

ANDALUSIAN HEBREW STROPHIC POETRY IN THE RELIGIOUS MUSICAL REPERTOIRE OF THE MOROCCAN JEWS

Edwin Seroussi [Hebrew University of Jerusalem]

It would of course be highly presumptuous of me to claim to be the first in treating the contemporary musical performance of medieval *tawshīh* poetry. As in other aspects in the study of medieval Arabic and Hebrew strophic poetry of Al-Andalus, it was Samuel Miklos Stern (1964), one of the pioneer scholars, who noted that this poetry was preserved in the song collections used by contemporary musicians in the Maghreb in their performances. He concluded that these oral musical traditions could potentially be a source for the investigation (and even the reconstruction) of the performance of Andalusian strophic poetry in the medieval period. Since Stern's appreciations, many distinguished scholars of *tawshīh* poetry have followed his path, referring to modern performances of strophic poetry in the diverse North African musical traditions known as "Andalusian" (e.g. *al-ala al-andalusiyya* in Morocco).

The article "The tune or the words?" by James T. Monroe (1987, esp. pp. 302ff.; see also Monroe 1986) was a landmark in establishing the crucial musical context of *tawshīh* poetry in the past and present. The work of Leo Plenckers on the *muwashshah* in Algeria (1982; 1989) was another major contribution along this path of research. As more information became available on the contemporary music of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, and on the performance of medieval *muwashshahāt* in the Middle East (especially the venerable tradition of Aleppo, Syria), the attention paid to this aspect of *tawshīh* poetry by non-musicologists visibly expanded (see for example, Haxen 1991; Zwartjes 1997:79-81, 305-19; Reynolds 2000; Rosen 2000). Schippers offered "to consider the possibility that the present-day recordings of so-called Andalusian *muwashshahāt* can shed light upon some questions involving *muwashshah* tradition, especially with regard to the performance of the songs, despite the fact that only a handful of ancient *muwashshahāt* figure in the modern collections." (Schippers 1991:150)

Generally these contemporary musical traditions were discussed by literature scholars in the context of their arguments about medieval terminology related to *tawshīh* poetry. Few studies addressed in depth the musical aspects of this performed poetry. In addition to the work by Plenckers, only Al-Farūqī (1975), Fernández Manzano (1985), and Liu and Monroe (1989) dealt with the musical forms of *muwashshahāt* preserved in the repertoires of North Africa and the Middle East on the basis of recordings and printed musical anthologies.

What is remarkable about this interest in possible survivals of old performance practices of *tawshīh* poetry in modern musical repertoires is the scarcity of serious inquiries into the rich oral musical traditions of Hebrew sacred poetry in North Africa (Bahat 1980; Hazan and Sharvit 1998; Rosen 2000: 175). These musical traditions were hardly considered outside Israel, apart from a few exceptions of relatively recent vintage (Chahbar 1990, 1991; Zwartjes 1997: 81-3; for an earlier incursion see Rubiato Díaz 1974). The focus of these rare incursions into the modern Andalusian Hebrew musical traditions was, as in the case of the Arabic ones, on medieval survivals. Schippers (1991), for example, noticed that the Arabic models of some of Hebrew strophic poems are quoted in a compendium used by synagogue singers from Tunisia. In the collection *Zimrat Eliyahu* by Eliyahu Ghanim of Sousse (Tunis 5663/1903, p. 19, no. 38) he located a medieval Arabic *muwashshah* that is included in the collection *al-Muwashshahāt wa-'l-azjal* by J. Yalas and A. Ḥafnawi (Algiers: National Institute of Music, I (1972), II (1975), III (1982); for the score of this Arabic song see Plenckers 1989). As is well known, the imitation of extant models was, and is, a widespread phenomenon of Andalusian strophic poetry. Therefore these quotations of Arabic models in Hebrew song collections do not necessarily imply a medieval survival, for it might easily be a case of a modern Jewish adoption of an old Arabic song that was preserved in the living musical repertoire. One should be aware that a developed sense of historical periodicity is not a major factor among the performers of the living Andalusian music traditions (both Arabic and Hebrew). The repertoires can comfortably include a fragment of a poem dating back to the 11th century next to one from the 19th century. Apparently the higher value adjudged by the Western scholarly mind to the distant past is not necessarily shared by the practitioners of these musical traditions.

The absence of the Andalusian Hebrew tradition from the scholarly scene of Andalusian poetry and music is due to many factors. As we know, the Hebrew Andalusian tradition survives only in religious contexts, and this feature may have been an impediment in its research. There are also reasons that have nothing to do with scholarship, but rather with the political conflict in the Middle East. That the most important books of Andalusian Arab music published in recent years ignore the Hebrew branch of this lore is a disappointing phenomenon (see, for example, Guettat 2000).

Tawshīh poetry was introduced into the Sephardi liturgy and into paraliturgical events almost since its inception in Al-Andalus. Soon this custom spread to North Africa and to the non-Sephardi communities of the Middle East as far away as Yemen. The introduction of *tawshīh* poetry to the core of the Jewish liturgy was fiercely resisted by some of the rabbinical authorities (Maimonides being the most celebrated but certainly not the only one). Yet it

flourished within non-liturgical events, such as early morning devotions preceding the normative prayer or in life-cycle events. These practices (known under the general and sometimes misleading concept of *piyyut*, i.e. liturgical poetry) have persisted, almost without interruption but with a great degree of change, until the present. It is worth pointing out that these dynamics of change include the constant supply of new religious Hebrew songs in diverse patterns of *tawshih* poetry based on medieval models and their subsequent variations (for North Africa, see Hazan 1995). At the core of these performances is the adaptation of old and new texts to melodies from diverse Arab musical repertoires as well as autochthonous Jewish tunes.

This paper focuses on the oral musical traditions of the urban Moroccan Jews as presently performed and transmitted in Israel. (The presence of these traditions in Morocco, France, and other smaller enclaves of Moroccan Jews in the Americas are beyond the scope of this presentation.) Specifically, I discuss some musical aspects of *tawshih* poetry sung in the nightly vigils of mystical origin called *Shirat baqqashot*. This event takes place in synagogues on the very early morning hours of the Sabbath during the winter season. The literary repertoire executed in these events is printed in the compendium *Shir yedidut* (first edition Marrakech, 1921, with many subsequent editions printed in Israel). The music of the *baqqashot* is the Jewish version of the Moroccan and Algerian Andalusian musical traditions. The *baqqashot* performance is exclusively vocal, due to the banning of instrumental music from the synagogue. Solo singers prevail at the expense of the choral performance that is characteristic of the Andalusian Arabic traditions (for a summary, see Amzallag 1986, 1988; Seroussi 1986, 1990; Turel 1981; for some musical transcriptions, see Sabbah 1991; research on this tradition in Israel started after 1970; Idelsohn 1925 does not mention it).

Shir yedidut, as all the North African manuscript and printed compilations that preceded it, includes *piyyutim* dating from various periods spanning almost a millennium. One can roughly divide this Hebrew repertoire into three groups:

- a small number of works by the great bards of the medieval Spanish “Golden Age” of Hebrew poetry (11th and 12th centuries), such as Yehuda Halevi, Abraham Ibn Ezra and Solomon Ibn Gabirol;
- secondly, the poetry of the school of *payyetanut* established by Sephardi immigrants in North Africa (16th–17th centuries) immediately following their expulsion from Spain and Portugal, such as Sa'adya ibn Danan, Simon ben Lavi, Abraham ben Zimra, Abraham Bakarat Halevi, Mandil ben Avi Zimra and others, to whom we can add Rabbi Israel Najara, c.1555–1625, active in Damascus and Safed, who was remarkably influential throughout the Mediterranean;
- finally, the “modern” poetry of the Sephardi poets of North Africa (17th

century to the present) who were strongly influenced by all their predecessors.

These religious poems treat various subjects: the sanctity of the Sabbath; the hopes for national and messianic redemption; petitions to God for merciful judgment at the end of days; and praises to Him and His creation. As with all Hebrew sacred poetry, these poems heavily rely on the Bible, incorporating in their lines biblical verses or paraphrases of them. Many of these songs draw their themes from the "Song of Songs", stressing, in allegorical language, the love between God and the People of Israel.

The forms of the Hebrew sacred poems in the Moroccan Jewish repertoire are varied, but most of them are related to the Andalusian *muwashshah* (*shir ezor* in Hebrew) and *zajal*. While most verses in the poems of the *baqqashot* repertoire are measured in syllabic metres, one should notice that many Jewish poets from North Africa still had a command of the medieval quantitative metric system in its Hebrew version as late as the 19th century.

The relationship between the Hebrew and Arabic musical repertoires of Morocco needs a short elucidation. Chottin (1939) had already noticed the existence in Morocco of Hebrew manuscript collections which included medieval and modern *piyyutim* that were intended to be sung with Andalusian music (for a much earlier reference see Host 1781: 258-63). Fenton (1975) expanded the historical investigation of the Andalusian music in its Hebrew version. He compared the social context of performance of this music in Muslim frameworks, the confraternities (*zawiyat*), their leaders (*sheikhs*) and assemblies (*hadra*), with the main context of performance of the Andalusian music among Moroccan Jews, i.e. the singing of *baqqashot*. Finally, Zafrani (1977), pointing out that the sacred Hebrew poetry of Morocco has to be studied in the context of its musical performance, stressed that manuscripts and printed books of *piyyutim* are primary sources for the historical research of the Andalusian music and poetry among Jews. Zwartjes (1997:83) is, to my knowledge, the only literature scholar who has pointed out the importance of the Andalusian Hebrew musical collections as sources of *tawshih* poetry.

Following Chottin, Fenton and Zafrani, my own historical investigation of the singing of *baqqashot* among Moroccan Jews began by locating "musical" manuscripts of this tradition, i.e. manuscripts of *piyyutim* arranged according to the Andalusian musical modes (*tba'*) and containing pertinent terminology related to their musical performance, such as *trek* ("path"), *mizan* ("metre"), *istakhbar* ("introduction"), *khruj* ("exit"), *tagtiya* ("central section") of a *san'a* ("song"), etc. (Seroussi 1990). Joseph Chetrit (1991) presented another comprehensive overview of this tradition on the basis of his extensive private collection of Hebrew manuscripts from Morocco. The impressive array of manuscripts of *piyyutim* from the 17th century onwards

arranged according to the Andalusian musical modes is a testimony of the vigorous continuity of this tradition among Moroccan Jews. Despite the social upheavals and hardships suffered by them in the modern period, the Hebrew Andalusian tradition has survived until the present day as a primary icon of Moroccan-Jewish identity both in and outside Israel (see Amzallag 1991; Seroussi 1986; Turel 1981).

The basic form of the Andalusian Hebrew tradition is the *trek* or *tasdir*, a chain of *piyyutim* sung to melodies in one musical mode and thus constituting a homogeneous unit. The idea of the *trek*, which was probably conceived in medieval Al-Andalus, took its final shape in the aftermath of the expulsion from Spain. The chain incorporated indiscriminately poems from all historical periods, according to a musical rationale. They could be performed in the framework of the normative liturgy or independently, on social occasions such as weddings, with instrumental accompaniment.

A professional singer (*payyetan*) took control of the performance of the chain. He could also add his own compositions to the *trek* at the expense of or in addition to the older ones. One can observe in the manuscripts this process of constant renewal of the repertoire. As time elapsed, the number of poems from past periods decreased, while the number of new compositions constantly increased. The new poems also show new poetical forms, unknown to the Jewish poets of medieval Spain, created according to the demands of the musical repertoire. Each *payyetan* compiled his own manuscript collection (in the course of time several copies were needed, due to the constant expansion in the number of poems) and sometimes copied them on behalf of his disciples. As a consequence, local repertoires based on the compositions by native poets evolved in each Jewish community of Morocco.

In our inquiries into the Moroccan Jewish tradition we observed the distinction made by the *payyetanim* between the *qdim* ("old") and *jdid* ("new") repertoires of Hebrew-Andalusian music. Chetrit distinguished the "old" and "new" Hebrew repertoires in terms of their relation to the current Arabic-Andalusian tradition. The "old" tradition refers to the autochthonous Hebrew one whose roots are found in the sixteenth century and which evolved continuously until its publication in *Shir yedidut*. In its "old" version, the Andalusian Hebrew tradition consisted of twenty-four *tubu'* (musical modes). Apparently, this codification into twenty-four *tubu'* found in some of the most comprehensive Hebrew manuscripts (of which Ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Opp. Add. 4o. 83, from Tetuán, dated c.1745 is the oldest one known to us today) is not related to the twenty-four *tubu'* found in the theoretical treatises of medieval al-Andalus (see Shiloah 1979:121-2; Chottin 1939:137; García Barriuso 191:137), but rather to an independent Hebrew tradition.

The “new” tradition on the other hand refers to the parallel Hebrew version of the relatively modern and canonical Moroccan Arabic compilation *Khunnas al-Hayk* (18th century) by Muhammad al-Husayn al-Ha’ik al-Titawani al-Andalusi in its different variants (see: Valderrama 1954; Al-Fasi 1962; Al-Zuitun 1972; Benjelloun Toumy 1979; Cortés García 1996; see also the important musicological contributions of Touma 1998 and Guettat 2000). This “new” repertoire is linked in particular to the poet and musician Rabbi Shlomo Cohen of Marrakesh (c.1780–post-1848) who knew the Al-Ha’ik compilation and attempted to create a Hebrew codex that would parallel it. Similar efforts were carried out in other Jewish centres in Morocco during the 19th century, such as the manuscript by Moises Bonan (1886-7; see Zafrani 1977:288) and the work by Rabbi Refael Edrei of Meknes, eventually published in the book *Etivu nagen* (Meknes, 1929/1930). Put differently, Jewish musicians who were proficient in the performance of the modern Moroccan Arabic *nawba*, selected extant Hebrew poems to substitute those in Arabic in the Al-Ha’ik compilation. When no appropriate poems were available (as frequently occurred), they composed new ones modeled on the original Arabic songs.

The “new” tradition was discontinued in the 20th century, due to the great popularity of the “old” tradition among performers and audiences alike, particularly because of its firm connection to the *baqqashot* event and the feeling of “authenticity”. The early publication of a codex from the “old” southern-Moroccan tradition from Marrakesh and Essawira (*Roni ve-simhi*, Livorno 1890, a compilation that preceded *Shir yedidut*) accelerated its reception as the canon for all Moroccan Jews from all centres, superseding other local collections. The leading *payyotanim* of the new generation born at the beginning of the 20th century, especially Rabbi David Buzaglo (d. 1975), further boosted the repertoire of *Shir yedidut* in Casablanca, a city that became the main Jewish centre of colonial Morocco. Jews from around the country settled in Casablanca, creating a kind of musical *koine*. The preference for the tradition of *Shir yedidut*, consolidated in Casablanca, continued after the mass immigration of Moroccan Jews to Israel in the mid-1950s.

We must notice, however, that pieces of the “new” tradition were incorporated into *Shir yedidut* too, such as the *mizan Qdam de-Rsad*, with poems composed by Rabbi David Elkayam of Essawira (d. 1941) for the Sabbath *Zakhor*. Moreover, contemporary *payyotanim* who have knowledge of the current Moroccan Arabic tradition renewed the attempts to compile a Hebrew codex parallel to the current Andalusian music of Morocco, often using the work by Rabbi Shlomo Cohen of Marrakesh (available now in microfilmed manuscripts) as the basis. Projects of this kind were undertaken by Yossef Yifrah, in his book *Yagel yifrah* (Haifa 1981/2) and Israel “Charlie” Malka from Kiryat Ata (Chetrit 1991:70).

This rather long, but necessary, historical introduction leads us to the source for our examples of the musical performance of Hebrew *tawshīh* poetry: the lore of Rabbi Meir Atiyah, a renowned representative of the Moroccan Jewish musical and poetic tradition in Israel. Born in Rabat in 1948, he was educated in the *yeshivot* (rabbinical academies) of his city, as well as of Meknes and Casablanca, where he also absorbed the Andalusian musical lore of celebrated *payyotanim*, especially from Shlomo Wanunu (nicknamed “Ben Bamusha”). Rabbi Atiyah moved to Israel in 1963 at the age of fifteen. There he deepened his dedication to the performance of sacred Andalusian Hebrew poetry. He became a dedicated scholar and teacher of the Moroccan *baqqashot*, having published several major works related to this tradition. These works include a new, corrected and commented edition of *Shir yedidut* (2000), a set of twenty CDs for learning the *baqqashot* repertoire and, more recently, the musical transcriptions of about twenty per cent of the *baqqashot* repertoire (Atiyah and Sharvit 2003).

Alongside his expertise in the Hebrew tradition, Rabbi Atiyah cultivated his knowledge of the Andalusian Arab tradition, of which he is today an expert. Following his studies of the Arabic tradition with old Jewish masters and from commercial recordings, he started to frequent *sheikhs* in Morocco following the warming of the relations between Morocco and Israel after the Oslo accords. This expertise led him to one of his most impressive works, the two-volume compendium *Meir ha-shahar* (Atiyah 1993), in which he achieved what none of his predecessors did: a full parallel Hebrew version of the canonic Arab collection *Khunnas al-Hayk*.

To understand our selection of examples performed by Rabbi Atiyah and his colleagues, a word about the textual structure of the *baqqashot* event according to *Shir yedidut* is needed. This codex is divided into twenty *parashot* (sing. *parashah*) or chapters, each one including the repertoire of songs performed on a specific Sabbath, starting with *shabbat Bereshit* the first Saturday after the festival of *Simhat Torah* (mid-October when the annual cycle of the Torah reading starts). The songs in each *parashah* or chapter are nominally set to one of the eleven Andalusian *nawbat* of the contemporary Moroccan Arabic repertoire. In fact, they contain melodies in more than one mode, a residual of the existence of more than eleven modes in the “old” Hebrew tradition.

The program for each Sabbath includes several sections. It opens with an overture consisting of two strophic poems of deep mystical content, *Dodi yarad le-gano* by Rabbi Hayyim Hacoen (Aleppo 1585-Livorno 1655) and *Yedid nefesh* by Rabbi Eliezer Azikri (Safed 1533-1600). The function of these poems is similar to the instrumental overtures to the Andalusian *nawba*. These two poems are sung every Sabbath with different music. The overture is followed by one or two poems of the *baqqashah* (“petition”)

type, continuing with a piece in free rhythm called *istakhbar* (a term used in the Algerian Andalusian tradition), which is the Jewish equivalent to the Moroccan Andalusian *beytain*. Then the program proceeds with the *tasdir*, a series of *piyyutim* ending with a *qsida*. The *qsida* is a relatively long and complex strophic poem (in comparison to the *piyyutim*) in a Moroccan folk style, generally based on the text of the Biblical portion read at the synagogue on each Saturday. Most of these *qsaid* were written especially for *Shir yedidut*, particularly by one of its editors, Rabbi David Elkayyam. The clear structure, timing and balance of the song selections in *Shir yedidut* contributed to its enormous popularity among the Moroccan Jewish singers in the 20th century.

The performance of the opening poems called *baqqashot* (from which the entire event takes its name) contains, in my opinion, one of the older musical layers of the Andalusian Hebrew tradition. Moreover, these *baqqashot* are poems from the older textual layers: medieval Andalusian Hebrew poets, such as Solomon Ibn Gabirol and Abraham Ibn Ezra, and poems by members of the generation of the expulsion, such as Rabbi Shim'on ben Lavi, Mandil Ibn Zimra, and others. All these poems are in the *tawshih*-related forms. Unlike most of the *piyyutim* in the *tasdir*, the core of the event, where only a few verses from the entire poem are sung (usually five to seven), the *baqqashot* poems are sung in their entirety. The most common forms of these *baqqashot* derive from the *zajal*. These forms include stanzas, most usually of four verses in the *aaax*, *bbbx*, *cccx* rhyme pattern with an opening stanza of one or two lines rhyming on "x" which becomes the refrain between the stanzas (called *pizmon* by the singers). There are also poems in what scholars of Hebrew strophic poetry call the quasi-*muwashshah* form (*shir me'eyin ezori*). These forms too have an opening strophe (*muwashshah tamm*). In performance of the refrain, a line from the opening strophe is generally added to the *qufl*.

The following examples are based on the recordings of Rabbi Meir Atiyah. They show some of these basic forms of text-music relationship found in the singing of Moroccan Jewish *baqqashot*.

Example 1: *Shiru be-shir hadash*

Baqqashah for Shabbat *Hayye Sara* by She'lomo.

Zajal of strophes of four verses of ten syllables each with a two-verse heading of eleven syllables per verse.

Verse	Rhyme	Function	Music	Performer
1	A	Pizmon	A (e)	Solo 1

Andalusian Hebrew strophic poetry in the religious repertoire of the Moroccan Jews

2	A	Pizmon	A (d)	Solo 1
1	A	Pizmon	A (e)	Choir
2	A	Pizmon	A ¹ (f)	Choir
3	B	Bayt 1	B (d)	Solo 2
4	B	Bayt 1	B ¹ (d)	Solo 2
5	B	Bayt 1	A (e)	Solo 2
6	A	Bayt 1	A (d)	Solo 2
1	A	Pizmon	A (e)	Choir
2	A	Pizmon	A ¹ (d)	Choir
7	C	Bayt 2	B (d)	Solo 3
8	C	Bayt 2	B (d)	Solo 3
9	C	Bayt 2	A (e)	Solo 3
10	A	Bayt 2	A (d)	Solo 3
1	A	Pizmon	A (e)	Choir
2	A	Pizmon	A ¹ (d)	Choir

Example 2a: *Tuvkha yah ligmor*

Baqqashah for Shabbat *Bereshit* by Israel.

Zajal with heading.

Verse	Rhyme	Function	Music	Performer
1	AB	Pizmon	A (f+g)	Solo
2	AB	Pizmon	B (e+d)	Solo
3	CD	Bayt	B ¹ (e+g)	Solo
4	CD	Bayt	B (e+d)	Solo
5	CD	Bayt	A (f-g)	Solo
6	CB	Bayt	B (c+d)	Solo
1	AB	Pizmon	A (f-g)	Choir
2	AB	Pizmon	B (e+d)	Choir

Example 2b: *Qor 'ei 'oneg shiru yahdav*

Baqqashah for Shabbat *Vayera* by Fradji Shawat, Tunisia, late 16th century–17th century.

Lahan of *Tuvkha*.

Muwashshah with opening two-verse *matla'*.

Verse	Rhyme	Function	Music	Performer
1	AB	Pizmon	AB (f+g+f+g)	Solo
1 (half 2)	B	Pizmon	B (f+d)	Choir
2	AB	Pizmon	AB (f+g+f+g)	Solo
2 (half 2)	B	Pizmon	B (f+d)	Choir
3	CD	Bayt	AB (f+g+f+d)	Solo
4	CD	Bayt	AB (f+g+f+d)	Choir
5	CD	Bayt	AB (f+g+f+d)	Solo
6	AB	Qufi	AB (f+g+f+d)	Solo
7	AB	Qufi	BB (f+g+f+d), anticipates pizmon	Solo
1	AB	Pizmon	AB (f+g+f+d)	Choir

Example 3: *Shabbat ke-yishon bat 'ayin*

Baqqashah for Shabbath *Bereshit* by Shim'on ben Lavi, Spain-Tripoli (Libya), late 15th–early 16th century.

Zajal of *pie quebrado* (6+6+6+3 syllables to the strophe in *bbba* rhyme alternating 'ayn/yain) with heading.

Verse	Rhyme	Function	Music	Performer
1	A ('ayn)	Pizmon	A (d+f)	Solo
1	A	Pizmon	A (d+f)	Solo
2	A (yain)	Pizmon	A (d+f)	Solo
2	A	Pizmon	A (d+f)	Choir
3	B	Bayt 1	B (d+g) free	Solo
3	B	Bayt 1	B' (d+c') free	Solo

[Cont.]

4	B	Bayt 1	C (f)	Solo
5	BA (yain)	Bayt 1	A (d+f)	Solo
2	A	Pizmon	A (d+f)	Choir

Example 4: *Lehodot mah tov be-ḥibat*

Baqqashah for Shabbat *Noah* by Yehuda ben Abraham (Alcaletz, 1570–1620).

Zajal with stanzas in *bcbā* rhyme with two-line heading.

Verse	Rhyme	Function	Music	Performer
1	A	Pizmon	A (e)	Solo
2	A	Pizmon	B (a)	Solo
2	A	Pizmon	B (g)	Choir
3	B	Bayt	B (g)	Solo
4	C	Bayt	B (g)	Solo
5	B	Bayt	A (e)	Solo
6	A	Bayt	B (g)	Solo
1	A	Pizmon	A (e)	Choir
2	A	Pizmon	B (g)	Choir

Example 5: *Sha'ar asher nisgar*

Piyyut for Shabbat *Hayye Sarah* by Solomon Ibn Gabirol.

Strophes of two verses of two hemistichs each, with same rhyme at the end of each strophe. Second verse of the first strophe functions as *pizmon*. Musical shift in the middle of a poem from *Al-rsad al-qdim* to *Rasd-dhil*.

Verse	Rhyme	Function	Music	Performer
1 (1 half)	A	Bayt 1	A (e)	Solo 1
1 (2 half)	B	Bayt 1	B (d)	Solo 1
2 (1 half)	C	Bayt 1	A (e)	Choir
2 (2 half)	B	Bayt 1	B (d)	Choir

[Cont]

New mode: Rasd-dhil				
3 (1 half)	D	Bayt 2	C (c) free rhythm	Solo 2
3 (2 half)	D	Bayt 2	C (a) free rhythm	Solo 2
4 (1 half)	E	Bayt 2	A (e)	Choir
4 (2 half)	B	Bayt 2	B (d)	Choir
2 (1 half)	A	Pizmon	A (e)	Choir
2 (2 half)	B	Pizmon	B (d)	Choir

Example 6: *Eftzeħa rinnah ve-todah*Pizmon for Shabbat *Bereshit* by Abraham.

Split of a *muwashshah* into two musical units. Opening (*matla'*) is the end of the previous song, the *bayt* starts a new musical unit, and the *qufl* is the refrain.

Verse	Rhyme	Function	Music	Performer
1 (half 1)		Pizmon	A (d-d)	Choir
1 (half 1)	A	Pizmon	B (f)	Solo
1 (half 2)		Pizmon-filling syllables	C (c+f)	Solo
1 (half 2)	B (adonay)	Pizmon	D (d)	Choir
2 (half 1)		Pizmon	A (d+d)	Solo
2 (half 1)	A	Pizmon	B (f)	Solo
2 (half 2)		Pizmon+filling syllables	C (c+f)	Solo
2 (half 2)	B (adonay)	Pizmon	D (d)	Choir
New song				
3 (half 1)	C	Bayt 1	E (f) free	Solo
3 (half 2)	C	Bayt 1	F (d) rubato	Choir
4 (half 1)	C	Bayt 1	E (f) free	Solo
4 (half 2)	C	Bayt 1	F (d) rubato	Choir

Andalusian Hebrew strophic poetry in the religious repertoire of the Moroccan Jews

5 (half 1)	C	Bayt 1	E (f) free	Solo
5 (half 2)	C	Bayt 1	F (c) rubato	Choir
6	AB (adonay)	Qufi	G (c+g) rubato	Solo
7 (half 1)	A	Qufi	E (f) free	Choir
7 (half 2)	B (adonay)	Qufi	F (d) rubato	Choir

Example 7: *Sha'arei pedut*

Piyyut for Shabbat *Bereshit* by Abraham Ibn Ezra.

Muwashshah from the *tasdir*, set to the Andalusian musical form *san'a suba'yah*. Only the first seven verses that are sung (the *maṭla'*, first *bayt* and *qufi*) appear printed in *Shir yedidut*.

Verse	Rhyme	Function	Music	Performer
1 (third 1)		Tagtiya	A (e)	Solo 1
1 (third 1)		Tagtiya	A (e)	Solo 1
1 (third 2)	A	Tagtiya	B (d)	Solo 1
		Hanana	C (c)	Solo 1
1 (third 3)	B	Tagtiya	D (d)	Solo 1
		Hanana	E (d)	Choir

2 to 5 verse (third 1)		Bayt	F (c)	Solo 2-5
2 to 5 verse (third 1)		Bayt	F (d)	Solo 2-5
2 to 5 verse (third 2)	C	Bayt	B (d)	Solo 2-5
2 to 5 verse		Hanana	C (c)	Solo 2-5
2 to 5 verse (third 3)	B	Bayt	D (d)	Solo 2-5
		Hanana	E (d)	Choir

6 (third 1)		Tagtiya 2	G (d)	Solo 6
6 (third 1)		Tagtiya 2	G (c)	Solo 6
6 (third 2)	A	Tagtiya 2	B (d) anticipation	Solo 6

[Cont.]

6 (third 3)	B	Bayt	F (c)	Solo 6
7 (third 1)		Bayt	F (d)	Solo 6
7 (third 2)	C	Bayt	B (d)	Solo 6
		Hanana	C (c)	Solo 6
7 (third 3)	B	Bayt	D (d)	Solo 6
		Hanana	E (d)	Choir

Discussion

The melodies of *tawshih* poetry in the older layer of the Moroccan *baqqashot* reflect in their structure patterns related to the literary forms of the songs. There is always some kind of musical differentiation between refrain and stanza; discrete melodic sections for units ending in the same rhyme are repeated; diverse rhythmical patterns distinguish between different sections of poem; and the division of the performance between one or more soloists and the congregation enhance the literary design of the poem. Yet, these reflections of literary forms in the music of the *baqqashot* poems are by no means uniform.

Let us discuss just one issue: the music of the refrain (*pizmon*). One can see that refrains vary in their textual and musical scope. There are cases (*Tuvkha yah ligmor*, Ex. 2a) in which the two introductory verses (*encabezamiento*) function as refrain, i.e. they are repeated after each stanza. In other cases only one verse out of the two of the opening is repeated as refrain, i.e. the first verse (*Qore'i 'oneg*, Ex. 2b) or the second one (*Shabbat ke-yishon*, Ex. 3). It is worth noting that the musical refrain does not always coincide with the textual refrain. In *Lehodot mah tov* (Ex. 4) the musical refrain includes the last verse of the *bayt* (that rhymes with the *pizmon*) plus the second verse of the *pizmon* itself. The refrain does not always consist of repetitions of the *pizmon*. In *Eftzeha rinnah ve-todah* (Ex. 6) the refrain is only musical, while the text changes, consisting of the varying *qufl*, the verses of the *bayt* that carry the rhyme of the *pizmon*.

In addition to the differentiation of the refrain in terms of musical and textual content, the manner of its performance enhances this distinctiveness. Notice that a soloist always opens the poem, while the choir joins in by repeating the opening fully or partially. Soloist and choir may also alternate in the singing of the internal refrains, although in most cases the refrain is the domain of the choir. As a rule, different soloists alternate in the singing of the stanzas.

The diversity in the musical settings of Hebrew *tawshīh* poetry in the Andalusian Jewish tradition from Morocco opens an opportunity for a serious study as of the nature of the text-music relation in this poetry. It is clear that there was more than one way to perform *tawshīh* poems. Even poems of identical poetic structure receive different musical treatment, let alone the fact that the same poem can be performed with different tunes.

While the old *baqqashot* poems show, despite this diversity, a rather uniform relation between music and text, the musical settings of the poems in the *trek* or *tasdir* show a rather different approach, more akin to the contemporary Moroccan Arab tradition. As we can see in the complex structure of example 7 (the *muwashshah Sha'arei pedut*), only a fraction of the original text, seven verses, is actually sung: the *matla'* (verses 1-2), the first *bayt* (verses 3-5) and the first *qufl* (verses 6-7). Rabbi Atiyah explains that this song starts from the *tagtiya*, the contrasting melodic section of the Andalusia *sana'* or "song" (which appears, for example, in the fourth verse in a song of five verses). In the Andalusian Arab tradition, the second *tagtiya* (verse 6) should have been a repetition of the opening musical unit, but in this case it is musically different (called by Atiyah *tagtiya braniyah*, "foreign"). According to Atiyah, this is a unique feature of the Jewish Andalusian tradition. Notice also that this song is greatly developed with internal repetitions and with phrases of non-sense syllables.

In this presentation I have barely touched upon the complexity of the musical settings of *tawshīh* poetry in the Moroccan Jewish tradition. Only a thorough survey of this rich religious Hebrew repertoire will make clearer conclusions possible. However even at this very premature stage of our research two diverse approaches to the musical performance of *tawshīh* poetry emerge with clarity. In the first approach, found in the performance of the old *baqqashot* poems, the musical structure "respects", to varying degrees, the poetic architecture of the text. In the poems of the *tasdir* on the other hand, the poems are "used" (and one might add "mutilated"), to fill a pre-existing musical structure. We can assume that these different approaches to the musical setting of medieval strophic poetry in the modern period reflect some past practices. Thus, to the question posed by Monroe back in 1987 in relation to the development of medieval Arabic and Hebrew strophic poetry, "the tune or the words?", we can probably reply with two equally valid answers: in some cases the tune preceded the words, and in others, vice versa.

REFERENCES

- Al-Farūqī, Lois Ibsen. 1975. "Muwashshah: A vocal form in Islamic culture", *Ethnomusicology* 9, no. 1: 1-29.
- Al-Fāssī, Muḥammad. 1962. "La musique marocaine dite 'musique andalouse'", *Hesperis-Tamuda* 3: 79-106.

- Al-Zu'itun [Zwiten], Ahmad. Ed. 1972. *Majmu'at al-Hā'ik fil-tarab al-andalusī*. Casablanca.
- Amzallag, Abraham. 1986. *Modal Aspects in the Singing of Baqqashot by Moroccan Jews*. Ph. D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem. (In Hebrew)
- . 1988. "'Shir yedidut' and the poetry of the baqqashot", *Pe'amim*, 32: 94-116. (In Hebrew)
- . 1991. "Recent change in Moroccan Jewish music", *Miqqedem umiyyam 4 (Tradition and Change on the Culture of Moroccan and Oriental Jewry)* ed. Joseph Chetrit. Haifa, pp. 145-64. (In Hebrew)
- Atiyah, Meir Elazar. 1993. *Meir ha-shaḥar*. Yerushalayim, Hedera: Keren Ahavat Kedumim. (In Hebrew)
- and Uri Sharvit. 2003. *Shir yedidut – Me'ir nativ*. Yerushalayim. (In Hebrew)
- Bahat, Avner. 1980. La poésie hébraïque médiévale dans les traditions musicales des communautés juives orientales. *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 23: 297-322.
- Benjelloun Toumy, El Hadj Driss. 1979. *Patrimoine musical arabe marocaine: Les chants des onze Noubats de la musique andalous-marocaine*. Tunis.
- Chahbar, 'Abdelaziz. 1990. Los megorashim marroquíes y el canto de las moaxajas y el zéjel. *Abraham Ibn Ezra y su tiempo: Actas del Simposio Internacional*, ed. Fernando Díaz Esteban. Madrid: Asociación Española de Orientalistas, pp. 51-7.
- . 1991. *La poesía de los judíos marroquíes bajo la influencia andalusí y la originalidad marroquí*. Ph.D. diss. Madrid: Universidad Complutense.
- Chetrit, Joseph. 1991. *Shirat ha-piyyutim ve-shirat ha-baqqashot shel yehudei maroko* ("The Singing of Piyyutim and Baqqashot of Moroccan Jews"), Tel-Aviv: Moreshet Dorot. (In Hebrew)
- Chottin, Alexis. 1939. *Tableau de la musique marocaine*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Cortés García, Manuela, 1996. *Pasado y presente de la música andalusí*. Sevilla: Fundación El Monte.
- Fenton, Paul. 1975. "Les baqqašōt d'orient et d'occident," *Revue des Études Juives* 134: 101-21.
- Fernández Manzano, Reynaldo. 1985. "Algunas notas sobre la estructura musical de las muwashshahs", *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes*. Madrid: Gredos, vol. I, pp. 609-29.
- García Barriuso, Patrocinio. 1941. *La música hispano-musulmana de Marruecos*. Larache.
- Guettat, Mahmud. 2000. *La musique arabo-andalouse: L'empreinte du Maghreb*. Paris: Fleurs Sociales.
- Haxen, Ulf. 1991. "Kharjas in Hebrew muwashshahs", *Studies on the Muwashshah and the Kharja*, ed. Alan Jones and Richard Hitchcock. Oxford University Press, pp. 37-48.
- Hazzan, Ephraim. 1995. *Hebrew Poetry in North Africa*. Jerusalem. (In Hebrew)
- Hazzan, Ephraim and Uri Sharvit. 1998. "The status of the refrain in poetry and music according to the singing of the baqqashot among Moroccan Jews", *Biqoret u-farshamat – Criticism and Interpretation* 32: 187-206. (In Hebrew)

Andalusian Hebrew strophic poetry in the religious repertoire of the Moroccan Jews

- Host, George Hjersing. 1781. *Nachrichten von Morokos und Fes, im Lande selbst gesammelt in der Jahre 1760 bis 1768*. Kopenhagen.
- Idelsohn, Abraham Z. 1929. *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz*, Vol. V: *Gesänge der marokkanischen Juden*. Jerusalem-Berlin-Wien: Benjamin Harz Verlag.
- Larrea Palacín, Arcadio de. 1957. *La música hispano-árabe*. Madrid.
- Liu, Benjamin M. and James T. Monroe. 1989. *Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition. Music and Texts*. (Modern Philology, vol. 125). University of California Press.
- Monroe, J.T. 1986. "Poetic quotation in the *muwashshah* and its implications: Andalusian strophic poetry as song", *La Corónica* 14 No. 2: 230-50.
- , 1987. "The tune or the words? (Singing Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry)", *al-Qantara* 8: 265-317.
- Plenckers, Leo J. 1982. "Les rapports entre le *muwashshah* algérien et le *virelai* du moyen âge", *The Challenge of the Middle East*, ed. I. A.El-Sheikh. Amsterdam, pp. 91-111.
- , 1989. *De muziek van de Algerijnse muwashshah*, Ph.D. diss, Amsterdam.
- Poché, Christian. 1997. *La música arábigo-andaluza*. Móstoles (Madrid): Ediciones Akal.
- Rosen, Tova. 2000. "The Muwashshah", *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Selis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 165-89.
- Rubiato Díaz, María Teresa. 1974. *Composiciones himnicas en el ritual sefardí del Norte de Marruecos (Sukkot, Simhat Torah): Edición Musical*. Tesis doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Sabbah, Dina. 1991. *Ne'im zemirot: 102 Selections of Sephardi Jewish Music*. Montreal.
- Schippers, Arie. 1991. "Some remarks on the present-day tradition of Andalusian *muwashshahat* in North Africa", *Studies on the Muwashshah and the Kharja*, ed. Alan Jones and Richard Hitchcock, Oxford University Press, pp. 149-59.
- Seroussi, Edwin. 1986. "Politics, ethnic identity and music in the singing of *bakkashot* among Moroccan Jews in Israel", *Asian Music* 17, no.2: 32-45.
- , 1990. "La música arábigo-andaluza en las *baqqashot* judeo-marroquíes. Estudio histórico y musical", *Anuario Musical* 45: 297-315.
- , 1997. "La musique andalouse-marocaine dans les manuscrits hébraïques", *Relations judéo-musulmanes au Maroc – Perceptions et réalités*, ed. Michel Abitbol. Paris: Editions Stavit 1997, pp. 283-94.
- Shoshana, Rabbi Hayyim Refael. 1979/1980. *A'ira shahar*. 3 vols., Beer Sheva.
- Stern, Samuel M. 1964. "Andalusian *muwashshahs* in the musical repertoire of North Africa", *Actas del I Congreso de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, Córdoba, 1962*. Madrid: Comité permanente del Congreso de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, pp. 319-27.
- Touma, Habib. 1998. *Die Nūbah Māyah: zur Phaenomenologie des Melos in der arabisch-andalusischen Musik Marokkos: Eine Strukturanalyse der Nūbah Māyah*. Hildesheim; New York: G. Olms.

Edwin Seroussi

- Turel (Gilead), Tali. 1981. *Music in the custom of the bakkashot among Moroccan Jews in Israel*. M.A. thesis, Tel Aviv University. (In Hebrew).
- Valderrama Martínez, Fernando. 1954. *El cancionero de al-Hā'ik*. Tetuán.
- Zafrani, Haim. 1977. *Poésie juive en occident musulman*. Paris.
- Zwartjes, Otto J. 1991. "Algunas observaciones sobre la función de la *xarja*: *Al-xarja doš 'amaláyn* (Ibn Quzmān *zajal* n. 59)", *Poesía Estrófica: Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional...* ed. Federico Corriente y Ángel Sáenz-Badillos. Madrid: Universidad Complutense – Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Árabe, pp. 367-76.
- , 1997. *Love Songs from al-Andalus: History, Structure and Meaning of the Kharja*. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.