

THE ARABIAN INFLUENCE IN THE TUAREG MUSIC

by

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The somewhat scanty literature on Tuareg music sometimes adopts contrary attitudes in regard to the problem of foreign influences. Holiday¹ makes a rough division of the Ahaggar Tuareg songs into those showing negro influence and those with Moorish characteristics, without offering a closer definition of the term "Moorish". However, it probably stands for the Maghreb blend of Berber-Arabian culture. Zoehrer, on the other hand, states that "the Tuareg songs and airs must be clearly distinguished from those of the Arabs in North Africa and those of the Hausa in the South, that the Tuareg are still singing today (1935) almost exclusively their own original songs and that — with very few exceptions — they have made no musical borrowings of any kind from their Islamic neighbours to the north and south"². Nikiprowetzky³ lists some characteristics of the Tuareg music of the Air, which are of Middle Eastern origin, but he, too, emphasizes the strict independence of the Tuareg music and its Berber origins. Lhote⁴ on the other hand notes the similarity between the Tuareg music and that of certain Berber tribes in the Atlas mountains and — evidently relying on Hornbostel-Lachmann⁵ — he considers certain analogies between this Berber music and South-Arabian music.

Taking certain accepted ethnological facts into consideration, such as the division of the five tribal confederations into major and minor groups, the social division and the expansive areas in which they live with the extremely inconsistent geographical and ethnological environment, one comes to the conclusion that a summary judgment on the Tuareg music is not permissible, especially when dealing with the foreign influences. One must employ a critical examination of the sources ("quellenkritische Methode")⁶, which subjects the bearers of the musical product itself to close scrutiny. The application of such a method presupposes, however, suitably exact notes, which are not always available.

Recordings, however, which fulfil this demand to a large degree, are to be found in the Berliner Phonogrammarchiv and they date from the Zoehrer expedition of 1935. They are extremely valuable not only because there are comprehensive accompanying notes to each recording, but also in another respect. They are, to my knowledge, the first phonograph recordings of Tuareg music ever made. They date back to the time when peace was being established in the Sahara, namely a period, when the Tuareg culture was still intact and the Tuareg himself had not yet given up his way of life, to which he "had been accustomed over the centuries as a man and warrior"⁷. The establishment of peace and the consequent cultural changes, we are informed by various statements from the most different scholars⁸, brought about far-reaching consequences to both the Tuareg poetry and music, since these two domains of intellectual culture fell

Pph.Z = Berliner Phonogrammarchiv, Aufnahmen Zöhrer.
TS = transcription and analyses.

1. Holiday, Geoffrey: The Tuareg of the Ahaggar. In: African Music, Vol. 1, No. 3. Johannesburg: African Music Society. 1956, p. 50.
2. Zöhrer, Ludwig: Studien über die Tuareg (Imohag) der Sahara. In: Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 72. Berlin: Springer. 1940, p. 143.
3. Nikiprowetzky, Tolia: L'ornementation dans la musique des Touareg de l'Air. In: Journ. of the Intern. Folk Music Council, Vol. XVI. Cambridge: IFMC, 1964, p. 81-83.
4. Lhote, Henri: Les Touaregs du Hoggar. Paris: Payot. 1955, p. 183.
5. Hornbostel, Erich; Lachmann, Robert: Asiatische Parallelen zur Berbermusik. In: Zeitschrift f. Vergl. Musikw. I, 1933, p. 4 ff.
6. Graf, Walter: Ein deduktiver Ansatz musikethnologischer Forschung. In: Anzeiger d.phil.-hist. Kl. d. Osterr. Akad. d. Wissensch. Jg. 1948, Nr. 16, pp. 211-217; Musikethnologie und Quellenkritik. In: Die Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde, Festschrift zum 25 jährigen Bestand 1929-1954. Wien. 1956, pp. 112-124.
7. Zöhrer, L.: Studien, *loc. cit.*, p. 126.
8. cf. e.g. Zöhrer: Studien, *loc. cit.*, p. 126, f. 139 and Lhote, H.: La documentation sonore (chant, musique et poésie) établie chez les Touaregs du Hoggar en 1948. In: Cahiers Ch. de Foucauld, 3. Paris. 1952, p. 115.

immediate victim to change and decay. It is for this reason that a study of the material collected by Ludwig Zöhrer can produce valuable results in a different manner. In this treatise, a close study will be made of it with regard to a possible Arabian influence.

(1) Melody

(a) "Ilaner". Love-song from the Hoggar⁹

The song consists of several repetitions of a single motif, grouped in five lines. Its small compass and ornamental technique hint at the Bedouin melos.¹⁰



Fig. 111

The singer, Akrut ag Amma, is a Dag-Rali, member of a tribe, which once formed, together with the Kel Ahnet, the very large Immessilite tribe¹². According to the records at hand, he lives in the Kudia a plateau north of Tamanrasset and so most probably he belongs to a sub-group of the Dag-Rali, the Kel Tamanrasset. The Dag-Rali are, according to Lhote¹³, the most pious people of the Ahaggar and maintain close commercial contact with the Sudan. The author of the song, Scherif ag Hogges,

9. BPh. Z. Walze No. 10/1. Ts. cf. Födermayr, Franz: Die musikwissenschaftlichen Phonogramme Ludwig Zöhrers von den Tuareg der Sahara. Phil. Diss. Wien. 1964, p. 14 f and appendix No. 14.

10. Hornbostel-Lachmann, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

11.

| · emphasis (stress)

> accent

≡ string accent

~ melismata, which are not exactly defined, are represented by a dash the direction beginning and end of which indicates the approximate course of the tone movement

legato

molto legato, almost glissando

— under a note = short lengthening of a tone. Long lengthening of a tone is written out. Over a note = deepening.

• • • Head of notes without note stem recitation

acciaccatura

over the note = the vibrato characteristic of Arabian music

recitation with an indeterminable number of impulses.

12. Lhote, H.: Touaregs, *loc. cit.*, p. 225.

13. *Ibidem*, p. 226.

belongs to the Iklan Taussit, descendants of a female slave of the Iman sultans (Idrisides), who mingled with the Ahl-Azzi, an Arabian tribe from In-Salah, and later moved to the Hoggar¹⁴. If one can really trace any Arabian influence, an explanation could well be supplied by the singer's person or that of the author.

(b) "*Wabedscherin*". *A heroic lay from the Tassili-n-Ajjer*¹⁵

The song consists of several bipartite lines of the same length and structure. Attention is drawn to the interval e - d[#] (-) - b, which occurs at the same place in every line.



Fig. 2

Though the author of this song is unknown, it can be presumed that he is an Issekemar, since the notes speak of "a warrior called Mallai, an . . . Issekemar sings of his courage during the last fights between the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer"¹⁶, which took place in 1915. The Issekemaren form a tribe which originally came from Tadmait to the Hoggar, and one that is strongly Arabian.¹⁷ "They are the descendants of the former Imrad of the Kel Ehan Mellen, who in the course of time married freely with the Arabs, and for this reason they can no longer be regarded as belonging either to the aristocracy or to their vassals"¹⁸. The singer, Mussa ag Diai, is a 38-year-old Kel Rhela, who has travelled to Tripolitania, Adrar des Iforas and to Kana. Thus any detectable Arabian influence in this song may be attributed to both the author and singer.

(c) *Festive Song, sung by the womenfolk*. Origin unknown.¹⁹

The song is bipartite. Each part consists of the multiple, varied repetition of a single theme, the theme of the second part seeming to be derived from the end of the theme in the first part.



Fig. 3

As in the first song, the vibrato — , a particular characteristic of Arabian music, is to be found. The singer, Melchair wilt Mabruk, is the daughter of a Ikechchemaden woman, her father being a Chartani from Adrian. In former times the Ikechchemaden formed a single tribe together with the Dag-Rali, but since 1907 they have been subject to the Kel Rhela, their former masters being the Taitoq. No exact details of their origin are known.²⁰ Thus, one can say that the singer is not a pure Tuareg.

14. *Ibidem*, p. 234.

15. BPh. Z. Walze, No. 4, TS cf. Födermayr, F. *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff and Appendix No. 23.

16. Födermayr, F.: *op. cit.* Appendix p. 9.

17. Lhote, H.: *Touarèges, loc. cit.*, pp. 130, 134 ff, 236.

18. Zohrer, L.: *Geistige und materielle Kunst bei den Imohag der Sahara*. Phil. Diss. Wien. 1938, p. 8.

19. BPh. Z. Walze, No. 32/1. Ts. cf. Födermayr, *op. cit.* pp. 72 f and Appendix No. 40.

20. Lhote, H.: *Touarèges, loc. cit.*, pp. 227, 247.

(d) *Wedding Song for the Womenfolk from the Adrar des Iforas*²¹

The song consists of eight lines of unequal length all of which seem to be derived from the first line.

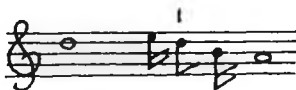


Fig. 4

This theme is prolonged in the following lines by the lush recitation on the notes d and d - e. The interval of a fourth and the final are, however, emphasized throughout by the end of the lines. In two lines the theme can even be found to run almost true to the notation. This technique of varying a theme that was established at the very beginning reminds one of the Maquam-technique in Arabian music, all the more so as the theme shows a tetrachordal structure and the clear representation of a basic note and a final. The ornamentation ~ is extensively used.

The notes mention nothing but the singer's name: Tubisakat wilt Hamadi. She is an Imakelkalen, a sub-group of the Kel Feruan in the Air.²² The singer's husband, Matoki ag Jokor²³, is an Agouh-en-Tehle (Agiuntali). According to Lhote²⁴ they are the most important tribes of vassals of the Hoggar who for a certain time emigrated to the Air, whence they returned to the Hoggar towards the end of the 18th century because of reprisals taken by the sultan of Agadez.

The eventual Arabian influence can thus be ascribed to the singer's person.

(2) Text

Among the 43 songs examined there are four purely religious songs which Zoehrer claims to be a typical product of the Islam.²⁵

(a) "Isiker". Song sung by mothers to their children²⁶

· · : ⊙ · : ∥ ξ ∩ | : ∥ ξ · ∥ Your God there is always
isika ilanek ilahendey

∥ :] · ∥ + : Your God is always where you are
amayalil uti. there is I

∥ ⊙ · ∥ ξ ξ : ∥ There is only one God
sal jella alahi

· ' ∩ : ⊙ · · ⊙ ξ : Only God (alone) gives and makes presents,
? ar waira

21. BPh. Z. Walze No. 30/1. Ts. cf. Fodermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 f and Appendix No. 29.

22. Zohrer, L.: Geistige und materielle Kunst, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.

23. —: Ritter der Sahara. Wien. Europa-Verlag. 1954, p. 38.

24. Lhote, H.: Touaregs, *loc. cit.*, pp. 227 ff.

25. Zohrer, L.: Studien, *loc. cit.*, p. 140.

26. BPh. Z. Walze No. 29/1. Ts. cf. Fodermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff and Appendix No. 26.

ξ···] O'f'⊙] ·:ξ:| You live and die according to his will.
emayqi emasayar naweha

(b) "Isiker". Song sung by mothers to their children²⁸

∧: ∧] :f' f:∧ ·||ξ I live with you on the path to God.
uinin imanin zey duen jella

f::: f' f:∧ ·|| ·ξ+ He knows where you are.
eyekuen izen duet lla tenja

∧]: f'f: H∧] + ·||ξ| Only the pure prayer counts for God.
ayamud hadizen tamdilt njella

I+| ∧:⊙| O: ·+·:ξ∧ ·⊙ When you are going to die, pray the Koran!
natof nesahad war dijekta iba

IO⊙ +:⊙| f'∧ ·⊙|∧ Beware of purgatory!
asorof nesayat edez ednusa

(c) Song on the birth of a child²⁹

·| ·||ξ ∧]::] f∧ Oh my God, oh prophet Mohammed,
inana jela moxamed udun

·+| ⊙⊙: /||+ He has order
enta yures tilen

∧:⊙: ∧:||::+ You, who fulfils his will
urhed taxeleked you are, it to make

⊙]+ +f:∧ I fear the smoke and the fire will devour up
etemsi dahenit

27. The text which is written in tifiñagh from right to left, is quoted here word for word, each individual word being spelt from right to left.

28. BPh. Z. Walze No. 29/2. Ts. cf. Födermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff and Appendix No. 27.

29. BPh. Z. Walze No. 40/3. Ts. cf. Födermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 f and Appendix No. 33.

+;O+ IAILO+ Which burns continually,
teroyat teridenden

O::EO: +IO+ Which never gets enough.
werđaker tasanit

IA:IOXII] :;||+O: +/IO+ I follow God's will and order.
imelgerenaydem wastelna tarananit

O||I]+XO: Only you I ask,
folas waritem

/I' +||:| Your slave.
azinan naklinit

(d) Festive song sung by the women on the occasion of "carroussels de chameaux"

O:: :|O] ·|X::+ ·+:IA+ God has turned away from Tachejena,
jekes masenay taxejena etadnewta he has forgotten her.

O::| ·X@ ||:;O@+ AI: ·J|:X
jinker saga atsararhaulin hand ziahnama

Misery overwhelmed her, her heartache burnt like fire.

E]O@+O: ·X,|:: I]A IOOI ::O: Camel milk and water
wortesesmod axnenaga daman nirsan waswij was wanting

·||]: OX |:O+ E]·A :;|: In the spring of the Tiriken and
kamla ger tiriken dazđai wanha Daschđai.

These four songs are from the Adrar des Iforas and are sung by Tubisakat wilt Hemadi (cf. above). Besides the purely religious texts, there are others, where the Islamic influences only occasionally occur.

(e) "Seienin". Epic song from the Hoggar³¹

The song consists of nine lines, the last of which is:

30. BPh. Z. Walze No. 36/2. Ts. cf. Fodermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff and Appendix No. 28.

31. BPh. Z. Walze No. 5. Ts. cf. Fodermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 f and Appendix No. 4.

ⵏⵓ: ⵓⵏ ⵏⵓⵏ ⵏⵓⵏ
kanen day elhanet animidar

Everybody searches for a good place in paradise as reward.

The author of this song, Sidi Aksadab, is a Kel Rhela, Halifa of the Amenokal of the Hoggar-Tuareg Bei ag Akhamuk. The singer, Belciel ag Mohammed, is the son of Irregenaten parents from the environs of Timbuktu and only lately has he come to Kel Rhela. He has travelled to the Adrar des Iforas, to Agedez, Nigeria and In-Salah. The social position of the Irregenaten lies somewhere between the aristocracy and their vassals. They are scattered over more than 500 camps and have intermarried freely with the Arabs, through their ancestors some centuries ago were pure-bred Imohagh³² Their name means: "Those who have their father from the one race and their mother from the other".³³

(f) *Love-song from the Hoggar*³⁴

In this song a woman is compared to a gazelle, which, Zoehrer tell us, is considered an Arabian characteristic.³⁵ The singer, Amram ag Kidali, is a Kel Rhela, but the text is his father's, Hammed ben Schilali, who is an Arab from Ouargla.³⁶

(g) "Inauenni". *Festive song for the womenfolk from the Western Air*³⁷

This song, too, compares a woman to a gazelle. It is an antiphonal song, sung by Amram ag Kidali mentioned above and Eraurau ag Matuki, the sone of an Immakelkalen woman (Tubisakat wilt Hemadi) and an Agiuntali father (Matuki ag Jokor). Eraurau has travelled to the Hoggar, Adrar des Iforas and Agedez. For Agiuntali cf. 1d).

(h) *War song from the Hoggar*³⁸

The song consists of seven verses, the last two being:

ⵓⵏⵓⵏⵓ: ⵏⵓⵏⵓ ⵏⵓⵏⵓ
wilesalam estavit jela

No salutation. God has left him.

:ⵏⵓⵏⵓ ⵏⵓⵏⵓⵏⵓ ⵏⵓⵏⵓ
forogu isiglafas jela

God has left Forogu (man).

Once again the singer is Amram ag Kidali, the author, however, is unknown.

(i) *Love-song from the Western Air*⁴⁰

Two verses out of eight present us with a modified genealogical tree:

32. Zöhner, L.: Geistige und materielle Kunst, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

33. Foucauld, Charles de: Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres (dialecte de l'Ahaggar), publié par André Basset. Paris: Larose 1940, p. 206 (cf. Lhote, Touaregs, *loc. cit.*, p. 238).

34. BPh. Z. Walze No. 23/1. Ts. cf. Födermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff and Appendix No. 5.

35. Zöhner, L.: Studien, *loc. cit.*, p. 144.

36. Födermayr, F.: *op. cit.*, p. 3.

37. BPh. Z. Walze No. 25/1. Ts. cf. Födermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff and Appendix No. 37.

38. Zöhner, L.: Ritter der Sahara, *loc. cit.*, p. 38.

39. BPh. Z. Walze No. 17/1. Ts. cf. Födermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff and Appendix No. 10.

40. BPh. Z. Walze No. 27/1. Ts. cf. Födermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 ff and Appendix No. 38.

I+ : O] Λ I ⊙ 8 Λ · : Λ
demaraveten sin dag duwa

Both are sons of Duwa

8 Λ I : : ⊙ 8 Λ Λ] : :] 8 Λ ·]
dag boxen dag moxammed dag amma

the son of Bochen, the son of Mohammed, the son of Amma.

The singers are the same as in song Nr. (c). An old Irregenaten woman, whose name is not mentioned, is said to be the author.

(j) *Festive song of the women.*⁴¹ (Origin unknown)

Two verses out of a total of thirteen compare a woman with Medina and Arabia.

· 9 5 + I Λ] ||
aifa elmadinat

Aischa (woman) as beautiful as Medina,

+ 2 } + + · :]
tazeit maket

As a date palm, as Arabia.

The song is sung by Melchair wilt Mabruk (cf. above), the author, however, is anonymous.

Despite these occasional Arabian-Islamic reminiscences in the songs (e) to (i), the tenor of the texts remains typically Tuareg. This is especially true of the almost telegram-like manner, in which the texts are conceived, and is the one aspect that Tuareg poetry has in direct contrast to the more florid form of Arabian songs⁴².

(4) Form

(a) The songs mentioned under 2a-d are of a form that reminds one of a possible influence coming from the Koran psalmody, a fact moreover that is stressed by the religious, particularly Islamic character of the text as a whole.

The first of these songs (2c) consists of nine lines which form a one tone recitation. Only in two lines do we find a downward deviation from the recitation tone.

$\text{♩} = 112$

line 5 Fig. 5

line 6

41. BPh. Z. Walze No. 32/2. Ts. cf. Fördermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 f and Appendix No. 41.

42. cf. Zöhner, *Studien, loc. cit.*, pp. 143 f and 146 ff.

This technique of deviating from the recital tone is used throughout the two other songs, which have almost exactly the same structure, whereby a more developed form of the one tone recitation occurs.



Fig. 6

The recitation tone which is reached on the up-beat in the middle of two lines of the first song, is found here at the very beginning of the line. In the middle there is a melisma which can be considered to be an embellishment of the up-beat, all the more so as the first tone of the lines is on (a) in more than half the cases. In another song (2d) this type is further developed by a recitation on two tones a major second apart. Moreover, the single lines take on the form of a bipartite period, which corresponds textually and form a "parallelismus membrorum."



Fig. 7

These four songs come from the Adrar des Iforas. The singer, Tubisakat wilt Hemadi, belongs by virtue of her tribe and origin to the southern Tuareg group and has, therefore, come into contact with the Islamic Sudan. (b) "Inauenni". A choral piece sung at the "carrousels de chameaux" from the Western Air.⁴³

This is an antiphonal song between two singers, ten lines long, each line having the same structure.



Fig. 8

The psalmodic structure could well be considered to be proof of the influence of the Koran psalmody, which might quite easily be explained by the tribal allegiances of the informants. Though one of the singers, the 15-year-old Amram ag Kidali is a Kel Rhela by his mother, his father is an Arab from Ouargla. The second singer, the 18-year-old Eraurau ag Matuki is — as already mentioned — the son of an Inmakelkalen-woman and an Agiuntali father (cf. above). In the course of his travels Amram has come as far as the Adrar des Iforas and to Agadez. The overlapping of the finals of the individual verses with the beginning of the following verses is, however, more typical of negro influence. Moreover, the diatonic basis contradicts any Arabian influence.

This present study is not trying to offer definitive proof of the origin of elements which, as presented, seem to have been borrowed from the Arabian-Islamic culture,

43. BPh. Z. Walze No. 25/1. Ts. cf. Födertmayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff and Appendix No. 37.

but has contented itself with showing those elements which *could* possibly have such an origin. By taking the authorship and the informants of the songs into consideration it has proved possible to show that one can well presume an Arabian-Islamic influence in the recitation of religious texts, in the ornamental technique, in the short restricted motifs, the chromatic and possibly psalmodic structure. However, such an influence — if it really does exist — is limited exclusively to those songs, the bearers of which are in no way pure Tuaregs. Tuareg songs proper, as first sung by Kel Rhela and Taitoq, remained adamant and untouched by the influence of the music from the Islamic culture at least until 1935 (when the recordings were made). In the cause of this study of the Arabian influence, one's notice was drawn in particular to the form of all the songs discussed with their characteristic lines of generally the same length, which normally correspond to the verses of the poem used and stand in a variant relation to each other i.e. they are constructed according to a single melodic substance. This fact may well be considered to be the elementary idea ("Elementargedanke"), but in about one third of the songs we also find a clear division of the single lines into two halves of about the same length, which also stand in a variant relation to each other, in addition to a rhyming scheme that is the same in all verses as well as the use of a special metre⁴⁴. These characteristics however, remind one very much the pre-Islamic Arabian qasidah, all the more so as Tuareg versification also has great similarities with classical Arabian prosody.⁴⁵

The qasidah received its definite form as far back as the pre-Islamic period.⁴⁶ D'Erlanger calls it the first and at the same time the classical form of the Arabian poem and characterizes it as being a relatively long piece, the verses of which have the same metre and rhyme throughout.⁴⁷ From a musical standpoint the verses are based on the same substance.⁴⁸ This qasidah was, according to Farmer,⁴⁹ a long ode, which was already finalised in the 6th Century A.D.* Up to the end of the 7th Century the musicians had no other framework for their singing than the verse of six to eight feet. These are divided into two hemistiches of more or less the same length which are indicated by the musician by a pause or another artistic device.⁵¹

With the formation of an independent musical rhythm (iqa at), which is attributed to Tuwais,⁵² and with the intensified influence of Persian and Syrian patterns during the reign of the Umayyads (661-750)⁵³ the framework supplied by the classical Arabian prosody, no longer sufficed. Ibn Muhriz (+ about 715)⁵⁴ was one of the first to break the bounds of this framework. By prolonging the melody over two lines he commanded the admiration of his contemporaries and was imitated by the musicians of the 8th Century.⁵⁵ The development beginning here progressed to the system of coupled verses (muzdawaj) to the strophic qasidah, which is found about the middle of the 8th Century as a stanza with three lines "tasmit" (with or without rhyming refrain) or in its most usual form as a four-line stanza "murabba" with the rhyming scheme a a x b b b x etc. The strophic qasidah, which had developed around the court of the oriental caliphs was imitated in the beginning by the Islamic Maghreb and by Spain; but under the influence of the Andalusian popular poetry a new form (tawsih or muwassah) developed towards the end of the 9th and at the beginning of the 10th Century, which in return

* Chottin described it as being a "long pre-Islamic ballad" (50).

44. cf. Födermayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 ff.

45. cf. Foucauld, Charles de: Poésies Touaregs, Paris, 1925, I. pp. ix-xxi and Klängenheben, A.: Die Poesie der afrikanischen Völker. In: Afrika-Rundschau, 3. Hamburg, 1937, pp. 222 f.

46. Rouanet, Jules: La musique arabe. In: Lavignac, Encyclopédie de la musique, l'ère partie. Paris: Delagrave, 1922, p. 2686.

47. *Ibidem*, p. 170.

48. Farmer, Henry George: Islam. In: Musikgeschichte in Bildern, ed. by Max Schneider and Besseler. Bd. 111/2. Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1966, p. 132.

49. Chottin, Alexis: Tableau de la musique Marocaine. Paris: Geuthner, 1939, p. 103.

50. d'Erlanger, R., *op. cit.*, p. 156.

51. Farmer, H. G.: A history of Arabian music to the 13th century. London: Luzac & Co., 1929, p. 51.

52. —: The Music of Islam. In: The New Oxford History of Music, I. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960, p.

428.

53. —: A History, *loc. cit.*, p. 78.

54. d'Erlanger, R.: *op. cit.*, p. 161.

gave new impulses to the Arabian music and its Eastern tradition.⁵⁶ In spite of the development of this new form, the *qasidah* remained one of the main forms of the Arabian song.⁵⁷ It kept its strophic form⁵⁸ and is, according to d'Erlanger, in the modern Arabian music of Eastern tradition a sort of improvised song extending over 2, 3, 5 or 6 verses of a classical poem. But the verse no longer has the monotony of the old *qasidah*, in the modern *qasidah* there is much more improvisation: the singer chooses a theme to his liking and lets his imagination run free, observing only those rules that regulate the variations and the links of the melody formulas.⁵⁹ Today the *qasidah* is well installed in the religious music of the Maghreb,⁶⁰ though it is also used in secular music.⁶¹ It consists of several stanzas, whereby a theme introduced in the first stanza is developed and formed.⁶² In Tunisia this new *qasidah* is, according to d'Erlanger, an improvised vocal solo on a theme which is taken from a *nawbah* (suite). But the Tunisian music has degenerated to such a degree that there is hardly any musician who is able to improvise a few melodic phrases. So one generally tries to imitate old, apocryphal tunes and to interpret them more or less successfully and with a varying degree of imagination. Everyone tries to adapt the verses he improvises to this melodic type. As a result the texts suffer.⁶³

It is quite possible and more than probable that the pre-Islamic Arabian *qasidah* still came to North Africa with the first wave of Arabian conquests, since "the Arabs who undertook the territorial and intellectual conquest of North Africa in the 7th and 8th centuries must be kept distinct from the so-called Arabian civilization, which spread over the Islamic world in the following centuries and, which is in fact more Iranian than Islamic"⁶⁴ — according to Coon⁶⁵ they were aristocratic Arabs from the Hijaz and Yemen — and at that time the development of the *qasidah* had not yet begun (cf. above). It seems, however, to be very doubtful that this form of the pre-Islamic Arabian *qasidah* could have come to the Tuareg from North Africa, since we cannot suppose such an early Islamic influence on the Tuareg, and especially not on the Kel Ahaggar. H. Lhote gives several hints in this respect. He explains the lack of any geographical knowledge about the Hoggar block massif after the Arab's arrival, which existed up to the 19th Century by the fact that the Kel Ahaggar were able to avoid the Arab invasion. He also tells us that for the Arabs the Hoggar was not only a region extreme of thirst, but also one of terror.⁶⁶ Moreover, the Ahaggar dialect remained surprisingly intact, while the other Berber dialects were largely suppressed or changed.⁶⁷ Only at the beginning of the European penetration into the Sahara in the 19th Century was the Islamization of the Hoggar-Tuareg more successful.⁶⁸ An influence of the Arabian *qasidah* at this time, however, would have looked quite different: the form of the songs would have been a strophic one and other Arabian-Islamic elements would have to be expected.⁶⁹ But the form of the pre-Islamic Arabian *qasidah* is particularly pronounced in the songs of the Kel Rhela — a tribe which is one of the purest and leading aristocratic Tuareg tribes in the Hoggar⁷⁰ — and these songs show no other elements, which could possibly be termed Arabian-Islamic. On the contrary, they show

56. *Ibidem*, pp. 161 ff.

57. *Ibidem*, p. 171.

58. *Ibidem*, pp. 542 f. 630. Chottin, *op. cit.*, p. 127. Rouanet, *op. cit.*, p. 2825.

59. d'Erlanger, R.: *op. cit.*, pp. 170 f.

60. Rouanet, *op. cit.*, pp. 2821, 2825 f.

61. *Ibidem*, pp. 2866 ff.

62. *Ibidem*, p. 2825.

63. d'Erlanger, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

64. Cornevin, Robert: *Histoire de l'Afrique*, t. I. Paris: Payot, 1962, p. 249.

65. Coon, Carleton S.: *The races of Europe*. New York: Macmillan, 1948, p. 466.

66. Lhote, H.: *Touaregs, loc. cit.*, pp. 152 f.

67. *Ibidem*, pp. 172 f. sim. Bouspuet, G. H.: *Les Berbères*. "Que sais-je", Bd. 718. Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1957, p. 21.

68. Lhote, H.: *Touaregs, loc. cit.*, pp. 347 ff.

69. This statement is also valid for a possible acquaintance made by the Tuaregs with Arabian music at the time of the Almoravide empire (1055-1147), in the formation of which Tuareg elements probably played a part. It is also valid with regard to an eventual defeat of the 2nd Arabian wave, which reached North Africa in the middle of the 11th century A.D. with the arrival of Beni Hilal and Beni Soleim, from Syria.

70. Zohrer, L. *Studien, loc. cit.*, p. 130. Lhote, H. *Touaregs, loc. cit.*, p. 239.

most clearly the Berber heritage: tetratonic (especially with the pentatonic trichord minor third — whole tone in a downward direction), triadic melody (especially in sixth-chord position and pendulous third)⁷¹, mode of performance (sharp accentuation of acciaccaturas, falling third especially at the end of a phrase,⁷² emphasised lengthening of single notes.⁷³

So on the one hand we can see the probability of only a more recent Islamic penetration into the Hoggar block massif, which, however, the aristocratic Hoggar-Tuareg ignored in the musical respect until at least 1935. On the other hand we can find a striking parallel to the pre-Islamic Arabia in the form of the songs of one of the purest aristocratic Tuareg tribes of the Ahaggar. So we can possibly assume that this parallel goes back to cultural contacts between the pre-Islamic Arabia and the Berbers of North Africa.

Hornbostel-Lachmann⁵ have already pointed out Asiatic parallels with Berber music by comparing the songs of the Chleuh and Kabyles with those of the Yemen tribes and the Bedouins (Hadramaut). Marius Schneider⁷⁴ improved this comparison when he completed it by means of a special melodic type. The corresponding Tuareg songs did not agree in the melodic respect, but in the rhythmic respect with the long sustained tones restricted on both sides by quick notes performed in a recitative manner. This "passionate lengthening" is, by the way — in addition to "violent stressing of single syllables" (cf. above) — established by G. Hoelscher in the pre-Islamic sag-poetry of Arabia.⁷⁵

If one examines the possibility of such relations, it appears necessary to draw upon the results of research work carried out in other branches of science. But if we quoted the different references made by specialists in ancient history, anthropologists and linguists in support of the Berbers' Asiatic origin,⁷⁶ one would be led too far into the past (Caspian) culture, and one could not expect to find a relatively credible solution for the ethnomusicological problem at hand. If, however, we confine ourselves to the proven parallels of pre-Islamic Arabia — Tuareg, the period from the moment of this hypothetical contact to the present day is considerably shortened and one can easily make persistency responsible for the maintenance of a musical form over the much shorter period.

The various theories on the origin of the Tuareg have, different though they may be, one common factor, namely ancient or early mediaeval North Africa. Ancient Libya in particular has probably played an important role in the history of the Sahara people, a fact that has been demonstrated especially convincingly by H. Lhote⁷⁷ and there is much to be said for the fact that the Garamantes⁷⁸ are more or less the direct ancestors of the Tuaregs. The Libyan populations played a most important part in the expansion of Egyptian culture throughout North Africa and the Sahara. Thus, they fulfilled the same mission for this part of Africa as the populations of Kush had done for Ethiopia and the Sudan.⁷⁹ It is very important for the problem at hand to establish the mediatory role by the Libyans between Egypt and Sahara, because we can also find that a contact between Arabia and Egypt existed at the same time as the contact between Libya and Egypt.

71. sim. Danckert, Werner: *Tonreich und Symbolzahl in Hodikulturen und in der Primitivenwelt*. Bonn: Bouvier. 1966, p. 46.

72. As a characteristic of the Berber music according to Hornbostel-Lachmann, *op. cit.*, p. 5. sim. the examples quoted by Rouanet, *op. cit.*, pp. 2829, 2886. Chottin: *Chants et danses Berberes*. In: *Revue de Musicologie*, xx. Paris. 1936, p. 65.

73. cf. the Kabylia example quoted by Rouanet, *op. cit.*, p. 2886.

74. Schneider, Marius: *Nichmals asiatische Parallelen zur Berbermusik*. In: *Ethnologica*, Neue Folge Bd. 2. Köln: Brill. 1960, pp. 433-438.

75. Holscher, Gustav: *Arabische Metrik*. In: *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. 74. Leipzig. 1920, p. 362.

76. cf. e.g. Balout, Lionel: *Der Maghreb*. In: *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, Bd. 1. Frankfurt/Main. 1966, p. 159, 162; Bousquet, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Coon: *The living races of man*. London: Cape. 1965, pp. 95 f, 98, 115; Comevin, Robert and Marianne: *Geschichte Afrikas von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Stuttgart: Klett. 1966, p. 11; Honea, Kenneth Howard: *A contribution to the history of the Hamitic peoples of Africa*. In: *Acta Ethnologica et Linguistica*, No. 5. Wien: Inst. f. Völkerkunde. 1958, pp. 15 f, 87, 23 f; Vycichl, Werner. *Three problems of North African chronology*. In: *Actes du IV^e congrès intern. des sciences anthrop. et ethnol.* Vienne, 1-8 Sept. 1952. Wien: Holzhausens Nfg. 1956, pp. 5-8.

77. Lhote, H.: *Touaregs*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 90-153.

78. Herodot, IV, 174, 183 ff.

79. cf. Davidson, Basil: *Urzeit und Frühgeschichte Afrikas*. rde 125/126. Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt 1961, pp. 32 f; Lhote: *A la découverte des fresques du Tassili*. Paris. 1958.

The Libyans appear in Egyptian history as far back as 3000 B.C.⁸⁰ Initially it was a dark type of North-African, whom the Egyptians had to defend their western frontier against, yet on the monuments of the "New Empire" we find blond Libyans with blue eyes and a fair complexion. This important modification in the representation of the Libyans proves the arrival of peoples of the Nordic type in North Africa, with whom the Libyans did not only ally themselves, but later on interbred.⁸¹ The Libyans attacks on Lower Egypt became more and more frequent, especially after the arrival on the scene of the so-called "maritime peoples" ("Seevölker") and they reached their climax under the Ramessides (1309-1080)⁸² But the contact between the Libyans and Egyptians was not only of a warlike nature, there was also the peaceful penetration of the Nile-delta.⁸³ In particular, the contingent of Libyan mercenaries in the Egyptian army increased steadily and finally in 950 B.C. a Libyan, Scheschonk I, ascended the throne of the Pharaohs (22nd-24th Dynasty)⁸⁴ The Libyan princes of the Nile-delta also played a not unimportant role in the Assyrian period and with Psammetich I, the founder of the 26th Dynasty (Sitic period) a Libyan became Pharaoh once more.⁸⁵ Thus, the continuity of the Libyan component in Egyptian history lasted from about 3000 B.C. to the beginning of the Persian reign (525 B.C.). After this date the Libyans fail to appear in Egyptian documents⁸⁶, but one can trace them afterwards through Greek sources and one can learn, for instance, from Herodotus that there were Libyan contingents in the Persian army.⁸⁷

Egyptian contacts with the Arabian peninsula were probably due for the most part to the trade in incense. According to Rathjens, it led as early as the beginning of the 3rd millennium to the construction of a permanent trade-route ("incense-route"), which starting in South-Arabia followed the Western border of Arabia to the North up to Petra, where a Western branch extended to Egypt via the Red-Sea valley, Palestine and Gaza. An eastern branch linked up the Phoenician shores and Mesopotamia. This trade-route flourished greatly till the 1st Century A.D. Mecca and Medina became the most important stopping-places in its centre, and later they were the starting places for the Islamic expansion. The activity of these Arabian, Egyptian and Mesopotamian merchants certainly inaugurated a cultural exchange as well⁸⁸ and we can well consider the possibility that the pre-Islamic Arabian qasidah, which is in question here and, which has already got its final form by the time the Islam had come into being, became popular in Lower Egypt on account of these contacts. There the Libyans adopted and introduced it to North Africa and the Sahara. If this really was the case, then we would not go amiss if we were to ascribe everything to the fair-skinned Libyan and claim the earliest possible date (*terminus post quem*) for the arrival of the pre-Islamic qasidah in North Africa to be concurrent with the start of the New Empire (c. 1060 B.C.), whilst the latest possible date (*terminus ante quem*) would be just subsequent to the period in which the camel established itself throughout North Africa and the Sahara. Though the question of the qasidah's appearance in Africa has in the course of this paper been hypothetically ascribed to one particular period, the possibility of the Tuaregs having adopted it at a much later date is not to be excluded.

80. Coon, C.: *Races of Europe*, *loc. cit.*, p. 463; Vercoutter, Jean: *Das archaische Agypten*. In: Fischer Weltgeschichte, Bd. 2. Frankfurt/Main. 1965, p. 242.

81. Moret, A.: *Histoire de l'Orient*, II Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1936, p. 487 (cf. Lhote, *Touaregs*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 96 f.).

82. Yoyotte, Jean: *Das Neue Reich in Agypten*. In: Fischer Weltgeschichte, Bd. 3. Frankfurt/Main. 1966, pp. 260-293.

83. Breasted, J. H.: *Geschichte Agyptens*. Zürich: Phaidon. 1954, pp. 259, 264.

84. Kienitz, Friedrich Karl: *Die Saitische Renaissance*. In: Fischer Weltgeschichte, Bd. 4. Frankfurt/Main. 1967, p. 256.

85. Lhote, H.: *Touaregs*, *loc. cit.*, p. 101.

86. *Ibidem*, pp. 101 f.

87. Herodot VII, 71, 86, 184.

88. Rathjens, Carl: *Die Weihrauchstrade in Arabien*. In: *Tribus 2/3*. Stuttgart. 1952/53, pp. 280 ff.