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The Moroccan Jewish Piyyut: A Judeo-Arabic Cultural Synthesis

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Introduction

I first became interested in Moroccan *piyyutim* in 1996 upon working with a modern Moroccan ensemble <u>Sultana,</u> directed by Yoel Bensimhon. One of the pieces performed was the *piyyut "El Barukh Gedol"* by Rabbi David Bouzaglo, which caught my attention. As director of the Mesaouda Judeo-Arabic ensemble (founded in 1995), I began looking for a way to include this tradition in my group's performances. After meeting Marc Hazan, the Cantor of the Manhattan Sephardic Congregation on East 75th street, we began an artistic relationship which eventually led to the recording of a CD, *Tehillot Israel* (2000).

Cantor Hazan was interested in expanding his musical activities beyond the liturgical context. We met on several occasions, upon which he was extremely generous with his time and knowledge, I recorded him singing many *piyyutim*. I later transcribed these, referring to recordings made by *chazzanim* such as Haim Look for a point of reference and comparison. The Mesaouda Ensemble began performing these *piyyutim* with Marc in concerts, several being sponsored by the Brooklyn Arts Council. This repertoire became the basis for the *Tehillot Israel* recording.

Although I was familiar with repertoire and performance practices of various Middle Eastern Jewish traditions, Moroccan melodies, rhythms and modes were completely foreign to me. A connection with the mainstream of Egyptian, Syrian, and Iraqi musical tradition was apparent, but other very different influences were pervasive.

Modes which resembled those in the Greek system, such as the Lydian and Mixolydian modes, were prominent, as opposed to their extremely rare appearance in music from the Levant. Rhythmic patterns seemed to possess a profoundly African character at times.

The complexity and diversity shown in this musical tradition, as well as the beautiful texts in the *piyyut* repertoire which are rich with references to the *midrash* and *kabbalah*, sparked my interest in examining its origins and historical development. As this occurred concurrently with my research on other *mizrachi* musical traditions, it evolved naturally into my Masters' Thesis.

In researching the Moroccan *piyyut*, not surprisingly, I did not find a dearth of material. Several authors have written on the Moroccan Jewish poetic tradition, most notably Haim Zafrani, who has also written several books on Moroccan Jewish culture. His most important work, _Poesie Juive en Occident Musulman_ focuses on many aspects of the *piyyut* in Morocco. Discussing the history of the *piyyut*, Zafrani traces its origins in Spain and Palestine. Content and forms used in the *piyyut* comprise the second part of the study. Amnon Shiloah, and Edwin Seroussi have researched Moroccan, as well as other Middle Eastern Jewish musical practices. Dr. Avraham Elam Amzallag wrote extensively on the *andalusi* musical tradition, his main work being _Etudes sur la Musique des Juives du Maroc_ .

Meir Attiya studied contemporary Moroccan musical practice in Israel, in addition to compiling the *piyyut* compendium _Shirei Dodim ha Shalem_ and the book of *'ala* (Moroccan *andalusi* music) repertoire focusing on the *triq jdid* (19th century Jewish *'ala* tradition) entitled _Meir ha Shachar._ The most useful study on North African musical theory in a language other than Arabic is _La Musique Classique du Maghreb_ by

Tunisian scholar Mahmoud Guettat. Within this work, Guettat details the theoretical basis of music in Tunisia, Algeria, Libya and Morocco.

The composition and performance of *piyyutim* among Middle Eastern Jews, particularly in the Syrian community in Brooklyn, has been studied recently by Kay Kaufman Shelemay. In her book <u>Let Jasmine Rain Down: Song and Remembrance Among Syrian Jews</u>, Shelemay discusses the way in which *piyyutim* are used as a form of communal memory, preserving historical events, family names etc. *Pizmonim*, or *piyyutim*, in the Syrian Jewish community accomplish this in a unique way, synthesizing an Arabic musical aesthetic with a Jewish mode of expression. Mark Kligman has also researched this community, writing his doctoral thesis on the Sabbath morning liturgy of Brooklyn's Syrian Jews.

Research in this area has shown the complex relationship between music and text, and that the two are brought together in a cultural synthesis of Arabic and Jewish aesthetics and cultural values. S.D. Goiten explains the difference between the symbiotic relationship of Jewish and Arab cultures and similar phenomena which occurred in Western civilization. The ideals and culture of modern Western civilization are at variance with the ideology and culture of Judaism. Hebrew, a Semitic language, is unrelated to European languages, but is closely related to Arabic. In drawing from Arabic sources linguistically, culturally, and to an extent ideologically, Judaism did not need to sacrifice its integrity by introducing highly 'foreign' elements, as it did in the West (Goiten 130). The most perfect expression of this cultural symbiosis, according to Goiten, is found in the Hebrew poetry, or *piyyutim*, of the Middle Ages, upon which the *piyyut* tradition of Morocco is based (ibid. 155).

Writing on the same topic, Bernard Lewis describes the adaptation of the prosody and technique of Arabic poetry, as well as its system of symbol and allusion to Hebrew as being a one way influence (Jews 81). Lewis, however, views the cultural relationship between Jews and Arabs in the Middle East in a similar fashion to Goiten, as a symbiotic relationship, similar to that of the Jews in modern day America, in contrast to the status of Yiddish and Ladino speaking Jews as outsiders linguistically and culturally in Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Empire respectively (ibid. 77).

The products of this synthesis continue are still being produced to this day in Levantine and North African Jewish communities, mainly in Israel and America. Both Syrian and Moroccan *payetanim* have been heavily influenced by the *andalusian* masters Ibn Ezra, HaLevy, Ibn Gabirol, et al. The central difference between the Moroccan and Syrian *piyyut* traditions is the musical traditions upon which their respective systems are based. Syrians draw on the classical music of the Levant, and the 'great tradition' which emerged in the twentieth century with singers such as 'Umm Kultsoum, Mohammed Abdel Wahab, and Sabah Fakhri, centered around Egyptian musical practice. Moroccan Jews have based their *piyyutim* and *bakkashot* musically on the Moroccan *andalusian* repertoire, known as *nouba* or *'ala*. Musically unique due to its basis in the *nouba*, the texts found in the Moroccan *piyyut* repertoire display a distinctiveness as well. Moroccan Jewish history is preserved in many of these *piyyutim*, along with cultural heritage, religious beliefs and customs.

This paper is comprised of four main sections. In the first section, the history and culture of Moroccan Jewry from its earliest known settlement is traced. This serves to provide the reader a frame of reference for the Moroccan Jewish community. Of

particular interest are the many persecutions, separated by sometimes extended periods of calm, which the Jews experienced in Morocco. Also highly relevant to this study are the patterns of migration and immigration that occurred, creating a highly diversified population. The influx of Spanish and Portuguese Jewish refugees particularly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries changed the face of Moroccan Jewry dramatically. The presence of European powers, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also had a profound effect on Moroccan Jewish culture.

The second section is on musical theory, focusing on the basis of the *piyyutim* in the Moroccan *'ala* and its melodic and rhythmic modes. As one of the few Jewish liturgical music traditions based on a musical system of classical complexity, its theoretical aspects warrant a great deal of study. Within this section, the process by which the *nouba* was transmitted to Morocco and adapted into the Moroccan Jewish liturgy is focused on. This serves to provide a theoretical framework for the principles by which the *triq* and *bakkashot* are organized in the Jewish liturgy. Following this is a short section on rhyme and meter in Moroccan *piyyutim,* a subject of great complexity and importance to this study. *Piyyutim* are governed by the rules of classical Arabic meter, and a basic familiarity with these rules is important to understanding the structures inherent in *piyyutim.* Meter in Hebrew poetry is purely an adaptation from Arabic poetry, and metrical Hebrew poetry did not exist before the Spanish *payetanim* applied the Arabic system to Hebrew in the early part of the second millennium of the common era.

In the third section, the development of the *piyyut* from its Palestinian origins, to *andalusia*, and finally to Morocco is traced. The work of the Spanish *payetanim*, and to a lesser degree, the Palestinian *payetanim* as well, is essential to an examination of

Moroccan *piyyutim*, as the Moroccans modeled their writing heavily on the Spanish model. In Morocco, many *payetanim* viewed themselves as having a direct lineage connecting them to the great *payetanim* of Spain. A common thread can be seen throughout the history of the *piyyut*, from Palestine to modern times, in its expression of the longings of the Jewish people, and its praise of G-d.

The fourth and final section comprises the transcriptions and analysis of five *piyyutim*, which are the result of fieldwork with Marc Hazan, with the assistance of Ruben Namdar, Tomer Tzur, and Yoel Bensimhon for translations. It is the central element in this study, serving to provide the reader with concrete *piyyut* texts, complete with musical notation, English translations and a recorded example for each. The analysis of these works attempts to fit them into the theoretical, historical and religious structures which the paper discusses up to this point.

The most renown 20th century *payetan* of Morocco is Rabbi David Bouzaglo. I have chosen several of his poems for analysis in part four. In reading his works, it is evident that he chose to address the current events of his time, mainly the creation of the state of Israel and her military conflicts, and Jewish-Muslim relations. He also wrote *piyyutim* lamenting natural disasters, such as the earthquake of Agadir in 1960 (Chetrit 352). Four works of Rabbi David Bouzaglo are discussed, as well as another work of the 19th century *payetan* Rabbi David Hsine. The poems of Rabbi Bouzaglo are revealing in their commonalities. Three of the four poems explicitly address contemporary events and issues of his time. One of the works is in Judeo-Arabic, and some of the others contain Arabic words. Three of the four utilize modes from the Moroccan *nouba*. Two of the

four deal with Israel and her military struggles. Two of the four contain Jewish-Arab relations as a central topic.

Bouzaglo composed many works in Arabic in addition to Hebrew, which frequently expressed an atmosphere of harmony between Muslims and Jews. This show how he was clearly entrenched in Moroccan, as well as Jewish culture. Reputed among Jews to have been the greatest 20th century master of music in Morocco, he is said to have known all of the original *noubat* in Arabic, as well as their Hebrew equivalents. The works of Rabbi David Bouzaglo represent a synthesis of the Moroccan Arabic *nouba* tradition with liturgical *piyyut* texts dealing with the events, hopes, and problems relating to Moroccan Jewry of his time, within the tradition of Arabic poetic forms. This is an example of a Judeo-Arabic synthesis on a very profound level, similar to that found in among Syrian Jews, but with its own character which I hope to demonstrate in this paper. The main focus of this paper is not the analysis of fieldwork within a specific community, but rather the presentation of a cohesive image of the *piyyut* as practiced in Morocco, and its placement within an historical, cultural and theoretical framework.

I. Moroccan Jewish History and Culture

This section will provide an overview of the nearly two thousand year history of Moroccan Jewry, and the roles of music in Moroccan Jewish culture and religious practices will be explained. This historical framework offers a glimpse of what daily life has been like for Moroccan Jews throughout the centuries, and as to what degree they had adapted to Moroccan culture. The example of the Jewish communities living in isolated desert *berber* communities during times of oppression may serve best to illustrate their thorough cultural assimilation into the Moroccan landscape. As firmly entrenched in the *maghreb* as this community was, it follows logically that their musical traditions would be created through a natural synthesis of Jewish and Arab elements, which continues to this day.

History of the Jews in Morocco

Recorded history shows a continuous Jewish presence in North Africa which goes back over two thousand years. Even before this time it is possible that Jews were to be found among the Phoenician traders who colonized North Africa towards the end of the second millennium BCE, establishing Carthage in 814 BCE (Chouraqui 49). The similarity of Phoenician language and material culture to that of the Jews may have caused rapid assimilation, thereby erasing possible evidence of Jewish settlement during this period (Hirshberg vol. I, 10-11).

It is generally assumed by historians that Jewish communities established themselves in North Africa following the destruction of the first temple in Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BCE. On the island of Djerba off the coast of Tunisia, the Jewish

community has maintained the oral tradition that the island's *Ghriba* Synagogue was constructed on a stone taken from Solomon's Temple (Chouraqui 53). Pre-historical myths concerning this period abound, including the casting of the Biblical figure of Goliath as a Berber, the origins of Berbers being the Cannanites expelled by Joshua, Joab pursing the Philistines to the Western end of Africa, and other such tales found in Midrashic writings or collected by Jewish and Gentile scholars.

However unclear the exact beginnings of Jewish settlement in North Africa may be, solid evidence of a Jewish presence there is first exhibited during the period leading to Roman rule, approximately 300 BCE. Josephus cites the migration of a Jewish community numbering 100,000 persons, who had initially been transferred by King Ptolemy I to Egypt (where a large community of Jews already existed), toward Cyrene and Libya (Hirshberg vol. I, 23-24).

A large wave of migration occurred after the destruction of the Second Temple. Many Jews fleeing Palestine bypassed Egypt and continued westwards, and many were brought by the Romans as agricultural slave laborers. These Jewish communities were active in several unsuccessful revolts against Rome, with grave consequences to their populations. Following Hadrian's rule, North African Jewry flourished for a time before the installation of Christianity in the region, which was declared the official state religion of Rome in 392 CE (ibid. 25-39).

The Vandals conquered North Africa, in the early fifth century. This was beneficial to the Jews, who may have allied themselves with the conquerors against their oppressive Roman rulers. Emperor Justinian later routed the Vandals, creating an official decree against Jewish practices in 535, the enactment of which instigated dramatically

oppressive measures against North African Jewry. Conditions continued to fluctuate under the Romans until the Arab conquest during the seventh and eighth centuries, with the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate in 910 (Lewis Middle East, 401).

Historians hold varying opinions about the Jewish role during the volatile period of Arab conquest, as little documentation pertaining to the Jews exists from this period. Arab historians were largely uninterested in recording details about a non-Muslim minority. Legends are in abundance, such as that of the Kahina, or Jewish Berber queen who relentlessly fought the advancing Arab armies. Other sources indicate that the Jews welcomed the Arab conquerors, fighting alongside them against their Roman oppressors (Hirshberg vol.I, 87-96).

Upon the establishment of Arab rule in North Africa, many changes took place for the Jews residing there. The cities of Qairawan (Tunisia) and Fez were established in the 8th and 9th centuries respectively, and these became the most important population centers in the Maghreb for Muslims and Jews alike. Both were centers of Jewish learning, hosting Talmudic academies which were in close contact with the *Yeshivot* of Sura and Pumbeditha. The Idrisid kingdom, occupying the approximate geographical area of modern day Morocco, hosted a population of at least 45,000 Jews in the early 9th century, concentrated mainly in Fez. This population was greatly diminished in the late 10th century , as an upsurge of Bedouin tribal warfare and religious fanaticism devastated the Jewish community of Fez (Schiffman 204).

Under Islamic law, Jews and Christians were considered `ahl al-dhimma (the protected peoples), and as such were theoretically to be guaranteed their personal safety and freedom of religion in exchange for the payment of a special tax called the *jizya.* The

term *dhimmi* was frequently used synonymously with the word *yahud* (Jew) by Arab historians. *Dhimmi* status also imposed laws meant to subjugate and humble an Islamic states' non-Muslim population.

Codified in the 8th century by the Caliph `Umar in a document entitled "The Pact of `Umar", the laws concerning the treatment of non-Muslim monotheists were interpreted in different ways by each political regime. In Morocco, laws relating to distinctive dress, taxation, the building of Synagogues and other aspects of communal life were enforced strictly at times, and leniently at others (Cohen 56-63). One positive aspect of the *Dhimmi* status afforded Jews in Muslim lands, as opposed to their European co-religionists, was an officially sanctioned position in society (Stillman 25-26). This, however, was not always guaranteed in practice. *Dhimmi* laws had profound effects on the development of Jewish culture in the Maghreb, in addition to their implications on Jewish-Muslim relations.

In the mid 10th century, expulsions from cities and massacres began to occur, which eventually led into a dark age for North African Jewry which lasted several hundred years. Rapid growth of the Almoravid movement, followed shortly after by the Almohads, held disastrous consequences. At first, crushing financial burdens were placed on Jews in the form of excessive *jizya* taxation, which brought entire communities to utter impoverishment. In 1159, the fundamentalist Almohad ruler Abd-al-Mumin, gave the Jews of Tunis the choice between death and conversion (Hirshberg vol. I, 128).

Due to the emigration of most scholars and rabbis to other locales, and the dissolution of the religious establishment, the level of religious scholarship in the region greatly declined during this period. Maimonides, who left Fez for Palestine in 1165, later

wrote an "Epistle on Forced Conversion" urging those who were forced to live outwardly as Muslims to leave North Africa. Many Jews who stayed lived in Bedouin Sahara border villages, beyond the reach of the Almohads, where they could practice their religion openly (ibid. 143).

From this point, documentation of Jewish demographics is virtually nonexistent until the late 13th century. At this time, Almohad power began to wane, and their territories separated into three successor states whose territories correspond roughly to modern day Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. Jews could once again profess their faith openly in Fez, a and some ascended to positions of power in the Merinid government. In 1438, the Jews were once again expelled from the old city of Fez, and the *mellah* (walled Jewish quarter) was created in the new city

Shortly thereafter, in 1465, jealousy and anger among Muslims due to the appointment of a Jew named Harun as Vizier led to disastrous consequences for the Jewish community. The ensuing massacre which took place against the Jews of Fez claimed thousands of lives. This was followed by similar violence against Jews in other Moroccan cities. Persecution of this kind almost always followed the attainment of high positions in the government by Jews in North Africa.

Preceding the expulsion edicts in 1492, an influx of Spanish and Portuguese refugees began streaming into North Africa.. Circumstances were unfavorable for the *megorashim*, who as defenseless targets were often attacked and robbed by Berbers *en route*. Upon their arrival, they lived in refugee camps with horrendous conditions, and many perished (ibid. 399-404). Morocco was more welcoming towards the Jewish refugees than its neighbors, consequently attracting more refugees, especially in the

North.   Because of Morocco's proximity to Spain, and the strong Spanish cultural influence in Northern Morocco, Moroccan Jewish culture retains more vestiges of Judeo-Spanish culture than found among Jews of Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya to this day.

During the period of immigration and assimilation of the Spanish and Portuguese exiles, Jewish society experienced great changes.   Religious scholarship was greatly boosted by the influx of Rabbis and *Yeshiva* students.   Commerce, the arts, and every other sector of life was improved for North African Jews through the merging of these two communities. The effect was one of revival and invigoration of a population that had been surviving on a thread for centuries.   One example of this cultural rebirth is represented by the subject of this paper.   The exiles brought with them the highly developed court culture from Spain, in which poetry played an essential part.   The composition of *piyyutim* in North Africa was less developed during the centuries preceding the influx of exiles, flourishing and attaining great advances afterwards (ibid. 311).

Many differences existed at first between the *megorashim* (Spanish exiles) and the *toshabim* (native Moroccan Jews).   These were eventually reconciled for the most part, in some cases over a period of centuries.   Customs of dress, speech, and religious observance separated the two groups.   Each had its own religious institutions, synagogues and social networks. *Shechita* (ritual slaughter) was one particularly difficult point of contention in Morocco for many years.   The different practices were finally resolved by the native Jews adaptation of the stricter Spanish practices (Zafrani *Deux Mille*, 16).

At first, many Sephardim and their descendants did not wish to marry native Moroccan Jews and vice versa.   Parallels of this disposition were to be found in Tunisia

and Algeria as well. The abbreviation "*samekh tet*", which may have originally signified "*sefeh tab*" (it ends well) in Aramaic, was used by Spanish exiles to distinguish themselves from native North Africans (Chouraqui 128-29). Understood as standing for the words "s*ephardi tahor*" (pure *sephardi*) by most Sephardim today, the term is used by Sephardic Jews in Israel. This attitude persisted through the 20th century in certain parts of Morocco, particularly in Northern cities such as Tangiers, where a Jew descended from native stock might still be called a *falastero*, or stranger (Hazan).

During the sixteenth century, five categories of Jews could be distinguished in Morocco. Among the *toshabim* were Jews of Berber origin, or those who had adapted Berber culture and language, and Jews thought to originate from Khaibar in the Arabian peninsula, who lived in the Sahara desert. *Sephardim* fell into three categories: Hispanicized Jews from Castille and Aragon, Jews who were formerly a part of *andalusian* society who spoke an Arabic dialect with an admixture of Spanish and Hebrew vocabulary, and Portuguese Jews who frequently were reverted from forced conversion to Christianity (Corcos 80-81).

Following the absorption of Sephardic Jewry into *maghrebi* society, Jews enjoyed a period of economic prosperity. The Sephardim were experienced traders, and possessed worldly knowledge which facilitated the role of the Jew as intermediary, diplomat, and businessman who frequently operated as a conduit between East and West. Families such as the Pliajis were well known in the courts of many countries, traveling as far as India and Amsterdam. Jews were active in diplomatic affairs between Morocco and England, the Netherlands, and other European powers beginning in the late 17th

century. They were instrumental in negotiating peace with Amsterdam during the 1680's (Hirshberg vol. II, 262).

Under the Sherifian dynasty which held power in Morocco from 1553 until the 'Alawis took power in the late 17th century, the Jews were initially well treated. Jewish immigration was encouraged, and the government seemed to recognize the beneficial effects on economic life created by thriving Jewish communities. Unfortunately, the respite from persecution proved to be temporary, and many Jews were killed during the early 1600's, the transition period between the aforementioned two dynasties. This was frequently the case for Moroccan Jewry during periods of political change (ibid. 236-243).

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Moroccan cities with large Jewish populations began developing their own *mellah-s* modeled after the *mellah* of Fez. Walled Jewish quarters in Moroccan cities were invariably established near the residence of the sovereign, which enabled him to protect the community in exchange for the payment of *jizya* taxes, as established in the Pact of Umar. *Mellah* life was a central element in forming Jewish Moroccan culture (Choraqui 130). In 1577 a *mellah* was constructed in Marrakesh, and Meknes founded one in 1682. Sale, Rabat, Tetuan, and Essarouia (Mogador) followed suit in the 19th century. In some places, the Jews themselves instigated the construction of a *mellah* with the concordance of the ruling *sheikh*, as a measure of security for the community.

The congested *mellah* with its densely packed population was conducive to tightly knit communal life. *Mellah-s* were miniature walled cities within a larger city, with guards posted at the entrances. When anti-Jewish riots occurred, which rulers were

unwilling or unable to control, the *mellah* became a death trap for its inhabitants. Under Mulay Yazid (1790-92), called *mezid* (malicious) by Jews, decrees were carried out against the Jews, and the *mellah* of Fez was decimated. (Hirshberg vol. II, 293). Unsanitary conditions in the crowded *mellahs* rendered Jews particularly suceptible to the plagues which commonly broke out in Morocco. Famine was also common, due to frequent insect infestations (Chouraqui 104).

During the 1800's, political turbulence and war, with France in 1844 and Spain in 1859, caused the widespread migration among Jews. Some fled to Gibraltar, which was under the British crown. Moses Montefiori came to Morocco in 1863 seeking to secure protection against widespread anti-Jewish riots from King Mulay Mohammed. Other European diplomats also sought, in vain, to intervene against the sufferings endured by Jews during this turbulent time (Hirshberg vol. II, 309-13).

Major cultural upheavals accompanied the Western style education that Jews began to receive in the late 19th century. Founded in Paris in 1860, the stated goals of the Alliance Israèlite were the emancipation and education of oppressed Jews throughout the world. It created schools throughout the Mediterranean and the Middle East in which education was conducted in the Western model, with the intent of modernizing, Europeanizing and bringing enlightenment ideology to those Jewish populations.

Alliance Israèlite schools were first established in 1862, in Tetuan. Other cities with concentrated Jewish populations followed soon after. The establishment of the Alliance network constituted a drastic change in the traditional education. Classes were conducted primarily in French, and although religion was taught, it was not the primary focus of study. As a result, the level of religious scholarship and observance began to

decline. This created a new dividing line amongst Moroccan Jews, those with a western education and those without, which had profound social and ecomnomic consequences (Rodrigue 7-10).

In 1912, the French colonized Morocco, the last country in North Africa to fall into European hands. The Ottoman empire had failed to establish a foothold in Morocco, which remained fiercely independent throughout years of siege from its Eastern border with Turkish-controlled Algeria. This was an important factor distinguishing Moroccan Jewry from their co-religionists to the East in Tunisia and Algeria, who had lived under Ottoman cultural influence for hundreds of years. Although European powers have controlled much of Morocco's coastline at times, the westernmost country of the *maghreb* remained, despite its vulnerable geographic location, the most resistant to Ottoman occupation.

Lasting only between 1912 and 1956, the short occupancy of the French did not allow sufficient time for French culture to install itself as thoroughly as it had in Tunisia and Algeria (Deshen 6). Effects of the French presence on Jews were generally beneficial with regards to security. In 1912, a pogrom began to take place against the Jews of Fez, which the French authorities stopped by direct intervention. Vichy laws enacted against Moroccan Jewry during the early 1940's had detrimental effects on certain communities, but were quickly withdrawn upon the arrival of American forces in 1942 (Hirshberg vol. II, 321).

During the mid 20th century, two major events preceded the exodus of the majority of Moroccan Jewry. Immediately after the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 and over the next twenty years, many Jews immigrated there, prompted by religious

motivations as well as the growing anti-Israel sentiment and its accompanying Anti Semitism. During the period preceding Morocco's independence in 1956 and thereafter, many Jews began immigrating to France as well. This was a process which occurred rapidly at first, continuing sporadically through the present. Conditions in the 1950's and 60's became increasingly difficult for Jews due to the birth of modern Arab nationalism and anti-Zionism. At present, a dwindling community of several thousand is all that remains of the long history of Jewish settlement in Morocco (Zafrani, *Deux Mille* 50).

Life for the Jews in the *maghreb*, perhaps particularly in Morocco, was a synthesis of cultures an equivalent of which existed in few other communities. Jews and Muslims in Morocco held many cultural practices in common. They revered over a hundred saints in common, some being Jewish saints venerated by Muslims, and in at least fourteen cases, Muslim saints venerated by Jews. Pilgrimages to the tombs of these saints were meeting places upon which the two religions would coincide (ibid. 210). Religious and cultural influences passed from Jews to Muslims as well as the contrary, despite the Jews' status as *dhimmis* and minorities. On Jewish holidays, in some locales, gifts were given by Muslims to their Jewish neighbors and vice versa on Muslim holidays (Chouraqui 246).

Other such common grounds were to be found, such as cuisine, dress, and even religious beliefs and religious customs. Jews adopted the practice of making ablutions with sand when no water was available from *sharia* (Islamic law). They would sometimes, wittingly or unwittingly, quote Quranic sources in their discourses (ibid. 143-44). As amongst Muslims, polygamy was practiced by Moroccan Jews, unlike their

European co-religionists, who abandoned the practice after an 11th century ban by Rabbi Gershom (Deshen 30).

Languages used by Jews in different regions of the country also reflected certain cultural bonds of a profound character. Judeo-Arabic was the dominant means of expression, although Judeo-Spanish and Judeo-Berber dialects coexisted alongside it. Morocco had its own Judeo Spanish dialect called Hakitiya, which differed from the Judeo Spanish spoken in the Ottoman empire. These languages were frequently written in Hebrew characters, in this respect becoming assimilated and adapted into a distinctly Jewish mode (Chouraqui 193-94). In addition, since the 19th century, many Moroccan Jews adopted French as a first or second language. The assimilation of diverse languages into Jewish culture is similar to the way in which Moroccan musical systems were adapted into the Jewish liturgy, as will be explored in the following sections.

The Role of Music in the Religious Life and Culture of Moroccan Jews

One of the primary realms in which Jews and Arabs shared a common cultural heritage is the subject of this study, music. Musical tradition in North Africa is proudly traced back to _andalusia_, Muslim Spain, in which Jews were active participants alongside Muslims in the court culture which bred the _andalusian_ musical tradition.   Jews represented some of the most knowledgeable carriers of musical tradition from _andalusia_ to North Africa. In Morocco, Sultans would often look to the Jewish _mellah_ when recruiting musicians for their court orchestras (ibid. 188).

This body of music was shifted to North Africa and conserved primarily in the context of religious brotherhoods by Jews and Arabs alike. These brotherhoods, among Muslims the Sufi *zawiyas*, and among Jews the *shomrim labboker* (watchers of the morning) had similar methods and intentions. Both were active practitioners of *andalusi* musical tradition, integrating it into their liturgies, thereby transforming its context from the profane to the holy and preserving a body of musical repertoire in the process. Secular love poetry metamorphosed into religious lyrics, holding a deeply spiritual significance among both Jews and Arabs, along with their accompaning musical traditions (Zafrani *Poesie*, 283).

Moroccan Judaism is based heavily on mysticism, and the *Zohar*, the primary text of *Kabbalah*, is so highly revered that in some *synagogues* it is placed in the ark alongside the Torah scrolls (Chouraqui 198). Everyday life is believed to be governed by unseen forces, and must be directed with spiritual considerations. Symbolism is prevalent in all aspects of Moroccan Jewish culture from food and clothing to life cycle events, and symbols are believed to have the power to affect one's destiny. Commonly used symbols are the fish, representing prosperity, the Hand of Fatima, representing protection, and the number 'five' for good luck. Amulets are widely used for protection from the evil eye, which is created by the jealousy of others and can lead to misfortune. Folk tales and legends abound with the accounts of *djnoun* (spirits), against whom one must be constantly vigilant (Hazan).

The mystical nature of North African Judaism and its connection to *Kabbala* are predominant in musical practice as well. Many *piyyutim* (Hebrew poems) are based on Kabbalistic themes. One *piyyut* commonly sung in Morocco entitled *Bar Yohai*, written

by R. Shimon Labi, contains ten stanzas, representing each of the ten *Sefirot* in the *Zohar* (Representing various aspects of G-d). *Kabbalah* is also commonly manifested in *piyyutim* through the use of *gematriya*, or hidden meanings through the numeric relationships of the Hebrew characters, to which music is inextricably linked in Morocco. Allegorical meanings may also be hidden in a *piyyut* through the means of alphabetical acrostics. The use of allegorical imagery is widespread in the *Kabbalah* as well as the *Midrash*, and was adapted from these sources to the Moroccan *piyyutim*.

Based on the models from Palestine and, more prominently, Spain, the *piyyut* in Morocco is performed in widely varying circumstances. All life cycle events, such as births, circumcisions, *pidyon ha ben* ('buying' the first born son from a *cohen* 30 days after birth), *zebed ha bat* (naming of a daughter), first hair cutting (on a boy's third birthday), *bar mitzva* ceremonies, and funerals have their own specialized repertoire of *piyyutim* which express the beliefs and customs identified with that event, representing especially the associated mystical aspects (Chouraqui 218).

Weddings and family celebrations (*musammin*) have a large body of associated musical repertoire, including secular Arabic *muwashshahat* and *azjal*, performed with an orchestra, thought to be preserved directly from the *andalousi* tradition. In these circumstances, much of the repertoire performed originates in the '*ala*, or specifically Moroccan version of the *andalusi* musical repertoire, without any alteration of the Arabic love lyrics or music (ibid. 188). These types of events were perhaps the central means of conserving an instrumental music tradition, as the playing of instruments is forbidden in the musical context of the synagogue, which occurs most frequently on *shabbatot* and *yamim tovim* (holidays).

Piyyut repertoire also exists to mark the various holidays throughout the Jewish calendar, i.e.. the three pilgrimage festivals of *Sukkot*, *Pesach*, and *Shavuot*, *Purim*, *Hannukah*, *Rosh ha Shanah*, etc.. Some holidays are unique to Moroccan Jewry, such as the *mimouna* celebrating the end of *pesach*. This holiday has its roots in North Africa, and is not found in other Jewish communities. The exact origins of the *mimouna* are unclear. Several theories exist, including that it marks the *hilloula* of Maimonides, that it relates to *Maimun*, the king of *sheidim* (demons) in the Jewish tradition, and that it is related to the belief (*emunah*) in the coming of the Messiah, which is supposed to occur in the month of *nisan* according to Talmudic tradition (Goldberg 77).

Three important aspects of the holiday were enumerated by anthropologist Harvey Goldberg, which are: the renewal of nature, the relations with Muslims, and role reversal. The word *mimuna* means "blessing" in North African Arabic, relating to the first aspect. Various customs were practiced between Jews and their Muslim neighbors throughout Morocco, and the holiday served to mark the resumption of normal inter-communal relations after *pesach*. Role reversal was also practiced in different forms, such as dressing in Muslim garb, and the adaptation by children of parental roles and vice versa. The holiday has been compared to various Muslim holidays, but no definitive connection can be established (ibid. 78-83).

Jews in North Africa also practiced distinctive rituals, such as the *tahdid* ceremony, in which singers and musicians would play all night to protect a newborn baby and its mother, who were considered to be vulnerable and susceptible to evil forces. Music and dance were used in the *rabaybiya* ceremony, adopted from Berbers, to evoke a

trance state. This was performed to cure a woman thought to be under the influence of evil spirits (Chouraqui 203-5).

Poems were written by *payetanim*, or *meshorerim* (poets), often being commissioned by a family to honor a specific event. A *payetan* is a professional singer, and most often a poet as well. He receives monetary compensation for his services. The composition of *piyyutim* was among the subjects studied by *yeshiva* (Talmudic academy) scholars in Morocco. A religious scholar was expected to have some degree of competence in this respect, and all of the respected Moroccan *payetanim* have been Rabbis and religious leaders as well (Zafrani *Deux Mille*, 169). Many forms of *piyyutim* were written in Morocco, drawing on both preexisting examples from Spain and Palestine, as well as the creation of new ones.

Qinot, or elegies, are written to honor great men of the community upon their deaths. *Qinot* and other songs accompany the various *ziaras* (pilgrimages) to the tombs of saints which occur on the Hebraic calendar date of their *hiloula* (ascendance of the soul). The most important such date falls on *lag ba omer* (the 33rd day of the *omer*), which marks the *hilloula* of Rabbi Shimon Bar Yochai (2nd century), a student of Rabbi Akiva. Bar Yochai is believed to have had revelations, which were passed down orally until their codification in the thirteenth century with the writing of the *Zohar* (Zafrani *Poesie*, 20).

The primary occasion upon which music is performed among Moroccan Jews is *Shabbat*. Each week, *Shabbat* is accompanied from beginning to end with melodies designated to mark each phase of its development. From *Kabbalistic* tradition originating in the Palestinian city of Safed during the 16th century, the commencement of *Shabbat* is

to be greeted like the entrance of a queen. Special *piyyutim* are sung to greet the *Shabbat* before and during the Friday night prayers. The *piyyut* "Lecha Dodi", by Shlomo Alkabetz, is sung to this effect.

After prayer services are held, the men of the congregation gather in the Synagogue at midnight to sing *bakkashot*, the primary vehicle for the perpetuation of the *andalusian* musical tradition among Jews. This custom originates from the city of Safed as well, and is common among Jewish communities of the Mediterranean and Middle East, most highly developed in Syria and Morocco (Shiloah 150).

Prayer services held on the day of *Shabbat* both in the morning and afternoon have a specialized musical character, and includes the recitation of *tehillim* (Psalms). At nightfall, the conclusion of *Shabbat* is marked with the *havdalah* service, which has an entire musical suite associated with it. Throughout the various stages, the musical activities are directed by a *payetan,*, or *moqaddem* (master musician) in Moroccan terminology. Despite the dominant position of the *moqaddem*, many congregants participate equally in the singing, often passing the lead role between each other.

Summary

Muslims and Jews in Morocco held many things in common, most importantly a world view in which mystical forces governed everyday life. In this shared belief system, music held great spiritual significance, as well as being central to communal life. The basis of Jewish liturgical singing in the Moroccan *'ala,* requiring a trained expert to lead services, echoing Islamic practices. This allowed it to flourish and achieve a sophistication nearly unparalleled in other Judaic musical traditions of its time. The

conditions of cultural and physical proximity between Jews and Arabs in Morocco were

favorable to the creation of a cultural synthesis as demonstrated in the Moroccan *piyyut*.

II.   **Moroccan Arab and Jewish Musical Theory and Forms**

Moroccan *piyyutim* are based on a complex system of rhythmic and melodic modes, poetic meter and rhyme schemes. The musical elements, originating from *andalusi* classical music as practiced in Morocco, trace their roots back to ninth century Spain, with connections to Iraq before that time. The way in which the complex system of the *nouba* and its modes were integrated into Synagogue liturgy will be examined. In adapting these musical elements, the Jews made many important modifications, which resulted in the creation of a uniquely Jewish musical legacy. Arabic textual forms also underwent great transformations in the process of their adaptation for use in the Synagogue liturgy. The application of Arabic poetic meter to Hebrew was not a simple matter, creating linguistic difficulties which *payetanim* were forced to address. Poetic forms such as the *muwashaha* and the *qasida* were more easily adaptable, and these became the basis for works by *payetanim* through modern times, as will be shown in the examples by Rabbi David Bouzaglo in part IV. In this section, the *nouba* and its structure will be explained, both in regard to music and text. The process by which these forms were adapted into Synagogue liturgy will also be examined.

The Andalusi Nouba

In Spain, as early as the 9th century, the term *nouba* was used to designate the "turn", or "musical moment", of a certain musician or singer who waited to perform for a Sultan. Classical *andalusian* court music, comprising several poetic genres including *muwashshahat, azjal* and *qasida* was eventually organized into suites, which came to be

known as *noubat* (plural of *nouba*) (Touma 68). Some believe that the music in the *nouba* was born of the interaction between Classical Arab musical traditions and Christian song (Chelbi 33). Later exported to Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Morocco, each country has maintained its own version of the tradition to this day.

Music in Muslim Spain went through two major periods before its eventual codification in the *nouba*. During the time immediately following the Arab conquest, it echoed that of the music from Arab conquerors' countries of origin throughout the Middle East, i.e. Arabia, Iraq and North Africa. This period only lasted from approximately 776-822 C. E., when Abd al Rahman II took power. During his reign, court music became very important, due to the desire to imitate musical practices of other courts throughout the Middle East, such as those in Baghdad and Medina. Stylistically, the music in Abd-al Rahman II's court was modeled on that of Medina, and the court singers were trained in that city (Guettat 95).

In the mid-ninth century, a brilliant court musician from Baghdad named Ziryab drastically changed musical practice in Muslim Spain. Ziryab was the disciple of the greatest court musician in Baghdad, Ishaq al-Mawsili, who forced him to leave the court after a dispute. Upon leaving Baghdad, he went first to North Africa, and eventually to Cordoba. It was a Jewish court musician, Abu al-Nasr Mansur, whose influence brought Ziryab to the court of Abd-al Rahman II (Gerber 40). Upon his arrival, Ziryab established a music conservatory to teach his distinctive version of the Early Arabian Classical School of Baghdad repertoire. His influence revolutionized court music throughout *andalusia*, codifying a tradition of the *nouba* which has been practiced continuously since then (Touma 69).

The repertoire established by Ziryab originally consisted of 24 *noubat*, or "suites", one for each hour of the day. Each contained many pieces, arranged in a specific order, unified by the same *tab'*, or melodic mode. *Tubu'* (plural of *tab'*) were highly connected to mysticism, and each was thought to have certain effects on the soul, as well as therapeutic effects. Extra-musical associations were designated for each melodic mode, as well as for the rhythmic modes. This was a central topic of many treatises written on music theory by Arab authors during the Middle Ages, such as Al-Kindi, Al-Farabi, and the *Ikwan al-Safa* (brotherhood of purity-10th cent) as well as for Jewish authors, such as Saadiah Gaon.

Organized into four, and later five separate sections, each with its own *Mizan* (rhythmic cycle), a *nouba* could take hours to perform, due to the large number of compositions played in each of the five *mizan*-s. The progression from one *Mizan* to another, as well as the order of pieces within each, was strictly followed. These rhythms were related to the meter of the sung classical poetry which they accompanied. The original structure, based on four different *mizan*-s, began with the *Nashid*, a recitative with free rhythm, followed by a *Basit*, or solemn rhythmic song, then a *Muharrat* and an *Ahzaj*, which were faster rhythmic songs which accelerated towards the end (Guettat 123).

During the transmission of *andalusian* music to North Africa through cultural exchange with Spain, certain *noubat* were lost. Three main branches of this tradition split off in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, with Libya representing a fourth branch, only slightly different from the Tunisian tradition. The repertoire, rhythms, names of *tubu'*, and order of rhythmic cycles differ to varying degrees in each branch. Algerian tradition

has conserved sixteen *noubat*, in Tunisia there are thirteen existing *noubat*, and in Morocco, eleven. In Algeria, *nouba* is commonly referred to as *san'a*, in Tunisia as *ma'luf*, and in Morocco as *'ala* (ibid. 360-366). Each country, of course, claims that their version is *'asl* (authentic).

Alexander Chottin discusses the possible links between the *nouba* in certain North African cities and their places of origin in Spain. Fez is said to be the heir of musical traditions from Valencia and Grenada, Tunis from Seville, Tlemcen from Cordoba, Tetouan from Grenada, and Tripoli from Seville and Cordoba (Chottin 93-94). These claims, as well as the authenticity of current *nouba* practice in the *Maghreb* cannot be verified. The intervening years, and the very nature of oral tradition has allowed each branch, at the very least, to acquire a local flavor through adaptation of indigenous musical material. The amount of original material preserved from *andalusia* is debatable.

In North Africa, the *nouba* was preserved in Sufi brotherhoods (*Zawiyas*) throughout the centuries, where it was performed only using voice and percussion. Sufis transformed the secular love songs from the *nouba* into songs of a religious nature. They also used the original texts and, in some cases, composed poems which could be mistaken to express erotic love, with the intent of representing a mystical union with the divine (Seroussi 283). This practice is remarkably similar to the composition of *piyyutim* using the melodies from secular Arabic songs by Jews throughout the Middle East.

The Ministry of Culture in Tunisia has compiled and notated an officially recognized version of the *ma'luf*, which differs from the oral tradition in several ways, including the use of instruments. The Tunisian government is hostile towards the brotherhoods, and has pursued a policy of discouraging their activities which has been

quite successful. Claiming that their version has 'corrected' a faulty version practiced in the Sufi lodges, the government has nearly eliminated the oral tradition (Davis 320-21).

Use of Modes in the Nouba

Within the eleven existing *noubat* of Morocco, twenty six modes (*tubu'*) are used. Each *nouba* receives the name of its principle *tab'*. Certain *noubat* consist of *san'at* (songs) in several different modes, while others *noubat* adhere strictly to one single mode. The four *noubat* which are based on one sole *tab'* are *maya, rast al-dhil, iraq al-ajam*, and *hijaz al-mashriqi*. The remaining seven *noubat* incorporate the *tab'* for which they are named, in addition to songs in the fifteen 'extra' *tubu'*. These are organized as follows:

-*nouba Ramal al-maya* contains sections in *Hsin, Inquilab Al-ramal*, and *Hamdan*

- *nouba Ushaq* contains sections in *Dhil* and *Ramal al-Dhil*

- *nouba Isbahan* contains sections in *Zawarkand*

- *nouba Gharibat al-Hussein* contains sections in *Gharibat al-muharrara* and *Siga*

- *nouba Rast* contains sections in *Zidan, Hijar* and *Mazmoum*

- *nouba Istihlal* contains sections in *'Iraq al-'Arab*

- *nouba Hijaz al-Kabir* contains sections in *Mashriqi al saghir* and *Mujannab al-dhil*

(Guettat 192).

These modes are grouped in accordance with certain similarities, e.g commontones, although not in all cases. It is important to note that although the scales for two or more *tubu'* may be similar, their basic character of each is highly individual.

Maghrebi musicians conceive of a *tab'* more in terms of a characteristic phrase or motive associated with it than as a consecutive series of notes, as in the conception of a Western scale. Each *tab'* is considered to form its own 'musical universe', with certain internal structures and movements, and with its own *ruh* (spirit). There exists a hierarchy of tones in each *tab'* as well. This consists of a *qarar*, or point of departure which is usually the tonic, *ghammaz,* or secondary axis - usually the 4th, 5th or sometimes 3rd degree from the tonic, and a *mabda*, or a central note which launches melodic movement within the *tab'* (ibid. 277-283). The roles of each note must be respected in composition, as well as improvisation.

Tubu' also have a variety of possible extra-musical associations. Seventeen categories of these are mentioned in the Ikwan al-Safa (the central work of the brotherhood of purity – a 10th century Islamic mystical brotherhood), which encompass everything from physical dimensions, such as the four elements and the four cardinal directions, to perfumes, flavors, seasons, and ages. Most of these are separated into groups of four, which correspond to the four strings on the *'oud*. Character traits are also included, such as virtues (courage, generosity, continence, and patience), and dispositions (endurance, exultation, perseverance, accommodation). Bodily functions and fluids are related to each string of the *'oud*, and certain tones were thought to have medicinal effects. Colors, planets, and astrological or cosmological considerations also figure importantly in any discussion on mode throughout the Middle East (Blum).

The eleven *Tubu'* used in the Moroccan *'ala* are listed in the chart below. Most of these were used equally by Jews, with the exception of *ramal al-maya*, which was originally avoided due to its association with the Prophet Mohammed. This chart is

somewhat inaccurate, in that it omits the required quarter tone flats in certain places, such as on the first and last degrees of the *tab' siga* (number seventeen), which should be E quarter flats, rather that E naturals.

Les échelles des 26 *tubû' marocains*[1]

I

1. *Ramal al-mâya*
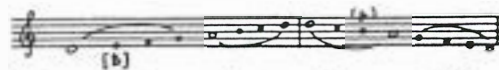
2. *Hsîn*
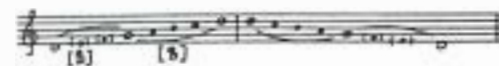

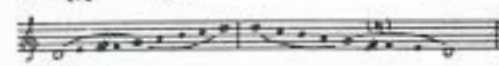3. *Inquilâb al-ramal*

4. *Hamdân*

II

5. *Içbahân*

6. *Zawarkand*

III

7. *Mâya*

1. Le chiffre romain désigne le *tab*^c principal, homonyme à la *nûba*. Les chiffres arabes indiquent le nombre des *tubû*^c et leurs intégrés.

V

8. Raçd al-dhil

9. al-Istihlâl

10. ʿIrâq al-ʿArab

I

11. Raçd (knâwi)

12. Hiçâr

13. Zidân
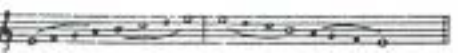
14 a. Mazmûm (çanʿa)

14 b. Mazmûm (ṭuṭwâl)

VII

15. Gharibat al-hsin

16. al-Ghariba ·muharrara

17. Çika

III

18. al-Hijâz al-Kabîr

19. Mujannab al-dhil

20. al-Mashriqi al-çaghîr

IX

21. al-Hijâz al-mashriqi

22. al-Mashriqi

X

23. ʿIrâq al-ʿAjam

XI
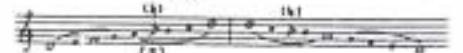
24. al-ʿUshshâq
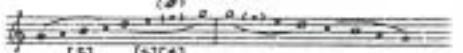
25. Ramal al-dhil

26. al-Dhil

(GUETTAT 265-267)

In Morocco, the 'ala consists of of five major sections, separated by instrumental interludes, which are often improvised. First, a partially improvised instrumental prelude called *mishaliyya* is played, followed by a song sung by the chorus, using the main mode of the *nouba*, called *inshad tab' al-naghma*. The third section is called *bughya* (object of desire), which is an instrumental exploration of the central mode in free rhythm. Songs called *tushiya,* of which there are several types, follow. These may be instrumental or vocal, and utilize the *basit* rhythm (in ¾ meter). In the fifth and most important section of the 'ala , a series of songs (*san'at*) in five rhythmic phases are played. These rhythmic

phases are as follows: *basit, qa'im wa nusf, btayhi, draj,* and *quddam,* the first and fifth

being in meters of 3/4 or 6/8 and the others in 4/4 or 8/4 meter (ibid. 195).

For the *basit, qa'im wa nusf, btayhi* and *quddam* rhythmic phases there are three

mawazin or *dawr* (rhythmic cycles) each, entitled *muwassa, qantara,* and *insiraf.* In the

draj, only the first pattern, *muwassa* (or *san'a*) is used. This creates a total of thirteen

rhythmic patterns used in any given *nouba.* Within each phase of the *nouba,* the tempos

gradually increase as the orchestra passes from songs in one *mawazin* to the next. The

tempo of the final rhythmic cycle, the *insiraf,* is generally more than double that of the

first cycle, the *sana.* The *draj* is a slow movement throughout (ibid. 290). The chart

below illustrates the various *mawazin* used in the Moroccan *'ala.*

<div align="center">Les mawâzîn de la âla marocaine</div>
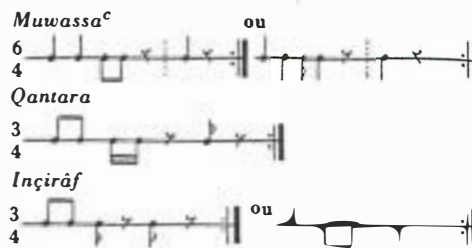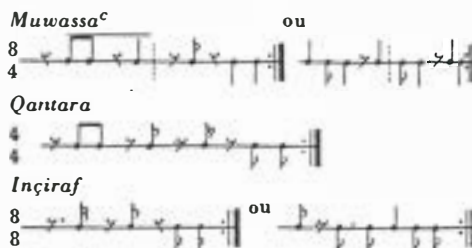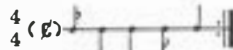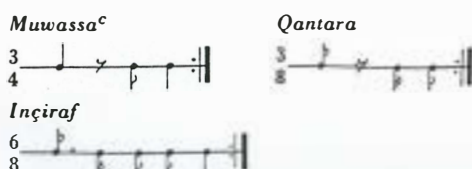
Instrumentation in Moroccan Nouba

The traditional Moroccan *andalusi* orchestra consisted of eight players. Two singers (*munshid*) are placed on opposite ends of the orchestra. One percussionists plays the *tar* (tamborine). Strings comprise the remaining members: two violins and one *rebab* (two stringed bowed cordaphone), and two *ouds*, one of the North African variety (*oud arbi*) and one of the Egyptian style (*oud sharqi*). This combination of bowed and plucked strin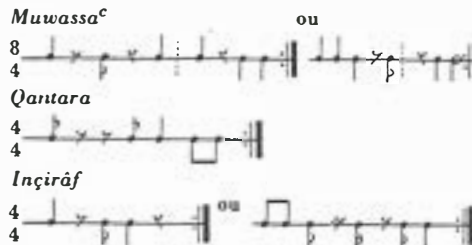g instruments is typical throughout the Middle East. Wind instruments, such as the *nai*, or its *maghrebi* counterparts the *juwwaq* or *qasba*, were sometimes added, as well as additional percussion instruments. In modern times, the Moroccan orchestra has expanded to include western instruments such as the flute and the banjo (Guettat 254-255).

The Jewish Nouba Tradition

Among Jews, the tradition of the *nouba* is referred to as *triq*, meaning "path." This tradition relates closely to the *bakkashot* and *piyyutim* of Moroccan Jewry in several ways. Melodies from the *triq* were used as the musical basis for composing texts for *piyyutim* and *bakkashot*. In some circumstances, terms such as *san'a* (a song from the *triq* or *'ala*), *piyyut,* and *bakkasha* are used interchangeably. Melodies for the Moroccan *bakkashot* and *piyyutim* are, to a great extent, derived directly from the *nouba*. In cases when *piyyut* melodies do not originate from the *nouba*, they are inspired by the *andalusi*

musical tradition (Shiloah 152). Jews have preserved some *andalousi* repertoire in the *triq* which today is not played by Arabs (Aydun 44). In addition, Jews play almost all of the Arabic *nouba* repertoire in its original form on some occasions.

The *triq* of the Jews was, in its origins, very similar to the *nouba* of the Arabs, with several influential factors which caused it to evolve in a different direction. The original Arabic texts from the *nouba* were replaced with Hebrew texts, which are metrically and phonetically similar, but differ totally in meaning. *Mouwashshat* used in the *nouba* were written primarily on romantic love, whereas the *piyyutim* and *bakkashot* in the *triq* focused on Judaic religious concepts, i.e. the return to Zion, the messianic era, etc.

The technique of grafting new texts onto preexisting melodies, called *contrafactum*, is found in many cultures, one example being its usage by European Christians during the middle ages (Elam-Amzallag, 297). One of the best known models for this technique among Moroccan and other Middle Eastern Jews is the *diwan* (poetry compilation) of Israel Najjara, a 16th century Kabbalist from Safed entitled *Zemirot Yisrael*. Within this work, each of the 300 *piyyutim* was written to fit perfectly a Turkish, Spanish, Greek, or Arabic melody, the titles of which were indicated above the *piyyut*. His aim was to match the Hebrew words as syllabically closely as possible to the original language of the song. This was done by many poets, with the express intent of creating a substitute for the original which would offer a palatable alternative to secular songs for Jews (Shiloah 123).

Musically, the *triq* developed in a very different direction from its roots in the *nouba*, mainly due to the fact that *triq* was performed primarily in Synagogue, during

Shabbat or holidays, when instruments were forbidden to be played. The absence of instruments allowed the singer to "slide" rhythmically, not having the aid of percussion instruments to define the complex *mizan* (rhythmic cycle). Freed from the constraints of melodic instruments as well, a singer could spontaneously change the character of a *tab'* by altering certain notes. Changes between high and low octaves which do not occur in the *'ala* are also frequent in the *triq*, based on the singer's preferences. All of these factors combined to create a more freely executed, highly ornamented version of the *'ala* with variations in tonality and an absence of rhythmic strictness (ibid. 299-300).

Triq repertoire was typically performed in a variety of circumstances. Its principal setting was in the Synagogue late Friday night / Saturday morning, both in-between, and as a part of the *bakkashot* for that *Shabbat*. It is also sung or played for social occasions such as weddings and circumcisions (often with instrumental accompaniment) for which specialized repertoires existed (*treq le-hatan* and *treq le-mila*). At times the *triq* is included within a liturgical context, before Kaddish (*triq le-Kaddish*), or the morning prayers (*triq le-Nishma)* on holidays (Seroussi 290). Its performance was directed by a *payetan,* or professional poet / singer, who would often add his own works to the suite. The performance practice was complex enough to merit the creation of Jewish music schools throughout Morocco (Seroussi 285).

Two types of *triq* have been in existence since the nineteenth century, *triq qdim* (old) and *triq jdid* (new). The former repertoire can be definitively traced to the sixteenth century, and continually evolved until its codification into several widely used volumes, primarily *Shirei Yedidut*.

Shirei Yedidut/ Triq Qdim

First published in Marrakech in 1921, *Shirei Yedidut* (songs of love), a collection of *piyyutim* and *bakkashot*, was compiled by three men from Essaouira (Mogador), David Iflah, David Alqayim, and Hayyim Afryat. Originally, many of the works were published in a collection entitled *Roni we-Simhi* in 1890 also by a Mogadorian (Zafrani *Deux Mille*, 301-02). *Shirei Yedidut* contains 560 *piyyutim* written by various authors. Most of these are *bakkashot* (supplications) meant to be sung starting on *Shabbat*, from midnight to dawn on Friday night / Saturday morning. Each week, the repertoire corresponds to the Torah reading, and is organized like the *nouba*, by *tab'*.

Shirei Yedidut is organized into twenty sections, for which each has a corresponding *tab'* from the eleven *tubu'* in Moroccan tradition. Each section corresponds to a particular *Shabbat* for which it is intended to be sung. These *Shabbatot* last throughout the winter, beginning after the holiday of *Sukkot* (*Shabbat Bereshit*) and continuing until *Pesach (Shabbat Zachor)*. *Shirei Yedidut* quickly gained acceptance throughout Morocco, and its publication contributed greatly to the current predominance of *Triq qdim* over *Triq jdid* (Seroussi 287). The eleven *tubu'* used in *Shirei Yedidut* are organized as follows:

-*Parashot Bereshit, Lech Lecha, Toldot* and *Va Yetse* use *Ramal al Maya*

-*Vayera* and *Beshallach* use *Hijaz el Mashriqi*

-*Noah* uses *Isbahan*

-*Hayye Sarah* and *Zachor* use *Rast*

-*Terouma* uses *Iraq al-Ajam*

-*Vayishlach, Mikets, Va Yigash,* and *Mishpatim* use *Hijaz al Kabir*

-*Vayehi* uses *Rast al-Dhil*

-*Va Ira* uses al-*Ushshaq*

-*Shemot* uses *el-Istihlal*

-*Va Yeshev* uses Maya

-*Yitro* uses *Gharibat al Hussein* and

-*Bo* uses *Hisar* (Attia, Golan, Azran 304)

Bakkashot melodies for *Shabbat Zachor* are based entirely on melodies from the *nouba rast.* Other prayers use melodies from the *'ala,* such as prayers for circumcision and *shirat hayyam* (Song at the Sea), which use melodies from the *nouba* of *hijaz mashriqi* (Elam-Amzallag 296).

Tubu' used in the *triq qdim* formerly included many modes not used in the Moroccan Arabic tradition of *musiqa andalusiyya.* One example, is the *tab' turki,* used to perform works by Ottoman *payetanim* such as Israel Najjara. *Tab' adon olam* receives its designation from a liturgical melody from which it is based. *Tab' Btayhi* is an example of varying nomenclature between Judaic and Islamic traditions. *Btayhi* in *musiqa andalusiyya* represents a *Mizan* (rhythmic cycle), and not a melodic mode, as in Jewish tradition (Seroussi 288). Jewish Bards in Morocco, whose existence during the sixteenth century is documented, utilized Spanish melodies for their poetic compositions. In these cases, a synthesis between cultures exists in which a Jewish musician composes a poem in Hebrew, using a European melody and an Arabic form. These works were described, using the terminology of the *nouba,* as being in *tab' romance* (Seroussi 288).

Although it exists in many Mediterranean Jewish communities, the tradition of *bakkashot* singing is most developed among Moroccan and Syrian Jews. Kabbalistic ideology forms the basis for this practice, in which it is believed that the ideal time to recite songs and prayers of supplication is after midnight. Calling themselves *"Shomrim Labboker"* (watchmen of the morning), *"Me'irei Shachar"* (awakeners of the dawn), and *"Hadashim Labeqarim"* (renewal each morning), these brotherhoods are thought to have begun in Safed in the early 16ᵗʰ century (Shiloah 149-150).

The singing of *bakkashot* on *Shabbat* begins with the same two *piyyutim* each week, _Dodi yarad le-ganno_ and _Yedid nefesh_. These are set to a different melody each week, corresponding with the *tab'* for that *Shabbat* (Shiloah _Ils parlerent_, 251) . After this, a discourse on *Torah* was given, followed by the singing of the *piyyutim* in the *triq*. These were interspersed with the singing of *tehillim* as well. In some cases, the *Zohar* was also sung, and discourses were given on it as well. The order of the service changed during the twentieth century, and was reorganized by R. David Bouzaglo (Elam-Amzallag 302).

Triq Jdid

Triq jdid is a much more recent creation, and its composition can be primarily attributed to a single author, Rabbi Shlomo Cohen (approx. 1780-1848) of Marrakesh (ibid. 286). In the eighteenth century, an Arab musician from Tetouan, Muhammad al-Hayk, produced a newly codified version of the eleven *noubat* in twenty four *tubu'*. Entitled _Kunnas al-Hayk_, it came into standard usage by musicians throughout Morocco (Guettat 183). *Triq jdid* was based on this work in the respect that it utilized al-Hayk's

melodies and reorganization of the *tubu'*. This tradition is of a much more recent origin than the *triq qdim* which is generally favored by Moroccan Jews.

Rabbi Shlomo Cohen arranged existing Hebrew poetry, fitting them to the melodies in *Kunnas al-Hayk* when possible, creating new works himself, modeled on the Arabic poems, when no existing work would fit. Much of this tradition was discontinued in favor of the *triq qdim*, but several examples of it are preserved in the repertoire of *Shirei Yedidut* (Seroussi 286-287). Some *payetanim*, mainly Meir Attiya, have recently tried to reconstruct the *triq jdid*, which Attiya does in his work *Meir Ha-Shachar*. He first attempts to match old manuscripts of Hebrew poetry with their original Arabic models, and following this, their original melodies from the Arabic *nouba*. In the cases where no parallels can be found, the author has composed his own texts (Attiya 21-23). Working from several manuscripts which encompass the work of many *payetanim*, "*Meir Ha-Shachar*" is a monumental oeuvre.

Poetic Forms and Meter in Moroccan Jewish and Arab Musical Practice

The main poetic genres used in *andalusi* music, in addition to the classical Arabic *qasida*, are *muwashahat* and *zajal*. These are similar, with the essential difference that the *muwasshaha* uses classical Arabic, and the *zajal* colloquial language. Arabs as well as Jews in Morocco wrote *azjal* using the Moroccan Arabic dialect, which contains a strong element of Berber languages (ibid. 130-132).

Muwashshahat are strophic poems composed on various topics, including primarily love, wine, women, and nature, but also social and political topics, such as historic events, and moral issues. Predominantly secular, although they could be of a

religious nature, usually mystical, *muwashshahat* sometimes advocated an ascetic philosophy. Filled with descriptive language, they used intense imagery of cities, countryside, gardens etc. to engage the listener, in this respect being quite different from the older *qasida*.

Qasidas and *ghazals* were forms which had existed since pre-Islamic times. The *qasida* was originally a poem in praise of a ruler or patron, and the *ghazal* was a love poem. They both consist of *bayts* (literally "houses": verse), which can be arranged interchangeably depending on the reader, or singer's preference. Each line of a poem contains two halves, which rhyme in the first *bayt*. The following lines' second halves consistently rhyme with the second half on the first *bayt*, but not with the first line. Another distinctive feature of the *qasida* is a reference to the poet, which is invariably contained in the last *bayt*. These aspects are invariably present in *qasidas* throughout the Islamic world (Blum 3/27). In Morocco, the *qasida* was a favored vehicle for poetic composition among Jews.

Rhyme schemes utilized in the *muwashshat* are considerably more complex than those found in *ghazals* and *qasidas*. There are several possible patterns, most commonly either

> 1. AA bbb AA ccc AA ddd AA . . .
>
> 2. ABAB cdcd ABABAB efefef . . .or
>
> 3. ABCABC defdef ABCABC . . . (Touma 71).

This opening stanza is called the *madrikh* (guide), and provides the metrical model for the rest of the poem (Shiloah 120). *Muwashahah* forms are similar to Rondo form. These are similar in the aspect that each contains, to varying degrees, the idea of a 'ritournello'

to the A or A and B sections. Strong parallels to the *muwashahat* exist in troubadour poetry, and their relationships merit further exploration.

Poetic metrics was considered a science among Arabs, first codified into fifteen meters by Ibn Ahmad in the late 8th century. Each poem in the *nouba* contains a metrical scheme, consisting of short and long syllables arranged mathematically, as well as complex rhyme schemes (Guettat 29). Sixteen types of meters were distinguished and classified in Arabic, only twelve being applicable to Hebrew. Among these, the first five primary types were: *al-hazaj*, *al-wafir*, *al-kamil*, *al-sari*, and *al-ramal*. Some of these, namely the first, fourth and fifth, are the same in Hebrew and Arabic. The second and third vary between their Hebrew and Arabic forms. Each consists of a series of between eight and fifteen short and long vowels (Yellin 47-53).

This technique was less successful in Hebrew than Arabic, due to the lack of a consistently clear distinction between long and short syllables, and the predominance of short syllables in Hebrew. Only the simpler Arabic meters lent themselves to adaptation by Hebrew poets. In the system established by Donash ben-Labrat, the metrical patterns used in Hebrew poetry were based on a rhythmic system called "*yetedot* and *tenu'ot*". A *yated* is a combination of a short vowel followed by a long vowel; a *tenu'ah* is a single long vowel. These are combined to form *'amudim*, metrical 'feet', which consist of a chain of two to four syllables. Hebrew meter consists of series of *'amudim*, or a single repeated *'amud*. These patterns are consistent between the opening (*delet*) and closing (*soger*) halves of a poetic line.

A different model was also used in applying Arabic meter to Hebrew. Quantitative meter, as previously described, used the division of words into long and

short syllables, which were symmetrically arranged in each line of a poem. Because of the difficulty in applying this to Hebrew, many poems used syllabic meter instead. Syllabic meter did not count short and long syllables, but only the total number of syllables regardless of length (Shiloah 114-118). The rules governing the determination of long and short vowels is extremely complex, involving rules of Hebrew grammar, and does not fall within the focus of this study.

Summary

Examples of the use of several modes and forms described in this section will be shown in the works of Rabbi Bouzaglo in part IV. These examples will be examined within the framework of Moroccan musical theory as presented in this section. Rabbi Bouzaglo's texts also demonstrate many of the characteristics of poetic forms such as the *muwashshaha* and the *ghazal*. His place as a *payetan* composing in the tradition of the *triq qdim* will be shown. Despite the long history of these forms, Moroccan *payetanim* such as David Bouzaglo retain the ability to adapt them to modern times, and their use is still widespread to this day.

III.   **History of the *Piyyut* in Palestine, Spain and Morocco**

In the following section, three major periods of *piyyut* composition will be discussed. Each stage of evolution of the *piyyut* from simple poetic embellishments added to the prayer service, to its golden age in Spain with the great masters, and finally to its attainment of a thoroughly North African character in Morocco, has contributed to the character it currently posses. In part IV, Rabbi Bouzaglo's works will demonstrate characteristics traceable to Palestine and Spain, as well as Morocco.

Palestinian Origins of the Piyyut

Before the era of the *payetanim* in Spain and North Africa, there were three periods of *piyyut* composition: the emergence in Palestine during the fourth through sixth centuries, the classical *piyyut* from the mid sixth to the eighth centuries, and the late period which developed in Iraq from the mid-eighth through the latter part of the eleventh centuries (Tannenbaum 12). Israel Davidson's Thesaurus of Medieval Poetry lists over 35,000 *piyyutim*, and many more have been discovered since its publication.

The origins of the *piyyut* are first traceable to three Palestinian *payyetanim*, Yose ben Yose, Yannai, and Eleazar Ha-Kaliri. Their dates of birth and death are unknown, and estimates placing them chronologically vary greatly, between the second century for Yose ben Yose to the ninth century for Eleazar Ha-Kaliri. It is known that Yose lived earlier than Yannai, and Yannai earlier than Ha-Kaliri. Before this time, *piyyutim* existed, but were written anonymously and cannot be attributed to an author (Heinemann 207-209).

Piyyutim evolved from poetic embellishments inserted before and after prayers in Synagogue liturgy, to a veritable song form of its own (Hoffman 535). These early embellishments were know as *qerovot*, and were recited only by the *sheliah tsibbur* (prayer leader). Yannai wrote a complete cycle of *qerovot* for each *Shabbat* in accordance with the weekly Torah reading. These, as well as the other early forms of *piyyutim*, were controversial from their inception, but gradually gained widespread acceptance (Shiloah 111). Their musical complexity was a factor in developing the position of the *chazan* (professional precentor) in Synagogues, due to the need for more musical training to execute the *piyyutim* (Idelsohn 106).

They were, at first, a new means of expression for the Talmudic mode of thought, and a way of diffusing that knowledge in the Synagogue. The earliest known *payetan*, Yose ben Yose, wrote on the theme of *avodah*, which was a description of the rituals conducted by the *Cohen Gadol* (high priest) in the Temple of Jerusalem for *Yom Kippur*. These works expressed nostalgia and longing for the time when these rituals were carried out, and the hope that they be reinstated.

Frequently beginning with a description of the creation the world, including the sky, earth, and species of animals, the *avodah* genre contained elements of mysticism, discussing revealed and hidden worlds. A narrative chronicling the history of mankind followed, which included the patriarchs, the origin of Israel, and finally lead to the priesthood of Aaron. This form became an archetype for *piyyut* composition which was imitated in Palestine, Spain and elsewhere (Zafrani _Deux Mille_, 60-62).

Since their origins in Palestine, *piyyutim* were highly linked to the *midrashic* literature. The *Midrash* consists of Biblical and Talmudic commentary from the post

Mishnaic era (200 CE.), encompassing legend, theology, popular philosophy, mysticism, and non-literal readings of the text ("Midrash" 463). *Midrash* and *aggadah* have served as the inspiration for *payetanim* from the era of Yose ben Yose to the present. *Midrashic* legends connected to Biblical events are frequently hidden in a *piyyut*, and the reader must be knowledgeable of the *midrash*, among other Jewish sources, to fully understand most *piyyutim*.

Some other genres related to the *piyyut* are *qinot* and *selhiot* (lamentations). *Qinot* were written to mourn national catastrophes or the death of an important individual. These *piyyutim* were first referred to as *qinnot* by Eleazar Ha-Kallir, but have been written since Biblical times. In current practice, *qinnot* are recited primarily during the prayer service on the 9th of Av ("Qinah" 562-563).

Yose ben Yose is the earliest known composer of *selihot*, which were originally created for *Yom Kippur* and fast days, but have been extended to other services. Many types of *selihot* exist, including *tokhahah* (admonition), *gezerah* (evil decree), *akedah* (binding of Issac), *tehhinah* (supplication), *viddui* (confession), and *hata'nu* (on martyrdom). *Bakkashot* and *pizmonim* are two song forms widely utilized in *mizrahi* (eastern) Jewish communities which have roots in the *selihah* ("Selihot" 619).

From the 10th century, the major center of *piyyut* composition changed from Palestine and Iraq to Spain. Hebrew poetry went through major changes as a result of the assimilation of Arabic forms and style. Linguistically, the poets of this period began to look towards Biblical Hebrew as a model, in contrast to the earlier *payetanim* who sought their inspiration from Talmudic and *Midrashic* language. Arab poets upheld the example of *Qu'ranic* language as an ideal, and modeled their use of Arabic on it. This inspired

Hebrew poets to 'authenticate' the language used in their works by basing it on the most venerated and ancient source for Jews, the *Torah*. (Tannenbaum 11).

Piyyut composition in Andalusia

During the 'golden age of Spain', Spanish Jews experienced a cultural renaissance alongside their Arab and Christian countrymen. A time of cultural decline for much of European Jewry, *Sephardim* stood out as a rare example of a thriving Jewish community during the dark ages. Secular studies such as Greek philosophy, art, science, and medicine flourished alongside religious studies of the highest level, often of a *Kabbalistic* nature. Rabbis of the noble class such as Yehudah Halevi, a physician by profession and others, well known as *Torah* scholars and luminaries, held prominent positions as courtiers in the sultans' courts.

Among the earliest Spanish *payetanim* in the 10th century were Dunash ben Labrat, from a Baghdadi family, born in Fez, and Menahem Ibn Saruq. Representing two schools of linguistic thought, these two poets and thinkers were rivals. Writing prolifically in both the sacred and profane domains, they exhibited a desire to compete with and impress the Muslim intellectual elite (Zafrani 80). Their work was the earliest link in a chain of poetic tradition which combined an Arabic mode of highly individualistic expression with an impeccable mastery of Arabic poetic forms and meter, manifested through a Jewish perspective and supported by thorough knowledge of *Tanakh*, *Talmud*, *Midrash*, and mysticism.

The efforts of the courtier Rabbis to imitate the Arabic aesthetic in their poetry included the application of Arabic meter to Hebrew. This included the application of the

Arabic model in which the pattern of long and short syllables for each line was predetermined. Composing poetry in the Arabic styles of the *qasida*, *ghazal*, *arubi* and *muwashahah*, they sometimes addressed topics of a secular nature (Scheindlin 4-5). Historically, these poems are the first known examples of secular Hebrew poetry, and perhaps the only illustration of this until modern times.

This does not preclude the fact that even the most secular poems contained Biblical references, often imitating the imagery in *Shir ha Shirim* (Song of Songs) with its gardens, wine, incense, etc., at times quoting Biblical passages verbatim (ibid. 36-37). Poets used *Shir ha Shirim* to justify their work to the religious authorities, giving it as a parallel example of 'love poetry' which was actually an allegorical representation of the love between G-d and Israel (Zafrani *Poesie*, 83-84).

In examining various Jewish *diwans* (poetry collections) of this period, the topics of court poetry undoubtedly gravitated towards wine, love, and nature. Based on lyric, narrative Arabic poetry, it contained introspective passages on the internal states of the soul, the contrasts of joy and pain, hope and deception. One of the predominant forms that poetry took was that of the ode to a patron. This could be addressed to a *nagid* (prince), friend, or sovereign. Also written as funeral elegies, these poems lauded the qualities of generosity, nobility, intelligence, and good character. The demand among nobles for such odes gave birth to the professional poet. Competition became fierce between various courtier poets, resulting at times in violent disputes (ibid. 85-86).

Among other types of secular poetry commonly found was the *mikhtam*, a satirical genre mocking and deriding an adversary. Hebrew imitations of the Arabic *maqama* were also written, a form of rhymed prosody narrating adventures in the orient.

War epics, a rare phenomenon among Jews, were written by Judah al Harizi and Shmuel Ha Naggid during the 12th century (ibid. 84).

Synagogal poetry initially imitated the Palestinian school, cultivating the same genres, without major changes. By the 13th century, the Palestinian influence, which had been gradually lessening, was abandoned. Spanish genres were shorter and lighter than their Palestinian precursors. Important themes were love for G-d, expressed in the *ahavot*, and deliverance from exile, expressed in the *geullot*. *Bakkashot* and related genres, such as the *tehinna* (supplication), and the *tokahah* (exhortation) came into use. Poems were used as mnemonic devices, such as the *azharot*, a poem recounting the 613 *mitzvot* (precepts) in *halakha* (Jewish law). This also occurred in the fields of science, mathematics, grammar, medicine and astronomy.

Among the greatest *payetanim* of Spain were three contemporaries during the late 11th-12th centuries, Avraham Ibn Ezra, Moshe Ibn Ezra, and Yehudah Ha-Levi. Philosophers and religious thinkers from distinguished families and knowledgeable in the sciences, these three poets each had a distinctive style and approach. Writing many works in the satirical mode and on everyday topics, Avraham Ibn Ezra is best known for his religious works, which reveal a longing for *deveykut*, a mystical union with G-d ("Avraham Ibn Ezra" 343-44). Moshe Ibn Ezra's work is ascetic, extolling internal reflection on the vanity of pleasure ("Moshe Ibn Ezra" 344). Yehuda Ha-Levi expresses a mystical love of G-d, as well as the lamentation of life in exile (*galut)* and a nationalistic yearning for Zion ("Yehudah Ha-Levi" 739). Their works are included in synagogue liturgy, and sung with great appreciation by Jewish communities across the world.

One example of a *piyyut* by Ha-Levi widely known among *Sephardim* and *Mizrachi* Jews is "Libi B'Mizrach" (My heart is in the east). It demonstrates very clearly both Ha-Levi's personal style, in form and content. The theme of *galut* is dominant, along with an eschewal of the pleasures and beauty of Spain. In the last *bayt* (verse) the poet states emphatically that it would be easy for him to abandon the bounty of Spain, so dear would it be to see even the dust of Jerusalem's sanctuary. Showing the conflict inherent in the Judeo-Arabic cultural synthesis, the poet is expressing discomfort with life in Spain, while recognizing its beauty.

My heart is in the East, and I am in the West.
How can I taste what I eat, and how can I enjoy it?

How can I bring sacrifices for (the annulment of) my vows,
while Zion is held by Rome and I am in the domain of the Arabs?

It seems easy to leave the bounty of Spain,
as it is dear to me to see the dust of our temple

(Sheer Ushbahah Hallel Ve-Zimrah 105) / translation Ruben Namdar
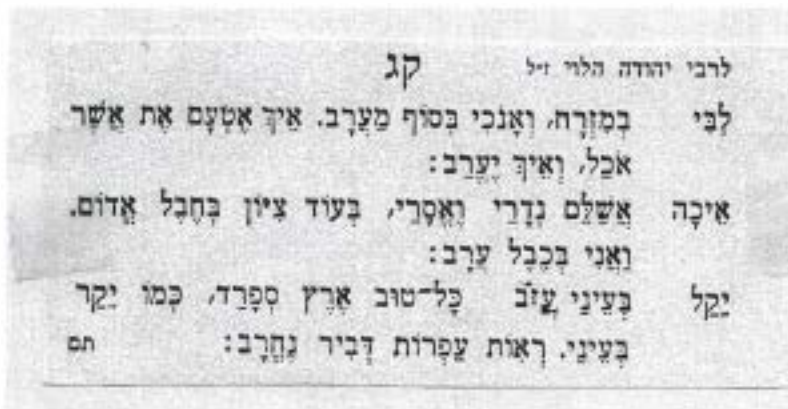
"Libi B'Mizrach" is performed in Syrian Synagogues as a *petichah*, which is an improvised vocal prelude introducing a melodic mode, equivalent to the Arabic genre *mawwal*. Characteristically short, it consists of three *batim* (verses) which are metrically

symmetrical. Structured similarly to a *ghazal*, the two 'halves' of the first *bayt* rhyme with each other, while the second half of the other *baytim* rhyme with the second half of the first *bayt*. The rhyming of the last two letters is fulfilled at the end of each *bayt*.

Not only does Ha-Levi achieve this difficult rhyme, but three of the four rhyming words have three letters in common. This is known as a 'complete' rhyme, in accordance with the saying of Ibn Ezra, "do not rhyme '*shor*' with '*khamor*'", a play on the Biblical verse (Deut. 22:10), which forbids plowing with a donkey and a mule together. Although the last two letters match, the words '*shor*' and '*khamor*' would be considered an unattractive rhyme. The second part of Ibn Ezra's expression reads "leave the ox in the field and the donkey in mount Hamor." In this phrase, the last *three* letters of '*shor*' and '*mishor*' match, as do the last three letters of '*hamor*' and '*har hamor*', showing the basis for a proper rhyme. Ha-Levi was a master of rhyme and Arabic metrics, and few *payetanim* have ever been as capable in this respect (Namdar).

A certain contradiction, or crisis of conscience, can be seen in the poetry of this era, as reflected in this example. It becomes readily apparent that Jews had voluntarily adapted to the environment of Muslim Spain, enjoying the material and intellectual benefits of its society, but were not entirely comfortable with the degree of cultural assimilation they had undergone. Conflicts between orthodox beliefs, which remained deeply rooted in tradition, and the bourgeois courtier culture based on Arab aesthetics are even more striking considering that the principal participants in both were one and the same. The resulting tension may have been acted as a catalyst for the merging of aesthetic values which took place.

Piyyut composition in Morocco

Moroccan *payetanim* almost invariably trace their spiritual heritage, if not their genealogical roots as well, to Spain. Spanish models of the *piyyut* dominated the compositions of the Moroccan *payetanim*. Although primarily written in Hebrew, Aramaic, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Spanish, and Judeo-Berber dialects were also used. *Payetanim* drew heavily on Jewish literature, ranging from Biblical, Mishnaic, and Kabbalistic sources to works of other *payetanim* from Palestine and Spain, as well as their Moroccan contemporaries, often quoting other works verbatim. This should not be judged plagiarism by Western standards, as S.Y. Agnon explains that the Hebrew poet pays tribute to the sources he quotes, reviving their ideas. In traditional Judaism, Hebrew literature represents a communally owned and shared cultural patrimony (Shirah 255-56).

The preferred form among Moroccan Jewish poets was the recently invented *muwashshah* from Spain, a highly musical, strophic form used by Arabs for profane, erotic works. In contrast to the *ghazal*, which contained one single rhyme scheme throughout, the *muwashshah* utilized multiple rhymes. *Qasidas* were also common, along with *arubi*, a type of quatrain. *Reshuyot* were short, prosaic pieces inserted as introductions to prayers. The *bitayn*, *muwwal*, *azjal*, *mazmum*, *dridka*, and *istkhbar* were some other genres used by Jewish poets. *Muwwal* is a short piece, non rhythmic, which is sung to a melody improvised by the performer. Its content is usually moralistic. The form of the latter three is no longer known (Zafrani *Poesie*, 292).

Moroccan *muwashshahat* consisted usually of three to six stanzas, up to a maximum of ten. As previously mentioned, the structure in this genre is variable. The theme of the piece is introduced in the beginning, and repeated at the conclusion of each

stanza, which is called the *qufl* (closure). A *muwashshaha* of six *qufls* and five *bayts* is preferred. The last *qufl* is called the *kharja* (exit), and was sometimes written in an Arabo-Spanish dialect on a light hearted theme. Various poetic meters were used in the *muwashshah*, including primarily *al-ramal*, *al-sari*, and *al-khafif*.

Among the greatest *payetanim* of Morocco were Avraham Elmaleh (Mogador b.1830), Avraham ben Musa (Sale b 1700), Avraham Kureat (Mogador b 1844), David ibn Attar (Marrakesh), David Elqayyam (Mogador), R. David Bouzaglo, David HaLevi (Demnat), David Hsine, Yaakov Abensur, Yaakov Elmaleh, Yaakov Ben Shabbat, Mordekhai Cohen, Saadia Shuraki, Shlomo Cohen, Raphael Edery, David Ben Barukh, and Moshe Abensur (Attia 51-58). Many of these *payetanim* composed and published their own *diwans*. Biographical information about most of these *payetanim* is scarce. R. David Bouzaglo will be discussed further in part IV as representative of this tradition.

Summary

In modern times, the *piyyut*, or *pizmon*, is a form which survives, continuing to be composed in various Middle Eastern Jewish communities All Jewish denominations include the recitation of *piyyutim* as a major part of their liturgical prayer service (Shelemay 28-29). Among Moroccan Jews, the central book of *piyyutim* has shifted from *Shirei Yedidut* to *Shirei Dodim ha Shalem* by Meir Attiya. Within *Shirei Dodim*, *piyyutim* are classified according to their usage i.e. *bar mitzva*, *chatan ve kallah* (weddings), *brit milah* (circumcision)*, pesah* (Passover), and for varied occasions or holidays. There are also songs honoring great *tzaddikim* (holy men), and honoring men called to the *sefer Torah* in Synagogue. The largest section, by far, entitled <u>Songs for all</u>

Occasions contains works by various *payetanim* categorized by the eleven Moroccan *noubat*. Rabbi David Bouzaglo, who will presently be discussed in Part IV, is amply represented in this volume, with works in Hebrew, Judeo Arabic, and the combination of the two.

IV.   A 20th Century *Payetan*: Rabbi David Bouzaglo

Rabbi David Bouzaglo has been, since the 1940's, perhaps the *payetan* most representative of the Moroccan Jewish musical tradition. Known for his strong voice, his knowledge of the *'ala*, his extraordinary memory, and above all, his brilliant poetic compositions, Rabbi Bouzaglo is known and loved by Moroccan Jews above all other *payetanim*. Born in Casablanca in 1903, he immigrated to Israel in 1965, living there until his death ten years later (Attia 402-405).

Studying diligently in his youth, he mastered the Hebrew language, and was considered a great *talmud hakham* for his knowledge of the *mishna, Torah, midrash,* and *halacha*. He learned music from Jewish and Arab masters of the *'ala* in Morocco. Active throughout his life in teaching the *'ala*, as well as the Hebrew language, upon his arrival in Israel, he was responsible for a renaissance of Jewish Moroccan musical activity.

His poetic output was highly prolific, increasing greatly after the year 1949, when he lost his sight. Characteristic of many Moroccan religious scholars, he was very humble, despite his great reputation, avoiding the public eye. Many of his compositions were never published, and he avoided placing his name within his works in acrostics. Although known to be a highly skilled singer with a beautiful voice, he acquiesced on only one known occasion to allow his voice to be recorded (Chetrit 323-4).

Recurrent themes in his work included those most typical of Moroccan *piyyutim*, exile and redemption, but also had a political element, expressing the anguish and hope of Israel's military struggles against her Arab neighbors. His work was contemporary,

connected to the events of his time, but also timeless in its expression of Jewish ideals such as love for Jerusalem. He also wrote *piyyutim* such as *"Salama"* ("peace" in Arabic), which called for peace between Jews and Arabs.

Writing in all of the modes previously discussed, for holidays, life cycle events, and honoring individuals, he also made a point to include *halakha* in his work. As the traditional system of religious education in Morocco had been degraded during the twentieth century, religious observance was at an all time low. Wanting his work to serve as an educational tool, David Bouzaglo echoed the motives of the earliest *payetanim* in Palestine.

Rabbi Bouzaglo pioneered a unique hybrid form called *matruz* (embroidered), which utilized the alternation of verses in Hebrew and Arabic. Each line would be metrically similar to its companion, but the Arabic verses were love poetry and the Hebrew verses religious in nature. The juxtaposition of religious and love poetry lent an intimate character to the poets relationship with G-d. Rabbi Bouzaglo, in addition to creating this style, was the most renown *payetan* to compose in this model (Chouraqui 188).

Rabbi Bouzaglo had varied musical influences outside of the *'ala*, including North African and Middle Eastern popular music, which was pervasive in Morocco during his lifetime. Popular songs sung by Farid Al-Atrash, 'Abd al-Wahab, and Leila Mourad featured in films became the melodic basis for his creations. In adapting these non-Moroccan melodies, he applied them to modes from the nouba and embellished them, giving them a distinctly Moroccan character. He also was inspired by the *mawwal*, which he based many of his pieces on. This form, improvisatory in nature, was a unique

and novel one for a poet to model their compositions. Its influence lent a freer melodic

character to his works. This was done using several *tubu'*, and drew from the Algerian

musical tradition (ibid. 339).

Atem Yotzei Maarav

You, who come from the Maghreb, from Morocco, men of faith -
praise G-d in assembly, this day of the Mimouna.

Yesterday the Red Sea opened its gaping mouth before Pharoah,
it moved over all their wagons and swallowed them.

Israel, the flock, his servants crossed through passages,
as the waves of the sea were piled up by the hand of Moses, the faithful father.

The wealth of their enemies and tormentors Israel collected,
between the waves of the sea, they received it as a gift.

On every doorstep, all congratulated each other:
"Be blessed, friend, all the months of the year."

And in Morocco, for many generations, the Hebrews say,
in blessing their friends, "good luck, brother, good fortune!"

The strangers, their waters were spilled on them;
the fear of G-d, in Heaven poured down on them.

Loads and loads of wealth and grains
were delivered from all corners of the world to the people G-d has chosen.

And it is the way of the sons of Arabia, in Morocco,
each according to his means brings the Jews an offering of value.

Yeast, honey and flour, the milk of a healthy cow,
fish, mint, and butter with wild flowers and flowers from the garden.

This night, Hebrews and Arabs are all seated together -
they rejoice with musical instruments and singing.

The Hebrew woman wears the clother of an Arab,
the man wears an Arab vest, and the scent of incense and perfume.

One can no longer distinguish between a Hebrew and his Arab brother,
or if they are city dwellers or villagers: the good spirit overtakes them all.

The borders between Israel and the nations are blurred,
If it wasn't for the bloodthirsty who run the states.

It is these evil kings who deliver their people to catastrophe –
They are concerned only with their thrones, not the soul who suffers.

Abandon for all time conflict and bitterness!
Stop the bitter cries! Stop in the name of peace and freedom!

(Translation – Ruben Namdar and Joshua Levitt)

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שִׁירֵי דּוֹדִים הַשָּׁלֵם

אַתֶּם יוֹצְאֵי מַעֲרָב

שִׁיר – לְלֵיל הַמֵּימוּנָה
לַחַן – בַּר-יוֹחַאי – סִיכָּא
מִילִים – ר״ד בֵּחִגְלוֹ

אַתֶּם יוֹצְאֵי מַעֲרָב. מָארוֹק אַנְשֵׁי אֱמוּנָה
הַלְלוּ אֵל בְּעַם רָב. יוֹם זֶה יוֹם אַלְמֵימוּנָה.

אֶתְמוֹל פָּעַר אֶת לוֹעוֹ. יַם סוּף לְנֶגֶד פַּרְעֹה.
עִם כָּל רִכְבּוֹ בְּנָסְעוֹ. וּלְקָחַם לוֹ לְמָנָה.

וְעָבְרוּ בֵּין בְּתָרָיו. צֹאן יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבָדָיו.
עֵת נֶעֶרְמוּ מִשְׁבָּרָיו. עַל יְדֵי רַעְיָא מַהֵמְנָא.

וּרְכוּשׁ רוֹדְפָיו וּמוֹשְׁלָיו. שָׁם יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל כֵּלָיו
מִתּוֹךְ הַיָּם וְגַלָּיו. נִתַּן לוֹ לְמַתָּנָה.

וְשָׁמָּה עַל כָּל מִדְרָךְ. אִישׁ אֶת רֵעֵהוּ בֵּרַךְ.
חָבֵר תִּהְיֶה מְבוֹרָךְ. בְּכָל חָדְשֵׁי הַשָּׁנָה.

וּבְמָארוֹק לְדוֹר דּוֹרִים. כָּכָה יֹאמְרוּ הָעִבְרִים.
בְּבִרְכָה לַחֲבֵרִים. אַרְבָּח יָא כָּאי וּלְגִ׳ינָא.

וּבְנֵי נֵכָר, נוֹזְלֵיהֶם נִבְקְעוּ תּוֹךְ כְּלֵיהֶם
וְתִפּוֹל שָׁם עֲלֵיהֶם. יִרְאַת שׁוֹכֵן מְעוֹנָה.

וּמַשְׂאוֹת עַל מַשְׂאוֹת. מָלְאוּ כָּל טוֹב וּתְבוּאוֹת.
הוּבְאוּ מֵאַרְבַּע פֵּאוֹת. לְעַמּוֹ אֲשֶׁר קָנָה.

וִילִיד עֲרָב זֶה דַרְכּוֹ. עַד עַתָּה תּוֹךְ מָארוֹקוֹ
וְלַיְּהוּדִים כְּעֶרְכּוֹ. יַקְרִיב מִנְחָה שְׁמֵנָה.

שְׂאוֹר וּדְבַשׁ וּתְבוּאָה. חָלָב פָּרָה בְּרִיאָה.
דָּגִים נַעְנַע וְחֶמְאָה. עִם פִּרְחֵי בַּר וְגִנָּה

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שָׁמָּה עִבְרִים וַעֲרָבִים, יַחְדָּיו כֻּלָּם מְסֻבִּים.
וְאֶת לִבָּם מֵטִיבִים. עִם כְּלֵי שִׁיר וּנְגִינָה.

וְלָבְשָׁה הָעִבְרִיָּה. תִּלְבֹּשֶׁת עַרְבִיָּה.
וְגֶבֶר עִם אַדְרַעְיָא. וּקְטֹרֶת מֹר וּלְבוֹנָה.

וְלֹא נִכָּר הָעִבְרִי. לִפְנֵי אָחִיו הַהַגְרִי.
אִם עִירוֹנִי אוֹ כַּפְרִי. רוּחַ כֻּלָּם נְכוֹנָה.

שָׁם טָשְׁטְשׁוּ הַתְּחוּמִים בֵּין יִשְׂרָאֵל לָעַמִּים
אִלְמָלֵא אַנְשֵׁי דָמִים. אֲשֶׁר עַל הַמְּדִינָה.

הֵמָּה הַמְגוֹגִים. מוֹסְרִים עַמָּם לַהוֹרְגִים
כִּי לְכִתְרָם דּוֹאֲגִים. לֹא לְנֶפֶשׁ נַעֲנָה.

עִזְבוּ רִיבוֹת וּמְרוֹרִים. לָעַד וּלְדוֹרֵי דוֹרִים
וְעַל שָׁלוֹם וּדְרוֹרִים. קִרְיאוֹת הוֹי הַחְדַּלְנָה.

תַּם

One example of a piece written for a specific holiday is a famous *piyyut* composed by Rabbi David Bouzaglo, *"Atem Yotzei Maarav"*, to commemorate the *mimouna* holiday. It enumerates, in Hebrew with some Judeo-Arabic interspersed, the various aspects of the holiday including the foods eaten, the atmosphere of conviviality, and the religious significance of the holiday recommencing normal life after the eight days of *pesach* (Chetrit 348). Within its verses, the theme of strife and its resolution is also dominant, and brotherhood between Muslims and Jews is lauded.

Midrashic references regarding the crossing of the Red Sea are contained in several verses. In the third verse, "passages" are mentioned, which comes from the Midrash which states that each tribe crossed the Red Sea in its own separate channel, or passage (*Tzena Ur'ena* 360). The fourth verse, which discusses the taking of their enemies wealth by Israel, is also Midrashic in nature. The reference to taking gifts "between the waves of the sea" may refer to the Midrash which states that G-d provided fruits and other necessities in the walls of the sea during the crossing, which could be easily taken when needed (ibid.).

Thematically, the crossing of the Red Sea and associated Midrashim is highly prominent in the *piyyutim* of *pesach*. One famous *piyyut* by Rabbi David Hsine, *"Malki mi Kedem"* (Shirei Dodim Ha Shalem 113), which will be discussed below, is rich with such Midrashic allusions, such as the debate between Moses and the Sea, and G-d's creation of the Sea on the condition that it part for Israel. To understand these references required a basic familiarity with Jewish texts, which was common among Jewish men in Morocco up to the 20th century.

Written in the form of a *muwashshaha* of 16 quatrains, the rhyme scheme is *abab* in the first verse, and *cccb*, *dddb*, *eeeb*, etc. in the subsequent verses. The last line of each verse rhymes with the second and fourth lines of the first verse, a rhyme scheme found in the *qasida*. Another element of the *qasida*, the authors' inclusion of his name in the last verse, is absent here. Perhaps this is due to the humility for which R. David Bouzaglo was known for, a character trait highly considered among Moroccan Jewry.

The poems sixteen verses can be separated into three thematic groups. Verses two, three, four, seven and eight are on the theme of the Israelites' crossing of the Red Sea, this event being tied to the *mimouna* in the respect that it is believed that the Jews crossed the Red Sea on the last day of *pesach*. The first, fifth, sixth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth verses are of a celebratory nature, and focus on the *mimouna* and its related customs, particularly the unity between Jews and Muslims. The last three verses turn to the contemplation of persecution and suffering experienced by the Jews, finishing with a strong cry of protest against conflict.

Musical Analysis

Its melody (musical example 1) is based on the famous *piyyut "Bar Yohai"*, written by Shimon Labi, a seventeenth century Lybian Rabbi. *"Bar Yohai"*, written in honor of the second century mystic Shimon Bar Yohai, has ten *batim*, each corresponding to one of the *sefirot* in *Kabbalah*. *Shirei Dodim* lists the song as being appropriate for all *hillulot* celebrations. This piece is sung by Jewish communities throughout the *maghreb*. Tunisian and Algerian Jews sing this *piyyut* at many religious gatherings, most notably at *seudat shlishit* (Saturday afternoon festive meal) each week. Another, longer melody

exists for this *piyyut*, in which each *bayt* is sung in a different *maqam*, but this is rarely performed.

Composed in *tab' siga*, the melody is strophic, comprised of two simple phrases which are repeated for each *bayt*. The first phrase begins on F natural, the second degree of the scale, and resolves to the same note. Within the second phrase, the tonic of *siga* is accentuated, and the nature of the *tab'* becomes more clearly defined. Rhythmically simple, it is in common time, and is rarely sung with instrumental accompaniment.

The two musical phrases to which each *bayt* is set consist of a phrase in the lower range of the *tab'* (the first phrase), and a phrase in the higher range of the *tab'* (the second phrase). This serves to create a feeling of call and response between the first and second halves of each *bayt*, as well as building a sense of resolution at the conclusion of each *bayt*. The higher melodic motif in the second phrase also heightens the tension and serves to accentuate the text. Within the context of the poem, the second halves of each *bayt* frequently express a dramatic event, as in the second, third and fourth *batim*. An imperative tone is expressed at the conclusion of the first and last *batim*. The fifth and sixth *batim* contain declarative statements in their second halves. It seems clear that the two part structure of the melody is echoed in the text, in which the second lines of each *bayt* increase in dramatic action, declarative statements, and imperative statements, resolving the actions and statements found in the first halves of each *bayt*.

Some *batim* are connected to those that preceed and follow them, such as the second, third and fourth *batim* discussing the crossing of the Red Sea, the ninth and tenth *batim* which enumerate the offerings made to Jews by Arabs, and the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth *batim* which form a unit focusing on the relation between Jew and Muslim

during the *mimouna*. Throughout most of this piece however, the order of the verses is not crucial to its meaning. This fits the model of the *ghazal*, in which the order of verses may be changed according to the whim of the performer / reader. It is also consistent with the strophic nature of the melodic line.

Malki Mi Kedem

G-d, my king of old, your kingdom reigns over everything,
higher than all heights, looking down on lonely souls.
Save your sons from their captors, in happiness, joy, and rejoicing.
Taking silver and gold, he chased them very quickly.
Pharoah's chariots were thrown into the sea

When this great sea was created, the master of worlds made a pact with it.
It made a binding agreement, to be torn before his nation.
The healing was created before the trouble, by G-d in his might.
When his day had come, the pure congregation passed through it.

As Moses, the son of Amram, was standing, he held his staff above the sea.
The sea began to argue with him, saying "but I have rights under the law."
Until he put his hand on the hand of Moses, G-d the warrior.
Praised be his right hand – with it, he gave us the Torah.

As the sea regained its strength, Egypt sped towards it.
G-d increased the seas' fury, horse and rider were thrown into the sea.
Pharoah's pride was broken, and the people of his land -
All were trampled in it, like in a mortar.

A servant girl saw on the sea what Moshe, the faithful saw.
Glory to the living G-d, and all that is hidden.
As a young man he was revealed at the sea, and as a merciful old man at Sinai.
Within his carriage is velvet; he does not change or alter his nature.
                    (Translation – Ruben Namdar and Joshua Levitt)

מַלְכִּי מִקֶּדֶם אֱלֹהִים, מַלְכוּתוֹ בַּכֹּל מָשָׁלָה, גָּבוֹהַּ עַל כָּל
גְּבוֹהִים, מַבִּיט בְּנֶפֶשׁ שְׁפָלָה, פָּדָה בָנִים מְשׁוֹבֵיהֶם, בְּרוֹן
בְּחֶדְוָה וּבְגִילָה, כַּסְפָּם וּזְהָבָם שָׁלְלוּ, וַיִּרְדְּפוּם חִישׁ מְהֵרָה.
מַרְכְּבוֹת פַּרְעֹה וְחֵילוֹ, בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם יָרֹה יַרַה:

זֶה הַיָּם גָּדוֹל עֵת נִבְרָא, צוּר עוֹלָמִים הִתְנָה עִמּוֹ, תְּנָאי
כַּדָּת וְכַשּׁוּרָה, לִהְיוֹת נִקְרָע לִפְנֵי עַמּוֹ, הִקְדִּים רְפוּאָה
לַצָּרָה, אֵל עֶלְיוֹן בְּתַעֲצוּמוֹ, וּבְעֵת קְרָב וּבָא יוֹמוֹ, עָבְרוּ בוֹ
עֵדָה טְהוֹרָה:

מֹשֶׁה בֶּן עַמְרָם בְּעָמְדוֹ, וַיֵּט מַטֵּהוּ עַל יַמָּה, הִתְחִיל
לְהַתְרִיס כְּנֶגְדּוֹ, בְּטַעֲנַת דִּין קְדִימָה, עַד נָתַן יָדוֹ עַל יָדוֹ, ה'
אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה, יְמִין ה' רוֹמֵמָה, כִּי בָהּ נָתַן לָנוּ תוֹרָה:

וּבְשׁוּב הַיָּם לְאֵיתָנוֹ, מִצְרַיִם לִקְרָאתוֹ נָסוּ, צוּר הַמַּשְׁבִּיחַ
שְׁאוֹנוֹ, רָמָה בוֹ רוֹכֵב וְסוּסוֹ, גַּם פַּרְעֹה שֻׁבַּר גְּאוֹנוֹ, וְהָעָם
אֲשֶׁר בְּאַרְצוֹ, כֻּלָּם בְּתוֹכוֹ נִרְמְסוּ, כְּמֵגִיס בְּתוֹךְ קְדֵרָה:

רָאֲתָה שִׁפְחָה עַל הַיָּם, כִּרְאוֹת מֹשֶׁה אִישׁ נֶאֱמָן, כְּבוֹד
הָאֵל וְקַיָּם, וְכָל נִסְתָּר וְכָל נִטְמָן, כְּאִישׁ בָּחוּר נִגְלָה בַיָּם,
וּבְסִינַי כְּזָקֵן רַחֲמָן, בְּתוֹךְ מֶרְכַּבְתּוֹ אַרְגָּמָן, אֵין לוֹ שִׁנּוּי גַּם
תְּמוּרָה. מַרְכְּבוֹת פַּרְעֹה וְחֵילוֹ בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם יָרֹה יָרָה:

I have included this poem by Rabbi David Hsine for purposes of comparison to
the works of Rabbi David Bouzaglo. Rabbi Hsine lived in Mogador during the latter part
of the 19th century, and is one of the most widely known *payetanim* in Morocco. This
work was also written for the holiday of Passover, and like *Atem Yotzei Maarav*, focuses
on the common theme of the crossing of the Red Sea. Written in the form of a *ghazal*,
this *piyyut* is remarkable for its numerous references to *midrashim* concerning this event.
In the first *bayt*, the silver and gold refers to the *midrash* stating that upon their departure
from Egypt, Jews took all of the Egyptians' wealth with them.

The pact referred to in the second *bayt* is also an idea from the *midrash*, which
discusses how G-d created the Red Sea with the condition that it agree to part for Israel
(*Tzena Ur'ena* 359-61). The idea of the 'healing before the trouble' comes from a
saying, that G-d always creates the 'healing before the wound', meaning that before
creating any disease, G-d creates a cure for it. The Hebrew words closely match the

original expression, with the substitution of the word "trouble" for "wound", preserving the syllabic value and vowel sounds from the original expression.

The third *bayt* discusses the argument between Moshe and the sea, in which the sea defends its "legal rights", a topic widely discussed in Midrashic writings. The image of G-d putting his hand on Moshe's to execute a miraculous event is explained frequently by Torah commentators as a mystical explanation of the way in which divine actions were performed through a human agent (Namdar).

In the fifth *bayt*, a Midrash from *Chazal* (not attributed to a specific author) is brought forth in the first line, which states that even those with the lowest social status, such as a female slave, were spiritually elevated at the Red Sea higher than the greatest prophets (*Tzena Urena* 362). References to G-d's various natures, as a young man (a warrior), and as a merciful old man follow the conception of G-d in Judaism as having multiple aspects simultaneously. This accounts for the many names of G-d, each of which represents a different aspect of his being. The two main aspects are those of *rahamim* (mercy / kindness) and *din* (judgment). The carriage referred to in the last line comes from the book of Yehezkel, in which the *merkabah* (carriage) is described in great detail. The imagery from these prophetic writings is interpreted allegorically, and is the source of much Kabbalistic ideology.

The rhyme scheme in evidence contains strophic elements, such as the repetition of the last line from the first *bayt* at the end of each successive *bayt*, creating a uniform rhyme concluding the *batim*. Its construction tends towards the *qasida* genre. The second 'halves' of each line rhyme with each other for the first three lines of the first, third and fifth *batim*. The third line of the second *bayt* ends with an 'u' sound, as opposed to the

'o' sound of the first two lines. In the fourth *bayt*, the first three lines do not rhyme, but end in a phonetically similar fashion, perhaps as the result of a failed attempt at a rhyme. The first halves of each line rhyme throughout the first three lines of each *bayt* as well, with a slight variation in the third line of the first *bayt*. It seems clear that, despite these discrepancies, the authors intent was to rhyme the first and second halves of the first three lines throughout the piece.

Wihin the second through the fifth *batim*, the first halves of the fourth lines each contain their own individual endings, which do not correspond to or rhyme with anything else within that *bayt*. In the first *bayt* only, the first half of the fourth line rhymes with the first half of the fifth line. This irregularity is reminiscent of the *qasida*, in which the ending of each *bayt* must rhyme with the ending of the first *bayt*. It is only within the first *bayt* of a *qasida* that the first half of the last line must rhyme with its second half. Another indication that this poem is of the *qasida* genre is the inclusion of the authors name in the last *bayt*. He cleverly weaves his surname and his family name within the context of the poem, in separate places.

Most of the rhymes found in this piece are 'complete' ones, containing two or three rhyming letters in common. The rhyming words also frequently consist of the same number of syllables, giving the poem a certain fluidity. The complete version of this piece contains several additional *batim*, but in common practice only these five *batim* are sung.

Musical Analysis

This piece (see musical example 2) is musically simple, based on a repeating four bar phrase, which is substituted for a variant phrase in the third lines of each *bayt*. Both the A section (first phrase) and the B section (second phrase) are divided into two sections of two bars each in a call and response type scheme. It is in the *tab'* or *maqam siga*, which is adapted from Egyptian tradition. The first phrase extends to a pentachord above the tonic, and descends one degree below the tonic in one place. Although the second phrase does not extend the range of notes used, it focuses more on the third, fourth and fifth degrees of the pentachord as opposed to the first phrase, which centers around the tonic, second and third degrees.

Rhythmically sparse, this piece has a solemn, religious quality. Throughout many middle-eastern cultures, music associated with religious contexts tends to be more rhythmically simple than secular music, perhaps in an attempt to avoid the negative associations attached to the circumstances in which secular music is played. In a meter of 3/4, the piece is usually played at a medium tempo, although on the accompanying recording it is played at a slow tempo. The *mizan* utilized in this piece is of the *muwassa'* genre, from the *quddam* stage of the *nouba*.

Like "*Atem Yotzei Maarav*", the first melodic line is divided into two parts which compliment each other. In "*Malki mi Kedem*", the first part of the melody is higher than the second. The melodic descent gives a sense of finality to the ending of the second phrase. This entire melodic line accompanies one single line of text, and the text generally echoes its two part structure, each line consisting of a two part statement. The third line of each verse is set to a different melodic phrase, which focuses on the higher

three degrees of the pentachord. The change in melody seems to be reflected textually in
a summarization, or culmination of the ideas expressed in the first two lines.

   In the first *bayt*, the idea of G-d's dominion and salvation stated in the first two
lines is given a concrete expression in the third line with the image of Israel taking the
Egyptians silver and gold. In the third line of the second *bayt*, a strong summary of the
pact made between G-d and the sea is given in the statement that G-d creates the 'healing
before the trouble'. The third lines of the third and fourth *batim* each contain a dynamic
event; the the placing of G-d's hand on that of Moshe in the third *bayt*, and the breaking
of Pharoah's pride in the fourth. G-d's nature as a young and old man is described in the
third line of the fifth *bayt*. It appears that the musical change in the third lines of each
bayt is echoed by a pivotal moment in the text.

   The closing lines of each verse return melodically to the 'a' section, or first
melody, making the overall structure of each *bayt* 'aaba'. The reiteration of the 'a'
melody is reflected textually with a resoloution or conclusion of the ideas expressed in
that *bayt*. In the first four *batim,* the final line describes an action. The conclusion of the
fifth *bayt* contains a mystical reference to G-d's unchanging nature. A pattern can be
discerned, in which the third lines of each verse express a dramatic action or image which
represent the climax of that verse, and the fourth lines represent the outcome of the first
three lines. This pattern clearly matches the 'aaba' form of the melody. Each verse can
stand on its own as a miniature poem in itself.

   The rolling character of the melodic line in its primarily stepwise ascent and
descent also seems to reflect the subject of the *piyyut*, the crossing of the Red Sea, in
giving one the feeling of the rise and fall of waves. Melodic repetition with slight

variation occurring at even intervals (the 'b' melody), inherent in the 'aaba' form of the

melody, also serves to achieve this effect.

Argab Yallali

I Look upon you, the highest
Do it for the sake of your great name, if not for me (2)
One who is everlasting, who dwells in heaven (2)   )
)^4
My heart is filled with sorrow.   )
Living G-d, who cannot be seen -
Save us from false accusations and destroy our enemies.

You made my enemies rejoice – tell me why   )
)^4
You neglected me – tell me why   )
Tell me why – the poor one is weak (2)
Why – you, the one above?

As long as I live, you are my assurance
Be a shield for me - for you I'm seeking
Wherever I go, be with me

You made my enemies rejoice…

Do not make my prayer ugly, one who is and always was
The redemption of my brothers is my profit
I'll give you comfort in my oath

You made my enemies rejoice…

(Translation – Mark Hazan and Yoel Ben Simhon)

שֵׁי שֵׁי שֵׁי

אַרְגֵב יָא לְעָאלִי אַרְגֵב יָא לְעָלִי, עְמָאל פְּחָק אסְמָךְ לְעְזִיז
אִם לֹא בִּגְלָלִי. אַרְחָם יָא דָאים שׁוֹכֵן שָׁמַיִם, קָלְבִּי לְמִגְמוּר.
אֵל חַי הַנֵּעְלָם פְּקֵנָא מִלְדְלָאם, אוֹיֵב תִּזְמוֹר:
סְפִית פִּיָא עְדְיָאנִי גוּלִי עְלָאשׁ, לְחֵרְפָּה נְתַתָנִי גוּלִי עְלָאשׁ,
גוּלִי עְלָאשׁ דַל נֵחְלָשׁ, עְלָאשׁ יָא לְעָאלִי:
מָא חְדְנִי בְּרוּחִי, אַתָּה מִבְטָחִי, מָגֵן בַּעֲדִ וְעֵלְק כַּנְדִי. פְּן
מָא מְשִׁית גִיאֲדִי לִהְיוֹת עִמָּדִי. סְפִית פִּיָא עְדְיָאנִי:
לָא תְכְיֵיב רְזִיאֲיָה הֹוֶה וְהָיָה, לִפְדוֹת מִמְכָּרִי מִלְמְדוֹן
וּסְחָארִי. עְתְאק יָא לְבָּארִי אַתָּה נְאָדְרִי. סְפִית פִּיָא עְדְיָאנִי:

שֵׁי שֵׁי שֵׁי

This *piyyut*, written by R. David Bouzaglo, is primarily in Arabic, but utilizes several Hebrew words. Although not an example of the *matruz* style, pioneered by R. Bouzaglo, in which Hebrew and Arabic lines are alternated, it shows an interesting synthesis of the two languages. It is written in the tone of a supplication, and has a prayer like quality. The simple meaning, more typical of *piyyutim* written in Arabic, is not obscured by complex and hidden references to Kabbalah and Midrash. Speaking typically of persecution, this type of plea for G-d's help is found in *piyyutim* since the inception of the genre. The reference to false accusations is particularly significant due to the anti Jewish riots in Morocco leading up to the creation of the state of Israel and during the ensuing military conflicts.

Written to the melody of a popular Moroccan song, "*Alash Ya Ghzali*", the words of this *piyyut* match the phonetic scheme of the original secular lyrics closely. "*Alash Ya Ghzali*" was sung by the Algerian Jewish singer Salim (Simon) Hallali, who was very popular among Muslims and Jews alike in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

The rhyme scheme of "*Argabi Yallali*" is highly irregular, and the phrases, as well as the *batim*, are of unequal length, following the model of the popular song "*Alash*

Ya Ghzali". In the first *bayt*, the rhyme scheme, without repeats, is 'aabbcddc'. Shorter phrases occur on the 'b', 'c', and 'd' phrases, these being approximately half the length of the 'a' phrases. The second, third and fourth *batim* are structured as follows: 'efefffa', 'gghhi', and 'jjkki'. Many of the rhyming phrases consist of as few as two words. The short musical phrasing of the melody which this *piyyut* was composed to necessitated this structure. Uneven *batim* can be accounted for by the fact that each *bayt* accompanies a different melodic section. The first *bayt* is set to the 'a' melody, the second *bayt* to the 'b' melody, the third to the 'c' melody, and the fourth to the 'd' melody.

Musical Analysis

This piece (see musical example 3) is in a meter of 6/8, played in a very Moroccan popular style. The *mizan*, of the *quddam* genus, is typified by the accented "dum" (low sound) on the third / sixth beats. This rhythm is used heavily in Moroccan folkloric music. It has a very African character, and uses a great deal of syncopation. The accents placed on the third and sixth beats of each measure move the focus from the beginning of each measure, as is typical of most *mizan*-s, to the middle and end. This rhythm is difficult to execute, and to the uninitiated, it may sound as if the first beat of each cycle falls on the third beat.

"Alash Ya Ghzali" begins with a percussion introduction, followed by the melody played instrumentally. The first verse is then sung individually, followed by the second section, which is sung responsorially between the lead singer and a chorus. The chorus introduces the third section, followed by the lead singer. Following this, the rhythm is interrupted, and a *mawwal* is sung with sparse accompaniment provided from the *kanoun*.

After the *mawwal*, the rhythm begins again, at a slower tempo, and the second section is restated, followed by the first, which closes the piece.

This piece is listed in <u>*Shirei Dodim ha Shalem*</u> in the section of *nouba isbahan*. The top of each page in this section reads, "*isbahan ve sahli ve nahawand*". Although the *tab' zawarkand* is also played in the *nouba isbahan*, it is not mentioned in this section of <u>*Shirei Dodim*</u>. *Zawarkand* is listed in the beginning of the work, as being related to *isabahan*. The *lahn* given for "*Argabi Yallali*" is "*sahli*", a term I have not encountered anywhere else. It appears to begin in *tab' nahawand*, later modulating to *rast* and to *siga* during the *mawwal*, concluding in *nahawand*.

<u>*Ashrenu Ki Nahalotenu*</u>

The blood of the prisoners of hope has been spilt as a sign
They are oppressed and tormented under the turbulant storm
Under foreign heavy burden, oppression, misery and trouble.

Lucky are we, how good is our land
The day we were gathered in it, all were crowned
The dweller of Zion will never be humbled
The covenant which was signed will never be broken

Because of the evil of its dwellers, it became desolate
Until the day it was remembered
The ruins were rebuilt, what was broken was restored
Pigs no longer dig in her dirt

Our crown was thrown to the dust by our enemies
They watch us from above as a bull
Until the day that we are honored to sit high
With the rulers of earth, kings and sovereigns

It was a long lasting hope of Edom
To see the house of Israel silenced
How disappointed and disillusioned they are
Thinking that the sons of Jacob will never dwell in the city of the Messiah again.
(Translation- Ruben Namdar and Joshua Levitt)

שִׁירֵי דוֹדִים הַשָּׁלֵם   123
אַשְׁרֵינוּ כִּי נַחֲלָתֵנוּ

שיר — לכבוד נצחון ישראל
לחן — שגה מצריה
נועם — אסירי תקוה — הולחן ע״י שלום עזרא לְקָאנוּנְזִי
מילים — רבי דוד בוזגלו

פִּזְמוֹן :
אֲסִירֵי תִקְוָה דָּמָם נִזְרָק לָאוֹת,
הֲלֹא הֵם הַמְדֻכִּים תַּחַת סוֹעָה וְסוּפוֹת
תַּחַת לַחַץ, לַחַץ עוֹל זָר, עוֹל זָר שׁוֹד,
שׁוֹד שֶׁבֶר וּתְלָאוֹת.

אַשְׁרֵנוּ כִּי נַחֲלָתֵנוּ שָׁפְרָה
יוֹם פֹּה נֶאֱסַפְנוּ חֲבוּשֵׁי עֲטָרָה
יוֹשֵׁב צִיּוֹן לֹא יֵבוֹשׁ וְלֹא יֶחְפָּר
וּבְרִית כְּרוּתָה עֲדֵי עַד לֹא תוּפַר.   פִּזְמוֹן

מֵרַעַת שׁוֹכְנֶיהָ, הִיא הָיְתָה לִשְׁאִיָּה,
עַד יוֹם נִפְקְדָה, בּוֹ קָמָה לִתְחִיָּה.
נִבְנוּ הַטְּפָחוֹת וְנוֹסְדוּ הַשָּׁתוֹת
וְלֹא עוֹד חֲזִירִים נוֹכְרִים בְּאַשְׁפָּתוֹת.   פִּזְמוֹן

קַרְנֵנוּ גוֹלְלוּ אוֹיְבֵינוּ בְּעָפָר
הִבִּיטוּ בָנוּ מִגָּבוֹהַּ כְּשׁוֹר פָּר
עַד יוֹם נִתְכַּבַּדְנוּ לָשֶׁבֶת עֶלְיוֹנִים
עִם יוֹעֲצֵי אֶרֶץ, מְלָכִים וְרוֹזְנִים.   פִּזְמוֹן.

תּוֹחֶלֶת מְמֻשָּׁכָה הִיא הָיְתָה לֶאֱדוֹם.
לְיוֹם בּוֹ יִכְלֶה בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִדּוֹם.
אָכֵן לְאַכְזָבָה הָיְתָה תִּקְוָתָם.
כִּי בְעִיר מְשִׁיחָם הוּקַם קֵץ לְאִישׁ תַּם: פִּזְמוֹן
תָּם

This *piyyut* is based on a work called *"Aserei Tikvah"* by R. Nissim Dahan, written for the Israeli independence day *Yom Hatzmaout*. Rabbi David Bouzaglo took the *pizmon*, or refrain, from the original *piyyut* and composed four new verses to accompany it. This demonstrates an example of the widespread exchange that has traditionally taken place between *payetanim*. Rabbi Bouzaglo's poem utilizes the same melody as the original, listed in <u>*Shirei Dodim*</u> as being composed by Shalom Ezra L'Qanunzi. This name indicates that the composer was a *qanun* player, as it is common for instrumentalists to add the name of their instrument to their own.

Utilizing strong imagery, the *pizmon* and original verses of *"Aserei Tikvah"* are very nationalistic and political in their character. *Aserei tikvah*, or the prisoners of hope, is an image originating from *Kabbalah* (Hazan). Strong language and metaphors are used such as "blood", "turbulent storm", "heavy burden", "oppression", and "misery". In comparing *"Aserei Tikvah"* and *"Ashrenu Ki Nahalotenu"*, there is a marked difference in the general tone of the verses. Although *"Aserei Tikvah"* was originally written for *yom haatzmaout*, Rabbi Bouzaglo's piece based on it is described as being written more specifically in the honor of Israel's victory (after the six day war).

The tone of the *"Aserei Tikvah"* is extremely dark, especially in the first *bayt*, where images such as the color black, tears, the victory of the enemy, and drinkng of a cup of poison are used. The third and fourth *batim* are more positive in their tone, containing a more celebratory aspect. In Rabbi David Bouzaglo's *piyyut "Ashrenu Ki Nahalotenu"*, the central theme is the victory of Israel over her enemies. It refers to Rome, signifiying the Christian world, in several places. The second *bayt* contains the image of pigs digging in the dirt, a reference to the account that the Romans brought pigs

to the site of the destroyed temple in Jerusalem. At the conclusion of the poem, a veiled reference to Jacob (*ish tam* – an innocent / simple man) is made, in the context of representing the return of the Jewish people to Israel, against the hopes of *edom* (Rome / Christians).

The rhyme scheme in this *piyyut* is a simple 'aabb' pattern in each quatrain, uniform throughout the five *batim* with the exception of the first, which is 'aaba'. There are almost no rhyming words which carry over from one *bayt* to the next, each *bayt* conforming only to its own 'aabb' rhyme scheme. Many of the rhyming words have the last three letters in common, showing the skill of the *payetan* in creating 'complete' rhymes. The rhyme scheme of *"Ashrenu Ki Nahalotenu"* is exactly the same as the *piyyut* upon which it is modeled, *"Aserei Tikva"*. This is an interesting example of a variation on the modeling of Hebrew *piyyutim* on the melodies and textual models of Arabic songs, as it models itself on a preexisting Hebrew *piyyut*.

Musical Analysis

This *piyyut* (see musical example 4) is in a classical style, and contains melodic motives and motion reminicent of the *nouba siga*. Although described in <u>Shirei Dodim ha Shalem</u> as being in *tab' siga* (the appelation "*masriyyah*" is added to indicate the Egyptian origin of the *tab'*), it actually adheres more closely to *tab' 'iraq*, with altered notes occurring in several places. *Siga* contains the interval of a minor third between the fourth and fifth degrees, representing the lower tetrachord of *hijaz* starting on the third degree. In this piece, the interval of ¾ is found between the third and fourth degrees (G and A half flat), thereby resembling the lower tetrachord of *tab' bayati* beginning on the

third degree (G). This piece utilizes an A half flat, and a B flat, whereas *tab' siga* would utilize an A flat and a B natural at the same point. This inclusion of *tab' bayati* starting on the third degree (G) is characteristic of *tab' 'iraq,* not *tab' siga.* The *mawwal* introduction on the recording of this piece, *"Or Tzach Ufashut"* (SDHS 298), is sung in *tab' siga.* This piece comes from the *Kabbalah*, and is always sung as an introduction to *"Aserei Tikvah"*.

The melody progressively builds by ascending towards the higher register of the *tab'*. It has four main sections, after which it returns to the first theme, followed by the third and fourth themes. The return to the first, third and fourth themes occurs twice, followed by a final restatement of the first theme which closes the piece. Its melodic motion is primarily stepwise, intervals larger than a second occurring rarely. The range of tones used, as well as its cadences, are typical of the *siga / iraq* genus of modes. Cadences of 3-2-3-2-1 occur in all four sections, giving the composition a unified feel.

Rhythmically, *Aserei Tikvah* is played sparsely. In a meter of 4/4, the piece is played in a slow tempo. The first beat of each measure is marked heavily with a 'dum' (low pitched percussive strike), and the other beats are variable, using only light 'taks' (high pitched percussive strike). The placement of a strong emphasis on the first beat of each measure lends a heavy, sacred, spacious character to the music, and is referred to as "wide" by Moroccan musicians.

The four sections of the piece, increasing in dynamic level as well as register, echo the mounting tension in the text of this *piyyut*. In the first *bayt*, or *pizmon* (refrain), the topic of the *piyyut*, oppression and conflict, is introduced. The second *bayt,* at which point Rabbi Bouzaglo's composition begins, has a more victorious tone. A similar

declaration of Israel's struggle and triumph over her enemies is found in the third and fourth *batim*, with stronger imagery and language, such as the 'crown thrown to the dust' and 'pigs', being used. This echoes the ascent to a high F and then to G in the third and fourth *batim* respectively. The final *bayt* is an expression of triumph over the evil designs of an enemy. This is expressed musically by a decrescendo and a descent in pitch, suggesting a relief of tension.

Hish Hish Alufie

Quick, quick, my general, oh gracious G-d
Who dwells on high, G-d of salvation

My G-d, my G-d
Please oh G-d, Gracious G-d

Forever raise my banner, G-d generous with compassion
You are my refuge, G-d dwelling in the heavens
Please G-d, perform wonders of graciousness
Quick, bring salvation for the chosen people

G-d almighty, who dwells in heaven
Don't turn your back on me
Come close to the separate nation, merciful g-d
Let your salvation be eternal

King of kings,
Who stands for the poor; for you I shall call
We plead for your graciousness
We hope for your salvation night and day

(Translation Tomer Tzur and Joshua Levitt)

חִיש חִיש אַלוּפִי

לחן — מוואל זרקא
מילים — ר"ד בוזגלו

פִּזְמוֹן — חִיש חִיש אַלוּפִי, יִשְׁעֲךָ אֵל יָ־ה.
דָּר מָרוֹם וְהַפְלָא, חַסְדְּךָ אֵל יָ־ה.
"אֵלִי אֵל יָה" (4 פעמים)
אָנָּא אֵל־יָה חַסְדְּךָ אֵל־יָה (אֵלִי אֵל וכו')

הָרֵם לְעַד נִסִּי, מָלֵא רַחֲמִים
בְּךָ שַׂמְתִּי מַחֲסִי, שׁוֹכֵן מְרוֹמִים
הַפְלֵא שׁוֹכֵן מַעֲלָה, חַסְדְּךָ אֵל־יָה.
חִיש לְעַם סְגֻלָּה, חַסְדְּךָ אֵל יָה,

פִּזְמוֹן

שׁוֹכֵן שְׁמֵי שַׁחַק, נוֹרָא עֲלִילוֹת,
מִמֶּנִּי אֵל תִּרְחַק, עוֹשֶׂה גְדוֹלוֹת,
קָרֵב לְעַם נִבְדָּל, חַסְדְּךָ אֵל־יָה,
וְלָעַד לֹא יֶחְדַּל, חַסְדְּךָ אֵל יָה,

פִּזְמוֹן

מֶלֶךְ עַל כָּל עֶלְיוֹן, צוּר עוֹטֶה אוֹרָה,
עֲמֹד לִימִין אֶבְיוֹן, אֵלֶיךָ יִקְרָא,
עֵינָיו כְּדַל שׁוֹאֵל, חַסְדְּךָ אֵל־יָה,
מְקַוֶּה יוֹם וָלַיִל, חַסְדְּךָ אֵל יָה,

פִּזְמוֹן

תם

This *piyyut* is written on a topic central to Judaism in general, and one highly emphasized in Moroccan Jewish culture in particular, the coming of the Messiah. This topic was especially relevant to Rabbi David Bouzaglo, as he saw the creation of the Jewish state as a precursor to the Messianic Era. It is written in a typically prayer like tone, and its text is simple and direct. The reference to a 'banner' in the second *bayt* may allude to the flag of Israel.

Its four *batim* use a simple rhyme scheme, 'aabb', with the exception of the *pizmon*, in which all four lines conclude with the same rhyme. The use of 'aabb' quatrains is similar to the *piyyut "Ashrenu Ki Nahalotenu"*, and is commonly used by

Rabbi David Bouzaglo, as well as other Moroccan *payetanim*. Its use of short, repeated phrases, especially in the refrain "eli, eli ya", conveys a tone of supplication.

Musical Analysis

Shirei Dodim ha Shalem lists this piece as being in the *tab' jarkah*, which is one of the *'tubu* in the *nouba gharibat al-hsin*. It resembles an F major scale with the seventh degree sometimes flatted either fully or by a quarter tone, usually in descending, and the third degree sometimes flatted by a quarter tone. The piece (see musical example 5) begins with two lines sung as a *mawwal,* rubato, the rhythm beginning in the third line of the *pizmon*. This is highly characteristic of Rabbi Bouzaglo's work, as the solemn, non-rhythmic, religious quality of the *mawwal* and its typically moralistic textual setting lent itself well to his poems. It should be mentioned that while *mawwalim* are performed to an improvised melody created by the performer in most Middle Eastern musical traditions, the *mawwalim* in Moroccan Jewish tradition are set, and must be performed the same way each time. These complex, rhythmically free melodies must be committed to memory by the performer, and their execution requires great vocal skill.

In this short *mawwal* introduction, a two bar phrase is repeated, followed by another phrase which resolves to the fifth degree. This sequence is repeated, resolving this time to the tonic. The same phrase is played in rhythm during the second section of the piece. The third section begins an octave above the tonic, descending with the use of the seventh degree flatted first by a quarter tone, and then fully. In the fourth section, the

third degree is played a quarter tone flat, giving the melody a *rast* like quality. The flexibility of the third and seventh degrees gives this *tab'* a unique character.

Within the three sections of this piece (not including the rubato *mawwal* introduction), there are many repetitions, as well as space for vocal and instrumental improvisations. This is a piece which is often played for *smachot* (festive occasions), and is almost always played with instrumental accompaniment. Rhythmically lively, it utilizes the *maksoom* rhythm typical of Middle Eastern music, rather than a *mizan* from the Moroccan *nouba*. Its short phrases give it a dance like quality, leaving a great deal of room for individual variations on the part of the vocalist, as well as the instrumentalists.

The first two lines of each *bayt* are written in a triumphant and confident tone, matching the musical phrase they are sung to, which ascends to the upper octave of the mode, and is sung in a forceful manner. The third line descends to the lower pentachord of the *tab'*, and focuses on the third degree. In the final line of each *bayt*, the melody ascends to the fifth degree, which sets up the return to the primary theme of "Eli, Eli..". These fourth lines in each *bayt* speak of the desire for salvation, this sentiment matching the rise in pitch which precedes the return to the refrain.

V. Conclusions and Further Research Areas

The Moroccan *piyyut* is a poetic form which has a long history, going back to the first millennium BCE in Palestine. Its accompanying musical traditions, inextricably tied to the *andalusian nouba* as transmitted to Morocco in the '*ala*, are based on a highly complex and sophisticated system of rhythmic and melodic modes. This tradition could certainly be looked upon as having the refinement of an art music, although the contexts in which it is performed, its methods of transmission, and the non-professional status of most of its practitioners may preclude it from that status. However, at the very least, its complexity and richness, both textually and musically, merit a great deal of study.

Within this short paper, I could only hope to scratch the surface of this tradition, through putting it in its historical perspective, discussing the musical theory upon which it is based, and the cultural contexts in which it is performed. Perhaps the heart of this work, the transcription and musical analysis of examples, along with an examination of their texts, can give the reader the greatest sense of the basic spiritual and aesthetic beauty of this art form, those qualities which initially sparked my great interest and attachment to its study.

The accompanying compact disk, which contains recordings of the three *piyyutim* discussed in this paper, is the result of my work with Marc Hazan and the Mesaouda Ensemble. Recordings of these pieces are extremely difficult to find, and most are unavailable commercially. In Israel, 'bootleg' tapes of this repertoire circulate, but even these are unavailable in the United States. I hope that this recording represents an accurate rendition of these pieces. The melodies were played in the Fez tradition, exactly

as Cantor Hazzan specified, with the instrumental ensemble serving primarily as accompaniment. The musicians used were mostly Israelis, who have had a great deal of experience in playing Moroccan and other *mizrachi* musical repertoires.

I believe that the examples shown in this work demonstrate a synthesis of Arab cultural models with Jewish religious beliefs. This synthesis is of a profound and through nature, and is uniquely Moroccan in its character. It is a synthesis which continues to be practiced in the countries of the Moroccan Jewish diaspora, mainly Israel, France, the United States and Canada. New works continue to be composed and adapted to Moroccan as well as non-Moroccan melodies, a practice which I have had the opportunity to witness first hand through working with Mark Hazan. In continuing to address current events, such as the conflicts in the middle east, the tradition continually renews itself, as it has done since its inception, and as demonstrated in the works of Rabbi David Bouzaglo.

Throughout the course of my research for this study, the lack of materials on the topic was somewhat of a hindrance. This was striking to me, given the complexity, history and richness of the subject. In addition, the Moroccan tradition is the most researched Jewish musical tradition of the Maghreb. One area particularly lacking among published materials in this field are accurate transcriptions. Transcriptions are few and far between, and those that exist are woefully inaccurate.

What I hope to do in the near future is to continue my work with Marc Hazan and other *hazzanim* in gathering together a large body of Moroccan *piyyutim* for the eventual publication in a book which will contain both accurate melodic transcriptions and explanations of their texts. I have completed some fieldwork with Tunisian and Algerian

hazzanim in France as well, which may allow me to expand the scope of this work to the other countries of the Maghreb. These types of songs have never been published, to my knowledge, and it is a field in which new ground can be gained. This coincides with my personal goals for the performance of North African Jewish music with the Mesaouda Ensemble as well, and will hopefully allow this music to be more widely performed and studied by interested musicians.

Appendix of Musical Examples

musical example #1

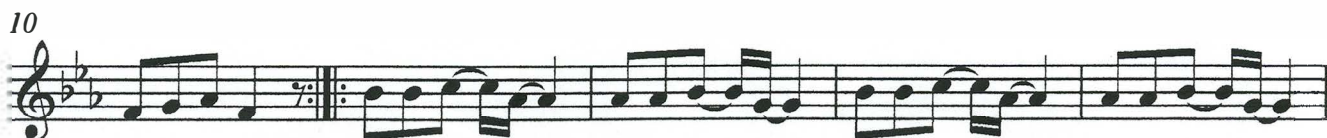Atem Yotzei Maarav
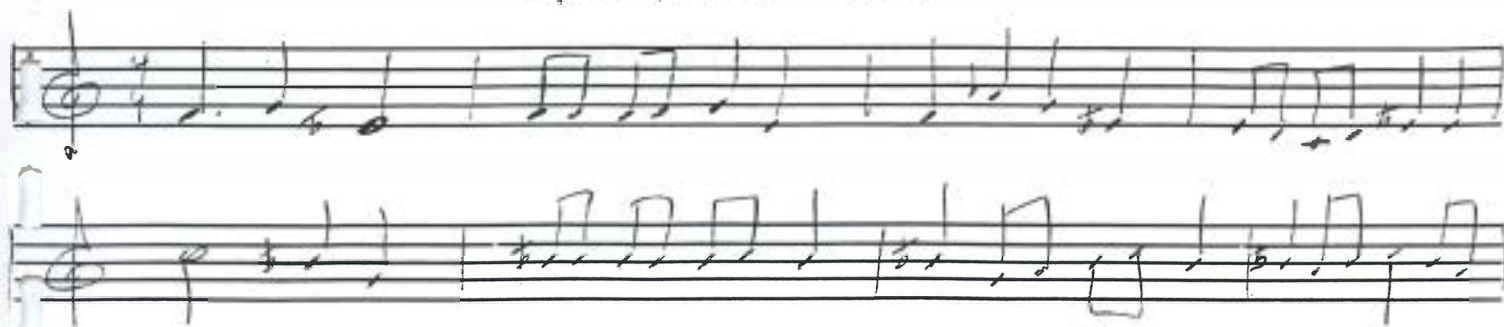
Malaki Mi Kedem

A

B

Variation

Argab Ya Layli

1st x -orchestra
2nd x -vocal

Ashrenu Ki Nahalotenu

Maqam sika

musical example #5

Hish Hish

Mawwal introduction, orch on cue

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