial-era rooms differed drastically from the small enclosed spaces used previously. Most significantly the rooms were as much as ten times the size of *zawāyā* and *café*s and could host much larger audiences. Their size alone dampened and deadened sound with more absorption of sound and less reverb overall. The construction materials also differed starkly; the municipal theater features a large wooden stage, lavish drapes and curtains, and upholstered seats, all of which absorb sound, unlike the marble, tile, and plaster which lined the walls of previous performance venues. No less important, a full crowd of hundreds of audience members further increased the amount of sound absorbed. With the rise of government-sponsored, and later private outdoor festivals just following independence, outdoor performance of *ma'lūf* during the summer months boasted large crowds.[35] At least since 1982, The Festival International de Testour has taken place in the large backyard garden of the hotel in Testour (Davis 2004: 76) – now called Hotel Ibn Zeidoun – where international Tunisian adjudicators and guests typically stayed.[36] At the fiftieth annual installation, during the summer of 2016 when I attended the festival, the hotel was under repair and not open for visitors so the festival took place in an open area adjacent to the hotel property where a semi-temporary stage had been set up and where plastic chairs had been put out for the audience members.

In the flat Medjerda river valley of Testour, the heavily electronically-amplified sound from the festival stage carries far into the country side, as I noted several times when riding in a taxi back to the closest open hotel in Teboursouk, 23.4 kilometers (14.5 miles) to the West. In the Testour festival context, extra electronic amplification is used to allow for higher volume capacity in order to counter the quick decay of sound in the open performance space with minimal reflective surfaces. The diffuse sound does reverberate, however, against the hills that frame the town.

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but the Arabs have good reason for doing so. First of all, as they want to take the coffee very hot, they do not want to burn their tongues. So they suck in air at the same time as the liquid" (Lallemand 1890: 75).

[34] It was founded as a French Western music conservatory with no instruction in Tunisian music.

[35] The International Festival of *ma'lūf* and traditional music in Testour began in 1967, where it has since been held. The Festival International de Carthage began in 1954, the Festival international d'Hammamet in 1964, and the Festival de la Médina in Tunis in 1982.

[36] Davis notes that Tunisian performers most often returned to their home towns by bus after their performances rather than stay overnight at the hotel (2004: 76). For most, it would be too great an expense to stay the night at the hotel.

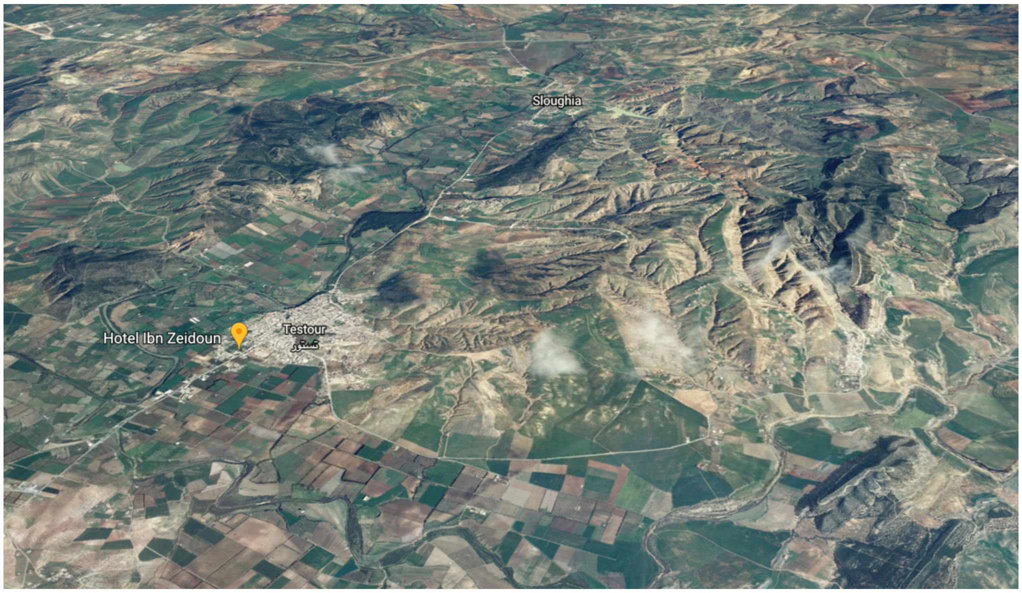

Figure 41 Topographic map of Testour indicating the location of the Festival in the river valley surrounded by hills. Map from Google Earth.

The Festival International de Carthage is the other festival space that currently hosts at least one *sahariya*[37] – an evening performance that often extends late into the night – featuring *ma'lūf* each summer. The festival's concerts have taken place in the modified ruins of the Roman theater since the 1960s. The theater, which the Romans used primarily for theatrical performances rather than music, is thought to have been constructed around the middle of the second century and was likely destroyed by the Vandals in the fifth century AD (see Appendix 2D; Ros 1996: 482).[38] Since the ruins were discovered in 1904 by Paul Gaukler, significant reconstruction has been undertaken (449). In deference to the archaeological value of the remaining substructures, recently reconstructed parts of the theater were built using contrasting new materials to signal their newness.

Though much remains unknown about the original layout and characteristics of the theater, archaeological excavations, early photographs, comparisons with other theaters from the same period, and detailed period writings and sketches provide compelling evidence for what attending a performance there during the Roman period may have been like. Vitruvius, who wrote during the same era, was concerned with the situation of theater sites especially in terms of avoiding dissonant and echoey acoustics.[39] He wrote articulately about the movement of sound waves as *circumsonant*, moving outward from the source in concentric circles (363) and had a firm grasp of the behavior of direct and reflective sound, advising that "particular pains must also be taken that the site not be a deaf one, but one through which the voice can range with the greatest clearness. This can be brought about if the site is selected where there is no obstruction due to an echo" (365). Acoustic amplification was also desired; perhaps Vitruvius' most interesting acoustic innovation for the theater were his *echea*, a series of bronze vessels[40] which, "arranged in accordance with musical laws" (378) and set upside down in niches, resonated in sympathy with the frequencies of the voice of the speaker, increasing the clearness of sound, as it "wake[s] a harmonious note in unison with itself" (380).

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[37] The word *sahariya* come from the verb *sahara* meaning "to be sleepless" or "to stay up all night."

[38] Despite the fact that Carthage also hosts an amphitheater, gladiatorial combats and *venationes* – animal hunting as entertainment – may have also taken place in the theater (Ros 1996: 461)

[39] To clarify, he wrote abstractly about architecture, rather than on the Carthage theater in particular. Vitruvius was a Roman author, architect, and civil engineer who lived during the first century AD. Chapter III through VIII of Book V of his *De Architectura* or *Ten Books on Architecture* focus on theater plans and acoustics.

In modern times, the first performance in the recently excavated ruins of the theater took place in 1906: a contemporary play titled *La Mort de Carthage* ("The Death of Carthage") by M. Charles Grandmougin.[41] Little is known about the theater's use between 1906 and 1964, when the first International Festival of Carthage was presented there. During the 1960s reconstructions, the floor was sealed with concrete, the orchestra area covered with new concrete slabs, and the missing *scaenae frons*, the high back wall of the stage, was replaced (Ross 1996: 452). Today the stage is a removable wooden platform positioned above the archaeological remains (452).

These relatively recent reconstructions were acoustically essential for modern musical use. Ros estimates that the building had 11,300 spectators during its prime (468); today, the reconstructed theater seats between 7,500 and 10,000 people. The International Festival of Carthage has hosted a wide range of musical acts, from pan-Arab stars like Umm Kulthum, Fairuz, and Marcel Khalife, to Tunisians Lotfi Bouchnaq, Ali Riyahi, and Zied Gharsa, and international pop, rock, blues, and rap stars. I have not identified any records that indicate the first year that Tunisian *ma'lūf* made it onto the program, but it likely didn't take long given that Salah El-Mahdi, the Minister of Culture and *ma'lūf* revival enthusiast, directed the festival as early as 1979. Unlike the layout and structures employed in the festival stage in Testour, the solid marble and concrete surfaces of the seats and steps of the re-built theater *cavea* ("enclosure") contributed a significant amount of reverberant reflective sound. The theater was likely even more reverberant in ancient times, given the statuary (485), colonnades, arcades, and ornate cornices present during its initial use (481). In this sense, the Roman Theater venue, however different architecturally from *zawāyā* and *café* contexts, shares some of its acoustic qualities of reverb and amplification with the older venues for *ma'lūf* performance and audition.

Other important factors in the sound qualities of live performances include, notably, (1) the physical layout or arrangement of the players and their instruments vis a vis listening audience members and (2) the number of singers and the acoustic properties and number of instruments used. A trend toward the folkloric staging of *ma'lūf* musicians and the furthering of physical and conceptual separation between 'performers' and 'audiences' is clear enough. Though the purview of this chapter does not allow for a detailed acoustic analysis of the different instruments used for the various forms of *ma'lūf* or the gradual changes in instrumentation and ensemble make-up over the nineteenth and twentieth century, a few broad observations are worth identifying. Acoustically less resonant or quieter instruments – all with longer histories of use in Tunisia than their more resonant louder counterparts – have fallen out of use nearly completely. These instrumental replacements are as follows: (1) from the small-bellied Tunisian *'ūd* (referred to in Tunisia as *'ūd Tunisī* or *'ūd 'Arabī*) to the Middle Eastern deep-bellied form (called *'ūd Sharqī* in Tunisia), (2) from *rabāb* to violin, (3) from *naqqārāt* to *darbūka*. Besides the multiplication of several of the traditional instrument types (e.g. a section of violins and several percussion instruments), the Rashidiyya has added, at various points, celli, upright string basses, congas and bongos, electronic keyboard, and *qānūn*, an Arab plucked zither.

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[40] If bronze is not available, clay jars will suffice (385).

[41] The script appears in full, along with various notes and references to the performance in the 1907 installation of the journal *Revue Tunisienne*. See "Les Fêtes de Carthage" (Carton 1907: 75-76, 189-225).

Based on my own observations, since the turn of the twenty-first century and especially following the 2011 Dignity Revolution there has been newfound interest, or possibly a resurgence of interest in the return of performance of *ma'lūf* and other musics to "traditional Tunisian cultural or touristic places" (Type 1 acoustic spaces), which are now often preferred, especially during *Ramaḍān* and the Festival de la Medina, over the larger halls of the Municipal Theater and National conservatory. As an archaeological relic, the Roman theater is also categorized by Tunisian audiences to be, in general, a 'traditional' venue for Tunisian music. Performances in *ṣḥūn*, the partially open courtyards of historic aristocratic homes are quite common today.[42] Important questions remain regarding the historically and culturally continuous use of these spaces given the significant architectural acoustic alterations and changes in instrumentation,[43] arrangements, and degrees of electronic mediation.

Intriguingly, this trend runs directly counter to the institutionally-imposed "contextual gap" of the twentieth century, by which administrators aimed to 'dignify' *ma'lūf* performance. Besides a shifting preference for a "more Tunisian" performance and listening space, use of the Théâtre municipal had been put on hold during 2016 for large-scale renovations, in effect forcing Rashidiyya ensemble performances to take place in smaller, older venues. The exodus of *ma'lūf* from French colonial structures since the 2011 revolution also reflects the acute economic strain on the livelihoods of *ma'lūf* musicians and the institutions that have traditionally supported them. It is simply too expensive to book these venues with no assurance that the audience will fill the seats.

During the greater part of the twentieth century, the abatement of musical reverberation perceived by many French colonialists and many French-educated Tunisians as 'noisy' effectively stripped *ma'lūf* sound of its inter-relation with architectural spaces. As Thompson writes, "Reverberation connect[s] space and sound through the element of time, and its loss was just one element in a larger cultural matrix of modernity dedicated to the destruction of traditional space-time relationships" (2002: 172). Today, the largest venues for *ma'lūf* audition remain the Festival international de Carthage and the Festival International du Malouf à Testour.[44] The vast majority of modern-day performances of *ma'lūf* use electronic amplification with microphones and speaker systems.[45] The confluence of especially live and reverberant spaces (Types 1 and 3) with electronic amplification has made for a very loud and often echoey audience listening experience, a sound aesthetic that is often intentional and preferred. As I theorize in the following sections, however, the timbral and textural qualities of acoustically-live *ma'lūf* venues live on in contemporary preference for aesthetics of loudness and reverb. Newfound interest in bringing *ma'lūf* home from performance in concert halls to audition in Ottoman-era homes is deeply connected, I argue, to a revival of loudness as a salient aspect of *ma'lūf* performance and audition and in the reproduction of heritage.[46]

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[42] These buildings are often used as government owned and operated *diyār al-thaqāfa*, culture and history museums, music schools like the Rashidiyya, and municipal government buildings.

[43] For instance, the further enclosure of the space by sealing the courtyard with a glass roof, like at the Rashidiyya.

[44] Other large summer concerts with evenings of *ma'lūf* have also taken place in Sousse, Hammamet, and Sfax.

[45] No small matter in terms of altered acoustics, electronic amplification has the capacity to counteract some architectural limitations: to deliver louder and 'cleaner' sound to listeners or to exaggerate pre-existing architectural acoustic qualities.

[46] Continuities are somewhat uncertain here; perhaps loudness had only 'moved house' during the period of 'silencing.' Though the Tunisian *'ūd* and *rebab* produce relatively soft, quite sound, relatively speaking, performance mediated by electronic amplification today produces exponentially higher volumes.

Sonic Proxemics: Loudness, Intimacy, and Touching

Pulling up a chair to my desk, I grabbed my song sheet copies, and opened my laptop to play the recording I'd made during rehearsal. It was a still weekday afternoon in La Marsa, Tunisia and I was preparing to practice in advance of our approaching Friday singing club meeting. I played the audio recording back, turning the volume down so I could sing along and clearly hear myself over the recording. I was frustrated by how little I could manage to recall of the melodic arcs and intricate rhythmic patterns. Of course, as an outsider to the repertoire, I expected to struggle, to some degree. I tried next to simulate the acoustics of our club meeting space: I turned up the volume, zeroed in on our teacher's voice, and tried again. It occurred to me then: I was distracted by the sound of my own voice. Finally, I settled on the best simulation of the singing club experience: singing along while listening to the recording through earbuds at a relatively high volume. The practicing helped; over the subsequent weeks I gained confidence and fell into the groove of the rhyming, metered poetic phrases. Was I getting better at singing it? That question turned out to be more complicated than I'd imagined and, perhaps, not the right question.

This experience, early on in my eleven-month ethnographic research, pointed me toward closer examination of the acoustic environment of the Nādī of Tahar Gharsa, a public club for learning to sing *ma'lūf*. In this section, aided by Thomas Turino's theorization of "participatory" and "presentational" performance frames (2008), I examine specific acoustic aspects and performer-audience interactions at the *nādī* (club) meetings as artifacts of older 'somewhat audible pasts' of *ma'lūf* listening and performance practice. Despite – and in some ways *because* of the re-formulation of *ma'lūf* by the Rashidiyya and Ministry of Culture in the twentieth century – contemporary *ma'lūf* soundings and listenings bear the imprints of their historical antecedents, should we learn to listen for them. Though official narratives highlight certain historical contexts and associations of *ma'lūf* over others,[47] close examination of contemporary sound, desired musical aesthetics, and forms of listening richly complicate the story. My analysis in this section focuses on reverb and loudness to theorize the reproduction of Tunisian heritage, not only as a historic sonic artifact, but as a complex project of technique, technology, and ideology. I will argue that the Tunisian musical heritage is created in the *nādī* (club) through (1) a sonic-social space conducive to participation, (2) the advancement of Gharsa's voice and vocalizations as the acoustic embodiment of authoritative and authentic knowledge, and (3) the fostering of intimate senses of togetherness and belonging through the technologically-mediated imposition of a regime of 'sonic proxemics.'

The *nādī* was founded in 1999 and was led at that time by master *ma'lūf 'ud* player and singer, Tahar Gharsa. Though it currently takes place at the Rashidiyya school of music in the Tunis medina, its earlier manifestation had a more private membership, as Ruth Davis attests, and met weekly in a rented villa in El Manar, a suburb of Tunis (2004: 111). In January of 2016, when I arrived in Tunis for my period of ethnographic research, the *nādī* of Tahar Gharsa had just started up again, following a sustained hiatus. The *nādī* instructor was Zied Gharsa, preeminent vocal performer of *ma'lūf* and skilled multi-instrumentalist, son of the founder of the group, and singular bloodline-heir to Tunisian-*Andalusī* musical authority. He leads several other thriving clubs in the wealthier suburbs of Tunis (La Marsa, Carthage, and Menzah 6).[48] What called my attention to this particular club was the co-incidence of Gharsa's singularly authoritative role as musical master (or *shaykh*) *and* the *nādī's* situation at the Rashidiyya, the renowned government-backed Institution for the preservation and perpetuation of Tunisian music. Unlike neighboring Algeria, where public associations abound and have a long history (Glasser 2016: 174-204), the informal education of Tunisian amateurs in *Andalusī* music is a relatively new and unusual occurrence. The regular performances held at the Rashidiyya during the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, may be considered as a precedent to the club, though its "return" to the institutional and acoustic space of the Rashidiyya is recent.

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[47] Those are, to review, the contexts, venues, and histories of performance and audition tied to *al-Andalus*, the *Mūriskīyūn*, and *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* as a sophisticated, erudite high art form for cultivated listening.

[48] Today, in public performance Zied Gharsa plays electronic keyboard (*byānū* or *ūrg*), *ūd 'Arabī* and *ūd Sharqī*. He is also known to be skilled in performance on *kamanj* (violin), which he appears to have played more in his youth.

Despite its telltale absence from present day nationalist narratives, *ma'lūf al-judd* is particularly relevant for discussion of how sound and sociality in the choral *nādī* context came to its present form. *Ma'lūf al-judd* was predominantly a vocal form, with limited hand clapping and/or drumming and no melodic instrument accompaniment. While *ma'lūf ḥazl* is still voice and text-centered, additional melodic instruments like *'ūd, nay,* and *kemanj* are also used. It is clear that the voice has been the entry point for more participatory community-based forms of *ma'lūf* musicking[49] and that visitors to *zāwāya* – including men, women, and children and individuals of various faiths and traditions of observance – "listened"[50] by singing along with the songs with which they were familiar and learning songs that were new to them, as they were able.

The same could be true of older café venues like Café M'Rabet in the Tunis medina, where regular customers sang along with *ma'lūf al- ḥazl* performances and constituted a sort of fan following (Davis 1986: 86). While learned, serious, or 'professional' musicians led songs and instructed novices in those contexts, little distinction was made between 'musicians' and 'audiences' besides that 'musicians' often used instruments. On one hand, antiphonal phrasing, between a singer and instrumentalists, has a stronger history in performance of *ma'lūf al-ḥazl.* On the other hand, however, the arrangements and large chorus of singers employed during the *nādī* today and by the Rashidiyya are features drawn from *ma'lūf al-judd* practice. Antiphonal repeated phrases, where the second or responding phrase is voiced by the chorus *and* instrumentalists seems to combine *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* and *ma'lūf al-judd* practice.

Ma'lūf singing clubs in their contemporary manifestation, therefore, are an intriguing space for re-examining the problematic of the "art/popular music divide," as Davis has termed it, or, as I would frame it in light of this section's arguments, the ambiguous and ambivalent position of *ma'lūf* listeners as audience members *and* as potential participants in the vocalization and co-production of heritage (1996). Here Turino's context-specific "social fields" of "participatory" and "presentational" performance are a ready aid. Turino defines "participatory performance" as "artistic practice where these are no artist/audience distinctions, only participants and potential participants…" In contrast, "presentational performances," are those "situations where one group of people, the artists, prepare and provide music for another group, the audience, who do not participate in making the music…" (2008: 26). In this regard, among Turino's most compelling contributions are the broad and generalizable musical, formal, and acoustic qualities that facilitate social musicking and characterize the music produced. The *nādī*'s social-sonic characteristics provide a confounding case to categorize.

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[49] Jewish *piyyutim* set to *ma'lūf* tunes belong in this more participatory camp as well, though it is unclear if the acoustics, aesthetics, and socialities associated with their performance and audition resonate in official twentieth-century Tunis-based contexts.

[50] This active or participatory listening should be considered in the context of Tunisian *jaww* and audience-performer feedback loops discussed in depth in chapter 2.

The explicit role of the *nādī*, in line with the Rashidiyya school's overall mission, is to provide the space and resources for the transmission of fully authenticated Tunisian *turāth* (heritage music) to a public that is idealistically imagined to be enthusiastic, committed, and already somewhat knowledgeable about *ma'lūf*. While the Rashidiyya stands as the bastion of cultural continuity and as the top institution for the definitive education of professional musicians-in-training, it hosts few programs today for enthusiasts and amateur musicians. Private and group lessons are geared toward instrumental learning and can be quite expensive. For this reason, the *nādī* is framed as an 'outreach' program, accessible to members of varied backgrounds and interests. Registration cost thirty Tunisian dinar (21 US dollars) and monthly dues forty dinar (28 US dollars).

My fellow participants, varying between six and twenty from week to week, were Tunisian men and women, who ranged widely in age and ethnic-racial demographics but who were all, to the best of my estimation, middle or upper middle class. I use the term 'outreach' here because the way that representatives of the Rashidiyya described the group clearly indicated that they saw the *nādī* as a gift to the public and that the program ranks low in institutional priority. In actuality, there are minimal attempts to engage the community, even in the surrounding neighborhood. The few who know what is on offer come from families connected with the Rashidiyya, *ma'lūf*, and other Tunisian cultural arts for several generations. Zied's and his father's professional relationship with the Rashidiyya has been fraught, at times. I learned from subtle comments of those familiar with the Rashidiyya that the reason for the hiatus in the *nādī* was that Gharsa had left the Rashidiyya to "pursue more independent work" just after the 2011 Revolution and the ousting of former President Ben Ali, by whom he was likely personally employed. His position, especially in relation to government-backed institutions, has been precarious ever since. A less explicit purpose of the *nādī,* I suggest, is an attempt to ease the pain of the perceived loss of traditional practice and knowledge as the price of modernization, professionalization, and folklorization. Public interest in the *nādī* follows from profound nostalgia for an idealized past when the Tunisian public was more familiar with *ma'lūf* and the *Andalusī* way of life.

High amplitude, experienced as loudness, is a form of sonic intensity common to a wide range of Tunisian musics today, participatory and presentational, sacred and secular, and low and high class. To the majority of Tunisian listeners, loudness, especially *vocal* loudness, connotes liveliness. Many of my Tunisian interlocutors – referring to melodic sound from Qur'ānic recitation to *ma'lūf* – attested to the emotional power that strong musical vibrations have on the body, especially in the viscera. The *nādī* space was consistently filled with highly amplified vocal sound with electronically added reverb effects. Gharsa, his keyboard, and his accompanying musicians – a young *'ūd* player, often a *nay* (flute) player, an occasional violinist, and one or two regularly present percussionists – were closely miked and amplified through speakers in ways that surrounded the participants and projected sound back into the room.

The resulting loudness – inseparable from sound qualia of reverb, densely-layered texture, timbre, tuning, and reverb – was a crucial factor, I argue, in establishing an environment conducive to participatory musicking. Integrated into the traditional song forms, Gharsa's vocal line was often repeated, antiphonically, by the chorus of amateur singers (*korāl*) and the instrumentalists, who heterophonially played slightly different interpretations of the melody. This arrangement creating a complex timbre and an overlapping and merging texture. The *korāl*, composed entirely of beginning singers, lacked focused pitch, resulting in 'loose' or 'wide' tuning. Along with minimal consequences for mistakes, these elements – loudness, tuning, texture, and timbre – played a "masking function," in the emerging musico-social space, encouraging participation and ensuring that "individual contributions of neophytes will not stand out" (Turino 2008: 55). Loudness is an excellent cover for participants' mistakes as they develop their skills.

In the *nādī*, participatory experience indexed a nostalgic imagined musico-social past and aimed to instill a sense of community belonging across time and place. Sympathetic vibration between individuals – felt during phonation in the vocal cords and resonating elsewhere in the body – is a concept common to Sufi participatory musicking across North Africa and is directly associated with the ritual religious concept, as Michael Frishkopf details, of *waḥdat al-shu'ur* (unity of feeling) and *dhawb*, the melting of bodies into a single shared "harmonious existence" (2001: 1). Michael Heller terms this sort of phenomenon "listener collapse," where "sound dissolves the ability to distinguish between interior and exterior worlds," resulting in the "dissolution of boundaries between self and other" (2015: 45). Engagement of/with the voice – at once a produced, political "object" (Dolar 2006) and the living fleshy organ of oral communication – demands reexamination of self, inter-subject, and sensory experience. In the context of the *nādī*, loudness, especially as amplified, enveloped the participants in the sound of Gharsa's voice, aiding in the seemingly effortless electronic transduction and suffusion of the voiced sound of heritage into the sonic space and physical bodies of the participants. Phenomenologically and affectively, the dynamics of the *nādī* create, sustain, and circulate sentiment to produce forms of public social intimacy in similar ways as described by Abe in Japanese *hibiki* "resonance" (2018: 122); Guilbault in Trinidadian *soca* music (2010: 17); and Stokes in Turkish popular music (2010: 150).

The relative loudness of Gharsa's voice also advanced the subtleties of *his* interpretation and style as the ideal, authoritative acoustic renderings of heritage and affirming his position as heir to the rights and responsibilities of transmission. While the general aesthetics of loudness I've just described may characterize participatory frames, inclusive values, and the dissolution of boundaries between 'performers' and 'audiences,' there are also sonic dynamics at play in the *nādī* space that connote presentational performance.[51] Most notably, there was a significant discrepancy between the amplitude of Gharsa's electronically amplified voice and the collective unamplified sound of the six to twenty amateurs. This was exacerbated in terms of unidirectional attention and focused listening; though the singing participants could easily listen to the subtle articulations of Gharsa's closely miked voice, an important aspect of his pedagogy, he could listen only to the unamplified collective voice of the participants. Here, relative loudness and listening attention creates separation between Gharsa as performer and the amateur singers as audience. Further, singing when one can barely hear oneself relegates participation to a secondary role. Singing becomes something you might do *while* listening rather than singing as *integral* to participatory listening. Positioning Gharsa as performer also follows from his typical role as media star, adored, respected, and fetishized by his devout listenership. The sonic-social play of intimacy and familiarity at the club meetings gave fans the rare chance to 'rub elbows' with Gharsa, getting a back-stage-pass or an 'inside look' into his practice. Distanced stardom, partnered with his honorable and respected role as educator at a flagship institution added gravitas to the aura of authenticity surrounding his voice, squarely positioning him as a master culture-bearer and *shaykh* among *shaykhs.*

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[51] In his analysis of brass band participation in Brazilian street carnival settings, Andrew Snyder (2018) voices a compelling challenge to Turino's "presentational" and "participatory" frames. Snyder pointed to an over simplified and problematic binary between presentational music as capitalist and hierarchical and participatory music as anti-capitalist and egalitarian. The case presented here also poses a complication of "presentational" and "participatory" as binary and locates power to control sound within the group as both distributed across participants *and* as hierarchically weighted toward Gharsa.

Finally, the tension between technologically mediated 'close listening' and star adoration constitute a regime of "sonic proxemics" that furthered experiences of intimacy. Proxemics – a field of anthropological study developed by Edward Hall in the 1960s – theorizes that to stay comfortable, people maintain culturally-appropriate distances from one another. Hall identifies the nesting proxemics zones, moving from closest to furthest, as *intimate, personal, social,* and *public* (1966). Karen Collins and Ruth Dockway, in their 2015 study of the acoustics of public service announcements, define "sonic proxemics" as the socio-culturally appropriate distances for speaking. Technologically produced illusions of distance then – where "too loud" indexes "too close" – directly affect inter-personal interaction and are commonly used as rhetorical devices to discomfort listeners to manipulative ends (2015).

While the loudness of Gharsa's voice did not *discomfort* participants, at a less explicit and more affective level, the mediated experience of Gharsa's exaggeratedly close proximity contributed to feelings of intimacy, social closeness, and belonging among participants in the context of voiced heritage reproduction. The added electronic reverb and the acoustic reverb of the Ottoman courtyard or small tiled room in which we rehearsed also played into tensions in spatial politics, suggesting both a larger space in the reverb-ial long delays and a smaller space in its amplitude. Certainly, microphonic mediation was also key to furthering *nādī* experiences of intimacy through "sonic proxemics;" the microphone was so close to his mouth that sounds of his phonation – "mouth smacks, tiny clicks from inside the mouth from tongue and cheek" – were audible, positioning us intimately closer yet (Collins and Dockway 2015: 54).[52]

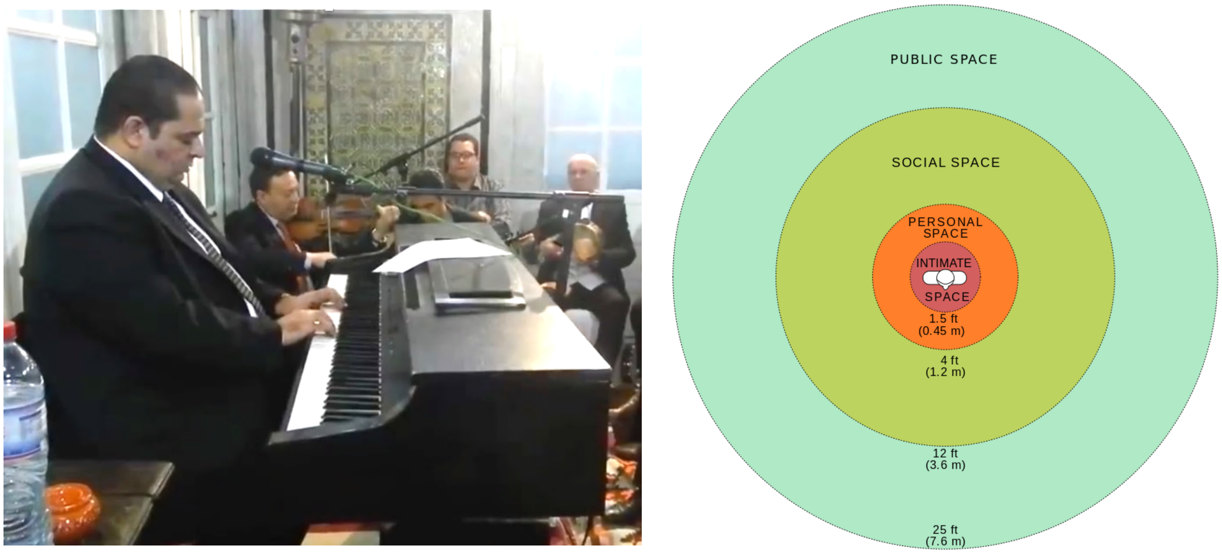

Figure 42 (left) Zied Gharsa closely miked during a *nādī* meeting, photograph from the Rashidiyya Facebook page (right) Hall's Proxemic Zones, open source image.

Excellent work in sound studies, deaf studies, Science and Technology Studies, and post-humanism, is emerging on sound and *haptics*, a branch of proxemics that attends specifically to touching, as perception of and with the human hand. I refer here, more specifically, to Steven Connor's work on the "intersensorial" dimensions of hearing as touching (2001: 156), Arnt Maaso's mediated "spatial listening" (2008), Anahid Kassabian's hearing as a "coextension" of touch (2013: xv),[53] and Heller's "somatosensory shift," experienced through loudness, when "sound's identity as a tactile object that operates in, around, and through the body" comes to the fore (2015: 45). Though hearing as touching has certainly come into vogue in sound and media studies, an understanding of the connection between the two is at least as old as modern scientific knowledge of the mechanisms of the human ear drum, which vibrates in sympathy when touched by sound waves.[54]

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[52] See also Connor (2001) for sound as an index of "touching" in the mouth.

In the social and psychoacoustic sound intimacies of the *nādī*, *one's own voice* blends with the *voice of authority* and the collective. Enveloped in and by loudness, the voiced reproduction of heritage is transduced across and into bodies and space. The politics of public participation in Tunisia are set in stark relief today by the popular deposition of former authoritarian president, Zine El-'Abidine Ben Ali in 2011. Forums like the *nādī* I described are powerful potential nodes for change. By hearing space in the qualities of acoustic sound, we may, in a way, touch past and present places. This is the very essence of epistemic sound knowledge, acoustemologies, and the particular power of situated, contextual, embodied, emplaced, and experienced music listening. Recalling the vignette with which I opened this chapter, listening to *ma'lūf* as a heritage music is an active project of recreating, touching, and experiencing co-presence with cultural artifacts of the past. The particularity of historical acoustic and social Tunisian listening practices – once coupled with context-specific *ma'lūf* performances in *cafés*, *zāwāya*, and aristocratic homes – is equally persistent, I argue, as Tunisian modes of physical engagement of archaeological museum-displayed artifacts. That intimacy – heard, touched, and felt – is tenacious. In this way, collective singing unifies trans-historical Tunisian voices.

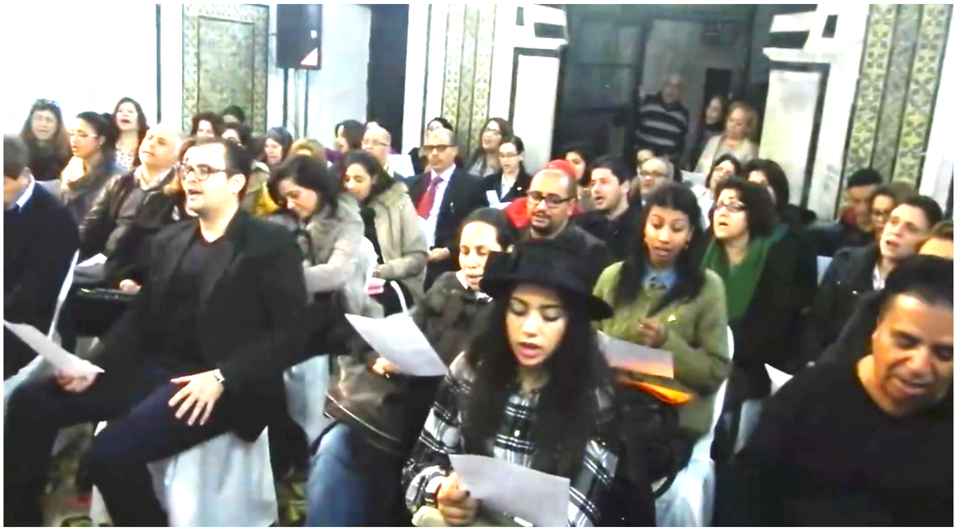

Figure 43 The *nādī* of Tahar Gharsa, 2016, photo from the Rashidiyya Facebook page. Photo taken during the first meeting of the season when a larger crowd than usual attended.

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[53] Kassabian argues that haptics, as mixed with other senses, "are closely tied to erotics, to the dissolution of boundaries, to an erosion of self-other distinctions" (2013: xvi). Here we arrive again at loud, close listening as touching, interpersonal, and intimate.

[54] As turn-of-the-twentieth-century architect, T. Roger Smith, wrote in a volume on room acoustics, "the sense of hearing is a refined and delicate sense of touch, and the impressions made on the ear are due to actual motion made sensible through a conductor" (1895: 4).

Sound Movement and Directional Listening

Sparse historical documentation and anecdotal oral history – predominantly from Hamdi, one of my interlocutors – provide some speculative history of music listening within the Bardo palace. The Bardo Museum, a collection of Tunisian artifacts from Tunisian prehistory to the Ottoman Era, has been housed within the historic palace of the Bey since 1888. The palace itself dates to the late eighteenth century, when it was first occupied by the Husainid Dynasty (1705-1947; Kallander 2013: 10). The northeast section of the palace complex boasts a long rectangular room which was added during a mid-nineteenth-century renovation. This room was reportedly used by Mohammad III al-Sadiq during his reign from 1858-1882 as a "Sale de Musique" or "music hall" (Bardo Museum exhibit, Revault 1984: 131-3). Today the hall is called the "Althiburos Room" after a fourth century Roman mosaic displayed on its floor which was excavated from the ancient city of Althiburos located in Tunisia's Northwest near to present day El Kef.[55] The Althiburos room is ornately decorated in an Italian style with carved wood paneling in floral and geometric patterns (see Appendix 2E). During an interview, Hamdi noted the particular appreciation of the late Ottoman Beys for Italian and other European architectural ornamental styles and that they commissioned parts of the palace, which was a "Tunisian Versailles," to be built by Italian[56] and French architects (p.c. 9/29/2016). Indeed, a *bit al-bellar* or "room of mirrors" had been added around the same time as the music hall and additional dining room (Kallander 2013: 81).

The Althiburos room is graced with two balconies on the Northern and Southern ends of the long room, which may be reached from the neighboring upstairs rooms which were "women's apartments,"[57] referred to as either *dār al-harīm* (house of the harem) or *byūt al-ʿalājīa* (houses of the Christian Slave Girls; Kallander 2013: 81)[58]. The abutting rooms and entry way make practical sense given that during musical performances musicians are thought to have occupied one of the balconies and "princesses" (hardly presented as "slaves" in the Museum exhibit materials) the other. The elevation of these two parties on their respective balconies amounted to what was likely a gendered separation between the aristocratic men of the court, who mingling below, and the women, hidden almost entirely from view above them. The musicians too then were hidden above, a clear classed separation between the princes and musicians employed by the palace; musicians were, by default, members of a lower social status. Interestingly, this gendered and classed spatial arrangement afforded the women a good view of the musickers. Here – as in d'Erlanger's anecdote of women listening to music at Ennejma Ezzahra and Jankowsky's note about gendered listening at the *zāwiya* – we have another situation in which women's audition is visually hidden from male listeners while sound, musical and otherwise, traveled freely in the room and among all present. Though there are no records suggesting what types of music were played or heard within the Bardo Salle de Musique, Hamdi asserts that on at least some days it was *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* (p.c. 9/29/2016).

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[55] The mosaic depicts "a catalogue of ships and fishing techniques" (Bardo Museum Exhibit information) which was possibly chosen as suitable to be exhibited in the Salle de Musique as it seems to follow the nautical theme of the pre-existing small Italianate painting on the North-facing balcony.

[56] Italian workers are associated with architecture – from the humble home to the Beylical palaces – in the greater Tunis area because Italian migrants have often times worked in construction. Their impact as home-builders lingers in the common Tunisian terms used for rooms of the house, especially the kitchen which is called *cūjīna* rather than the Arabic *maṭbakh.* Sicilians were also plumbers (Bond 2017: 169) and Sardinians worked in constructing mines in the Phosphate regions of the South (p.c. Rebecca Gruskin).

[57] That is, by my best deduction from the building plan and firsthand observations.

[58] Interestingly, this is the same term used to refer to Christian slaves who were trained as singers and performed in *café chantants* in the late nineteenth century.

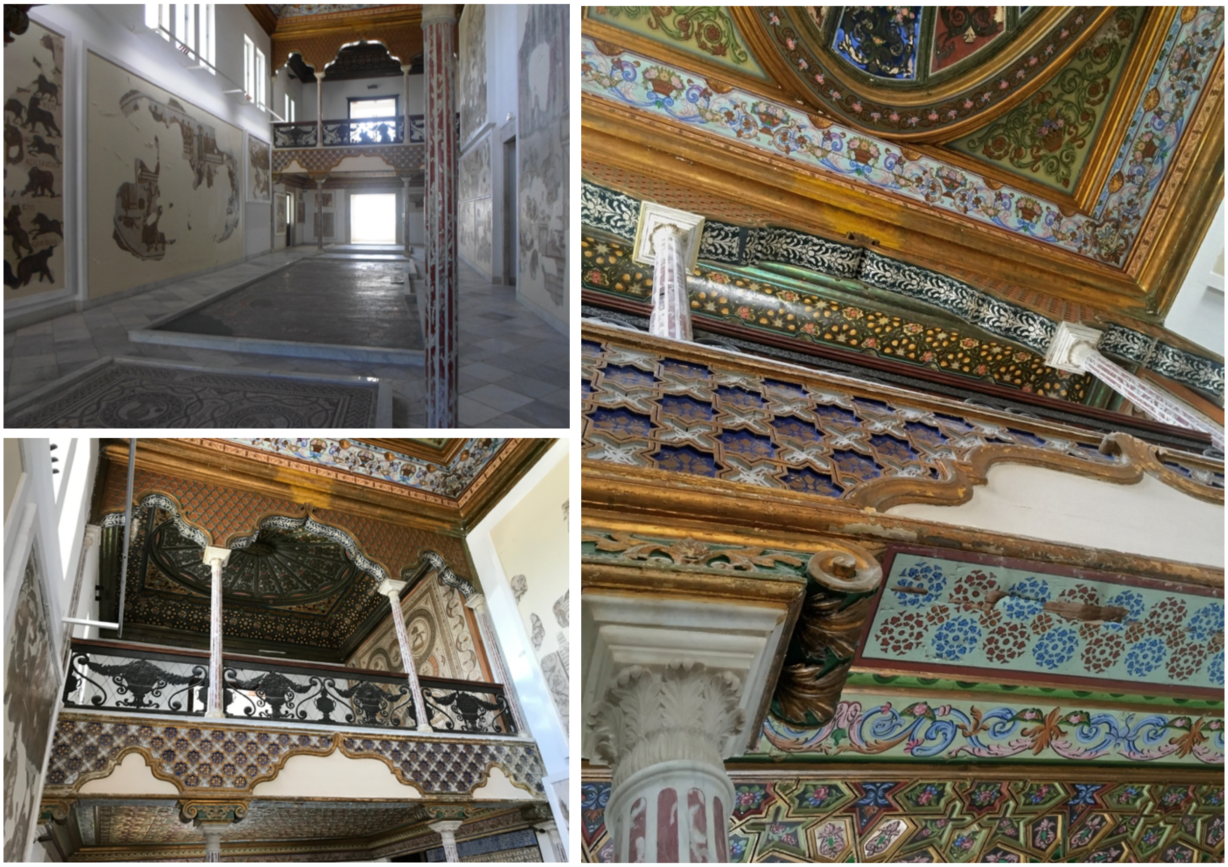

Figure 44 (top left) the Salle de Musique, Bard Palace, Tunis, open source image, (bottom left) view of the Southern balcony from below open source image, (right) Southern Balcony from below, photo by the author.

This particular musico-architectural arrangement, especially the physical separation of musicians from listening audience is, as typical for ma'lūf al-ḥazl, indicative of a presentational framework. This arrangement, acoustically speaking, is most similar to late nineteenth and early twentieth century tavern and café listening, where musicians likely performed form a raised stage opposite their seated mostly male audience. These two contexts are an unlikely pairing because their contrasting public/private, vulgar/refined, and low art/high art binary associations. However, in terms of listening practice, the two appear actually to share several elements. Most significantly, in both the Salle de Musique and tavern spaces, musical sound is perceived as unidirectional (emanating from the musicians) and moving in a forward downward motion toward the listeners below. This is paralleled in the presentational forms of Arabo-Persian-Turkic art musics from the contemporary Middle East; in the takht ensemble[59] – typically composed of a lead vocalist, *ūd, qānūn, kemanj, nāy, riq,* and *darbūka* – the "platform" or "podium" on which musicians perform lends the name to the late nineteenth century and early twentieth-century musical form (Racy 2003: 246, see also Marcus 2007 pages 96-101). This falling downward of sound was not the experience, it seems, for women in the palace context as they sat across the musicians and were not considered the listenership of chief importance influencing those socio-acoustic arrangements.

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[59] The Arabic word (which can also refer to a bed or bedframe, wooden sofa or bench, throne, or dais is from the Persian "*taxth*" meaning "tablet," which is derived from the middle Persian word "*taxt*" meaning throne.

Though closer examination of the directionality of musical sound and recitation lies outside the scope of this dissertation, it is worth noting that among Tunisians, many types of everyday sound are experienced as falling or moving in a downward direction. This is, by my own assessment, a result of the ubiquity of broadcasting of the adhān and Qur'ānic recitation from the height of minarets that jut up above other buildings whether in the smallest villages or the largest cities. Just as sound falls on the people below, sound is conceived of as entering the body and moving from top to bottom. When speaking about particularly skilled reciters of *Qur'ān*, Myriam, an observant Muslim interlocutor of mine, gestured with a fluid motion of her hand from the top of her head down to the center of her abdomen, telling and showing me how the sound enters her body at the top of the head and travels downward into her core. Similarly, when discussing the overwhelming, powerful experience of hearing the *adhān,* especially when close to the origin of its projection, Sonia indicated that the sound reaches the internal organs sequentially from the ears down.

Spatializing Practice: Echo and Antiphony

Besides its implication in the politics of heritagization, the participation of *nādī* club members as responsorial singers – as their *shaykh*'s echo – has an important history in terms of (1) the use of antiphony in the musical form of *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* and *ma'lūf al-judd* songs, (2) the meanings of listening as an active response quintessential to *ma'lūf* performance, and (3) the aestheticization of the acoustic environments in which these musics have historically sounded.[60] In this section I approach each of these aspects; taken together, they further the story of the 'somewhat audible past' of *ma'lūf* in its more 'popular' form. Connecting physical space to idiomatically appropriate acoustics and preferred aesthetics situates *ma'lūf* in its places and socialities, and calls attention to listening as dynamic and relational.

Taking reflected sound beyond its reverberant and amplificatory sonic effects, the song forms that make up the musical repertoires of *ma'lūf al-judd* and *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* are replete with repetitions, which is understood among musicians today as a type of call and response. Turino has argued that repetition and call-and-response are key elements of participatory musics (2008: 47). In Tunisian theory and practice, antiphony is commonly understood as an imitation of inter-subjective speech dialogue, an exchange between two individuals or groups. In *ma'lūf al-ḥazl*, the vocal melody, considered as a "question," is followed immediately by the *jawāb*[61] or musical "answer," played by one or more instrumentalists.[62] As Sonia explained to me, if there is even a momentary delay in the delivery of the response following the singer's line, other musicians or audience members might exclaim the instruction to respond, "*jīyūb!*"[63]

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[60] For excellent studies of the use of reverb and ambient room acoustics as part of acoustic spatializing practices, see Doyle (2005) and Pentcheva (2018).

[61] In Arab music theory, *jawāb* can also imply the octave above or below a given tone (Sonia, Guettat 2000: 506).

[62] In the greater world of Arab music, the instrumental re-interpretation of a melody, either responsorially or simultaneously, is called *tarjīmah*, which literally means "translation" but, in a musical context, refers to an "instrumental accompaniment that 'echoes' or paraphrases a leading musical passage" (Racy 2003: 229).

[63] To clarify, *jīyūb,* has the same root as *jiwāb*, though the *wāw* sounds as a long vowel here, rather than a consonant. Sonia put it thus, "the singer sings and the musician plays what he's just heard, so that's the question and the answer, they answer him with the *same* thing. When you play with musicians, you say, '*jīyūb, jīyūb!*' 'answer,' you should play now!" *Jīyūb* may also be small fragments of melodic phrases that follow the end or a break in the singer's line. The conductor may also call for the *jīyūb* which is always "the same melody."

The Arabic root *jīm-wāw-bā'* (*j-w-b*) literally means "to answer" as in the case of a prayer, to echo, to ring out, to resound, to adjust, or to attune oneself (Hans Wehr 1994). The implications of *jawāb*'s more sonic acoustic meanings describe the repetition's framing not only as a dialogic answer, but as an acoustic reflection of sound. Besides its social and juridical senses,[64] the ancient Greek term *antiphónisi* (antiphony), also has direct implications for aesthetics in its musical and dramaturgical uses; *antiphónisi* "also implies echo, response, and guarantee" (Seremetakis 1991: 102). As anthropologist Nadia Seremetakis points out, in terms of spatializing practices, *antiphónisi* suggests a face-to-face arrangement, whether those are the human faces or reverberant sound reflecting off wall faces (102). The reciprocal callers-and-responders – the musickers who are also listeners – play a spatializing role, acting as reflective surfaces as the musical sound is exchanged and moves between them.[65] Just as any call reliably returns a response in such spaces, antecedent phrases are immediately met with mirrored sound.[66] This creative, collaborative dialogue works synchrony with *and* imitation of the highly reverberant qualities of older small, hard-surfaced spaces for *ma'lūf* musicking. This is what Peter Doyle has called the "whimsical, elusive, inexhaustible ability of song to remake space" (2005: 37).

As I experienced during my tenure singing with the *nādī* of Tahar Gharsa, call-and-response in additively lengthened phrases is also the basic tool for orally teaching vocal melodies. Indeed, the antiphonal structures of many of the sections of the pieces within the Sufi *nūba* (suite form) are a ready teaching aid as students can, using their echoic memory (typically lasting three to four seconds), imitate exactly what they just heard. Historically, the *zawāyā* have been some of the most important didactic spaces for the oral-aural inculcation, transmission, and perpetuation of *ma'lūf* practice and repertoire.[67] While antiphony has been better documented in the more presentational performance of *ma'lūf al-ḥazl*,[68] formal aspects of *ma'lūf al-judd* were similar.

Renditions of *ma'lūf* pieces and suites today are less flexible than they once were in regard to their structures, improvisatory sections, repetitions, and orchestration. It is unclear how participation may have been orchestrated, especially in terms of leading and following roles in the *zāwiya.* Though accounts of music in the *zāwiya* are characterized by a "male chorus singing in unison," the multitude of repeated phrases (in several formal scales of length)[69] in *ma'lūf al-judd* beg for antiphony, especially in the didactic situations of "performance" as rehearsal and the *zāwiya* as a participatory educational space. *Ḥaḍra* songs, another counterpart to *ma'lūf al-judd*, are all the more antiphonal, even when staged in performances outside of ritual contexts in Tunis today. The social community-based singing of Jewish *piyyutim* is also participatory and antiphonal.[70] Many Tunisian *piyyutim* are set to melodies that are very closely related to *ma'lūf al-judd* and *ma'lūf al-ḥazl.*

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[64] See Seremetakis (1991: 102)

[65] As Doyle put it, in terms of synthetic echo and acoustic reverb added to recordings, a "refrain holds a territory" (18). "A sound emitted here is repeated there; the space in-between is delineated, mapped, known, possessed" (2005:17).

[66] This spatialization is the same sort of cognitive-acoustic phenomenon as echolocation (through the medium of air) or sonar (through the medium of water), a mode of knowledge production through sound.

[67] *al-judd,* that is, and possibly also *ma'lūf al-ḥazl.* See JaFran Jones 1982 and Davis 1996: 424.

[68] As Davis states, in small instrumental ensembles that included melody instruments, "the players doubled as a chorus, alternating with a solo voice" (2001a: 536).

[69] I have interpreted "male chorus" here to mean one group singing together rather than a leader (*shaykh*) with a chorus (everyone else) responding antiphonally. Davis' wording is unclear in this regard. See Davis 1996, Davis 1997, and J. Jones 2001 "The 'Isawiyya of Tunis": 543-550. I suppose the multitude of repetition in *ma'lūf* is paltry when compared to that in *dhikr*, which typically preceded it during performance

[70] *Piyyutim* constitute a vast repertory of para-liturgical poetry set to a multitude of diverse melodic intonements across the global Jewish diaspora.

In addition to its significant didactic and mnemonic implications, antiphonal singing has implications for participatory listening. As Seremetakis has written in regard to her ethnographic and formal acoustic analysis of the antiphonic sounding of Greek mourning rituals:

> The mourner rhetorically appeals to the affine to 'come close' in order for her 'to speak' this discourse and for the witness to 'hear it.' The expression 'to hear' in this case does not have the *passive* or purely receptive implication that the word has in English. 'To hear' is to play an active role in the production of a juridical discourse. Hearing in the antiphonic relation is not external to speech but metonymic to it. *Hearing is the doubling of the other's discourse*. Through the hearing of the chorus, the discourse is disseminated to the rest of the society (1991: 104, italics sic).

Though Seremetakis's sonic texts and contexts differ from my own, her description of active, participant, and engaged listening speaks to the same dynamic socio-sonic relations that Tunisians describe as central to the production and continuance of *jaww*[71] and, in the case of the antiphonal learning framework, of amateur *ma'lūf* clubs in the reproduction of national heritage.[72] This doubling, as experienced in the club context, is no simple mimetic process. As in the case of Seremetakis' Greek mourning call-and-response, it is profoundly embodied, a "technique for printing the lament [or *ma'lūf*, in my case] on their minds, for touching it, for taking it in their mouths as shared substance" (1991: 105).

Further research – potentially employing sound level meters and other tools of acoustic mapping – is needed to investigate the sonic relationships between architectural spaces, musical sound reflection, and listeners' directional perception in the diverse spaces that have been used for *ma'lūf* performance over the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. This information would serve as a useful complement to the fragmented accounts of musicians' and audiences' experiences and historical evidence of dramatic changes in performance and listening practice. Returning to Gibson's affordance theory (1979) and to Feld's acoustemology (2015), it is important to consider not only the abstract dynamics of call and response, but also to explore the moment-to-moment responses and adjustments that singers of *ma'lūf* make in order to sing successfully in different acoustic spaces: timing, diction, intensity, sonic attack and decay at different frequencies, and others.

In conclusion, *jawāb* tie antiphonal formal structure to the architectural structures in which they have historically sounded and resounded. Further, the antiphonic components of *ma'lūf* – as practiced in amateur clubs, at weddings, and on stage by the leading performing ensembles today – are formally aestheticized "sound knowledge"[73] of the acoustics of musical sounding in Tunisian architectural spaces. In that sense, antiphony in *ma'lūf* performance today is a stylized form of acoustic echo. Codified in musical antiphony, these echoes are vestiges of a 'somewhat audible past,' however implicitly sensed, in contemporary performance and listening practice.

Despite "conceptual gaps" between old and new venues for performance and audition and their drastically different acoustic properties, loudness and reverb, and antiphonal melodic phrases bespeak histories of particular sounding and listening in *zawāyā* and *cafés*. Seremetakis' concept of "sonic doubling" as an index for copresence and the positioning of sounders as *listeners* and listeners as *sounders*, leaves me wondering: if we describe architectural surfaces as 'reflecting' or meeting sound with sound, how much of emplaced listening occurs not only *in* spaces, but also *with* them?[74] How much of *embodied* listening occurs not only *within* our bodies, but *with* and *between* them?

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[71] Further, Seremetakis notes that without the use of antiphony when singing during mourning rituals, "lament singers cannot attain the proper emotional intensity" (1991: 100), a description that calls to mind Tunisian *jaww* and Arab *ṭarab*.
[72] Seremetakis (1991) describes a parallel within her own work; "Antiphonic singing is a mnemo technique by which the individual mourning song constructed in the *kláma* [mourning ritual] is reconstructed as collective oral history" (105).
[73] Kapchan defines "sound knowledge" as "a nondiscursive form of affective transmission resulting from acts of listening" (2017: 2).

al-Ḥirf: Listening for the Crafts and Decoration

I have always had an appreciation for the aesthetics of organization, but nothing I'd encountered previously compares to the Tunisian aestheticization of the parsimonious use of space. In tiny 'corner store' shops called *hanānīt* (singular, *hanūt*), fruit stalls, nut sellers, and mom-and-pop sandwich shops, space is at a premium, so merchandise is carefully stacked and arranged in the most space-efficient and most pleasing patterns of shapes and colors. Owners of Kiosks, little booths at *louage* and bus stations, pile rolls of cookies, cigarettes, cartons of hyper-pasteurized milk, sodas, and cans of fresh olive-oil-packed tuna, tomato paste, and *harissa* (classic spicy pepper sauce) in lattice-like layers. Master *sandwīsh* makers display tomato slices in intricate mandala-like patterns. Many proprietors take great pride in the impeccable presentation of their goods. Packed for the road, open-top trucks and donkey-drawn *cartas* are stacked with *bisbās* (fennel), *cardone* (thistle/artichoke stems), *sfināria* (carrots), *lift* (turnips), and *burdugān* (oranges) in perfectly compact towers held in place by a wide-weave nets draped across the top. Live sheep are transported short distances in the same manner.

I cannot help but relate these quotidian artworks to Tunisian taste for intricately-detailed patterns in all things *Andalusī*. Nearly everywhere I visited, locals pointed me toward homes, shrines, fountains, mosques, minarets, *ḥammāmāt* (bath houses), and graveyards that exhibited *Andalusī* decorative motifs.[75] Famous for their prowess in architectural design, *Andalusī Mūriskīyūn*[76] are said to have taught their *ḥirf* or "crafts" to the broader Tunisian public. Architecturally speaking, the most important forms of *Tūnsī-Andalusī* decoration are *zelāj* (ceramic tiling),[77] carved and painted wood paneling (also considered an Italian art), wooden inlay (especially in boxes and furniture), and intricately carved stucco work called *jibs* (gypsum) or *naqsha haddīd* (literally "carved with iron").

Outside of architectural decoration, ornate patterns are also found in an array of Tunisian handicrafts including *taṭrīz* or *tawshiyya* (embroidery), most commonly used to adorn the necklines of elegant *jibba*-s and the hems of other articles of *nasīj* (traditional clothing), in the manufacture of *meshmūm* (small bouquets of jasmine, lemon, or orange blossom buds, delicately wound together to be worn tucked behind the ear), in metal jewelry, and in the manufacture of delicate bird cages.[78] As Aziz put it, the *Andalusī* people brought their many crafts, including *ma'lūf*, and all of them were well decorated. Detailed patterns – like the particular musico-social *jaww al-ma'lūf* – are a quintessential component of the "*Andalusī* way of life," as it is remembered, and an important aspects of over-arching Tunisian aesthetics today.[79]

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[74] In what ways is "architecture itself acting as a musical instrument" (Bagenal and Wood in Doyle 2005: 44)?

[75] Besides specific decorative designs, I was told repeatedly that *sabat*, buttresses between buildings that often extend over the street, are an *Andalusī* architectural innovation. I was also encouraged to look for use of blue and green roof tiling, shutters, and trim as an indication of *Andalusī* architecture.

[76] I was told by several Tunisian Muslims that many of the best *Andalusī* architects were Jews.

[77] Specific designs are distinguished from others as *Andalusī* rather than, for instance, Ottoman or Italian.

[78] Sidi Bou Said is the most famous location for the craft of these cages, from the enormous to the miniature.

[79] My interlocutors were quick to explain that there are multiple contrasting aesthetic and musical worlds to be found among the communities of Tunisia's interior and south. These areas, for the most part, have had less contact, historically speaking, with modern European societies (Italian, Maltese, French) and are more deeply influenced by regionally-

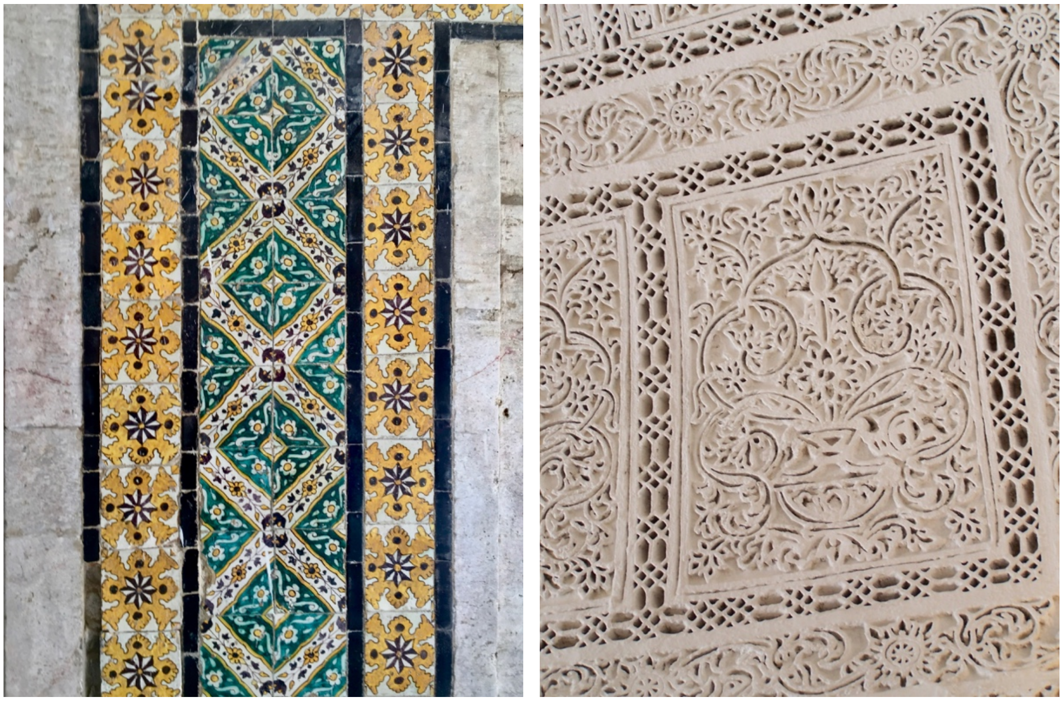

Figure 45 (left) *zelāj* ceramic tiling, (right) an example of *naqsha haddīd*, stucco work "carved with iron"

For many of my key interlocutors[80] the Tunisian visual aesthetic of intricate, concentrated decoration – in architectural patterns and in calligraphy – has origins in *al-Andalus*. As Yassine and I discussed at length (p.c. 5/7/2016), for him, this decoration is an aesthetic fullness closely akin to what he imagines was a preferred aesthetic of medieval *Andalusī* people, exemplified in the Alhambra and other great feats of Moorish Iberian architecture. Referring to a short video that we watched together,[81] he explained that along with *al-tarsīm al-firdawsī* or "paradisiac design," the *Mūriskīyūn* who settled in Tunisia were compelled to decorate so ornately due to *al-faza' min al-firāgh*, meaning their "fear of the empty."[82] That is, they had a general distaste for undecorated physical spaces. In this Part, I suggest a cross-cutting approach to analysis of visual and sonic aesthetics, arguing that prevailing Tunisian preference for visual fullness (or "fear of emptiness") extends to the sensorial and social density of the *jaww* of *ma'lūf*, especially as it (re)sounds in its traditionally reverberant acoustic spaces and in venues where reverberant acoustics are simulation through electronic mediation.[83] Detailed decoration plays parallel roles in the formal structures and stylistic ornaments of *ma'lūf* pieces (of both vocal and instrumental genres) and in the ornate, lavish decoration of the buildings that musicians and audiences alike find most suitable for *Andalusī* music.

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specific *Amazīgh* indigenous cultural and religious practice and, in particular areas like Zarziz and Kebili, by communities of Sub-Saharan Africans who have lived in Tunisia for many generations.

[80] Yassine, Myriam, Meher, Rim, and Aziz

[81] An ARAM TV production called "خواطر 6 | الحلقة 16 - الفزع من الفراغ" posted on April 26, 2012: www.youtube.com/watch?v=YrMsHm6JVIU.

[82] They were not frightened by emptiness in the same way as they were (*truly* fearful) of Spaniards when they fled Iberia (Yassine p.c. 5/7/2016).

[83] Gold reports that Balinese people also fear emptiness. The *opposite* of *ramé* (fullness and liveliness) is "*kosang* (emptiness) or *sepi* (aloneness) is reserved for *nyept*, one day a year when no fires are lit and no music is played. It is considered potentially dangerous because demonic forces are drawn to emptiness. People prefer the safety of *ramé*." (Gold 2005: 7). In Jewish popular thought, loud sounds that indicate distress may distract demons from ruining happy occasions; this is one of many explanations for why some smash a glass at Jewish weddings (p.c. Alexander Marcus).

Lois Ibsen Al-Faruqi has argued convincingly that "the integral role of decoration in the Arab visual arts is not dissimilar to that which it has played in ornamentation in Arab musical art" (20), and that "ornamentation for the Arab artist…is not an addendum, a superfluous or extractable element in his art. It is the very material from which his infinite patterns are made (1976: 18). From the position of both emic Tunisian frameworks and my own ethnomusicological analysis, this is most certainly the case in regard to Tunisian visual aesthetics (in architecture, decor, textiles, and handicrafts) and musical ornamentation. The importance of decorative elements expressed by Faruqi is likely tied to the Islamic concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, the "unity of existing/being" that guides the creation of the repeated patterns of visual designs where no part is peripheral and all are central (Burkhardt 1972: 206).[84] Not only are the styles and concepts shared in the Tunisian-*Andalusī* art world, but much of the language of design is also shared.

The conceptual blending of visual and sonic arts has close parallels in Tlemcen, Algeria, as Glasser has written: "…there seems to have been a longstanding connection between the textile producers and musical production, particularly in the *Andalusī* music milieu. The evidence is not just anecdotal but is also woven into the lexicon in that there is a fair amount of semantic overlap between musical and craft vocabulary" (2016: 63). Sonia, a middle-aged Tunisian woman of rather high social standing from Bizerte[85] shared with me that the difference, as she sees it, between the *ma'lūf* of Testour and Bizerte is that while it is the men in Testour who take part in and carry on the tradition, women in Bizerte sing *ma'lūf* in groups in their homes while busying their hands with embroidery (p.c. 8/30/2016). She went on to tell me that these women memorize much longer *abyāt* (verses of poetry) and, taking turns soloing for each section, make a game[86] of who can recall the longest verse from memory. I have not observed this practice myself, nor have I personally seen men singing *ma'lūf* while embroidering the neck line panels of *jibba* by hand,[87] a practice which a Tunisian documentary about the history of the town of Testour clearly depicts. This imbrication of the production of material and intangible culture stands as yet another under-recognized context for *ma'lūf*, and one that stands in stark contrast with the purified "scientific" or "sophisticated" listening in formal concert settings glossed as "modern."

Considering linguistic overlap, the fifth musical piece in the formal *nūba* of *ma'lūf al-ḥazl* – following the *dkhūl al-barāwal*[88] and preceding the *farighāt al-drāj* – is called the *tawshiyya*, like the term for decorative embroidery. This comparison is particularly apt as the musical *tawshiyya* piece is an improvisatory section that departs from the *ṭaba'* (the melodic mode used throughout the rest of the entire *nūba*) to be played in the 'next' *ṭaba'* in the sequence of modes.[89] In this position, the *tawshiyya* "decorates" the rest of the *nūba* with a departure from the set melody and points to the forward-moving "edge" of the mode by referring to its sequent mode. Functioning as an interstitial hinge between modes, and therefore also as a linkage between *nūbāt*, the *tawshiyyat* (pl.), though considered "decorative," play an integral structural role in tying together the largest cycle of all, the entire round of *nūbāt.*[90]

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[84] "The geometric roses or stars that continuously run into one another and develop out of each other …They are the purest simile for the manifestation of divine reality (al-ḥaḳiḳa), which is the center throughout, in each creature, and in each cosmos, without any being able to claim to being its sole reflection, creating an unending reflection of centers in each other" (Burkhardt 1972: 206).

[85] She now resides in Tunis and France, traveling back and forth a great deal.

[86] Sonia also told me of a Bizerti tradition of singing songs about the sea called *baḥariyya*, (literally "of/from the sea") in which fishermen, who may be out to sea for long periods of time, compose long *qasīda* poems to occupy themselves on aquatic themes and often times drawing long-form similes between family life and the sea (p.c Sonia, 8/30/2016).

[87] www.youtube.com/watch?v=ExxNTOho334&index=86&t=1s&list=PLAHRJoW4wBDEIACoivCzaoxtpr78Is9Oq

[88] Glasser adds that the term *barwāl* refers to a particular rhythm, the musical form named after it, and to a type of thick wool thread (2016: 64). In the Algerian context, *tūshiyya* (embroidery) is used to refer to the improvisatory instrumental section that opens the *nūba* in *Sana'a* (2016: 64). The term for *Andalusī* music used in Tlemcen is *sana'a*, which means "the craft, skill, or art" (Glasser 2016: 64). The parallel formal section in Tunisian *ma'lūf* is the *istiftaḥ* and the *mṣadr*, which itself is composed of the *tok* and *silsila.* Two somewhat parallel terms exist within the Moroccan *Andalusī* musical suite; *tūšiya* refers generally to a metered (instrumental interlude and *tawšīḥ* to a *san'a*, whose structure resembles a *muwaššaḥ* (Davila 2013: 323).

In one of our early *ma'lūf* singing and listening lessons, Sonia explained the supreme importance of musical decoration, which she referred to as *zīna*,[91] literally "decoration," which is the term used to describe ornate visual patterns and designs, whether calligraphic, painted, embroidered, or carved. This conversation was prompted by an explanation of *'aruḍ*, the study of Arabic poetic meter (scansion) and the various forms of metered Arabic poetry, called *bḥūr* (*baḥr*, singular). In the context of the oral recitation of poetry,[92] one moves immediately from the end of one line of poetry (*bayt*, plural *abyāt*) to the next with nothing more than a slight pause for breath between. However, she explained, *ma'lūf*, the *musical* intonement of poetry, requires *zīna*, in this case referring to a decorative melodic phrase that connects the end of one *bayt* of the poem with the start of the next. While at first glance the *zīna* appear to play only a superficial ornamental role, the melodic phrase in fact functions as an essential bridge between verses, affording elegant passage from the ending pitch to the starting pitch of the next phrase and filling empty beats so that the poetic *baḥr* flows smoothly. As Sonia put it, "you are obliged to use it; you must not leave it empty" (p.c. 4/28/16). For an example, she sang the *mithāl* (example) in *ṭaba' ḥsīn*. A transcription may be found in Appendix 2F.

In *ma'lūf* performance, *zīna* are interspersed between *abyāt* and are sometimes instrumental, but typically rendered vocally. When sung, *zīna* are elaborate melismatic phrases using vocables – most commonly *yā-lā-lā, yā-līl yā līl,* and *ah-yā-lā* – and, as I noted in the context of the *nādī* of Tahar/Zied Gharsa, words like *ya Sīdī* (addressing a *Sīdī*, a saint or revered man) and *lā Amī* (possibly meaning "not mine"). I learned an array of other terms for the passages Sonia called "*zīna*"; these include a term commonly used by music practitioners – *al-ahāt* (referring to the commonly used vocable *āh* or *āh-yā*) – and more formal musicological terms: *ṭarāṭin*,[93] *taṭrīz*,[94] and *tarnimāt*. The *zīna* are short passages, once improvisatory and now more codified, that are not considered to be part of formal poetic text. For this reason, they are not represented or notated in the song sheets used in singing clubs or in the song books used by professional vocalists. *Zīna* are inconsistently notated and sometimes completely absent, melodically or lyrically, in the anthologies of definitive authoritative scores published by the National Ministry of Culture.[95] Importantly, the anthologies of notated *turāth* are never used to teach vocalists so whatever depictions of *zīna* appear in them are descriptive transcriptions and/or aids for instrumentalists to follow the melodies of the vocal line.

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[89] The sequence of modes, according to Hamdi, is the following: *rahāwī* (a "lost" mode), *dhīl*, *'irāq*, *sīkā*, *ḥsīn*, *aṣba'īn*, *rasd al-dhīl*, *raml*, *aṣbahān*, *mazmūm,* and *māya.*

[90] Though I have never seen a depiction of the sequence of *ṭabū'a* as cyclical or "round," the famous composition "*Nāūrat al-Ṭabū'a*" or "waterwheel of the modes," possibly written and certainly performed by Khemais Tarnan in the early twentieth century either initiated this conception of cyclicity or popularized a precedent. Jafran Jones write that the poetry for "*Nāūrat al-Tabūa*" is said to have been composed by Sīdī Dhrīf in the 14th century (1977: 282-3).

[91] *Tazayyana* (to decorate), the verbal form, is also often used.

[92] One term for reciting or performing poetry, according to my Tunisian colleague who is a professor of poetry, is *ghānī*, which also means to sing melodically (p.c. Mounir Khelifa, 5/3/2016)

[93] Etymologically derived from *raṭana* (R-T-N) meaning to jabber (18), "to speak gibberish, to speak unintelligibly" as the etymologically root for *ṭarāṭin* (2013: 323). The term *ṭarāṭin* also calls to mind the legendary Bizertian Tunisian '*ūd* player and singer, Khemais Tarnan, who was active in the early days of the Rashidiyya. I have heard that Tarnān was not his given name but a stage name chosen as it evoked, onomatopoeically, the sound of his strummed tremolos.

[94] Meaning "embroidery," which may also be used to refer the variation or alteration of a melody (p.c. Hamdi)

Clear parallels to *zīna* exist in other *Maghribī Andalusian* musics. In Algeria, "non-referential vocalizations, often of the syllables *yā-lā-lān*,[96] are similarly known as *taraṭīn* and are "a crucial component" used to stitch together poetic fragments within the same line, sometimes filling blank spaces where words have been lost to time[97] (Glasser 2003: 88). In the context of *al-Āla*, the Moroccan-Andalusian music, *taraṭīn* refer similarly to "nonsense syllables, such as *ha-na-nā* and *ṭāy-ṭiri-rāy*, which are part of the textual and melodic structure of [1] the *ŝuġhl*" (a non-strophic song form) (323), (2) in the extemporaneously-sung typically free-rhythm improvisations of the *inshād* movement[98] (12), and (3) in "prolonged passages interpolated between or even within phrases of the text" (Davila 2013: 19). Davila equates Moroccan *taraṭīn* with the Middle Eastern term *tarannum* (Davila 2013: 323)*.* Though the Algerian and Moroccan usage of *taraṭīn* differ somewhat from Tunisian *zīna*, their decorative *and* integral structural melodic role holds true across the *Maghrib*.[99]

The term *lāzima* (pl. *lawāzim*)[100] – a common term in Middle Eastern art music for "short instrumental 'fillers'" (Racy 2003: 82) – is used generally by Tunisians to describe short instrumental phrases, set or improvisatory, in *ma'lūf* and is occasionally used to refer to *zīna*. In another parallel to *Sharqī* (middle eastern) musical concepts, Racy describes the Egyptian art of instrumentally accompanying the leading solo voice as *tawrīq*, a term that expresses the idea of filling empty space and which also "evokes the image of filling spaces somewhat sparsely with ornamental leaf design (as in the case of calligraphy), or covering something with a thin film of paper of plaster" (2003: 83). In its vocal form, the *zīna* of *ma'lūf* are also closely paralleled with Middle Eastern *layālī*, a primary form of vocal improvisation in *Sharqī ṭarab* or art music.[101] In Tunisia, longer-form vocal improvisations are called *'arūbī* as opposed to *mawwāl*, which is used in the Middle East.

In contemporary practice, *zīna* remain some of the most variable and individual melodic aspects of *ma'lūf* performance. This is likely due, I posit, to the fact that *zīna* have always been considered (1) improvisatory and therefore diverse and unscripted by default and (2) they have been very inconsistently notated, either textual-phonetically or in western staff notation. The vocal aspects of *ma'lūf* are taught orally and memorized by students; while melodic transcriptions are not used as didactic or mnemonic aids, vocalists learn from song sheets containing the Arabic poetic verses only. The absence of *zīna* on vocalists' song sheets follows from the greater value that Tunisians have long placed upon the texts of *ma'lūf* over its non-semantic and instrumental aspects.[102] Though *zīna* give idiomatic and stylistic character to Tunisian *ma'lūf*, they are hardly ever recognized as quintessential to the formal melodies. Following from this hierarchy, the privileged melody and text of the *ma'lūf* repertory have become through-composed art music while the *zīna* remain relatively more flexible. In twentieth-century reformulation of *ma'lūf* as a classical art music repertoire (*a la* European symphonic music or opera) *zīna* are a relic of vernacular, popular usage. This underscores why lexical elements that point to the communal, participatory singing contexts of the *zāwāya* – most notably the common reference to *Sīdi* (*ya Sīdi*) [103] – still exist in the form of orally-transmitted *zīna* but didn't make it into written transcriptions. Just as Tunisians rarely inscribe vernacular spoken *Tūnsī*, *zīna* remain, unwritten though never un-sung.[104]

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[95] Carl Davila has documented similar absence of passages of vocables in Moroccan Al-Ala noting that the elements notated speak to tensions between theory and practice: "*al-Ala* is not simply a written tradition, but a performed one as well…it cannot be categorized as either oral or written. Rather, it bears characteristics of both. One way this becomes important lies in the complicated relationship between the printed and performed text of *Al-Ala*, a distinctive feature of this relationship being the presence of nonsense syllables, *ṭarāṭin* …These are integral elements of many of the *Sanā'ī'* in the tradition, referred to as *ŝuġhl* (from the verb "to be busy, occupied"), though they never appear in print" (2013: 18). For more on *ṭarāṭin* and notation, see Davila 2013: 153-4, 195, 199, 287, 292.

[96] Some Algerian musicians claim that "*yā-lā-lān"* is a reference to a particular river in medieval *al-Andalus*. See also Chottin 1938: 129.

[97] Common practice in Tunisia for missing words is to fill the space with textual material deemed idiomatically appropriate (in terms of rhythm, meaning, and dated speech forms); these passages are not always well disguised, and many have been pointed out to me by participants, especially during the *Nādī* of Tahar Gharsa

[98] *Taraṭīn* may be employed in repetitions of sung textual material and, along with changing register to a higher octave, are a typical response to audience expressions of admiration and encouragement (Davila 2013: 13).

[99] See also Davila 2013: 12-13.

[100] *Lāzimah* comes from the root meaning to "accompany" or to "stick to faithfully" and to "be needed" (Racy 2003: 82)

[101] *Layāli*, as the onomatopoetic term suggests, use the syllables *yā lāyl* or *yā layālī*, which are considered easily singable but also have "highly enchanting sonic effects" (Racy 2003: 90).

In the *nādī*, I observed that many of the participants hand wrote the *zīna* vocable phrases into the poetry printed on their song sheets to remind them of how many syllables, of *la-la-la*, for example, to include in performance. The practicalities of teaching the *zīna* to such a large chorus of participants singing in unison led not only to the pedagogical codification of Gharsa's personal version, but also to its inscription. As Carl Davila has theorized, the inclusion of poetry alone in Moroccan Andalusī song books speaks volumes about the "mixed orality" of musical transmission (287). Davila has also seen students adding vocables to their notations (2013: 199). Students' familiarity with the idiomatic melodic, prosodic, and syllabic patterns of *zīna* phrases eases the process of learning, but so do students' moves to pencil in the vocables in Arabic script, an act of inscription that complements, rather than obfuscates, oral transmission. The visual shape of the *barwāl* poem, as with all *muwashshāt* and many other forms in the *ma'lūf*, is characteristically formatted in two vertically stacked blocks with wide empty margins to the left and right where – spatially and temporally – the *zīna* are to be "filled in" (see Appendix 2G for an example).

In the early 1930s, French musicologist Baron d'Erlanger wrote anxiously of the feared loss of Tunisia's intangible and undocumented musical treasures, a guilty worry of *colons* across colonial Francophone North Africa.

> The day seems near when the 'middle third' [*microtones*] and the sixth specialties of the Oriental octave will be replaced by their corresponding intervals in European music and, in this hour, the Spanish-Arab music, stripped of everything that gives it its charm, all that gives it its originality, will be nothing more than a caricature of European or American music. Robbed of the melodic ornaments that envelope her like a veil of shimmering vivid colors, she will show her impoverished nakedness[105]. It will be with her just as it is with the Moorish palaces that cover Spain and North Africa, the pillaging of their ceramic and stucco *façades*, their

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[102] Consider that instrumental interludes between vocal pieces in the *nūba* are called *farighāt*, meaning "empty."

[103] It is also possible, as my interlocutor Mounir suggested, that "*ya Sīdi*" in this instance may refer to an important musical patron, like the Bey or an aristocrat, rather than to a saintly figure associated with any particular *zāwiya*.

[104] Cellular text messaging, online social media sites, and advertisements (on television, billboards, and in newspapers) are the exceptions to the rule.

[105] This analogy betrays d'Erlanger's lacking understanding of the role of "decoration" in Arab music. As Faruqi writes, "Rarely is a motif heard or even imagined as a 'naked' tune without its tonal and rhythmic ornamentation. Rarely does a repetition of a motif fail to present a slightly different combination of ingredients" (1978: 22). In a lovely reversal, rather than suggesting a stripping of layers to nakedness, Faruqi terms the simplification of a melody or the "subtraction of tonal or durational elements" as a form of "negative ornamentation" (1978: 25).

> marble paneling and their fine-fashioned sculptures, which are nowadays monuments that were once magnificent, and which are now only a wall of mud, a carcass of disconcerting poverty (341-2).

Referencing the decline of *al-Andalus* and the ruin of "her" architectural masterpieces, d'Erlanger personifies *ma'lūf* as a humiliated, ravished, and destitute woman. It is my sincere hope that the thriving interconnections between architecture and music that I have described here may stand counter d'Erlanger's deeply problematic and fatalistic depiction. For it is from the ruins of Carthage that every marble column and block that built the *diyār* (homes), *zawāyā*, *cafés*, and the Beylical palaces of Tunis came[106] and it is from the decorated surfaces of those very stones that *ma'lūf* has resounded for centuries. Though so much of the rhetoric surrounding *Andalusī* music centers around narratives of loss, Tunisian *ma'lūf* listening practices, if shape-shifting, remain resilient.

The acoustic fullness of reverberant and resonant spaces, the melismatic sonic decoration of musical verses, and the intricate visual ornamentation of architecture and crafts are closely knit aesthetic preferences within Tunisian artistic and quotidian cultural practice. *Zīna* and *jawāb*[107] (reverb, echo, and antiphony) occupy similar niches in the conceptualization and production of time and space. The incursion of French colonialist frameworks and emerging Tunisian nationalization, modernization, and secularization have profoundly influenced the acoustic spaces and subsequent aesthetics of twentieth-century *ma'lūf.* Ideological contestation over appropriate audience listening behaviors – gendered and class norms, participatory elements, and listening-while-doing – and modes of transmitting repertoire and other sound knowledge have shifted in response to the contextual gap. Still, contemporary sonic-social loudness, reverb, and antiphony bespeak the spatial, political, and social elements of audible listenings past and present and the potentialities of its future.

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[106] Fascinatingly, Madinat al-Zahra ("City of Flowers"), the medieval palace-city just outside of Cordoba, was built using the "best materials available from Constantinople, Carthage, and the kingdom of the Franks…" (Ruggles 1991 in Ruggles 1993). Architectural *spolia* – using the wreckage of buildings to construct new ones – was common practice in Arab history and connects historical place across the Mediterranean.

[107] As Glasser reminds, the *jawāb* may also refer to the repetition of a phrase in the higher octave. This itself ties together the vocal lines in much the same way as *zīna* connects *abyāt.*

Part III: Listening for Politics

CHAPTER 6. *AL-KHIṬĀB* : LISTENING FOR SPEECH, RHETORIC, AND POLITICS

Socrates (to Phaedrus): It seems we clearly have the time. Besides, I think that the cicadas, who are singing and carrying on conversations with one another in the heat of the day above our heads, are also watching us. And if they saw the two of us avoiding conversation at midday like most people, diverted by their song and, sluggish of mind, nodded off, they could have every right to laugh at us, convinced that a pair of slaves had come to their resting place to sleep like sheep gathering around the spring in the afternoon.

— Plato, *Phaedrus*, 370 BC, Trans. Nienkamp 1999.

The eager Tyrians are busy, some building walls,
and raising the citadel, rolling up stones by hand,
some choosing the site for a house, and marking a furrow:
they make magistrates and laws, and a sacred senate:
here some are digging a harbour: others lay down
the deep foundations of a theatre, and carve huge columns
from the cliff, tall adornments for the future stage.
Just as bees in early summer carry out their tasks
among the flowery fields, in the sun, when they lead out
the adolescent young of their race, or cram the cells
with liquid honey, and swell them with sweet nectar,
or receive the incoming burdens, or forming lines
drive the lazy herd of drones from their hives:
the work glows, and the fragrant honey's sweet with thyme.
'O fortunate those whose walls already rise!'

— Virgil, *Aeneid* Book 1: 423-437, 29-19 BC, Trans. Kline n.d.

Khiṭāb al-Ma'lūf: Messages and Lessons of the Texts

The final important category of the *ma'lūf* – following the places, the times, the people, and the crafts – is *al-khiṭāb*, the "speech." These are the messages and lessons expressed through the metered poetry of the sung lyrics. While vocalists in other genres "sing," (*ghannā*), *ma'lūf* performers are said to "speak" (*qāla*). This distinction, as explained to me by Sonia in the context of a lesson, is one of sincerity and meaning (p.c. 2/2/2016). She suggested that while other music has more trivial words that flow along with their melodies, the sung texts of *ma'lūf* are complex, multi-layered poetry that contain profound wisdom, that is, if you have the tools and sophisticated education required to decipher them. Another element of *la qwela* – the "speaking" or "saying" of *ma'lūf* – is the skillful art of delivery; ornamentation that decorates and beautifies the text also aids in expressing its fuller nuanced meanings. "Tunisian music is about *qwela*," she told me, it is the definitive factor in distinguishing a true "*ma'lūf* singer" from others. In performance, one must not leave the words flat, but instead *tafannana bi-hā*, decorate them artful. It matters that the "sound is modified" and conveyance of the meanings of the texts depends greatly on "*how* you make it beautiful."

When Aziz, the Kefi primary school music teacher began to explain *al-khiṭāb*, "the speech" to me, he made a point of making sure I understood that the speech delivered by the stock characters of the poetry is primarily directed at and to be heard by the other fictional characters in the text, rather than the real-world musical listening public (p.c. 8/25/2016). The mythical characters of the narrative – the caricatures of immoral and moral people, of guests, wine-bearers, bar tenders, beautiful women, castrated men, prison guards, spies, and overseers – are personas that real world music listeners may wish or dream they could occupy, if only for the duration of the *nūba.* And yet, as he continued his description of these characters and the rhetorical devices of *al-khiṭāb*, the boundaries he had laid out between "real" and "imaginary" seemed to dissolve in the slippage between discursive spheres. The recursive *al-insān* – literally "the people" of the *ma'lūf* texts – are the guests and audience for the musical show which is preforming and re-performed within itself as an infinite regression, a story within a story, scenes that implicate the listeners of "the real world," "listeners of the imagined world," and everything in between. Aziz stated that the texts speak of the following, in terms of their morality:

(1) The text warns against discussing work, duties, or responsibilities.

(2) The text speaks against the day and for the night

(3) The text speaks about desiring to maintain a closed and exclusive community.

While statements 1 and 2 are flexible enough that they could apply to a range of contexts, the third and final item, however, speaks directly to and for *Andalusī* particularity, whether in the context of late medieval *al-Andalus*, as surrounding Christian powers encroached upon and threatened the caliphate's sovereignty, or in the transplanted communities of the Tunisian *Mūrīskiyūn*. That the characters of the mythic *ma'lūf* universe speak to each other about this 'community' concretizes the closely-interlocking relation between the politics of *ma'lūf* performance and listening, the moral rhetoric of its textual messages and associated proverbs, and the lore that circulates around it.

Though we did not have a collection of the texts readily available during the time of my interview, Aziz did not feel the need to show me specific examples of *al-khiṭāb* that exemplified these specific themes in the poetry. This suggests all the more that discursive framings of the content and meaning of *ma'lūf* texts can stand in for the 'actual' texts themselves, which are, for the greater part, fragmented, linguistically archaic, highly abstract, diverse in variants, and requiring extensive and skilled interpretation.

The disconnect between sung poetic texts[1] and present-day interpretations of *al-khiṭāb*, the rhetorical "speech" or "addresses" the songs contain, is illustrated also by contemporary *ma'lūf* enthusiasts' and even specialists' lack of familiarity with "proverbs of the *ma'lūf*" as they are listed by Sadok Rezgui (1874-1939) in his 1922 manuscript,[2] an overview of Tunisian music, *al-Aghānī al-Tunisiyya*, ("The Tunisian Songs").[3] While Rezgui introduces the proverbs as "commonly known," I found that my interlocutors had little familiarity with them in general or as connected specifically with *mā'lūf.* [4] In a section specifically about *ma'lūf*, Rezgui writes "Few [people] do not retain a significant number of regional songs to the point that verses (sentences) of literature and words of wisdom are known among Tunisians and quoted in the contexts of *khiṭāb* ("speech" or in an "address")." [5] Rezgui, who had also conducted extensive research on Tunisian folklore, then lists several *amthāl* ("proverbs," sing. *mithāl*) as coming from the *ma'lūf* (357).

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[1] As codified and published in the official fascicles of the Ministry of Culture *ma'lūf* editions.

[2] The back cover of the 2015 edition of Rezgui's book explains that this "rare writing" was "started in 1922, even before Baron d'Erlanger had completed his work on Arab music. The author, wishing to contribute personally to this enterprise, presented the manuscript to Baron d'Erlanger, who did not publish it…"

[3] There is some ambiguity of meaning here given that "*mithāl"* means both "proverb" and "example."

[4] Mounir Khelifa suggested rather than the proverbs having been drawn from the pre-existing poetry, that the Tunisian sayings have been added to them at some point over the past few centuries (p.c. 5/10/2016).

[5] The original Arabic and French translation differ somewhat in word choice and phrasing.

The proverbs are presented in the following way:

Original Arabic (Rezgui 1976 [1922])
Author's transliteration
Author's English translation of the Arabic

French translation from Mohamed M. Driss' 2015 edition of Rezgui (1979 [1922])
Author's English translations of the French

Dr. Mounir Khelifa's distillation of the meaning

1.
إذا كان الخطاء مني يكون العفو من شأنك.
Idhā kān al-khaṭā minnī yakūn al-ʿafū min shāʾnak
If there was an error from me, you are the one to pardon.

Si la daulte est mienne, le pardon est votre vertu.
If the fault is mine, pardon is your virtue.

Acknowledge one's mistake and ask for mercy.

2.
أغنم زمانك لا يفوت.
Aghnam zamānak lā yafūt
Take advantage of the opportunity/advantage before you miss them.

Profite du temps avant qu'il ne passe.
Take advantage of the time before it passes.

***Carpe Diem* – Seize the day**

3.
اللي ضربته ايده لا يبكي وإذا بكى يخفي صوته.
Illī ḍarabatu īdu lā yabkī wa-idhā bakā yakhfī ṣawtu
He who hits his hand (hurts himself) doesn't cry and if he cries, he hides his voice.

Celui qui se frappe par la main, ne pleure pas; et s'il pleure qu'il baisse sa voix.
The one who strikes his hand does not cry, and if he cries, he lowers his voice.

One should not suffer from self-inflicted harm and if one does, one must be discrete.

وقل من لايحفظ من التونسيون جمّا وافرا من مقاطيه حتى أنّ البعض من الجملة الأدبية وكلمة الحكمية صارت بين الكافّة والخاصّة مثلا سائرا .يستشهيون بها في سياق الكلام عند التخاطب مث

4.
الدنيا ساعة بساعة
Al-dunya sāʿa bi-sāʿa
The world is hour by hour.

La vie est alternante, une heure douce et une heure amère.
Life alternates, one hour is sweet and one hour is bitter.

Life is bittersweet.

5.
الذهب يزداد حسناً إذا انتقش.
Al-dhahab yazdād ḥusnan idhā intaqash
Gold becomes more beautiful if it is carved/engraved.

L'or s'embellit quand il est ciselé.
Gold is improved/beautified when it is chiseled.

Work improves things; with labor things become more beautiful.

6.
قطّوس الخرب ما يتحجّب.
Qaṭṭūs al-kharb mā yataḥajjab
A cat of the rubble cannot hide.

Le chat des décombres ne peut se cacher.
The cat of the rubble cannot hide.

Sooner or later, the truth will out or **you can't hide your true colors.**

7.
لا ترشّح الأواني إلا بما سكن.
Lā turashshaḥ al-awānī illā bi-mā sakan
Do not choose crockery except by what resides/lives in it.

[no French translation given]

Choose each vessel by what is in it, meaning: **One is only worth his qualities.**

8.
لا يجوع الذئب ولا يشتكي الراعي.
Lā yajū‘ al-dh’ib wa-lā yashtakī al-rā‘ī
The wolf doesn’t get hungry and the shepherd doesn’t complain.

Le loup ne s’affame et le berger ne se plain.
The wolf does not starve, and the shepherd does not complain.

If you each give up part of your own, both can win (a win-win situation).

9.
وصية الميّت عند ساقيه.
Waṣiyyat al-mayyit ‘inda sāqayhi
The legacy/will of the dead is at his feet.

La testament du défunt est à ses pieds.
The testament of the dead is at his feet.

“Instructions not followed are wasted words” or **“You reap what you sow.”**

10.
يأتي الفرج من بعد الشدة.
Ya’tī al-faraj min ba‘d al-shidda
Relief comes after calamity.

La soulagement vient après la difficulté.
Relief comes after difficulty.

If winter is here, can spring be far behind?

Though *al-khiṭāb*, wisdom and proverbs drawn from the *ma’lūf* are not a particularly prominent aspect of music making and listening today,[6] I did encounter use of proverbial wisdom in the context of conversations with young Tunisians regarding the moral, ethical good that can come from listening to and making music. Most notable among these was *taṣqul ar-rūḥ ū-tartaqī bi-dhawq ū-bi-wa‘ī al-insān,* meaning “polish the soul and elevate it with taste and human consciousness.” The saying came to mind one evening, as Hiba and I hopped between dry places in the rain, avoiding trash that sloshed past us. Hiba is a thirty-one-year-old medical student who attended the weekly amateur *ma'lūf* singing club with me at the Rashidiyya school in Tunis. She told me that anyone who sincerely has music in her soul doesn't throw trash in the street like so many other Tunisians. Music lovers don't harm each other or their shared environments; they are more socially conscious of their responsibility to protect the greater good and their community.

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[6] There are arguments to be made that they were not, in fact, as widely known as Rezgui suggested. By the second and third decades of the twentieth century, anxiety about vanishing tradition in the face of colonialism, nationalism, and modernity resulted in hyperbolic polarized depictions of Tunisian musical life ranging from Baron d’Erlanger’s description of *ma’lūf* at death’s door (1930) to Rezgui’s insistence that it was alive and well. I observed another instance of the association of folkloric sayings and wisdom with *ma’lūf* on a display of decorative banners bearing poetic phrases at the fiftieth annual International Festival of *Ma’lūf* and Traditional Music in Testour (see Appendix A).

Epistemologically, these concepts align well with medieval Sufi philosophy that the power of music listening works by way of the incorporation of sound into the physical body. Here the meaning of the Tunisian saying hinges on the polysemic word *dhūq*, which means gustatory tasting with the mouth, the phenomenon of attentive listening, and personal aesthetic preference. In general, thoughtful close listening to *ma'lūf* is referred to as "tasting" in Tunisia and listeners may "taste" the *kelimāt* (the words) or *ṭaba'* (the melodic mode), depending on the focus of their listening at any given moment. So, to "improve by/with taste" implies here that consuming musical sound leads to its incorporation into the body and, when this cultivated action becomes habitual, that the person is bettered, especially in terms of her ability to appreciate the beauty in situations and to actively seek out good things.

Charles Hirschkind has written extensively on a related concept in Egypt, the capacity for the sounded meaning of Islamic sermons to condition the listener's heart as the organ of moral thought and action (2006). Importantly, as Carl Davila, has written on the pedagogy of *al-Āla,* the Moroccan *Andalusī* repertoire, "the student imbibes[7] not only the raw material, but also a certain aesthetic experience associated with the *Andalusī* music, which becomes deeply engrained. The method tends to create an emotional affinity with the music that enhances the learning process by 'engraving the music on the heart,' as it were" (2013: 184). Hiba also expressed to me that internalizing the *āwzān*, the prescribed rhythmic patterns of particular song forms, leads to improved awareness of the passage of time and rhythms of the day. Musical people are punctual, respect others' time, and reach goals in a timely manner. But 'improving' oneself by taste in this context is not without connotations of sophistication, erudition, and high-class affinities. Though the phrase is in Arabic, suggesting a transnational Arab-Islamic context for interpretation, its present day meaning in Tunisia also carries with it the baggage of the French civilizing mission to culture Tunisians and refine their taste toward high art. Still, though the classed connotations of *ma'lūf* connoisseurship appear in many ways to exclude upon very really socioeconomic barriers, like concert ticket prices, culturally-embedded proverbs and sayings like this one point to ways in which anyone can aspire to and become a 'sophistication' listener.

Sonia, my *'ūd*-playing *ma'lūf* teacher, hadn't heard the phrase "polish the soul and elevate it with taste and human consciousness" before but knew immediately, without any particular context, that it related to music. By her account, "if you do the comparison between a musician or a person who listens to a lot of music and a person who doesn't, you will find that this person is more sensitive and accepting. He is more optimistic also." Because music listeners are accustomed to imagining and empathizing with the characters described in the song texts, they are better, she argued, at understanding what people in their own lives are going through and can intuit how to help. By Sonia's account, musical people see glimmers of good everywhere and are compelled to create positive change. Beyond punctuality or refraining from littering, musicians are attuned to and are impacted more deeply by emotions. She explained, "it doesn't matter which: love, fear, regret, all kinds of feelings. Normal people, they're just passing by those feelings, but the action of the other, the musician, it is part of their life, their daily living" (p.c. Sonia, 12/13/2016).

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[7] Consider his use an inter-sensorial term here as well.

Finding herself speaking so highly of musicians, she held her hands up, saying "you have this class [meaning type] of normal people," (lowest) and the prophets (highest) and then musicians (in the middle)." We laughed, dispelling some of the tension that seems to hover in the air around conversations that point to all that doesn't work in Tunis today — the dream-busting weight of economic depression, the growing impacts of Islamic radicalization, and the disheartening turnover of administrations. The image, however idealized, of the persistent musical person trying to improve the world is refreshing in a context where youthful optimism is wearing thin. Setting aside the matter of *causality* between music-listening and heightened social consciousness, I did find middle class youth listeners of *ma'lūf* to be somewhat less 'checked out' or nihilistic, overall, than some of their peers with whom I interacted. Latent in the proverb is a call for "listening acts" – a concept I discuss further in Chapter 7 – to transform individuals' bodies and habitus through listening for the constitution of a more ethically conscious and powerful public.

Ḥadīth al-Ma'lūf: Folkloric and Magical Elements

In August of 2016, I traveled for the third or fourth time to El Kef, this time a welcome escape into the hills from the stagnant late summer heat that hovered in the valleys of the greater Tunis area. When I arrived at Rim's family home, I was told, to my delight, that her father, Aziz had arranged a meeting of several of his musical friends – mostly middle aged and elderly amateurs with a few younger, more formally-educated members – who wanted to put on an informal performance for me. The following afternoon, we gathered in a small, dimly-lit, reverberant room of a building that served multiple purposes as a community meeting center (see Figure 46 below). It was Aziz's hope in prompting the meeting that I learn what was different, special, and interesting about *ma'lūf* in its Kefi form and context. While the musicians were tuning, warming up, and drinking coffee and orange juice, they regaled me with a piecemeal general history of *ma'lūf* in Tunisia and a collective listing of the cities, besides El Kef, that are or *should* be well-known for its practice.

They then, collectively, rattled off the names of the specific great *shuyūkh* from El Kef – Brahim Gaddech, Hamrouni, Ben Muchri, Khather Esahabi, and others, all of whom are now deceased – under whom the musicians present had studied. Cheikh Sa'bi Misrati, a wealthy man from El Kef, is said to have sold off parcels of his land in order to obtain enough cash to travel several times to Testour (approximately 88 kilometers away) to learn from expert *Andalusī* musicians there. Others of the *shuyūkh*, they explained, had learned the Kefi form of *ma'lūf* from the *firqa* Qadariyya, who "sang in the mosque of the Qadariyya," a Sufi brotherhood with a base in El Kef.[8] The main *shaykh* of the *firqa* Qadariyya was Bil Qasim al-Hamrouni, who was a blind singer and *'ūd* player who exclusively performed *ma'lūf*. As all of these little historical and mythic stories started to flow in tandem from the group members, Nidhel – an *'ūd* player in his early twenties and the youngest musicians among them – clarified to me that the music of *ma'lūf* not only differs by region and town in Tunisia, but that the mythology and the stories, or the *ḥadīth al-Ma'lūf*, differ as well. This statement prompted more conversation about what was specific about Kefi *ma'lūf* — El Kef differed in the instrumentation used (*naqqārāt*, tiny kettle drums are regularly used rather than *benādir* or *darbūka*) and Kefi *ma'lūf*, though its oldest forms were vocally performed in the context of Sufi ritual practice, was the first to include instruments at all, they claimed.

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[8] While the stories of learning *ma'lūf* in Testour suggest the repertoire of *ma'lūf al-ḥazl*, the Qadariyya context refers to *ma'lūf al-judd.*

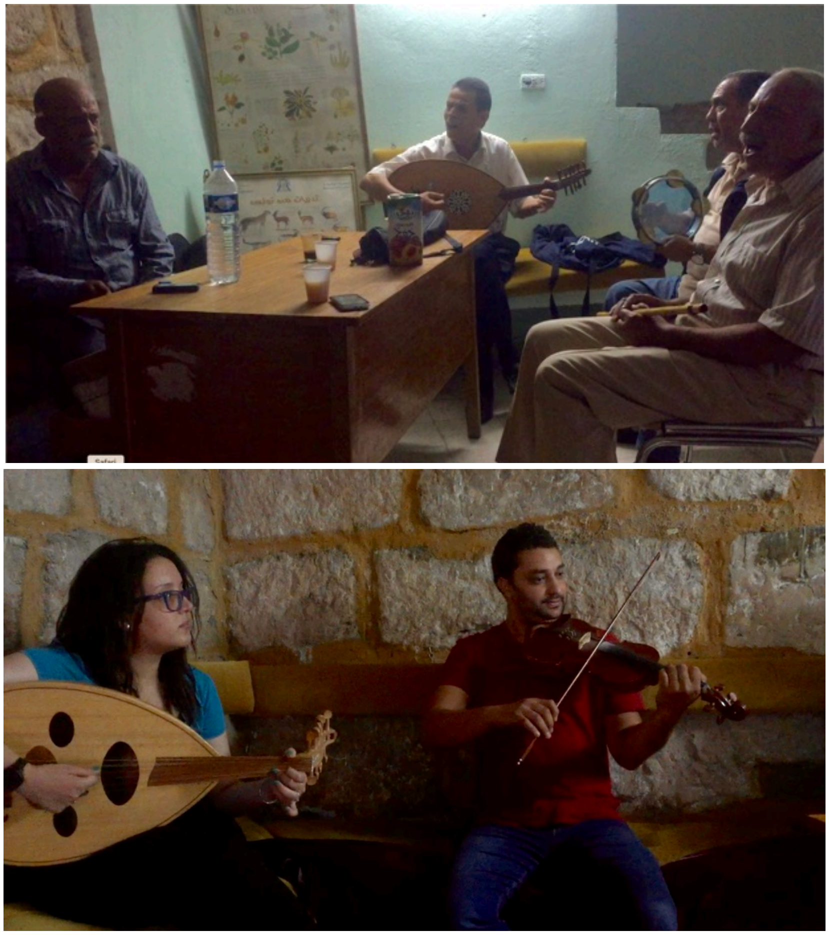

Figure 46 The ad hoc *ma'lūf firqa* in El Kef featuring (top) the elder musicians on *'ūd, nay, riqq, and naqqārāt* (hidden in photo behind the desk) and (bottom) the younger generation, Rim on *'ūd* and Nidhel on *kamanj* (violin). Photographs by the author.

Having spent about half of our time discussing these stories and half making music, it was clear to me that the conveyance of *ḥadīth al-Ma'lūf*, its locally-situated stories and mythology – both to me as a researcher and to the younger Tunisians present (Rim, Khuloud, and Nidhel) – was at least as important as the musical practice "itself." These musicians demonstrated to me that the discourse of and about *ma'lūf*, the addressees of its poetic texts, the folklore surrounding its practice, and the community's cultural memories are part and parcel of musicking. The integrative discourse-practice complex is best illustrated by lore and sayings around the Tunisian musical modes, for example, the saying: *'aml ḥsīn ḥāja*,[9] literally "the work of *ḥsīn* (the mode) is needed," meaning "begin with the mode *ḥsīn*" (p.c. 8/27/2016).

The idea that it is more auspicious to start in *ḥsīn* is shared by others of my interlocutors outside El Kef, including Hamdi who hails from Kairawan in the center of the country. There are some problems if you start with other modes; for instance, you should never start in *nawa* as this provokes people to do strange things, even to break into physical fights with each other. There is also a problem of starting with *mazmūm*[10] because, it is said that once there was a seller of *ka‘k* (Tunisian cookies) in El Kef who played a short melody in *mazmūm* on a flute and, before he knew it, he had been magically and mysteriously transported to the little town of Dahmeni, (approximately 32 kilometers away) where he took up selling cookies again. In later conversations, Hamdi independently explained that playing or listening to *mazmūm* is said to bring bad luck and that every time musicians (of the nineteenth century) tried to compose a new song in *mazmūm* something bad would happening including, he claimed, that one of the Beys fell ill and died (p.c. 10/6/2016). Reminiscent of what I'd heard from the Kefi musicians, he also noted that the mode *nawa* calls up malevolent *jnūn*, demons who wreak all manner of havoc.

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[9] عمل هسين حاجة

Before visiting in El Kef and meeting with these older musicians, not only was I unaware of these aspects of *ma'lūf* folklore, but I had not yet encountered the term *ḥadīth al-Ma'lūf*, which the Kefi musicians considered to be common parlance and such an important aspect of their knowledge and practice. In all my readings on Tunisian music, conversations with musicians in Tunis, and education at the Rashidiyya's *nādī*, none of these stories had ever come up. As I came to see, it was no coincidence that I learned of *ma'lūf* folklore in El Kef, rather than elsewhere, nor that these examples were raised in the context of a discussion of what makes Kefi *ma'lūf* different from other forms and, as the talk concluded, how many other types of *turāth* (heritage music) are found in El Kef. The difference they were articulating was not only in terms of melodic material or poetic texts, which came up only cursorily, but in their continued integration of folklore with its musical counterparts. In the process of 'modernizing' Tunisian *ma'lūf* as an Arab Classical Music, worthy of nationalist codification and standardization, accompanying folkloric elements, deemed trivial, were stripped away from the music. It is only in the context of oral transmission and popular participatory community practice, I argue, that the lore of *ma'lūf* continues to circulate today.

Likewise, whereas Tunisian author, Sadok Rezgui's book is replete with descriptions of musical performance contexts, mood associations with modes, and proverbs, d'Erlanger's text, composed within ten years of Rezgui's, privileged the western staff notation transcriptions of melodies and the specificity of modal intonation over *ḥadīth*. It is an interesting thought exercise to imagine how *ma'lūf* performance, listening, and speech in Tunis today might differ if Rezgui's volume had been used over d'Erlanger's as the definitive source by the Rashidiyya and by key nationalist-era figures like Salah El-Mahdi. Like the proverbial speech of *ma'lūf*, the regionally diverse and "superstitious" *ḥadīth al-ma'lūf* had no place in the secularist, modernist program of the Neo-Destour political party. While the "great *shaykhs*" of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are much lauded and discussed in the contexts of formal curricula at the Rashidiyya and Conservatory of Tunis, *shuyūkh* originating from west of Bizerte did not make it into the historical narrative. Musicians in El Kef expressed to me that they felt their versions of the *ma'lūf* musical material had not been considered, at least not explicitly, in the establishment of the canon.

Interconnected with *ḥadīth al-ma'lūf* are sayings that refer more directly to associations of the melodic modes. In my conversations with Tunisians, I came across a few such references. First, I learned of an alternate name – *ṭaba‘ al-‘acha'* meaning "mode of the evening" – that can be used to refer to the mode *raml*.[11] This association harkens back, Hamdi claims, to the historical period when particular *nūbāt* were considered more appropriate to be played during specific times of the day, a custom that is no longer practiced, but which is encoded in the mode's popular name. Similarly, there is a "popular saying" used among musical and non-musical Tunisians alike: *idha ṭwīl 'alik al-līl or 'alayk al-layl, 'alik bi-nūbāt al-dhīl,*[12] meaning literally "if your night seems too long, try *nūbāt al-dhīl*," meaning "If you can't sleep, listen to *nūbāt al-dhīl*."[13] When I asked more specifically what made that particular made conducive to sleep, he said he wasn't sure and joked that it must be because the suite is especially long and therefore soporific or that perhaps the night is the best time to listen because you won't have anything else to do (p.c. Hamdi, 11/16/2016). Interestingly enough, though neither Hamdi nor any of my other interlocutors could detail specific associations beyond the evening for *raml* and the night for *rasd al-dhīl*, Mahmood Guettat writes that the traditional Tunisian "milieu" for performance and listening to *nūbāt al-raml* is "*la soirée*," "the evening," and likewise "*après minuit*" or "after midnight" for *rasd al-dhīl* (2000: 390).[14]

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[10] The ordering of modes in *al-Turāth al-Mūsīqī al-Tunisī*, however, does begin with *mazmūm*. Following the French/European model, it presents *mazmūm* first because it is a "natural" mode with no accidentals (flats of sharps).
[11] Jones includes a fascinating etymological history of the names of modes used by the ''Isawiyya (1977: 284-5).

In the carry-over of these musico-temporal associations into both modal nomenclature and everyday sayings, we find a thread of continuity between previous listening performance practice and contemporary folklore. Like the *ḥadīth al-Ma'lūf*, musico-temporal items of folklore – for example, the prescription of *rasd al-dhīl* for sleep – are not only residues of *ma'lūf*'s place in the everyday and common-place, but also point to *ma'lūf* as a complex of musical sound, performance and listening practice, and folklore in "the *Andalusī* (or Tunisian) way of life." Nostalgia around the musico-temporal relationships is wrapped up in the familiar narrative of loss common to all living Arabo-*Andalusī* traditions (See Glasser 2016, Shannon 2015a) and is most akin to the disappearance of lost modes. However, as Hamdi put it, "it is a pity that there is no book that contains all of the stories (*ḥadīth*), but it is still possible to collect them" (p.c. Hamdi, 11/16/2016).

The cases of the Tunisian (1) *khiṭāb* (proverbs "drawn" from *ma'lūf* lyrics), (2) *ḥadīth al-ma'lūf* (stories about the *ma'lūf*, especially magical), (3) sayings regarding the ethics of music listening, and (4) temporo-musical sayings, are examples – some more commonly circulating than others – of the persistent embeddedness of *ma'lūf* in ethically-conscious ways of life. These associations fall under an umbrella category that has often been referred to as "extra-musical" associations within Arab music studies (Marcus 1989, Kligman 2009). The concept of extra-musical associations in scholarly discourse on Arab art music, both in the *Mashriq* and *Maghrib*, is tied directly to medieval theorization of the modes as corresponding to "such categories as the planets, signs of the zodiac, seasons, day and night, hours, elements, humours, temperaments, virtue, classes of men, colors, odors, raw materials, alphabetical letters, and poetry and poetical meters," and "ethical[15] and cosmological values" (Shiloah 1979, 1981 in Marcus 1989: 747). See Appendix 3B for Guettat's (2000) full chart of the periods of the day and their appropriate *ṭabū'a* and Chottin's (1939) associations of the times of the day with specific pitches and other aspects.

Before the "modern period,"[16] the entire phenomenon of these correspondences was referred to as *ta'thīr*, literally meaning "efficacy, effect, or influence" (Marcus 1989: 747). Marcus, whose influential dissertation was concerned predominantly with the description of the theoretical and practical aspects of *maqām* (focused in Egypt), includes a short section on "Specific Extra-Musical Associations for each *Maqam*." Marcus describes two main forms of extra-musical associations: (1) those "indicating the moods or the emotions that the maqām under consideration creates in the listener" and (2) "those which indicate the types of songs a given *maqām* is commonly associated with" (1989: 749). Kligman, writing about Sephardic Jewish religious music in the United States, broadens these categories and adds (3) "theory," associations of modes with the corresponding biblical passages for which they are used (172), and (4) "melody," where modes are associated with specific melodies which in turn index calendrical holidays when they are used (173).

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[12] إذا طوال عليك الليل، عليك بنوبة الذيل

[13] *Dhīl* is a Tūnsī form of the Arabic *dhayl,* literally means "tail."

[14] See Appendix 3B for Guettat's (2000) full chart of periods of the day and their appropriate *ṭabū'a* and Alexis Chottin's (1939) associations of the times of the day with specific pitches and other aspects.

[15] Kligman (2009: 146, 233) also cites Shiloah (1979) on the connection between extra-musical associations and the real of the "ethical."

[16] Scott Marcus has periodized the "modern period" as beginning with the reconceptualization of the Arab scale in terms of quarter steps (1989: 12), placing the start date in the eighteenth century (13-14). However, as he cautions, "the

Based predominantly on textual evidence, he states that "By the beginning of the modern period…a large portion of these associations were either forgotten or consciously rejected" and that "most modern writers omit any mention of extra-musical associations" (747). While this is substantiated by other researchers' work (Kligman 2009),[17] it is also important, I contend, to consider forums outside of and complementary to formal texts where aspects of "extra-musical" associations retain relevance in practice of music and talk. Though the tradition of performance and audition of particular modes at particular times of day is no longer typical or common practice in any of the North African *Andalusī* musical genres,[18] associations live on in discourse surrounding musicking, especially in proverbs and sayings, the small genres of folklore.

Fabled Politics

One of my interlocutors, whom I will refer to as Aziz to retain his anonymity, took great pains to explain to me what the *Mūriskīyūn* were like when they arrived in Tunis and resettled in the Northwest (p.c. 8/25/2016). Before turning to discussion and analysis of our conversation, however, I will introduce him in order to contextualize the implications of his statements. Aziz is a middle-aged man whose family has lived in El Kef for more than three generations and who identifies primarily as Tunisian and also as *Amazigh.* He does not identify as a Tunisian of *Andalusī* descent. He, and his daughter Rim, spoke explicitly to me regarding the erasure of indigenous (*Amazigh*) identity, musics, and cultural life ways in Tunisia and both stated bluntly to me that nearly all Tunisians are *Amazight* but have adopted the identities of various oppressors including the Arabs and French. Aziz has worked as a primary school music teacher for more than fifteen years and is an accomplished *'ūd* player and singer. He plays – mostly informally and for his students – and listens to Tunisian *ma'lūf*, other types of *Andalusī* music, *Sharqī* art music, and a wide range of other popular, religious, and localized Tunisian musics like *al-mansiyāt.* He was also trained in Western European classical music theory at a Tunisian conservatory.

Aziz clarified first that the *Mūriskīyūn* were not destitute but rather elite invited guests who brought their gold and money with them and who were welcomed personally by the Bey into the Tunisian aristocratic class. According to his account, they felt right at home in Tunisia because, as it turned out, they had the same sophisticated, well-educated, and lavish sensibilities and tastes as the *blēdī*, the old Tunisian bourgeoise. As his voice assumed a distinctly judgmental tone, Aziz went on to say

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modern period is not a monolithic entity, however, and one could arrive at different starting dates depending on which aspect or aspects of the music theory one is considering" (13).

[17] Kligman – who has studied the ritual, music, and aesthetics of Syrian Jewish New Yorkers' use of *maqāmāt* in the recitation of religious liturgy in Brooklyn, New York – writes that "extramusical associations are part of the past for Arab musicians" (2009: 166).

[18] as Carl Davila (2013: 186) and others have noted.

that the Andalusīs' constitutions were weaker. They were always crying and complaining, as he put it, for having lost their power, position, and control in Spain. They enjoyed all manner of indulgent habits, including the practice of *ma'lūf*, which they played and listened to strictly as amateurs, as a leisurely hobby. They lived as if in a fantasy world, concerned only with trifles and frivolity.

Pausing a moment, Aziz seemed to be racking his brain for some kind of comparison that would drive his points home about the relationships between *al-sha'bī wa-'l-bledī*, "the common people and the wealthy." Excitedly landing on a useful idea, he asked me if I was familiar with the French fable of La Fontaine, "the ant and the cricket,"[19] the one in which the ants worked all day and the crickets sang all night?[20] Yes, I responded, I knew the story, though in my childhood I had learned it as an Aesop's Fable.[21] He was a good story teller and, continuing in Arabic, went on to recount the tale, stepping out of the narrative now and then to draw more explicit connections between the anthropomorphized French fictional characters and the caricatured Tunisian historical actors. La Fontaine's literary version, "La Cigale et la Fourmi" ("The Cicada and the Ant"), and Norman B. Spector's English translation go thus (see also Figure 47 at the end of this section for illustrations):

La Cigale, ayant chanté	Cicada, having sung her song
Tout l'été	All summer long,
Se trouva fort dépourvue	Found herself without a crumb
Quand la bise fut venue:	When winter winds did come.
Pas un seul petit morceau	Not a scrap was there to find
De mouche ou de vermisseau.	Of fly or earthworm, any kind.
Elle alla crier famine	Hungry, she ran off to cry
Chez la Fourmi sa voisine,	To neighbor Ant, and specify:
La priant de lui prêter	Asking for a loan of grist,
Quelque grain pour subsister	A seed or two so she'd subsist
Jusqu'à la saison nouvelle.	Just until the coming spring.
"Je vous paierai, lui dit-elle,	She said, "I'll pay you everything
Avant l'oût, foi d'animal,	Before fall, my word as animal,
Intérêt et principal."	Interest and principal."
La Fourmi n'est pas prêteuse:	Well, no hasty lender is the Ant;
C'est là son moindre défaut.	It's her finest virtue by a lot.
"Que faisiez-vous au temps chaud?	"And what did you do when it was hot?"
Dit-elle à cette emprunteuse.	She then asked this mendicant.
— Nuit et jour à tout venant	"To all comers, night and day,
Je chantais, ne vous déplaise.	I sang. I hope you don't mind."
— Vous chantiez? j'en suis fort aise:	"You sang?" Why, my joy is unconfined.
Eh bien! Dansez maintenant."	Now dance the winter away."

His employment of the fable clarified his descriptions of the *Andalusī* and Tunisian people, their relationship, and the moral of the story. The cricket character represents the *Andalusī Mūriskīyūn* and the ant stands for the *sha'bī* "everyman" He was pleased to see that the specific allusion to farming and agricultural in both the fable and *Andalusī*-Tunisian geographic areas was not lost on me; the ant represents, more specifically, *al-fallāḥīn*, the rural agrarian peasants of the fertile Northwestern Plains. In the real world parallel of the fable, Aziz explained, the *Mūriskīyūn* occupied their own fanciful world in which they swore off obligations and responsibilities of the material world, enjoying leisure activities like playing and listening to *ma'lūf* all the time. However, when the hard times of winter arrived and their shirked work got the better of them, all they could do was cry for help, just as they had done when they arrived in Tunisia pleading for aid and refuge. As he put it, since their arrival, the outsiders had demanded the best of everything that the hard working and practical *sha'bī* Tunisian *fallāḥīn* (plural of *fallāḥ*) had, their lands and their harvests. Here Aziz's positionality reads loud and clear; Tunisia's native people[22] – described here in terms of *al-sha'b* or *al-fallāḥīn* – were the only ones with valid claims to Tunisian land and identity while others, like the *Andalusī* – and the Arabs, to some extent – were viewed as unwelcomed imposters.

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[19] Aziz used the French at first, later translating "cigale" into the Tūnsī *jrāda* (cricket). Incidentally, the common vernacular term for a violin or violinist in Tunisia is, *jrāna* – a word sounding rather similar to *jrāda* – meaning "frog," which is also etymologically related to the Spanish word for "frog," *rana.*

[20] There are many variations in the specific types of insects: the cricket is sometimes a grasshopper, cricket, or cicada. None of these insects actually "sing." *Orthopterins* (crickets and grasshoppers) produce sound through *stridulation*, rubbing spikes on their hind legs against each while Cicadas produce sound by rapidly buckling and unbuckling a membranous structure under the abdomen. Crickets and cicadas are nocturnal while grasshoppers are diurnal.

[21] Fontaine's collection of fables, published between 1668-1694, is based directly upon Aesop's fables, which are thought to have been originally composed between 620-564 BC.

The choice of fable also suggested a sense of "pride comes before the fall." This concept in the Arab world, and even more aptly in Tunisia, harkens back to Ibn Khaldun's fourteenth-century theories on the rise and fall of kingdoms and cities. Khaldun, himself an *Ifrīqiya*-n (proto-Tunisian) of Indigenous-*Andalusī* descent, writes, "when a tribe has achieved a certain measure of superiority with the help of its *'aṣabiyya* (group feeling), it gains control over a corresponding amount of wealth and comes to share prosperity and abundance with those who have been in possession of these things" (Rosenthal 1967: 107). Posh living however, as Khaldun characterized the decadent lifestyle in *al-Andalus*, is detrimental to "group feeling" as members of the collective must actively rely upon one another for survival to retain strong social unity (*'aṣabiyya*). In Khaldun's model – well known among Tunisians who have been educated through high school – sedentism leads to prosperity, which leads to hierarchical social structures, which erodes social cohesion.

The moral of the La Fontaine fable teaches the virtues of hard work and planning for the future. Intriguing, Aziz did not draw a clear Tunisian parallel for the conclusion of the fable in which the ant gets the best of the cicada. But, given what I know of his political opinions, it is reasonable to suspect that he considers the righting of ethical wrongs, as *in media res*, as an on-going process in Tunisia. It would seem that to him the ants, the Tunisian people, are pushing back, exercising their will in the political demonstrations against the imbalances of wealth between the city and the country and calling out Ben Ali and his cronies. In his framing of history, as illustrated allegorically, the decision to listen to *ma'lūf* or to engage with "the Andalusī way of life" is ethically fraught.

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[22] The term *Indigène*, introduced by the French, is extremely derogatory and more offensive than *Berbère.*

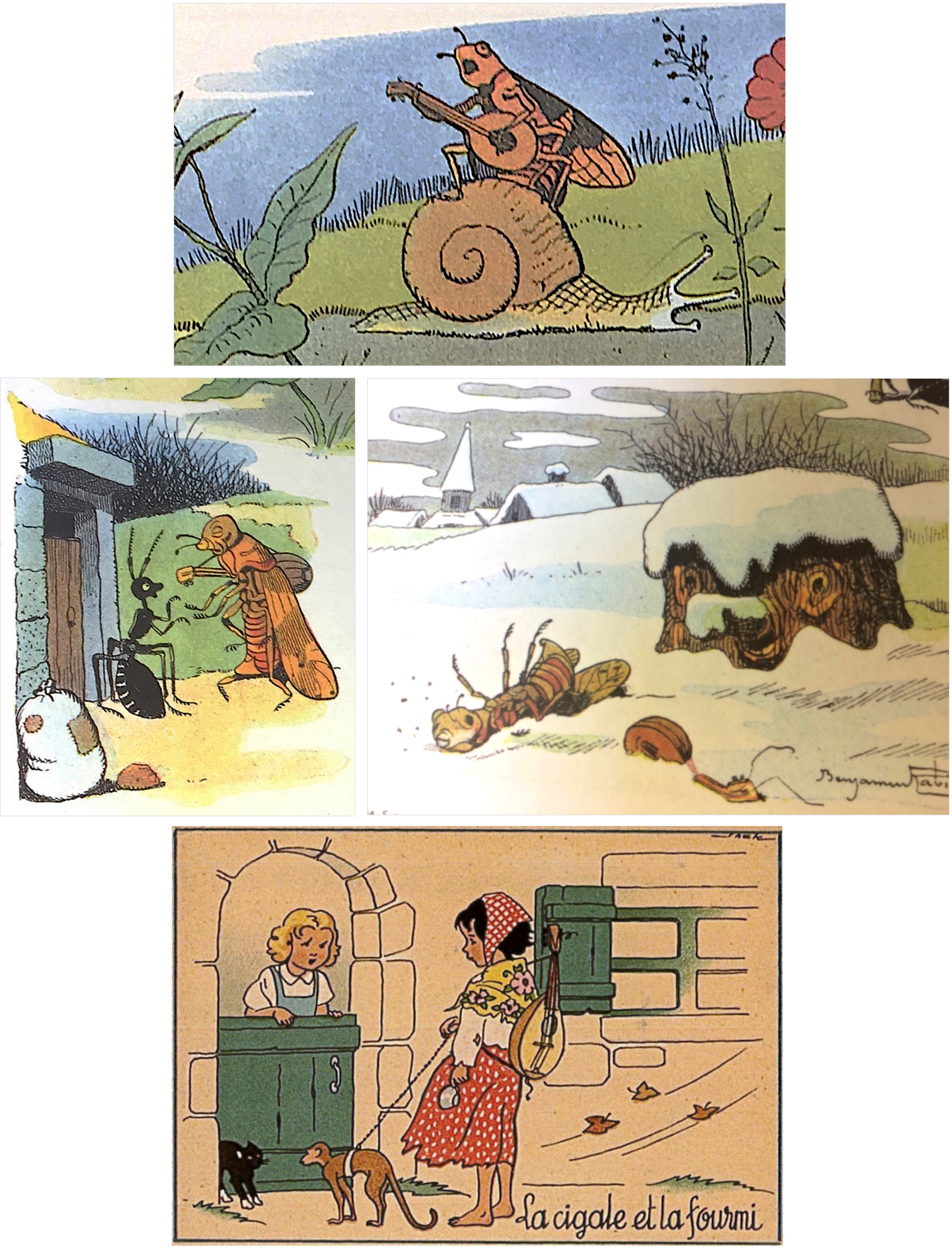
La cigale et la fourmi

Figure 47 Illustration of the fable “La Cigale et la Fourmi,” (“the Cicada and the Ant”): (top) the cicada sings all night, (left) the cicada asks the ant for food during the winter, (right) the cicada perishes and his music along with him (Rabier 2003 [1906]: 5), (bottom) a different approach to illustration of the same fable in which the cicada appears as an itinerant or homeless child, depicted here perhaps as Roma or, Arab, or *Morisco* with her *‘ūd* and monkey. painted in 1947. (Rocher 2015:21).

A Return to Green-ness: the Stars who sang "*Tunis al-Khaḍra*'" for Ben Ali

In my interactions in 2016, Tunisians of a wide range of political leanings and socio-economic, religious, and racial backgrounds expressed general disgust toward all persons who are implicated, as they saw it, in the activities of former president Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali, from his bloodless *coup d'état* in 1987 to his ouster in 2011. These implicated parties, from his lawyers and leading businessmen to distant family members, have been defamed since Ben Ali's flight.[23] Homes of extended family, both Ben Ali's on the former president's side and Trabelsi's on his wife's have been burned, looted, and vandalized;[24] as Perkins documents, "scores of similar 'ruins' across the country [have been] left as reminders of the excess that helped bring on the revolution" (2014: 5). Though to my knowledge they have not come under formal legal investigation, many musicians whose rise to fame and were financially supported by Ben Ali's government have found themselves tainted now in the public eye. While former inner-circle former members of Ben Ali's "RCD" ("Rassemblement Constitutionnel Démocratique," "Democratic Constitutional Assembly") have been systematically removed from governmental roles,[25] the public, to varying degrees, looks askance today at musicians whose careers were jumpstarted with the aid of his regime.

Authoritarianism, Corruption, Cronyism and Nepotism

Musicians formerly employed by Ben Ali's regime are viewed suspiciously by some people today as they are perceived to have presented too 'rosy' a picture of Tunisia to its own people at the behest of an authoritarian regime. These were the people who sang "*Tunis al-Khaḍra*,'" while many parts of the country remained dry, both literally and figuratively. Their willingness to perform light, traditional, or festive music, considered 'apolitical,' is framed by critics as distraction, at best, and complicity, at worst. Tunisian critics accuse these musicians of benefitting from their relation to the regime and looking the other way in the coverup of large-scale corruption that perpetuated gross disparities in the distribution of wealth across the country. As I explore further in Chapter 7, some Tunisians also claim that government officials have used *ma'lūf* as a technique of distraction aimed at quelling critique, dissidence, or insurrection during the late protectorate era and during the independence movement in the twentieth century.

Under Ben Ali, the "green" parts of the country grew greener yet with government support of agriculture, access to clean water, and further development of lucrative tourism infrastructure and employment opportunities (Hazbun 2007/2008). Meanwhile, the "dry" parts of the country, the interior and South, remained as parched as ever, despite repeated reassurance via government-controlled media, emanating from Tunis, that all was well. This was by no means the first time that life in the capital and its wealthy suburbs has stood, metonymically, for the country at large. In the decades immediately following independence, President Habib Bourguiba's projection of the Tunisian citizen was quite clearly homogeneously northern as well as elite, highly educated, coastal, cosmopolitan, Arab/white, and Islamic ideal.

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[23] For instance, Ben Ali's brother-in-law and billionaire businessman, Belhassan Trabelsi was recently arrested in France and has been extradited to Tunisia (Al-Jazeera 2019).

[24] Several journalists and news agencies documented this vandalism and looting in January 2011. See NPR 2011 and Khalaf and Saleh 2011.

[25] See Affief 2011, Amara and Gumuchian 2011, el-Khawas 2012

Half-joking with me, nineteen-year-old Meher told me an alternative meaning of "Tunis al-Khaḍra' " that had grown popular under Ben Ali; "*Tunis al-Khaḍra' bishuqūfāhā*,"[26] he said, implied that Tunis was green with the shattered pieces of empty bottles of Celtia, the national beer corporation, rather than green with lush pastures and orchards. In a relatively "dry" Muslim country, the invocation of so many empties explicitly indexed impiety, economic strife, desperation, and depression. Not only is the government blamed for supporting musical distractions or coverups of the real-world struggles, but it is important to note that under Ben Ali's regime, State controlled radio and TV programing was also strictly censored including explicitly political musical expression, like *mezwid* (Stapley 2006, Davis and Jankowsky 2006, Saidane 2014).

These musicians include, perhaps most notably, Sofia Sadek, an Arab pop music singer, Lotfi Bouchnak – a renowned Tunisian and Arab classical music singer who has recently explored genres as far afield as collaborations with heavy metal musicians[27] – and Zied Gharsa, the preeminent *ma'lūf* musician and composer of traditional-style Tunisian songs today.

When visiting Tunis in the summer of 2013, I attended the Festival de Medina and other summertime performances during *Ramaḍān*. I noted, as many colleagues point out to me, that Gharsa, who had been working closely with the Rashidiyya, was no longer associating with the Rashidiyya ensemble. My colleague, Hatem – a journalist, playwright, and culture critic – told me that Gharsa had been "excused" from his responsibilities there because of his relation to Ben Ali (p.c. 7/11/2013). He and Lotfi Bouchnak had put together a collaborative project, complete with a large instrumental ensemble, and presented their own spectacle for *Ramaḍān*. The two alternated turns singing solos in a friendly competition of virtuosity. Toward the end of their performance they stopped to perform what read to me as a gesture of solidarity with the revolution. Dramatically rising from their seats, one and then the other, they overturned their chairs, and stated that they were for Tunisia, fighting like everyone else, for a free and just society (see Figure 48 below). The audience loudly applauded and cheered in response.

I interpreted Gharsa and Bouchnak's displays as reactions to the publics' concern surrounding their former loyalties and the audience – fans and enthusiasts, given their attendance – appeared moved to believe and encourage them. In 2016, I asked several of my interlocutors what they knew of Gharsa's relationship with the Rashidiyya just after the revolution. The question seemed to make some of them uncomfortable. They replied that Gharsa had taken a few years away from directing the Rashidiyya ensemble to "pursue his own projects" (p.c. Sonia, 4/13/2016) or to establish his own small private conservatories and singing clubs in Carthage and other suburbs of Tunis.

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[26] Literally, "Tunis the green by her potsherds" تونس الخظرة بالشقوفاها

[27] Namely François R. Cambuzat (guitars, computer) and Gianna Greco (bass, effects)

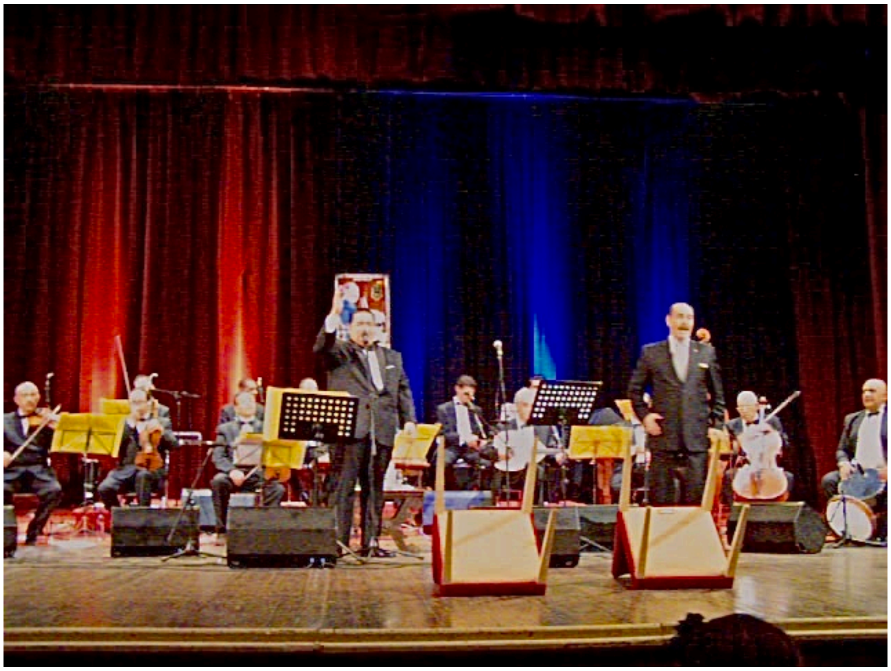

Figure 48 Zied Gharsa (left) and Lotfi Bouchnak (right) tip over their chairs during a performance in 2013. Photograph by the author.

Gharsa has been a well-known and much-admired public figure across the country for more than thirty years. All the same, his relation to Ben Ali has not gone unexamined. This connection was explored briefly, for instance, in a journalistic video news piece[28] that aired on "Hannibal TV" about a year and a half after the revolution. The exposé was composed of an in-depth narrated tour of the royal palace, a building that had previously been entirely off limits to reporters. The narrator harped repeatedly on the excess of the palace, with its several separate *salons de thé* in Arab and French styles, an elaborate in-house health spa, and an enormous private garden.[29] In the office of Leïla Ben Ali, the former president's wife, the narrator opens up the CD magazine of a stereo to discover "Halima," an album of songs in traditional Tunisian styles by Gharsa (see Appendix 3C). Though this 'evidence' invites guilt by association, it is just this sort of mass media-driven rebuke that has shifted public opinion around Gharsa. It is entirely possible that Gharsa, and many others employed by Ben Ali, were simply in the wrong place at the wrong time when the tidal wave of the Dignity Revolution hit land in 2011. To be absolutely clear, to my knowledge, there is no significant evidence that Gharsa accepted bribes or pocketed funds reserved for government projects, accusations that circulated in rumors during my visits in 2013 and 2016.

Gharsa's name remains inarguably synonymous with *ma'lūf* and with generations of expert musicians and nationalist. Despite lingering ambivalence, he is certainly beloved by a wide Tunisian public beyond *ma'lūf* listenership. Gharsa seems, several years on now, to have shed most of the negative associations of his having been employed by Ben Ali. He successfully drifts now between the Rashidiyya and his private conservatory, taking on a wide range of musical projects both tied to government sponsorship and independent from them.

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[28] Hannibal TV, "Tunisie : Le Palais de Sidi Dhrif du président déchu Ben Ali (Sidi Bou Saïd)." Aired on October 6, 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H3z4F16DbRw, last accessed May 6, 2019. See 29 minutes and 20 seconds into the video.

[29] These lands are now open to the public though unattended, vandalized, and full of trash. I explored them with a colleague, who noted the poetic irony of the now dry and withered greenery and empty pools and fountains.

In discussion of the interconnections between Ben Ali's corruption and the successes of certain musicians during his presidency, Hamdi shared two proverbs he considered demonstrative. The first was "*bāt maʿ al-dajāja sabaḥ yaqāqī,*"[30] meaning "he who falls asleep among the chickens wakes up squawking" (p.c. 10/6/2016). He clarified the meaning, that people are influenced – in a bad light, in this instance – such that they become, even without intent, like those around them. They start to sound like them, to imitate them, to agree with them. That is, to use another avian metaphor,[31] that the musicians who surrounded Ben Ali 'parroted' his politics so that all could hear. The second proverb speaks to his perception not only of unequal distribution of wealth, but also to the notion that only a select few benefitted from Ben Ali's policies. The saying went: "*qaṭāṭis Bārdū al-sharr wa'l-khalāʿa*,"[32] meaning "(even) at the Bardo (the Bey's palace), the cats walk around hungry." The proverb implies that even at the center of power,[33] some do not receive their due. These proverbs seem to resonate well within the world of *ma'lūf*, especially given the centuries-old Beylical, colonialist, and nationalist patronage of *Andalusī* music at the Bardo and in Tunis. The association of musicians with the government is nothing new. Hamdi also suggested that some of the "chickens" he alluded to were not musicians, per se, but rather Tunisian musicologists who, he said, published, and re-published exclusively the narratives and histories pre-approved by government bureaucrats.

Sufis and Stars

In many ways, the very concept of a *ma'lūf* musician taking on a role as a public media star is complexly valanced. Certainly, the precedent in the Tunisian case is Salihah, the diva songstress originally from El Kef whose career was jump-started by performances with the Rashidiyya ensemble during the 1930s and 40s. The burgeoning of music recording in Tunisia coincided almost precisely with the lead up to and founding of the Rashidiyya (Davis 1996: 319). Unlike in Egypt, famous Tunisian musicians – most notably Salihah, but also Habiba Msika, Fathiyah Khayri, Aliyyah, Khemais Tarnane, Na'ama, Raoul Journo, Hédi Jouini, Tahar Gharsa, and Zied Gharsa – have covered a wide range of musical styles and genres while closely or more loosely affiliated with the Rashidiyya.[34] Davis has written extensively on how the Tunisian model for musical heritagization differed in this regard from Egypt (1997).[35] Still, *ma'lūf* itself remains in a zone of tension – partially due to the complex histories and conceptual gaps of the twentieth century discussed in Chapters 4 – between categorization as a presentational music requiring extensive expertise on the part of performers and a participatory music of wide appeal and popular knowledge.

Such tensions played out every week at Gharsa's singing club at the Rashidiyya and were sometimes discussed explicitly among club members. Once, as a conversation starter, I asked a middle-aged male participant which artists' performance(s) and rendition(s) of *ma'lūf* he preferred. He paused, so I offered the names of Zied Gharsa, Sonia M'Barek, and Lotfi Bouchnak. He interrupted to respond that he doesn't like any of them, rather that he likes singing with other people in the chorus, not concerts or recorded renditions or new interpretations of the repertoire. For him, *ma'lūf* is the wrong sphere for stardom. Gharsa is certainly famous; given his wide following, I was only somewhat surprised to encounter his image on billboards as an advertising spokesperson for Nisma, one of the most popular cell phone companies (see Figure 49 below). Those who continue to critique Gharsa as an individual unworthy of fame also tend, in my observation, to express discomfort with the very notion of government-sponsored public media stars. That is to say, for some, stars in Gharsa's position are just a recent iteration of centuries-old government schemes of distraction.

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[30] بَات معَ الدَجاجة صَبَح يقاقي

[31] I might also add, *al-tuyūr ʿala āshkāl-hā taqa'u,* "birds of a feather flock together": الطيور على اشكالها تقع

[32] قطاطِس بَاردوالشَرّ والخلاعة

[33] with reference to the Bardo, a well-established physical landmark

[34] See Davis 1996: 319.

[35] For more on the Egyptian model for *turāth* production, see Castelo-Branco 1984 and Thomas 2006.

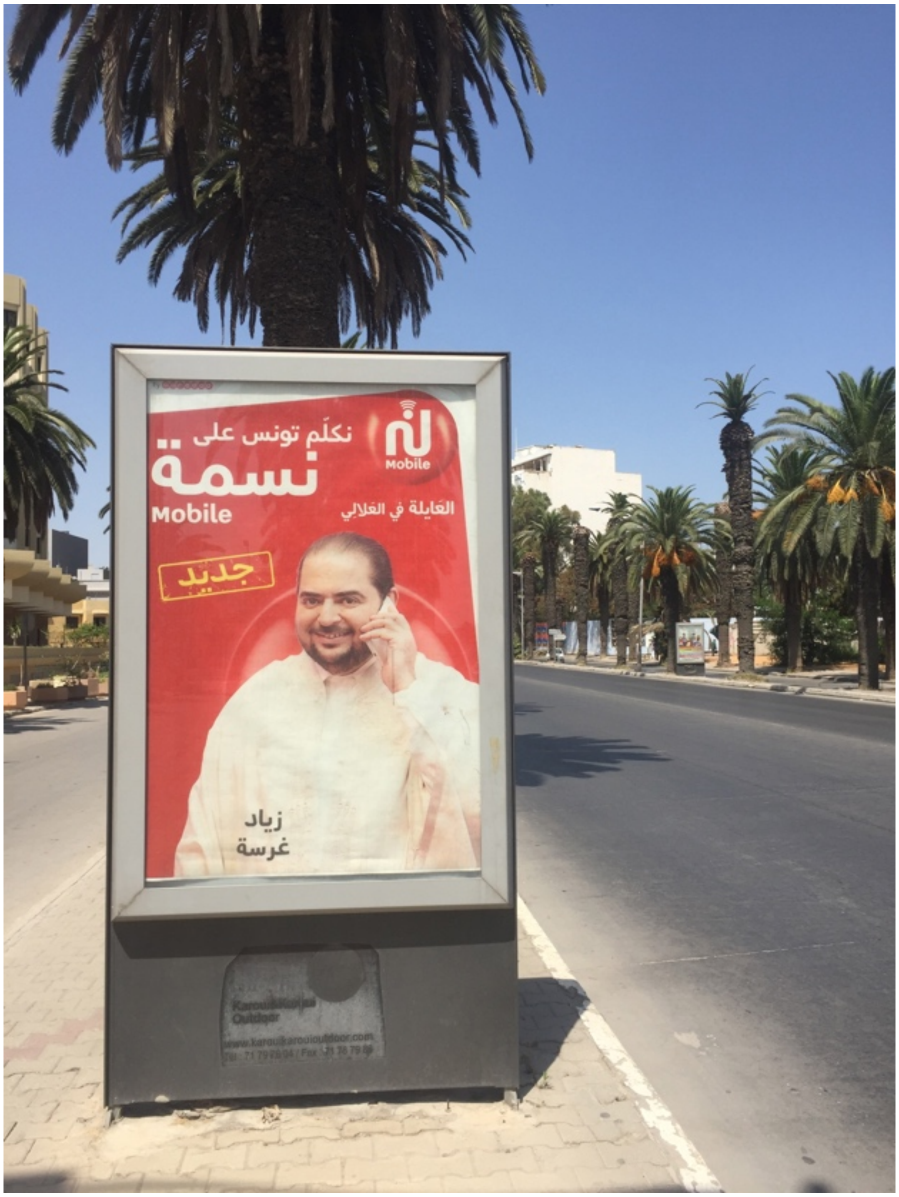

Figure 50 Zied Gharsa in an advertisement for Nisma, a mobile phone service provider in Tunis. Photograph by the author.

Heroes and Antiheroes

With the removal of Ben Ali, Tunisians living in and near the capital have also struggled to re-negotiate their opinions of and relations with former president Bourguiba. As Ben Ali has been cast as a crook a brighter light has shone on Bourguiba's 'progressive' and 'modernizing' agendas during the first decades of Tunisia's independence. Neo-Bourguiba-ism,[36] alive and well in 2016, led to the return of a statue of Bourguiba on a horse to Habib Bourguiba Avenue[37] in Tunis' *Centreville*, the heart of the *ville nouvelle*, just beside the *mungela*, the clock tower dedicated to Ben Ali that occupies the place where the horse stood from 1978 to 1987 (see Figure 50 below).[38] Today, for Tunisians of the capitol, the question of who to lift up seems in part a game of comparison in which no one leader has risen to the position of a true and unequivocal champion of the people.
The contemporary pitting of Ben Ali against Bourguiba in the arena of public opinion is similar to disputes around the documentation, revival, and institutionalization of *ma'lūf*, which has been associated with certain figures. The historical players most often contested by my interlocutors were, Salah El-Mahdi, the first Minister of Culture in newly independent Tunisia (1961-1979), and Baron d'Erlanger, the French colonial painter and *ma'lūf* enthusiast who resided in Sidi Bou Said from 1911 to 1921 (Davis 2001a).

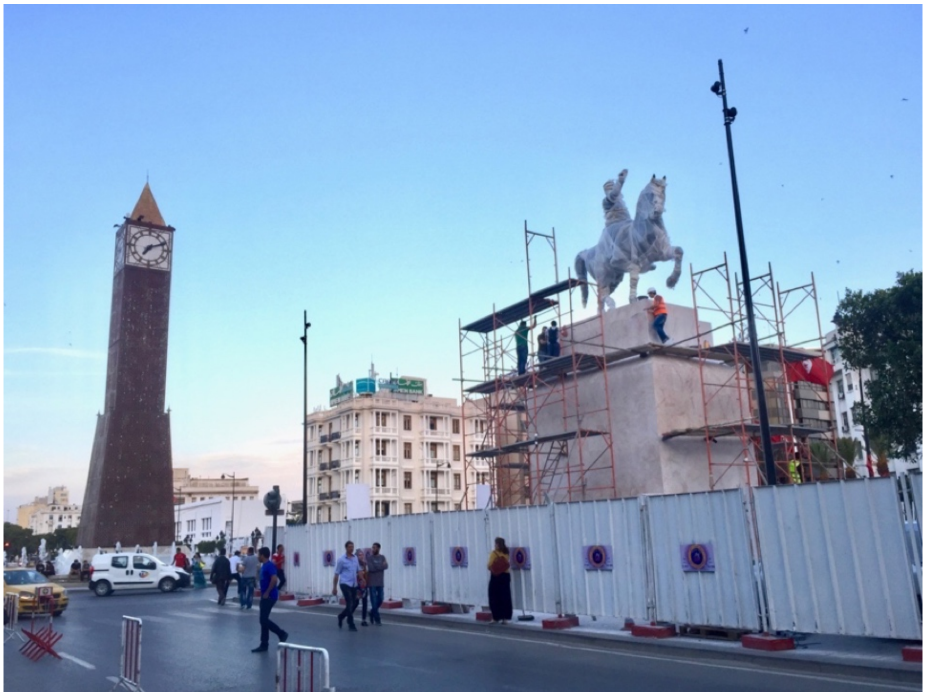

Figure 50 The statue of Habib Bourguiba returns to *centre ville* in the fall of 2016. Photograph by the author.

These ambivalences rose to the surface during a social visit to Ennejma Ezzahra ('The Resplendent Star") – the elaborate *Andalusī*-style palace that had been built for Baron d'Erlanger and his wife in 1921 (Davis 2001a) – accompanied by two Tunisian acquaintances in their early twenties, Emna and

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[36] For more on Bourguibaism, see Brown 2001.

[37] For a history of Habib Bourguiba Avenue and the *ville nouvelle*, see Coslett 1997.

[38] Coslett argues, "Through this compelling juxtaposition, the first president's banishment has been symbolically reversed and his western-style portrait repurposed for the post-revolutionary context, where it once again commemorates Tunisia's liberation from repressive rule."

Nesrine. While walking the grounds together, Nesrine exclaimed proudly how well everything had been preserved. Emna countered by expressing frustration that it was built and owned by a colonial Frenchman and that it was shameful that the Bardo Palace, framed here as belonging to Tunisia(ns) rather than Europeans, was in such a state of disrepair. At least, Emna said, Ennejma Ezzahra, was now owned by the government and open to the public. Later, gazing at d'Erlanger's extensive instrument collection, something in Emna seemed to snap. Upset, a stream of questions bubbled to the surface: How could the man credited with starting the *ma'lūf* revival movement have been French rather than Tunisian? Did he describe and collect Tunisian musicians too, as he had these instruments, appropriating them to satisfy his own curiosity? Why were these Tunisian treasures being hidden away in a colonial building? These were deeply important and difficult questions that hit at the heart of post-colonial cultural meaning-making in Tunisia today. Neither Nesrine nor I had answers to satisfy Emna's queries and space does not allow them they're due here either. Suffice it to say, d'Erlanger is remembered both as a brazen colonialist imposter and as a sincere, well-intentioned advocate for the revival of Tunisian music.

Another pivotal character whose merits and demerits currently hang in the balance of public opinion is Salah El-Mahdi (1925-2014), perhaps the most prominent shaper of the institutionalization and large-scale revival of *ma'lūf* in the twentieth century. In his early years, he studied under Khemais Tarnane at the Rashidiyya where he later become director in 1949. Following a brief foray into law – at which time he became well-known as a music critic under the *nom de plume*, "Ziryab" – he turned his attention toward music composition and become involved in the national radio. Bridging the administrative transition pre- and post-revolution (1956), he went on to become the President of the Department of the Arts, part of the State Ministry for National Education from 1957 to 1961, at which point he took on his famed tenure as the Minister of Culture during the influential period from 1961 to 1979.

Salah El-Mahdi is widely known, even outside of the social circles of music aficionados and professional musicians. Among musicians and amateur enthusiasts, he is, for the most part, remembered with great fondness as a *shaykh*, a devoted educator, a composer, a musicologist, and a staunch advocate for heritage collection and preservation at the musicological and government level. He is said to have written upwards of six hundred compositions – including the melody for the national anthem in 1958 – though this seems perhaps an exaggeration, congruent with his mythic reputation. For contemporary Tunisian musicologist, Fethi Zghonda, his passing in 2014 – along with Tahar Gharsa's death in 2003 – marked the end of an era of *ma'lūf*'s prominence in society and the end of a biographic trajectory of an influential figure that spanned the eras of early nationalism, anti-colonialists, and the presidencies of Bourguiba, Ben Ali, and Marzouki (p.c. 5/20/2016).

But as a figurehead and principal actor in so many national projects, Salah El-Mahdi's works are not without critiques. Especially outside of the capital, his labors of consolidation, standardization, reification, and canonization of the *turāth* at the ministry of culture are viewed by some as heavy-handed and as biased in their favoring of the musical knowledge, styles, and variants of *shuyūkh* of the greater Tunis area over other regional forms. For many of my interlocutors, the formal canonization of these northern, coastal, and urban iterations of the repertoire was a blatant disavowal of the musical history and heritage of other regions, especially those less easily categorized as 'Arab.' As Rim put it, the selection of Tunis-based versions was tied to the persistent problem of the centralization of Tunisian political power in the city of Tunis and the corruption and pooling of wealth and privilege that it perpetuates in *Tunis al-'āṣima*, "Tunis the Capital" (p.c. 8/22/2016 and

11/26/2016). Hamdi expressed similar reservations toward Salah El-Mahdi, describing the choice of one version over others as a "catastrophe" (or a 'disaster') because so much else, so much rich diversity of creative interpretation even *besides* regional particularity, was also lost in the process (p.c. 10/6/2016). In addition to these concerns, the favoring of *ma'lūf* from the greater Tunis area reinforced pre-conceived notions that cosmopolitan urbanites, the *blēdī* of aristocratic *Andalusī* descent, were the sole progenitor's and culture-bearers of the practice. As I explore in Chapter 7, another source of contention contributing to ambivalent sentiment around El-Mahdi are his musical compositions and the role he saw them filling in Tunisian musical patrimony, education, and appreciation.

The following anecdote illustrates, to some degree, his reception as both hero and anti-hero. Walking with me from a *café* in the heart of the medina to a new singing *nādī* which had been gathering on Thursday evenings, Hamdi asked what *nūba* of *ma'lūf* we had been learning. When I responded that we have been working on a *waṣla*[39] of songs in *mahayar 'irāq*, he expressed surprise at hearing we were focusing on a twentieth century composition of Salah El-Mahdi's creation, rather than something from the core (read: pure, ancient material) of the repertory. The origin of the *waṣla* struck me as all the stranger given the justifications that had been voiced for creating the club in the first place – itself a reaction against the *nādī* at the Rashidiyya – to learn and sing together the "real *ma'lūf*."[40] There is much to be said of the historicity of the flexibility, invented-ness, and class politics in the reportorial boundaries of Tunisian *ma'lūf*, but El-Mahdi's incorporation of his own pieces, relatively un-marked (it had not been identified as anything besides *turāth* in our *nādī*) into the cannon raises questions for critics of his right to claim authority. To some, his compositions are just another example of institutionalized control, manipulation, and exclusion at the centralized governmental level.

The inclusion of the suite in the mode *nahawand* in the official fascicles of Tunisian *turāth* music exemplifies El-Mahdi political alignment with pan-Arab nationalism and his understanding of Tunisian heritage (that is, exclusively the *ma'lūf*) as a branch on the tree of Arab music. *La musique arabe* ("The Arab Music"), his book focused on Tunisian music, traces the roots of *ma'lūf* to an "evolution" of the music of the Umayyads (661-750 CE) and the great "Islamic music" of Baghdad (1972: 6-7). In his book and other writings, he takes as a basic assumption that Tunisian art music has direct parallels in Middle Eastern forms. It is this supposition of a one-to-one relationship, the idea that direct parallels *can* be drawn, that allows him to apply *Sharqī* terminology like *maqām* (rather than *ṭaba'*) and *waṣla* (rather than *nūba*) to Tunisian music.[41] For musicians and listeners for whom it is the particularity and localized nuances of Tunisian *ma'lūf* that make it special – its history of hybridity and multi-ethnic mixing, for instance – these Middle East-North Africa comparisons become not only aesthetically tenuous at times, but politically sticky as well. While you would be hard-pressed to find a Tunisian musician who does not credit Salah El-Mahdi with important, even essential work to maintain and perpetuate *ma'lūf*, he is, like Baron d'Erlanger, remembered ambivalently as a hero and as an anti-hero.

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[39] Note, *waṣla* is heavily coded as a Middle Eastern musical concept, rather than North African.

[40] See Chapter 7 for my discussion of Fatma's *nādī* and its goals.

[41] He is by no means alone in this project in Tunisia or the Arab World.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, *ma'lūf*'s forms of ethical speech are discursively and politically intertwined, from the *khiṭāb al-ma'lūf*, the speech between the stock characters that live within the lyrics, to the *ḥadīth al-Ma'lūf*, mythical associations and magical stories, to the *amthāl al-ma'lūf*, proverbs that are said to have originated in the music and other sayings that circulate about the efficacies and ethical obligations of musicking and listening. Relations between morality and *ma'lūf* performance, listening, and stardom have been all the more complicated by post-2011 critiques of musicians who have been called out for singing "*Tunis al-Khaḍra*" in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s as distraction from worsening economic and political situations in the country. For some though, there is nothing new or paradoxical at work, because, as Aziz might put it, they know that crickets cannot help themselves from singing all night long. Critics say, when the winter comes, so to speak, we will see if the ants will continue to hand over the fruits of their labors. It is possible that, in the end, "*dhayl al-kalb 'omruhu ma yata'addal*,[42] "a dog's tail will never straighten."

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[42] ذيل الكلب عمره ما يتعدّل

CHAPTER 7. LISTENING THROUGH AND AGAINST *MA'LŪF*

…no law is in a position to constrain our listening: freedom of listening is as necessary as freedom of speech.

— Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms* (Trans. Howards 1985: 260).

Listening Acts

In Chapters 1 through 6, I have traced out the historical movements, places, contexts, politics, and historiographic framings that have shaped twentieth- and twenty-first-century *ma'lūf* listening practices. I have also considered the ways in which music listening is embedded in/with dynamic social feedback structures where listening itself engages power to produce and de-construct, as well as to articulate and affect change. The thrust of this dissertation lies in the argument that intentional music listening is productive, that enculturated and honed listening skills enable transportative, transformative, creative, and interventionist actions. It is from this supposition that I demonstrate, in this final chapter, an array of "listening acts," political engagements structured and conveyed by/during listening. "Listening acts" are defined here as actions that follow from or are enacted in explicit critical and ethical audition of *ma'lūf*. Inspired by Deborah Kapchan's recent body-centered authorship (2017: 277) and presentations (SEM 2017, AAA 2017) on "listening acts," I too ask: "What changes when ways of listening, like ways of speaking, are recognized as social events" (277)?

My engagement with listening at the levels of object of study, method of study, and theoretical framework pushes the question: in the fallout of a revolution, what forms of political or ethical power are enacted in active and critical modalities of listening? How has revolution shaped *ma'lūf* listening practices? On the ground, how may idiosyncratic, oppositional, or novel interpretations of *ma'lūf* be interpreted also as countering negative authoritarian and/or colonial acts? At a critical distance, what listening acts stand out, to me or to Tunisians, as significant interventions? In continuation of the queries posed of acoustics and acoustemology in Chapter 3, how does recognition of audition as contingent upon reflective bodies (human or architectural) point to the significance of unlikely or overlooked actors? Relatedly, what role do histories and identities – especially those embedded in geographic places – play in the reproduction or dissolution of hegemonies of normative listening practices? What particular acoustemologies, sound knowledge, and histories of listening are re-animated in critical and creative listening acts today?

To recognize listening as active and intentional positions auditors as political actors.[1] It is in this way that, as Charles Hirschkind has similarly put it, listening is also "a doing" (2006: 34). "Intentional acts of audition," as Roland Barthes also describes, are active because, in a way, "listening speaks" (1985: 258-9). Shifting attention away from musicians as producers of art[2] and audience members as consumers provides new space to consider relations and interaction at many scales. Such a space provides enough room for the Tunisian public to fill the length of Habib Bourguiba Avenue. It opens up more nuanced conversations about how "what the people want" (*al-sha'b yurīd*) – whether the "the fall of the regime" (*isqāṭ al-niẓām*) or something else – is encoded, I argue, in behaviors as subtle as the movements and gestures of festival attendees, their choices of wardrobe, and their interest in joining performers in song.[3] These "listening acts," including the experiences and behaviors of listening in real time and the actions, convictions, and opinions that they inform, emerge from individual experience and daily practice but also, as I have theorized in my previous chapter, from shared historical, cultural, and geographic imaginaries and the sentiments that accompany them (Chapter 1), from the socio-sensory affective experiences in *jaww al-ma'lūf* (Chapter 2), from inter-generational acoustemologies structured by the imposition of "contextual gaps" (Chapter 3), and from listenings framed by popular ethical wisdom and rhetoric (Chapter 4).

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[1] This approach is similar to that of Christopher Small's concept of "musicking" (1998), which I have used throughout this dissertation.

[2] *al-fannān*, the most common term for musician literally means "the artist."

In this dissertation I claim that it is worthwhile to pay attention, to listen – both figuratively and phenomenologically – to the nuanced and articulate interpretations of music history and interventions that are currently emerging from the listening experience of some engaged and engaging Tunisians. These creative and critical approaches are best understood, I argue, in relation to what I have described as well-worn hegemonies of normativity, which I explain in the first section of this chapter. In this chapter, I highlight, as many Tunisians have for me, acutely problematic cases of involuntary listening, today and in the past. These situations must be framed, I argue, as tied to forms of systematic oppression in Tunisia, especially French colonial influence and Tunisian authoritarian control.[4] Privileging listening as a site of analysis positions the body and its contextual environs – social, environmental, and cultural – as sites where subjective politics of access and freedom play out. As Kapchan asks: "Listening is a political act; who has the right to listen? Whose listening is curtailed?" (2017: 278). Whereas sonic competition within soundscapes, especially urban ones, has been debated extensively in the Arab world, I aim in this chapter and the dissertation at large, to move beyond questions of 'private' and 'public' and 'natural' and 'anthropogenic' to examine the sometimes subtle play of power in "voluntary" and "involuntary" listening, especially in the constitution of national(ist) subjects. I add to Kapchan's questions: Who is being *forced* to listen and what exactly is being forced upon them?

In what follows, I will explore examples of listening acts as modes of "listening through" or "listening against" *ma'lūf*. Broadly conceived, acts of listening through *ma'lūf* reproduce hegemonic, normative, top-down, heavily institutionalized, and standardized sound knowledge. Listening through *ma'lūf* follows from the acoustemological history of authoritarian measures of control: preservation through museum-ifaction; nationalization as centralization, standardization, and homogenization; transcription as objectification; and commodification of *ma'lūf* as a primary means toward heritagization. Acts of "listening against" *ma'lūf*, on the other hand, describe oppositional approaches to the official historical narrative and canonization; efforts toward continuity and appreciation that, for the most part, take place outside of government-controlled institutional contexts; and acts that work toward increasing access, participation, and education to expand the demographics of the Tunisian listening public.

While theorizing listening through and listening against may at first blush point to or reify a binary dichotomy, realities of listening 'on the ground' and close examination of the politics of competing acoustemologies for *ma'lūf* listening demand a more ambiguous and complex formulation. I have established the etic categorical spheres of listening through and listening against here as a model to aid in the elucidation of diverse and complex approaches to listening and listening acts that currently exist within the social political field. By focusing on approaches and actions rather than publics or parties, my goal is to allow individuals and groups to retain their fluidity and flexibility to perform any number of roles or positions. To clarify my terms, acts of listening against are oppositional toward normative structures of sound knowledge — they do not act 'against' *ma'lūf* itself. There are, of course, those who argue for disengagement with *ma'lūf* altogether; I address their positions in the section "Listening Elsewhere or Why Not to Listen" at the end of this chapter.

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[3] Besides *dégage!* (French, "get out"), the primary chant of protestors during the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions was *al-sha'b yurīd isqāṭ al-niẓām*, meaning "the people want the fall of the regime." For more on this history of this slogan and its recent usage, see Colla 2012.

[4] Here I refer to the presidencies of Habib Bourguiba (1956-1987) and Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (1987-2011).

Finally, not only are listening through and listening against non-binary, mutable, and not mutually-exclusive, but the histories and acoustemologies that inform listening against are similarly subjective, plastic, and debatable. Take for instance the famous instance of Mohamed Triki's critical and creative listening act in his first transcription project at the Rashidiyya in the 1930s. As the story goes, in Davis' retelling, Triki sat among a circle of notable *shuyūkh* from different towns across Tunisia and listened to each play parallel phrases of the *nūbāt* in turn. Then, he chose his favorite phrase from each round and transcribed that version as the definitive form.[5] In a way, from the position of critically-distanced scholarly analysis today, Triki's was a seminal listening act that bore with it the formative material of the official narrative of the history of *ma'lūf*. It was a key event in the consolidation, systematization, and standardization of *ma'lūf* performance and listening practice and, in that sense, an act of listening through *ma'lūf*. However, considered in a different light, Triki's was also an enactment of listening against the potential for alienation as consequence of particularism; through his effort, musicians could play together[6] using an agreed-upon unifying and definitive version of the Tunisian repertoire. In this sense, his listening act was a radical act of inclusion, of hybridity, however much it has also been considered as an act of violence in its disavowal of diverse authentic forms. Indeed, it is these ambiguous and multivalent listening acts that perpetuate the relational tensions around certain figures like Baron d'Erlanger and Salah El-Mahdi that I discussed in the Chapter 6.

Other extremely important questions surround, as I have explored in previous chapters, the 'true' or 'original' nature of *ma'lūf* as either (1) a music of the social elite, or as (2) a music once popularly enjoyed until it was appropriated by social elites (and then the government) for private consumption. I posit a mixed middle ground, however, that the historical practitioners and audiences of *ma'lūf*'s two somewhat separate forms (*ma'lūf al-judd* and *ma'lūf ḥazl*)[7] belonged to a broader public, in the case of *ma'lūf al-judd*, and to a select elite, in the case of *ma'lūf ḥazl*.[8] With the blending of various elements of each branch over the course of the twentieth century into undifferentiated '*ma'lūf*,' tensions between its elite and popular connotations[9] play out in a variety of acts 'though' and 'against.'

Keeping in mind that models are only as good as they are useful, I propose listening through and listening against as a framework for pinpointing and thereby better understanding the political and rhetorical projects that take place in contemporary music listening. In the first section, "Listening Through *Ma'lūf*: Hegemonic Normativity," I identify key historical moments in the constitution of the standard narrative of *ma'lūf*'s history and, in turn, the constitution of the normative listening subject. Next, in "Listening Against, Questioning, Challenging, Critiquing, Reclaiming," I analyze a series of listening acts in order to demonstrate a variety of ways that Tunisians are working to counter and complicate *ma'lūf*'s standard narrative, acts that they consider to be in line with more ethical modes of listening engagement. For my interlocutors, the goals of these listening acts are (1) bettering the quality of performances, (2) improving access to education, (3) remembering Jewish musicians, (4) re-charting maps and revising narratives, (5) re-populating the *ma'lūf* through amateur enthusiast singing clubs, (6) contributing innovations and additions to the repertoire, and (7) choosing to listen elsewhere.

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[5] Davis tells this tale in detail (1986: 105-7)

[6] This is not to say that musicians from different geographic areas were not able to play together previously, especially given that regional versions were, as I've heard them described, mutually-intelligible enough to afford inter-regional collaboration, however historically infrequent.

[7] See Chapter 4 for more on these forms.

[8] One should not forget, however, the historical performance of *ma'lūf* performance in public contexts as well, especially in *café* settings (see Chapter 4).

[9] See also Davis 1996 for an examination of *ma'lūf's* "Popular" and "Art music" dimensions.

Listening Through *Ma'lūf*: Hegemonic Normativity

The events of the 1930s – considered a golden decade for Tunisian music – pose a fascinating panoply of divergent and sometimes seemingly contradictory approaches to the revival of Tunisian *ma'lūf*. These events set important groundwork for the normalization of what would become the socially 'appropriate' ways for sophisticated audiences to listen to *ma'lūf* as Tunisian national heritage after independence. In this section, I begin with a close examination of a historic document that illustrates some early attempts to control and shape *ma'lūf* listening practice: a letter from the Prime Ministry of the French Protectorate written in 1935 to the regional administration leaders (*qāda*, singular *qā'id*, French transliteration *caïd*). I situate the edict called for in the letter among the various other cotemporaneous approaches of French colonialists and Tunisian elites,[10] who were the early movers and shakers of the Destour party, a group which would go on to become the Neo-Destour, an anti-colonial independence party. Continuing my focus on the top-down mediation of *ma'lūf* listening practice, I turn then to discuss the precedents set by early audio recording, protectorate-era radio broadcasting, and Bourguiba-era regimes of listening, all of which have influenced the modes of listening through *ma'lūf* that are engaged today.

On August 8th, 1935, a memo was written in French, later translated into Arabic,[11] from the office of the Prime Ministry of the French Protectorate[12] to the *Caïds*, *Kahias*, and *Khalefats*, a system of Arabophone bureaucracy that existed alongside a parallel Francophone bureaucracy; together, the two branches composed the colonial administration leadership in the Protectorate of Tunisia (see Figure 51 below). In short, the letter expressed a rather strongly-worded request that local owners of "Moorish cafés" purchase a particular set of five gramophone recording of *ma'lūf* and Tunisian songs and that they play it at their *cafés* for their clientele. The order had come, as the letter explains, from a decision voted upon by the Grand Council (*Grand Conseil*), a body of sixty-six members composed of a "French Section" of forty-four Frenchmen and a *Section Indigène* ("Tunisian Section") of eighteen socially elite Tunisians representing different geographic regions (of Muslims), the chamber of commerce, agriculture, and the Jewish public.

As the letter describes, the idea of the recording's dissemination and the allocation of funds for its recording had originally been proposed by the *Section Indigène* and ratified by the French Section.

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[10] These Tunisian elites included merchants, artisans, upper-class ulema, and community leaders (Pandey 2005: 27). The Neo-Destour sought to expand its base by reaching out in working-class class neighborhoods and "provincial towns" to small merchants and artisans (Perkins 2014: 101). The Neo-Destour grew more powerful by including the Tunisian Trade Organization (UCTT) in 1945 and the Artisan and Commercial Union (UTAC) in 1946 (35).

[11] I deduced this order of operations based upon the layout of the page and in consultation with Rebecca Gruskin, a historian who has worked extensively with French protectorate documents from the same era in Tunisia.

[12] That is, *al-Wizāra al-kubrā /al-Ma'āla al-Tunisiyya /al-Ḥimāya al-Faransawiyya*

The French reads: “*la Section Tunisienne de cette assemblée a émis le vœu de voir conserver la musique tunisienne ancienne en l'arrachant à l'oubli et en lui évitant l'emprise de la musique occidentale*” or “the Tunisian section of this assembly expressed the wish to see ancient Tunisian music preserved by pulling it out of oblivion and by preventing occidental (Western) music from holding sway over it.” The Arabic translation, presumably written to better communicate the message to the local administration who were less well versed in French language, uses some tellingly different terminology: “*hifẓ al-aghānī al-Tunisiyya al-qadīma wa-talāfīhā min al-ihmāl wa-intishālahā min ta'thīr al-mūsīqā al-gharbiyya*,”[13] meaning that the Tunisian Section agreed they wanted to “preserve the old Tunisian songs, remove them from neglect, and rescue them from the influence of Western Music.” Where the French verbiage references the abstract irrevocable threat of “oblivion,” the Arabic interpretation calls out actors and seemingly areas of the country[14] who had neglected their responsibility, who were guilty of having abandoned the repertoire by the wayside. This seems a dig not only at the bourgeoning listenership of early popular music recordings in greater Tunis, but a shaming also of working-class and impoverished areas of the protectorate (read: the interior), where the cosmopolitan virtues and tastes of the capital never seemed to take hold. In reality, the vast majority of these places had no local history of *ma'lūf* to speak of that *could* have been “forgotten.”

The French and Arabic continue similarly to instruct *qāda* to “recommend” to local owners of *cafés* that they purchase a set of recordings of singer Zmorda 'Algiyya and her orchestra, which had recently been successfully recorded in France. It is clear from the French phrasing that the recordings were funded and executed by explicit permission of the Grand Council, intended to “*répandre parmi le public*,” to “disseminate [the songs] among the public” or “*nasharahā bayn al-'umūm*,”[15] to “promulgate them among the public.” A comparison of the wording used in the French and Arabic to describe the instruction to *café* owners is especially telling. The French instructs gently, referring again to “*oubli*,” “oblivion”:

> “Etant donné l'utilité envisagée par la Section Tunisienne de G^d [Grand] Conseil, je vous prie de la faire comprendre aux tenanciers des cafés maures de votre circonscription et de leur ~~demander~~ recommander, sans les contraindre, de se procurer ces disques et de les mettre dans leur repertoire [sic]…Vous leur ferez comprendre qu'il serait convenable de conserver la musique arabe et de ne pas la laisser tomber dans l'oubli” [crossed-out words, sic].
>
> “Given the usefulness [of the disks] planned by the Tunisian Section of the Grand Council, I ask you to please inform the managers of the Moorish cafes in your district of [this usefulness] and ~~ask of them~~ recommend to them, without forcing them (sans les contraindre), to procure these disks and add them to their repertoire. You will inform them that it would be proper [moral implications] to preserve Arab music and not let it fall into oblivion” [crossed-out words, sic].

The Arabic translation of the final sentence reads: *wa-innamā tafhamūnahum annahu min al-munāsib al-ihtifāẓ 'alā al-mūsīqā al-'arabiyya lā tarkuhā fī zawāyā ~~al-ihmāl~~ al-nisyān*”[16] meaning “it would be appropriate to safeguard Arab music, not leaving it in the corners of ~~neglect~~

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[13] “حفظ الاغاني التونسية القديمة وتلافها [sic] من الاهمال وانتشالها من تاثير [sic] الموسيقى الغربية”

[14] Here I have interpreted “*where* it is neglected” to mean areas of the country because this letter was meant to be dispatched across the various regions. It is possible that “where” may have implied contexts for *ma'lūf* performance and listening, like *cafés*.

[15] نشرها بين العموم

[16] وانما تفهمونهم انه من المناسب الاحتفاظ على الموسيقى العربية لا تركها في زوايا ~~الاهمال~~ النسيان

forgetfulness." Note that where "oubli" ("oblivion") appears for the second time in the French, the author of the Arabic – thinking better of " (الاهمال) *al-ihmāl* " neglect, which he had previously written – crossed it out and replaced it with "(النسيان) *al-nisyān*," "forgetfulness," a translation closer to "oubli." Though this wording – "forgetfulness" rather than "neglect" – seems to lessen the blow on blame-worthy parties, the author still uses the Arabic used the term "(تركها) *tarkuhā*,"[17] meaning "leaving it," which bears clear connotations of *willful* negligence or abandonment.

What becomes clear from comparing the gently-worded French and strongly-worded Arabic directives is *who* is to blame, in the mind of the author, for the current listening catastrophe in *café*s, the situation that warranted the need for the intervention of governing powers, upon whom the onus of curatorial responsibility falls heaviest. As it reads, it is the Tunisians who must rescue *ma'lūf* from themselves. It is interesting to compare these senses of responsibility with Baron d'Erlanger's major writings published, posthumously[18] in the same year (1935). Though his book, *La Musique Arabe*, is replete with dictates for Tunisian musical cultural preservation, he also suggests in his earlier 1917 article that French colonialists could pose a threat to traditional practice of the musical indigenous arts and that theirs should be a relatively hands-off involvement.[19]

Beyond word choices, there is every reason to believe that this memo was, indeed, sent out to regional authorities and that many *café* owners – likely especially those in the greater Tunis area with easier access – did purchase and play the recordings and possibly play them for their clientele. The timing of this decree for enforced *ma'lūf* listening is extremely interesting as the edict came less than a year after the Rashidiyya was founded on November 3rd, 1934. The Rashidiyya, established by highly educated and socially elite Tunisian artists, political figures, and other elites based in greater Tunis, was a major effort toward the national revival of traditional music, centered on *ma'lūf*. Only later did the Rashidiyya become an extension of the anti-colonial resistance of the Neo-Destour party (also founded in 1934).

Though established by Tunisians and musicians like Khemais Tarnane, in its earliest incarnation, the founding of the Rashidiyya was largely motivated by the same imperatives as overtly colonial projects spearheaded by the protectorate government, the preservation and revival of traditional arts threatened in the face of modernity. Baron d'Erlanger had been hugely influential in the revival movement and in many other ways smoothed the way for the establishment of the Rashidiyya. Most significantly, though he was too ill to attend the international Cairo Congress on Arab Music in 1932, he played a major role in organizing the event and sent a troupe of top Tunisian *ma'lūf* musicians under the care of Syrian musician Shaykh 'All al-Darwīsh (Davis 2001b: 556). Though the Rashidiyya is now considered a bastion of national cultural pride and considered as essentially Tunisian to its core, in many ways its early twentieth-century musical preservation goals matched the French protectorate regime's. Nationalist – in the sense of the early 1930s – was certainly *not* synonymous with anti-colonial.

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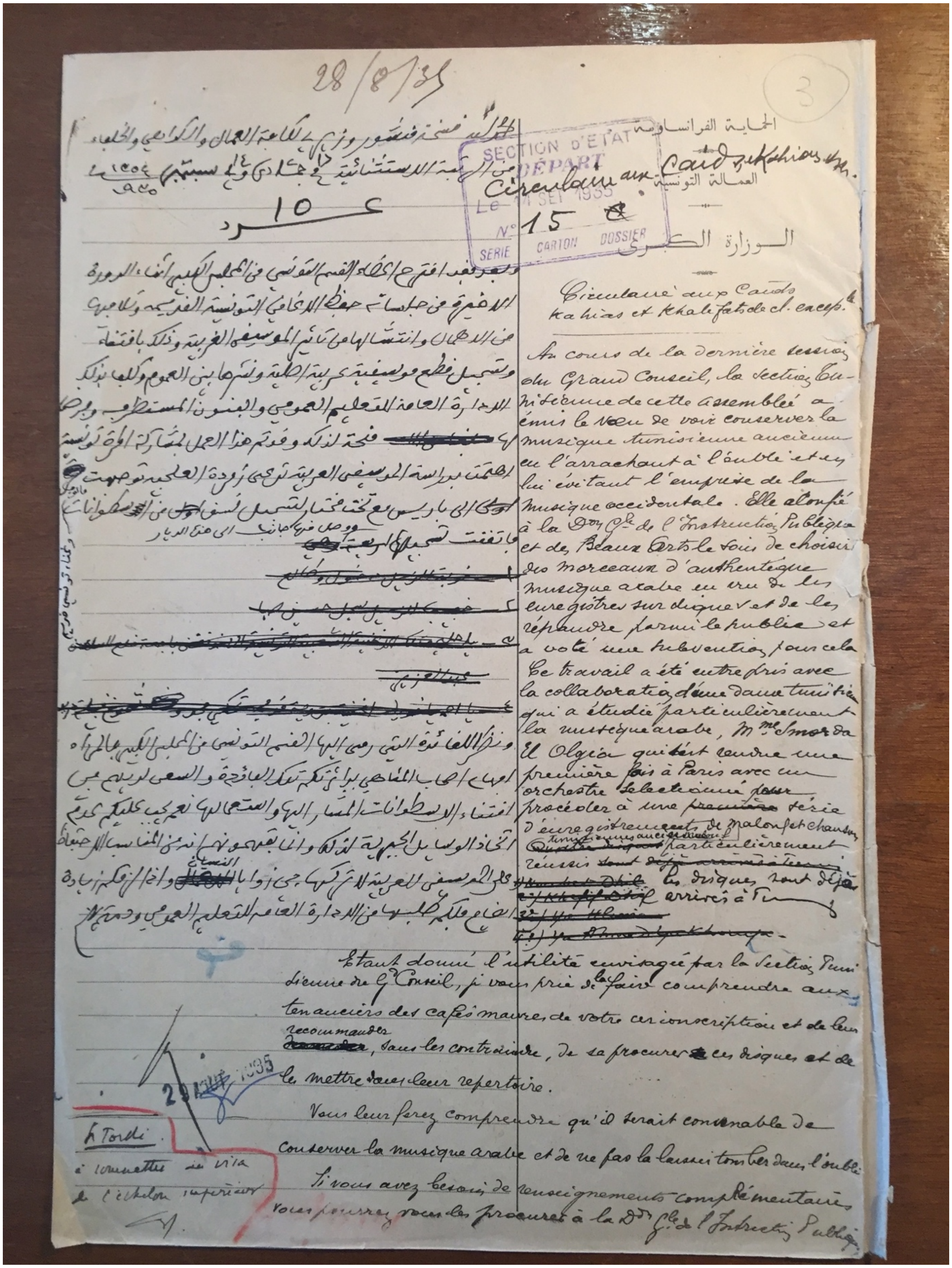
[17] See the Hans Wehr dictionary for its other meanings: omission, neglect, relinquishment, abandonment, etc.

[18] Baron d'Erlanger died in 1932.

[19] "We [Europeans] must, therefore, give up the hope of professing (preaching) [our] music to the Arabs, they will never look for our own and we cannot conceive of theirs. The teaching of European teachers in music schools should therefore not include Arab students. On the other hand, we should encourage, by all means, musical education by the Arab masters, give the musicians every opportunity to show their talents; it will be a joy for the natives (*Indigènes*) and a new attraction for the foreigners who come to Tunisia" (d'Erlander 1917: 35).



28/8/35

3

الحماية الفرانساوية
العمالة التونسية
الوزارة الكبرى

SECTION D'ETAT
DÉPART
Le 14 SEPT 1935
N° 15
SERIE CARTON DOSSIER

Circulaire aux Caïds, Kahias, Kh.

الحمد لله نسخة منشور وزيري لكافة العمال والكواهي والخلفاء
من الرتبة الاستثنائية في ١٦ جمادى و١٤ سبتمبر سنة ١٣٥٤ ١٩٣٥

عدد ١٥

وبعد فقد اقترح اعضاء القسم التونسي في المجلس الكبير اثناء الدورة الاخيرة من جلساته حفظ الاغاني التونسية القديمة وحمايتها من الاهمال والانتشال من تاثير الموسيقى الغربية وذلك باقتناء وتسجيل قطع موسيقية عربية اصلية ونشرها بين العموم وكلف بذلك الادارة العامة للتعليم العمومي والفنون المستظرفة و[illegible] لها ~~[illegible]~~ منحة لذلك وقد تم هذا العمل بمشاركة امرأة تونسية اهتمت بدراسة الموسيقى العربية هي زوجة [illegible] توجهت الى باريس مع تخت مختار للتسجيل [illegible] من الاسطوانات فاتفقت تسجيل ~~[illegible]~~ ووصل فيها جانب الى هذه الديار

~~[illegible]~~

~~[illegible]~~

~~[illegible]~~

~~عبد العزيز~~

~~[illegible]~~

ونظرا للفائدة التي رمى اليها القسم التونسي من المجلس الكبير فالمرجو اعلام اصحاب المقاهي بدائرتكم تلك الفائدة والسعي لديهم في اقتناء الاسطوانات المشار اليها والاستعمال لها نعم يجب عليكم عدم اتخاذ الوسائل الجبرية لذلك وان تفهموهم انه من المناسب الاعتناء بالموسيقى العربية لا تركها حتى تزول ~~[illegible]~~ بالنسيان واذا لزمكم زيادة ايضاح فلكم طلبها من الادارة العامة للتعليم العمومي ودمتم

Circulaire aux Caïds
Kahias et Khalifats de cl. excep.le

Au cours de la dernière session du Grand Conseil, la section Tunisienne de cette assemblée a émis le vœu de voir conserver la musique tunisienne ancienne en l'arrachant à l'oubli et en lui évitant l'emprise de la musique occidentale. Elle a confié à la Don Gle de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux Arts le soin de choisir des morceaux d'authentique musique arabe en vue de les enregistrer sur disques et de les répandre parmi le public et a voté une subvention pour cela. Ce travail a été entrepris avec la collaboration d'une dame tunisienne qui a étudié particulièrement la musique arabe, Mme Smorda El Olgia qui s'est rendue une première fois à Paris avec un orchestre sélectionné ~~pour~~ procéder à une ~~première~~ série d'enregistrements de malouf et chansons tunisiennes anciennes ~~Quatre disques~~ particulièrement réussis ~~sont déjà arrivés à Tunis~~ ~~[illegible]~~ les disques sont déjà arrivés à Tunis ~~[illegible]~~

Étant donné l'utilité envisagée par la Section Tunisienne du Gd Conseil, je vous prie de la faire comprendre aux tenanciers des cafés maures de votre circonscription et de leur ~~[illegible]~~ recommander, sans les contraindre, de se procurer ces disques et de les mettre dans leur répertoire.

Vous leur ferez comprendre qu'il serait convenable de conserver la musique arabe et de ne pas la laisser tomber dans l'oubli.

Si vous avez besoin de renseignements complémentaires vous pourrez vous les procurer à la Don Gle de l'Instruction Publique.

29 1935

M. Tordi
à soumettre au visa de l'échelon supérieur

Figure 51 The memo – dated 1935 – from the office of the Prime Ministry of the French Protectorate to the "*Caïds, Kahias,* and *Khalefats*" written in French (right side of page) and later translated into Arabic (left side of page).

Zmorda ‘Algiyya, the singer recorded on the disks, is briefly mentioned in several more recent secondary documents, providing some intriguing angles on the story, through poorly supported by primary evidence. In his book on the economic and bureaucratic history of the French protectorate administration and the Rashidiyya – *Nisha’a al-Rashidiyya* (2014) – Mukhtar al-Mushtīri reproduces a scan of the 1935 memo (housed in the Tunisian National Archive) and discusses Zmorda ‘Algiyya in some detail. In al-Mashtiri’s history, “Zmorda ‘Algiyya’s” given name is identified as Madam Farida Khiyyat, wife to Dr. David Khiyyat. She was “a gentlewoman from the highest of Tunisian families and a talented artist (al-Mushtīri 2014: 134).” They were a couple of high social stature and Dr. Khiyyat was a member of the Tunisian Jewish minority council. She had studied *al-musīqa al-Sharqiyya* (Middle Eastern music) closely and wanted to become involved in “the movement to preserve Tunisian heritage” (134). She was known not only for her performances in the city’s fanciest *salons* but also for her *majlis fannī* – a parlor for musical performances in her home, to the best of my estimation – and patronage of many well-known *ma’lūf* musicians, many of whom were also performing with/for Baron d’Erlanger’s musical meetings. ‘Algiyya saw herself, al-Mashtiri writes, carrying on d’Erlanger’s mission in the revival of the ancient Tunisian music and she many have drawn upon some of his records. Though al-Mashtiri does not further contextualize or explain the 1935 memo, he mentions that she did appeal to the administration to “give her yearly funds claiming [here it's a suspicious claim] that she would undertake refining Tunisian songs” and that “the director of education decided to financially help her” (2014: 134). There is no mention that she traveled to France to make the recordings.

Lura JaFran Jones mentions ‘Algiyya as one of only two women (the other being Shāfiya Rushdī) known to have been involved, in any role, in the founding and early years of the Rashidiyya. ‘Algiyya, JaFran Jones writes, was the wife of a Jewish doctor (note the elite class association of his employment) who – by way of “a financial scheme” masterminded in cahoots with an influential friend in “the culture establishment” – “shamed” the French administration into paying for the recording of her music in France as a project of the Rashidiyya itself (1987: 76). Jones suggests that it was ‘Algiyya’s “musical incompetence” – that is, her poor musicianship – that necessitated the scheme to travel abroad to get recorded in the first place (76).

This kernel of the story is similarly described and further elaborated in an article published by ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Massaoudi in a Tunisian Arabic-language news publication, *al-Shurūq*,[20] as part of a memorial piece published in honor of Saleh El-Mahdi upon his death in 2014. Here, it is extrapolated that the plot was in fact engineered by professor Mustafa Safar, who seized upon some of the extra money (originally 20,000 francs) remaining after the government-funded project to bring Shaykh Ali Darwish to Tunisia to give music classes. A Mr. Gau, the “director of exhibitions,” managed to assist ‘Algiyya in retrieving the funds for the recording and she and her ensemble, including Khemais Tarnane, Mohamed Ghanem, and Jewish instrumentalists – violinist Khailo al-Saghir and *qānūn* player, Masoud Bahib – traveled to record in France. Upon their return, however, the recordings were not well received, it seems, leaving Professor Safar insulted by ‘Algiyya’s “unacceptable” voice. The recordings were received as a great embarrassment and did not sell. According to ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Massaoudi, the Director of the Department of Education then appealed to the Grand Council, which produced the "leaflet" (memo) instructing *café* owners to purchase the recordings as a last resort to move the stock. The veracity of this version of the story is somewhat suspect, especially given that it concludes by misrepresenting the chronology of dated documents.

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[20] Al-Massaoudi, Abd al-Jalīl. 2014. “من ذكريات صالح المهدي (7):هكذا ولدت الرشيدية” (“Memories of Salah El-Mahdi (7): this is how the Rashidiyya was born”). December 27. *Ash-Sharūq,* Tunis. http://archive.alchourouk.com/71327/674/1/-من-ذكريات-صالح-المهدي-(7):هكذا-ولدت-«الرشيدية», last accessed May 6, 2019. Tunisians have warned me that this newspaper is not reputable. During my stay in 2016 it published an entirely fabricated story claiming that the synagogue in La Marsa had been attacked by Islamic extremists. I searched for the article in 2019, but I believe it has been removed.

The most compelling detail suggested by JaFran Jones and claimed in 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Massaoudi story is that Zmurda 'Algiyya was a Jewish singer. As JaFran Jones elucidates, her name means "emerald slave," '*alājīa,* referring to Christian slave singers in the historical Tunisian court (1987: 76).[21] The reasons that her voice was judged so harshly and clearly deemed inappropriate for direct association or performance with the Rashidiyya proper remains unknown. I posit that she was likely found lacking not only because of her Jewish identity,[22] but because of the 'Jewishness' of her voice. Elite governance of listening tastes disparaged the popular female Jewish singers of the day who were thriving in the growing recording industry.[23] Perhaps it was seen as less problematic and more acceptable to hear recordings of women singing, especially Tunisian art music, on audio recordings rather than live and 'in the flesh' at *café*s.

The 1935 letter to the *qāda* and *café* owners calls to mind the discussion of historical places and contexts for listening in Chapter 3. What is especially fascinating, however, is that the directives of the General Council's letter seems to contradict other aspects of the Rashidiyya's agenda despite having been planned in conjunction with the Rashidiyya (JaFran Jones 1987: 76). As I described in Chapter 3, during the 1920s and 30s, *café* Mrabbat in the Tunis medina was a popular venue for sing-along performances of *ma'lūf ḥazl.* That was, of course, until the Rashidiyya banned, for all intents and purposes, *ma'lūf* performances in *cafés* and, as a major aspect of the imposition of the "contextual gap," employed the most well-known musicians (Khemais Tarnane, for instance) as members of the Rashidiyya orchestra so that they would not perform in such inappropriately commonplace and low-class contexts.

Ruth Davis describes this foreclosure of traditional venues for listening saying, "It is difficult to gauge the overall effects of the Rashidiyya's prohibition on traditional *ma'lūf* activities, since other factors, particularly the increasing competition from newer repertoires popularized by the mass media, must inevitably have contributed to their decline" (1997b: 85). As Glasser, describing parallel situations in Algeria notes, "The new sounds that the recording industry and radio helped to usher in during the first decades of the twentieth century had the important effect of setting off the *Andalusī* repertoire as distinctly local and authentic, and giving *mélomanes* [music aficionados] something to listen against" (2016: 109).[24] The incursion of the "contextual gap" seems, as the letter complicates, to have been either one of several approaches toward revival or one that applied only to live musical performance. Indeed, the social dynamics of music listening differed for music played back on gramophone *vis a vis* live performance, especially in terms of appropriate gendered behavior.

It impossible to know definitively why the objectives of the Grand Council and Rashidiyya appear to have differed so radically, despite their overlap in personnel. It is certainly possible that while the

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[21] See other reference to '*alāj* on pages 91 and 128 in the context of music listening at the Bardo palace.

[22] According to several oral histories provided by my interlocutors, Tunisian Jews were not among the founding members of the Rashidiyya nor were they particularly welcome as students in its school.

[23] Habiba Msika is a classic example along with singers less well known today like Louisa Tounsia, Layla Sfaz, Mayha Bin Shammama (Davis and Jankowsky 2006: 76). See also Jones 2010 (105-123) on women and radio and women at the Rashidiyya.

[24] It is worth noting that this is the only use of the phrasing and treatment of the concept of "listening against" that I have encountered, especially in the context of *Maghribī* music.

Rashidiyya relatively easily took control of public listening in Tunis, that outside the metropolitan area they felt they had far less pull. The recordings were perhaps intended then to spread *ma'lūf* and urbane sophistication out into the rural interior of the country. Despite the unknowns, what comes increasingly into focus is the stakes of top-down and institutionalized competition for the control of public listening activities. Equally patent are the shared – if differently internalized and expressed by French *colons* and the Tunisian bourgeoisie – sense of custodial responsibility toward countering any number of threats. Considering the key French colonial project of disrupting place-specific emic regional tribal affiliation (Perkins 2014: 15),[25] it is not at all surprising to learn that controlling what the "*Indigènes*" listened to across the expansive and diverse cultural geography of the protectorate was considered in terms of "disseminating" the *ma'lūf* to regions of the country where it had never had a history of patronage or where it was entirely unknown. This was, I claim, part of the Grand Council's and the Rashidiyya's earliest civilizing mission to improve and homogenize the musical tastes of the Tunisian public.

Rather more sinister agendas have also been suggested, however. When I mentioned having discovered the letter in the National Archives to Skander – a musicologist who was working at that time as an archivist at the National Sound Archive at Ennejma Ezzahra – he told me that *ma'lūf* was most certainly used by "the French" not only to "elevate Tunisians' sense of taste," but more importantly to keep the Tunisians passive, calm, and complacent (p.c. 9/28/2016). The first colonial initiative of "pacification" dates much earlier than attempts to suppress the burgeoning anti-colonial movements of the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1881, the Bardo Treaty, which officially established the French protectorate, rationalized French presence to ostensibly protect Tunisians: "Article 8. - A contribution of war will be imposed on the unsubdued tribes of the border and the littoral" (Bardo Treaty). These "unsubdued tribes of the border" referred to ongoing feuds and skirmishes between tribal groups including the Khemīr, along the Tunisian-Algerian border, which began to threaten French military administrative power in Algeria (Perkins 2014: 15). By April 1881, French foot soldiers had crossed the border into Tunisia and, asserting "the need to stabilize the region," captured the garrison of El Kef (15).

Rim, though she'd not heard of the 1935 letter in particular, said she was sure the imposition of the recordings for *café*-goers was not only to counter the playing of Western, Middle Eastern, or even Tunisian new popular songs, but that it was also auditory distraction from radio programs discussing the current events of the news in North African and Europe. Again, these responses from my interlocutors exhibit a fluidity of temporalities and an ease with extending structures of generalized colonial control across broad swaths of time and place. Rim's claim of *ma'lūf* on records and radio broadcast as distraction seems probable, especially in the contexts of *cafés*, given that for the most part Tunisian families could not afford their own radio sets or record players during the late 1930s.

Rim's strong sense of suspicion toward French colonial agendas of "pacification" are fed, at least partially, by her proud identity as Kefi (a resident of the city of El Kef), the precise area where French administrators first laid claim to Tunisia as protectorate in the name of "pacification," of protecting Tunisians from themselves. While *ma'lūf* on record may have been used as distraction or method of quelling nationalist and anti-colonial movements as early as 1935, *ma'lūf* on the radio was all the more likely to play that role by 1938 – the year that the National Broadcasting System (R.T.T. or E.R.T.T) was founded. The National Broadcasting Station adopted a policy of playing exclusively Tunisian music (Davis and Jankowsky 2006: 78) so *café* owners were playing what the French protectorate government wanted them to by no choice of their own.[26] Between 1936 and 1939, the number of radio sets in Tunisia doubled and socio-economically privileged listeners could now enjoy broadcasts from the comfort of their homes (Corriou in Jones 2010: 109).

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[25] Bourguiba continued this same project.

There is significant evidence that during the late 1930s men often listened to the radio in groups at *cafés* and in shops (Jones 2010: 109) and at *chez les coiffeurs*, the hairdressers (Corriou 2012). The advent of radios in the home was a significant turning point for gendered listening because, by the 1930s, women could listen to the radio in the privacy of the home where it was deemed acceptable by social standards (Jones 2010: 110). In this way, radio symbolized "a window on the world for housewives" (Corriou 2012). The National Broadcasting System (later "Radio Tunis") were concerned about male "collective listening;" as "these hearings are particularly feared by the French authorities who feared political unrest" (Corriou 2012). As part of an attempt to suppress dissent among the public, broadcasters targeted female audiences by airing "women's programs" on culinary arts and other domestic topics. Yet, by 1951 it is estimated that there was still only one radio per 110 people, suggesting that many men still frequented *cafés* to hear news reports and music programing and that few women actually had the opportunity to listen from home (Rand McNally 1951: 210).

Moving into the first decades of Tunisian independence, as Ruth Davis documents, the National Broadcasting System crackled onto the airwaves with broadcasts of the Rashidiyya orchestra (late 1950s to 1970s) and then the Tunisian Radio Ensemble (R.T.T.) (between 1958 and 1970s), which functioned alongside the Rashidiyya but as a separate ensemble (1986: 164-7). Starting in 1938, the Rashidiyya broadcast two concerts per week from the radio studio and, starting in 1949, broadcast directly from the Rashidiyya rehearsal room (119). The earliest recordings of the Rashidiyya date to 1954 (8). As Ruth Davis has argued, the use of *ma'lūf* as a the "national Tunisian music" involved not only a revival in its practice, but an attempt to appeal to its popular instantiation and public appreciation, if not participatory involvement. Still, many older Tunisians who attest to having heard *ma'lūf* on the radio and broadcast on TV for the first time in 1965 (20), recall the sound of the music of that period as a source of pride, but *also* as soporific, lacking in spirit or creativity. Indeed, the concept of being "*ma'lūf*-ed to sleep," so to speak, is commonly cited and often quite overtly associated with the government itself, especially with Bourguiba.

The charismatic Habib Bourguiba is remembered as the great Tunisian 'taste maker;' he led what he felt was a righteous movement to cast a mold for the Tunisian subject as native nationalists and enlightened, well-educated civil participants. To Bourguiba, it seemed no habit was too quotidian or too trivial when it came to educating the public. In regular television and radio broadcasts, for instance, Bourguiba instructed women on Tunisian recipes and healthy diets, teaching them, as Mounir Khelifa remembers from his adolescence, to use certain oils to cook with and others to dress uncooked salads. Educating Tunisians in "new ways and new mental attitudes," he "endlessly lectured the nation" in his best efforts to see that his new policies were carried through (Hopwood 1992: 84). His was an unusual combination of egotistic narcissism and a sincere drive to connect with the 'everyman.' In 1973, he delivered weekly lectures broadcast on radio and TV about his own life; members of the government, officials, students, and teachers were summoned to listen (106).

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[26] In what seems a striking reversal, Sonia lamented to me that nowadays the only hour of radio on Shams FM that is exclusively devoted to Tunisian music airs in the mornings from 9:00-10:00 am when all youth (K-12) are at school.

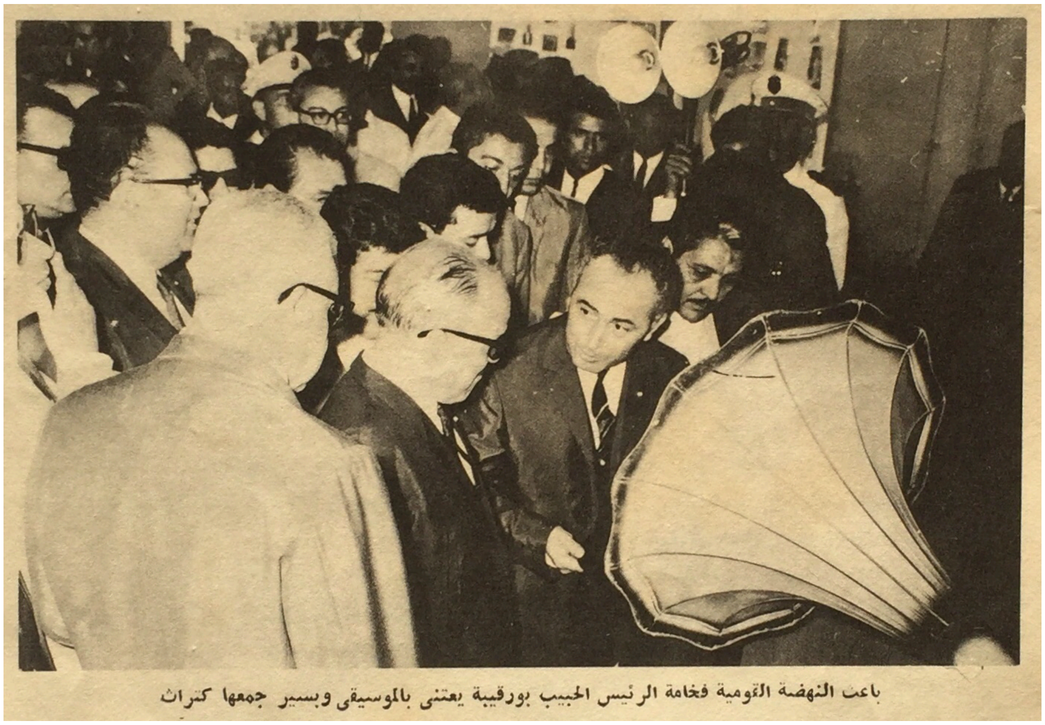
باعث النهضة القومية فخامة الرئيس الحبيب بورقيبة يعتنى بالموسيقى ويسير جمعها كتراث

Figure 52 Habib Bourguiba stands beside a gramophone. The caption translates: "Motivator of the National Revival (*al-Nahḍa*) his excellency, the president, Habib Bourguiba, takes care of the music by continuing to collect it." From "Fascicle 4. Nawbet al Irak" in *al-Turāth al-Mūsīqā al-Tunisiyya*

Though I have not encountered any videos or transcripts, it is probable – alongside the indirect inculcation of listening behaviors promoted through his radio broadcasts of *ma'lūf* and the use of the music at official events – that Bourguiba made explicit statements about how modern Tunisian subjects ought to listen to music. The transformation of participatory listening practices that enlivened *ma'lūf al-judd* in the *zāwiya* context into properly sophisticated serious listening postures, described in Chapter 3, was well under way at the Rashidiyya, which has always been managed by government affiliates. Bourguiba's insistence on Arabophone-Francophone bilingualism and his frequent speeches to the public in French, were as alienating and confounding to many Tunisians, especially the lower classes (Gill 1999), as the fusing of *ma'lūf* repertoire with European symphonic performance practice. The two 'modernizations' followed related paradigms. It is no shock, considering the means and limited reach of these changes, that his attempts to inculcate sophisticated listening in Tunisian audiences fell on 'deaf ears,' leaving audiences dozing off in their seats. Considering Sonia's celebratory descriptions of *jaww al-ma'lūf* in *ayyām zamān* ("the golden olden days," see Chapter 3, 67, 75-8), the middle-class culture that Bourguiba sought to create enticed a new listenership to perform its high-class sophistication (cultural capital) in front of others. Many concert attendants, as Sonia described, attended only to be seen, rather than to listen.

The question of what *should* be heard on Tunisian radio was a lively debate; In 1941, an anonymous critic under the pen name "the listener" published a diatribe in the feminist national magazine, *Laïla* questioning the appropriateness of airing foreign Egyptian music on Tunisian radio (Corriou 2010: 377-8). But censorship of radio was the norm under the protectorate. During World War II, for instance, radio censors attempted to jammed radio signals from foreign sources, most notably Italy and other parts of Europe and broadcast *ma'lūf* instead in order to present exclusively party-line news reports and keep Tunisians in the dark. In 1945, the Tunisian newspaper *Ez-Zohra* criticized the privileging of musical programming over presentations featuring the voices of Tunisian writers and intellectuals saying that they were "a superficial outlet offered to Muslim listeners to divert their attention away from more important matters" (377).

The use of traditional music as a strategic mode of distraction and means of pacification continued beyond the struggle for independence in regular radio programming that broadcast *ma'lūf* performances. Perhaps the epitome of the national banal-ization of the repertoire was recalled by Rim and her father, Aziz; in the 1980s and 90s, they told me, government phone numbers employed *ma'lūf* audio recordings as call-waiting music, filling the bureaucratic void of government concern for the needs and wants of their constituents. In this sense, an attempt to make contact with government officials or to become politically involved necessitated imposed listening to *ma'lūf*. Here *ma'lūf* both stands for and stands instead of government, replacing what should have been telephonically-connected listening with stock musical filler. It appears that positioning *ma'lūf* as icon of the state not only figured social elites front and center, but also led, as several of my interlocutors described, to the alienation of generations of Tunisian listeners from a type of music that they were made to feel they 'should' feel proud of it. The government's message was that *ma'lūf* 'represents' them. It is partially for these reasons, I argue, that the sounds of *ma'lūf* are interpreted as patronizing and alienating by many Tunisians today.

I frame these government-encouraged forms of audition as acts of listening through *ma'lūf*. Along with the institution of the contextual gap, the implementors of the ideological initiatives of involuntary listening and disciplined European-style concert behavior sought to re-structure *ma'lūf* listening and listeners as normative secular modern Tunisians.[27] Imposed involuntary listening, like the scenario of *ma'lūf* record audition in *cafés*, were, according to period documents, the aspirations of both colonists and elite Tunisians.

It is from the recognition of these subject positions, that some Tunisians are pushing back today on normative frames for listening through and instead listen against *ma'lūf* as acts of civic engagement with forms of Tunisianness perceived as oppressive and as deeply enmeshed with colonialism and authoritarianism. Their acts of listening against – the subject of the following and final part of this chapter – emerge as forms of participation in the constitution of the nation state in the fallout of Tunisia's second revolution and continuing protest, a movement not for independence from colonial powers, but rather a revolution fought for the dignity and freedoms of the Tunisian people. As Leila Tayeb writes regarding the circulation of the *Amazīgh* song *itri enagh* during the Libyan 2011 revolution, I also argue that "…the temporary sense of unity constructed through the struggle to overthrow the dictator broke open avenues for listening that were otherwise closed off" (2018).

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[27] Though I do not have the space to explore it more deeply here, "secular modernism" was not only modeled after French ideology and behavior, but also on pan-Arab ideals, which tied Tunisian national identity to Egyptian and Levantine musico-cultural practices.

Listening Against *Ma'lūf*: Questioning, Critiquing, and Reclaiming

Improving Mediocre Musical Performance

An important common thread throughout my conversations with young Tunisians who claimed explicitly oppositional politics toward Ben Ali's regime (1987-2011) involved assertions that his presidency was a mediocracy, that is, a regime that encouraged and rewarded normativity and conformity in both governmental and public fields. One of the worst aspects of his mediocracy, they argued, was his strategic watering down of Tunisian public primary and secondary school education. In this context, not only were there no incentives for aspiration toward improvement or excellence, but outstanding individuals – especially creatives, artists, and intellectuals – were surveilled, censored, coopted, or let go from positions of power. These moves worked, as one of my interlocutors explained, to uphold the regime's centralized control and to keep the public complacent: "Ben Ali was systematically destroying all of these [arts and culture] infrastructures, and imposing the emptiness, which gave us this disgust" (p.c. 9/6/2016).

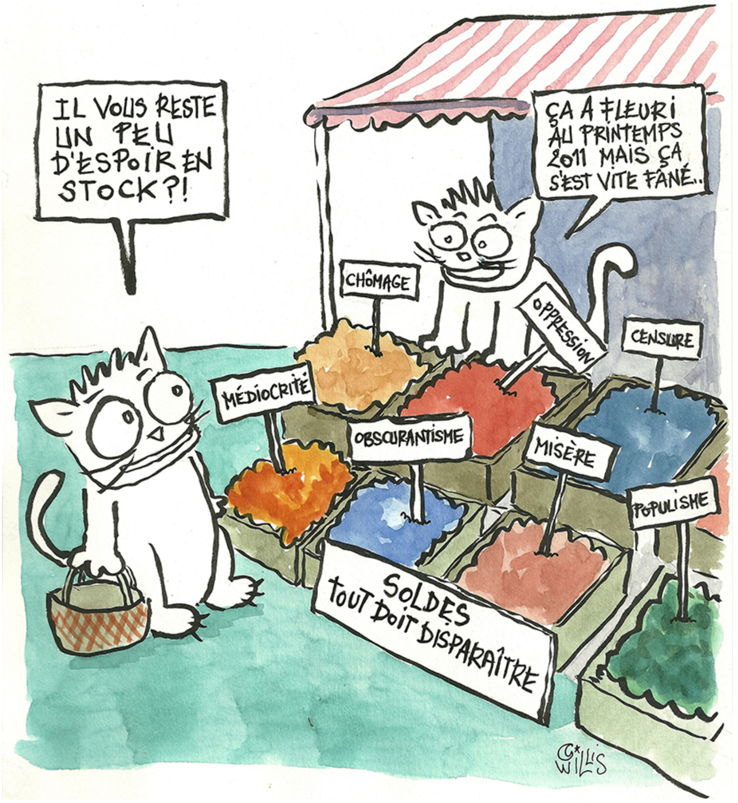
IL VOUS RESTE UN PEU D'ESPOIR EN STOCK?!
ÇA A FLEURI AU PRINTEMPS 2011 MAIS ÇA S'EST VITE FANÉ..
CHÔMAGE
OPPRESSION
CENSURE
MÉDIOCRITÉ
OBSCURANTISME
MISÈRE
POPULISME
SOLDES
TOUT DOIT DISPARAÎTRE
WILLIS

Figure 53 A "Willis from Tunis" cartoon by Nadia Khiari reads as follows: customer asks: "Do you still have a little hope in stock?!" Shop owner responds: "It bloomed in the Spring of 2011, but soon faded." The large sign reads: "everything must go" and the products for sale: "unemployment, oppression, censure, mediocrity, lack of transparency (or secrecy), misery, populism." Drawn from her collection at www.cartooningforpeace.org/dessinateurs/willis-from-tunis/

I also had several long and emotional conversations with Ines – a passionate amateur actress and agricultural masters student from Bizerte, now living and studying in El Kef – about the re-writing of school text books under Ben Ali and the political repercussions among the public as a result of his slick over-simplified narratives of Tunisian history and science. Mounir Khelifa, who was educated during Bourguiba's era and who is now an educator himself, affirms that history lessons, especially, were purposefully "dumbed down" by the Ministry of Education, starting in the late 1980s. It is yet to be seen how post-revolutionary administrations are grappling with rectifying this problem, especially given their quick turnover. But I can speak to acts of critique and improvement among Tunisians listening against *ma'lūf*.

Yasser, one of my interlocutors tied the structures that produced middling quality in the arts to corruption, censorship of creative critical thought, standardization and conformity, nepotism, and most significantly, the imposition of normative "taste." This, Yasser explained, was readily mediated through State-controlled radio and television broadcasts and live musical performance, which sonically and culturally permeate all aspects of everyday life and public sonic-social space. As he recalls, with tight government control of media – especially before YouTube access, which was banned under Ben Ali – the listening public was also inundated with audio from the Middle East, either "superficial" and "vapid popular music" or "Islamic extremist talk radio." The only Tunisian option on radio air space besides these two foreign options, especially in the 1990s, were Tunisian musicians, he explained, like Lotfi Bouchnaq, Zied Gharsa, Sonia M'barek, and the women's group, El 'Azifet, who were touted as leading a "renaissance" of *ma'lūf.* But, as he explained,

> We know who supported them…[he starts to laugh sardonically] I was very young and I used to hear *ma'lūf* in the cafes for free in Sidi Bou Said, in Bab Suiqa, and others, and the *ma'lūf* I know, and if you go to the old records in the Tunisian radio and in Tunisian TVs, they have *nothing* to do [with] that 'renaissance,' they call it, [he laughs again] which is *not* a renaissance. It is a mediocre-alization and Sonia M'Barak is involved in a *lot* of corruption and everything, I mean, the Ministry of Culture, I've been making films with my own money, but they don't want to recognize me, they are putting millions of dinars to people who are repeating the *same* faults, the same fibs, the same things, since the 70s, but they don't give a chance to anyone of the *real* people to get through,[28] to express himself, and Sonia M'Barek *knows* this system, that's why she's there. And she will entertain, she will give the money to all those people who are *still* there [he is referring here to members of the RCD party who remain in power] and who are not changing anything [speaker's emphasis] (p.c. Yasser, 9/6/2016).

For Yasser, the mediocritization of Tunisian music was a direct result not only of limited formal classroom education, but also imposed through State monopolization of radio airwaves and the censorship and marginalization of alternative musical, theatrical, and artistic expressions. Ben Ali's control of the musical aspects of everyday Tunisian soundscapes is easily seen here as an extension of Bourguiba's earlier roles as Tunisian taste-maker. Like Bourguiba, Ben Ali was greatly concerned with the production of Tunisian subjects and spaces contrived to match his imaginary of Tunisia as cosmopolitan and secular. Consider, for instance, the production of public and public spaces through radio programs of female singers of *ma'lūf* alongside legislation banning the wearing of the *ḥijāb* in public buildings, which went into effect in 1981 and was only repealed in 2011.[29] Yasser goes as far as to call the blasting of Middle Eastern music and talk radio as well as 1990s *ma'lūf* as a form of noise pollution:

> When you have knowledge of classical music or *ma'lūf*, I think you have respect of yourself, but if you are listening to these songs, which you know, are everywhere, you know, polluting the sonic atmosphere everywhere, in the taxis in the busses, in the houses, in the cafes, in the shops, even in the street, you know, you are persecuted with such mediocrity and that makes a frustration, even if you don't feel it, some of the people I know, they have been obliged to like that, but they never liked that…and I have to do it…and I have to listen to it…and I have to know it. And some people really like that because they are really done and they fell into mediocrity, and some people like me, we will never accept that (p.c Yasser, 9/6/2016).

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[28] Though I did not hear these precise vitriolic accusations from anyone else I worked with, there is definitely a sense among artists and musicians, especially those working outside of formal institutions, that government censors had discriminated against them by intentionally supporting others individuals' creative production over their own, at least in part due to their political leanings.

[29] Jones explores women "playing out the nation" under Ben Ali in her Dissertation (2010).

In his listening against *ma'lūf*, this interlocutor advocates among listeners and musicians for resistance against mediocrity in new bottom-up expressions of Tunisianness through musical means and reclamation of musical "aesthetic" as directly tied to "ethic[al]" thought and action.[30] In this way, he aims to shatter Tunisia's glass ceiling or break the mold established by the regime, accommodating and supporting artists who strive for excellence. Yasser's listening acts are critical conversations, like our interview in a dark smoky men's *café*, and his powerful documentary films, which reveal ongoing stories of government corruption and injustice.

Two of my interlocutors who attended higher degree programs, both in public music conservatories, spoke explicitly about what they saw as the problematic elements in their education, most notably the interconnected problems of (1) superficial performance based on the rote memorization from scores of standardized repertoire and (2) few outlets, within the institution, for individual interpretation and deep engagement. Rim blames not only State cooptation of *ma'lūf* and destruction of localized variety, but a separation of 'the music itself' from its lived cultural contexts and ethical discourse. To her, mediocritization is a form of trivialization and superficial-ization of a meaningful tradition of *ma'lūf* as expressive culture and as part of everyday life. At the Higher Institute of Music in Tunis, disregard for meaningful musical learning is exemplified by the students' terms for the conservatory library – *al-cūjīna* ("the kitchen") – and the Tunisian National Library – *al-restaurant* ("the restaurant") – where students go to eat their lunch or get a coffee rather than to study (p.c. Rim, 8/27/2016).

Hamdi expressed similar frustrations, explaining to me that so much of what is appealing about *ma'lūf*, especially its expressive emotive capacities and improvisatory potentials, are lost on his generation of musicians, whose teachers test them solely on aspects of rote memorization and formulaic knowledge (p.c. 10/6/2016). Standardized government-prescribed examinations do little to encourage the development of their musicality and tools for creative engagement as performers and listeners. The generation of teachers today, he explained, were the first wave of Tunisian musicians to have been trained fully as "professionals," learning from transcriptions within formal educational institutions rather than orally and informally from *shuyūkh*, master culture bearers. That is why, he explained, they struggle so much to improvise at all and simply memorize the improvisations of famous musicians which they learn from classic recordings. For him, mediocrity is perceived to be the result of superficial understanding of *ma'lūf* practice, signaling a loss of aural-oral knowledge, accompanies by broader problems with the "professionalization" and "modernization" of *ma'lūf* musicking.

Given their overlapping concerns, it is no surprise that so many of my interlocutors have similar stories of their push-back against mediocracy and the forms of normativity, complacency, superficiality, and disengagement that musical mediocrity has fostered, as they see it, through institutional mechanisms under Ben Ali. For my anonymous interlocutor, listening acts take the form of waking Tunisians up to current injustices which have not been righted with the fall of the regime, insisting in his documentary films and performance art activism on continued vigilance among the public and support for the empowerment of everyday Tunisians in art, music, and ethical critical thought. As I explore in the following sections, Rim's and Hamdi's approaches to listening against *ma'lūf* have led them to pursue creative work outside of established institutions and even to create new institutions of their own invention. Their powerful listening acts, I argue, opening up and reshape new possibilities for *ma'lūf* listening for this generation and the next.

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[30] In our interview, Yasser drew upon what he framed as an ancient Greek philosophical connection between "aesthetics" and "ethics," suggesting that they are intimately connected and they share a epistemological, if not etymological roots, the latter of which is appears to have no factual basis; *aesthetic* is derived from the Greek *aesthesis* (*αἴσθησις*) meaning "sense perception" and *ethic* is derived from the Greek *ēthos* (*ἦθος*) meaning "custom" (Oxford English Dictionary).

Accessible Education for Young Listeners

Rim, the proud daughter of a music teacher (Aziz), has recently become the director of a new public conservatory in El Kef. Such an institution is a great rarity; most Tunisian children have no access to any form of musical training because programs are few and far between. The only other programs I know for children are offered only in Tunis and its surrounding suburbs. Where they do exist, fees to participate in these programs are often well beyond people's financial means During one of my stays in El Kef, I was honored to attend the first evening of *ma'lūf* singing and music theory classes for kids aged six to thirteen. Bundled up in their warmest winter clothes – coats, hats, and gloves – I watched the kids and their parents climb the stairs to the few classrooms with playable pianos at the Institute of Music and Theater in El Kef. The place had nearly fallen out of use with staggering declines in interest and enrollment over the years leading up to and since the revolution; for the most part, students and parents alike no longer consider musicianship as a worthwhile professional or non-professional pursuit in the current economic climate. The posted exam grades of some long-past semester were tacked to the wall and rustled in the wind, an eerie sight beside the families as they made their way to the classrooms.

The students were divided into three groups based on age. In the initial lesson, the youngest students learned about *mazmūm*, the Tunisian *ṭaba'* most similar to the major mode, and learned a few phrases from *Alīf Yā Sulṭānī*, one of the most widely-known songs in the entire *ma'lūf* repertoire. They also had their first introduction to notation, learning about staves, clefs, and scales. In profoundly Tunisian style, the C major natural scale (*sillam ṭabūʿī ʿala "do"*) was written out using Arabic language transliterations of French solfege (see transcription below).[31] Though we had learned how to notate the scale, we learned phrases from *Alīf Yā Sulṭānī* exclusively by oral methods of call and response. There was no indication that the instructors intended to use any notation system in future teaching melodies in the context of the class. It was presented as a basic element of musical rudiments. The older group was a troupe of male wedding musicians in their late teens who were seeking musical training in theory and Western-style score reading. All of the students had brought their own notebooks to take down notes; Rim said she was planning to write to the Ministry of Culture soon to request books, sheet music, and other teaching materials, but that she didn't expect she would actually receive them or at least not for a long time.

As Rim reports, her whole life she has watched what comes from waiting for assistance from the government. Her father, who has taught public elementary school music for more than fifteen years explained to me in a formal interview how he had petitioned for changes in the school music system and teacher training for more than a decade with no success. His teaching philosophy and pedagogy, as he explained, follows straight from this reality in the hopes of providing capacity-building and a wide range of skills for local children. He called the current music education situation in Tunisia "deplorable, where it exists, and otherwise simply absent" (p.c. Aziz, 8/26/2016). While arts education is meant to make up 15% of primary school education curriculum,[32] he told me that "sometimes when it is time to take music lessons, the teacher doesn't give the students a lesson, they do something else, like math," which they consider to be more important but which actually demonstrates their ineptitude and lack of training.

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[31] This makes sense especially given that the Arabic alphabet is taught before French language and orthography are introduced. This way more students, even the youngest, were likely to understand.

Beyond the afterschool clubs and weekend classes where the social elite take their children in Tunis, "the rest of the program, it's a trick; they do it for show. They [the Department of Education, he suggested] have a really sophisticated program for music education, but in reality, practically, there is nothing." The difference between music education for the wealthy and the poor, he said, is drastic, preparing the former to appreciate (*dhūq*, literally "taste") the luxury of the symphony orchestras and leaving the latter to take to street music, if anything.

Aziz was hyperbolizing to make a point that led to his description of his own approach to accessible and meaningful general music education, one in which education "should be some interaction between the human being and his environment" and where the lesson "serves the kids to make their own music with basically nothing, without waiting for the government to bring us a piano and some other instruments." The music education which he models and for which he advocates grounds musical learning in the body through body percussion, teaching students to keep time and make their own rhythms and encouraging students to engaging with the sonic world around them by "playing" pots and pans in the kitchen.

This is a form of active, experiential learning that also stimulates coordination and sensory development, he said. And, he added, if anyone tries to claim that music education doesn't teach anything *useful*, point out how "playing" the world around you educates about the science of materials: glass, wood, metal, through the ears. This is all to support children in their *éveil musical* "musical awakening" or "introduction to music," a concept of musical appreciation that Rim described as "becoming sensitive to music and to educating ourselves" through the multisensory body and through grounded understanding of the contextual environment. It's about communication too; when I asked him directly how he *teaches* "musical awakening," he explained: "most children don't have music in their homes so I take my *'ūd* and tell then *yesma'* ("listen"), because the first lesson is how to listen, and then you can repeat and sing." Music is good for the health of young bodies, minds, and souls; aiding in developing the sensorium, critical thought, and ethical action. If the vacuous songs taught in primary schools[33] were replaced with "others, you can educate the child to love one another, to accept other persons, how to believe in humanity, how to accept other religions, how to treat nature, how to develop values." By educating youth in theater, painting, and music, he said, "you [can] transmit a lot, put in a lot of messages when you teach the arts, educating [the students] how to be a human" (p.c. Aziz, 8/26/2016).

The day before the music school opened, I heard Rim pitching what she saw as the *real* importance of youth music education to the guard who managed the gate. She spoke directly about the guard's children, whom she knew casually from around town, saying first that she knew his daughter had a good voice. When he brushed it off, saying his kids couldn't possibly sustain interest, she reassured him that the class was very inexpensive and that it was no problem that his daughter may not be talented enough to become a professional singer. The school, she explained, wasn't geared toward training professional musicians; it was a safe and encouraging environment for children to explore and learn about their artistic heritage through active participation.

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[32] As he put it, this appears to be an official rule, though I've not seen it referenced elsewhere.

[33] Jokingly, Rim readily supplied a sarcastic, tuneless example: "It's only the good student who wakes up early in the morning and brushes her teeth…and learned how to be in the system."

Besides grounding youth identity in Tunisian heritage, she identified many other advantages to participation. Music education and appreciation, she told the guard, would help his kids to concentrate and succeed in school, improve their communication skills, and, perhaps most importantly, it would provide a structured and loving environment for them to just have fun and be kids, free from the harsh competition and common physical and psychological abuse of the typical classroom. In the music classroom, it is essential that *na'malū jaww*, that "we make *jaww*," that education be enjoyable. The next reason she gave stopped me in my tracks; if his kids joined the class they would be less likely to leave home and abandon their families to join the radical Islamic movement in Libya or Syria. Beyond "polishing souls" and "elevating tastes," the spaces that Rim and her father have created also foster the development of self-worth, community belonging, personal rights to expression, and the very sanctity of human life.

In my many discussions with Rim, which often led her into states of agitated frustration, she voiced an imperative to provide youth with positivity, support, and the comfort of familiarity to protect them from the very real threat of Islamic radicalization. Indeed, the threat was at home as well, she said. Given the numerous incidences of violent looting and burning of theaters in El Kef at the hands of Salafists after the revolution and election of the Islamic El Nahda party in 2011 and 2012,[34] it was especially important, she told me, to consider intentional models and non-violent activities for youth in town. Rim revealed to me how her family in particular had been violently targeted in 2011; as a family of musicians and self-identified atheists, the backlash in early post-revolution times was scary. Rim's nuclear family, as multi-generational Kefi residents, lived in the same neighborhood as her ancestors had. It stung all the more that her neighbors who threw stones and curses at her in the street, especially when she was carrying her *'ūd*, were her blood relatives.[35] Aziz explained how "desperation, depression, and humiliation caused by mass unemployment puts immense pressure on students to succeed academically by studying math, science, and English language, while philosophy and the arts fall to the wayside. And after that," he said, "you don't have to ask why [they] went to ISIS. It's because they educated a bomb. Why are the majority of [foreign] terrorists in Syria Tunisian? It's not genetic…"

Rim's pedagogic model, developing from her father's philosophies and practical pedagogy, works to hone children's critical listening and thinking skills through regular listening acts of active participatory group singing and discussion where questions and diverse opinions are welcomed. It is her hope that by providing affordable high-quality music education for youth that her students will become future lovers and patrons of Tunisian music and arts which, without informed and knowledgeable audiences, will recede into the shadows of life. For her, the importance of Tunisian musical practice extends well beyond *ma'lūf* to cover many different repertoires including *Amazīgh* songs, Jewish songs, and localized *ḥaḍra* songs celebrating *Sīdi*- s and *Lilla*-s. She sees herself and her conservatory project as cultivating the tastes of Tunisia's future listeners and, in contrast with the normative-izing models of Salah El-Mahdi and the Rashidiyya, she holds *plurality*, *engagement*, *embodiment*, and *innovation* as the foundations of education. These are concepts and skills her students can carry with them for more conscientious engagement in their work, in politics at large, and in the ethical actions of life. In her own schooling Rim recalls, with resentment, being “obliged” to sing *ma’lūf* by a teacher who had not explain *why* they were learning it and who shamed Rim’s fellow students who “didn’t get it,” blaming their failure on lack of underlying personal sophistication. These are the very scenarios she counters in her critical listening acts, undermining situations where, as she put it, “it’s like [knowing] *ma’lūf* is the only reference for being a good person.”

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[34] It is still unclear if they were locals or from outside the town.

[35] In Tunisian tradition, extended families often live very close by to each other, expanding to add new floors to their homes and new houses next door as their family grows.

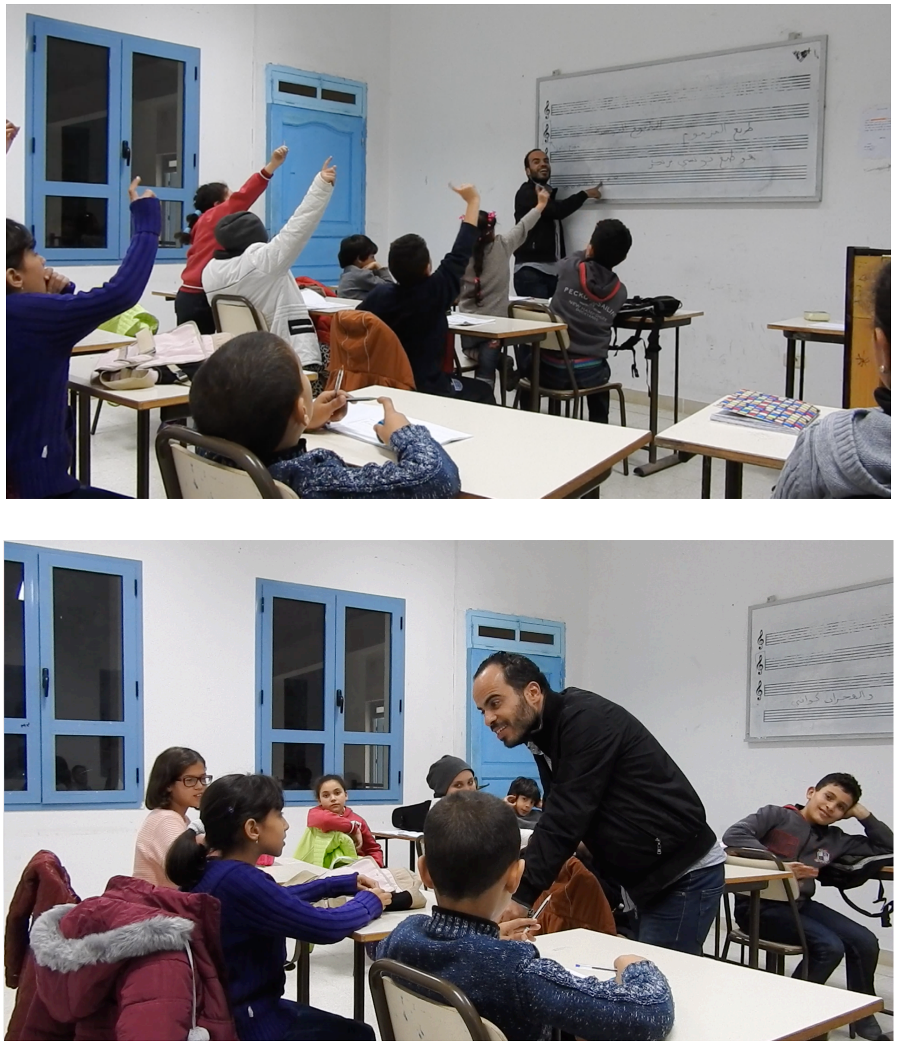

Figure 54 A first class of *ma’lūf* study with the youngest students at Rim’s new conservatory (11/24/2016). Photograph by the author.

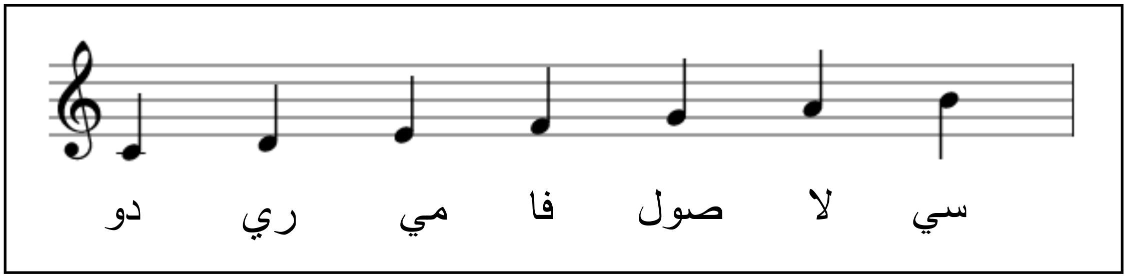

Figure 55 fixed do solfege with transliterated names in Arabic (*do-ray-me-fā-sol-la-sī*).

Remembering the Jews

Though a more thorough examination falls outside the purview of this dissertation, it is important to mention, as so many of my interlocutors did, the lasting memory of Tunisian Jews in *ma'lūf* performance and in the sphere of Tunisian musical of performance in general. Tunisia has a deep history of relatively peaceful coexistence of Jews and Muslims, stretching back to the early days of Islam. Contemporary Tunisian identity, especially for the older generations who lived through Bourguiba's presidency, is interwoven with specifically Jewish customs and traditions, especially when it comes to foods, jewelry, and other material artifacts of culture. Beyond materiality, however, it is in the arts, especially music, that the legacy of Jewish *fannānīn* (m) and *fannānāt* (f), musical artists, is celebrated and memorialized. As many scholars have suggested, this mode of remembering Jewish *Maghribī* people is less politically awkward given that it romanticizes an internal other that, for the greater part, left for France and Israel by the late 1960s. Still, however fetishized or set apart in nostalgic relief, Jewish Tunisian musicians – both specific individuals and the communities in general – are on the tips of most Tunisians' tongues when they speak about Tunisian *ma'lūf.*

"Chaikh el-Afrit" (literally meaning "Master of the demons/*jnūn*"), Issim Israel Rozzio (1879-1939) is perhaps the most widely known name within the genre of *ma'lūf*, but most people I spoke with went on to rattle off the other Jewish Tunisian musicians they knew of as well, most of whom were popular recording stars of the earlier Twentieth century: Habiba Msika (1903-1930), Louisa Tounsia (1906-1966), and Raoul Journo (1911-2001). As a Jewish American ethnographer, I often discussed the religious aspect of my own identity with my interlocutors. To my initial surprise and growing delight, after learning that I was not Tunisian, not Arab, and finally, not *even* French, my Jewishness typically registered a satisfactory-enough answer as to my deep interest in Tunisian *ma'lūf.*

In my first meeting and conversation with Hamdi, entirely unprompted and before I had mentioned anything regarding my own religious identity, he said, "There is another detail that I did not mention, and we do tend not to mention it and forget it, that the Tunisian music was principally perpetuated thanks to the Jewish [people]." Hamdi went on to explain, his own logic, that since there were restrictions on music-making in Islam, it was the Jewish immigrants from Al-*Andalus* who actually kept the practice alive on Tunisian soil. He said also that he was sure that "the Beys, the monarchs in Tunisia before, their court musicians were always Jewish. People always forget to mention this." He also offered, in his own back-formed creative logic, that the lyric poetry that makes mention of wine and wine drinking – typically credited to *Andalusī* and Tunisian Sufi authors – was in fact an addition of the Jews, for whom it is acceptable to drink alcohol, and that the continued inclusion of those phrases in the canonical repertoire constitutes a lasting mark of Jewish historical performance and audition.

Chaikh el-Afrit's renown is a particularly interesting case in the construction of official narratives of *ma'lūf* because while the majority of government-approved music histories acknowledge the involvement of Jewish *Andalusī* culture-bearers and Jewish Tunisians, the names of individual Jewish musicians – like Chaikh el Afrit (Issim Israel Rozzio) – aren't included. Though numerous teachers at the Rashidiyya and the Higher Institute of Music told me that Jewish Tunisians have left their mark on *ma'lūf*,[36] I received no further details, besides that they were especially skilled performers. This seems a gesture toward parity and an overarching framing of Tunisia/ns as tolerant, but without crediting any identifiable individuals as heroes. Given the ontological ties between the Rashidiyya and Tunisian and pan-Arab nationalism, it was likely a strategic decision to keep Jews out of leadership roles at the organization. When it comes to the history of popular music, however – genres and practices deemed far lower class than *Andalusī ma'lūf* – there is no doubt in official or popular narratives that the *majority* of stars, both women and men, were Jewish (JaFran Jones 1987, Davis 2009, Jones 2010).

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[36] Jonathan Glasser has written on "the Jewish Voice" in Algeria, a concept that is less salient, judging by my experience, in Tunisian contexts (forthcoming). Still there is a special something, it seems, that Jewish Tunisian musicians had to offer and a special style to their musical interpretations.

Popular cultural memory, however, operating outside institutions like the Rashidiyya, still recalls the Jews of *ma'lūf* with great pride. In my experience I did not find that the Jewish liturgical branch of *ma'lūf* – the *piyyutim* poetry intoned to familiar melodies of *ma'lūf* – is known outside of Djerba, perhaps only by the small Jewish community in Tunis and La Goulette. I took the opportunity to inform some of my musical interlocutors of this connection and they were, for the most part pleased, though not surprised, to learn that the repertory they knew had an additional form, context, and religious valence. Honoring this past, often sidelined by the Ministry of Culture, is a gesture of listening against a conception of *ma'lūf* that normalizes nationalisms that are exclusively Islamic.

Maps and Narratives Revisited

With changing regimes, ideological agendas, and structures for governance, sometimes the very ground seems to shift beneath one's feet. On paper as on landscapes, on Facebook as on soundscapes, nation-state and identity boundaries seem to blur, crystalize, and resurface in real time, just beyond the horizon of the imagination. Indeed, maps are profoundly political. In a commonly told anecdote, it is said that once, when a French diplomat confronted former Tunisian President Bourguiba with a particularly difficult question about Tunisia's future, Bourguiba walked to a map of the world on the wall of his office, put both hands below Tunisia and, with a playful demonstration of great force, mimed pushing it up to join France.[37]

The history of *ma'lūf* is framed by many-layers of territories, empires, regions, protectorates and directional flows of power. It is at once Tunisian, *Andalusī*, *Maghribī*, Arab or Middle Eastern, Mediterranean, and European. Recalling the affordances of the lay of the land in Carthage and Tunis, as argued in Chapter 2, many peoples and musics have circulated in Tunisia and claimed Tunisia, the "balcony of Africa," as their own. Though the maps that structure official, popular, and alternative narratives of Tunisian music history are socio-historically constructed abstractions, they do real work re-shaping landscapes, people, and music to reflect their imaginaries. In this section, I briefly explore the broad ideological and social implications of a few of the most common maps deployed today and examine the peopled landscapes and soundscapes that they at once presuppose and produce.

Andalusī charter myths were the bread and butter of the early *ma'lūf* revival through the founding of the Rashidiyya school and musical ensemble.[38] As the Rashidiyya's leaders saw it, their project was one of salvage, rescuing the threatened repertoire of *ma'lūf* from the corruptions it had accrued through centuries of oral transmission and neglect. Paradoxically, the repertoire that was considered essentially foreign (*Andalusī*) needed purification from the errors of previous Tunisian adulterators, including the late additions of *shuyūkh* and Beys, before it could be claimed as a national heritage. The pure musical object revealed was mapped as an ancient relic of *al-Andalus*; this musico-social construction drew direct lineage and descendance from Islamic medieval Iberia.

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[37] Indeed, in school textbooks of the mid-1960s, the proximity of Tunisia to France and their shared Mediterranean identity was emphasized (Bond 2017: 132). Similarly, during former French President Nicolas Sarkozy's 2008 visit to Tunis, he announced, "Tunisia is at the heart of the Mediterranean, where East and West converge. Tunis is as close to Nice as Nice is to Dunkirk" (140).

[38] As discussed at length in Chapter 1

In an alternative and widely popular nativist mapping, *ma'lūf* was "born" on Tunisian soil and, like all living things, grew and flourished because of its particular situation and the influences of its environment – including cultural continuity of the *Andalusī* way of life – that surrounded it. Though everyone's listenings map different places and connections, locating *ma'lūf* as birthed in Tunisia of the Tunisian people leaves openings for maps characterized by dynamism—adaptation, circulation, hybridity, diversification, and influence, rather than stasis. These maps reflect influences of (1) the Ottoman period, especially in terms of musical forms, intonation, *ahāt*, and the inclusion of familiar rhythms and acoustic aspects of particularly Tunisian Sufism; (2) Italian and French instruments, timbres, tonalities, harmonizations, and chordal frameworks; (3) Sub-Saharan Africa in *ma'lūf*'s pentatonic mode, percussion performance practice and drum construction, and (4) contemporary Spanish elements including the use of flamenco style guitar and Castilian Spanish pronunciation, and (5) pan-Arab trends in pedagogy, music theory, and stylistic and aesthetic elements. But of greatest consequence to what I have termed here "the nativist view" are the regional differences in style and repertoire that have developed over centuries of musical divergence and convergence.

This elaborately complex web is the work of ethnomusicological inquiry and no one Tunisian has ever listed all of these elements for me. All the same, this list is pieced together, for the most part, by integrating the maps Tunisians shared with me rather than from my own musicological observations. The rich epistemic object that is *ma'lūf* and its acoustemologies are mapped and remapped through listenings, listenings through and against normative, and sometimes exclusionary paradigms.

Perhaps the most effective oppositional re-mappings of the place of *ma'lūf* in Tunisia today are those that de-center *Tunis al-'āṣima* (Tunis the capital) as the singular locus of musical authenticity and sophistication because all-things-capital elide readily into all-thing-political for most Tunisian living outside of the city and its suburbs. From the plains of the Northwest to the olive groves of the Sahel and to the dry Sahara, Tunis often times stands metonymically for power, control, and inequalities set in motion by the powers that be, regardless of their political party or religious leanings. The many political entities that have claimed Tunis as their seat of power, have long struggled with tactics for the consolidation and governance of its somewhat autonomous regions, at least as far back to the Ottoman Regency. I refer here to the Ottoman Empire's tenuous use of the *mahalla* (starting in 1596), which was a traveling parade of royal fanfare[39] (D. Largauèche 2001) and to the French colonial strategic countering of plays of power between local tribal sovereignty through gerrymandering and related schemes.[40]

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[39] The *mahalla* –"a royal progress and mobile military camp" – was not only an expression of power, but a mechanism for "transmitting legitimate power and sovereignty" (D. Largauèche 2001: 106). "To the centralized and sedentary regions of the country firmly under state dominion were opposed zones of political instability and flux organized according to tribal allegiances rather than territorial control" (107). D. Largauèche argues that the *mahalla* was the "cornerstone" of modern state development (110), a "multi-dimensional institution undergirding state formation" (114). See also Naylor 2009:122.

[40] In order to standardize administrative units, but also to curb the tribal notables, the protectorate authorities redrew the boundaries of the existing *qāda* to form divisions based on geography rather than kinship (Perkins 2014: 48). The protectorate government seized tribal lands because, they argued, tribal affiliations did not constitute an "organized collectivity" (54)

More recently, we see similar strategies employed in the post-independence structure of the Ministry of Culture-built Rashidiyya Institute and its satellite schools, which are established in many different parts of the country. This constellation of sites reproduced the familiar pattern of center and periphery. Since independence, local musical practices have been urged to fall into line with the overarching institutionalized professionalization system or to fall silent; recall, for instance, Davis' story of *ma'lūf al-judd* musicians who were pushed out of the *zāwiya* where they and their predecessors had musicked for decades, if not centuries, and relocated to the local *dār al-thaqāfa*, where nothing felt right and the group disbanded. The imposition of standardized, unfamiliar, and seemingly foreign frameworks for learning and performance practice, no less musical repertoire content, all of which emanated from Tunis, has left more than a bad taste in the mouths of many musicians and artists in El Kef, Kairawan, Bizerte, and other more 'remote' regions where I have visited.

Today, post-2011 revolution, as Tunisians' frustration reaches a new apex, Tunis and the governments that have stood for it over the past eight years, are all-the-more shrouded in mistrust and the counterweight of pride in local place is, in effect, evermore strengthened. In an atmosphere where Tunisians are often sick and tired of the ongoing scramble for control of the government, I have found that they have become more connected and more confident in the importance of their local practices, musics, and traditions. This is not to say that initiatives like Rim's new accessible music school are commonly found. Quite the opposite is true, as a thick fog of depression – economic and psychological – plagues many individuals and communities today, enveloping them in paralytic frustration. But when the cloud lifts, Rim and Hamdi argue it will be small-scale, bottom-up localized initiatives that bring revival and sustainable sustenance. This is a fight against the consolidations of power and centralized system that many identify as the stronghold of empires, colonizers, and authoritarian leaders for centuries.[41]

Decentering Tunis leaves room for claims of primacy by new musical centers for *Andalusī*-Tunisian music – like Testour, for instance – and the inclusion of new places and regions as significant for their particular musical practices. And, as I explore in the final section of this chapter, decentering Tunis as the central node in the national network of institutionalized musicking also opens routes toward pluralizing the meaning of *turāth*. It means not only expanding the heritage cannon to include other genres – like *ḥaḍra, sṭambēlī,* and *al-mansiyāt*, to name a few – but space as well to questioning and reconsidering *ma'lūf*'s many pasts and places in Tunisian culture, not only as the only secular(izable), classical, and sophisticated art form. Shifting musical centers of gravity away from Tunis and toward El Kef, for instance, begs the acknowledgement of intricate and intimate musico-geographic connections in Algeria, *Andalusī*, *Amazīgh*, and otherwise. When the bottom falls out, so to speak, when what emanates from Tunis, be it laws, jobs, or 'culture,' is rejected, in Tunisia's interior and mountainous hinterlands, regionalism, it appears, comes to rule. In the broader picture of Tunisia's musico-social geography, today's re-charted maps may foretell the future not only of the practice and meaning of *ma'lūf*, but the future of what it means to be and to sound 'Tunisian.'

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[41] See also Rouighi 2011: 174 of Tunis centralization and the *Andalusī*.

Re-populating the *Ma'lūf*: Singing Clubs and Amateur Enthusiasts

One day in late May I struck up a conversation with Fatma, a regular member of the *nādī*, the amateur *ma'lūf* singing club at the Rashidiyya. After chatting briefly in the courtyard, our regular *nādī* meeting space, she invited me to have a coffee with her. Departing the Rashidiyya together, I was surprised when we did not turn right in the direction of the center of the medina, toward Café Mrabat or Café al-‘Aliya, but wound our way down a nearby *drība* (alley) to her home. Approaching a heavy wooden door, painted yellow, she withdrew an enormous wrought iron key from her purse. Once inside her beautiful historic home, she switched on the radio, set to Mosaique FM, and set herself to preparing *qahwa ‘Arabī*, which she served in delicate French china teacups at a little table in her open-air courtyard. She told me that she was very happy we had finally met properly, because she had been wanting to tell me about a new project that she was spearheading, something very hush-hush: the establishment of a new *nādī* or "*kūrāl*," as she called it.

Being cautious not to come off as too critical of our instructor or the institution of the Rashidiyya, she said that she wanted to establish a new club that would move at a slower pace, especially geared toward singers who were only beginners. Very interested in knowing more, I grasped from her explanation that she sought something less disciplined and yet also more "authentic" (*‘aṣā'il*, she put it). Further, as her husband was currently working in an elected administrative position at the Rashidiyya and both of her children took private music lessons there, she was trying to avoid ruffling too many feathers in the process. She did not spend much time articulating the reasons she saw as necessitating the new club, but she said she wanted to learn to sing "*ma'lūf ma'lūf*,"[42] that is, the *real ma'lūf.* Over the course of the following months, watching as her group formed and the collectivity took flight, I began to understand better what it was that she meant, what she was searching for so emphatically.

Knowing of my keen interest and research project (and the authority she expected came along with my doctoral status), Fatma invited me to participate not only in her *chorale*, but also in the vetting of potential instructors. I agreed immediately, hoping that joining this off-shoot group was not exclusive and that it would not obligate my quitting the club at the Rashidiyya. As things turned out, it was the end of the spring and the *nādī* at the Rashidiyya was concluding, at least for the term. Fatma stayed in touch with me by phone and was excited to hear that I could join for a trial session with a potential new teacher in late May. We gathered at the Dar al-Fanoun ("House of Artist") – an art gallery in the Parc du Belvédère in Place Pasteur, Tunis – with Bechir, our teacher, and about a dozen other people, several of whom I recognized from the Rashidiyya and who had brought their wives, husbands, and children. Plastic chairs had been set out in rows facing a baby grand piano and the teacher's central seat. After a brief personal introduction and overview of the history of *ma'lūf*, Bechir taught us the first part of a *draj* in "*maqām al-‘asbahān*" and, after a smoke and socializing break, a famous little song, "Kwitnī Kwātik" ("hurts me, hurts you"), an early twentieth-century composition by Khemais Tarnane.

All in all, Bechir's teaching style was very similar to Gharsa's: transmission of the melody through call-and-response repetition of short phrases of the *abyāt.* The evening was pleasant, but he demanded absolute silence when he was singing or speaking, chastising a young boy harshly for talking to his neighbor and, after a second offense, demanding that he leave the room. After, piling into Fatma's car to drive back to *Centreville* together, one of Fatma's friends sighed, saying in sum of the lesson, "*mush ma'lūf ma'lūf… ma'lūf*," "it is not *really ma'lūf*. For her, it appeared, something was still missing in terms of the validity, authentication, and the instructor's clout.

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[42] As in English, the doubling of words is used emphatically as an intensifier. For example, *tawa* means "now," and *tawa tawa* means "this instant."

When September rolled around, Fatma announced in a mass text message that the new club's inaugural meeting would take place that week at her house. Her beautiful historic home in the heart of the medina, she had decided, was the best meeting space after all. When I asked after Bechir, she said they had selected someone more appropriate for the members who were all only "*debutants*," beginners, and someone not so "*severe*" (stern) toward musical or social errors. This ethos of social informality was certainly reinforced by our meeting in the environment of Fatma's historically furnished parlor. Meeting in her home, rather than in an institutional setting, gave the club a more comfortable Tunisian air for the participants, which differed starkly from the classic European or French model employed in Rashidiyya instruction. Desire for these learning environments point to different markers of authenticity: while expert skills, virtuosity, vetted authoritative transmission, and goal-oriented study are prized in the Rashidiyya context, Fatma's *nādī* participants sought a certain sort of more process-based study, inclusivity, and perhaps most importantly, sociality.

Over the meetings of the next months, attendees never exceeded an intimate count of about twelve people, who were nearly all women, besides a few male teenagers and children who did not establish themselves as regulars. The gendering of the space seemed significant to note, though I do not have any informed conclusions to offer. The weekly sessions started with at least a quarter of an hour to half an hour of casual chitchat, mingling, and refreshments — almond and orange cake, soda, and coffee. Then we found our places, forming a closed circle and seated on the firm old-fashioned French parlor sofas. Sometimes someone lit some *bkhūr* in the open courtyard and it wafted in through the open door of the parlor. The difference between Fatma's *nādī* and Gharsa's felt dramatic, not so much in terms of musical material or pedagogy, but in its basic social and acoustic dynamics.

Spatially, we were arranged to optimize mutual audibility, so that we could hear each other and so that our teacher could listen closely to the *chorale* as a group and as individuals. This balanced arrangement fostered an ethos of participation over performance, a choice also exemplified in our instructor's favoring of instruction of simple basic melodies over showy virtuosic melismatic *'arūbī*, the vocal improvisations for which Zied Gharsa is so famous.[43] The teacher taught only the vocal line while one of his young protégés play '*ūd*, softly shadowing the melody as accompaniment. This was in contrast with Gharsa's elaborate piano accompaniments. During some rehearsals, the instructor sang and spoke into a microphone. Intriguingly, the speaker, smaller than those used at the Rashidiyya, was placed in the open courtyard outside the parlor facing away from the room. The volume using the technological mediation was significantly less loud in Fatma's group in comparison with Gharsa's *nādī*.

As focus naturally tapered off, we took breaks for sweet snacks and socializing, when it felt natural. Our decisions – whether we wanted to continue running a certain phrase or move on, whether we wanted to move on to start a new song – were collective and, in talking with my neighbors, I ascertained that participants felt heard, included, and appreciated. My neighbor commented to me that this (the *nādī* instruction) is how Tunisian music *should* be, growing and developing organically

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[43] See Chapter 5.

– using the French term "*organique*" and "*naturel*" in his otherwise *Tūnsī* phrase – not belabored by too much structure, or rigorous, complex processes.

There were other subtle ways in which Fatma sought accessibility and equality in the singing club, some more explicitly than others. This had more to do, I would argue, with making the group and its heritage musical material feel open and approachable for beginners, than it had to do with exposing novices, non-initiates, or different-classed (read: lower-classed) individuals to *ma'lūf.* This gesture toward inclusion certainly took form in the clubs less rigid and more social structure, but also in the price for participation. Where the Rashidiyya's *nādī* charged an initial fee to join, 40 dinar ($18 dollars USD) and 20 additional dinars ($9 dollars USD) per month, Fatma's *nādī* cost 20 dinar per month with no registration fee. This was easy enough to afford for the entirely, to the best of my observation, middle class participants. This difference was small enough that likely did not make or break anyone's decision to join, but it also suggested a lesser level of expertise, professionalism, or notoriety on the part of the instructor and, consequently, lower expectations for goals of the meetings and lesson.

Though it was not noted or requested explicitly – to my knowledge – Fatma's club was never scheduled to meet on Friday evenings, as the Rashidiyya's club had, thereby never conflicting with *Yawm al-Jum'a*, the Islamic end of the week and day of rest, preparations for which typically begin on Friday afternoons. However, the proportion of *ḥijābī* women in each of the two clubs remained about the same (*ḥijābī*-s numbering perhaps two in ten). As a general gesture of respect, Fatma's club rehearsals halted abruptly at the start of the *adhān* (the call to prayer) every evening and waited for it to conclude before proceeding. This may have been, in part, because there was a small *masjid* directly across the alley from the house and the sound emanating from its speakers was loud enough that it would have disrupted and significantly affected our ability to stay together, had we continued to sing through it. I sensed, however, that the pause in our music for the sounds of Islam had greater implications for participants; meeting in a home, surrounded by friends and family, in Fatma's group the sound of music mingled more freely and more comfortably with the sounds of life, the relatively non-differentiated sounds of the aural invocations of Islam and the otherwise everyday — the clattering of dishes next door and the caged song bird chirping in her courtyard.

If this reads as romanticized, it should. While the authenticity of Gharsa's *nādī* drew upon the fusing of culturally-rooted dynamics of *shaykh* and student with French formal pedagogy of institutional music instruction, Fatma's group performed an intimate sociality of shared space. While manifesting in the high-classed bourgeoisie space of the impeccably decorated sitting room – palpably reminiscent of historical aristocratic amateur *ma'lūf* musicking and audition – the *jaww* also resonated with the familiar togetherness and coherence of the social-sonic space of the Sufi *zāwiya*, a unification of voices and spirits on an auditorily level playing field.[44] Though the choices of repertoire from the art music canon (*ma'lūf al-ḥazl*) were near identical in the two groups, it became clear to me after participating for months in each, that the authenticity that Fatma and her middle-aged female friends were seeking was the restoration or recreation of *ma'lūf ma'lūf* as a musical experience (re)-embedded in life – however fantastically dressed in the trappings of high-class cosmopolitanism – and as profoundly social and shared.

Taking place in a venue most strongly and historically linked to private patronage and amateur musicking and listening, but projecting a spirit of inclusivity, egalitarian participation, and approachability, Fatma's club sought, as cosmopolitans do, to produce a Tunisian sociality that highlights all the best of Tunisianness: the prize of high culture and the ethical tenets of liberal democratic egalitarianism. Despite its Tunisia-centric approach, its pedagogy and ethos made reference to both French- and pan-Arab-informed practice in the occasional singing of scales in solfege, use of terminology like "*maqāmāt*" rather than "*ṭabūʿa*," and instruction in repertoire composed since independence and influenced by the style of Middle Eastern repertoire. The very concept of the singing club is an outgrowth of the heritagization of *ma'lūf*, an approach to negotiating the voids and chasms of traditionality and modernity. Just as Gharsa's *nādī* blended social, musical, and acoustic aspects of the traditions of sacred and secular *ma'lūf*, so did Fatma's *kūrāl*, though different elements surfaced and came to the fore as valued and sought out.

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[44] I do not know if participants would have made this connection, per se. I did not ask anyone directly.

For non-professional *ma'lūf* enthusiasts, the quest for meaningful musical amateurism is an unfinished business, one at once fraught, precarious, and emergent. Steeped in its complex political, historical, and ethical *milieu*, the amateur's listening for heritage becomes as much a critical and creative listening for self as it is for the nation. Learning to sing is predicated, always, on learning to listen and, in the case of Fatma's experiment, listening against the particular hegemonic rhetoric of institutional(ized) education. One can read her pursuit as a romanticized salvage of or playing at aristocratic sophistication, but, I argue, the project also worked to fill in for the loss of the musico-social rites of public Sufi gatherings, bridging, in her own sense, the contextual gaps and identity crises imposed by colonialist and nationalist agendas.[45] Her project, live and dynamic, braves the troubled waters of ambivalent authenticities in pursuit of meaning she can take home with her, literally, listening against alienation and against rhetoric of cultural grey-out, loss, and estrangement.

Fatma, and those who have joined her in the club, listen for the integration – or re-integration, as they may see it – of *ma'lūf* practice into life, seeing themselves as repopulating, and thereby re-popularizing the music and its sensibilities. It is important to note that the same time, however, the new club also reproduces the longstanding notion of amateurism as a bourgeoise pursuit and listening through ideals of revitalization that falls into some of the same pitfalls as the early twentieth-century revival movement. Like Rim and Aziz, in Fatma's facilitation of new educational and social spaces, she seeks to push ever further toward engaged, critical, and creative musical reckoning with herself, her community, her Tunisianness, and her Tunisia. These are generative, productive imaginaries that compel listeners to challenge, claim, and continue.

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[45] I am reminded here, again, of the tensions of identity so aptly theorized in Memmi, 1957.

Innovations and Additions

For the most part, Tunisian *ma'lūf* – the non-differentiated term, as it is used today, stands here for *ma'lūf ḥazl*, the art music form – is considered a fixed and closed repertoire, at least since its twentieth-century revival. That is to say, up until its heritagization (1920s - 1960s), alterations to the repertoire were ascribed to individual creative interpretation and contributions, including entirely new songs, were made as anonymously as possible, not claimed by performers themselves, but accredited to a "dying *shaykh*," who had transmitted them before passing on (Davis 1986: 75). The equation of anonymity with authenticity is mirrored in *ma'lūf*'s sister musics in other parts of the maghrib (Davila 2013: 27-8; Glasser 2016: 87,152,167-8).[46]

In its twentieth century form, as codified in *al-Turāth al-Mūsīqī al-Tunisī,* the repertoire centers around the 13 *nūbāt* (full suites), but also includes what Ruth Davis has termed "extra-*nūba*" material (1986: 71). The "extra-*nūba*" material includes stand-alone songs that are considered separate from the suite form and compositions with known attributions. Two fascicles (Volume 1 and 9) of *al-Turāth al-Mūsīqī al-Tunisī* are devoted to these extra-*nūba* pieces; Volume 1 includes (1) *bashārif* (singular, *bashraf*) in several different Tunisian modes, an instrumental composition in a rondo-like form[47] typically performed before the *nūba* proper to introduce and explore the *ṭabaʿ* and (2) some examples of *samāʿī*. Volume 9 features *waṣla*, other songs and suites with known composers, namely (1) complete *nūbāt* – *Nūbāt al-Khaḍra* and *Nūbāt al-Nahawand* by Khemais Tarnane; and *Nūbāt al-Zankūla* and *Nūbāt al-ʿajam al-ʿushayrān* by Salah El-Mahdi – and (2) individual vocal songs in the forms of *muwashsha*-s, *zajal*-s, and *foundous*-s, some attributed to early twentieth-century renowned practitioner Ahmed al-Wafi. Many of the instrumental pieces – within the 13 *nūbāt*, but especially those in the extra-*nūba* repertoire – are thought to have been composed by al-Rachid bay, the musicophile whose name is memorialized in the "Rashidiyya."

In the late 1980s, Davis writes, "with the exception of certain compositions selected under the direction of Salah el-Mahdi, the new repertory has not been accepted into the *ma'lūf* canon (1986: 76). My observations in 2016[48] affirm, indeed, that songs drawn from the formal *nūbāt* are awarded relatively greater gravitas than stand-alone pieces, but that compositions by Salah El-Mahdi[49] and Khemais Tarnane,[50] at least, are now considered under the broadest umbrella of official *turāth* and, many Tunisians argue, have found a place in the *ma'lūf* canon. Interestingly, though participants whom I spoke with in Zied Gharsa's *nādī* expected to learn material drawn from the *nūbāt* (this harkens back to the days when the club perhaps learned and performed entire suites), celebratory up-beat wedding songs by Zied and his father Tahar in the general Tunisian style of the *ma'lūf* that were famous enough that they should be, by default, included in the *turāth* and, thereby, in the *ma'lūf* repertoire, writ large.[51]

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[46] Glasser observed that in Algeria, that though *turāth* is a relatively strict category, "for experimenters coming from the *Andalusī* milieu, new composition is not entirely separate from the concept of patrimony" (2016: 107). For Saoudi, for example, a composer Glasser writes of his "composition[s] is not an attempt to expand the *nūba* canon. Rather, it is simply a treatment of the *nūba* as a compositional form" (108).

[47] A *rondo* begins with a refrain whereas *bashārif* start with a *khana*.

[48] See, for example, Hamdi's reaction to Fatma's *nādī* repertoire in Chapter 4, "Heroes and Antiheroes."

[49] A piece in *mahayar ʿirāq*.

[50] Like "Kwitnī Kwātik," which we sang in Bashir's trial *nādī* lesson, and "Nā'ūrat al-Ṭabūʿa" ("Waterwheel of the Modes"), which the instrumental musicians in El Kef performed for me (see page 146-148). The poem from "Nā'ūrat al-Ṭabūʿa" is credited to Sidi Dhrif of the fourteenth century (JaFran Jones 1977: 284), but the melodies, which cycle through all of the Tunisian modes, were composed, I have been told, by Khemais Tarnane in the early twentieth century.

Hamdi explained to me that Salah El-Mahdi had composed the three additional *nūbāt* in the 1960s in order to establish Tunisian-style parallels to repertoire in the same or closely-related *Sharqī* (Middle Eastern) modes. This effort was part of positioning Tunisia within broader pan-Arab projects of music heritagization and preservation in the Middle East and North Africa, an agenda underway as early as Khemais Tarnane's 1920s-30s new compositions in *nahawand*. While the "original" *nūbas* have come to stand as the central repertoire with direct ties to *al-Andalus*, the extra-*nūba* pieces are characterized today by a wide array of connotations and associations, sharing in common only their categorization as "newer" compositions. While the assortment of songs included in Volume 9 are considered to be heavily influenced by nineteenth- and twentieth-century Middle Eastern influences, the *bashārif* (from the Turkish *'peşrev*) are widely known to have Ottoman-Turkish origins (likely dating as far back as the mid seventeenth century),[52] at least in their musical form, if not also in their melodic and stylistic content. Interestingly, because the *nūbāt* are considered *Andalusī*, with varying degrees of adaptation since arrival (Tunisification, if you will), all of the extra-*nūba* material is, by default considered more "Tunisian" because of its newness and known practice and patronage *in* Tunisia, especially in the Beylical court. Yet more contradictory, Racy suggests that in the context of study of Middle Eastern music, "academic" *bashārif* (as opposed to those from the "popular domain") may in fact "play an important role in preserving a number of the rarer *maqamāt*." (1989: 362), though this may not be the case in the Tunisian context.

In all of my reading and ethnographic inquiries, I have encountered only one individual who is composing new works in contribution to the repertoire of *ma'lūf*. Hamdi, who has already been mentioned several times in previous chapters and sections, is a twenty-seven-year-old Tunisian medical student (soon to start a master's program in musicology) who was born and raised in Kairawan. He began studying *qānūn* at a young age and holds an "Arab Music Certificate" (which affords him standing to teach) as well as a certificate in "Musical Analysis," a more theory-based exam. He only recently moved to Tunis to attend medical school. While he knows he will likely pursue practice as a physician, his truest passion – even beyond composing, performing, and music research – is music therapy, which he dreams of formally studying abroad someday, given that there are no such programs in Tunis. He has spent a great deal of time and effort outside of his regular schooling reading about historical practices of music therapy, especially in the Ottoman-Turkish world and in Persian and Arab music treatises. His interests are also grounded in Tunisian approaches to musical healing and emotion, the bodily humors, and astrology, especially as epitomized in the brief introduction to the historic Tunisian songbook, the nineteenth-century *Sfayn al-Malouf* ("Vessel/Compilation of *ma'lūf*").

Hamdi has undertaken an ambitious number of diverse musical projects, including several collaborations with the Tunisian National Symphony orchestra, with whom he has performed a Vivaldi concerto self-arranged for *qānūn*. He has also worked with individual musicians from Italy, France, and Tunisia. His proudest achievement to date is a book of his musical compositions for *qānūn* and a recently recorded accompanying CD. The book, his masterpiece, contains fifty-seven individual selections in 18 different modes, all of them Tunisian, and two other pieces, one in *nahawand* and the other in *zankoulah*. For a side-by side comparison of a *bashraf* of his own invention and a traditional Tunisian *bashraf*, both in *ṭaba' raml*, see Appendix 4. One of his goals in creating the book was to fill in areas of the repertoire that are lacking, due, as he stated to loss over generations of oral transmission (the same reasons that Baron d'Erlanger quotes, 1930). To this end, he provides several individual *bashārif* to complement each of the complete thirteen *nūbāt* and adds others to augment the repertoire of *ṭabū'a* that are without entire suites.[53]

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[51] The characterization of songs by the Gharsas as *like ma'lūf* may well have much to do with their being interspersed among up-beat selections from the *ma'lūf* that are traditionally performed at weddings. See Alyson Jones for more on this mixture, in practice.

[52] For more on *bashārif,* its Turkish connection, and its musical form, see Davis 2006.

It is this same drive to uncover and recreate idiomatically-appropriate additions that drew him to the *bashraf* in the first place, an extra-*nūba* body of instrumental pieces that have been marginalized, he argues, in the heritagization of *ma'lūf*. As he put it, there has been far too little research and government money invested in collecting "separate" pieces, listing also the vocal forms of the *shughl* and *zajal*, and the instrumental *samaï* pieces, which he has also been experimenting with since he finished his first book. He went so far as to compare the disappearance of *bashārif* – there are nine modes, at most, represented in Salah El-Mahdi's *turāth* fascicle, Volume 1 – to the vanishing of *Amazīgh* music, a comparison that struck me as a somewhat disproportionate and hyperbolic example. In 2017, he wrote to me to request that I share with him my digital scans from a re-print of the *Sfayn al-Malouf* that I had accessed and photographed at the Higher Institute of Music; more specifically, he sought the scale and *jumla* (the characteristic musical phrases ascribed to individual *ṭabū'a*) for *rahāwī*,[54] the first *ṭaba'*, ordinally speaking, in the large cycle, which is a "lost mode," with no extant repertoire. In this project too, he envisions his new compositions as correcting lacunae out of respect for the integrity of the historical practice.

In telling me the background story of the compositions and publication of the book, Hamdi expressed to me what a struggle it had been to find support and encouragement for his music — financially, logistically, and intellectually. He was distraught over the dismissal of his work at the Rashidiyya, to whom he had appealed for some small funds to put toward printing and where he had suggested that his scores could find a place in their archive. At least there were seven copies held by the National Library, he said, a policy that extends to all books published in Tunisia. He accuses the Rashidiyya, an institution whose history and previous directors he respects tremendously, for being closed-minded toward innovation and musical projects that seek to bring new life to Tunisian art music which is, for the most part, of little to no interest to the general public. This is especially disappointing given that support for new music has been an explicit aspect of the Rashidiyya's mission statement since its founding. He was surprised and upset to see that the Rashidiyya's conservativism applied even to his compositions, which were created with for the purpose of *complementing* the extant repertoire rather than modifying or superseding it, an attempt he views as an act of restoration in line with preservationist projects.

Considering the position of the Rashidiyya Institution and its representatives, there are several other reasons that he and his compositions may have been turned away. First and foremost, a general lack of funds available for *any* purpose at the Rashidiyya and second, Hamdi's youth, which reads as lacking in authority or clout. The argument for "opening up" a repertoire that is otherwise considered as closed is no small matter to begin with. Finally, there are the issues of canon and the

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[53] For an in-depth analysis of similar attempts to fill lacunae in repertoire in Javanese music, see Brinner 1995b.

[54] JaFran Jones extrapolates that within the context of *ma'lūf judd* and 'Isawiyya music, *rahāwī"* is perhaps derived from the name *Ruhā*, an Arabian tribe, and the name subsequently bestowed to the ancient city of Edessa (Līsan)" (1977: 284). She also notes that "This mode has no *Nūba* in Tunisian *ma'lūf* and is all but forgotten" (284).

Rashidiyya's commitment to particular modes of authentication. His choices of musical form – given that he was working strictly instrumentally and that the musical form he chose belongs to the "extra-*nūba*" realm – were not in his favor, as were, I would argue, the distinctly Ottoman-Turkish connotations of *bashārif* and his instrument of choice, the *qānūn*, which is a relatively rare classical instrument in Tunisian music given that its origins are Ottoman Turkish and Egyptian.[55] This raises the question of the relative 'Tunisianness' of the Rashidiyya's project, one that has been preoccupied for nearly a century with the purification of the repertoire in order to preserve its most *Andalusī* aspects. It is no coincidence either that pieces in certain modes, most notably *rasd 'abaydi*, the pentatonic Tunisian mode associated with Sub-Saharan Africa, are rarely mentioned or performed at the Institute.

Hamdi's deep and sustained research of Tunisian music – its history, forms, melodies, rhythms, and intonations – is under-girded and enriched by his parallel study of Turkish classical music, which he has studied from afar and during a visit to Istanbul. His *qānūn* was crafted in Turkey in the Turkish tradition. But his point of entry, his window into the world of Ottoman and Turkish music, was listening to Tunisian *ma'lūf* and especially to his imagination of the Ottoman-derived *bashārif* in his youth. These listening experiences transported him, he described to me, to previous times and places, especially to the Ottoman Beylical court in Tunis and to aristocratic life in the beautiful private homes of the Tunis medina. His listening took him not to Turkey itself, but to the particular integration of Ottoman and Tunisian musical styles, modes, and feelings that took place in Tunisia. In this way, Hamdi's critical listening acts perform the important work of challenging and complicating Tunisian musical history, especially as it is presented in official narratives. Though the thrust of his musical projects is, in part, a familiarly fraught quest for the discovery and restoration of the authentic, he listens against maps and narratives of Tunisian music as essentially *Andalusī*, an act of imagining, no less *creating*, a Tunisia that is inextricably hybrid, mixed, and multicultural.

Months into long and fascinating discussions with Hamdi, I finally felt I knew him well enough to ask him, "are your new *bashārif* part of the *ma'lūf*"? He responded modestly, saying both "yes" and "no."[56] Yes, in that they are in the same style and fit with *turāth.* He considers them his own "small contribution," but to be considered *ma'lūf*, he said, they must first be widely known and recognized. It his hope that perhaps in fifty or one hundred years they may be included in *ma'lūf* proper, but that for now we will just have to wait and see. After all, he said, so few composers in history have been recognized for their work during their own lifetimes. Until then, he continues to experiment and to compose new material in the Tunisian modes, styles, and forms and is working on completing his second book, a practical guide to the Tunisian *ṭabū'a*, a learning aid and the first book of its kind for Tunisian music.

Listening Elsewhere *or* Why not to listen to *ma'lūf*

An analysis of the contemporary politics of listening to *ma'lūf* would be sorely incomplete were I not to speak to the vast majority of the Tunisian public who either have little to no interest in *ma'lūf* or abhor it. On numerous occasions, when I informed strangers that I was studying Tunisian music I was greeted with enthusiasm, only to be followed by patent disappointment when I reached the specification of my focus on *ma'lūf* or *al-mūsīqa al-Andalusiyya.* In many cases, the music's mere mention shut the conversation down entirely. In other instances, it was clear that Tunisians, especially those who I already knew or who felt they needed to keep up appearances, feigned interest in *ma'lūf*. For many there is a sense that because, as they have been told, *ma'lūf* is their Tunisian *turāth*, they were obliged to like it if they were proud of their national identity. Though I did not circulate in any Salafist or otherwise very devoutly Islamic communities during my research, I did not encounter any responses that indicate that listening to *ma'lūf* has been deemed inappropriate by *Sharia* law. Indeed, the opposite situation seemed to present itself — once, a Tunisian in her early twenties from La Marsa informed me that a strong distaste for *ma'lūf* or Arab art music in general may be an indication that someone has been possessed by a *jinn*.

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[55] Hamdi reported that there are perhaps only thirty to forty skilled *qānūn* players of the entire country.

[56] Hamdi p.c. 11/10/2016

For the most part, my analysis of these experiences was that knee-jerk reactions of dislike were markedly class-based; working class Tunisians, the poor, and many middle-class individuals associate *ma'lūf* with the *blēdī*, the elite old-money Tunisian aristocratic class, and therefore with exclusionary displays of erudition, sophistication, and 'good taste.' On more than a handful of occasions, people to whom I had casually introduced myself and my research felt it necessary to clarify for me that very few Tunisians liked *ma'lūf* and that *ma'lūf* was to the bourgeoisie what *mezwid* was to *al-sha'ab* (the common people).[57] *Ma'lūf* enthusiasts claim, often evading the question of class inequalities and barriers to access, that the Tunisians who don't like *ma'lūf* are simply unfamiliar with its nuanced style, which, as they said, requires repeated and committed, focused listening to appreciate.[58] Unfamiliarity certainly is an important factor[59] and, taken literally, ties directly into the explicit explanations that some furnished for me, that *ma'lūf* is not really "Tunisian" but something "foreign" or "imported" instead. In this sense, *ma'lūf* is "unfamiliar" in that it isn't passed through the family, or broader kinship networks – like tribal affiliation or ethnic/racial subgroups – that structure national identity. When *mezwid* is invoked as *al-mūsīqā al-Tunisiyya al-sha'abiyya*, "the music of the Tunisian people," *ma'lūf* is counter-categorized as a classical or art music, no different in its foreign-ness or even European-ness than Western Art Music. Rim dismissively framed the ascendance of the primacy of *ma'lūf* as a typical example of Tunisians' fetishization of foreign things and their obsession with coming to own or claim them for themselves (p.c. 8/25/2016).

Northern and Tunis-based musical taste for *ma'lūf* draws on more than two millennia of associations of coastal urbanity with foreign imperialists and colonists, from the Phoenicians and Romans, to the French protectorate, to modern-day neoliberal impositions and foreign tourism. Generally speaking, rancor toward *ma'lūf* is more bitter the farther you go away from the "green places" – from Tunis and *Andalusī* towns and regions in the Northwest or eastern littoral Sahel – toward the interior of the country or its drier desert regions. As I have argued, that has much to do with the geographic areas where *Andalusī* people settled, re-constituted their communities, and continued *ma'lūf* performance and listening. The 'central(ized)' Mediterranean parts of the country are the regions where the homogenizing rhetoric of nationalism has made its greatest impact.

This ties in with explanation of how *ma'lūf*, the music of a foreign minority, became the national music of Tunisia: the *Andalusī* foreigners, already of elite status, seized power in Tunis and their descendants, following in their footsteps, sought to fashion the twentieth-century Tunisian national subject in their image. Here we see the through-lines of the association of *ma'lūf* also with European classical music and elision of the imposition of *Andalusī* music with the import of French colonial music.[60] Of course, another demographic of individuals who tend to dislike *ma'lūf* are highly educated Tunisians who consider its art music qualities underdeveloped and backward as compared with their preferred genre: European Classical Music. Interestingly, in this framework, *ma'lūf* is also sometimes considered "too religious" for European-leaning Tunisians, vestiges of *ma'lūf al-judd*'s historic associations with the Sufi *zāwiya* and lumped together with other more overtly religious Tunisian musics, like *ḥaḍra*.

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[57] For more on the subject of *mezwid*, see the final section of Chapter 3, "Trash in the Soundscape: Pollution, Noise, and *Mezwid*."

[58] This familiarity has much to do with *jaww*, as I explore in Chapter 3.

[59] Outside of frameworks of social and cultural study, music research in cognition and perception suggest that familiarity – recognizing not only specific songs, but also the structural schema characteristic of particular of genres – counts for a big part of determining what music we 'like' versus music we 'don't like.' See especially Huron 2007.

Certainly, beyond its questionable foreignness and exclusivity, distaste for *ma'lūf* is also based upon its categorization as old fashioned or outdated. Zakia, a middle-aged woman from the Southern phosphate mining town of Métlaoui expressed her opinions, at length (p.c. 6/7/2016), on the matter to a colleague of mine, Rebecca Gruskin, who was conducting dissertation research on the history of Tunisian phosphate mining. As an initial caveat, however, she wanted to be sure Rebecca would convey to me what a bad idea it was to be studying *ma'lūf* in the first place because it was such a pointless and meaningless topic. Zakia explained that she hated *ma'lūf* because it was foreign to her. Yes, it was *Andalusī*, she conceded, and perhaps some parts of Tunisia might relate to it. Having overheard the conversation and wanting to chime in in agreement, Najib, Zakia's husband furnished a rich and memorable metaphor: "studying *ma'lūf* is like giving grass to a donkey that has already died!"[61] As Najib further expounded, "*ma'lūf* is not linked to our lives. The bourgeoisie like *ma'lūf*. It will show you the *thaqāfa* (culture) of the time of Othman [Ottoman period], but it is not related to our life now…Just like the *ma'lūf* [here she means the melodic musical content], the words aren't beneficial. It is not famous in the world. It had its time and that time is over ("*akahaw*")."

Beyond the statement's commentary on *ma'lūf* as dead or outmoded, the image of the donkey also encodes other allusions. He chose the donkey over other possible animals because of its connotations of as a gluttonous ingrate; the donkey, Zakia added, will not only eat all of your grass if you give it the opportunity, but it was also eat everything else, including your *ḥalawiyāt*, your sweets. Here, the zoomorphic metaphor of the donkey as *ma'lūf* appears to make allusion to the *Andalusī* people who arrived in Tunisia, uninvited, and proceeded to take all they wanted, most notably – here I refer to not-so-metaphoric "grass" – control of the fertile agricultural lands of the Northwest. The greed of the donkey, however dead, refers to the region of the capital and its elite aristocratic inhabitants as corrupt, money-grubbing thieves.

And then there are individual preferences, which are not only affected by history, society, politics, and geography. For those who like to dance, for instance, the relatively slower tempos and differently sociable *ma'lūf* listening practices may not be appealing. The vast majority of younger Tunisians (20s and 30s) prefer *mezwid* by far, Tunisian rap, reggae, dubstep, rock, alternative, and electronic music; as well as Arab pop and other popular musics with international appeal. For Zakia, *ma'lūf* makes her sleepy (*tarqud*), but also anxious and frustrated as if waiting for a bus (*taqlaq*). But this reaction is not limited to the young. I have been told that *ma'lūf* is "boring" by Tunisians of every age and from every region I visited in 2009, 2013, and 2016.

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[60] This reminds also of the extremely common elision of *Andalusī* cultural elements with those of Ottoman origin. In my experience, this occurred most often in regard to the history of certain *ḥammāmāt* ("Turkish baths") and to certain ceramic tile patterns. Both are categorized in this light as foreign. I posit that the reason behind this confusion or elision is that the majority of *Andalusī* influences (and people) arrived during Tunisia's Ottoman period.

[61] The distinction here between "feeding" and "giving" grass to the donkey is significant because you can't "feed" a dead donkey, but you can keep "giving" it grass because you haven't figured out yet (or accepted) that it is dead yet. Here the *Andalusī* people are caricatured as stupid, block-headed, or both (p.c. Gruskin, 6/7/2016).

Finally, choosing not to listen is perhaps one of the strongest forms of listening against. Such protests take the form of changing the station on the radio, changing the channel on the TV, or avoiding spaces where *ma'lūf* sounds. This is easy enough to do, especially given how uncommon live *ma'lūf* musicking is today and how much its audition is relegated to *sahariya* evenings during the summer and during *Ramaḍān*. The decision not to listen makes a social-political statement of disengagement with things high-class, elite, and associated with the State, even though not listening or not purchasing recordings does little in terms of economic boycott. Today, there is so little money in *ma'lūf* – its live performance and the sale of audio recordings – that such protests don't make any difference in shutting down or debilitating its practice. Dwindling financial support from the government is another matter altogether. There is a collective consensus among aficionados, in Tunis and outside of Tunis, that if institutions like the Rashidiyya were to shut their doors for lack of funding, *ma'lūf* performance and audition would all but vanish. Ideologically, the chances that the State – or Ministries of Culture and Education – would begin to listen against *ma'lūf* are epistemologically or politically unlikely. Monies for the transmission and preservation of musical heritage are scarce, especially since the revolution in 2011. Still, public acts of listening against *ma'lūf* most often take the form of its silencing, in taxis, in shops, and in homes. More often than not, it is replaced with something else and, in Rim's home, for instance, with the sounds of other Tunisian musics, other forms of *turāth* that are still not recognized by government institutions. She, and others, listen against homogeneity for diversity, listening toward soundscapes that resound with all the many things that Tunisia and Tunisians are, have been, and may be.

In this chapter I have discussed Tunisians' complex political engagements with *ma'lūf* as voluntary and involuntary listeners. By theorizing listening through and listening against, I have demonstrated some of the ways in which decades, if not centuries, of top-down imposition of aesthetic taste and the socialities they encode, are being questioned and met with creative and critical listening acts. These listening acts, especially those carried out by the younger generation and amateur *ma'lūf* enthusiasts take many forms — breaking through mediocrity, providing accessible education for young listeners, remembering Jewish Tunisian musicians and their contributions, creatively re-mapping Tunisian-*Andalusī* musical history, re-peopling *ma'lūf* through participation in amateur singing clubs, opening up the repertoire to innovative additions, and choosing to listen 'elsewhere.'

My Tunisian interlocutors explicitly perform these modalities of listening and approaches toward conscientious, informed, and close audition as acts of resistance to well-worn formations of Tunisianness that they see as exclusionary, hegemonic, and normalizing. I argue that these listening acts are channels for civic engagement in creating new hopeful futures for Tunisia and empowered experiences of accountability that are not limited by financial inequalities or big-P political turnover. Many of these acts of listening against *ma'lūf* emerged from the *Thawrat al-Karāmah*, the 2011 "revolution of dignity as bottom-up efforts. However, looking back on twentieth-century musical politics, it is also clear enough that *al-Thawra* was not a rupture, but rather a moment that crystalized multiple historical episodes of oppression – in bodies, places, and practices – and connected them, collectively, to contemporary authoritarian regimes.

CONCLUSION: AFFECTIVE ORIENTATIONS

A great deal of this dissertation is dedicated to the documentation and analysis of mappings of Tunisian musical history produced by my interlocutors and by historians, anthropologists, and scholars of music. Throughout, I have attempted to remain cognizant that all cartographic projects are framed by ideological agendas and that maps, like musical notation systems, necessarily privilege certain forms of information over others. From the likenesses drawn between "green places" – Tunisia to *al-Andalus* to heaven – to the topographic affordances of the ports of Carthage and Tunis as places of refuge and hospitality, my own mapping of *ma'lūf* listening practice exhibits the distinct influences of post-colonial and post-authoritarian critique, rejection of purism, and defense of plurality.[1]

While the history I have composed here – with the explicit purpose of better understanding contemporary realities – stands to complicate top-down hegemonic narratives, my purpose is, first and foremost, to categorize history-writers as cartographers whose maps do real work in re-ordering social and cultural formations 'on the ground.[2] The dialogic relationship between places, spaces, and discursive representations of each are dynamic, particular, and powerful. We see this system at work in the collapse of Tunisian tourism following the terrorist attacks of 2015 as inflammatory news stories altered foreign perception of Tunisia from 'safe' to 'unsafe' and the cruise ships stopped arriving. But then so were the protests that displaced Ben Ali, a case where mass physical presence in the streets crystalized social affect to produce political effects.

Though I have shared Tunisians' mappings here, I claim the over-arching map of this research as my own. It is easy enough in my liminal ethnographic position to take notice of Tunisians' moments of self-examination – riding out the long wake of the 2011 revolution – as new openings for homecoming or outlets for escape. And while reclamation and re-shaping of identity, tradition, and heritage are certainly on the minds of some, the reality for most remains necessary preoccupation with securing economic, political, and social stability. The tired trope of 'resistance,' now trite in both Tunisia and in Trump's United States, leaves us wanting both for tools of engagement and modes of describing oppositional acts. It is for these reasons, thinking beyond 'resistance,' that I have theorized "listening acts" as active and transformative interaction with *ma'lūf*. I offer listening through and listening against, loosely construed, as modalities of acquiescence and opposition. In reality, however, ambivalence prevails. Amidst all of these complex politics, it pays to return to listening as an act which is, for most, an aesthetic and socially enjoyable pursuit.

Taking their seats in the audience at *ma'lūf* performances, I have argued that Tunisian listeners' expectations are molded by the stories they tell themselves about who they are. Positioning themselves on their maps, listeners turn to face the north, the east, the west, or the south, slipping fluidly between what I term "affective orientations," politically-charged subjective positions tied to identities and behaviors. At the open-air festival in Testour – seated beside Myriam, a black Tunisian colleague of Libyan descent – I heard how excited she was to listen to *ma'lūf* because it reminded her of her *Andalusī* ancestry and made her feel proud of the time when Muslims like her and Jews like me lived together as neighbors in both Tunisia and in *al-Andalus*.[3] Waiting for a concert to begin at the Rashidiyya, Meher from Kairawan turned to me, fidgeting his feet and looking around wide-eyed at the ornately decorated room, to tell me he felt uncomfortable and out of place.[4] He was uncomfortable because he didn't know what to *do* during the concert and perhaps, he thought, everyone would be judging him. Preparing to go out together, Emna arrived at my home with a gift, a bottle of lilac-colored perfume in a French-labeled bottle called "Elyssa" after the ancient Phoenician queen (Dido) anachronistically claimed as a "Tunisian" figure today. She said it would be appropriate for the *jaww* of the *ḥaḍra*, where we were headed together, or for the sophisticated *jaww* of a *ma'lūf* concert.[5]

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[1] To clarify, I use "post" here to take issue with colonialism and authoritarianism rather than to suggest they are gone.

[2] This is especially true of international scholars work in post-colonial contexts.

[3] p.c. Myriam, 7/28/2016

And where were Hamdi, Yassine, and Hiba while they were listening? They had traveled back in space and time to the Tunisian-Ottoman Bardo Palace or to the medieval Alhambra in Granada where they were tasting the music, soundscapes, sights, and fragrances of the garden. Some elderly Tunisians listen to recordings of *ma'lūf* in their homes as a form of travel too, returning to comforting memories of their youth and the nationalist pride of the independence period. Looking out over Testour, as if it were *al-Andalus*, others recall their school days when they had been instructed to weep at the music as index for their lost paradise.

As I have explored in this dissertation, *ma'lūf* is many things to many people. The stakes and merits of listening to it are vast, diverse, and complicatedly intertwined. *Ma'lūf* is claimed as heritage by Tunisian descendants of the *Mūriskīyūn* who were raised in *Andalusī*-Tunisian towns in *jaww al-Andalus*, but also by black and indigenous Tunisians with no direct ancestral ties to medieval Islamic Iberia, and by Tunisian Jews living abroad in France and Israel. *Ma'lūf* is known by Muslims and self-proclaimed atheists alike and despised by many Tunisians of both high and low socio-economic status. In the different *ma'lūf ṭabū'a*, song forms, instrumentation, and performance practices, listeners recognize influences from many directions, affectively orienting themselves to: *Andalusī*-Tunisian towns and regions, *al-Andalus*, the greater Arab world, neighboring *Maghribī* countries, *al-Sharq* (the Middle East), contemporary Turkey and the historical Ottoman Empire, Sub-Saharan Africa, indigenous *Amazīgh* Tunisia, and contemporary France and Europe. For *ma'lūf* novices and experts, listening experiences – multisensory, embodied, and emplaced – are platforms for memory, imagination, play, and power.

The facets of these affective orientations most challenging to articulate are the intricate ways in which they are interwoven, however convolutedly or anachronistically. Most germane to my discussion is the confluence of associations oriented toward the north, to Europe. Here we find the intermingling of the positive connotations of modern France with those of medieval *al-Andalus*, which both stand for erudition, sophistication, cosmopolitanism, and urbanity. The ancient legacies of the great empires of the Phoenicians and Romans live on as well,[6] physically and figuratively resonating with *ma'lūf* during musical performances held in the Roman theater of Carthage or at the

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[4] p.c. Meher, 4/28/2016

[5] p.c Emna, 2/13/2016

[6] I have observed references to Roman and Carthaginian freely mixed today in comparison to Bourguiba's anti-colonial decision to highlighted Phoencian *rather* than Roman Tunisian pasts (Bond 2017: 151) and Phoenician Tunisia in Ben Ali's "Mediterranean" period of the 1990s (132, 139). In the anti-colonial struggle, the ancient Romans – who had served as powerful referents in French justifications for colonialism in North Africa (Hannoum 2001: 37-9) – were re-framed by Tunisians as oppressors. Tunisian historian Husayn Husni 'Abd el Wahāb "describes Roman colonization (*ist'imār*, the term used for European colonialism) after Carthaginian defeat as a *himāya* (protectorate) adding in a post-1956 edition of his history (originally published in 1918) an overt allusion to similarities between Roman rule and the French occupation of Tunisia" (Bond 2017: 151). Ben Ali era school textbooks emphasized the "Carthaginian state" and Hannibal as a military genius (152).

Rashidiyya, which was built of Carthaginian-carved stones as well. Punic Queen Dido or "Elyssa" (839 - 759 BC) and Hannibal (247 - c.183 BC), live on as "Tunisified" heroes and heroines on the shelf beside Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406 AD), Kheirredine Pasha al-Tounsi[7] (c.1820-1890 AD), and others (see Figure 56 below). Choosing champions from the ancient world through to today bridges historical ruptures and establishes, as Bond as described, "a historical subject which is self-identical and essentially continuous" (2017: 137).

Literally, so to speak, even the language of *ma'lūf* can be made to sound modernly European, despite its being classical Arabic; in an attempt at purification, some musicians are working to 'correct' Tunisian pronunciation by applying contemporary Castilian Spanish pronunciation, where 'z' becomes 'th.' These types of creative historical interpretations are also how a music that gives name to both a secular *and* sacred form finds its way onto the Francophone label of a wine grown and processed in the *Andalusī* Tunisian town of Slouguia[8] along the Medjerda river and tasting of the *terroir* of the ancient Punic and Roman settlements and gardens (see Figure 57 below). Further, the Domaine Shadrapa vineyard traces its plantings to the first French vineyard of the protectorate in 1879.[9] Shadrapa himself, however, was a god of fertility and wine worshiped in Punic Carthage.[10]

It is this affective orientation, decidedly toward the northern shores of the Mediterranean, to which *ma'lūf* listeners have most often turned in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, sometimes, as I have suggested in this dissertation, at the cost of cultural continuity. While turning eastward to Egypt made a great deal of sense during the era of pan-Arab nationalism (1940s-60s), European musicologists did all they could to re-orient Tunisians to face themselves, homeward that is, and to keep European colonial influence to a minimum (at least as they saw it). Today, however, in drawing connections between Tunisia's history of imperial rule, colonialism, and authoritarianism, some listeners are busy indigenizing, popularizing, and pointing to their mixed, multi-cultural, multi-religious, and hybrid history.[11] My attunement to the particularities of acoustics, aesthetics, and acoustemologies furthers this effort by highlighting the continued presence of *ma'lūf* in daily life — its association with proverbs and ethical actions. I have sought to articulate the embeddedness of sound knowledge in Tunisian bodies, place, musics, architecture, and their conglomerate assemblages.

Lest my attention to the political, social, and acoustic aspects of *ma'lūf* listening leave you wanting for its moving poetic and musical beauty, I do hope you will put this down a moment and listen to its *qwela*, its speaking. Despite prevailing claims that the *Andalusī* way of life is a thing of the past in Tunisia, its weighty nostalgia hangs heavy in the jasmine blossoms' musk at the end of an evening's music and its taste lingering on the tongues of new listeners.

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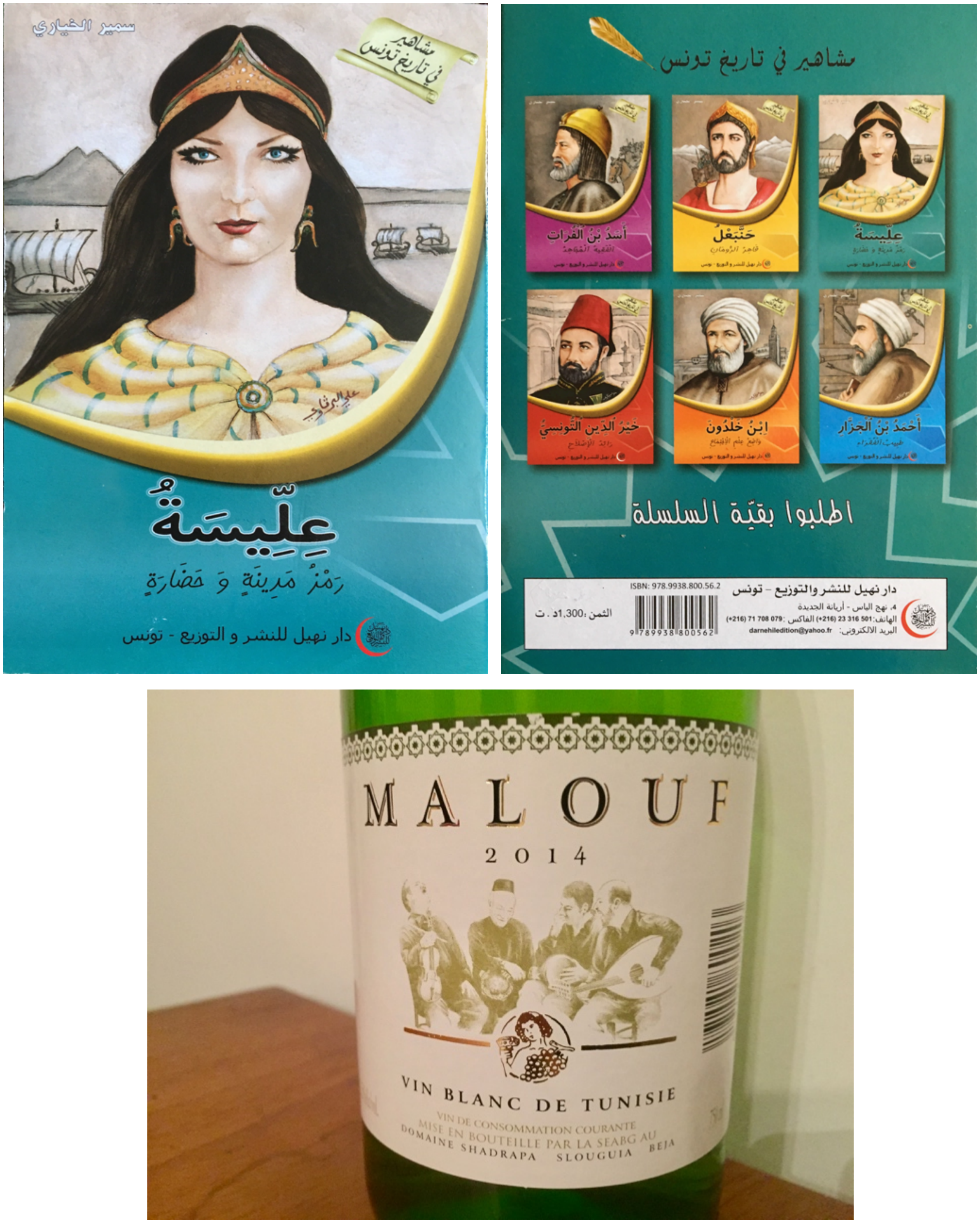
[7] As Bond (2017: 135) reminds, Khairredine Pasha al-Tounsi was not Tūnsī, but Circasian, originating from Abkhazi, an area that is now Georgia.

[8] Slouguia is named for the sloughi, a breed of sighthound dog storied to have come from *al-Andalus* and still used for sheepherding in the *Maghrib.* I have been through Slouguia several times and despite my searching, have never seen a sloughi anywhere in Tunisia.

[9] See the Shadrapa Domain website: www.domaineshadrapa.net. Similarly, Magon of Les Vignerons de Carthage, perhaps the best-known wine available in Tunisia today, owes its name to a Carthaginian agrarian who lived during the eighth-century BC (Bond 2017: 152).

[10] See Pritchard 1978 for more on archaeological evidence of Shadrapa worship in Carthage and Leptis Magna.

[11] See also Colwell 2010 on Tunisian musical and cultural hybridity.


سمير الخياري
مشاهير في تاريخ تونس
عِلّيسَةُ
رَمْزُ مَدِينَةٍ وَ حَضَارَةٍ
دار نهيل للنشر و التوزيع - تونس
مشاهير في تاريخ تونس
أسد بن الفرات
حنبعل
عليسة
خير الدين التونسي
ابن خلدون
أحمد بن الجزار
اطلبوا بقيّة السلسلة
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2014
VIN BLANC DE TUNISIE
VIN DE CONSOMMATION COURANTE
MISE EN BOUTEILLE PAR LA SEABG AU
DOMAINE SHADRAPA SLOUGUIA BEJA

Figure 56 (top left and right) children's' history books on "*'Allīsa*" (date) and other Tunisian heroes. (bellow) A bottle of Domaine Sadrapa "Malouf" white wine.

GLOSSARY

Note: For words beginning with emphatic Arabic letters, see closest Alphabetic English letter.

Guide to Abbreviations

Ar. – Arabic (*Fuṣḥa*, Modern Standard Arabic)
Fa. – Persian
Fr. – French
Gr. – Greek
He. – Hebrew
It. – Italian
Ja. – Japanese
La. – Latin
Ta. – Tamazight (*Amazīght*, i.e. Berber, language)
Tn. – Tūnsī (*Darija*, Tunisian word or usage of a term particular to Tunisian contexts)

‘adhāb al-qabr : Ar., the “Punishment of the Grave,” *Qur’anic* concept.
‘alājī : Ar., meaning “slave,” used historically to refer to female Christian slave singers in the Tunisian Islamic court (~1700s-1882), to *café* singers in the early twentieth century, and to the women of the Beylical haram.
‘amāma : Ar., carved stone sculptures in the shape of the turban worn by the great *Andalusī* philosophers, mathematicians, scientists, poets, and religious leaders.
‘arūbī : Tunisian term for solo vocal improvisation, often unmetered.
‘aruḍ : Ar., the study of Ar. poetic meter (scansion).
‘aṣabiyya : Ibn Khaldun’s term for the feeling of tribal and familial groupness.
‘aṣā’il : Ar., literally “original,” meaning “authentic,” legitimate, or correct.
‘ayn al-baṣīra : Ar., “spiritual eyesight,” meaning the ability to see beyond literal, superficial, earthly, surface-level meaning to inner and more important value.
‘Īd al-Kabīr : Ar., “Big Festival,” or *Eid al-Adha*, “Festival of the sacrifice,” the most holy day in Islam, which commemorates Ibraham’s (Abraham’s) willingness to sacrifice his son as an act of obedience to God’s command.
‘ūd : Ar., a fretless lute of the Arab-Persian-Turkic musical world.
‘ūd ‘Arabī : Tn., the Tunisian fretless lute, which differs from its Middle Eastern relative (‘*ūd Sharqī*) in its size (relatively smaller), shape and proportions (more pear shaped), and stringing (four double courses of strings rather than six courses). The neck is also not bent like the ‘*ūd Sharqī.* It is said to have *Andalusī* origins.
‘ūd Tūnsī: Tn., alternate term for *ūd ‘arabī* (see above).
‘ūd Sharqī : Tn., the Middle Eastern style fretless lute which has come to be considered as a pan-Arab standard. The body is larger, wider, and more rounded than the *ūd ‘arabī*, it has five double courses of strings and one base string, and the neck is bent as a sharp angle away from the body of the instrument.
adhān : Ar., the call to prayer that is recited five times a day across the Islamic world.
abwāb : see *bāb*
abyāt : see *bayt*

Ahl al-Kitāb : Ar., the "people of the book," an Islamic term referring to the combined community of Muslims, Jews, and C.

al-‘āṣima : Ar., the "capital" as in "*Tunis al-‘asima.*"

al-āla : Ar., literally "instrumental," common term for Moroccan *Andalusī* music.

al-Andalus : Ar., term for Islamic Iberia (dates).

al-baḥr : Ar., "the sea."

al-bulbul : Ar., literally "the blackbird," one of the names of Ziryab, the legendary master ‘oud player who is storied to have established the *Andalusī* musical style of Cordoba. The name alludes to the songbird's melodious voice.

al-faza' min al-firāgh : Ar., "the fear of emptiness," a characteristic of the *Andalusī*, according to some Tunisians.

al-fallāḥīn : Ar., rural subsistence farmers.

al-firdaws : Ar., the highest level of heavenly paradise.

al-firdaws al-mafqūd : Ar., "the lost paradise," which refers to the loss of Islamic Iberia to Catholic Spain and Portugal.

al-ḥimāya al-faransiyya : Ar., "French colonialism" or more particularly, the Fr. protectorate in Tunisia (1881-1956).

al-ḥirf : Ar., "the crafts" as in artisan trades.

al-insān : Ar., "the people."

al-khiṭāb : Ar., "the speech."

al-makān : Ar., "the place" (geographic place).

al-mansiyāt : Ar., literally "the forgotten [things]," a body of songs from the city of El Kef the lyrics of which speak about history and everyday life.

al-mūsīqa al-Andalusiyya : Ar., "the *Andalusī* Music," a broad term encompassing contemporary all music, historical and contemporary, that are thought to have developed from the music of the medieval Islamic courts of Iberia.

al-nāss al-ākharūn : Ar., "the other people," a term used to refer to black Tunisians.

al-sha‘b : Ar., literally "the people," meaning "the common people" or citizens.

al-tarsīm al-firdawsī : Ar., "paradisiac design," a *Qur'anic* concept.

al-zamān : Ar., "the time."

Amazīgh (pl. *Amazīghen*): Ta., the indigenous peoples of the *Maghrib.*

Andalusī : Ar., Adjectival form of "al-Andalus," my be used to refer to anything that originated in *al-Andalus* like people, music, aesthetics, etc.

antiphónisi : Gr., "antiphony" or echo, may also refer to a call-and-response form in music, theater, or poetry.

ayyām zamān : Ar., "the olden days," typically used to refer nostalgically to a past time when things were better.

āwzān : see *wazn*

bāb (pl. *abwāb*) : Ar., "door."

bashraf (pl. *bashārif*): Ar., an instrumental *ma'lūf* compositional form.

bandī : from the Fr. *bandit*, twentieth-century Tunisian laborers who developed *mezwid.*

barwal : Ar., a vocal *ma'lūf* song form.

bayt (pl. *abyāt*) : Ar., a verse or line of poetry.

bendīr (pl. *benādir*) : Tn., large one-faced frame drum with three snares.

Bey : Ar., the governor of a district or province in the Ottoman Empire.

bḥūr (sing. *baḥr*): Ar., poetic meters.

bit al-bellar : Ar., "room of mirrors" at the Bardo Palace.

bkhūr : Ar., incense.

blēd : Tn., "land" or "country" (Fuṣḥa: *balad*).

blēdī : Tn., landed aristocracy or social elites, especially in Tunis and other urban areas

byūt al-ʿalājī : Ar., literally, "house of the Christian slaves," term used for the women's apartments at the Bardo Palace.

café chantants : Fr., "singing *café*," a *café* with live music, especially of the early- to mid-twentieth century in Tunis.

café Maure : Fr., "Moorish café," an *Andalusī* style coffee house.

cavea : La, "enclosure," the sloping stepped seating of a Roman theater or amphitheater.

chadar : Fa, literally "shawl" or "veil," orthogonal channels of water in a paradisiac garden that intersect in the center at right angles.

chaux : Fr., lime used to make plaster and stucco.

clionāt : Tn., Ar. plural of Fr. *client*, "clients" or "patrons."

colons : Fr., "colonials" especially to Fr. people residing in Tunisia during the protectorate.

convivencia : Spanish, "coexistence," term used to describe the relatively peaceful coexistence of Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Medieval *al-Andalus.*

cupola : It., an architectural dome, sometimes used metonymically to refer to a domed building.

coupole : Fr., an architectural dome, sometimes used metonymically to refer to a domed building.

dād : Tn., wood chips from a particular tree burned as incense and used (un-burned) as an apotropaic substance that is said to ward off bad spirits from the home.

dār al-harīm : Ar., "house of the haram," term used for the women's apartments at the Bardo Palace.

dār al-thaqāfa (pl. *diyār al-thaqāfa*) : Ar., "house of culture," public municipal buildings that are typically preserved historic homes used today as event spaces and museums.

darbūka : Ar., ceramic hourglass drum played under the arm and struck with the hand.

Darija : Ar., the Tunisian dialect of Arabic also used broadly to refer to dialects in the *Maghrib.*

decadence : Fr., literally "decline," used by Tunisian and Fr. music enthusiasts and scholars to describe what they perceived to be a diminished interest in, care for, and performance of *ma'lūf,* especially at the turn and first few decades of the twentieth century.

degla : Tn., "date," fruit of the date palm.

dhawb : Ar., literally "melt," Sufi religious concept in which many human bodies meld together into a shared harmonious existence.

dhikr : Ar., literally "remembrance," a Sufi religious ritual which entails repetition of the name of God and which ideally leads to an altered state among participants.

dhūq : Tn., "taste," Ar. *dhawq.*

direct : Tn., from the Fr., equal parts hot coffee and milk.

dkhūl al-barāwal : Tn., literally "entrances to the *barwal,*" *ma'lūf* song that precedes the *barwal.*

draj : Ar., a vocal *ma'lūf* song form.

driba (pl. *dribāt*) : Ar., an narrow alley, especially in a *medina.*

éveil musical : Fr., "musical awakening" or introduction to music, a term used in Tunisian musical education.

fannānīn/fannānāt (sing. *fannān*, *fannāna*) : Ar., literally "artists," musicians.

farighāt al-drāj : Ar., an instrumental *ma'lūf* song form.

fil : Ar., jasmine flower.

firqa : Ar., musical ensemble.

fitna : Ar., a social misstep, *faux pas*, or catastrophe.

foundou : Ar., vocal song form.

Fuṣḥa : Ar., Modern Standard Arabic language.

gasba : Ta., literally "reed," a large reed flute associated with the South in Tunisia.

ghannā : Ar., "sing."

gharnāṭi : Ar., literally "from Granada," term used for the *Andalusī* music in western Algeria.

gumbrī : Ta., plucked lute used in Tunisian *sṭambēlī* music, akin to the *gimbrī* used in Moroccan Gnawa music.

ḥadā : Ar., literally "to urge camels on with music," to urge, incite, or spur on.

ḥaddā' : Ar., "camel driver."

ḥadīth : Ar., literally "commentary" or "talk," in Islam, the collection of sayings and stories about the Prophet Muhammad with accounts of his daily habits.

ḥadīth al-ma'lūf : Ar., folkloric stories, sayings, and magical elements associated with Tunisian *ma'lūf.*

ḥaḍra : Ar., Sufi praise song repertoire of place-specific honorific songs praising local Muslim saints (called *Sīdi* or *Lilla*). In the twenty-first century, *ḥaḍra* typically refers to staged, a stylized performance of these songs nestled among performance of *dhikr*, a repetition and remembrance of God. The troupes that currently give large-scale staged shows in the greater Tunis area focus on songs that are widely familiar to general audiences alongside their local canon of songs.

hanūt (pl. *hanānīt*) : Tn., a small shop.

ḥammām (pl. *ḥammāmāt*) : Ar., a public thermal bath.

ḥess : Ar., "feeling."

hibiki : Ja., "resonance," an important aesthetic aspect of *chindon ya* street music performance and listening in Japan (see Abe 2018).

ḥijāb : Ar., Islamic headscarf.

ḥijābī : Ar., a woman who wears the Islamic headscarf in public places.

ḥizib al-laṭif : Ar., a social musical event performed to cleanse a physical space of its spirits, especially during housewarming parties when new occupants are moving in.

Ifrīqiya : Ar. from La. possibly from Ta., name for the geographic area of Tunisia, Eastern Algeria, and Western Libya that constituted a region in the medieval period, the boundaries of which were derived from the ancient Roman province of Africa Proconsularis. *Ifrīqiya* and *Africa* may be derived from the indigenous *Tamazight* word *ifri*, meaning "tribe."

ifṭār : Ar., the fast-breaking meal eaten by Muslims after sunset during *Ramaḍān.*

imām : Ar., leader of prayer in a mosque.

istiḥsān : Ar., literally "to seek/request beauty," verbal expressions of delight and encouragement expressed during live music listening, especially to create *ṭarab*, in the Arab world.

jam' : Ar., (in)gathering, union, and unity (see During 1997:133).

jāma', (pl. *jāma'āt*) : Ar., a larger mosque.

jāma' al-kabīr : Ar., literally "big mosque," a larger mosque.

janna : Ar., "heaven" or "paradise."

jawāb : Tn., "echo," or "answer," repetition of a musical phrase by instrumentalists in a call-and-response (antiphonal) form.

jaww (pl. *ajwā'*) : Tn., literally "air," "climate," or "weather," the affective social atmosphere required for and created during musical performance and which is also tied aspects of physical place (see Chapter 3).

jaww al-'arūs : also *jaww laarousette*, Tn., "*jaww* of the wedding."

jazīrat al-Andalus : Ar., literally "the peninsula/island of *al-Andalus*," common term for the Iberian peninsula.

jazā'ir al-Andalus : Ar., literally "the islands of *al-Andalus*," a play on words that includes the *Maghrib* as part of *al-Andalus,* Glasser's "*Andalusī* archipelago (2016).

jibba : Ar., an article of Tunisian clothing, typically embroidered, a long loose Islamic garment.

jibs : Tn., "gypsum" used to make plaster.

jinn (pl. *jnūn* or *jinn*): Ar., beings in Islamic cosmology that share some characteristics of angels and some of humans. They may be beneficent, maleficent, or innocuous toward people.

jīyūb : Tn., a call for instrumentalists to "answer!" a vocal phrase with its repetition.

jumla : Tn., literally "sentence," (1) a musical phrase, (2) the characteristic musical phrases ascribed to individual *ṭabū'a.*

jum'a : Ar., Islamic Friday prayer. See also, *Yawm al-Jum'a.*

ka'k waraqa : Tn., sweet pastries flavored with *nisrī* flower water.

kanūn : Tn., terracotta or metal incense burner.

kelimāt : Ar., "words" or musical lyrics.

kemanj : Tn., violin. Also called *jrana*, meaning "frog."

khafīf : Ar., "light" or less serious, especially in terms of lyrical content of songs. Also gives name to a *ma'lūf* song form.

kharaja (pl. *kharajāt*) : Tn., Sufi religious procession or parade.

kharīṭa : Ar., literally "what is carved, cut or shaped" or "map" : (1) an artisan who specializes in the decorative carving or stucco or wood, (2) a scar on the skin.

khatm : Tn., the final song of the Tunisian *nūba* suite form.

khidma sūrī : Tn., literally "Syrian work," meaning "foreign work," performing ritual music in staged secular settings.

khiṭāb al-ma'lūf : Tn., "speech of *ma'lūf* ," various speech genres of *ma'lūf* including the speech between the stock characters that live within the lyrics, the *ḥadīth al-ma'lūf* (mythical associations and magical stories), and *amthāl al-ma'lūf* (proverbs that are said to have originated in the music and other sayings that circulate about the efficacies and ethical obligations of musicking and listening).

kūrāl : Tn., from the French "choral," a choir or singing club.

la belle époque : Fr., "the golden age," a period of history for which Tunisians are nostalgic (the good old days).

Lag b'Omer : He., Jewish religious holiday especially popular among Jews from the Tunisian island of Djerba, a revalrous commemoration of the death of the second-century Rabbi Akiva.

layālī : Ar., Middle Eastern term for vocal improvisation mostly on the vocable “ya layl.”

lāzima (pl. *lawāzim*) : Ar., Middle Eastern term for vocal ornamental filler between lyric verses.

lilla : Tn., honorific name for a female saint.

louage : Tn., from the French *louage* meaning “renting,” a minibus shared taxi between towns.

lū’lū’ : Ar., “pearl.”

Maghrib : Ar., the region of the Arab world extending west from Egypt. Includes present day Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco.

Maghribī : Ar., from the *Maghrib* region.

ma’lūf : Tn., the Tunisian *Andalusī* musical repertoire, traditions, and practice.

ma’lūf al-ḥazl : Tn., literally “light *ma’lūf* ,” branch of Tunisian *ma’lūf* with a history of instrumental performance in small ensembles in more ‘secular’ and ‘private’ contexts including in (1) the Ottoman Tunisian palace for the *Bey* and his court, (2) the homes, gardens, and courtyards of aristocratic social elites, and in (3) the more public, popular, vernacular, or ‘vulgar’ context of public *cafés*. The repertory draws upon the classical Arabic poetry thought to have been composed, at least in part, in medieval *al-Andalus*. This high-art branch is now considered the dominant form of *ma’lūf.* Shares many modes, rhythms, melodies, and conventions with its close relative, *ma’lūf al-judd.*

ma’lūf al-judd : Tn., literally “serious *ma’lūf* ,” branch of Tunisian *ma’lūf* with a history of participatory ritual performance in sacred contexts and venues (1) in the Islamic Sufi *zāwiya* (the “lodge” or meeting house of the Sūfī brotherhood) and (2) for (semi)-private communal family lifecycle celebrations (circumcision, teeth cutting, weddings) and public holiday celebrations in the forms of Sufi *kharajāt* (sing. *kharaja*) and *ziyārāt* (sing. *ziyāra*). Lyrics explore sacred themes. Shares many modes, rhythms, melodies, and conventions with its close relative, *ma’lūf al-ḥazl.*

ma’lūf Tūnsī : Tn., Tunisian *ma’lūf* (as opposed to Libyan or north eastern Algeria.

ma’lūf qabl : Tn., literally “old *ma’lūf,* ” *ma’lūf* in *ayyām zamān* (the golden days).

maqām (pl. *maqāmāt*) : Ar., Middle Eastern musical term for musical modes (more typically referred to as *ṭabū‘a* in Tunisia).

marabūt : Ar., a Tunisian saint.

masjid (pl. *masājid*) : Ar., a small mosque.

mawwāl : Ar., a Middle Eastern genre of vocal music that begins with emotionally expressive *layālī* and features prolonged vowel syllables.

medina : Ar., literally “city,” the oldest part of a city that was built before the French protectorate.

madrasa : Ar., an Islamic school.

melbūs : Tn., a term for spiritual occupation of the body, especially in relation to *sṭambēlī* or *ḥaḍra,* when a person is said to be “worn” as the clothes of a spirit.

mélomanes : Fr., term for musical aficionados in the Algerian *Andalusī* context.

mentalité : Fr. “mentality,” “philosophy,” or “way of thinking.”

meshmūm : Ar., literally “fragrant,” small bouquets of jasmine, lemon, or orange blossom buds, delicately wound together to be worn tucked behind the ear.

meskīn/ meskīna : Ar., a term used generally for a poor, pathetic, or sickly person and term for spiritual occupation of the body, especially in relation to *sṭambēlī* or *ḥaḍra,* when a person is said to be “lived in” by a spirit.

mezwid : Tn., a Tunisian bagpipe which also lends its name to the genre of popular song centered around the instrument or its synthesized derivatives, with singing, and percussion (see Chapter 3).

miḥrāb : Ar., a niche carved into the wall of Islamic places of worship facing the *qibla,* the direction of the Islamic holy city of Mecca.

mizān : Ar., a repeated underlying rhythmic pattern, also "*wazn.*"

amthāl al-ma'lūf (sing. *mithāl al-ma'lūf*) : Ar., may refer to (1) a proverb associated with or "come from" *ma'lūf* or (2) an "example" to short melodies, songs, or excerpts from the *ma'lūf* repertoire that demonstrate the various characteristic aspects of different Tunisian melodic modes (*ṭabū'a*).

Morisco : Sp., An immigrant from *al-Andalus* or Andalusia, especially those who left after 1492 and who had converted (if superficially) to Christianity.

mudéjar : Sp. from the Ar. *mudajjan* "tamed," refers to the people, artwork, and *Andalusī*-influenced customs of post-Islamic Spain.

Mūriskīyūn : Tn., Tunisian term for all *Andalusī* immigrants and their descendants.

musique savante : Fr. "scholarly music," typically refers to *ma'lūf* in the Tunisian context.

mutaḥaḍḍira : Ar., "civilized."

mutaran : Tn., possibly derived from Ar., *taran* to "seize, overcome, prevail," a derogatory name for anyone who gave up their Tunisian identity for that of the colonizer.

muṭrib/ muṭriba : Ar., someone who creates *ṭarab*, a singer.

muwashshaḥ (pl. *muwashshḥāt*) : Ar., literally "girdled," term used for a secular poetic form and the musical rendering of that poetry.

nādī : Ar., "club."

naqqārāt : Tn., small kettle drums in a set of two.

naqsha haddīd : Tn., literally "iron-carved," ornate decorative carved stucco.

nasīj : Ar., literally "textile, fabric," clothing or textile crafts.

nay : Ar., a bamboo flute common across the Arab world.

nisma : Ar., "breeze."

nisrī : Tn., a specific white varietal of the dog rose (*Rosa canina*) that is cultivated in the Tunisian *Andalusī* town of Zaghouan for the production of flower water. It is said to have been brought from *al-Andalus* with the *Mūriskīyūn.*

nūba (pl. *nūbāt*) : Tn., literally "a rotation" or "turn," the musical suite characteristic of Tunisian *ma'lūf* and other *Maghrebi Andalusī* musics. *Nūba* may also stand as an alternative term for the genre, repertoire, and tradition of *ma'lūf,* especially in its sacred form (i.e. *nūba wa-ḥaḍra*). There are thirteen complete *nūbāt* in the extant Tunisian *ma'lūf* repertoire.

nujūm : Ar., "stars."

patrimoine : Fr., *patrimoine,* "heritage," often used synonymously with the Ar. *turāth.*

qā'id (pl. *qāda*) : Ar., regional administration leaders of municipal regions during the French Protectorate (1881-1956).

qahwa : Ar., "coffee" or "coffee house."

qahwa Andalusīyya : Tn., an *Andalusī*-style coffee house in Tunisia.

qahwa 'Arabī : Tn., "Arabic coffee," a small strong coffee brewed whose grounds settle in the bottom of the cup.

qahwājī : Tn., the person who prepares and serves you coffee.

qāla : Tn., to "speak" the words of *ma’lūf* in song.

qānūn : Ar., a plucked trapezoidal zither originating in Turkey and the Levant.

qibla : Ar., orientation toward the holy city of Mecca, which Muslims are required to face during prayer.

qiyān (sing. *qayna*) : Ar., female singing slaves of the medieval Arab courts.

qubba : Ar., a small domed building typically marking the grave of a Muslim saint often used as a place of worship, pilgrimage site, and source of *baraka* (blessing).

qwela : Tn., "speaking" the words of *ma’lūf*, the skillful art of musical delivery.

Qur’ān : Ar., the Islamic holy book whose words were received in revelations to the Prophet Muhammad.

rabāb : Ar., a bowed fiddle with two strings played on the knee, predecessor to the *kamanj* (violin) in instrumental *ma’lūf* performance in Tunisia.

Rafraf : Ar., a butterfly made of rubies that lives in heaven.

Ramaḍān : Ar., the Islamic holy month in which Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset.

ras al-hanūt : Ar., a spice blend typically composed of ground coriander, caraway, pepper, garlic powder, clove, rosebud, and cinnamon, though it may include of upwards of twelve ingredients.

rigūta : Tn. from It., a soft white cow's milk cheese produced most famously in the town of Testour.

riḥ : Ar., "spirit" or "wind."

riht al-blēd : Tn., literally "smell of the country," refers to familiar sensuous reminders of Tunisia.

riq : Ar., a small single-faced tambourine, also called *tar.*

rūḥ : Ar., literally "spirit," may also refer in Tunisia to skilled musicianship and idiomatically creative musical improvisation.

ṣaḥrā’ : Ar., "desert."

sahariya (pl. *sahariyāt*) : Tn., from Ar. *sahara* meaning "to be sleepless" or "to stay up all night," an evening party or celebration, often with live music, that extends late into the night.

salons de thé : Fr., a *café* especially for mint tea in Tunisia.

salṭanah : Ar., modal ecstasy experienced by performer(s) when they listen to themselves and/or other musicians, which helps them to produce idiomatically appropriate, novel, and creative improvisations.

samā‘ : Ar., listening to religious music in Sufism.

samā‘ī : Ar., an instrumental *ma’lūf* song form.

ṣan‘a : Ar., literally "work of art," term used for the *Andalusī* music in central and eastern Algeria.

sawma‘ : Tn., minaret.

sewek : Ar., a strip of bark traditionally used as a toothbrush and endorsed by the Prophet Muhammad.

sha‘bī : Ar., "of the people," "popular," "typical."

shabāb : Ar., "youth" or "youngsters."

shajarat al-ṭabū‘a : Ar., "tree of the melodic modes."

shaqāshiq : Tn., onomatopoeia, metal concussive clappers used in *sṭambēlī.*

Sharqī : Ar., from the Middle East.

shaykh (pl. *shuyūkh* or *mashāyikh*) : Ar., an especially knowledgeable or wise older man, a musical master and culture-bearer.

shayāṭīn : Ar., “satans.”

sheshiya : Tn., a wool hat (often crimson colored) the production of which was a hugely popular and profitable industry established by *Andalusī* Tunisians, especially during the Ottoman period, at which time they were exported widely across the Mediterranean. They are still very popular in Tunisia today.

shīsha : Ar., “hookah.”

ṣḥūn : Tn., literally “plate,” an open-air courtyard typically found in Ottoman-style homes.

shkuba : Tn., a Tunisian card game still popular today.

sīdī : Tn., common honorific name for a male saint.

sillam : Ar., “musical scale.”

silsila (pl. *silsilāt*) : Tn., literally “chain,” a musical suite or series of connected songs.

sṭambēlī : Tn., a ritual healing music performed by black Tunisian musicians. Performed using song, *gumbrī, shaqāshiq*, *bendīr*, and sometimes additional types of drums (see Chapter 2).

sūra : Ar., a verse of the *Qur’an.*

ṣūt : Tn., “voice” or “sound,” Ar. *sawt.*

ṣūt al-blāsa : Tn., author’s term, “voice of the place” or “sound of the place.”

ta’thīr : Ar., literally “efficacy, effect, or influence,” general term for the specific associations connected to different melodic modes.

ṭaba‘ (pl. *ṭabū‘a*) : Tn., melodic mode.

ṭabī‘ī : Ar., “natural.”

Tamazight : Ta., general term for the languages of the *Amazigh* (Berbers), indigenous *Maghrebī* people.

ṭarab : Ar., a state of sound-generated ecstasy for musicians and listeners of Arab-Persian-Turkic art music performance (see Chapter 3).

tarannum : Ar., Middle Eastern term for melodic vocables.

ṭarāṭin : Ar., *Maghrebī* term for melodic vocables used to fill space between verses.

ṭarīqa (pl. *ṭarīqāt*) : Ar., “path,” (1) a Sufi order, (2) a way of life, worship, and practice, (3) in the musical sense: laying a musical melody over time.

tasbīḥ : Ar., an evening prayer service during *Ramaḍān.*

taṭrīz : Ar., “embroidery.”

tawrīq : Ar., Egyptian art of instrumentally accompanying the leading solo voice.

tawshiyya : Tn., literally “embroidery,” a heavily improvisatory *ma’lūf* piece that departs from the *ṭaba‘* (the melodic mode used throughout the rest of the entire *nūba*) to be played in the ‘next’ *ṭaba‘* in the sequence of modes.

Tell : Tn., the agriculturally-rich rolling hills and plains of Tunisia’s Northwest.

thaqāfa : Ar., “culture.”

thawra : Ar., “revolution.”

Thawrat al-Karāmah : Ar., “Dignity Revolution,” the 2011 Tunisian revolution that led to the ousting of former President Ben Ali.

Tunis al-‘āṣima : Ar., the capital city of Tunis (in distinction from “Tunis” the country).

Tunis al-Khaḍra’ : Ar., “Tunis the Green/Verdant.”

Tunis al-Maḥrūsa : Ar., “Tunis the Well-Protected.”

Tūnsī: Tn., Tunisian.

turāth : Ar., "heritage," often used synonymously with the Fr *patrimoine.*

umma : Ar., the whole community of Muslims bound together by shared religion across the world.

ville ouverte : Fr., "open city," in terms of war, a city which has announced it has abandoned all defensive efforts, generally in the event of the imminent capture of the to avoid destruction. Once a city has declared itself an open city, the opposing military will be expected to peacefully occupy the city rather than destroy it. In general, a city that is perceived to be welcoming, open, and hospitable.

ville nouvelle : Fr., "new city," referring to urban areas developed during the French protectorate. In contrast with a *medina*, the old city.

waḥīd/waḥīda : Ar., "alone" or "lonely."

waḥdat al-shu'ur : Ar., literally "unity of feeling," Sufi religious concept in which many human bodies meld together into a shared harmonious existence.

waḥdat al-wujūd : Ar., "the unity of existing/being," a Islamic concept that all parts are integral. A key guiding principle in Islamic visual aesthetics, seen especially in repeated patterns.

wālī : Tn., less common honorific name for a male saint.

wargaliyya : Tn., blacks from Southern Tunisian oases who are considered as more or less 'indigenous.'

waṣla (pl. *waṣlāt*) :Ar., "link" or "connection." Middle Eastern term, a sequence or medly of songs.

wazn (pl. *āwzān*) : Ar., a repeated underlying rhythmic pattern, also "*mizān.*"

wudhin Ben Ali : Tn., "Ben Ali's ear," colloquial term for electrical transmission towers, suggesting use for surveillance by the regime.

yā-lā-lān : Ar., *Maghrebī* term for vocal ornamental filler between lyric verses.

yatsalṭan : Ar., a verbal form of the word *salṭana*, to be overcome with modal ecstasy.

yatsannat : Tn., *ma'lūf* listener's feeling of being chained or carried along by the *ṭabaʿ* (the melodic mode).

yasmīn : Ar., "jasmine."

Yawm al-Jumʿa : Ar., Friday, the day for *Jumʿa*, an Islamic weekly prayer service.

zalāj : Ar., glazed ceramic tiles.

zāwiya (pl. *zāwāya*) : Ar., Sufi brotherhood lodge, center for Sufi collective worship.

zīna : Ar., *Maghrebī* term for melodic vocables used to fill space between verses.

ziyāra (pl. *ziyārāt*) : Ar., literally "trip" or "journey," Sufi term for ritual pilgrimage.

zugharāt : Tn., celebratory social ululation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1
1A:

Verses from the Qur'ān describing *janna* (heaven) as a garden.
English translation from *The Study Qur'an: a New Translation and Commentary* (Nasr 2015)

Sura 2: The Cow: *al-Baqarah* سُورَةُ البَقَرَة

2: 25

وَبَشِّرِ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ أَنَّ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِن تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ ۖ كُلَّمَا رُزِقُوا مِنْهَا مِن ثَمَرَةٍ رِّزْقًا ۙ قَالُوا هَٰذَا
الَّذِي رُزِقْنَا مِن قَبْلُ وَأُتُوا بِهِ مُتَشَابِهًا وَلَهُمْ فِيهَا أَزْوَاجٌ مُّطَهَّرَةٌ وَهُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ

2: 25

And give glad tidings to those who believe and perform righteous deeds that theirs are Gardens with rivers running below. Whensoever they are given a fruit therefrom as provision, they say,"This is the provision we received aforetime," and they were given a likeness of it. Therein they have spouses made pure, and therein they shall abide.

Sura 13: The Thunder: *al-Ra'd* سُورَةُ الرَّعد

13: 4

وَفِي الْأَرْضِ قِطَعٌ مُّتَجَاوِرَاتٌ وَجَنَّاتٌ مِّنْ أَعْنَابٍ وَزَرْعٌ وَنَخِيلٌ صِنْوَانٌ وَغَيْرُ صِنْوَانٍ يُسْقَىٰ بِمَاءٍ وَاحِدٍ وَنُفَضِّلُ بَعْضَهَا
عَلَىٰ بَعْضٍ فِي الْأُكُلِ إِنَّ فِي ذَٰلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِّقَوْمٍ يَعْقِلُونَ

13: 4

Upon the earth are neighboring tracts, vineyards, sown fields, and date palms of a shared root and not of a shared root, watered by one water. And We have favored some above others in bounty. Truly in that are signs for a people who understand.

13: 23

جَنَّاتُ عَدْنٍ يَدْخُلُونَهَا وَمَن صَلَحَ مِنْ آبَائِهِمْ وَأَزْوَاجِهِمْ وَذُرِّيَّاتِهِمْ ۖ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ يَدْخُلُونَ عَلَيْهِم مِّن كُلِّ بَابٍ

13: 23

Gardens of Eden that they shall enter along with those who were righteous from among their fathers, their spouses, and their progeny; and angels shall enter upon them from every gate.

13: 35

مَّثَلُ الْجَنَّةِ الَّتِي وُعِدَ الْمُتَّقُونَ ۖ تَجْرِي مِن تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ ۖ أُكُلُهَا دَائِمٌ وَظِلُّهَا ۚ تِلْكَ عُقْبَى الَّذِينَ اتَّقَوا ۖ وَّعُقْبَى الْكَافِرِينَ النَّارُ

13: 35

The parable of the Garden that has been promised to the reverent: with rivers running below, its food everlasting, as is its shade. That is the ultimate end of those who were reverent, while the ultimate end of the disbelievers is the Fire!

Sura 47: Muhammad: *Muḥammad* سُورَةُ مُحَمَّد

47: 15

مَّثَلُ الْجَنَّةِ الَّتِي وُعِدَ الْمُتَّقُونَ ۖ فِيهَا أَنْهَارٌ مِّن مَّاءٍ غَيْرِ آسِنٍ وَأَنْهَارٌ مِّن لَّبَنٍ لَّمْ يَتَغَيَّرْ طَعْمُهُ وَأَنْهَارٌ مِّنْ خَمْرٍ لَّذَّةٍ لِّلشَّارِبِينَ وَأَنْهَارٌ
مِّنْ عَسَلٍ مُّصَفًّى ۖ وَلَهُمْ فِيهَا مِن كُلِّ الثَّمَرَاتِ وَمَغْفِرَةٌ مِّن رَّبِّهِمْ ۖ كَمَنْ هُوَ خَالِدٌ فِي النَّارِ وَسُقُوا مَاءً حَمِيمًا فَقَطَّعَ أَمْعَاءَهُمْ

47: 15

The parable of the Garden that has been promised to the reverent: therein lie rivers of water incorruptible, rivers of milk whose flavor does not change, rivers of wine delicious for those who imbibe, and rivers of purified honey. Therein they partake of every fruit and of forgiveness from their Lord. [Are they] like one who abides in the Fire and those who are made to drink a boiling liquid which then tears apart their bowels?

Sura 51: The Scatterers: *al-Dhāriyāt* سورة الذاريات*

51: 15

إِنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ فِي جَنَّاتٍ وَعُيُونٍ

51: 15

Truly the reverent shall be amidst gardens and springs

Sura 55: The Compassionate: *al-Raḥmān* سُورَةُ الرَّحْمٰن

55: 76

مُتَّكِئِينَ عَلَىٰ رَفْرَفٍ خُضْرٍ وَعَبْقَرِيٍّ حِسَانٍ

55: 76

They recline upon green cushions and beautiful wonders.

Sura 56: The Event: *al-Wāqiʿah* سُورَةُ الواقِعَة *

56: 89

فَرَوْحٌ وَرَيْحَانٌ وَجَنَّتُ نَعِيمٍ

56: 89:

Then comfort, bounty, and a Garden of bliss.

Sura 76: Man [Human]: *al-Insān* سورة الإنسان

76: 12

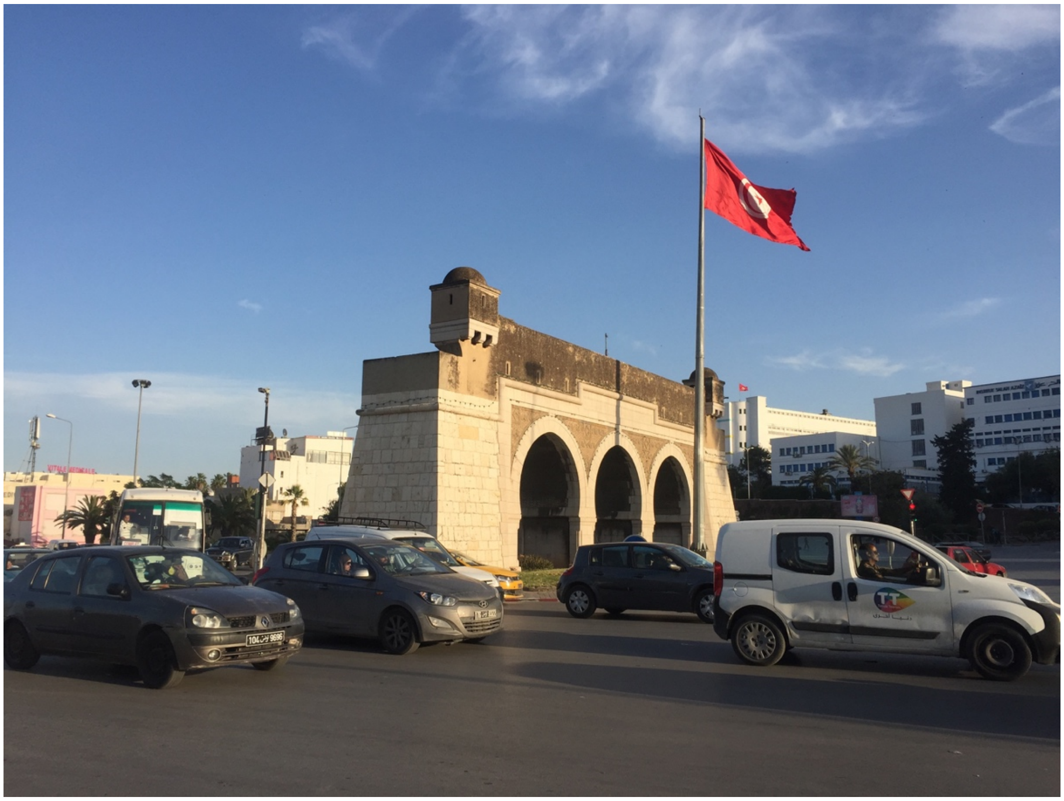
وَجَزَاهُم بِمَا صَبَرُوا جَنَّةً وَحَرِيرًا

76: 12

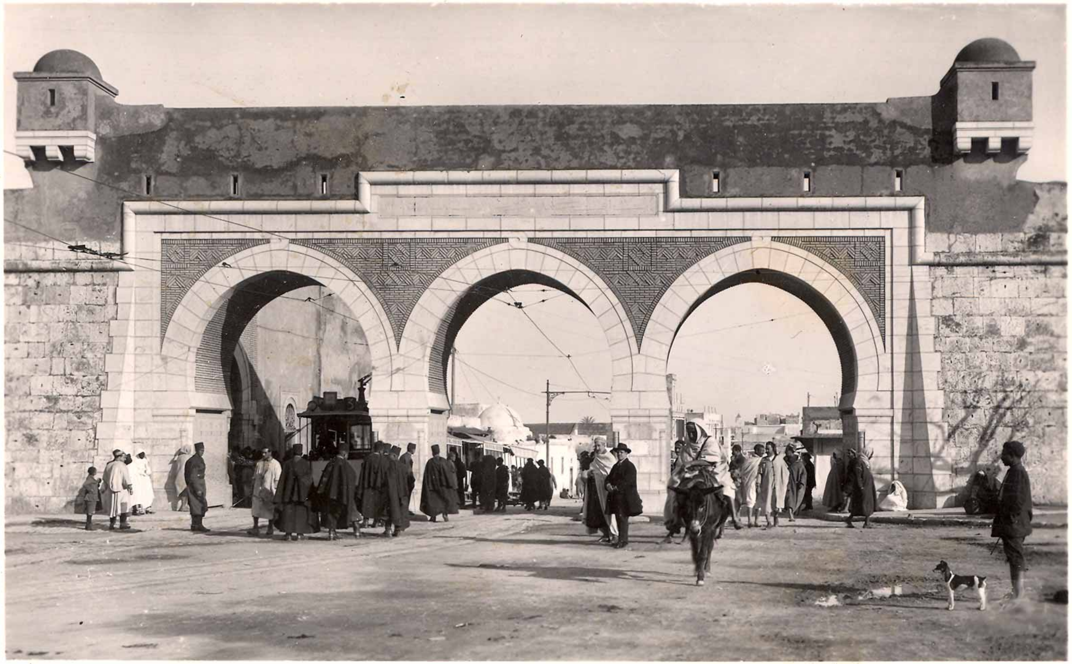
And rewarded them for having been patient with a Garden and with silk.

*not specifically identified by Hiba.

1B:

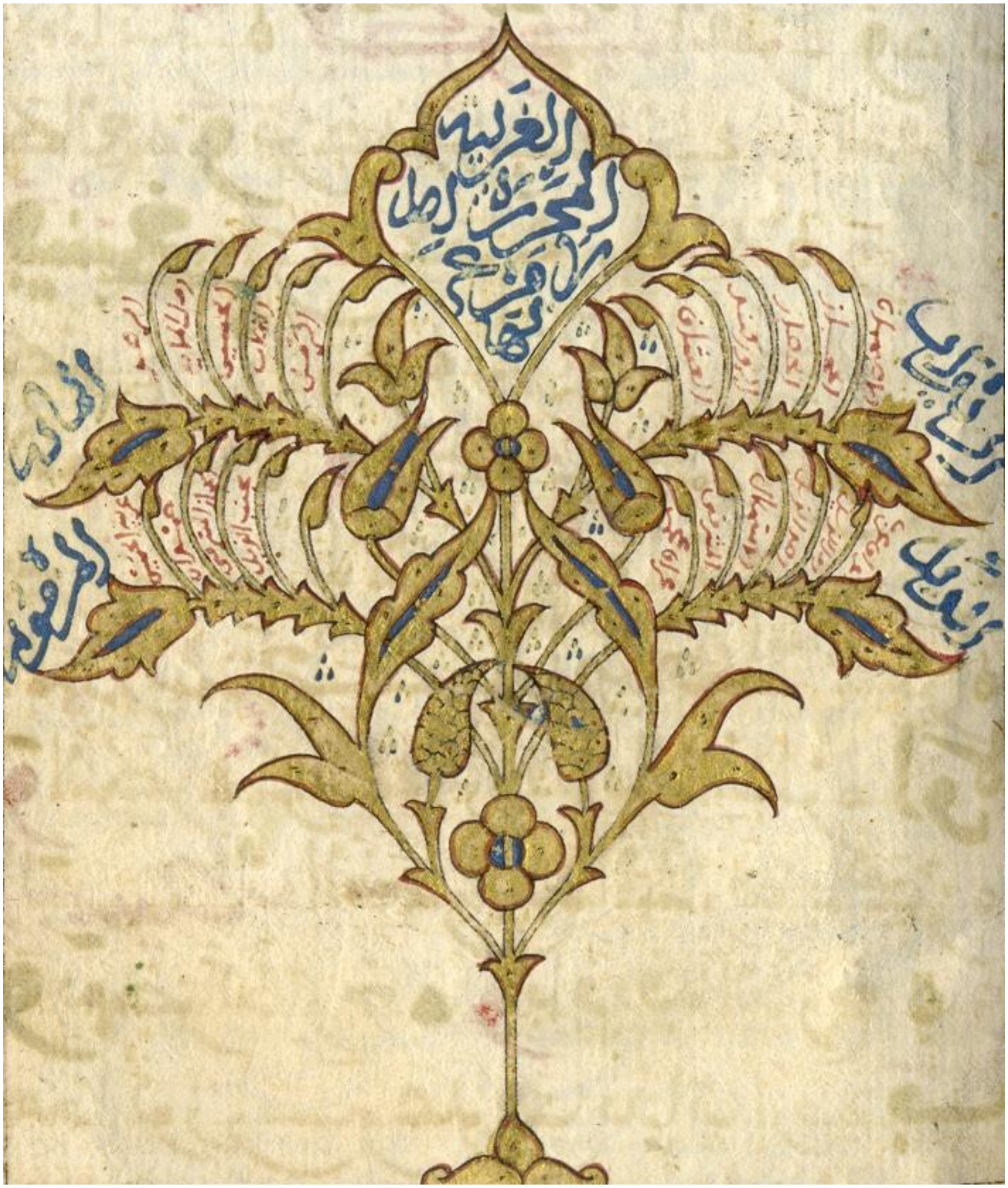


Bab Sa‘doun in 2017 (photograph by the author)

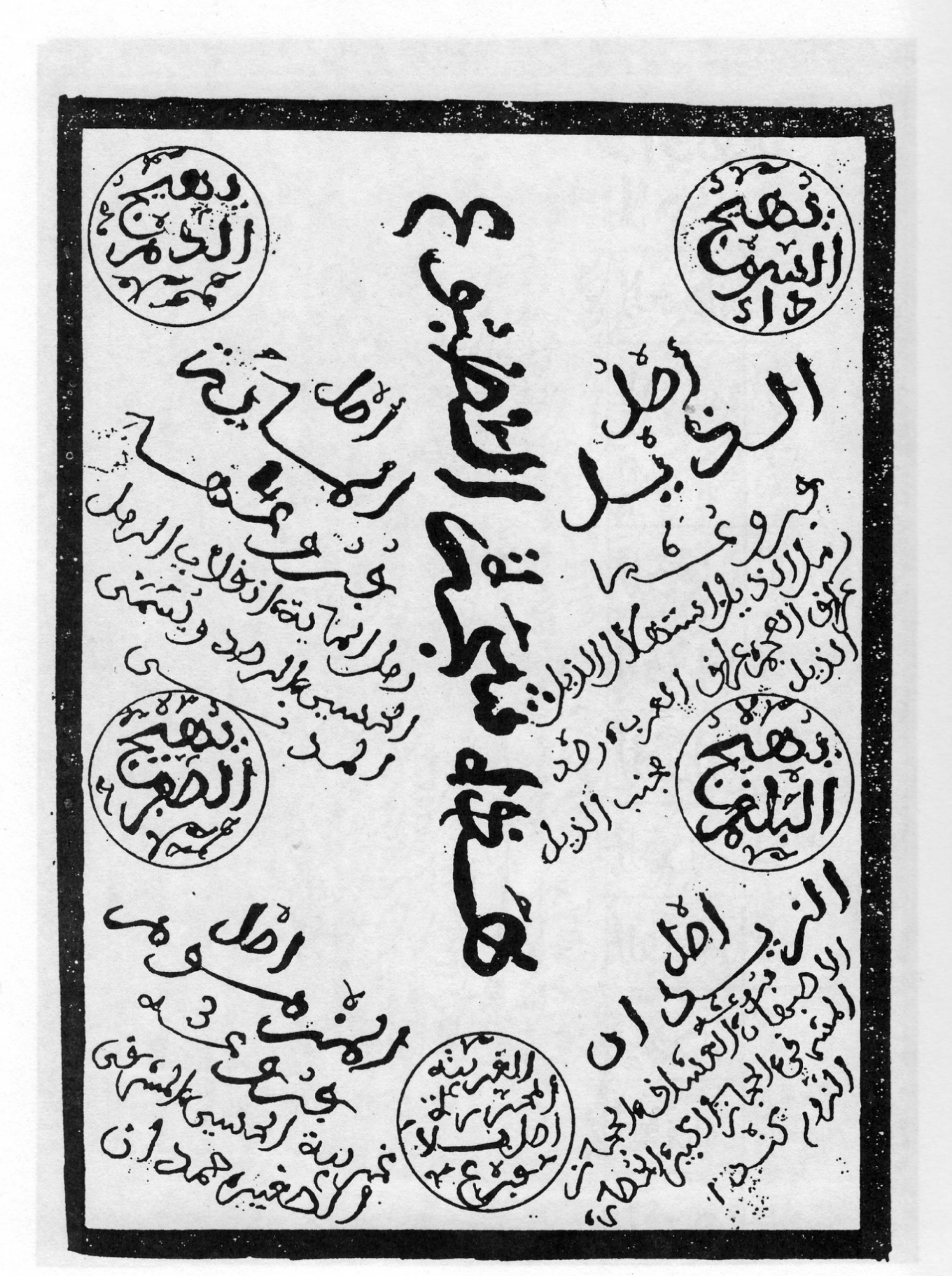


Bab Sa‘doun in 1940, image drawn from the public domain.

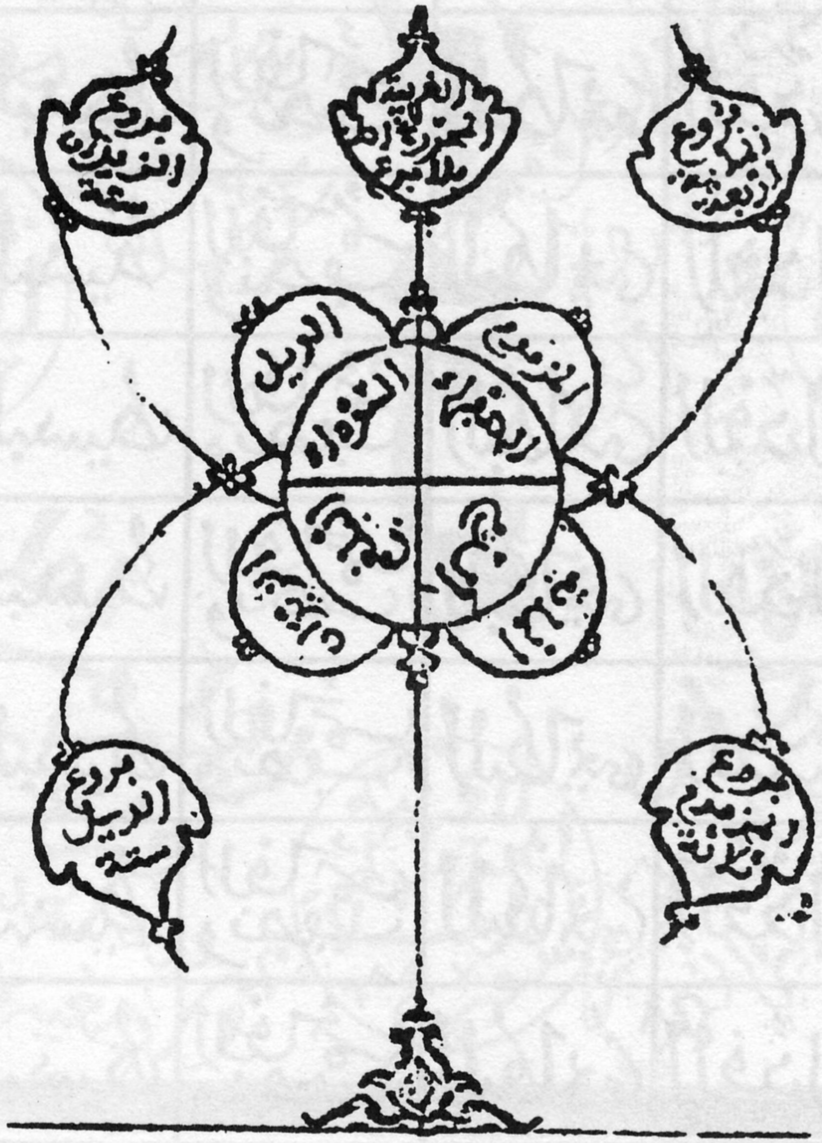
1C:



“Tree of Modes,” the classical classification of the modes of *Andalusī* music, excerpted from the manuscript al-Haiek from the library Daud in Tetuan. Ibn Abdallah Mohammed ibn al-Hussein al-Haik (born in Tétouan, Morocco) was a Moroccan poet, musician and author of a songbook (el-kunash) comprising eleven nūbas, that had been handed down for generations. The songbook, written in 1789, does not include the musical notation of the songs and is the single most important source on the early tradition of Classical *Andalusī* music. It also contains the names of the authors of the poems and melodies. The book was republished by Abdelkrim Rais in 1982.



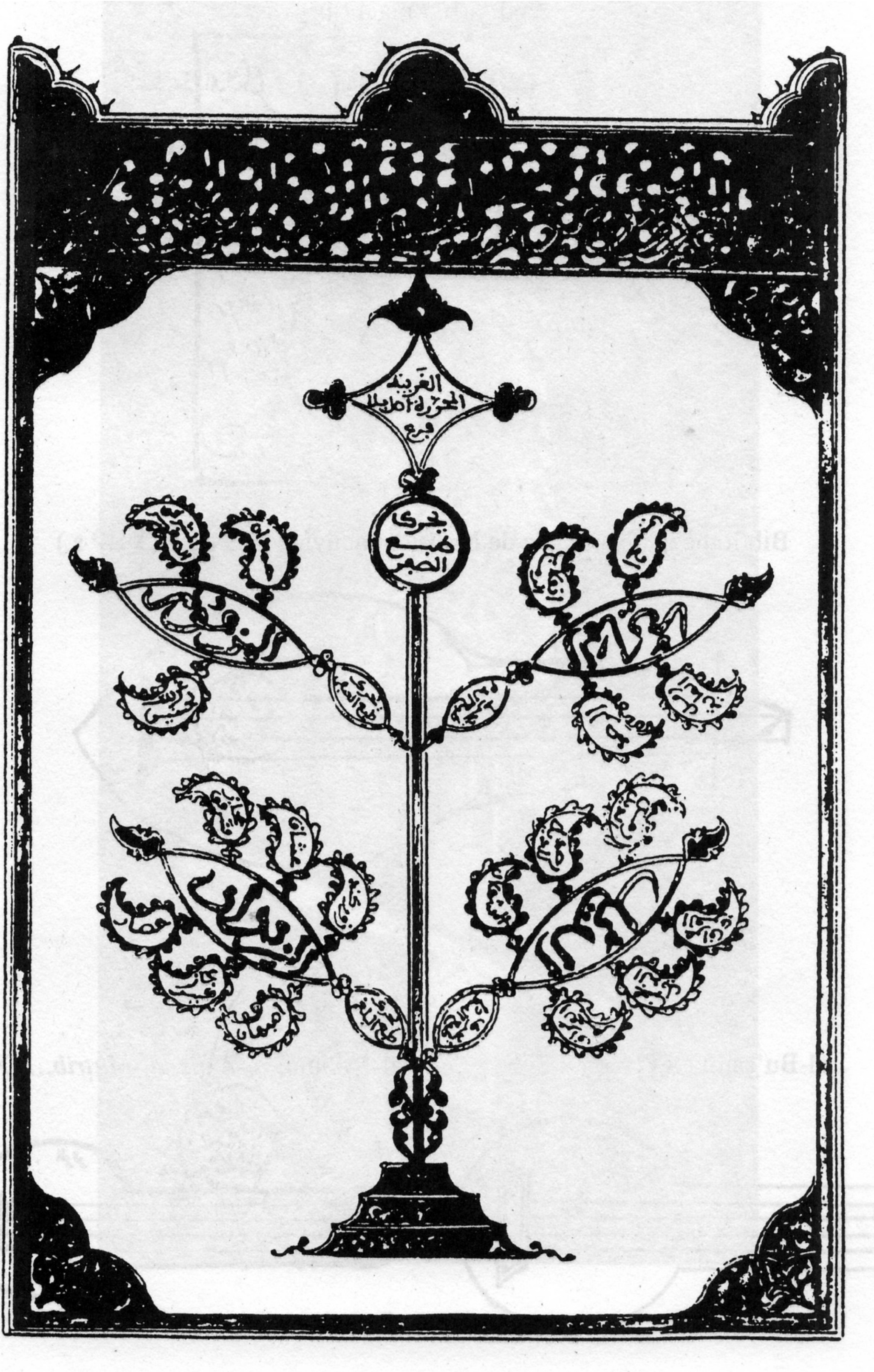
“*Une page de la plus ancienne edition d’al-Hayik*,” (“a page of the oldest edition of al-Hayik”) (Guettat 2000: Appendix XII).



al-'Alamī (XIX^{e} s.)

السوداء
الصفراء
بلغم
دم
الذيل
فروع الذيل ستة

Marked "al-'Alami (Nineteenth Century)" (Guettat 2000: Appendix XIV)

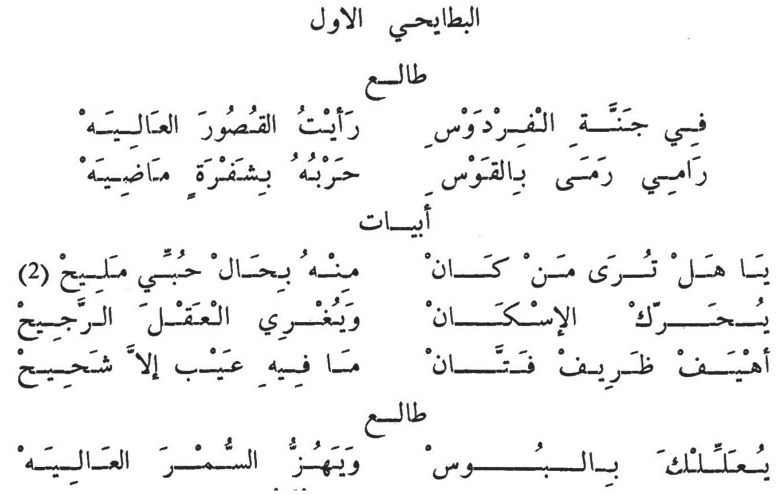

الغريبة
فرع
بحري
طبع
الصبر

No caption or additional information given (Guettat 2000: Appendix XV).

1D.

Examples of *ma'lūf* poetic description of gardens and plant life:

From *Nūbat al-Aṣbahān: Bṭayḥī al-awwal* (the First *Bṭayḥī*)
Transliteration and translation from Stapley 2007: 91



البطايحي الاول

طالع

فِي جَنَّةِ الْفِرْدَوْسِ   رَأَيْتُ الْقُصُورَ الْعَالِيَهْ
رَامِي رَمَى بِالْقَوْسِ   حَرْبُهُ بِشَفْرَةٍ مَاضِيَهْ

أبيات

يَا هَلْ تُرَى مَنْ كَانْ   مِنْهُ بِحَالْ حُبِّي مَلِيحْ (2)
يُحَرِّكْ الإسْكَانْ   وَيُغْرِي الْعَقْلَ الرَّجِيحْ
أهْيَفْ ظَرِيفْ فَتَّانْ   مَا فِيهِ عَيْبْ إلاَّ شَحِيحْ

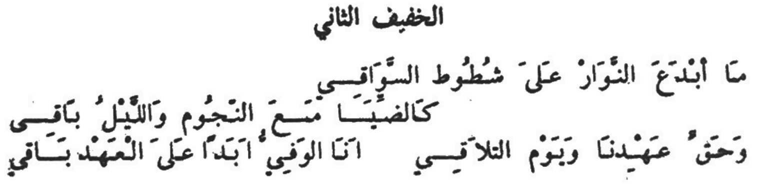
طالع

يُعَلِّلْكَ بِالْبُوسْ   وَيَهُزُّ السُّمْرَ الْعَالِيَهْ

Fi jannati al-firdawsi   *ru'aytu al-quṣūra al-ʻālīya*
Rāmī ramā bi-l-qawsi   *ḥarbahu bi-shafratin mādīya*
Yā hal turā man kān   *minhu bi-ḥāl ḥubbi malīh*
Yuḥarrak al-iskaan   *wa yighrī al-ʻaqla ar-rajīḥ*
'Ahyaf ḍarīf faṭṭān   *mā fihi ʻayb ilā shaḥīḥ*
Yuʻallika bi-l-būs   *wa yahuzzu as-sumra al-ʻālīya*

In the garden of paradise I saw the high palace
An archer aimed an arrow at me with his bow, his spear has a sharp blade
O I wonder who he was who was like my handsome lover
He stirs up the neighborhood and entices serious minds
Slender, elegant and charming, his only fault is stinginess
He distracts you with kisses, brandishing his tall lance.

From *Nūbat al-Sīkā: Khefīf al-thānī* (the Second *Khefīf*)
Transliteration and translation from Davis 2004: 28, 31



الخفيف الثاني

مَا أبْدَعَ النّوّارْ عَلَى شُطُوط السّوَاقِي
كَالضيَا مَعَ النّجُوم وَاللّيْلُ بَاقِي
وَحَقُّ عَهْدِنَا وَيَوْم التلاَقِي   أنَا الوَفِي أبَدًا عَلَى العَهْد بَاقِي

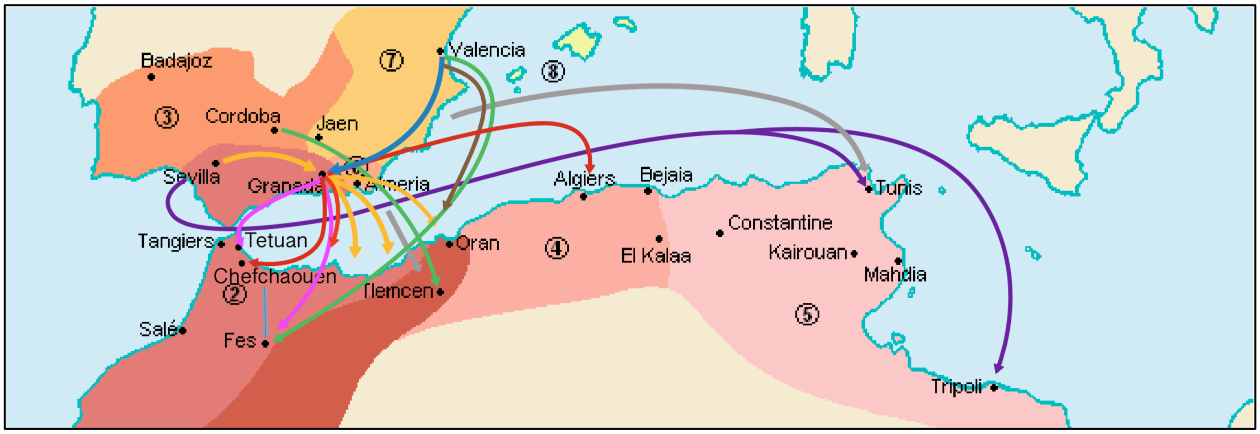
Mā abdaʿa an-nawwār ʿalā shuṭūṭ as-saqāqī
k-aḍ-ḍayā maʿa an-nujūm wa laylu bāqī
wa ḥaqqa ʿahid-na wa yawm at-talāqī
anā al-wafī abadan ʿalā al-ʿahd bāqī

How wonderful are the flowers on the banks of the brook
Like the light with the stars and the night I remain
I swear by our promise and the day of our meeting
I, the faithful one, will always keep the promise

1E:

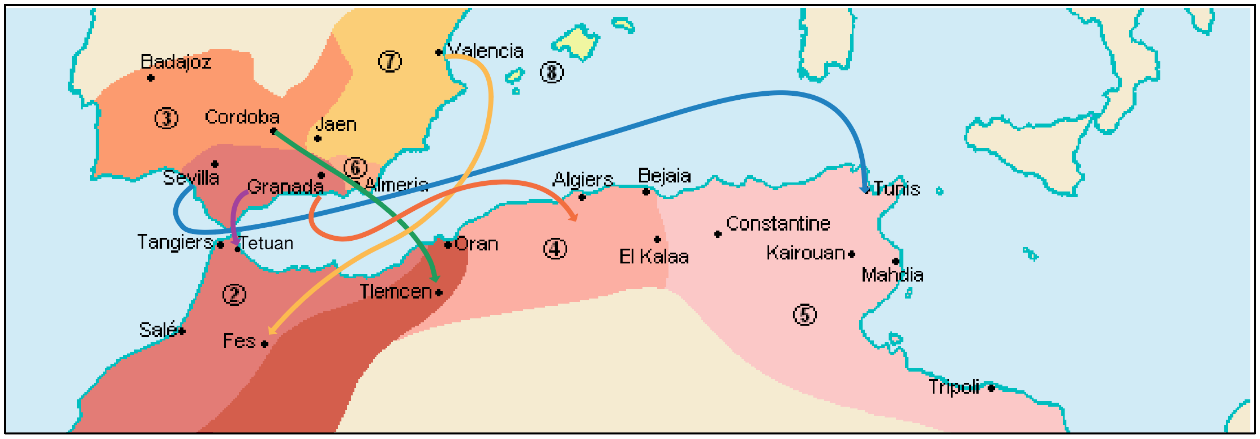
The following maps are modified from the "Almohad Caliphate" map in Wikimedia Creative Commons to include migrations : https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Almohad_Caliphate, last accessed May 6, 2018.

In his book, the *Andalusian Music of Morocco*, Carl Davila outlines the following detailed migrations between Iberian sites and from *al-Andalus* to North Africa (2013: 58).


Badajoz
⑦
Valencia
⑧
③
Cordoba
Jaen
Sevilla
Granada
Almeria
Algiers
Bejaia
Tunis
Tangiers
Tetuan
Oran
④
Constantine
El Kalaa
Kairouan
Mahdia
Chefchaouen
②
Tlemcen
⑤
Salé
Fes
Tripoli

Time frame	**Movement**
10th and 12th centuries	Migration from Seville to Tunis (now in Tunisia) and Tripoli (now in Libya)
12th century	Migration from Cordoba to Tlemcen (now in Algeria) and from Valencia to Fez (now in Morocco)
1236	Fall of Cordoba, wave of migration to Tlemcen (now in Algeria)
In 1248	Fall of Sevilla, migration to Granada and North Africa Fall of Valencia, inhabitants fled to Granada and Fez (now in Morocco)
14th century	Migration from Valencia and Granada to Marinid Fez (now in Morocco) and Tetuan (now in Morocco)
Late 15th century	Migration from Granada to Wattasid Fez (now in Morocco), Tetuan (now in Morocco), Chefchaouen (now in Morocco), and Algiers (now in Algeria)
1600 onward	Final expulsion of *Mūriskīyūn* to Fez (Morocco), Tlemcen (now in Algeria), and Tunis (now in Tunisia)

Jonathan Glasser's account does not identify any specific time frames for migration, but specifies the following migrations depicted below. He notes that an alternate version (indicated by the orange arrow on the map below) suggests migration from Granada to what is now the area of Algeria and from Seville to present-day Tunisia and Morocco (2010: 42).


Badajoz
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Cordoba
Jaen
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Sevilla
Granada
Almeria
Algiers
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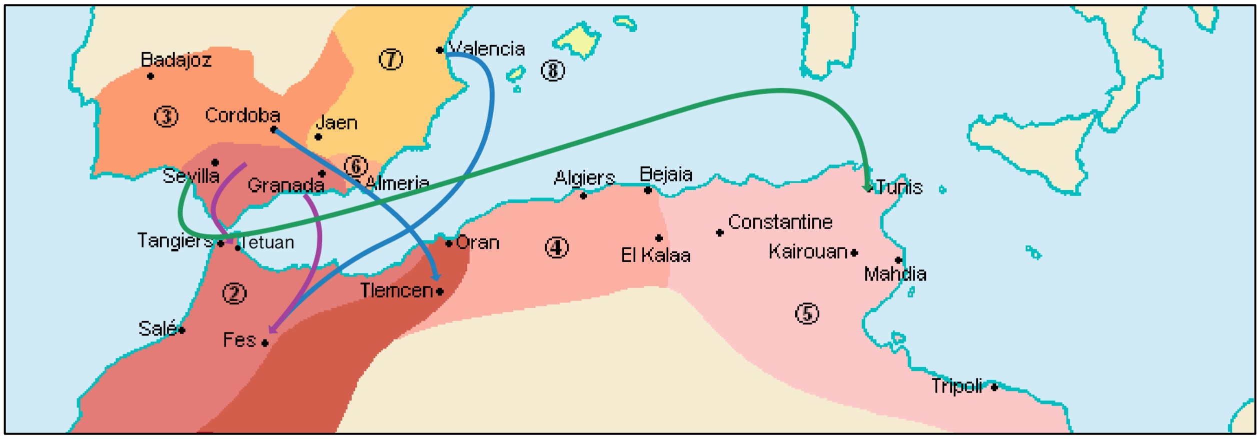
Tunis
Constantine
Tangiers
Tetuan
Oran
④
El Kalaa
Kairouan
Mahdia
②
Tlemcen
Salé
⑤
Fes
Tripoli

Movement

Migration from Cordoba to Tlemcen (now in Algeria)
Migration from Seville to Tunis (now in Tunisia)
Migration from Valencia to Fez (now in Morocco)
Migration and from Granada to Tetouan (now in Morocco)

Ruth Davis suggests the following (Davis 2004: 2), which is identical to Philip Ciantar's publication on Libyan *ma'lūf* (2004: 32). Ciantar does not note anything, specifically, about the arrival of *Andalusī* people and their music to Tripoli or at any other Libyan site:


Badajoz
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Valencia
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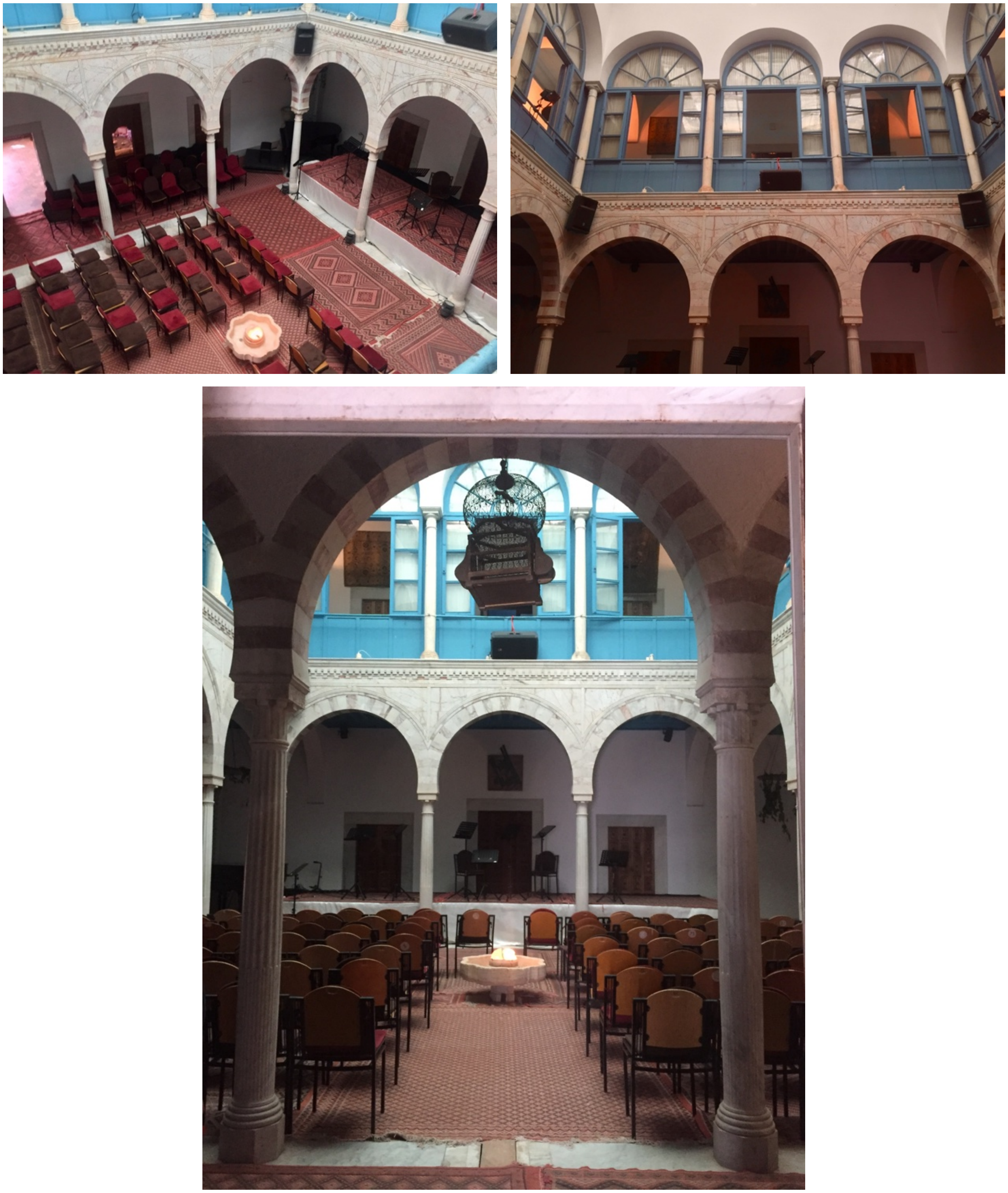
③
Cordoba
Jaen
⑥
Sevilla
Granada
Almeria
Algiers
Bejaia
Tunis
Constantine
Tangiers
Tetuan
Oran
④
El Kalaa
Kairouan
Mahdia
②
Tlemcen
Salé
⑤
Fes
Tripoli

Time frame	**Movement**
10th through 12th century	Migration from Seville to Tunis
12th century	Migration from Cordoba to Tlemcen (now in Algeria) and from Valencia to Fez (now in Morocco)
1492	Fall of Granada, migration to Fez (now in Morocco) and Tetuan (now in Morocco)

Appendix 2

2A: Other examples of Venue types



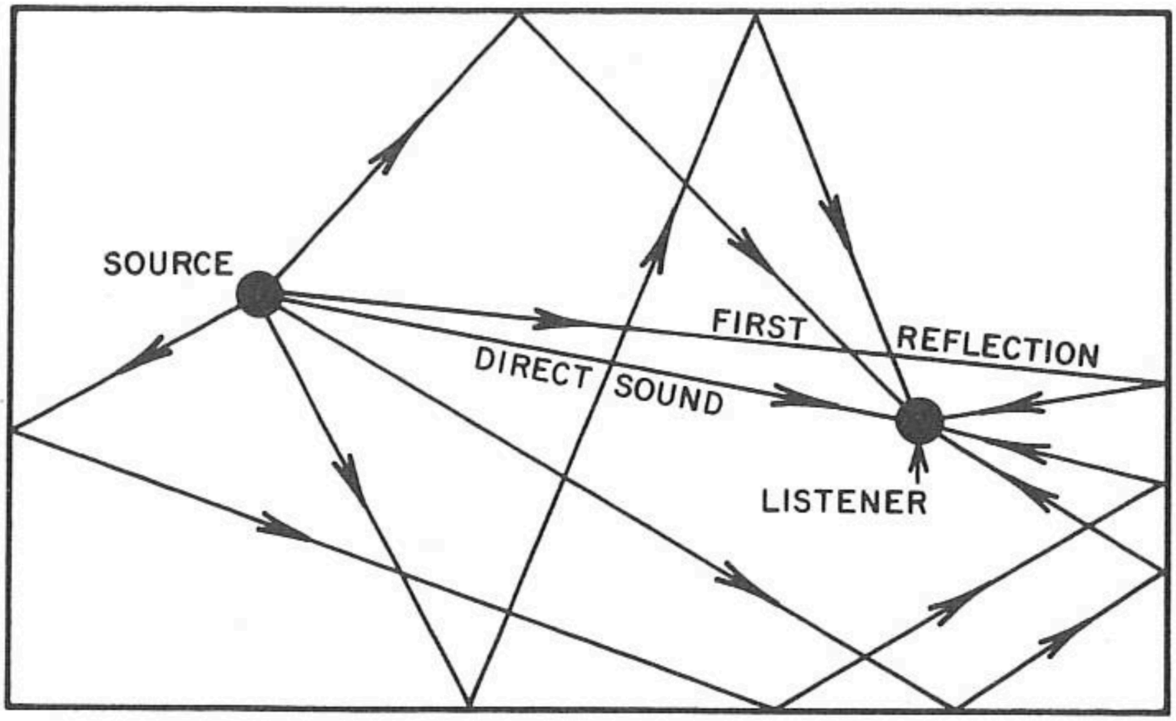
Ennejma Ezzahra, Baron d'Erlanger's Palace performance "courtyard" with enclosed ceiling. Photograph by the author.

Rashidiyya building, Tunis medina. Photograph by the author.

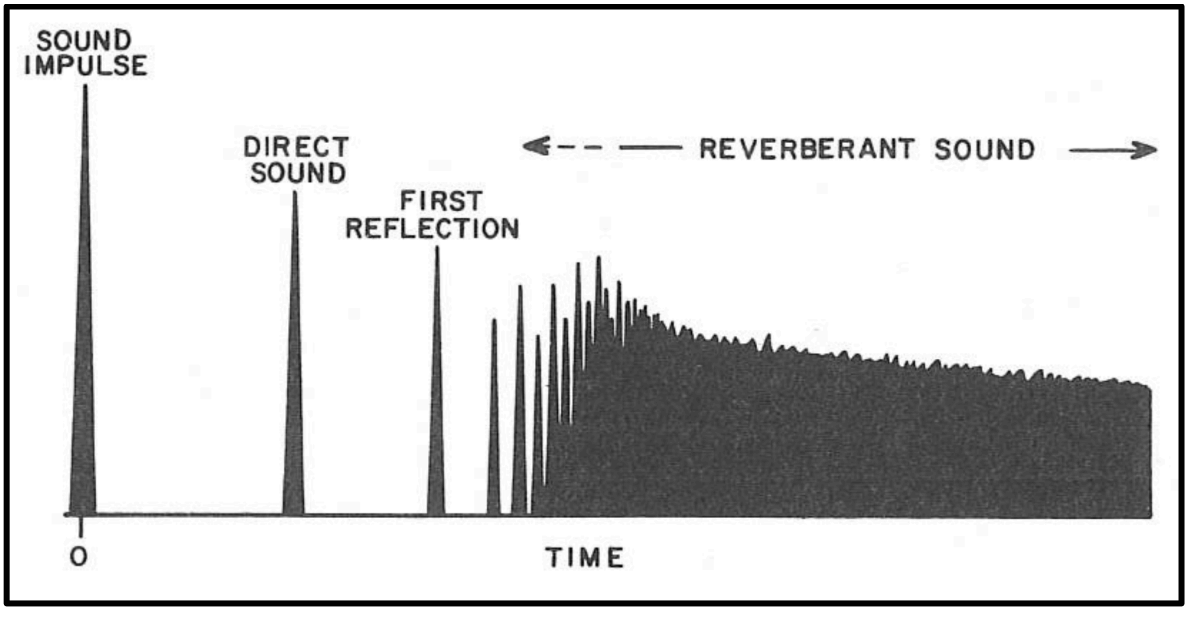
ليالي الرشيدية
في المدينة

Rashidiyya, Tunis medina, a performance during *Ramaḍān* by Mahar Hamami and her instrumental ensemble. Photograph by the author.

2B:

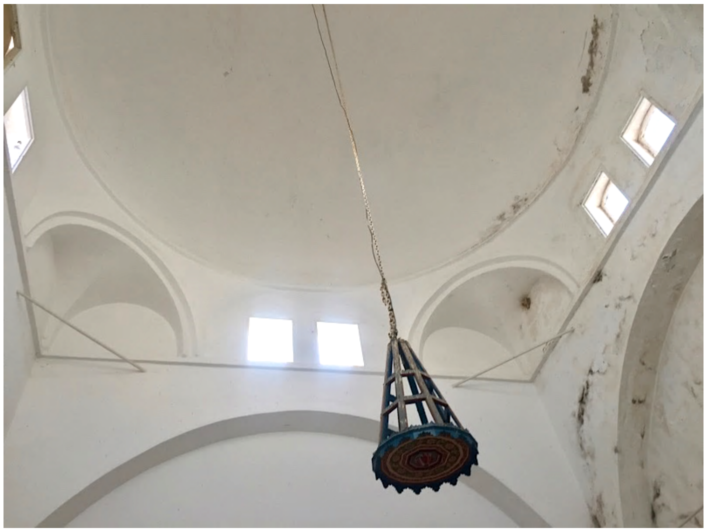

SOURCE
FIRST REFLECTION
DIRECT SOUND
LISTENER

Direct and the reflection of indirect sound (Backus 1977: 165).



Direct and reflective sound and the decay of sound (Backus 1977: 165).

2C:



An extremely reverberant and resonant room especially designed for the teaching of the recitation of Qur'ān in the Rahmania zāwiya, now used as the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires in El Kef.

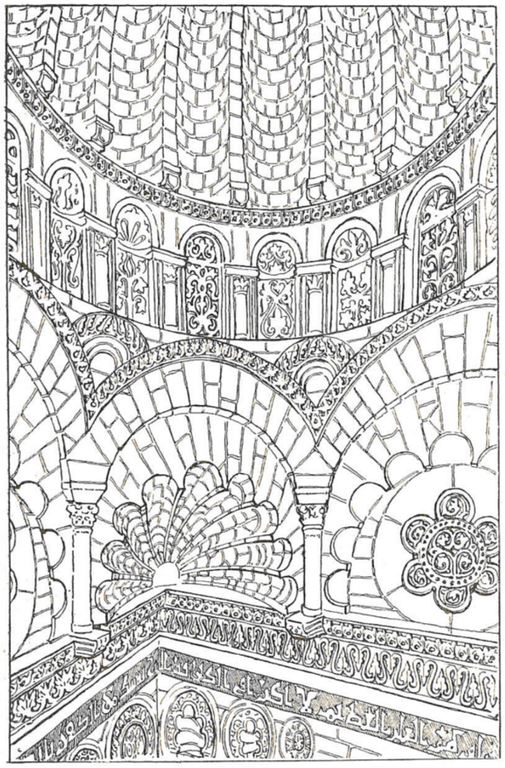


Fig. 16. — Kairouan. — Grande Mosquée. — Coupole en avant du mihrâb.

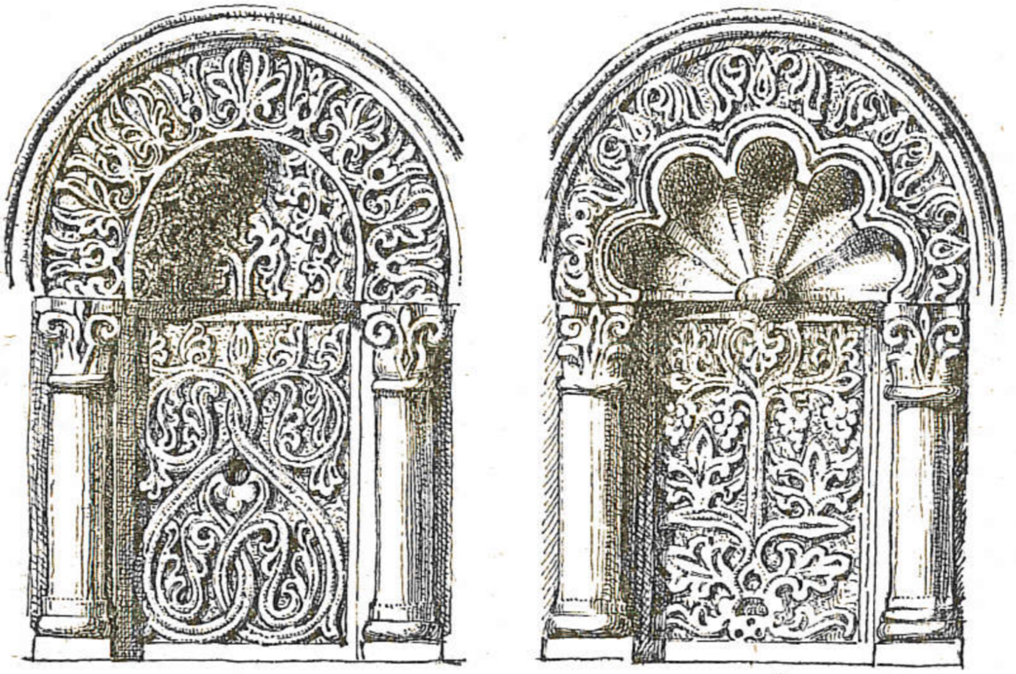
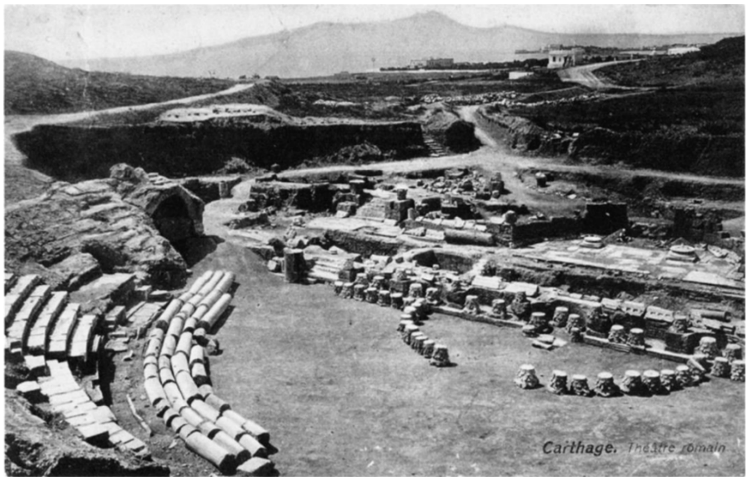


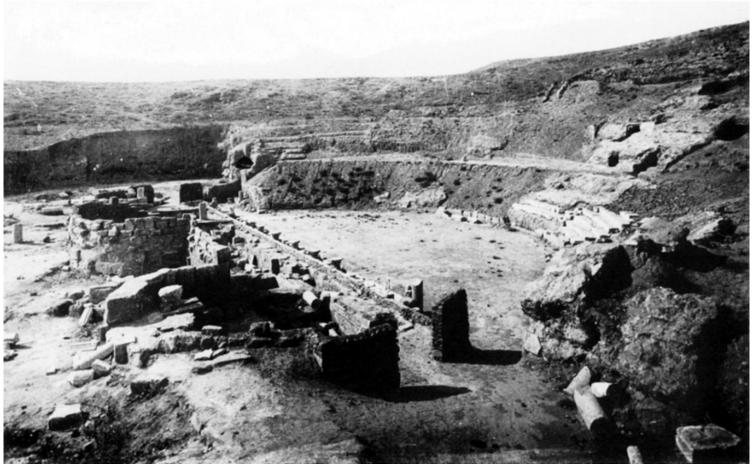
Fig. 38. — Kairouan. — Grande Mosquée. — Niches aux écoinçons de la coupole précédant le mihrâb.

Miḥrāb and semi-domes From George Marcais' 1926 book, Manuel D'Art Musulman: L'Architecture

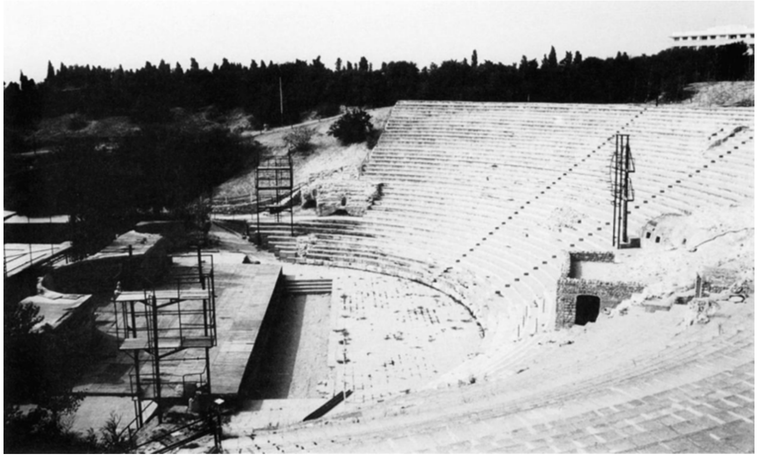
2D:



View from the northwest of the eastern part of the orchestra and stage and of the southeastern part of the *cavea*. Postcard, ca. 1906 (Ross 1996: 461).

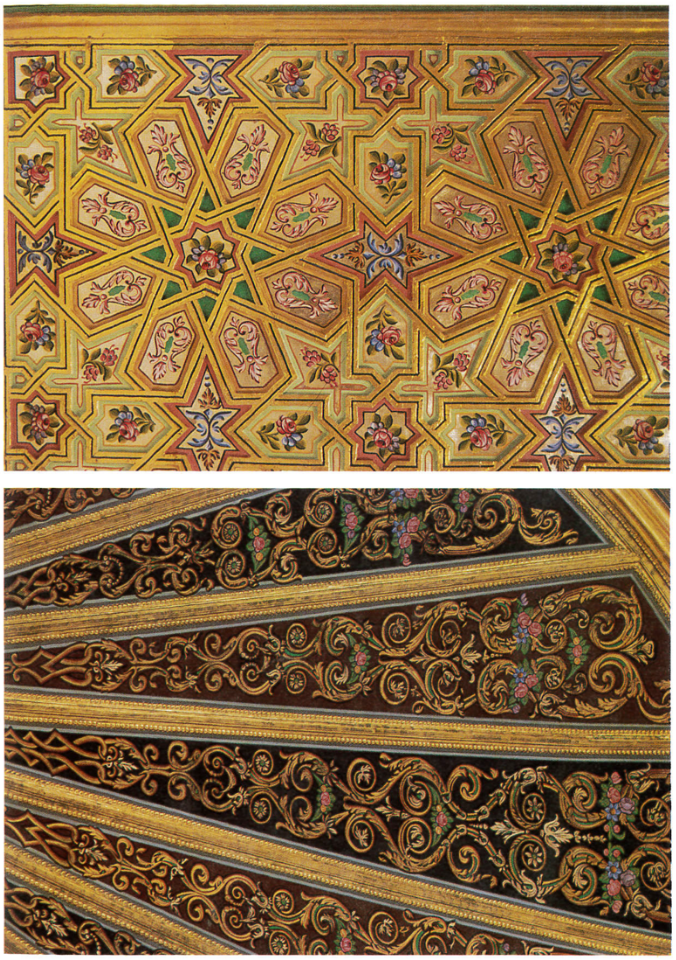


View of the theater from the southeast, early 20th century (Roger-Viollet, Paris, neg. no. LL 28A; Ross 1996: 462).

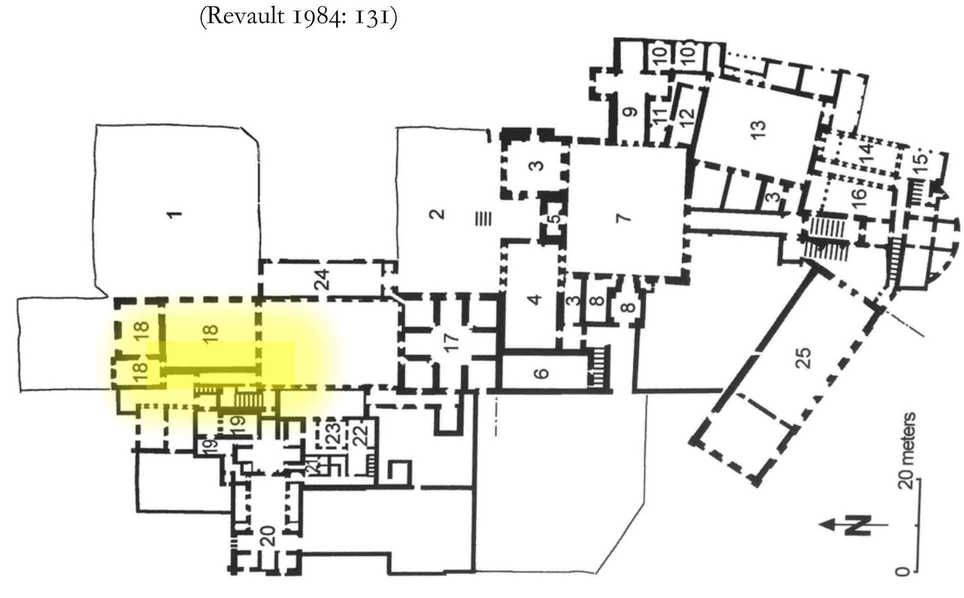


View of Carthage theater from the east [circa 1996] (Ros 1996: 450)

2E



Italianate painted detail of the roof of the Salle de Musique, (Revault 1984: 131)


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
N
0
20 meters

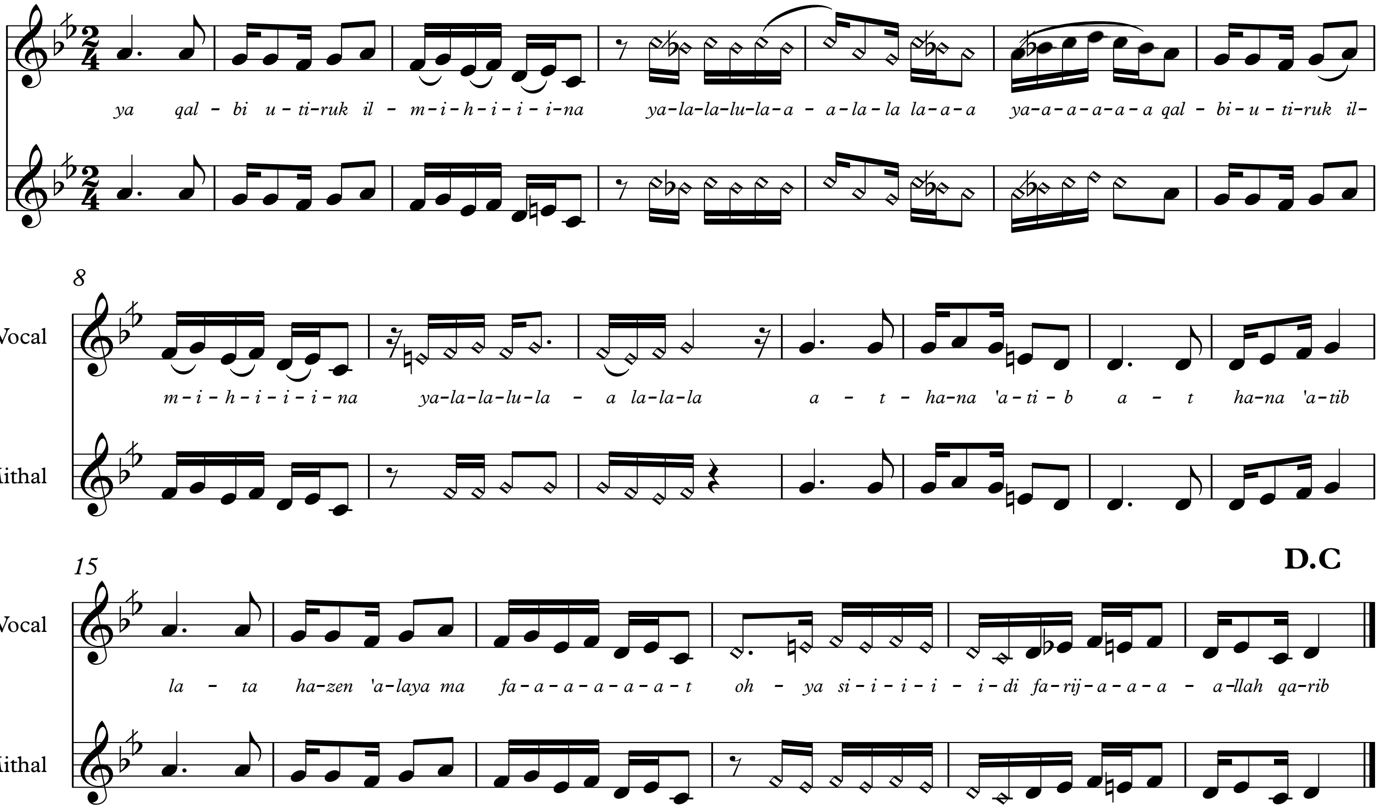
The Main structures of the Bardo palace ad some of its gardens in the late nineteenth century, 1-16 represent the ground floor and 17-25 the upper level. The Salle de Musique is number 24 and thedār al-harīm is numbered 17. (rotated left 90 degrees From Kallander 2013: 80)

2F:

Yā qalbī utruk il-miḥna

a *barwal* in *naghma al-ḥsīn*

NB: the standard note heads indicate the intoned poetry and the phrases with diamond note heads are *zīna*


ya qal - bi u - ti-ruk il - m-i-h-i-i-i-na ya-la-la-lu-la-a - a-la-la la-a-a ya-a-a-a-a-a qal - bi-u - ti-ruk il-
8
Vocal
Mithal
m-i-h-i-i-i-na ya-la-la-lu-la - a la-la-la a - t - ha-na 'a-ti - b a - t ha-na 'a-tib
15
D.C
la - ta ha-zen 'a-laya ma fa-a-a-a-a-a-t oh - ya si-i-i-i - i-di fa-rij-a-a-a - a-llah qa-rib

يَاقَلْبي أترك المِحنة
لَا تَحزَن عَلَي مَا فَاتْ.
فَرْجَ الله قَريبْ عُمْدة
والله مَا تدوم شدَّ

إتهنى وَطِيبْ
ف فَرْجَ الله قَريبْ
أقْرَب مِنَ القرِيبْ
عَنْ فقدِ الحَبِيبْ

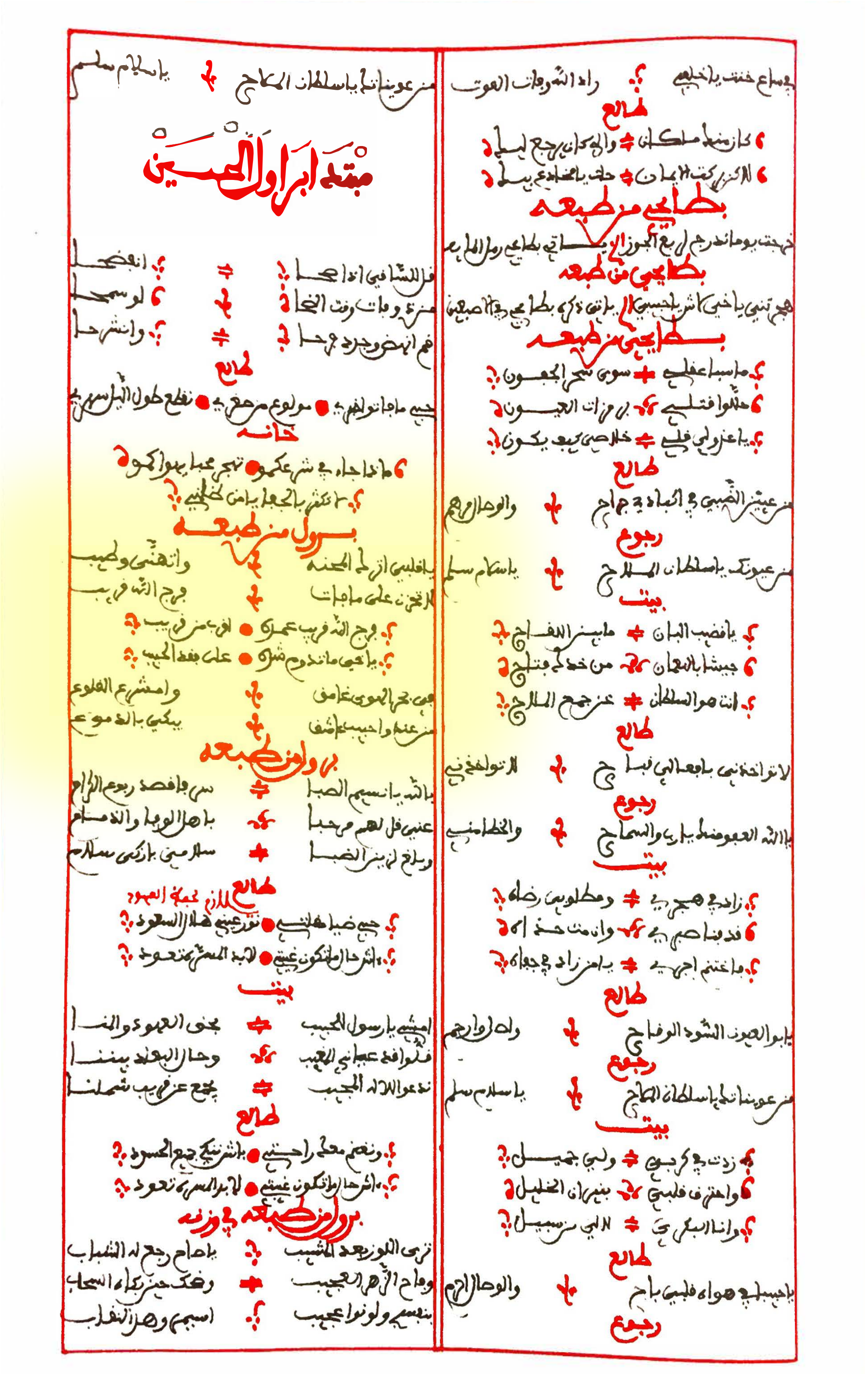
Yā qalbī utruk il-miḥna
Lā taḥzan ʿalā mā fāt
Faraj Allah qarīb ʿomda
Wa-Allah mā tadūm shidda

Itihanna wa-ṭīb
Faraj Allah qarīb
Aqrab min al-qarīb
ʿAn faqdi al-ḥabīb

My heart, leave the problems
Don't be sad over what has happened
God's help will arrive soon
God won't prolong the pain

Feel comfortable
God's help will arrive soon
It is closer than close
Of loss of the beloved

2G:



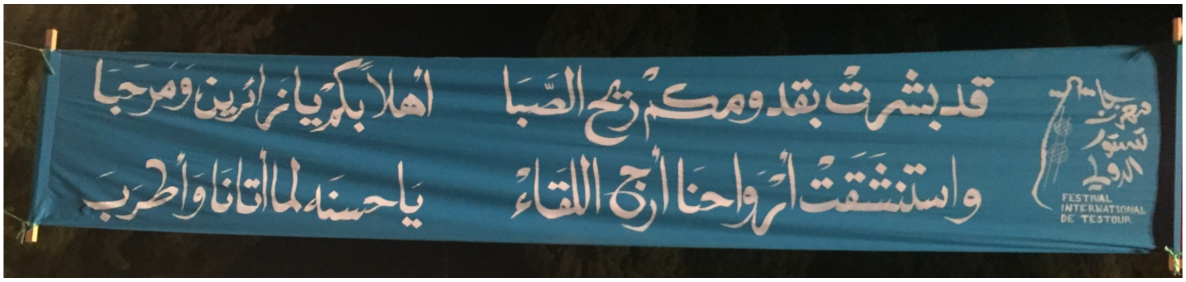
59

Barwal "Yā qalbī utruk al-miḥna" as written in calligraphic *Maghribī* script in *Fi Fann Al-Musiqa Sfayn Al-Ma'luf Al-Tunisi*, republished by the Tunisian Ministry of Culture, photograph by the author. Note the decorations between the *abyāt*.

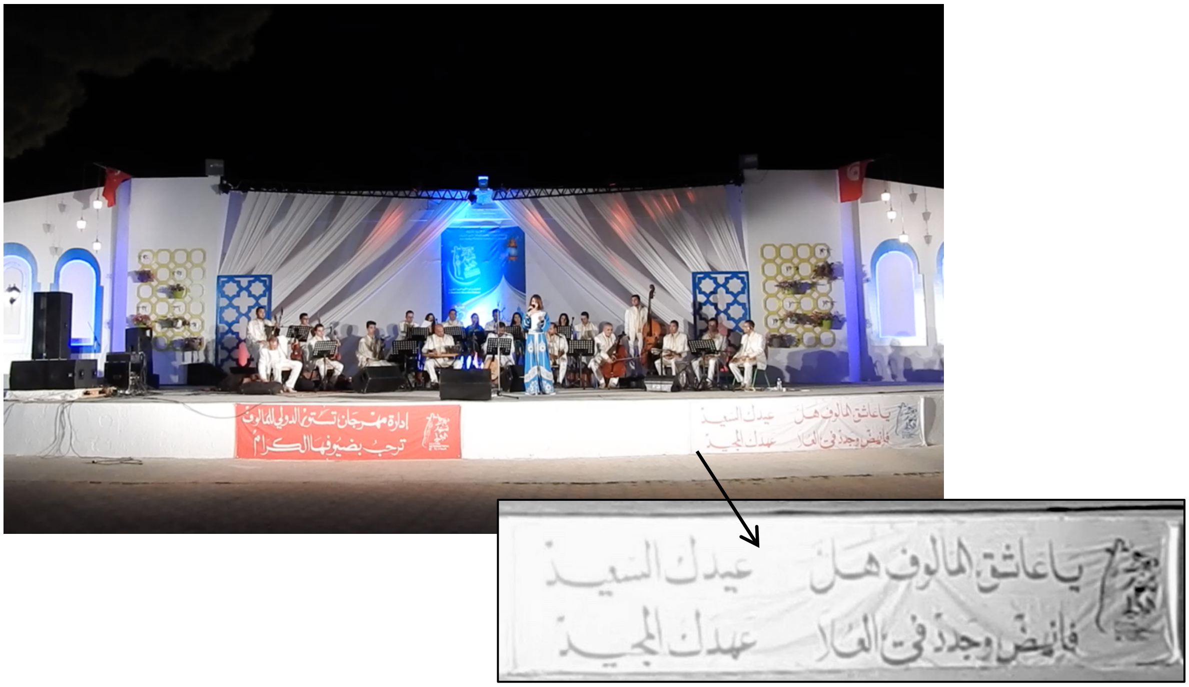
Appendix 3

3A:

Decorative banners at International Festival of *Ma'lūf* and Traditional Music in Testour:

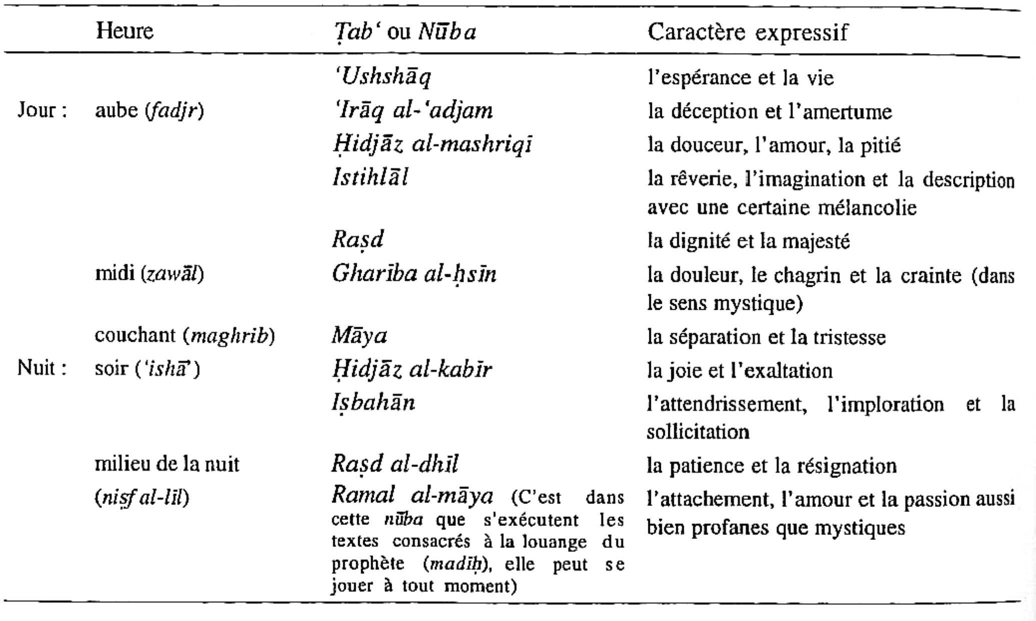

قدبشرت بقدومكم ريح الصبا
أهلا بكم يا زائرين ومرحبا
واستنشقت أرواحنا أرج اللقاء
ياحسنه لما أتانا وأطرب
مهرجان تستور الدولي
FESTIVAL INTERNATIONAL DE TESTOUR

promise to come to you	قدبشرت بقدومكم الصّبا
hello visitors and welcome	آهلا بكم يا زائرين و مرحبا
and our souls breathed away the meeting	واستنشقت أرواحنا أزح اللقاء
Oh good-natured and most entranced by *ṭarab* [musical ecstasy]	يا حسنه المأتا و أطرب

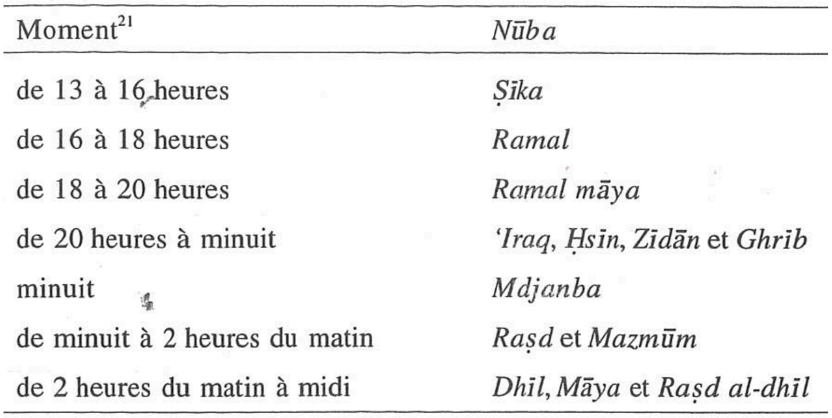

إدارة مهرجان تستور الدولي للمالوف
ترحب بضيوفها الكرام
يا عاشق المالوف هل
عيدك السعيد
فانهض وجدد في العلا
عهدك المجيد

Oh, (infatuated) lover of ma'lūf, show yourself	يا عاشق المالوف هلَّ
this is/on] your happy occasion	عيدك السعيدُ
Rise up and renew	فانهض وجدد في العلاَ
your glorious promise	عهدَك المجيدُ

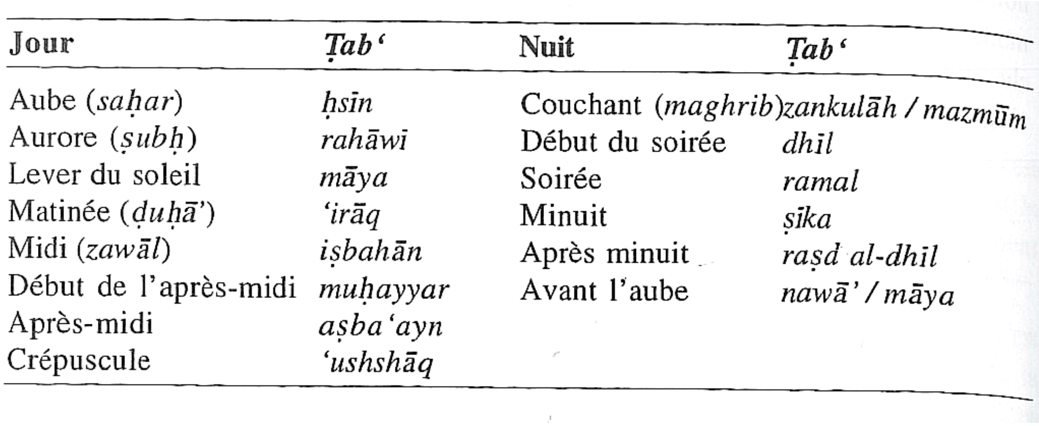
3B:



	Heure	*Ṭab‘* ou *Nūba*	Caractère expressif
		‘Ushshāq	l'espérance et la vie
Jour :	aube (*fadjr*)	*‘Irāq al-‘adjam*	la déception et l'amertume
		Ḥidjāz al-mashriqī	la douceur, l'amour, la pitié
		Istihlāl	la rêverie, l'imagination et la description avec une certaine mélancolie
		Raṣd	la dignité et la majesté
	midi (*zawāl*)	*Gharība al-ḥsīn*	la douleur, le chagrin et la crainte (dans le sens mystique)
	couchant (*maghrib*)	*Māya*	la séparation et la tristesse
Nuit :	soir (*‘ishā’*)	*Ḥidjāz al-kabīr*	la joie et l'exaltation
		Iṣbahān	l'attendrissement, l'imploration et la sollicitation
	milieu de la nuit	*Raṣd al-dhīl*	la patience et la résignation
	(*niṣf al-līl*)	*Ramal al-māya* (C'est dans cette *nūba* que s'exécutent les textes consacrés à la louange du prophète (*madīḥ*), elle peut se jouer à tout moment)	l'attachement, l'amour et la passion aussi bien profanes que mystiques

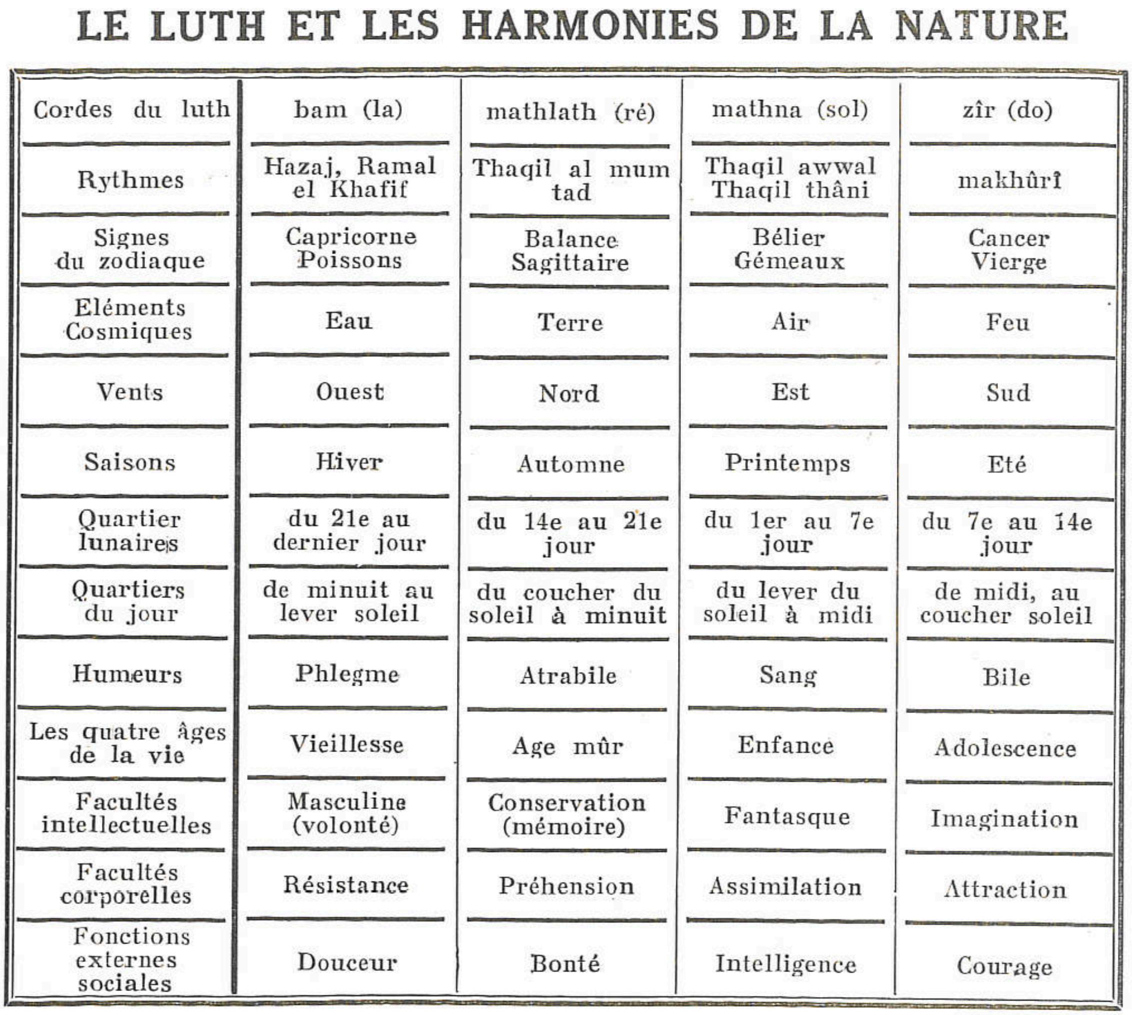


Moment[21]	*Nūba*
de 13 à 16 heures	*Ṣīka*
de 16 à 18 heures	*Ramal*
de 18 à 20 heures	*Ramal māya*
de 20 heures à minuit	*‘Iraq*, *Ḥsīn*, *Zīdān* et *Ghrīb*
minuit	*Mdjanba*
de minuit à 2 heures du matin	*Raṣd* et *Mazmūm*
de 2 heures du matin à midi	*Dhīl*, *Māya* et *Raṣd al-dhīl*



Jour	***Ṭab‘***	**Nuit**	***Ṭab‘***
Aube (*saḥar*)	*ḥsīn*	Couchant (*maghrib*)	*zankulāh / mazmūm*
Aurore (*ṣubḥ*)	*rahāwī*	Début du soirée	*dhīl*
Lever du soleil	*māya*	Soirée	*ramal*
Matinée (*ḍuḥā’*)	*‘irāq*	Minuit	*ṣīka*
Midi (*zawāl*)	*iṣbahān*	Après minuit	*raṣd al-dhīl*
Début de l'après-midi	*muḥayyar*	Avant l'aube	*nawā’ / māya*
Après-midi	*aṣba‘ayn*		
Crépuscule	*‘ushshāq*		

Three charts detailing times of day and their associated *ṭaba‘* and *nūba* (Guettat 2000: 388-390)

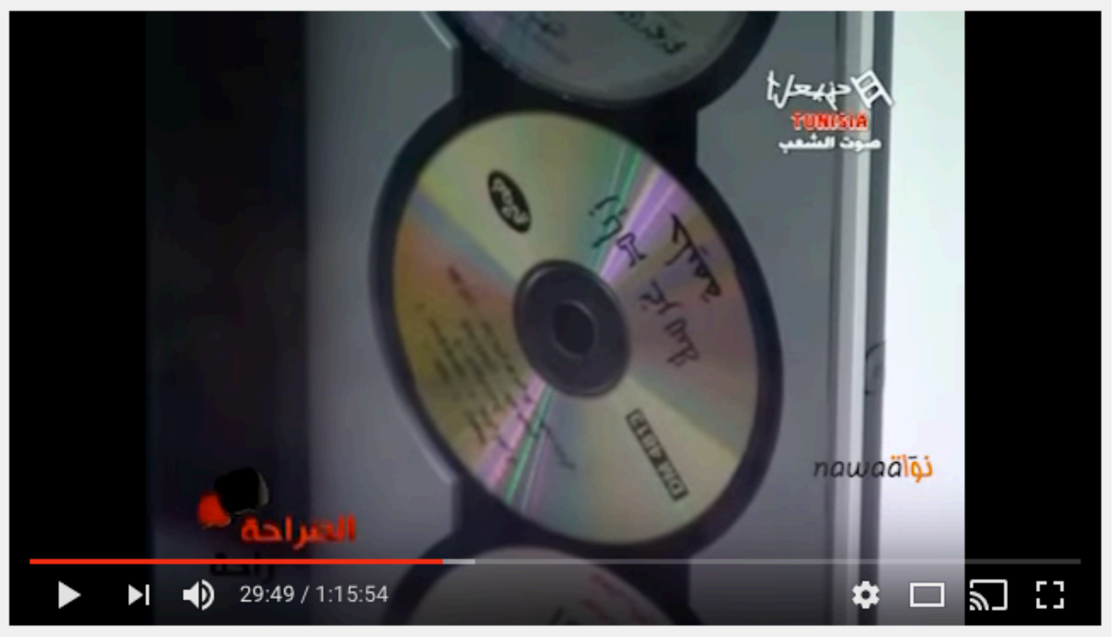


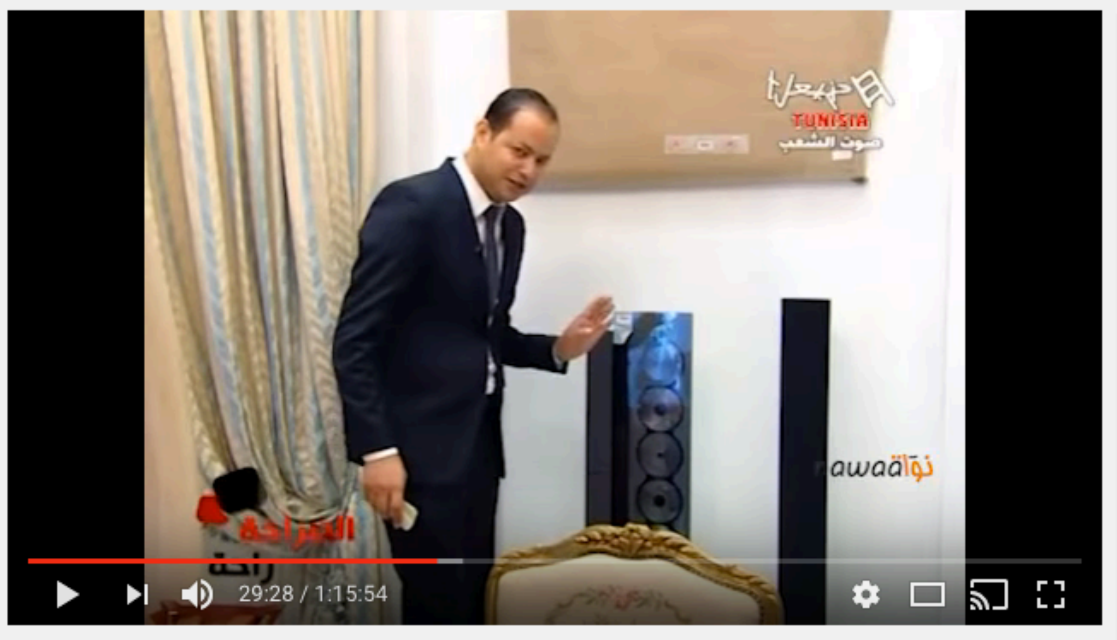
LE LUTH ET LES HARMONIES DE LA NATURE

Cordes du luth	bam (la)	mathlath (ré)	mathna (sol)	zîr (do)
Rythmes	Hazaj, Ramal el Khafif	Thaqil al mum tad	Thaqil awwal Thaqil thâni	makhûrî
Signes du zodiaque	Capricorne Poissons	Balance Sagittaire	Bélier Gémeaux	Cancer Vierge
Eléments Cosmiques	Eau	Terre	Air	Feu
Vents	Ouest	Nord	Est	Sud
Saisons	Hiver	Automne	Printemps	Eté
Quartier lunaires	du 21e au dernier jour	du 14e au 21e jour	du 1er au 7e jour	du 7e au 14e jour
Quartiers du jour	de minuit au lever soleil	du coucher du soleil à minuit	du lever du soleil à midi	de midi, au coucher soleil
Humeurs	Phlegme	Atrabile	Sang	Bile
Les quatre âges de la vie	Vieillesse	Age mûr	Enfance	Adolescence
Facultés intellectuelles	Masculine (volonté)	Conservation (mémoire)	Fantasque	Imagination
Facultés corporelles	Résistance	Préhension	Assimilation	Attraction
Fonctions externes sociales	Douceur	Bonté	Intelligence	Courage

“The ‘*ūd* and the harmonies of nature” including *Quartiers de jour* (“Quarters of the day”) – “from midnight to sunrise” (*bam-la*), “from sunset to midnight” (*mathlath-re*), “from sunrise to noon” (*mathna-sol*), and “from noon to sunset” (*zir-do*) (Chottin 1939: 84).

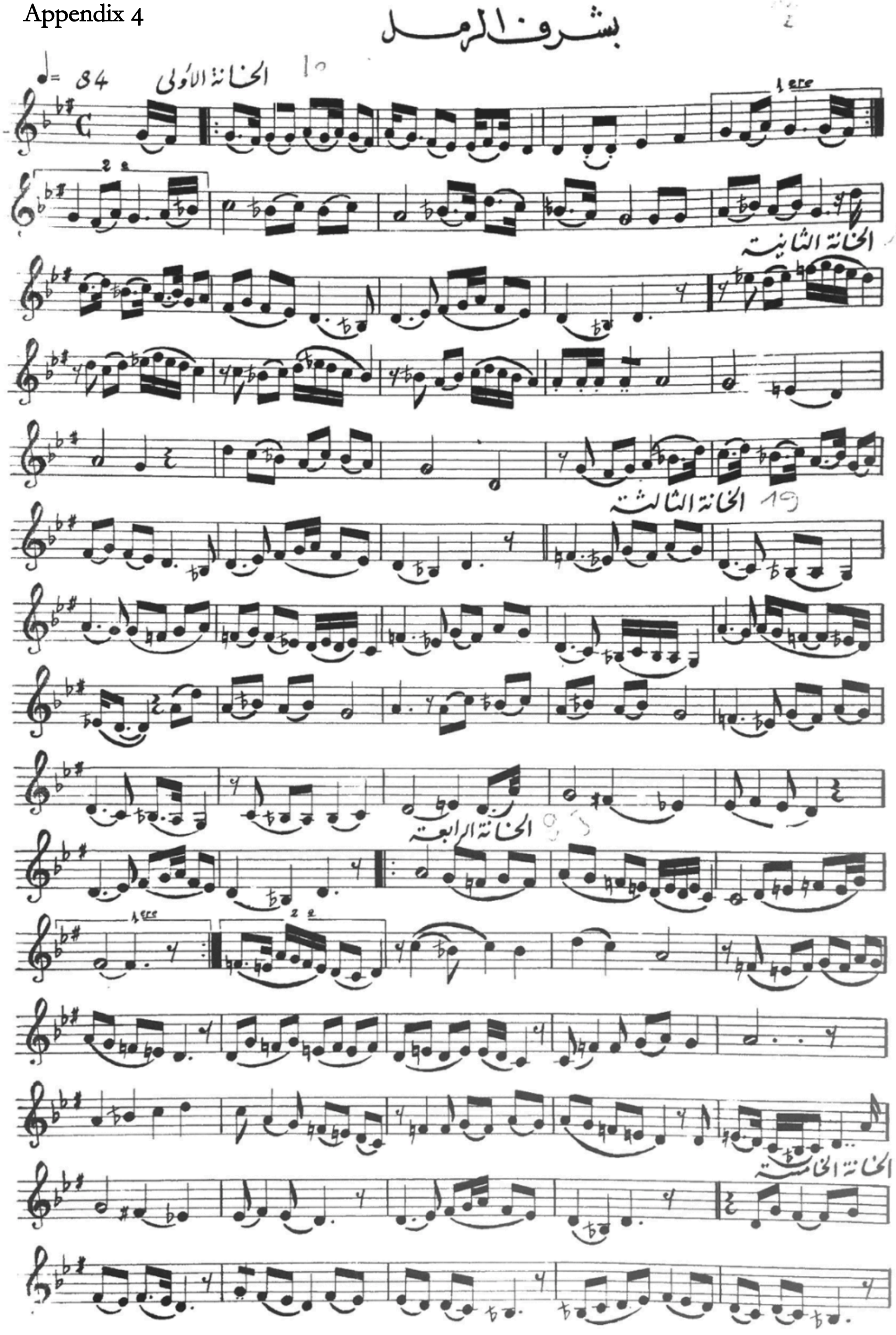
3C:


TUNISIA
صوت الشعب
nawaa نواة
الصراحة
29:49 / 1:15:54

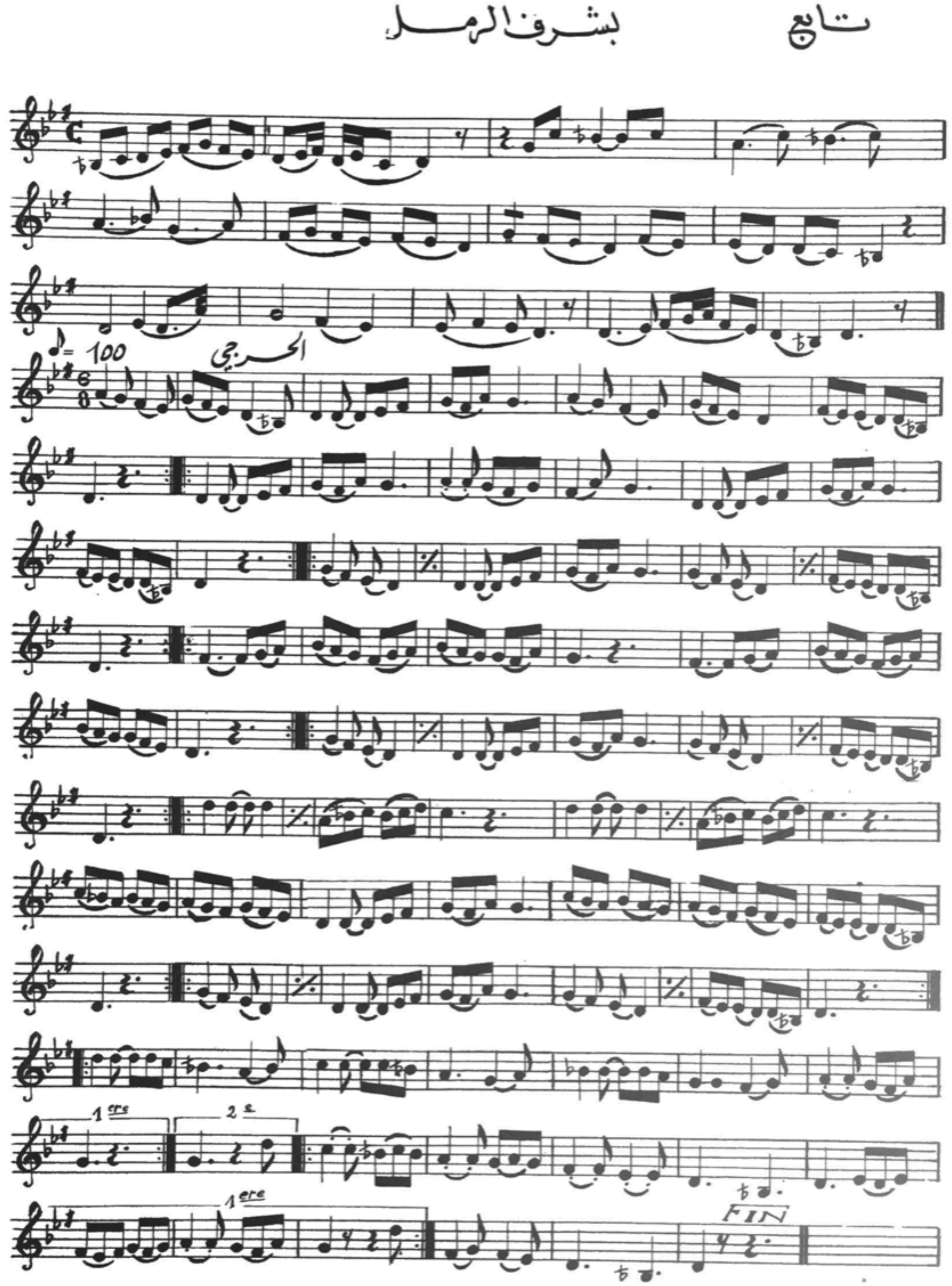

TUNISIA
صوت الشعب
nawaa نواة
الصراحة
راحة
29:28 / 1:15:54

Recordings of Zied Gharsa found at Ben Ali's palace. Images from exposé video: Hannibal TV, "Tunisie : Le Palais de Sidi Dhrif du président déchu Ben Ali (Sidi Bou Saïd)." Aired on October 6, 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H3z4F16DbRw, last accessed May 6, 2019. See 29:30.

Appendix 4


بشرف الرمل
♩= 84
الخانة الأولى
10
1ere
2e
الخانة الثانية
14
الخانة الثالثة
19
الخانة الرابعة
الخانة الخامسة

"Bashraf al-Raml" from the definitive transcriptions of ma'lūf repertoire (*al-Turāth al-Mūsīqā al-Tunisiyya*, page 1)


تابع بشرف الرمل
♪ = 100
الخرجي
1ère
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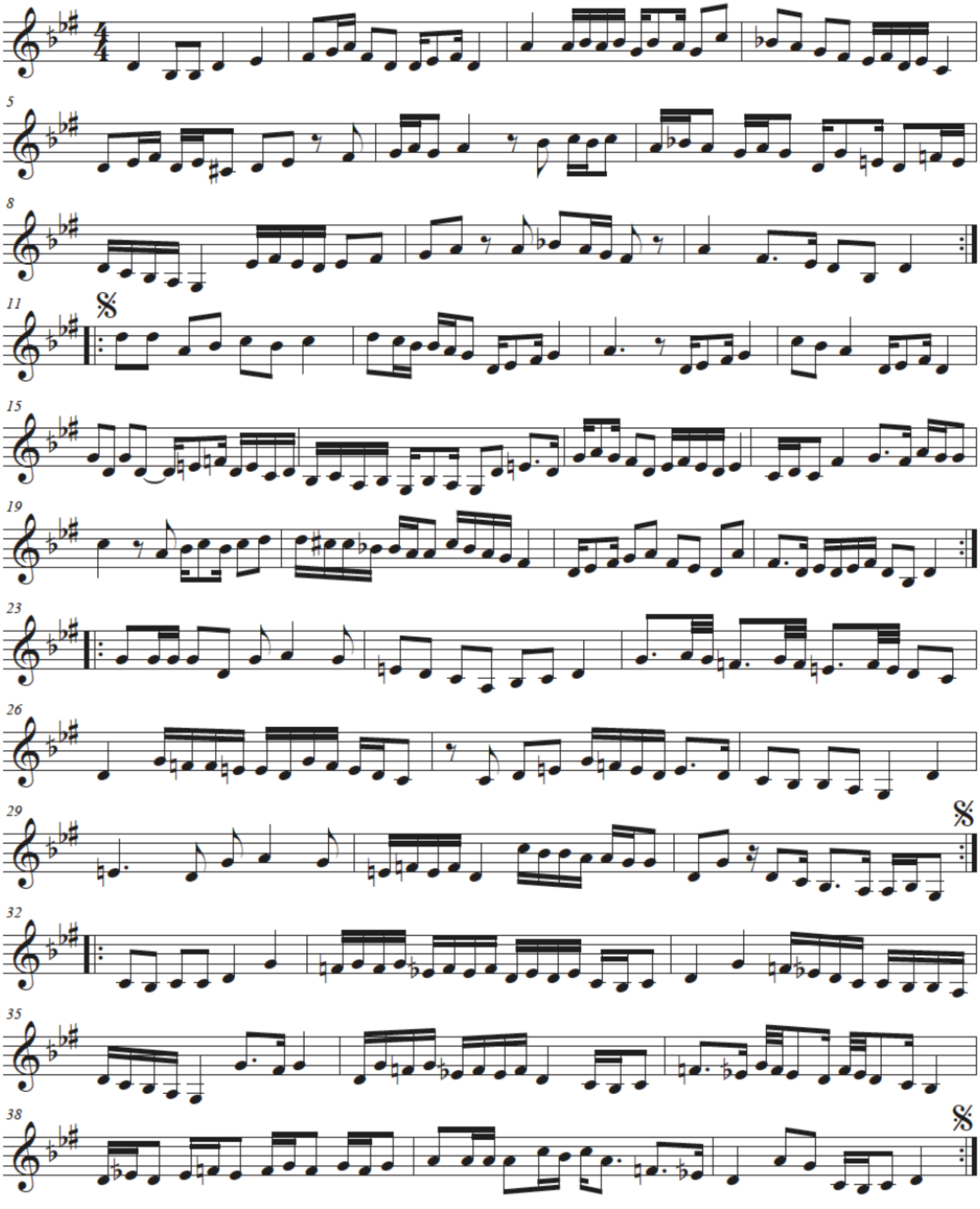
“Bashraf al-Raml” from the definitive transcriptions of ma’lūf repertoire (*al-Turāth al-Mūsīqā al-Tunisiyya*, page 2)

بشرف رمل 3

Bachraf Raml 3



"Bashraf Raml 3," Hamdi's composition in the style of *ma'lūf*