

with several *bàtá* drummers, among them Chief Alhaji Rábiù Ayándòkun who would eventually become her main collaborator, both in Nigeria and in the UK during her fellowship at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. It was soon clear to her that she would not attempt to write another tutor for the *bàtá* drum, but embark on an “analysis of the drummed speech surrogacy system and *ẹnà bàtá*, the coded spoken language of *bàtá* drummers” (p. 10).

So, what exactly is the meaning of *ẹnà*? — Villepastour writes (p. 91) that it “is a generic term for code-talking” and that it “implies some form of secrecy or exclusion of certain people...”. Obviously, it is something like a set of expressions, with lexical items that have special meanings, that are group-internal. In a sense, languages by secret societies (although *bàtá* is not part of any Yorùbá secret society, such as *ogboni* etc.) could also belong here, even “gang languages” in the West. It is however, important to understand that *ẹnà bàtá* is not a special language as such, it is Yorùbá, but certain words are used with special symbolic meanings. As to the purpose of *ẹnà bàtá*, the author of this study clarifies that “for contemporary *alubàtá*” (that is those who play *bàtá*, the expert performers) “speaking *ẹnà* appears to be less about protecting ritual secrets and more about asserting a common lineage identity” (p. 91). A most important discovery by the author, resulting from her studies was that “*ẹnà bàtá* encodes Yorùbá syllables with the vocables used to transmit strokes on the *bàtá*” (p.91). A rudimentary scheme of these “vocables” or mnemonics is found on page 104.

Although the author modestly states that she was not someone with particular training in linguistics, the book is a most important contribution not only to the study of *bàtá* message drumming, but to the study of the Yorùbá language, its representations on “talking” instruments, and many adjoining areas of research, including the organology of the *bàtá* set and Yorùbá culture history in general.

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Memory, Music and Religion: Morocco’s Mystical Chanters. Earl H. Waugh. 2005. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press. xix, 260 pp. illustrations, musical examples, glossary, index. ISBN-10 1570035679. ISBN-13 9781570035678.

A survey of various catalogues and web sites reveals that there are a large number of books on Sufism and music. Many of them exploit the current fixation with esoteric spirituality in the west, while others pursue a direction, of which Qureshi’s (1986) pioneering book on Sufi music in India and Pakistan, is a significant example. Her book, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in Qawwali*, reveals the complex world of the Sufi movement and the role and function of music in worshipping and creating a community of listeners who draw on symbolic meanings, which may have preceded the advent of Islam in those countries. Qureshi’s book, the first western scholarly music ethnography of Sufi music, is all the more interesting since

she conducted research in a community characteristically dominated by men. Another woman reporting on music in the Sufi/Gnawa tradition in Morocco is Deborah Kapchan, whose book (2007) is a recent affirmation of Qureshi's work.

Waugh's book, on the other hand, is not intended as an ethnography of music. Waugh is a historian of religion, but has made the acoustemology of sound pivotal to his investigation of a religious movement associated with Islam in a country often perceived as fundamentalist and authoritarian. For this reason, this book, which adds to Waugh's corpus of research on Sufism in northern Africa, may by a short stretch of the imagination be considered an ethnography of sound and religion. It follows up on his previous work, *The Munshudin of Egypt: Their World and their Song*, published in 1989. The historical depth of *Memory, Music and Religion*, its firm grasp of the religion and associated texts, makes this volume a serious contribution to the ethnography of music and performance cultures in Africa. The breadth of secondary materials used, some dating from the eleventh century, contextualized within contemporary Sufi performance practices, lends the book a sense of authority and currency. This body of information is framed in the solid fieldwork undertaken by the author. The book confirms Stobart's observation that it is 'striking how a small proportion of research featuring music is actually completed by ethnomusicologists', and obliquely, that scholars in other fields, mainly anthropology, remain oblivious to the work of ethnomusicologists (2008: 6-13).

Memory, Music and Religion has eight chapters, an appendix, an extensive 13-page glossary, and standard features such as notes, a bibliography and index. There are several transcriptions of music, prepared by the author's son, and one photograph. The transcriptions of melodies and rhythms of the Sufi's ritual of remembrance (*dhikr*) reveal complicated rhythms in some and ornamented melodies. They also suggest the desire of the author towards obtaining additional clarity about Sufism through transcriptions of musical sound.

In the Preface, Waugh starts by providing the reader valuable insights into the power and uses of memory; what memory represents and its uses within the context of the Sufi community under investigation. He describes the book as a study of a group of people for whom remembering is the ritual of life. They express the view that conscious activation of their memory's powers engages them with a reality beyond the ability to articulate by other means. Waugh cogently argues that it is 'the style and content of memory that betrays us, limits us, and finally provides us with meaning, shaping our perceptions of time' (xiii). Memory and time he considers a continuum with the reflections of Sufi adherents. There is also a reflexive moment: Waugh writes he had to ask why he was doing this research and what it said about him and the western culture that informed his methodology. There is the suggestion here of the allure of the exotic, but Waugh says the subject of Sufism interests him because Morocco is a cultural mix. Morocco has a variety of Islamic visions within it, and this situation encourages a movement into a new direction in religious studies, which comes across as multidisciplinary, since religion and music/sound are imbricated and

deeply involved in this historical narrative. With the understanding, of course, that the present is very much part of history making. Waugh cautions that the book is a tentative exploration of a viable and dynamic religious culture. The goal of the book is to attempt an understanding of the basic religio-cultural components of Morocco in and through the tradition of Sufi chanting, and by that means to enlist some insight into the construction of religion in a more universal sense.

In the first chapter there is more discussion on memory—which has a key role in all understandings of identity and collective existence, autobiographical memory, and the ability of music to carry religious memory into articulation. Memory is the crucial foundation for the *munshidun* (pl. for *munshid*, the lead chanter) who sees the music as a ritual form rooted in the collective past and carried on in the *dhikr* and *sam* (meditational song). Waugh goes on to describe the *munshid's* role as the provider of a ritually inspired text informed by musical intonation and founded upon the imagery of the Islamic past. In the second chapter, Waugh brings Islam's engagement with memory into greater focus. He considers memory as hegemonic and argues that memory drives much of Islam's experiential sensibilities. In the *dhikr*, for instance, many of the lyrics are influenced by popular songs and poetry. The *dhikr* is a secret activity made known to the public through ritual. Waugh traces its historical roots, citing what he calls Sufi savants in Morocco such as Qadir al-Jilani (1077-1166), and others. The chapter has a detailed description of the *dhikr* ceremony, where prayers with verses from the Quran are recited, and trance and movement prevail. The *dhikr* is seen as a succession of movement that unites body, mind, and self in a more fundamental manner than Western scholars have grasped, he writes. It embraces not only the movement within the rituals themselves, but configures attitudes of mind and displacement along with journeys of discovery and performance.

The third chapter deals with religious texts. The focus is on the shift from the strength of remembrance in the *dhikr* ritual to the content, themes, and motifs of Morocco's *munshidun* tradition. Waugh observes that ritualisation provides the platform for the role of the *munshidun* and that rituals transform Sufi memories into living texts. With reference to his discourse on memory, and its powers and enactment in the present, he says that there seems to be a process of continual renewing of the experiential life of a community through the ritual handling of the literary culture of the past. Thus the *munshidun's* roots extend well beyond Arabic confines to the perimeters of pre-Islamic Berber and African cultures. There is furthermore a difference between older and younger *munshidun* because the younger ones listen to tapes and copy the singer instead of writing down the songs and learning them from the teacher.

The following chapter describes Moroccan memory as an encoding system involving literary and artistic influences from Andalusia and Waugh argues that one cannot deal with the *munshid* tradition in Morocco without reference to its Andalusian heritage. He refers to this as a 'prized heritage'. With the fall of Andalusia (1492), Morocco inherited Spain's literary tradition. The relationship with the Middle East was revived as families in Morocco sent their sons to engage with Muslim culture

in the East. It was the superior poetry of Andalusia that continued to influence the Berber-Arab communities in the Maghrib, a region covering much of north Africa, for they adopted the popular forms and embraced it so fully that it became the classical tradition for their literary culture. This is different to Eastern Muslim countries, where the sophisticated classical Arabic of the court held sway. In this chapter there are several discussions around the music and its intimate relationship with poetry, recited extracts from the Quran, and the extant conflicts among different schools. The songs chanted by the various orders are called *nashid* or spiritual songs. Waugh finds that there is no uniform development of a textual tradition among Morocco's Sufis, and it is impossible to sketch it as one tradition with a single origin.

Building on ideas established in the first chapter, Chapter 5 deals with memory and time, that is, when the text is neither set in the time in which it is recited, nor is its moment confined to the past. Rather, the text represents a dimorphic time outside of normal time, and a powerful religious occurrence of the past present at the moment of a rehearsal. This chapter investigates Berber and Ginawa traditions, and introduces the influence of racial colour or ethnicity on Sufi traditions and performance practices.¹ Waugh observes that Africans in Morocco are intimately connected to the issue of colour in Islamic ideology. He goes on to describe the history of black Africans in Morocco, whose social life was characterised by forced labour and social displacement. Black Africans had been slaves from Roman times. Waugh goes on to discuss the Ginawa *munshid* tradition and identifies two kinds: the traditional trance-like one with dramatic *dhikr*, and the Ginawa tradition of the leading families near Meknes. Members of this *tariqa* (mystical orders of Sufis followers of specific Sufi saints) practice an ancient Ginawa in which the songs and music play a spiritual role and has a long genealogy of singing about religion. From pages 115-18 there is a long discussion on the music that may be attributed to the influence of black Africans. This chapter has first person narratives juxtaposed with biographical and historical materials that dig deep into the heart of Islam, Sufism, and the nature of their involvement with the ritualistic and performance aspects of this Islamic movement.

Chapter 6 deals extensively with the subject of music, and specifically, the music of the *munshidun*. Waugh's main question, one hackneyed in music scholarship but probably new to the author, is whether or not one can conceive of music in Islam. Assuming it does, he believes there is no doubt that music in Islam, and Sufism in particular, operates according to different rules than in the west. He cautions that Sufi music cannot be comprehended similar to other kinds of music because it is liturgical music. He goes on by providing an historical description of the origin of music in Moroccan Islam, observing that it was very popular in the Merinid period (1269-1465). Music and religion are closer in Moroccan Islamic consciousness than is generally acknowledged by (Muslim) ideologists. The image persists that music is frowned

¹ Waugh defines the Ginawa as African Sufi *tariqa*; a distinctive group focusing on black consciousness within Islam in North Africa; and Moroccan healing rites associated with mystical practices (199).

upon in Islam and that Muslims are generally opposed to it but music in Morocco has a complicated position since its origin is rooted in times and places no longer discernible. Furthermore, music has a hidden quality that does not necessarily justify the 'mysterious' label.

Waugh describes two forms of listening communities — in taxis providing music for western tourists and music for the local public, which reflects the common taste. There is extensive discussion in this chapter on music, including the tonal qualities of the language and its impact on music (124-5). There is a subheading of 'Music and the Sufi spiritual state' where he describes the dissemination of Sufi music on tapes, radio and television around the world. Further discussion revolves around the relationship between text and music; and the influences of classical *Qasida*, Arab popular, and secular music, on Sufi music. He describes the mobility of music from Andalusia to the Middle East and back to Morocco. Other influences are *Malhun* (with its overture and then the sung parts) and *Gharnati* (a suite of music referred to as *Nuba* and said to originate from Granada).

Another influence is the popular music deriving from singers like Umm Kulthum. There is a meticulous description of this style of music, describing one song performed in the prayer ceremony as beginning with 'Moroccan rhythm' then moving to the Eastern style and later returning to the Moroccan style. Other styles are popular and contemporary tunes or themes from children's dances or work songs. The role of women is discussed but the author reveals earlier in the book that he had not been able to meet with a woman *munshidun* (140-2). He concludes the chapter by writing that Sufi music is linked to Islamic awareness through *dhikr*, and also through the practical knowledge of handling challenges of everyday life. Further sections include 'Melodies of Musical Morocco', and the 'African contribution to Maghribian Sufi Music'. The chapter ends with a discussion of innovations in Sufi music, among which the portability of the cassette tape had become a dominant feature.

Chapter 7 is a discussion of a contemporary *munshid*, who Waugh describes as the Sufi master of a 'power' performance. The *munshid* is the bearer of transcendental knowledge and his goal is part of the process of 'activising' the memory. The chapter includes an interview with Muhammad Bennis, Morocco's best known *munshid*. There is a striking account of the complexity of music: from the different approaches to rhythm, for example, and Waugh asserting that Moroccan invocations of rhythm are more complex than that of its neighbours in the east. There are comments on performance style and audience participation. The introduction of cassette tapes in the promotion of Moroccan Sufi music and Sufi music has also been used to counter fundamentalist influence. In comparison to the others, Chapter 8 is brief, and focuses on the Moroccan *munshid* in his role as activating the resources of memory, and forwarding the argument that the religious character of memory guarantees the validity of the *munshid's* religion. Waugh claims that without memory nothing would be effective and that the *munshid* is the master of an 'ecology of consciousness called remembrance which is itself rooted in religious memory' (189). This ecology has several characteristics such as the return

to an exemplary, integrational foundation and mastering musical performance, among others.

It would be too ambitious for me to comment on the value of this work to religious studies, but from the perspective of music scholarship it is unusual that a historian of religion ends up writing a remarkable ethnography of music as well. It takes a certain degree of courage for someone not trained in the musical arts, or in music scholarship, to venture into the field of music studies in the Mediterranean basin and northern Africa, and then to present it with erudition and a meticulous approach to the subject. The fact that the Sufi movement cannot exist without musical incantation is argued for in no uncertain terms. The book moreover describes the allure, historical and symbolic features, and the sanctity of Sufi music with such integrity that it stands as a model for multi-disciplinary research, for addressing the in and out of fashion contention with how facts and the lives of others are represented, and the question of memory in the enactment of everyday life and music-making. It should provide the impetus for further research into the Sufi movement and its musical divergences and confluences.

Finally, Waugh states there is a need in music scholarship for documentation of the movement of Andalusian music to the Sufi ritual medium. He mentions the dissemination and accessibility of Moroccan Sufi music in other parts of the world, including the west, but a compact disc with recordings of the music under discussion would have added value. The present book is highly recommended for students of ethnomusicology, anthropology, religion, and the cultures of northern Africa or the Arab world.

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Making the Changes: Jazz in South African Literature and Reportage. Michael Titlestad. 2004. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press. 275 pp. Paperback: ISBN-10: 186888-2918.

With a truly innovative approach, Michael Titlestad's *Making the Changes: Jazz in South African Literature and Reportage* provides insight to black and exilic experiences during