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Michael Frishkopf

What is “music of the Islamic world”? Indeed, what is “the Islamic world”? The “world” metaphor implies coherence, at least relative to other “worlds,” and for a particular observer. Musing freely about the “Islamic world,” one might arrive at any one of the following four definitions:

- 1 The socio-cultural world of Islamic religious practice and discourse, over time and space. Though diverse, significant internal linkages lend coherence; this world is viewed – from within and without – as “Islamic.”
- 2 The elite socio-cultural world of literate, urban Muslim-majority communities that arose and flourished as a consequence of Islamic political expansion which outside observers have associated with Islam, what Marshall Hodgson called “Islamicate.”
- 3 The socio-cultural world of Muslim communities everywhere. This enormous “world” – reified mainly from an outsider perspective that views religion as providing the overriding cultural identity for all Muslims – is diverse to the point of incoherence.
- 4 The cosmos, as viewed from an Islamic perspective, i.e., the Islamic world-view, through which the universe, a temporal creation of the unitary uncreated Divine Reality (Allāh), is full of signs (*āyāt*) pointing to its Divine source.

Using the above definitions, “music of the Islamic world” may be defined, respectively, as the following categories: (1) religious music, used in Islamic practices; (2) Islamicate music: music of the elite culture associated with Muslim rule; (3) Muslim music: all music consumed or produced by Muslims; and (4) music symbolically encoding the traditional Islamic world-view, what might be termed “spiritual” (rather than overtly religious) music.

However in proposing such definitions, one encounters at least four problems. First is one of objectivity: how to define the category precisely in order to assure agreement? What is the “litmus” test determining whether or not a particular thing is in fact an instance of the category? Second, does the category really cohere? From whose perspective? Outsider and insider (i.e., non-Muslim and Muslim) perspectives may not accord, yet neither can be privileged *a priori*; the former, experience-thin, risks discursive reproduction (e.g., Orientalism), while the latter, experience-rich, risks parochialism. Third, even if the music category is coherent, it may no longer exist, in which case contemporary music must be ignored, decreasing the category’s social

Table 41.1 Four ways of defining “music of the Islamic world” and four criteria for evaluating them

World of . . .	Music category	Criteria			
		a. Coherence	b. Objectivity	c. Present extension	d. Local knowledge?
1. Islamic practices	Islamic religious music	high	high	high	yes
2. Islamicate culture	Islamicate music	medium	medium	low	somewhat
3. Muslims	Muslim music	low	medium	high	no
4. Islamic cosmos	Islamic spiritual music	high	low	low	somewhat

relevance. On the other hand, as music has left few durable traces prior to the twentieth century (even the Islamicate tradition rarely included music notation), studying anything earlier tends to be conjectural. Finally, the “Islamic world” derives from a colonial (even medieval) European perspective. The continued privileging of outsider perspectives of Muslims constitutes an intellectual colonialism. Many Muslims reject the assumption that Islamic identity is always primary; why should a singer who happens to be a Muslim be known as a “Muslim singer”?

If one is prepared to accept the concept “music of the Islamic world,” what sort of music should be presented under that heading? Islamicate music is coherent only during periods of unified Islamic cultural ascendancy, primarily from early Islam to the peak of Abbasid and Umayyad Andalusian culture. From about the tenth century onwards, it becomes increasingly difficult to speak of a single Islamicate musical tradition. Subsequently, European cultural hegemony, followed by the rise of mass media and globalization, caused its eclipse.

The category of “Muslim musics” is far less acceptable. By definition it must contain such a diverse musical range, which is furthermore so closely tied to “non-Muslim” musics, that merely to consider it is already to fall into error. Another possible stance is that “music of the Islamic world” is that which expresses and instills Islamic spirituality. “To grasp fully the significance of Islamic art is to become aware that it is an aspect of the Islamic revelation” (Nasr 1987: 13). However, such a metaphysical stance does not provide an objective criterion for distinguishing what is, or is not, “Islamic music.” Of the four possibilities, then, only “Islamic religious music” exhibits high coherence, high objectivity, high extension, and appears as a category of local knowledge. Therefore, it is this category which will be elaborated in the remainder of this essay.

Music in the world of Islamic practices

To some degree, a practice must be considered “Islamic” if its practitioner deems it so, though that degree is proportional to the number who actually practice it. By this definition, the world of Islamic practices – though broad – is well defined according to

intentions of participants. The sound of Islamic practice almost invariably derives from the oral performance of sacred texts in group settings. Such performance is required for intragroup communication, and as an act of devotion. Yet it also displays tonal-temporal organization far beyond the requirements of communicative or devotional functions, pointing towards an aesthetic-emotional function as well. Even the sound of public canonical prayer (*ṣalāt*) is typically melodic. Furthermore, non-linguistic sound – often produced by instruments – not infrequently appears. Melodic recitations – often ornated, sometimes metric – developed in order to beautify and extol texts, to draw the listener's attention, to facilitate retention, to clarify meaning, to coordinate performance, and to develop appropriate emotional responses. Furthermore, because the purely sonic aspect of Islamic practice is only loosely regulated by Islamic discourse, melodic styles tend to elaborate, and also to develop local variants.

However, the word “music” and its cognates among languages commonly spoken by Muslims (e.g., Arabic *musīqā*) are typically not applied to the sounds of Islamic practices. Distinctions are conceptual (classificatory), semantic (due to differences in text, context, intention), and sonic. With respect to the latter, it should be noted that “music” typically implies use of melodic instruments; singing and even percussion are usually not considered “music.” Throughout Islamic history there has been disagreement over the legitimacy of public musical practice – as entertainment, or even (sometimes, especially) as devotion. Suspicion towards music resulted from its association with two prohibitions: mixed gender gatherings, and alcohol. Due to their mystical orientation, Ṣūfī *ṭuruq* (“orders”; singular *ṭarīqa*) have frequently (though not always) been more tolerant of “spiritual audition” (*samāʿ*), yet even here caution prevails.

Genres and contexts

Across the Islamic world, three categories of recurring performance contexts may be discerned, characterized by three degrees of sonic genre variation within each context. The least variable category comprises core ritual contexts, prescribed by Islamic law, and centering on vocalized text. Musical instruments are absent, and the sacred liturgical language (Arabic) is used. While discursive aspects of performance are prescriptively fixed, sonic and social aspects of performance may participate in the local ramification of style which is a natural consequence of any oral tradition.

More variable than the core are festival contexts, occurring in connection with Islamic holidays. Such contexts feature looser, less explicit constraints, sometimes carried by oral more than written tradition, because performance in these contexts, though regarded as devotional, is not required or closely regulated by Islamic law. The result is greater localization in language, poetic genre, and musical tradition, though common themes (e.g. *madiḥ*, praise for the Prophet) emerge everywhere.

Still less constrained are life-cycle contexts in Muslim societies, such as birth, circumcision, marriage, and death. As such contexts are not exclusive to Muslim communities, they are frequently linked to ceremonies in historically or socially proximate non- or pre-Islamic traditions. Such ceremonies vary greatly from one culture to another. As a result, the genres performed within these contexts – even while carrying Islamic meanings within universal contexts – are highly localized.

Arabic terms are widely used to denote Islamic musical genres, sometimes acquiring

specifically religious meaning outside Arabic areas. Thus the *qaṣīda*, a word whose generic Arabic meaning is simply “poem,” comes to mean “Arab Islamic song” in southeast Asia (see Rasmussen 2001: 55, n. 16).

Generally, Islamization (and Arabization) of traditional music was an effective means by which those dedicated to propagating Islam could lead a broad following to the faith. Conversely, this strategy might entail localization of global Islamic expressive forms via absorption of vernacular literary and musical styles. Outside overtly religious contexts, in the broader realm of live musical entertainment, Islamic themes frequently emerge in Muslim areas; less constrained by context and more driven by market factors, these genres are even more multifarious, drawing more heavily on local musical tradition. With the rise of context-free broadcast and product media (e.g., radio, phonograms), Islamic music is commodified and embedded in a media space. Most of this output is distributed through local music media, while some is absorbed into a pan-Islamic media system, or into the global music media system (under the guise of “world music”), distributed via international festivals and recordings.

In recent times, however, such diversity – along with the use of “music” in word or deed – has been inhibited by globalization, which, through rapid mass dissemination of both pan-Islamic reformism and high-status sonic models has tended to contract the formerly broad range of practices to a great extent, either by condemning them as *bidʿa* (“heretical innovation”) or *ḥarām* (“forbidden”) or, less confrontationally, by providing more attractive, mass-mediated musical alternatives. Whether or not these alternatives are religious in character, they tend to crowd out more traditional practices through media prestige, and their greater compatibility with contemporary television-centered life, in which traditional live performance plays a smaller role than before.

Recurrent genres: ritual core

The ritual core is most tightly defined by standard Islamic discourse, and thus most universal; performance centers on standardized sacred Arabic texts clearly differentiated from poetry. Local traditions may be absorbed to a limited degree in the sonic and social aspect only. The word “music” is least likely to be applied here; musical instruments are almost never deployed, and regular meter is avoided in favor of a free, contemplative style.

The call to prayer: adhān

The *adhān* has Sunnī and Shīʿī variants. The Sunnī format shown in the following table is widespread and is based in *ḥadīth*. According to *fiqh* it must be audible to other than the caller (*muʾadhḍhin*), that time should be taken with it, including pauses between phrases, and that the caller should possess a strong and pleasant voice (Ibn al-Naqib 1999: 114–6).

Each phrase is performed in a single breath, repeated twice, except the final two which occur once only. The repetitive structure of the *adhān* is evidently designed for melodic recitation; whereas the first repetition is typically presented unadorned (thus ensuring communication), the second repetition is embellished with elaborate

Table 41.2 The Sunnī *adhān* as performed before the dawn prayer (other prayers omit line 6)

Phrase	Meaning
1 Allāhu akbar Allāhu akbar	God is greater
2 Ashhadu an lā ilāha illā Allāh	I testify that there is no deity but God
3 Ashhadu anna Muḥammad rasūl Allāh	I testify that Muḥammad is the messenger of God
4 Hayya 'alā 'l-ṣalāh	Come to prayer!
5 Hayya 'alā 'l-falāh	Come to salvation!
6 al-ṣalātu khayrun min al-nawm	Prayer is better than sleep
7 Allāhu akbar Allāhu akbar	God is greater
8 lā ilāha illā Allāh	There is no deity but God.

melisma (thus ensuring feeling). Long melismas occur primarily on the letters in boldface.

Sonic aspects of the *adhān* are carried by oral tradition, yet certain features are nearly universal. The usual ideal is a highly melismatic, ornamented, ametric vocal solo. An Arabic *maqām* (melodic mode), most commonly Hijaz or Rast, is typically used (see fig. 43). Melodies outline the *maqām*, developing the lower registers, then the upper, particularly during the second repetition of each phrase. Phrase contours are standardized. More complex presentations utilizing multiple *maqāmāt* (see Shannon 2006: 190–1) or *mu'adhdhin* also occur. The Egyptian style predominates throughout the Sunnī world, due to the influence of al-Azhar University, and Egypt's long-standing media power. In modern times, amplification creates a striking aleatoric polyphony in urban areas, due to extensive overlap of *mu'adhdhins*' vastly expanded sound-spheres.

Localizations occur as well. In Turkey, the *adhān* sounds Turkish; in Iran, Persian modes (*dastgah*) and ornaments (e.g., *tahrīr*) are employed. The surging *adhān* of the *masjid al-ḥarām*, the vast mosque enclosing the Ka'ba in Mecca, is instantly recognizable. Certain religious movements proscribe the melodically elaborate styles on ideological grounds. In southeast Asia a drum (*bedug*) has also been used to call to prayer.

Qur'anic recitation: tilāwa

All observant Muslims practice Qur'anic recitation (*tilāwa*), at least in prayer (*ṣalāt*), while the specialist (*qārī*, *ḥāfiẓ*) dominates public recitation. Recitation includes fixed and variable parameters. The underlying written text, the *muṣṣhaf*, is fixed, as are recitational rules (*ahkām al-tajwīd*) governing phonetics, phrasing, syllable length, and tempo. However, the authoritative *muṣṣhaf* (codified under Caliph 'Uthmān) lacks diacritical marks specifying vowels and differentiating many letters. Variant readings (*qirā'āt*) developed through oral tradition, supposed by Muslims to be grounded in the seven dialectical versions (*ahruf*) revealed to the Prophet.

Other free parameters allow the same passage to be recited in many ways. In par-



Figure 43(a) A simplified notation of the last two phrases of the *adhān* in *maqām* Bayyati, performed by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hilbāwī. The symbol 'd' indicates a half-flat (quarter tone flat).

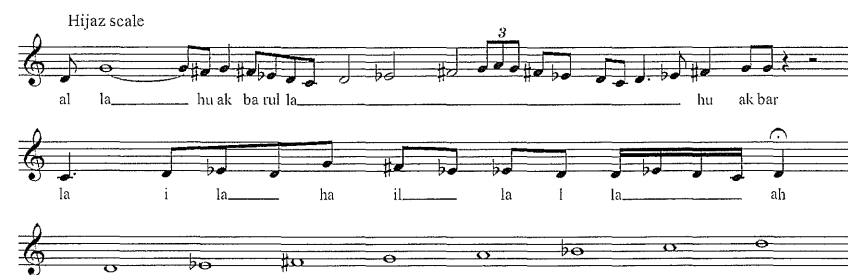


Figure 43(b) A simplified notation of the last two phrases of the *adhān* in *maqām* Hijaz, performed by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hilbāwī. Note that the phrases are nearly identical; only the pitch set is different.



Figure 43(c) A simplified notation of the last two phrases of the *adhān* in *maqām* Rast, performed by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hilbāwī.

ticular, timbral and melodic aspects are highly variable. Carried by oral tradition, they have allowed distinctive styles to emerge reflecting contextual factors, as well as regional, or ideological traditions. Many *ḥadīths* suggest the permissibility and desirability of beautiful recitations, and this beauty is generally interpreted to include melodiousness. The Prophet himself said, "He who does not recite the Qur'ān tune-

fully is not one of us" (Nawawi 1989: 187), but the *ḥadīth* does not elaborate the nature of this "tunefulness."

Normatively, Qur'anic recitation must be ametric (lacking periodic rhythm), strictly vocal, and improvised; human melody beautifies Divine text without any fixed association with it. Attempts to set Qur'anic verses to fixed music have been roundly condemned by religious authorities. However, recordings have effected such associations, enabling memorization of fixed melodies. Around the world, reciters can replicate famous recordings by Shaykh 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ. The rise of mass media has also tended to contract the variety of oral tradition.

The two primary contextual styles are the elaborate *mujawwad* and the faster, simpler *murattal*. The former has evolved as the preferred style for listening, while the latter is used primarily in prayer and study. Both styles are melodic, but conservatives sometimes criticize *mujawwad* as overly musical. *Mujawwad* features ornate melody, lengthy melismas, full development of the *maqām*, modulations to related *maqāmāt*, frequent repetition of passages in new melodic settings, and long pauses between breath-phrases, culminating in a powerful cadence (*qafḥa*), eliciting listeners' verbal and gestural feedback, and helping to build emotion in dialog with the reciter.

Egyptian reciters have exerted the greatest worldwide influence. There are several reasons for this: (1) al-Azhar University, where students from throughout the Sunni world study recitation; (2) the wide travels of Egyptian reciters; and (3) early development of audio mass media, including *tilāwa* broadcasts and recordings. Since the 1990s, a Saudi recitational style has gained worldwide influence. Both Egyptian and Saudi reciters use Arab *maqāmāt*, but differ stylistically.

Formerly local traditions arose, and some persist. For instance in Central Asia an "international" *tilāwa* style is contrasted with local ones resembling folk melodies; Bukharan styles have been considered exemplary and widely disseminated in the region. In West Africa one may find entirely different melodic patterns. A solo ametric voice is most common in performance, but metered or corporate chanting occurs too, for instance in the distinctive Berber *tolba* of Morocco.

Ad'iyya

Supplications to God, *ad'iyya* (singular *du'ā'*), indicating and promoting faith, are an essential form of Islamic worship (Qur'ān 2:186, 40:60). Standard *ad'iyya* are provided by *ḥadīth*, the Qur'ān, and traditional usage. Two especially common themes are the *istighfār* (request for forgiveness), and *ṣalawāt* (requests that God bless the Prophet, his family and companions). Free-form supplications allow a wide range of topics, including political *ad'iyya* calling for liberation of occupied Muslim territories (e.g., Chechnya, Palestine). *Du'ā'* recited by a prayer leader before a group is responsorial. An expressive melodic intonation is often employed; the leader's *du'ā'* is assumed vicariously by the group, who answer each supplicatory phrase with *āmin* (cf. "amen").

In the Arab world the highest level of melodic elaboration occurs in *ibtihālāt*, a genre of *inshād* combining prose prayer with poetry. But other public performances feature melodic elaboration as well, especially the congregational *qunūt* (performed in the second dawn *raq'a*, and after night prayers, during *witr*). During Ramaḍān the

qunūt, full of fear and hope, can be extended to nearly an hour, becoming highly expressive and often eliciting mass weeping.

Ritual periphery: poetic texts – *inshād*

Intoned recitation of poetry as a religious act is termed *inshād dīnī* (or *nashīd*; pl. *anāshīd*) in Arabic; around the Islamic world a wide range of terms (e.g. *ilāhī* in Turkey, *nasyid* in Southeast Asia, *qawwālī* in South Asia, *zikir* in parts of Southeast Asia) are used for semantically equivalent or subordinate categories. *Inshād dīnī* is a form of supererogatory worship (*nāfila*), also serving pedagogical and affective functions. Lying outside the ritual core, drawing upon poetic texts, and often performed outside the mosque, it enjoys greater aesthetic flexibility, and interacts more freely with local music. *Inshād* is always performed tonally, and musical style varies.

Inshād is especially important in Sūfī orders, where poetry is generally regarded as the ideal vehicle for expressing spiritual knowledge and feeling. Spiritual guides often compose poetry, and performance of one's *shaykh's* poetry affirms devotion to him, regardless of content. While classical Arabic is widely distributed, poetry often appears in other languages, including Arabic vernaculars, Islamicate languages of the core (Persian, Turkish, Urdu), and periphery (e.g., Hausa, Malay). Unlike *tilāwa*, *inshād* derives spiritual, emotional, and pedagogical force from linguistic intimacy.

Despite localizations of musical style and language, forms – such as *qaṣīda* (monorhyme poem) and *rubā'ī* (quatrain) – cross language boundaries, and themes recur everywhere: praise for God (*ḥamd*, *takbīr*, *tasbīḥ*, *tamjīd*) or the Prophet (*madīḥ*, *madḥ*, *na't*, *durūd*), supplication to God (*ibtihāl*) or the Prophet (*tawassul*, *istighātha*, *madad*), and love for God (*al-ḥubb al-ilāhī*), or the Prophet (*madīḥ*, *ghazal*). Sūfīs compose similar poems for their spiritual guides (*shaykhs*, *pīrs*, saints), the Shī'a for their Imāms, and both for the Prophet's family, the *ahl al-Bayt*.

Other poetic genres are narrative (e.g., *mawlid*, a panegyric biography of the Prophet), theological (*tawḥīd*), legal (*fiqh*), or exhortative (*wa'z*, *ḥikma*). Sūfī poems express the mystical experience: gnosis (*ma'rifa*), love and longing (*ghazal*), or spiritual intoxication (*khamriyya*); many of these are thought to have been composed while in a state of mystical love (*'ishq*), trance (*ḥāl*), or even Divine union (*ittiḥād*, *wisāl*), states also invoked by performed poetry.

Particular poems and poets renowned throughout the Muslim world deserve mention. These include two *mawlid* poems – *al-Burda* and *al-Hamziyya* – in praise of the Prophet by an Egyptian, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Būsīrī (d. 1212), the *mawlid* of Jāfar ibn Ḥasan al-Barzanjī (d. 1765), and the mystical poetry of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273).

Traditionally *inshād* is performed at the periphery of core rituals (e.g., before or after prayer), at festivals, and to accompany mystical practices. Each region of the Islamic world boasts its distinctive genres and styles. However, localizations have recently been attenuated by the impact of mass media, especially religious programming on satellite television, radio and Internet, together with reformist ideologies condemning traditional *inshād* practices as *bid'a*. New music media tend to popularize fewer, more widely disseminated styles carrying high cultural capital, at the expense of local, live performance.

Prose texts: prayers

Prayers substantially consisting of prose have often been developed, mainly by Šūfīs, to serve supererogatory rituals. These texts, often recited melodically, include *ṣalawāt*, *istighfār* (“penitential prayers”) and *ḥizb* (“office”). A few such texts have transcended Šūfī boundaries, to be widely recited throughout the Islamic world. The most famous of these are probably the *ṣalawāt* entitled *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* (“The Waymarks of Benefits”) by the Moroccan Muḥammad Sulayman al-Jazūlī (d. 1465), and the *Ḥizb al-baḥr* (“Sea Office”) of Abū ’l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 1258), both widely recited for their spiritual benefits.

The following (translated by the author) is one of the shortest of 40 *ṣalawāt* composed by Shaykh Šāliḥ al-Jāfarī (1910–78) of Egypt, in rhyming Arabic prose (*saḥf*), recited melodically during the evening *ḥaḍra*.

Oh God, bless our master Muḥammad, pure of hearts
Full of love for the Lord of Worshippers
Possessor of comprehensive words, beneficial knowledge, and radiant lights
Your bringer of glad tidings
Your warner
Your illuminating lamp
Most successful of the fortunate
Best of those who call to piety
And upon his family, and give them peace.

Islamic music in context: ritual core

If genres are the morphemes of Islamic music, contexts generate the utterances. Certain genres are distributed throughout most contexts, while others are more specialized. Congregational prayer features a sequence of genres. *Mujawwad tilāwa* often comes first. The *mu’adhdhin* may precede *adhān* with solo ametric *inshād* supplications (*ibtihālāt*), especially at dawn, and follow it with *ṣalawāt*. Before Friday prayer (*ṣalāt al-jum’a*) there may be more *mujawwad*, followed by a second *adhān*. *Ṣalāt* proper comprises a series of *raq’āt* (“bowings”), including *murattal* Qur’anic recitation performed aloud during the first two (except for noon and afternoon prayer), and other formulae (*takbīr*, *tasmī’*, *taslīm*) pronounced melodically by the *imām* (“prayer leader”). A *muballigh*, if present, repeats these formulae more ornately. A melodic *du’ā’* may be inserted in the final *raq’a*. The *imām* often follows prayer with a melodic recitation of formulae (*khitām al-ṣalāt*), after which *mujawwad* recitation may resume. ‘Id prayers are preceded by a melodic chant called *takbīr*, which glorifies God.

Ritual periphery: Šūfī performance

Following al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), Sufism is generally tolerant of certain kinds of music carrying spiritual messages, if used by the spiritually mature under the proper conditions. Music performance transforms through poetry, sound, breathing techniques, and associated physical movement. Within Šūfī *ṭuruq*, formal rituals – generally

called *ḥaḍra* (“presence”) – are used to promote spiritual development, and to ensure the viability of the *ṭarīqa* as a social community. Each *ṭarīqa* typically performs one or two *ḥaḍras* per week. Melodic language performance is central to such rituals.

Ḥaḍra usually features solo, responsorial, or corporate *inshād*, as well as a number of non-poetic genres including *tilāwa*, *ad’iyya*, *ḥizb*, and *ṣalawāt*, performed in a melodic style. Such performance is sometimes called *samā’* (listening). Another fixture is *dhikr*: regular rhythmic chanting of divine names, often accompanied by movement, and sometimes leading to ecstatic trance (*wajd*, *ḥāl*). *Inshād* and *dhikr* may be performed together, or separately. Instrumental accompaniment may occur. Though frame drums (sometimes with reed flutes) are often preferred, and some *ṭarīqa* reject instruments altogether, others absorb local instruments into the mix, particularly when performing outside the mosque. The quantity of public music, movement and ecstatic behavior is an index of *ṭarīqa* doctrine, and of its strategies for self-presentation.

Despite common purposes, meanings, and genres, *ḥaḍras* may contrast sharply, resulting from the absorption of local culture, and variant approaches towards the twin problems of spiritual development, and social continuity (see fig. 45). Two contrastive *ḥaḍra* liturgies are shown below. The first is from the contemporary Egyptian *ṭarīqa*, the *Jāfariyya Aḥmadiyya Muḥammadiyya*, founded in 1979. Linked to the reformer Aḥmad ibn Idrīs (d. 1837), the *ṭarīqa* is outwardly conservative, yet musical. The founder, Shaykh Šāliḥ al-Jāfarī, composed 12 volumes of poetry, used in *ḥaḍra*. One or two soloists sing a poem, with choral refrain from the congregation; all remain seated and no instruments are employed. Occasional pentatonic singing indicates Sudanese influence.



Figure 44 The weekly *ḥaḍra* of the Jāfariyya *ṭarīqa*, Darasa, Cairo, in February 1998. (Photo by M. Frishkopf)

- 1 Non-poetic recitations (~1 hour)
 - a Collective recitation of *al-Fātiḥa* (Qur'ān 1)
 - b Recitation of *ṣalawāt, du'ā'*.
 - c Recitation of prayer by Aḥmad ibn Idrīs
 - d Recitation of *ad'iyya* composed by Shaykh Ṣālīḥ
- 2 Night prayer (*al-ʿishā'*) (~30 minutes)
- 3 *Inshād* recitations (~2.5 hours)
Around 15 long *qasīdas* (poems) by Shaykh Ṣālīḥ.
- 4 Conclusion (15 minutes)
 - a *Ad'iyya*
 - b Closing prayers
 - c Final *qasīda*

The following is the form of ritual liturgy (*samā'*, *ayin* or *mukabele*) in a Turkish *ṭarīqa*, the Mevlevi. Firmly established by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's son, Sultan Veled (d. 1312), it eventually rose to great prominence at the Ottoman court, diffusing throughout the Ottoman world. The Mevlevi *ayin* comprises a variety of instrumental and vocal compositions. Most poetry is Persian, often by Rūmī himself. Mevlevi composers would set the four *salams* ("greetings") as a suite. A rich ensemble may include *ney* (reed flute), *kudüm* (kettle drums), *bendir* (frame drums), *tanbur* (plucked lute), *rebab* (bowed lute), and *halile* (cymbals). In Turkey, Mevlevi rituals were halted by Kemal Mustafa Atatürk in 1925, but recently have begun to revive.

- 1 *Nā'at-i serif*, an ametric solo *madīḥ* for the Prophet. The poem is by Rūmī; the melody (in *makām Rast*) by Buhuriz Itri (d. 1712)
- 2 *Taksim* (improvisation) on *ney* (reed flute)
- 3 *Pesrev* (instrumental piece, using 56/4 meter), while dervishes circle and salute
- 4 *Salam-i Evvel* (first greeting; poetry by Rūmī sung by chorus in 14/8 meter)
- 5 *Salam-i Sani* (second greeting; poetry by Rūmī; in 9/8)
- 6 *Salam-i Salis* (third greeting; Mevlevi poetry; several meters, increasing tempo)
- 7 *Salam-Rabi'* (fourth greeting; Mevlevi poetry; in 9/8)
- 8 *Son pesrev* (instrumental piece, in 4/4)
- 9 *Son yuruk semā'i* (instrumental piece, in 6/8)
- 10 *Taksim* (instrumental improvisation)
- 11 *Tilawa* (dancing stops)

Ṣūfī music often draws upon local culture. Thus music of Sudanese Qādirīs sounds Sudanese; in East Africa, the same *ṭarīqa* spread among the non-literate population via colloquial devotional poetry. South Asian *ṭarīqas*, such as the Chishtīyya, draw upon Hindustani musical materials.

Some Ṣūfī musicians are professionals, performing Ṣūfī musical traditions outside the *ṭarīqa ḥaḍra* at festival occasions. Freed from the constraints of the *ṭarīqa* and its *shaykh*, such performances become musically richer, bordering on secular music, and feature more ecstatic behavior. Examples include professional Ṣūfī *inshād* of Egypt (e.g., Shaykh Yāsīn al-Tuhāmī), and professional *qawwālī* of Pakistan and India

(e.g., Nusrat Fatih Ali Khan), most closely associated with the Chishtīyya *ṭarīqa* but drawing on Hindustani *khiyal*. Since the early twentieth century such popular Ṣūfī performances have been mediated and commodified.

Festivals: holidays

Performance during Islamic holidays, more informal than the ritual core, and often occurring outside the mosque, exhibits a wider range of genres, drawing more heavily on local music cultures, synthesized with distinctive Islamicate instruments and styles. Increasingly, Arab Islamic culture is held up as the ideal. Combined effects of reformism and mass media have greatly shrunk the sphere of live performance, which however is maintained by Ṣūfīs.

Ramaḍān

At sunset, percussion, such as the Javanese *bedug* (bass drum) or Uzbek *naghara* (kettledrums), has been used to mark the fast's conclusion. Evenings, professional reciters perform *tilāwa*; *inshād* celebrates Ramaḍān, the Qur'ān, and the Prophet, and supplicates God. In Kano, royal Hausa musicians perform *Gaisuwar barka da shan ruwa* during the final ten nights. At dawn, street music rouses the devout for their pre-dawn meal (*sahūr*). In Marrakech, *ghaita* (oboe) and *nfir* (trumpet) play melodies based on religious chants from mosque minarets. In Egypt, the *masahharātī* awakens the faithful by calling names and chanting religious formulae, accompanied by a small drum (*baza*). In the Philippines a drum marks the fast's onset. Among the Dagbamba (Northern Ghana), a *jenjili* (musical bow) player circulates at dawn, playing and singing.

ʿĪd

Ḥadīth indicate that the Prophet permitted musical celebrations during ʿĪd. Consequently, ʿĪd *al-Fitr* and ʿĪd *al-Aḍḥā* are traditionally full of music. *Inshād* style varies widely. Thus monophonic ʿĪd songs in Egypt contrast with polyphony of the Rasha'ida, an Arab tribe of Eritrea. In Java a gong orchestra is used. Hausa beat the kettle-drum to signal the ʿĪd, and elaborate ʿĪd festival music continues to be performed there by court musicians (*maroka*). Spectacular all-night drum history narrations, involving a lead singer-drummer supported by a chorus of up to a hundred others, and climaxing in a dance (*bangumanga*), are performed among the Dagbamba of Ghana.

Ḥajj

The embarkation and return of pilgrims to Mecca is a joyous annual celebration. *Inshād* called *zikir* is performed in peninsular Malaysia, with frame drum (*rebana*) accompaniment. In Sumatra *diki Mauluk*, remembering the Prophet, is performed. Yoruba women used to welcome returning Muslims with *waka* songs (from Hausa *wak'a*, "song"), evincing Arab influence (melismatic, nasal, embellished), accompanied by metallic idiophones (*seli*). Returning pilgrims from the Khatmiyya *ṭarīqa* in

Sudan are expected to sponsor a special collective ritual (*karama*) in their honor. Today, mediated music is also recycled for folk use. Thus, in Egypt, families might sing a film song popularized by actress Layla Murad “*Yā Rayihin lil-Nabī al-Ghālī*.”

Mawlid al-Nabī

Despite criticism from reformers, the day and month of the Prophet’s birthday (12 *Rabiʿ al-awwal*) is celebrated throughout the Islamic world via musical performances of biographical panegyric texts (also called *mawlid*), as well as *madīh* and other *inshād*. Often the *mawlid* (Arabic “birth”; elsewhere known as *milad*, *mawlud*, *mevlut*, *mulud*, etc.) is performed for life-cycle occasions too, or even as a weekly devotion. The *Mawlids* of al-Busīrī and al-Barzanjī are performed throughout the Islamic world. Many Šūfī *shaykhs* compose *mawlids* for use in their orders.

Local languages and poetic forms, as well as socio-musical resources, are also expressed during *mawlid*. The Turkish *Mevlid* of Suleymān Čelebī (d. 1422) became part of the official Ottoman *mawlid* celebration, and is still widely performed in Turkey today. In northern Ghana, the week-long Damba festival includes traditional singing, drumming, and dancing honoring the Prophet, and the chief. In Java a sacred *gamelan* (gong-chime ensemble) called Sekaten (probably from “*shahāda-tayn*,” the Muslim confession of faith) is played for the *mulud*, to call people to the mosque. Some of the most elaborate *mawlid* performances are found in coastal East Africa.

Saint festivals

Muslim saints (*awliyāʾ*, *pīr*) are celebrated in annual festivals called *mawlid* (“birth”), *ʿurs* (“wedding”), or *mawsim* (“season”), centered on the shrine (*maqām*). Šūfī orders celebrate their founder-saints with expanded versions of musical *ṭarīqa* traditions. Most festivals are public occasions, inviting general community participation, socially and sonically open; instruments and ecstatic behaviors are common. The music of saint festivals includes *ṭarīqa* traditions of *inshād* and *dhikr*, along with professional Šūfī musical traditions. As always, *madīh* is central.

Saint festivals may also draw upon the wider range of local music, which develops religious meanings in context. Spectacular processions, including music, often mark celebratory commencements or conclusions. Enormous *mawlids* in Egypt incorporate musical diversity, from Šūfī *inshād*, to secular folk traditions. Music praises Moulay Idris at his Moroccan festival, while Amadou Bamba enjoys musical pride of place during the Grand Maggal, an annual Mouride pilgrimage to his birthplace, Touba in Senegal.

Since Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792), Islamic reformism has taken a particularly strong stand against saint veneration (considered *shirk*, “polytheism”), and therefore these celebrations are on the decline in many areas (most notably in Saudi Arabia itself), though they still enjoy mass popularity.

ʿAshurā

Among the Shīʿa, ʿ*Ashurā* commemorates the martyrdom of the Imām Ḥusayn and his family at Karbala. In the period leading up to this occasion, the Ithnā-ʿasharī (“Twelver”) Shīʿa convene for the *majlis* (mourning assembly) held in a *Ḥusayniyya* or *Imāmbāra*, as well as outdoor processions and gatherings. Various genres of hymns are performed, including elegy (*marsiya*), eulogy (*salām*), lament (*nawha*, *soz*), dirge (*nawha*, *matam*). The passion play (*tāziyya*), dramatizing events of Karbala, symbolizes the struggle of good and evil, accompanied by programmatic music from singers, drum, trumpet, flute, and cymbals. In Iran, the *rowzehkhan* (preacher) narrates the story of the martyrdom, triggering mass weeping. In South Asia assembly hymns as well as evocative outdoor drumming is performed.

Festivals: life-cycle

Unlike holidays, most life-cycle contexts – births, circumcisions, weddings, and funerals – are not unique to Muslims. Here, then, one finds accumulation and retention of a greater variety of non-religious and pre-Islamic genres and musical features, resulting in complex convergences, synergies, and syncretisms between Islamic styles (as marked by text and sound) and popular ones. One generally observes greater liberality in use of musical instruments, musical sounds, dance, and mixing of the sexes, and participation of ordinary professional musicians.

Inshād, especially *madīh*, is widely performed for all life-cycle events. Often a Šūfī *ḥaḍra* or *mawlid* (e.g., of al-Barzanjī) is performed; the latter is common in Arab Gulf countries. Malaysian *Rodat*, in praise of the Prophet, was also performed at weddings. In Sumatra, *salawat dulang*, using metal trays for percussion, contains sung sermons, which may be set to popular songs and performed at weddings. In Egypt, *inshād* performed for circumcisions, weddings, or memorials may incorporate popular Arabic songs and instruments. Hausa Bandiri music transforms Hindi film songs into *madīh nabawī*. In Kenya, a birth may be celebrated with *mawlid* performance. The Songhoi (Niger) circumcision ritual (prayers, songs, *tilawa*, dancing and drumming) fuses Islamic and pre-Islamic performance elements, illustrating how functional homology creates pathways for continuity and syncretism.

Spirit ritual contexts

Though many Muslims denounce spirit possession rituals as “pagan” (*wathnī*), in Islamic regions such rituals evince Islamic features, typically by associating spirits with elements of Islamic cosmology (*jinn* or saints), recognizing a class of “Muslim spirits,” or assimilating with Sufism. While women are peripheral in most *ṭarīqas*, they often play a principal role here. Spirit rituals often draw upon sub-Saharan African musical structures (polyrhythmic percussion, and pentatonicism), center on spiritual therapy (via exorcism or propitiation), and frequently feature ecstasy, self-mortification, and possession. Particular melodic or rhythmic patterns may placate particular spirits. Yet Islamic *madīh* are sung as well.

Examples of this include the Moroccan *derdeba* or *lila* and Algerian *dīwān* performed by *Gnawas* (claiming descent from the Prophet’s Ethiopian muezzin, Bilāl);

the parallel *stambeli* of Tunisia; and the *ḥaḍra* of the Moroccan *Hamādsha*. In Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia, *zār* performances include Muslim spirits, and feature *madīḥ*.

Mediated Islamic music

With the rise of mass music media – beginning with early twentieth-century phonograms – new modes of commodified production and consumption were enabled, transforming the sound and meaning of Islamic music. Mass media tend both to replace traditional performance, and to standardize it, according to high-value models. While cassettes (in the 1970s) greatly extended the musical influence of mass media, until recently most distribution was regional.

Since the 1990s, a studio-produced style called *nashīd* or *anāshīd*, has been globally disseminated via satellite television and Internet, carrying the ethos of Islamic reformism. While traditional themes of praise and supplication remain, new ones – political or social – are also taken up, in keeping with reformism's more socially engaged worldview.

Conservative performers avoid instruments, though often admitting all percussion as a rule. Such *inshād* is restrained, with little improvisation or elaborate melisma, yet modernized through digital processing, harmonization, and music videos. One of the most media-savvy voices is that of the Kuwaiti Mashārī Rashīd al-'Afasī (b. 1976), who also recites Qur'ān and *adīyya*, serves as *imām* of Kuwait's Grand Mosque, and even owns his own religious television station (al-'Afasī TV).

The work of others is closer to popular music, often incorporating melodic instruments, and featuring contemporary arrangements, inflected by pop style, regional and international. Such performers include the British-Azeri Sami Yusuf, Zain Bhikha from South Africa, Mesut Kurtis from Macedonia, the Indonesian Haddad Alwi and the phenomenal Malaysian boy band, Raihan.

Islamic versions of Western popular music genres, usually created by Muslims living in the West, maintain musical style, while inserting Islamic texts and intentions. Examples include Islamic hip hop (Amir Sulayman), Islamic punk rock (Taqwacore), Islamic folk-rock (Dawud Wharmsby Ali), even Islamic country (Karim Salama). These musics tend to engage social issues afflicting diasporic Muslim communities such as discrimination and drug use, while addressing non-Muslims as well.

A different category of mediated Islamic music is that which is marketed for a non-Muslim audience, as a form of "world music." A number of "ethnographic" recordings of traditional Islamic music are available. Other "world Islamic music" is more market-driven. The bulk of world Islamic music emphasizes exoticism and spirituality, prioritizing music over text, while avoiding Islamic puritanism. Such attitudes are most plentiful in Sūfī music and spirit rituals – precisely what the new *nashīd* rejects. Examples include Hassan Hakmoun (Gnawa fusion), Hamza 'Ala al-Din (Nubian Sūfī), Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan's *qawwālī* fusions, and Mercan Dede, inspired by Mevlevi music.

Interactions

Conceptual boundaries notwithstanding, it is clear that interactions between Islamic music and the broader music field have always been extensive. Islamic music and

themes have influenced music generally. Throughout the world, singers-to-be first studied *tilāwa* in a Qur'ān school (*kuttāb*), or performed in Sūfī orders. The high status of religious music also tended to set aesthetic norms and establish legitimacy. Groups of composers and performers affiliated with Sūfī religious organizations (e.g., the Mevlevi, the 'Isāwiyya) functioned as virtual music conservatories for art music. *Adhān*, *tilāwa* and *du'ā'* have infused Arab vocal style throughout Muslim Africa. American hip hop incorporates a wide range of Islamic messages, as does popular music in Senegal. In the reverse direction, core recitations absorbed local music, in its timbral, tonal, and temporal aspects. Outside the core ritual contexts, traditional religious music often assimilated local instruments and non-religious music genres and styles.

A contemporary decrease in interactions is due to several factors. Secular education means that Qur'anic training is less common, while Islamic reformism discourages music. The mass media have played a dual role, encouraging Islamic reform and disseminating the new mediated Islamic music on specialized channels, while underlying the emergence of a system of music commodification in which Islamic music – far less marketable than female-centered dance hits – is relatively marginalized. Thus the broad social role Islamic music once enjoyed has contracted considerably, even as diversity has diminished. However core ritual and Sūfī *ḥaḍra*, together with the new Islamic mass media, ensure its continued presence throughout the Islamic world.

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42

CINEMA

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Gönül Dönmez-Colin

Islam is practiced by almost one-and-a-half billion adherents around the world from Africa to the Middle East and Central, South and Southeast Asia and its numbers are growing significantly in North America and Europe. Traditions, cultural practices and historical factors differ both within nation-states and larger cultural communities, and consequently, have played a significant role in the establishment and evolution of cinema. A study of cinema throughout the Islamic world suggests homogeneity, which is not the position of this chapter. Even "the world of Islam" is problematic from this point of view: Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, the Maghrib countries in North Africa are linked by a common religion; however, this is not the case, for instance, in sub-Saharan Africa. In some of the dominantly "Islamic" countries such as Egypt, landmark works have been accomplished by non-Muslim filmmakers such as Youssef Chahine who have brought valuable insight to spiritual and practical aspects of the Muslim faith and the dichotomy that may exist between the two. In the Middle East, the non-Arab countries Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, although sharing a common religion, differ significantly in culture and tradition from the Arab world and even from each other. This chapter thus employs a regional approach for practical purposes, which does not endorse any notion that these regions constitute homogeneous identities although transnational elements arising from shared histories in collective memory do exist and are manifest in cultural interpretations, one prominent one being the trauma of colonization.

The first film experiences of most countries where Islam is practiced as the majority religion were through Westerners and/or Western productions. Where colonialism reigned, the colonial minority produced a majority of the films using the media for their colonial aims and often presenting indigenous people as uncivilized and barbaric or simply infantile while glorifying the Europeans and their achievements. In return, one may argue that cinemas of different nations have carried the influences of the respective colonizers.

Sub-Saharan Africa

The initial encounter with cinema in Sub-Saharan Africa was based on the didactic role of film and this was supported by the colonial regimes. Following liberation in the 1960s, cinema was envisaged as a serious political weapon that could promote social change by drawing attention to socio-political issues and the filmmaker was almost designated with the characteristics of a traditional storyteller (*griot*) as pointed