This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from the King's Research Portal at https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/

Algerian dīwān of Sīdī Bilāl
music, trance, and affect in popular Islam

Turner, Tamara Dee

Awarding institution:
King's College London

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

END USER LICENCE AGREEMENT

Unless another licence is stated on the immediately following page this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International licence. https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

You are free to copy, distribute and transmit the work

Under the following conditions:

- Attribution: You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
- Non Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
- No Derivative Works - You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Any of these conditions can be waived if you receive permission from the author. Your fair dealings and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact librarypure@kcl.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Download date: 15. Nov. 2023

ALGERIAN DĪWĀN OF SĪDĪ BILĀL:

MUSIC, TRANCE, AND AFFECT IN POPULAR ISLAM

Tamara Dee Turner

ABSTRACT

Algerian *dīwān* (*lit*. 'assembly') is a healing, musico-ritual tradition that originated out of the trans-Saharan slave trade and coalesced through the segregation of these displaced sub-Saharan populations in present day Algeria who, under three centuries of Ottoman rule, were heavily influenced by the local, popular religious practices and socio-political organisation of Sufi lineages. Subsequently, *dīwān* gradually developed into a syncretic Afro-Maghrebi ritual practice predicated on many of the same structures of other musical traditions within popular Islam: saint veneration, trance, and musically generated ritual healing.

Dīwān ritual today is considered by its practicants to belong to the family of Sufi *ṭuruq*, providing divine transcendence of human suffering and functioning, quite practically, as mental-emotional healthcare. What makes both of these processes possible is the ritual labouring of music. The most broadly applicable utility of music in *dīwān* is its ability to create community feeling or 'social warmth'—*ḥāl*. With *dīwān* music creating the critical ambience of ideal *ḥāl*, adepts suffering from psychological distress and/or physical pain are then triggered into varying states of trance by personal associations with musical mottoes that intensify their bodily sensoria, thus igniting a process that obliges these adepts to physically *move* these sensoria. By rendering private suffering public, this ability of *dīwān* to musically trigger and release pain means that it establishes the sufferer's place in a wider network of relations including the religious community and the supernatural world of Islam. Subsequently, social relationships are reconfigured as the community cares for the suffering of others.

Being the first ethnomusicological study of *dīwān,* this thesis both documents and analyses musical and ritual practice while examining in detail the sensory and affective worlds of trance in *dīwān* to ultimately posit *dīwān* ritual worlds as emerging out of an affective epistemology.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements 5
Notes on Language 8

INTRODUCTION 9

PART ONE: WHERE *DĪWĀN* HAS COME FROM 14

Chapter 1: Political, Historical, and Intellectual Legacies 15
- A. Historiographies of the Region 15
- B. A Survey of Academic Inquiry into Trance 24
- C. A Survey of Affect Theory: How Dīwān Challenges It 36
- D. Researcher Positionality 43

Chapter 2: The Emergence of *Dīwān*; the Afro-Maghribi Context 50
- A.Trans-Saharan Caravans and Sufi Histories 50
- B. The Afro-Maghribi Position 61
- C. *Dīwān's* Afro-Maghribi Musical Elements and Sensibilities 66
    1. The Instruments and 'Musicians' 68
    2. Make-up: Modes, Meter, and Compression 77
    3. Styles of *dīwān* music 85
    4. Structure of a *Borj* 90
    5. Musical Structure and Freedom: Comparing Musical Performances 96
    6. Final Thoughts on Recent Dīwān Musical Status 119

PART TWO: THE *DĪWĀN* LIFEWORLD 121

Chapter 3: Epistemologies and Ontologies of *Dīwān* 123
- A. Meriem's Affliction 125
- B. The Epistemologies of Agency, Affect, and Transmission 142
- C. Affective Labour Systems in *Dīwān* 152

Chapter 4: The Social Field of Trance 156
- A. The Cultural Background of *Ḥāl* 156
- B. How *Ḥāl* is Produced in *Dīwān* 161
- C. Trance Types 168
- D. Bodies and Movement 178
- E. Care 183

PART THREE: TRANSMISSION: HOW *DĪWĀN* THRIVES, STRUGGLES, AND IS REPRODUCED 186

Chapter 5: Secret Knowledge 190
A. Secrets 192
1. A Conversation with Moqedm Jallūl Moṭam 195
2. A Conversation with Shaykh ʿAbd el-Qādr Guellāl 203
3. A Conversation with Mʿallem Tūfīq ʿAbd Es-Selam 211
B. Supernatural Involvement in Transmission 218
1. Punishment if Transmission Codes Are Neglected 218
2. Supernatural Contracts Between Human and Nonhuman Agents 219

Chapter 6: Family Lineages and Place 224
A. Oran and the Lineage of Majdūb 226
B. Saida Lineages 237
C. Mascara Lineages 245

Chapter 7: The *Dīwān* Festival of Bechar 251
A. Background of the Festival 252
B. Talking With Ritual Experts 256
C. The Rabbit Incident 264

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS 272
APPENDICES 278
1) Notes on the Companion Website 279
2) List of Figures, Tables, and Musical Examples 280
3) *Ṭreq* Comparisons 283
4) Ritual Action (*Nashaṭ*) Table 291
5) Glossary 297

BIBLIOGRAPHY 298

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible by the American Institute of Maghrib Studies (AIMS) pre-doctoral research grant (2013), a three-year King's College London International Research Studentship (2013-2016), a British Forum for Ethnomusicology fieldwork grant (2016), and a joint AIMS and WARA (West African Research Association) Saharan Crossroads Fellowship (2016).

A special thanks to my advisors Martin Stokes and Katherine Butler-Schofield at King's College London and my PhD examiners James McDougall and Barley Norton.

It is simply impossible to adequately thank all of the interlocutors in Algeria and others abroad who made this research possible and profound. I would like to especially recognise some of the people who were particularly supportive and the families with whom I worked most closely, listed alphabetically by city.
Allah yḥafḍhekum, gʿā :

Adrar: Hamīd 'Feddah', Fayza, Mʿallemīn Merwān and Smʿaīn.
Ain Temouchent: Moqedm Buḥajar, Mʿallem Abdellah Buḥajar and family; Moqedm Manqūr.

Arzew: Shaykh Moqedm Hūsīn Daījaī and all the women who made the annual *wʿāda* there possible.

Algiers: the late ʿAmmi Osmane Sūdānī, Mʿallem ʿĪissa, Mʿallem Faycal, and Mʿallem Mustāfa Sūdānī, Bilāl Sūdānī; Mʿallem Allal Bembārka; Mʿallem Toufiq ʿAbd Es-Selam. Salīm Khīat. Mehdi Lekehal, Islem Boulile, Yusri Tamrabet; Sāra Kharfī, Lotfi Slakem; Nassim Cimo and the entire band of Diwan el-Bahja; Chakīb Būzīdī and Ifrikiyya Spirit, Rīad Aberkane, Linda Bouadama.

Bechar: ʿAmmi Brahīm Berazūg. Mʿallem 'Hakem Sandy', the generous staff of the annual Bechar Festival of Diwan, especially Lʿamārī Ḥamdānī.

Biskra: Mʿallem Milūd and Zahia and the entire Ben Belkhīr family; Saleḥ Tamtāwī and family.

Blida: ʿAmmi Muḥammad Behāz and family. ʿAbd el-Wāḥed Faḍel

Boston: Richard Jankowsky. Nadjim Kebir.

Constantine: Moqedm Hādī Hashanī, ʿArīfa ʿAīsha Baya, and everyone at Dar Baḫrī; ʿAmmī Mīlūd Tuhāmī and everyone at Dar Haussa/Bornu. Chouqi and Maissaʿ Ashaq-Yūsef and family, Walīd Khelīfī.

Fort Collins: (CO, USA): Jo Ella Turner

Ghardaia: Moqedm/Mʿallem Muḥammad "Ḥammitū" Samāwi and family; Ramḍān Būsharab and his family.

Limerick, Ireland: Tony Langlois

London, UK: Rachida Lamri, Samiha Salḥī, Tūfīq Dīūb. Paul Cox, Bee Peak and family.

Mascara: Mʿallem Bīkādī, Chekībʿ Aīnār, Ūlād Meriem/ Bel ʿArabi family; ʿAzzedīn Benūghef,, Mʿallem Benʿūmar Zendēr and family; Maḥalla Gargu and family; Muḥammed Braika; everyone at the *zāwīya* of Bab ʿAli, Mʿallem Ḥammūda and family. Père Raymond.

Mostaganem: Mʿallem Hammiya, Mʿallem Hūsīn, Būbakar and Smaʿīn, and Ūlād Mʿallem Majdūb Sarjī. Shāykh El Hādī, Shāykh ʿAbd el-Qādr Guellāl and family; Moqedm Moktar and *maḥalla*.

Saʿida: Moqedm Jallūl Moṭam, ʿAīsha Mʿamrī, Mʿallem Amīn Muḥammad Canon, Qada Canon, and the entire Canon family; Bu Mama Farajī and family; the late Mʿallem Būterfās and family and all who welcomed me to the Saida *zāwīya*. Muḥammad Weld Bent Saleḥ. Moḥa Dahmānī.

Oran: Nūreddīn Sarjī and Faṭiyyah and family, Khaīra and family; Nūreddīn Khīter and family; Mʿallem Qwīder Arūbī & Faṭī; Mʿallem Hūwaārī Būsmaha and his troupe; Mʿallem ʿAbdāqa Samy and family; Mʿallem Laḥbīb Kano and family; Muḥammad Weld Ba ʿAmar. ʿAmmī Daḥū Ḥarār and family. My 'brothers' Hūwārī Mīlūd, Muḥammad 'Mo Canastel' Benhādī. Sī-Muḥammad Belkhādem, Robert Parks, Karim Ouaras, Hayet Yebbous Ben Sʿaīd, Muḥammad Ben Saleḥ and family; Oussama Becissa, ʿAlī Nougal, Rihab Alloula, Sabrine M'zad and family. The staff at the Saint Eugène Pierre Claverie.

Ouargla: Tahar Idder and family, Slīmen Būghāba, and the band of Zingdah.

Perrigaux: Shāykh Bel ʿAbbess Zerwāli, Yakūb Zerwāli and family; Mʿallem Diden Maḥarrar and family;

Relizane: Mʿallem Benʿūda Ben Brāhīm and family; Nāṣr Būjedra and my brothers of the Relizane *maḥalla, Zāwīya Sīdī Bilāl Jemaʿīya Ahl Gnāwa.*

Sīdī Bel ʿAbbess: Mʿallem Yūssef Mazūzī, Moqedm Bū Bitra and *maḥalla*, 'Moqedma' Khaīra.

Timimoun: Leila Assas. Family of Tata Haddou, ʿAbdāqa, ʿAbd el-Hamīd Farjūlī.

Notes On Language

For Arabic transliteration in this thesis, I use the system of the International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies with some adaptions for Algerian dialect (*derija*). I will take exception to this system in a couple of ways. With place names, I will represent them as they would be recognised in English: for example, Oran rather than Wahrān, Saida rather than Saʿīda. Secondly, when a term is of unknown or non-Arabic origin, I will not use the above system, such as representing the song name Jamarkay rather than Jāmarkī. Particularly in the west of Algeria where I did most of my fieldwork, the hard *g* sound, like the hard *g* in English, often replaces the letter *qaf*. *Derija* occasionally replaces *alif* and the short vowel *fatḥa* with an '*eh*' sound which will be represented as ē.

INTRODUCTION

Background on *Dīwān* and the State of *Dīwān* Scholarship

Algerian *dīwān* (*lit*. 'assembly') is a therapeutic, musico-ritual tradition that originated out of the trans-Saharan slave trade of sub-Saharan (*sūdānī*) populations such as Hausa, Fulani, Bambara, Bornu, Zozo, Songhay, and Gurma ethnolinguistic groups.[1] *Dīwān* coalesced through the segregation of these displaced sub-Saharan populations in present day Algeria who, under three centuries of Ottoman rule, were heavily influenced by the local, popular religious practices and socio-political organisation of Sufi lineages. Subsequently, *dīwān* gradually developed into a syncretic, Afro-Maghribi[2] ritual practice predicated on many of the same structures of other musical traditions within popular Islam: saint veneration, trance, and musically generated ritual healing.

Unlike its sister traditions, the Moroccan *gnāwa* and Tunisian *sṭambēlī*, Algerian *dīwān* has not yet attracted the attention of significant *musical* scholarship in any regard. The Moroccan *gnāwa* are well studied by anthropologists addressing ritual dynamics, psychology, cosmology (Kapchan 2007; Chlyeh 1998, 1999; Hell 1999; Baldassare 1999; Pâques 1991; Lapassade 1982), and musical analysis (Sum 2010; Fuson 2009) while in Tunisia, although scholars addressed Maghribi saint veneration, spirit possession, and ritual practice of *sūdānī* populations (Tremearne 1914; Dermenghem 1954; Pâques 1964; Lapassade 1982), very little was known about *sṭambēlī* musical practice until Richard Jankowsky's articles (2004, 2007) and ethnography (2010). This thesis is the first to comprehensively and ethnographically document and analyse both the musical aspect of *dīwān* as well as elements of ritual and dynamics of trance.

John Bruyn Andrew's small book, *Sebaʾ Aioun* (1903), is the oldest published account of *dīwān* in Algiers. While he provides a brief glimpse of the practices and beliefs of sub-Saharans (*'les soudanais'*) in Algiers at the time, he sketched three vocal lines with words from the songs, 'Overture des Haoussas,' 'Baba Inoua,' and 'Baba

[1] The term *sūdānī* references sub-Saharan Africa, or what was referred to historically as the Bilad es-Sūdān, Land of the Blacks.

[2] Also spelled 'Maghreb' in some literature. I will keep to the spelling found in certain literature cited, otherwise when referring to it myself, I use 'Maghrib' to reflect Arabic spelling and pronunciation.

Mouça' (1903: 21) but these short sketches are not sufficient enough to provide an idea of aesthetics and trends. Viviana Pâques's *L'arbre Cosmique* (1964) provides the greatest amount of detail on *dīwān* structure and symbolism but primarily by way of how they connect to other *sūdānī* traditions in North Africa as well as cultural practice south of the Sahara (such as Timbuktu). Emile Dermenghem provided a broad and ethnographically informed text on North African saint veneration and Sufi orders, *Le Culte des Saints dans l'Islam Maghribin* (1954), still considered today one of the most important documents on the region. His chapter on the *Bilaliyya* (black) brotherhoods of his time is unprecedented.

However, while both Dermenghem and Pâques noted general dynamics between the *ginbrī* (lute) and dancer, such as intensification of their exchanges at moments in the ritual, we have little sense of how any of these specific musical aesthetics might be mobilised to communicate with spirits or to engender or abate trance, the ultimate goal of *dīwān.* We get very little sense of any subject in these sources, of *who* these researchers were speaking to. Rather, both emphasise structuralist approaches over an ethnographic perspective. In addition, Dermenghem and George Lapassade's *Gens de l'Ombre* (1982) describe *dīwān* ritual as observers but in each of these sources, the music itself receives little attention other than the note of instruments and their presence in ritual. Pâques makes note of the most important songs (*brāj*, pl; *borj*, sing) but, not having a musical ear, she fails to make important comparisons across *dīwān* groups who pronounce the names of songs or classify them differently.[3] Little to nothing has been written on *ginbrī* melodies, their contour, nor ritual efficacy. Despite this, all four of the primary sources on *dīwān* (Andrews, Dermenghem, Pâques, and Lapassade) confirm that several distinct musical practices of *dīwān* existed at least up until the 1960s, often connected to their associated *diyār* (pl.; *dār*, sing.), communal houses that served as centers for the many different ethnolinguistic groups.

[3] She often lists *brāj* by the first few words of the text and does not seem to recognise that the same *borj* is pronounced slightly differently from group to group so that, for example, what is today's 'Rima' she sometimes calls 'Yarima' or 'Arima'. I am mostly able to determine which *brāj* she is referencing and that are still in practice today based on phonetics of text and where they fall in the *tartib* (order) of most *dīwān ṭuruq* ('ritual paths') today. However, this is of course not fool proof. Based on the difficulty in obtaining such contextual information, one has to allow for a certain margin of error or misinformation in her case as well as Dermenghem's.

Since Lapassade, two compact discs released in the mid-90s (Poché) and in 2000 (Lecomte) provide some sense of *dīwān* ritual music constituents, aesthetics, and song structure. However, having been recorded in dramatically different locations (Biskra and Mostaganem) more than twenty years apart, the recordings nevertheless leave wide gaps in knowledge, raising more questions than they answer. Except for Salim Khiat's unpublished Master's thesis in French written in the 2000s with a primary focus on the Algiers practice, academic scholarship on *dīwān* is sparse.[4] More recently, on February 9, 2012, the Centre d'Études Maghrebines en Algérie (CEMA) research institute in Oran held a one-day panel specifically on *dīwān,* featuring three scholarly papers.

Recognising the large gaps in knowledge, this thesis—coming fifty-some years after the best documented *dīwān* practices of the 1950s and early 1960s—aims to first, act as a document of practice in the most active regions of Algeria: primarily the West. However, I traveled extensively, visiting as many of the main *dīwān* loci as possible, particularly those discussed in the main sources and including regions outside the scope of this thesis for reasons of space: Biskra, the Tuwat Oases (Adrar), Gourara (Timimoun and surrounding), Ouargla, and the Mzab Valley. Each of these regions features their own, unique practices with significant differences in repertoire to the 'western' Algerian body of *dīwān* music and practice.[5] With this background knowledge, I sketch the broad scope of *dīwān* practice, to explore what makes *dīwān* cohesive, varied, and to consider what a 'big picture' of *dīwān* might be. Questions about the music of *dīwān* are not only crucial to the first stages of understanding how the *music* itself functions as an art form worthy of extensive study, but these questions are also necessary to tracing dynamic aesthetics relevant to North African studies in general, such as how musical traditions survive amongst dramatic political change and turmoil. Additionally, my research promotes the possibility for larger comparisons between *dīwān, gnāwa,* and *sṭambēlī,* towards the understanding of aesthetic family resemblances and the dynamics and continuities of healing music traditions in North Africa.

Most importantly, in counterpoint to the previous historical and structuralist approaches to *dīwān,* my aim is to provide a much-needed ethnographic approach to the

[4] Salim Khiat passed on a copy to me as a Word document in 2013 but there was no date on the document and I have been unable to confirm the exact date of its completion.
[5] I do hope to publish on the ritual practice in these areas in the future.

practice, people, and epistemology of *dīwān*: one that focuses on the senses and feeling, and that attends to the sounds, smells, and ambience of ritual. Utilising anthropological participant-observation methodology, and considering ritual as a knowledge practice, this thesis is based on eighteen months of fieldwork in Algeria, including extensive video and audio documentation of *dīwān* rituals, music lessons, and interviews with ritual musicians, attendees, and adepts. In addition to comprehensive documentation and analysis, my research aims to contribute to the Humanities and Social Sciences by illustrating previously unexplored connections between trance, affects/sensoria, cultural conceptions of 'health', and musical labour. The current state of scholarship on Algerian *dīwān,* as outlined above, necessitates such an ethnomusicological approach that considers the interconnectivity of sociocultural, aesthetic, epistemological, and sonic worlds.

Structure of This Thesis

In Part One, I will deal with crucial background and contextual information that the reader requires in order to situate *dīwān.* I begin in Chapter One with the historiography of the region, moving on to a survey of the intellectual history of trance inquiry and affect theory—the two predominant academic legacies crucial to this thesis—followed by a discussion of my positionality in relation to these historical and intellectual legacies. In Chapter Two, I go into greater detail about the very particular trans-Saharan, Afro-Maghribi situation, including a detailed look at historical, linguistic, and musical/aesthetic connectivities and ruptures. As part of this Afro-Maghribi context, I then elabourate on the music compositional elements, detailing musical fundamentals (mode, groove, song structure) and the balance between fixed musical structure and individual creativity.

In Part Two, my goal is to attend to and illuminate the *dīwān* lifeworld. I do this first by featuring an in-depth ethnographic description of a trance event in Chapter Three. By then reflecting on this event, I detail the critical epistemological and ontological assumptions of this lifeworld that turn around a prioritisation of affect. From here, I explain the ways that humans engage with affect in overlapping systems of affective

labour, such as in the phenomenon of *ḥāl* in *dīwān*—an affective field of social warmth, the subject of Chapter Four. This is critical because it is with the labouring of *ḥāl* that everything else in *dīwān* ritual can or cannot emerge—crucially, trance. I then flesh out the rich taxonomy of local trance terminology, categories, and requirements of bodily movement and community care.

Part Three deals most explicitly with the dynamics of *dīwān* transmission, the variety of ways in which 'traditional' *dīwān* knowledge is learned and reproduced in a 'modern' lifeworld with very particular, 'modern' expectations around the transmission (sharing, circulation, consumption) of Algerian 'culture' and 'music'. This part of the thesis is split up into three chapters as three thematic case studies that look at examples of *dīwān* experts negotiating the competing needs and expectations within the dynamics of transmission. Chapter Five deals first with the important discursive negotiation of secret knowledge that reveals complex understandings of what it means to be a *dīwān* 'insider' versus an 'outsider'. Chapter Six attends to family lineages as structures of transmission where *dīwān* experts assert ownership over crucial aspects of *dīwān* knowledge. Chapter Seven details the state sponsored annual *dīwān* music festival for its goal of 'preserving and protecting *dīwān'* by staging it. In addition, the festival is revealing for its legibility of insider/outsider struggles, particularly around who has the authority and ability to represent, and thus transmit, '*dīwān* music' on stage.

Finally, in the conclusion, I will first summarise the topography and assertions of this thesis. Then, reflecting on larger questions about the past, present, and future of *dīwān* transmission, I address the kinds of histories that are silent in my thesis and what I hope to have contributed.

PART ONE: WHERE *DĪWĀN* HAS COME FROM

CHAPTER ONE: POLITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND INTELLECTUAL LEGACIES

A. Historiographies of the Region

Over the last fifty-some years, two streams of Maghribi social analysis have been dominant: that of large-scale, long-term, top-down geopolitical assessments considering 'new state' development and secondly, self-reflexive, so-called 'bottom-up', post-structural anthropological approaches that allowed the region to be situated within wider questions of Muslim subjectivities but perhaps portraying the region as a 'symbolic background' (McDougall and Parks 2012: 632). More recently, in the wake of the Algerian revolution and independence in 1962, and with the growth of postcolonial studies and the centrality of Franz Fanon in critical theory, thinking about Algeria has extended towards culture, with more attention to literature, local discourse, language, and smaller-scale regional dynamics.

I want to start by situating the material of this thesis within these two conceptually separate and yet often overlapping legacies of academic knowledge production. The first legacy is that of the dominant frameworks: geopolitical, colonial, and post-colonial contexts, today often written within History and Political Science departments. The second legacy is that of anthropological and sociological knowledge production particularly on religion, trance, ritual, brotherhoods, or otherwise tight-knit, religious or spiritual community practices in North Africa. Because many of these sociological and anthropological endeavors emerged directly out of geopolitics and the French colonial project—not to mention shared academic epistemologies and kinds of inquiry that political scientists and historians also subscribed to—it will be clearest to chronologically connect these two strands of knowledge production below. In addition, while the majority of North African anthropological and sociological scholarship took place in and about Morocco, with less investigation in Algeria and Tunisia, there are common threads and connections across these spaces that lend towards broad understanding of this Francophone region. For example, what lessons the French gained regarding policy in Algeria were applied to their later conquest in Morocco (1912)(on

this issue pertaining to material of this thesis, see Amster 2013) just as anthropological and sociological research in Morocco influenced similar work in Algeria (notably Pâques 1964).

By situating my work within these legacies, I aim to give context to my positionality and biases—white, American, Western, privileged, female—while also prefacing my effort to write *outside* some of the deeply grooved scholarly routes in these worlds, particularly those pertaining to religious or occult practice. As well providing a glance at the intellectual inheritance of this thesis, the surveys of these academic legacies highlight the ways that academics have historically engaged with the region and its people and practices. In other words, the kinds of questions that generals, anthropologists, and historians were asking have, in some cases, influenced and impacted the way *dīwān* practicants, ritual experts, and adepts think about themselves and the way they imagine their pasts, presents, and futures.

From Regional Geopolitics to Individual Subjectivities

The history of ideas and thinking about Algeria as well as its place in wider North African, Mediterranean, and 'Arab world' regions are structured and influenced by a 'unit of analysis' problem (Brown 1997). While thinking about Algerian history in chronological, dynastic, or racial periods of Roman, Arab, Ottoman, French, Spanish, or Italian governance is problematic for the ways it obscures inter-structural political dynamics and fluidity, such an approach is so deeply embedded in the historical discourse (Le Gall and Perkins 1997) that it continues to determine intellectual engagement. Albert Smith (1978: 178) proposed three similar 'schools' in which one can think of the historiography of the region: colonialist, nationalist, and Western, meaning Westerners not involved in the colonial project. However, Carl Brown's *Unit of Analysis Problem* (1997) exactly identifies that 'the Maghrib' itself is, of course, just one way of thinking about the physical place. He argues: why not identify it as 'Atlas Land' for the central importance of the Atlas mountain chain? (1997: 8).

Most important to questions of historical representation, however, is the fact that the historiography of Algeria and North Africa has long been dominated by 'outsider'

authors of European—primarily French—origin. While historically, Germans studied German history and the French studied French history, by contrast 'modern Maghribi historiography was first created by Europeans [. . .] while Maghribi historians continued to pursue the models of classical Islamic history' (Le Gall and Perkins 1997: 82). Because it was through the lens of French power that much of the Maghrib was first represented to the 'outside' and was then wrapped up into European intellectual traditions (ibid: 2), this legacy of intellectual colonialism is inextricable from contemporary discourse and ways of understanding the region both abroad and 'at home'. Compared with Morocco and Tunisia, these legacies are even more profound and lasting in Algeria due to settler colonialism that was specific to Algeria and that was particularly successful at embedding and propagating French culture, language (ibid: 2), and epistemology.

French geopolitical writing about Algeria was particularly prolific just before the French invasion in 1830 as well as throughout the colonial period (1830-1962) as French colonels, military officers, engineers, and geographers sought to map the region socially, politically, and geographically to their advantage. For example, topographical detachments of the French Army began identifying and mapping by 1881, producing data for two atlases (Mahjoubi 1997:20). These types of projects that are particularly important to this thesis— because of their mention of slavery, social demographics, Sufis, and occult practices—include the writings of geographic engineer, Claude-Antoine Rozet (early 1830s); French administrator and politician, Jean-Jacques Baude (1840s); French Catholic priest and orientalist, Jean Joseph Léandre Bargès (1850s); French historian, Henri Leon Fey (1850s); and French lawyer and officer, Louis Rinn (1880s).

Later, at the end of the nineteenth century with the colonial administration sufficiently established, writings by explorers, anthropologists, journalists, and sociologists began to blossom like that of the linguist, James Bruyn Andrews, sociologist Edmond Doutté (early 1900s), and explorer Réné Lespès (1930s). These authors were highly influenced by French structuralist anthropology with Lévi-Strauss's profound impact on ethnographic representation and writing. The structuralist epistemology as well as influence from psychoanalysis and structural linguistics popular

throughout academia in the first half of the twentieth century perpetuated a desire to categorise and understand 'deeper' forms and meanings and/or subconscious workings that could be decoded and 'read' by an outsider; in other words, universalist and categorical approaches to understanding North African subjectivities. In addition to the profound impact of French structuralism, the twentieth century *Annales School* (known for a particular kind of long-term French historiography) along with Weberian, Marxist and neo-Marxist trends in academia (bending history towards political economy), Anglo-Saxon social science (developments in social anthropology and structural functionalism) and the academic, theoretical saturation of Michel Foucault have, in turn, all pushed and pulled at the nineteenth- and twentieth-century approaches to the Maghrib (Le Gall and Perkins 1997: xxii).

In tandem with geopolitical historiography, the history of ideas and ways of writing about Islam, Sufism, religiosity, spirit mediumship, and the spiritual lives of Algerians from the 'outside' is particularly important to this thesis. Such historiography was influenced, if not explicitly driven by, the colonial project that compiled data from French government personnel and enlisted ethnographers in order to produce information about domestic and religious realms (Amster 2013: 161)—such as Amélie Marie Goichon who worked on women's domains in the M'zab Valley of Algeria (1927, 1931) as well as in Morocco. Sufi orders—politically intertwined within deep-seated, historical tribal politics in pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Algeria—were dynamic political and religious entities for France to contend with. While some became well known for their resistance to French domination—notably a branch of Qadiriyya led by Emīr ʿAbd el-Qādr in the west of Algeria—there was a variety of nuanced reactions and relationships that developed out of these encounters (see Clancy-Smith 1994). For example, rivalries between the Tijaniyya and Darkawa orders with the Qadiriyya order in the West, as well as dynamics between rural saintly clans in the hinterlands, for example, served as pressure points in which France participated and profited from (Abu Nasr 1965; Nadir 1972).[6] Such strategic interest in the Sufi orders, maraboutism, and clan politics, therefore, produced categorical volumes such as that of Louis Rinn's *Marabouts et Khouan* (1884) which documents and analyses every notable Sufi order in

[6] The Tijaniyya turned to the French to help dismantle the Qadiriyya (Abu Nasr 1965: 611).

Algeria, the number of followers or branches, and its beliefs and activities. As I will explore in depth later, such information is central to this thesis as Sufi orders were instrumental in the trans-Saharan slave trade and in the naturalisation of slaves once in Algeria; almost all published information about the activities of orders is from this French perspective.

New grassroots Islamist leadership beginning around First World War gradually gained a foothold while, around 1929, with a new modernity shifting 'the practice of politics in Algeria', there was a 'collapse of the old structures of political socialization', such as the Sufi *zāwīya*, mosque, and guild, and an emergence of new kinds of socialisation 'issuing from the civilian bourgeois society—clubs, associations, labor unions, and political parties' (Touati 1997: 89). Historiographic representation responded in kind, itself under a process of change, absorbing 'certain positivist notions' (ibid: 89) concurrent with the nationalist movement that blossomed in the 1920s and 1930s. While political and religious grounds were shifting in Algeria, French interest in such dynamics continued to be relevant throughout French occupation but not always with explicit political strategies in mind. As previously noted, in the early 1950s, the journalist-writer Emile Dermenghem provided a broad and yet ethnographically informed text on North African popular Islam and, particularly, *Bilaliyya* brotherhoods.

During the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962), French sociologist and anthropologist, Pierre Bourdieu undertook ethnographic research in Kabylie. Despite his foundational inheritance and championing of structuralism, his fieldwork eventually led to his landmark text, *Outline of Theory and Practice*, and his tide-changing ideas about social practice, embodiment, and habitus. Dovetailing both well grooved and burgeoning academic trends, the symbolic and interpretivist anthropology of Clifford Geertz, who began writing about Morocco in the mid-nineteen sixties—blurring the lines between 'social science' history (oral history) and other histories (Rollman 1997: 64-66) with his 'thick description'—also moved with universalising tendencies and has similarly been critiqued for having produced essentialist narratives of the region that endured for at least another decade.

Meanwhile, Francophone anthropology largely perpetuated an object-oriented and structuralist approach. The work of the French anthropologist Viviana Pâques is most

notable here to demonstrate these burgeoning, structuralist searches for 'deeper meaning' beyond or below the contours of the observable as they apply to supernatural and mythic worlds. Her ambitious, comprehensive volume, *The Cosmic Tree* (*L'arbre Cosmique*, 1964) thoroughly catalogs, compares, and analyses trans-Saharan semiotics, myth, and 'below the surface' animist and sacred connections between Mali, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. Most of the comparisons and trans-Saharan symbolic connections she makes, however, are generated from *her* reading and are not, at least explicitly or discursively, the experience of her interlocutors. In this work we find very little ethnographic information on the people, dynamics, politics, and subjectivities or agencies nor do we sense Pâques's presence in the field much less in the text. Nevertheless, Pâques had a tremendous influence in Morocco and Algeria on and within the communities and individuals with whom she worked. Ritual experts in Morocco and Algeria continue to remember her and recount stories of her work—these stories indicate that while her attention to the communities was appreciated on the one hand, she remained a controversial figure. In Morocco, she was accused on more than one occasion of hiding cameras and secretly trying to video record communities without their consent[7] while in Algeria, several pages of her entry in *L'arbre Cosmique* on *dīwān* ritual symbolism in Saida have recently been appropriated (without credit) into the local musicians' informational brochure for their *dīwān* 'folklore' group. Such a move is one example of how *dīwān* communities defer to outside representations of their practice to appeal to outsider publics.

Since the hard-won independence of Algeria in 1962, nationalism has been the dominant frame of analysis. As Le Gall and Perkins point out, since nationalism is a European invention, there has been a tendency to analogise the Algerian process with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, neglecting the important role of Islam in national movements (1997: 82). Meanwhile, the object-oriented, structuralist, and arguably orientalist anthropological thinking about North Africa that blossomed in the 1960s continued to echo well into the seventies, eighties, and nineties where trance and spirit mediumship were treated in related ways such as in the work of Georges

[7] ʿAbdellatif Makzūmī, personal communication, Marrakech, 2011.

Lapassade (1975, 1982), a later work by Viviana Pâques (1991), Bertrand Hell (1999), Abdelhafid Chlyeh (1999), Baldassare (1999) and others.

Crapanzano's (1973, 1980) work is especially relevant to this thesis for its place in the genealogy of scholarship addressing North African popular Islam and its very particular basis in Sufism, trance practices, spirit possession or affliction, and other 'occult' or 'magical' phenomena that are deeply intertwined with local modes of sickness, suffering, and wellbeing. His ethnopsychiatric approach (1973) to spirit affliction, locating such experiences in the mind, thoughts, or workings of the psyche can be situated within the larger sphere of George Devereux's ethnopsychiatry that was similarly informed by Lévi-Strauss's structuralism. Furthermore, such an approach was problematic for its underpinnings of ethnographer-interlocutor as analyst-analysand and particularly notable when compared with British anthropologists' 'fierce antagonism towards psychology' at the time (Lewis 1971:178).

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, academic research on and publishing about trance or, broadly speaking, ecstatic religious practices across a variety of cultures began to gather such interest that, due to its central, theoretical importance to this thesis and it being non-Maghrib specific, I will examine this particular intellectual legacy in a separate section (see Trance Inquiry). Lewis's (1971) 'Ecstatic Religion' sought to correct what he viewed as the failure of sociologists to properly systematically gather, analyse, and compare religious practices due to their, 'abandoning religious emotion to the psychiatrist' (1971: 11). Structuralism, its tendrils, and responses to it continued into the 1970s and 1980s with attempts to supply cross-cultural, categorical understandings of trance, shamanism, spirit possession, and related phenomena. However, as Anne Beal illustrates, despite attempts to break with Orientalist, generalising, interpretivist anthropology, seeking to highlight the intersubjective and constructed ethnographic encounter, post-Geertzian anthropological writing about Morocco in the late 1970s and early 1980s ultimately failed to break with empiricist depictions and instead, re-inscribed self-other, subject-object dichotomies: specifically, the works of Rabinow (1977), Crapanzano (1985), and Dwyer (1982) with their perceived importance to the genealogy of anti-essentialist writing and post-modern sensibility (1995: 290).

Overall, however, it is appropriate to note that recent scholarship (since the 1970s) of the Maghrib has tended towards a focus on the nation-state, an 'almost insurmountable framework of analysis' (McDougall and Parks 2012: 632) while those studies that break out of this trend fail to make viable connections between the global and local, macro and micro registers: 'the degree to which the literature is divided between levels of analysis, between both objects of study and the lenses applied to them, remains a striking feature of the field across the disciplines' (ibid: 632). Therefore, even while the last twenty years has especially seen 'an accelerated convergence' between the social sciences, history, and political science (Rollman 1997: 64-66), such as a growth in work on linguistics, religion, and cultural production (theatre, music), the majority of research still sits within history and political science often with Algiers as the site of investigation for its strategic and geopolitical importance. Such work consistently privileges the colonial struggle, post-colonial nation building, and modernisation.

A considerably recent (2000s) exception to this is the Anglophone interest in Saharan and trans-Saharan connectivities; it is one of the more significant transformations in intellectual perspective of North and West Africa and the Sahara. The work of Ghislaine Lydon (2009), Judith Scheele, and James McDougall (eds. 2012) has been particularly influential to a shifting view of the Sahara as a continuum and dynamic 'bridge' rather than as a north-south, religious and racial barrier between 'black' and 'white' and 'Muslim' and 'non-Muslim' (Lydon 2009: 41).[8] Such a black-white binary, very much a product of French intellectual colonialism, continues to persist discursively around and within *dīwān* communities in Algeria, who largely consider *dīwān* a sub-Saharan, animist, and pre-Islamic practice prior to its emplacement in North Africa where it was 'cleaned up' (see more below). As James McDougall points out, rather than thinking of the Sahara as 'empty space' and without over-emphasising routes *across* the Sahara—in other words, focusing too much on *trans*-Saharan trajectories that write the Sahara out of history—trans-Saharan studies would do well to consider 'spaces in between' (Scheele and McDougall 2012: 75), and perhaps multiple 'Sahara-s' with

[8] This central idea has been taken up by the American Institute for Maghrib Studies (AIMS) outpost in Algeria, the Center for Maghrib Studies in Algeria (CEMA), and the Boston-based West African Research Association (WARA) followed by several co-organised international conferences and an annual AIMS grant scheme, the Saharan Crossroads Fellowship, that officially began in 2013.

varying mobilities across economical, political, and ecological landscapes (Lydon 2009: 47).

This latter development is particularly important to the intellectual background of this thesis and to the contribution it aspires to make: that is, the ways we understand trans-Saharan relationships. Rather than highlight connectivity or 'flow', the histories—both textual and oral—of *dīwān* suggest uneven networks of practice, aesthetics, and epistemology, demonstrating both trans-Saharan connection and disconnection, remembering and forgetting, construction and destruction, and power and powerlessness. While the Sahara in the histories of *dīwān* did function as a bridge to some extent, passage involved great trauma, loss, suppression, and suffering. Thus, it is important to consider how Saharan crossings not only fostered connections but also how they destroyed them by establishing, reconfiguring, and obliterating subjectivities.

France not only physically occupied the Algerian territory, and not only colonised the land intellectually, as Le Gall and Perkins demonstrate, but colonialism equally consumed its subjects psychologically, psychically, emotionally, and spiritually. Its educational system, administration, language, food, religion, dress, priorities, and values—its epistemology *and* ontology—were very much pushed into the soil of cultural politics, selves, and imaginaries. Nevertheless, Algerians educated in the French system, particularly in the North, are well read in post-colonial theory and are therefore keenly aware of longstanding representational problems; most often, I heard these problems identified as racist and imperialist. In the South, where Algerians have darker skin or may be black, and where the French did have less impact, tensions accumulate around registers of national identity and worth. Algerian musicians living on the edge of the Sahara such as in Ouargla, for example, rarely see government funding for their cultural projects—despite their greater need due to lack of other resources and general poverty—unlike help that is available to musicians in the North. Such distance can also be seen at an existential level where, like the French enchantment with the Sahara, northern Algerians also exoticise the desert as a place of 'purity' where its people, namely the Tuareg, symbolise Algerian 'authenticity'.

As an ethnographer working in post-colonial Algeria, I have inherited the above intellectual lineages that continue to cast shadows of Western disciplinary interests,

assumptions, and biases situated within larger structures of academic institutions and intellectual pursuits. Most noticeable in my fieldwork experience were the shadows of French structuralism in the categorical, binary, classificatory, and deeper structural meanings 'behind' or 'beneath' songs that were very much a priority in wider discussions in Algeria on the cultural heritage of *dīwān.* As previously mentioned, *dīwān* was commonly seen as an Islamicised animist practice to the point that there seemed to be little recognition of Islam's deep roots in sub-Saharan Africa, not the least of which was Timbuktu, from which so many *dīwān* ancestors reportedly came.

Similarly, as noted regarding the appropriation of French written materials into a brochure for a *dīwān* community in Saida, I frequently encountered what one highly educated gentleman in Algiers called the 'systemic cultural inferiority complex of Algerians.' When journalists were present at the large, annual *dīwān* gatherings in Saida, the *dīwān* kin group of Saida asked me to speak on their behalf to the journalists, to 'promote' their festival. In many other situations, rather than seek out the *dīwān* elders from whom my information came, television producers, newspaper editors, and journalists, instead, asked to speak with me about *dīwān* practice: a fact that consistently put me in a difficult position.

In this first section, I have been concerned about the geopolitical historiographies of Algeria because of the ways that such inquiry and knowledge production affected and continues to affect Algerian epistemology. Such legacies can be felt 'on the ground' and within *dīwān* discourse, for example. I would like to now address another legacy of intellectual inquiry quite important to this thesis: the history of academic inquiry into trance as a cross-cultural phenomenon.

B. A Survey of Academic Inquiry into Trance

Conceptualising, analysing, and representing trance has long posed an existential challenge to academic inquiry. The canon of music and trance scholarship has continually mirrored development and polemics within anthropology and social theory so that the methodological paradigms that emerged posited scientistic (positivist) approaches at one pole—Andrew Neher, for example—and relativist, phenomenological

approaches at the other pole (Friedson 1996; Norton 2009). Various takes on 'embodiment', while often privileging phenomenology have at times tried to strike a kind of middle ground, such as Judith Becker's work (2004) that addressed the working of the limbic system in conjunction with culturally framed rhythmic entrainment. Alternative approaches, often overlapping, have sought broad structuralism (Rouget 1985, Lewis 1971), or situated trance within single, cultural practices like traditional medicine (Roseman 1993), and relationships with ancestors (Berliner 1981), or embodied memory (Boddy 1989; Emoff 2002; Stoller 1989, 1995; Kapchan 2007) and, more recently, approaching trance at face value without interrogating it as 'some kind of problem that needs to be solved' (Jankowsky 2010: 24).

In this section, I would like to survey the intellectual history of trance inquiry, addressing the canon of anthropological, sociological, and ethnomusicological literature, so that the approach taken in this thesis will have been properly contextualised within this intellectual legacy. I separate trance inquiry from the previous discussion of Algerian historiography for several reasons. First, trance inquiry has often been a cross-cultural pursuit and scholarship of trance outside the Maghrib is, therefore, crucial to consider as such. Secondly, trance inquiry, often located within ritual theory, has not always been the object of colonial or foreign gaze but has also been a pursuit of general anthropological and sociological interest, traceable back to, at least, Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912/1995). Therefore, I see this thread of my thesis, my own engagement with the phenomena of trance, as being connected to this broad intellectual lineage, based more in the *nature* of the questions being asked rather than in the cultural specificity of the Maghrib.

As mentioned in the previous section, the influence of French structuralism particularly in the 1960s and 1970s similarly impacted the ways in which anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists sought to understand trance. I.M. Lewis's (1971) book on Ecstatic Religion, which equally took a categorical and comparative approach, may be considered a precursor to the larger, and most canonical text with regard to music and trance: that of Gilbert Rouget, *La Musique et la Transe* (1984). Rouget dealt with trance, ecstasy, and related phenomena across a wide cross-section of cultures, exploring relationships between shamanistic and possession trance

and, in each case, the role of music. Most importantly, Rouget argued *against* a biological framework for trance—particularly confronting Andrew Neher's (1962) brain models and suggestion of a physiological cause-and-effect relationship. Rouget meticulously argued that it is *only* with the unique, culturally appropriate meaning ascribed to musical cues that trance states are possible. His ambitious work was the first to attempt a broad theory of relations between music and trance and while such mapping offered a needed overview, his structuralist framework tended to be reductive, leaning more towards binaries and with little said about overlap, individual agency, and forces of change. As Lewis (1971: 45) pointed out, such categories and binaries of ecstasy/trance, possession/shamanism, etcetera, are often without substance; for example, possession can occur outside of trance and in some cultures, possession and shamanism occur simultaneously and within the same subject (ibid, 46).

A second tide-changing work was Judith Becker's *Deep Listeners* (2004) that aimed to stake out common ground between the humanistic, cultural anthropological, and the scientific/cognitive/physiological approaches by proposing a three-pronged, anthropological skeleton of embodiment. While Becker does attend to a phenomenology of 'experience,' noting the work of William James and Martin Heidegger—and, in a similar gesture, noting the 'Western aversion to trance' with its idolisation of self-control and rationality—her primary, theoretical 'common ground' between poles is a positivist theory of rhythmic entrainment through the model of 'structural coupling' in which trancers are rhythmically entrained to one another, reaching extraordinary experiences of being (119-122). She acknowledges the 'special gnosis of trance that need not be explained' (2); nevertheless, she makes the strongest case for neuroscience, charting the limbic system's effect on functional consciousness, taking us back to ideas of 'core' and 'extended' consciousness.

Taking quite the opposite approach, Steven Friedson's self-reflexive ethnography, *Dancing Prophets* (1996), with its Heidegger and Dilthey-inspired phenomenological approach, proposed two important shifts in sensory inquiry: expanding our often-neglected focus of *musical* agency in spirit possession and expanding our thinking regarding *bodily* ways of knowing. Drawing from Heidegger's 'being-in-the-world', Friedson gives a personal account of 'dancing his disease' and experiencing his

consciousness as dispersed throughout his body rather than bounded to his thinking self. In addition, Friedson delivers a poetic and thorough account of musical agency, returning again and again to the power of music to 'heat the spirits' and 'charge a battery' of the ancestors in order to empower 'seeing' and divination, thus, kindling proper diagnosis and healing of the sick. Thirteen years later in his book, *Remains of Ritual,* he advocated for exploring 'the things themselves as they are given', and to 'dismissing what people are telling us' to once again, 'begin to listen along with them' (10).

Barley Norton's (2009) coverage of spirit possession practice in Vietnam is also phenomenological. Norton openly discusses the level of his insidership, comparing it to Friedson's, and points out that his framing of the phenomenon was generated out of discussions with mediums who continually referred to the experience in their bodies. In this way, from a bottom-up approach, Norton's phenomenology points the reader to existential meanings through the texture of representational meaning. He further explains his framework, in order to show its indigenous resonance, by explaining that mediums 'did not discuss possession in terms of mentalistic notions of consciousness or altered states of consciousness, but rather in terms of somatic change and bodily interaction with the spirits.'[9] He explains the processes in which mediums attend to, and with, their bodies during *len dong* ceremonies, through 'culturally constituted modes of somatic attention'—such as ritual action, dance, gift exchange, and divine utterances—for the presence of embodied spirits and for the interactions with ritual participants.'[10] As well as showing embodiment in this way, he uses an analogous semiotic model to discuss the physicality of language: the words of the spirits embodied through mediums.[11]

Similarly privileging the body, Paul Stoller's *Embodying Colonial Memories* (1995) uses a framework of cultural memory—in this case, the historical presence of French military occupation of which the effects are still being felt. Stoller shows how these memories are recollected, substantiated, negotiated, and reclaimed, *through the body*, during spirit possession ceremonies. Stoller spends a generous amount of time discussing the workings of cultural memory, which in his view, is specifically embodied.

---

[9] Ibid., 56.
[10] Ibid., 57.
[11] Ibid., 72.

Not unlike Friedson, Stoller advocates for anthropological consideration of the senses beyond the visual. In Songhay, spirits must be enticed to their social bodies through music (sound), praise-poetry (sound), specific perfumes (smell), and dance (movement)' (22).

Akin to Stoller's approach is Ron Emoff's *Recollecting the Past* (2002) which centers on the Malagasy 'multidimensional music/sound/performative aesthetic' of *maresaka*: the texturing of multigenerational social relationships from within the region (neighboring cultural groups) and outside of it (colonial histories). Animated by inviting the echoes of geo-cultural history into the social space of spirit possession, this socio-musical encounter is not only practiced ' to convey a performative aesthetics and a way of recollecting the past, 'but as a means of revaluing, reconstructing, and remastering their past (1, 23). In other words, 'Historical time…is brought into synch with everyday time through manipulations of musical time' (63).

Sharing a similar perspective through embodiment and memory, Deborah Kapchan (2007) writes about the *gnāwa* of Morocco suggesting that we might approach the body as a theatrical stage for the script of cultural memory, employing spirits as actors. Within a frame of performed identity and performed culture, Kapchan discusses gestural economies, which are part of a cultural tapestry and thus, are learned, codified, and repeated. The inseparability of music from an 'aesthetic complex' gives it total agency within the body, utilising all five senses. Particularly intriguing is her assertion of performed cultural memory and identity seen to be reflecting the *gnāwa's* relationship to their ancestors: slaves brought to Morocco from sub-Saharan Africa. In a kind of embodied double *entendre*, the *gnāwa* become 'possessed' by spirits, as part of re-membering the cultural memory of physical possession—that is, having been physically possessed as slaves.[12]

While each of these personal and tailored approaches to embodiment—that of Friedson, Norton, Stoller, and Kapchan—beautifully demonstrate the capacity with which we can continue to understand the body and physical ways of being-in-the-world, the anxiety I encountered in my own work was whether there is a risk of confusing the body with embodiment: 'the body. . . as a biological, material entity and embodiment as

[12] Ibid., see chapter 3.

an indeterminate methodological field defined by perceptual experience [including our own as observing researchers] and by mode of presence and engagement in the world' (Csordas 1999: 145). As I will explore below, this is precisely where dance theory allows the accounting for movement without necessarily ascribing meaning to that movement (see particularly Pinto 2011; 2013).

Circumventing the epistemological questions of her contemporaries, and rather than focusing on otherworldly symbolism or meta-meaning, Marina Roseman (1993) takes a hands-on, 'this world' approach, discussing the quotidian, indigenous concepts of health and illness among the Temiar of peninsular Malaysia by illustrating the interwoven relationships between local ecology, song composition, and social structure. Her language is exquisitely descriptive of not only the jungle landscape but the dream and song landscape as well. By engaging deeply with and illustrating the complete environment of the Temiar, Roseman provides a richly detailed, comprehensive 'big picture' for her readers in a way that grounds the research, lending it well to cross-disciplinary access. In a world where, for example, headaches have a *sound* (12), Roseman engages with local ideas around health and illness, asking, for example, 'where does illness come from?' and fleshing out how the Temiar order their experience.

Like Roseman, Vincent Crapanzano's (1973) ethnography on the Moroccan Hamadsha community, a popular Islamic trance sect, is rich in legends and semiotics, delving into social roles and norms, painting detailed pictures of music's central agency in therapy, and most importantly, illuminating indigenous relationships between sickness and health. While his ethnopsychiatric approach drawn from Western ideologies of 'health' could align him with Becker, his focus on native ecology resists a primarily scientistic conclusion, highlighting how an individual is moved from sickness to health through 'the *manipulation of symbols* [that] not only to give expression to conflicts within the individual, but also to resolve them'(7). Crapanzano's work resonates with Friedson's by showing that therapy presupposes a cosmology; his weaving of the hagiographic legends of the Hamadsha throughout the book might align him with Stoller and Emoff. And like Roseman's discussion of social structure, dream worlds, and total world ecologies playing into ideas of health and illness, he shows, over and over again,

that therapy 'necessarily involves changes in all significant levels of human existence—the physiological, the psychological, and the socio-cultural' (212).

If we consider the history of trance inquiry as comprising a spectrum with the scientistic and phenomenological poles at opposite ends, Richard Jankowsky (2007, 2010) argues for a much needed middle ground, an existential space wherein the need to problematise and thus, categorise trance is suspended. Similar to the way in which Fabian Holt discussed 'in-between poetics' in regard to genres within ethnomusicological study, scholarship of spirit possession requires, 'a ground outside of paradigms', while at the same time, avoiding an analogy of 'the beyond', thus, moving the 'space' in question further into obscurity (2008: 45-46). Jankowsky's work delves into the multidimensional articulations of alterity, first by situating geo-cultural encounters within Tunisian history, as well as illustrating how these events shaped the sub-Saharan diasporic imaginary of *sṭambēlī* musical and ritual practice. His approach is not entirely distant from that of Kapchan, Emoff, Norton, or Stoller in his attention to embodied history and performed otherness, and advocates approaching meaning 'from *within*, through extensive ritual co-participation, and…approaching [the tradition] on its own terms[13],' so that knowledge comes out of the processual physicality of doing, attuning oneself to indigenous modes of attention. Furthermore, Jankowsky's work demonstrates the necessity and significance of *musical* focus within spirit possession scholarship.

As well as the various ways of framing and analysing relationships between music and trance and/or spirit possession traditions, there are some scholars who choose to limit their treatment of these dynamics, if not pass over them entirely, and focus on other elements of ritual, performance, or cultural context. For example, in Philip Schuyler's article, *Music and Meaning*, as well as in Tony Langlois's article *The Gnawa of Oujda*, and finally in Katherine Hagedorn's ethnography, *Divine Utterances*, there is little to no treatment of the context of possession. Schuyler passes over the phenomenon on his way to discussing a musical game which resembles Rouget's description of musical mottoes, and Langlois discusses impoverished women as the main clientele of an ostracised Gnawa group in Oujda without discussing their healing (possession) process. Hagedorn focuses primarily on contemporary secular, theatrical performances

[13] Ibid., 6-7. Emphasis added.

of sacred Cuban music on the world stage but occasionally alludes to possible spirit-driven 'odd occurrences', her own prophetic spirit dreams, and spends most of chapter seven discussing her initiation into Santeria.

Related to my own research presented in this thesis and dilemmas I encountered, it is worth considering the value of this approach, particularly in some cases where spirits and trance involve secret knowledge and sensitive information that may not be possible to access, much less communicate and write about. Another example of such an approach is Paul Berliner's *Soul of Mbira* that focuses on the *mbira* instrument. While he may not have set out to uncover and communicate the music-possession relationship, the ethnography offers a fluid and practical handling of music and possession, moving organically through the topic *vis-a-vis* the necessitated discussion of its inextricable function in mediating human-spirit world relationships: the instrument is central to the society and is inseparable from the total cultural ecology of the Shona. In addition, through music-assisted ancestor intervention, 'the *bira*'s role [is] a means for villagers to impose the moral values of the society on individuals who have strayed too far from the community's accepted mores' (202).

Finally, to reflect on all of these works, the unifying, underlying assumption of *any* model to translate cultural phenomena—and particularly within what is so often a secular humanist or scientific ideology—is that others' worlds are knowable and that our understanding of the world is equipped to interpret and represent those of others. This position eschews the evidence that there are limits to academic inquiry. And as for our methodological turn towards the body, as Csordas pointed out, 'If behind [it] lay the implicit hope that it would be the stable center in a world of decentered meanings, it has only led to the discovery that the essential characteristic of embodiment is existential indeterminacy' (Csordas 1994: xi).

So where does that leave us? How night we productively think about trance and in, perhaps, unexplored ways?

Some—such as Rouget—have understandably argued that we have no option other than using our own frameworks to analyse others' life worlds, despite what

Heidegger would fault as their 'ontological presuppositions of ontic enquiry'. We might try 'taking a viewpoint on our viewpoint,'[14] as Bourdieu suggested, realising that, 'all models are wrong but some are useful', as the statistician George Box (1976) said. One thing seems quite clear, however: the pathways of trance are never direct or contained. If there is such thing as an essence of 'trance', anything that holds the term together despite its elasticities of signification, it is that trance, as a concept, is non-localised. It arises out of a multiplicity of social, personal, and material conditions; in other words, it has no single 'cause'.

Trance in *dīwān* is, by its nature, not fully comprehensible, even for those who go through it. The anxiety that was sometimes caused by my attempts to clarify its meanings and manifestations demonstrated that, like inquiry about God or the supernatural, there is no real way of 'getting to the bottom of it'. Talk about trance is particularly difficult—local ideas about trance are usually explicitly secretive, held to be deeply personal, sacred, and enigmatic. Being so often connected to pain and suffering, trance experience in *dīwān* is often fragile, fiercely intimate, and sharp at the edges. Pressing for coherent explanation of trance, therefore, risks oversimplifying and reducing complex and uncomfortable experiences and thus, posed ethical questions. Furthermore, investigating trance also raises important issues about the right to certain kinds of spiritual knowledge when those who understand trance best—ritual elders or *shyūkh*—spend their lifetimes labouring for and over such knowledge. Though its geographies are described poetically, even if we had volumes of trance testimony, words only flit across the surface of the traces it makes. Studying trance, thus, ultimately asks us to rethink how we study the ineffable.

One of the challenges here is that the term 'trance', in English and French, has often been associated with 'states of the mind', 'consciousness', the psyche, or brain. In order to understand trance experience in *dīwān,* I find that it is more helpful to consider the varying registers of trance as *intensities and types of presence and awareness* that culminate, accumulate, and become temporarily congealed—this provides conceptual space to understand how a *jedēb(a)* might struggle with shifting agencies and attempt to move them with his or her body. For example, in the varying trance experiences

[14] Quoted in 'Music, Spirit Possession, and the In-Between,' Jankowsky, 192.

described below, through the numerous verbs and adjectives utilised to describe trance experience, there are degrees of being mentally aware, physically aware, and being emotionally or affectively (sensorily) aware. In other words, if we consider that, in theory, that a 'normal state' is one in which a person is able to be 'fully present' mentally, physically and emotionally, and to self-regulate in culturally appropriate ways (personal agency) then varieties of trance can be understood as involving the partial or total loss of agency to self-regulate these various faculties.

Considering how fluctuating and overlapping degrees of presence, awareness and absence might work in a moving body, an engagement with dance theory in the work of Sarah Pinto is helpful here to attend to some of these subtleties. As Pinto points out regarding the clinical lives of women in India, the question is less, 'What kind of subjects are these?' and more 'what kind of presence is this?' (2013:83). Indeed, it is this varying loss of agency over awareness and presence that, discursively, parses out the rich taxonomy of trance in *dīwān*. Presence is never entirely mapped onto the body (Pinto 2011: 4; see also Lepecki 2004), particularly when the body, moves 'subjects can disappear into the things they generate' (Pinto 2011: 3). In trance, absence is a part of presence; they are intermingled. In this spirit, the equal importance of absence in trance can be appropriately accounted for. For example, many trancers experience forms of amnesia and may only remember parts or nothing of what happened during their trances while others report only being able to partially see or hear during their trances. Others report numbness, not being able to contact parts of their bodies.

Robert Desjarlais's (1997) work with the homeless in Boston demonstrates how we might need to reconsider the ideas of 'presence' and 'awareness' in relation to sharp realities of absence, particularly when subjects do not have a sense of having had an 'internal' or somehow narratable 'experience', when, as he explains, 'things happened much more on the retina, the eardrums, and the fingertips than in any detached haven of mind or body' (22). Desjarlais critiques discourses around 'experience' as involving interiority, depth, and authenticity (17) and argues, that, unlike Heidegger who takes it as a given, that, 'experience is not a primordial existential given but rather a historically and culturally constituted process predicated on certain ways of being in the world' (13). Critique of experience, then, unsettles presumptions about trance because the agency of

the person having that, ‘experience’—and, therefore, also the integrity of the trancer’s memory and narrative—is already in question. This, again, is where current theories of affect are destablised; that the body of a trancer can be inhabited by an outside agent so that the subject of that body has no recollection of the event. Whose 'experience' is it, then?

Regarding varying degrees of physical and sensory awareness, some trancers in *dīwān* demonstrate exceptional, even abnormal physical abilities during trance such as not feeling the pain of knives slashing the abdomen in some songs or the fiber whips on bare skin in the song, *Dabu,* or, as I observed in Biskra and Mascara, the eating of hot coals directly from the fire. And like the above two example, trancers similarly report varying degrees of emotional or affective presences and varying loss of agency: from sobbing uncontrollably without knowing why to knots in the stomach, feeling nauseas, feeling pins and needles or unexplainable pains, unexplainable fear, hearing voices or seeing spirits, speaking words that, 'come from somewhere else', and occasionally speaking in tongues. Considering trance as a spectrum of presences, absences, and processes better reflects its mutability and the ways the body can feel outside of, within, or very much part of oneself acting on oneself. In this way, the body has non-physical potentiality such as the way that one might feel one’s own body to be seized by another dimension, to be vibrating in another world. This concept finds deep resonance in Lisa Blackman’s (2012) work on 'immaterial bodies', clarifying registers of both and overlapping energetic and material 'bodies' in ways that speak to overlapping presences in trance.

My own experience within North African trance communities compelled me to attend to the traces that trance made in the movements, lives, words, and on the bodies of those in its field, how they talked about, prepared for, lived, and physically imbibed the spectrum of trance. I spent long hours speaking with my *dīwān* friends about what trance can feel like, how it fills the minds, bodies, and hearts of *dīwān* adepts. We talked about what it does to relieve suffering and what it does to *cause* suffering—the ways that movement can be 'both a cure and a pathology' (Pinto 2011)**.** We talked about how it might shape and historicise one’s sense of self in time when one reflects on the hundreds of *dīwanat* a *jedēb(a)* (trancer, male/female) attends over his or her lifetime.

We wondered about affective connections to known or unknown pasts, the aesthetics of trance, what it means to trance well, and how to know when someone is 'faking it'. We often started by talking about those first few moments of transition, what it feels like when trance hits them or arises in them, and—if anything is remembered and can be articulated—what is experienced. While we rarely ever spoke about what these experiences *meant*—this type of inquiry at times felt to be crossing a personal boundary or to be perilously venturing into supernatural worlds—we consistently discussed how trance *felt*—foreboding, heavy, sickening, constrictive, violent, ‘like churning ocean waves in winter time’, ‘like winds inside oneself’ or being hit by a wind, like being out of one’s body and sometimes watching from above.

Because trance in *dīwān*—as I will explore in great detail below—is primarily understood to be, and is described as, what we would consider as an affective process, I have found affect theory to be the most illuminating lens through which to look at this ritual tradition while also being, in my mind, the most accurate representation of the Arabic taxonomies of trance. Many of the tendencies in current affect theory around questions of agency—such as the ‘nonintentional', 'subconscious' workings of affect that are 'below' or 'beyond' human agency, at least conscious control, find a great deal of resonance with affectivity in *dīwān*—this is something I will deal with a great deal more in the section on the *dīwān* epistemology of distributed agency.

However, at the same time, many other affective dynamics in *dīwān* are intentional, explicitly produced, managed, and cultivated by ritual experts and trancers (*jedebbīn)* so that *dīwān* also challenges academic assumptions about agency and intentionality and how affect might work and move. These complications necessarily lead to questions about how affect entangles degrees of subjectivity and materiality, and the inclination to demarcate 'emotion' from 'affect' and/or feeling. Therefore, in addition to the resonances between affectivity in *dīwān* with principles in affect theory, I hope that the dissonances will provide opportunities to further explore affective possibility and thus, might make a contribution to the ongoing development of affect theory.

C. A Survey of Affect Theory: How Dīwān Challenges It

While some scholars refer as far back as Raymond Williams's *Structures of Feeling* the intellectual origin of affect theory is most typically credited to Silvan Tomkins whose work in the 1960s on facial expressions and the relationships between biology and basic, universal categories of emotion produced what science historian Ruth Leys refers to as the Basic Emotions paradigm (2011: 439). The epistemology of this paradigm continues to be used by leading neuroscientists working on emotion such as Antonio Damasio as well as scholars in the Humanities and Social Sciences seeking a 'nonintentionalist, corporeal account of the emotions' (ibid 439). The appeal of this approach was partly due to a reaction against poststructuralism and psychoanalysis, with an emergent need to reconsider the materiality of the body. Along with Leys (2011) and Blackman (2012), however, the paradigm has since been critiqued by scientists working on emotion for its lack of scientific basis and by cultural theorists who saw Tomkins' approaches as too reductive or essentialist.

Currently, since the early 2000s, affect theory has pooled around a handful of leading scholars in the Humanities, Social Sciences, and neuroscience of emotion, particularly Brian Massumi, William Connolly, Antonio Damasio, Nigel Thrift, Teresa Brennan, and Eric Shouse, among others, who, influenced by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, also draw heavily from the ideas of Baruch Spinoza, Henri Bergson, and William James. Largely, amongst these 'new affect theorists', as Leys calls them, the recent trend has been to recommence cross-disciplinary discussion with the biological sciences. As Leys shows in her article, *The Turn to Affect; A Critique* (2011), among many of these theorists is a shared assumption that affect is typically 'independent of, and, in an important sense, prior to ideology—that is, intentions, meanings, reasons, and beliefs—because [affects] are nonsignifying, autonomic processes that take place below the threshold of conscious awareness and meaning' (437). In other words, despite the attempt to move away from Tomkins assumption that affect and cognition (or reason) are two entirely different systems, the idea still finds purchase in contemporary affect scholarship, particularly in the shared belief of the 'anti-intentionalism' of affect.

First and foremost, as I will show throughout this thesis, trance in *dīwān* fundamentally problematises the intentional / non-intentional dichotomy in affect theory—this is what I often refer to below as dynamics of agency, or what one 'means' to do consciously, or has the ability to do, or is aware of doing. While an autonomous, non-intentional 'nature' of affect does also exist in *dīwān,* such as in some affective fields that can be unintentionally generated as well as intentionally generated (see below on *ḥāl* and the Evil Eye) but which have no particular subject, trance always involves plural and contested agencies of 'human' and 'nonhuman' actors or what could also be considered subjects and objects.

Furthermore, what seem to be autonomous, affective 'reactions' in bodies—like trembling or heart palpitations at the sound of a particular melody as happens in *dīwān*—can be and consistently ***are*** learned, rehearsed, conditioned, grooved, and sedimented over time (see Gray 2013:2; Seremetakis 1996:7)—a kind of volitional cultivation of the non-volitional (Kapchan 2007), a feedback loop—so that the affective worlds of subjects become temporal, subjective, and agentive entanglements, more complex than concepts of 'intentional' and 'nonintentional' can capture. Individuals can experience themselves as subjects, as both an acting, agentive, embodied self with conscious self-awareness while simultaneously being inhabited by a nonhuman agent—such as a spirit—acting within and through the material body of the subject, using the subject's own bodily, 'mechanical', and emotional mechanisms of crying or screaming, for example. Therefore, not only is a dichotomy of intention challenged here but we need to begin by asking, 'what do we mean by "intentionality"?' and 'where does intention come from or start?' (see Leys 2011).

Secondly, trance in *dīwān* also unsettles assumptions in current affect theory around 'personal' or 'biographical' emotions as opposed to what are typically labeled pre-personal or non-biographical affects that do not need a subject. This personal/pre-personal dichotomy also encompasses with it assumptions about meaning and non-meaning, where 'affective resonances' are 'independent of content or meaning' (Shouse 2005), or are non-ideological (Massumi 2002) since the 'personal' or 'biographical' are often assumed to involve meaning. Some of the problems here, in my view, between these binaries have to do with Anglophone linguistic categories, particularly the way

affect is separated from emotion. The boundaries of these terms are very much challenged in the workings of *dīwān,* in the Algerian dialect terminology that enfolds, nuances, and complicates such vicissitudes of 'emotion', 'feeling', or 'affect'. For example, the term *mzāyyer* can be used to denote an 'emotion' of fear or anxiety but also indicates how that fear *feels:* contracted, clenching, unmoving, and binding.

Cromby (2012) deals with these problematic linguistic distinctions within psychology, positing that here 'feeling' might be a more helpful term for its ability to encompass a variety of bodily, 'cognitive', and affective registers. While Massumi (2002) also argues that emotion, affect, and feeling follow different logics, and while one of his key points is that emotion is more socially organised and condensed, I aim to illustrate below through the dynamics of trance experience how, in *dīwān*, we need to also consider the social construction and significant density of affective response, a flow between what we might call 'emotion' and 'affect'; or, to consider Massumi's terms of logics, ways that these 'logics' cross one another and are enfolded in one another.

Such assumptions are also challenged in the workings of *dīwān* because what we consider as 'emotions' like sadness or anger can move like contagion—a quality usually associated more with 'affect'—and these emotions can invade bodies just as spirits do, not belonging to the body or person it invades. And, on the flip side, the more fleeting and unconscious, pre-personal assumptions about affect are challenged in the ways that *dīwān* affectivity can take on patterns and identification with certain *jedebbīn* (trancers). For example, Mehdi, a young man in Algiers, reported that he feels sadness when he hears a particular *dīwān* song and yet it is a sadness without a clear subject; not only does he not know why he feels sad, *he is not sure if the sadness is 'his'* or if he has 'picked it up' from someone else; there is no traceable cause, object, or reference point to his sadness. In other words, it is possible for an experience to be meaningful without necessarily containing an attachment to the sense of self, without it being locatable as biographical or not.

In another case, a woman in Oran, 'Zeynep', who had been afflicted for years by a *jinn*, described her sobbing as *both* her own sobbing and the sobbing of the *jinn* inhabiting her. Although the two of them emote for different reasons, they cried at the same time, they utilised and experienced it through the same bodily, affective

mechanisms—her upset breathing, her tears, her shaking, her swollen eyes, her elevated heart rate, her contracted body. Whether inhabited by a *rūḥ* (spirit, sing.; *arwāḥ*, pl.) or a *jinn* (sing.; *jnūn*, pl., see below), states of agency and subjectivity are in flux so that affect might be what subjects share; when a *jinn* screams, he screams through the affective mechanism and body of the host. Is this not biographical then? Where is the 'personal'? Who is acting here, then, and to what degree?

These experiences might be meaningful, in part, in that they 'belong' to a person because they happened to a person, but they do not necessarily have biographical locus as being owned by the person. It is quite common for *jedebbīn*, especially beginners, to not know or understand why they are having a particular reaction to stimulus. And is it possible to have an ‘experience’ when one is not consciously present for it (see Desjarlais 1997)?

Thirdly, as Henriques (2010: 70) points out, there seems to be wide agreement across disciplines that affect is, if anything, something that *moves*. In fact, movement is so critical to affect that it is indeed difficult to conceive of it otherwise. Henriques draws from the work of phenomenologist, Maxine Sheets-Johnstone (1999), who argues that, 'feeling *is* the embodiment of movement' not the other way around (see Henriques 2010: 72). In fact, wrapping in here Henriques’s arguments for vibration, 'how movement and feeling might be related' (2010: 58), we can see that vibration is movement, movement is vibration. Feeling, too, is inseparable from vibration and movement: to feel is to move, to be moved, or to feel something moving, something vibrating. Therefore, movement in affect theory, as Henriques rightly points out, is often conceived as 'flows' or fluxes: affect can 'flow' across thresholds and boundaries. Brennan, for example, implies that affect moves horizontally (2004: 75). In *dīwān*, however, affectivity functions much closer to Henriques's theorization of vibration as energy patterns—that is, that affect can take on patterns, habits, even structures.

While Sarah Ahmed (2004: 89-91) has written of the 'stickiness' of signs and the ways that affect accumulates around these signs, I want to press further and suggest that in *dīwān* worlds, while some affects flow, other affects unmistakably pool, block, bind, clench, burrow, or impede flow. In this sense, I want to propose that we consider affect as not only forces or energies that may move directionally from point A to point B, but

that affects, such as in *dīwān,* can also be cumulative, patterned, and cyclical—even historicised and politicised—to the degree that we might find resonance in Featherstone's (2010) notion of an 'affective body'. With *dīwān* cultivating particular, sensory modalities of being, feeling, and responding, and given the fact that both trancers and those observing attend hundreds of *dīwanat* over their lifetimes, there is reason for considering the possibility of an affective body as much as a physical, mental, energetic, or psychic body.

Furthermore, in the ways that people speak of affect in *dīwān* and in the ways it is classified, the themes of attraction, pulling, or magnetism are ubiquitous so that, for example, affect, as energy, is not equally dissipated across experience, nor is affect neutral. In other words, being pulled on is a feeling of being pulled towards something and away from one's self, towards the ritual space against one's better judgment. Music is what negotiates this tension: structured melodies and rhythms serve as musical signals that trigger, direct, push, and 'control' bodies.

In addition—and this is key—affectivity in *dīwān* often causes pain or suffering. While affect theorists have, to some extent, addressed the ways that affect relates to evasion, threat, manipulation, destruction, and other 'negative' effects (see Massumi 2002), although most often in political or public spheres and not so much in personal worlds—there is, nevertheless, a prevailing tendency to consider the movement of affect in liberating terms, as transformative, as a force of constant 'becoming' (see Gregg and Seigworth 2010; Manning 2010; Venn 2010; and others), or for its 'emancipatory potential' (see Papoulias 2010: 35; Manning 2010: 122). However, in *dīwān,* affectivity is often quite the opposite: dense and heavy. And even while affect might 'move', struggle is often at the heart of its movement.

To provide an example, during a *dīwān* I attended in Mascara in August 2016, a man fell 'sick' (*mrīḍ*), meaning that he was inhabited by a supernatural agent during the song of Bū Derbāla, one of two songs for the saint ʿAbd el-Qādr Jīlānī. His trance behavior indicated that, despite taking place during a song for ʿAbd el-Qādr Jīlānī, the man was not affected by the saint but, rather, by a *jinn* afflicting him: he began to slowly eat the hot coals that were being used to keep the incense burning. Next, he asked for two large knives to be brought to him and insisted on 'working' these knives in the

song—that is, using them to slash at his abdomen—something that is unconventional and quite controversial in this particular song because the personage of ʿAbd el-Qādr Jīlānī is an old sage who moves slowly and deliberately and should therefore be depicted as such. As one woman, Khaira, put it, 'There should normally be no violence in Bū Derbāla. It is the *jinn* who wants that'; the *jnūn* tend to be much more precarious and potentially dangerous.[15] Khaira, who grew up going to *dīwanat*, added that Bū Derbāla is a song for *arwāḥ* (the spirits)—for whom there are particular songs (*brāj*)—and Bū Derbāla is not for the *jnūn*, meaning that what took place in this song was quite unconventional, not to mention concerning. Some near me explained this break from convention as a result of the modern, disintegrating state of *dīwān* ritual, that, 'no one follows the rules anymore', that *niyya* (good intention) has disappeared. However, following the logic of how people fall 'sick', this sickness is already a breaking down of agency, a breaching of boundaries. Elsewhere I encountered the viewpoint that when someone falls 'sick' by a *jinn* (*'mrīḍ')*—a word that, in the *dīwān* context, always implies supernatural inhabitation—there is no telling what can happen; it is the *jinn* acting, after all, and the *jnūn* do not follow human rules.

The taking of this man's body, his agency, and his subjectivity by the *jinn* has immediate and direct affective consequences: his emoting, his behavior, and his actions were all pressed upon by the *jinn* even while the *jinn'*s actions, words, moves, and overall affective state happen through the man's bodily and emotional mechanisms. At times, the man slightly recovered and it was apparent that he was going in and out of the state. But, as the songs in the *dīwān* ritual continued, the man's trance did not ease as it should have. Rather, he continued to enter and leave the ritual space, song after song, seeming increasingly agitated despite the ups and downs of his struggle.[16]

---

[15] The *jnūn* (pl.; *jinn*, singular) are supernatural beings made of smokeless fire. See more below.

[16] Speaking with several *dīwān* connoisseurs afterwards about this man's trance, one of the men, Hamid, said, 'And when he gets home, he's just going to fall ill over and over. Back and forth like that, he'll go between the *dīwān* and home and won't get well', meaning that the *jinn* won't leave him alone but will continue to afflict him. Munir, another *dīwān* connoisseur (*muḥeb*) sitting near me, explained why: 'Because the *mʿallem* did not play certain rhythms in Bū Derbāla [the song] that he [the man] needed to hear'. Here, the senses are bound together: hearing a certain rhythm is the only pathway to unclenching the *jinn's* bodily and affective agency/subjectivity over the man. Without those rhythms, the man is affectively bound to the *jinn*, trapped in a cycle of 'sickness'—this is the kind of common struggle at the heart of the affectivity in *dīwān*.

As with this man unable to realise his trance, stuck in a state of agitation and needing to slash at his abdomen, talking about affectivity necessitates talking about affective integration and entanglement: the ways that individuals become inter-corporally and inter-subjectively bound or trapped with other agents, human or nonhuman. As Venn (2010: 139) puts it, there is an, 'active, constitutive becoming through relating' and yet what is 'becoming', again, also needs to be interrogated because, in these cases, these human/nonhuman relations are often more oppressive than they are liberating. Here, there is no 'flow'. Here, affectivity is not 'emancipatory' but binding and punishing, even cruel, as some women described the arduous, exhausting, and painful affective processes they are subjected to by some *jnūn.*

On this note, Sarah Pinto reminds us to consider paradoxes of 'movement', such as 'forms of stasis [that] movement can bring into being—the automatic, programmed and drone-like', as well as, 'the liberating capacities of sitting still—meditatively or enraptured, or of inhabiting an authoritative grid—the submission of prayer, the discipline required to fulfill an aesthetic vision' (2011: 5). Along these lines, I was repeatedly told that when a person is beginning to feel seized by a *rūḥ, jinn,* or some other nonhuman agent, sometimes sitting still can prevent the feelings from intensifying—they are not pleasant sensations, after all. Several women who had this experience would eat *jāwī* (benzoin) because consuming it, unlike smelling it burning over the coals, works as anaesthesia, as one woman put it.

Let me summarise here that, in the examples I have given and will continue to provide, *dīwān* raises important questions about how we theorise affect and its possibilities and potentials: how intentional/unintentional or how pre-personal or nonbiographical it may be, and how it is transmitted such as the way it might pool, collect, bind, or oppress rather than 'flow'. Finally, it will be my aim below to demonstrate that the focus on affective *labour* in *dīwān* also demonstrates the ways humans intentionally take charge of affect, seeking to produce, manage, and ‘work’ it; a perspective that also challenges the ‘autonomous’ and pre-ideological assumptions of affectivity.

Researcher Positionality

I was first launched into the world of *dīwān* in May 2013 while on a pre-doctoral research grant from the American Institute of Maghrib Studies (AIMS). I had previously befriended a group of young, Algerois men of Berber origins with a music group, Wlād Bambara, who played both traditional *dīwān* and *gnāwa* music around the country. While allowing me to observe their weekly practices for their appearance in the upcoming, annual Diwan Festival of Bechar, and seeing that I could also play and dance, they insisted that I join them on stage in their performance in Bechar. My appearance on stage as the only foreigner at the festival—and the only non-Algerian and woman on stage—dancing, playing, and singing *dīwān* music catapulted me into the press, radio, and television. From that point forward, my doctorate on *dīwān* was national knowledge. I was often out of control of the ways my research was represented in the media; some *dīwān* musicians learned about me on television before we met in person and some of the ways I and my research were represented in the media were troubling. The following two years I began declining interviews by the media, particularly when the political situation grew more tense in September 2014 after the murder of the French hiker, Hervé Gourdel, in the Kabylie mountains southeast of Algiers.

However, it was my regular attendance at dozens of *dīwān* rituals between May 2013 and September 2016 all over Algeria, from Oran to Ghardaia to Algiers and Biskra, where I really came to know and be known by the *dīwān* communities.[17] My first connections in Algiers gradually provided contacts across the country—*dīwān* musical worlds are connected social worlds, often bound by kinship, so that with names and phone numbers of friends of friends or extended family members, I moved around local *dīwān* communities with the help of these new contacts who took me in, acted as my chaperones, and who would 'vouch' for me with the various *dīwān* insiders during the first stages of my research. Accessing *dīwanat* without such introductions and support would have been impossible; except for the summer time, large *wʿādat* (like saints festivals, several *dīwanat* over a period of three to five days) where the public can

[17] My field research periods were three months from May-August 2013; one month in May 2014; four months from July 2014-November 2014; six months from December 2014-June 2015; and three months from July - September 2016, totaling seventeen months.

attend. Furthermore, it never ceased to amaze me how difficult it could be to find the locations of many *dīwanat* and how little information my contacts had about them before setting off; once we were in the right neighborhood, word on the street was always enough to lead the way.

This network of contacts that began in Algiers first took me to Oran in June 2013; I was picked up at the train station by friends of a friend in Algiers: Nūreddīn 'Nounou' Khīter and Nūreddīn Sarjī, two men who will be important to the ethnographic stories below. Nounou became my main contact and 'way in' to the communities in the West in the first three months of my fieldwork. Later, Nūreddīn Sarjī, the son of the great master, Shaykh Majdūb, took over when Nounou became busy with work. Over the course of my year in Algeria from July 2014 until September 2016, I gradually worked myself into the '*dīwān* alert' phone tree and, over time, I gradually learned how to fit into the *dīwān* dynamic and ritual field not just as observer but as a participant even in ways over which I had no control. With a shoulder bag full of recording equipment and spare food, I tucked myself in the corners of packed rooms or outdoor tents, and found means to photograph, audio and video record. Usually sitting in the women's section or at the border between where the musicians (men) joined the women's section, I learned how to care for women who had passed out near me just after completing their trances—fanning their faces, stroking their backs, giving them cold water to drink or sugar cubes to restore them.

The way my position and my work were interpreted by the *dīwān* ritual community, however, was particularly important at every turn. Because *dīwān* is situated in the context of Islam, regardless of how its legitimacy might be contested by outsiders, its religious and/or spiritual context is essential to its practicants. Therefore, my affinity for the practice raised continuous questions about my own religious and supernatural beliefs which were often very relevant to how much trust, access, and information certain communities wished to provide. Some of my *dīwān* friends told me that other researchers in my position would have encountered much greater difficulty than I had and that the relative ease with which I was able to access the *dīwān* circles was evidence that my research was divinely guided and that I had the permission and favour of the spirits (*jnūn*) who could have otherwise made my work impossible. Thus, the question

of my agency and power (or lack thereof) over my 'research' became very relevant to my position. In their eyes—as I hope will become clear below—*dīwān* had a hold of me more than I had a hold of it. Other *ūlād dīwān* (lit. 'children of *dīwān',* the adepts and practicants of *dīwān*) explained that my love for the music indicated that I must be suffering in some way that the music could attend to; in turn, my own suffering was seen to give me the ability to relate to and understand *dīwān* on affective and embodied registers. Occasionally, *ūlād dīwān* inquired about what this vulnerability and connection might be, asking questions about my past—some *ūlād dīwān* in Mascara determined that it must be connected to an early fascination I had with Lakota Sioux music ritual practices. They connected this aspect of my past to the 'Apache Indian-like' Hausa Migzawa spirits of *dīwān.* Maybe the Migzawa spirits accepted me for this reason, they wondered.

Several times, those within and outside of the *dīwān* community warned me of the possibility of my being afflicted by certain members of the spirit pantheon; I was seen as fair game by the spirits and vulnerable partly because I was inexperienced and because my friends determined that I was a sensitive person. I was cautioned to be careful that I did not listen to too much *dīwān* music on my own and to frequently *tbākhar*, or use the smoke of incense (*bkhūr*) to purify myself if I ever felt 'strange'. Because my *dīwān* friends believed that I was favoured by the spirits or that I had some connection to the music beyond intellectual interest (an ability to 'dance' to it appropriately, play the music), this surprising anomaly helped break the ice and provided opportunities. While my contacts knew and did not forget that I was an outsider, they also considered me enough of an insider—someone also consumed by *dīwān*—that they tolerated, accepted, and welcomed my presence in ways that a perception of a more 'distant' approach would not have afforded. Even in one of my later research periods in the summer of 2016, I learned from my *dīwān* friends with whom I traveled to *dīwanat* that most people in the *dīwān* communities we frequented in the West did not realise that I was conducting research; they only knew me as an American woman with a strange love for the ritual.

Some of my *dīwān* friends feared for me being so conspicuous at *dīwanat* (an outsider woman photographing, recording, and filming) worrying that I was tempting the Evil Eye and the bad intentions of others; they warned me to be careful. I often

responded consistently to the same songs—in particular Sīdī ʿAlī and the Hausawiyyn *brāj*—so that my friends and acquaintances declared that these were 'my songs' meaning I had a relationship with these songs (and possibly with the nonhuman agents of those songs too). I usually resisted 'trancing' at *dīwanat* to avoid drawing attention to myself unless it was a small, intimate gathering where I knew most of the people. But when I was pulled to the floor to dance, I moved to the best of my ability, with the knowledge I had gained from asking and watching. I slowly learned how to let the music enter my body, how to feel it pushing into my solar plexus, circulating in my blood, and moving my limbs. I learned how to physically 'move' those sensations, or *tejdeb,* but even more so, I began to learn how to let those sensations move me. That I came to be a *jedēba* also, a trancer, afforded me possibilities to attempt to learn how to feel and experience the ritual the way it appeared my *dīwān* friends felt and experienced it. My participation and my ability to respond appropriately—emotionally and somatically—gave me more credibility as an outsider and proved useful for understanding more about *dīwān* epistemology. Because I occasionally fell sick from exhaustion and sleep deprivation after long periods of *dīwanat*, my *dīwān* friends sometimes interpreted this as my inexperience and vulnerability to being around spirits and other energies. The ways they worried and cared for me were touching opportunities to understand how the affective realms of *dīwān* extend beyond the ritual itself.

My being an American woman and outsider always affected the kinds of access I had—both in terms of the politics of gender and nationality—and the nature of information I was given. Oftentimes this worked in my favor, allowing me more access than many Algerians (especially women) had—a complicated and often awkward situation to navigate. But being a woman did limit me from certain aspects of the male domain—particularly the socialising before and after *dīwanat* or sometimes when visiting the homes of *mʿallemīn*, I was shuffled into the room to sit with the women. Almost all *dīwanat* are gender separated with men's and women's sections, the latter typically being less accessible to the ritual space. Except for in rare cases to film, I was seated in the women's section but tried to get as close to the musicians as possible. Being a cultural 'third category', moving between men's and women's worlds, and quite unlike my Algerian female counterparts in life experience, expectations, and habits, my

interactions with women tended to be more awkward and strained for the first year of my coming and going. In many cases, I was seen as a threat given that I was mobile, independent, and, as was common knowledge, unmarried and without children. Therefore, my movement in men's worlds, spending time with male musicians and ritual participants and experts in ways that Algerian women would not have been able to do made many connections with the women difficult.

However, even so, I sensed that my presence, an unfamiliar female presence, could also be unsettling to the men, particularly to older men, beyond greetings and limited questions. Therefore, in *dīwanat,* I made an effort to gradually work my way into the women's tight circles and befriend them so that, eventually, I only really approached men in their spaces for short periods or when especially invited to do so. I limited my movements away from the women's sections, just skirting the edge of the men's section. My last fieldwork period between June and September of 2016, I made a concerted effort to talk primarily with women, sit with them during *dīwanat,* and concentrate on their view of the ceremonies. As I began really taking note of the gender divisions and asking questions about it, some responses were that this gender division is relatively 'new', since more conservative forms of Islam began taking hold after the 1990s. Many commented that, originally, *dīwān* was supposed to be for the women but lately, with more emphasis on social modesty codes, the tradition has become more male centered. I was affected by these dynamics as well; although I had more liberties as a Western woman, I was still, first, a woman and my gender was central to the information and access I had. Outside of *dīwanat,* when I was able to befriend families and spend time in their homes getting to know the women, this context helped to ease some of the tensions with the time I spent in men's spaces. Despite these challenges, because the men regularly made exceptions for me, and because women's worlds were open to me, I ultimately had unprecedented access to both perspectives of the music, discourse, and practice. I was welcomed into the lives of my Algerian friends with remarkable generosity and hospitality.

The knowledge that I would be writing a doctoral thesis and putting oral histories into a material form encouraged some to open up but gave many *dīwān* experts pause. If some were discreet, if not silent, or outright confessed that they, understandably, would

not share their secrets, others were incredibly open and shared very personal aspects of their lives with me. Sometimes I was sent on 'wild goose chases' or I worked out that I was being told a 'line' to put me off course; these experiences taught me much about the elusiveness of 'truth' and transmission of *dīwān*: knowledge must be earned. On this note, rather than focusing on just one family or *maḥalla*, I found it most diplomatic ('objective') and helpful to staying fresh with my research to split time between several family groups, primarily with the large Sarjī family group based around Oran and Mostaganem, Qwīder ʿArūbī also of Oran, the Canon-Farajī-Būterfās kinship group of Saida, the Bel ʿArabī and Zendēr family groups of Mascara, and with more limited time with Benʿūda Ben Brahīm and his *zāwīya* in Relizane, the Maharrar and Zerwāli *maḥallat* in Perrigaux (see Chapter Six). Much of this decision was to avoid being 'claimed' as the researcher of any one particular family or group, to avoid controversies when there were disagreements between groups, and to also allow for the most diverse range of information and experience in order to provide a starting point for an ethnography of *dīwān*.

Being based in Oran allowed me to more easily travel around the western corridor and especially to the two other, prominent, nearby *dīwān* centers of Mascara and Saida while also frequently attending *dīwanat* in and just outside of the city. Other areas I regularly visited to record *dīwanat* or conduct interviews were Perrigaux (Mohammedia), Ain Temouchent, Mostaganem, Relizane, Arzew, Sidi Bel ʿAbbess, and Kristel. Outside of the dominant western Algerian practice, I also conducted research and observed *dīwanat* when possible in Algiers, Blida, Bechar, Timimoun, Adrar, the Mzab valley (Ghardaia and Lʿatef), Ouargla, Biskra, and Constantine. While adequately covering all these areas is outside the limits of this thesis, I will focus on those areas with the most *dīwān* activity that continue to have an important role in the flux of current *dīwān* practice.

Finally, relevant to and informing this thesis is also sixteen months of fieldwork on the Moroccan *gnāwa* between 2008 and 2011 for my Master's research in ethnomusicology at Tufts University. Lastly, despite providing a broad, historically grounded comparative framework for *dīwān* practice across Algeria, in conversation with previous, structuralist scholarship, a key goal of this thesis is to prioritise the local,

'here and now' meanings, controversies, and personal worlds of *dīwān* communities. To the best of my ability, I have represented, analysed, and contextualised the information I was given, but understanding *dīwān* is undoubtedly a life-long process.

In this chapter, I have mapped the intellectual history and legacies pertinent to this thesis: the historiography of North Africa and the common frames of analysis, the history of academic inquiry into trance and additional questions and possibilities for consideration. I also provided an introduction to affect theory as well as why affectivity in *dīwān* both necessitates the use of affect theory and challenges some of its fundamental assumptions. I followed this background context with my researcher positionality in order to transparently introduce who I am and discuss the nature of my research, how I was perceived in the field, and why certain kinds of information were available to me or not. Like any ethnographic project, mine is just one view of many possible interpretations but I hope that it will be a productive one that does justice to the hospitality and grace with which I was welcomed into the world of *dīwān.*

CHAPTER TWO: THE EMERGENCE OF DĪWĀN: THE AFRO-MAGHRIBI CONTEXT

A. Trans-Saharan Caravans and Sufi Histories

Algerian *dīwān* of Sīdī Bilāl is a musico-ritual tradition that originated, coalesced, and developed out of the trans-Saharan slave trade, combining the practices, languages, and sensibilities of various *sūdānī* ethnolinguistic groups. *Dīwān* likely developed over hundreds of years of trans-Saharan traffic by the descendants of these diverse *sūdānī* populations as they came into contact with Berber and Arab cultures and social organisation in present day Algeria and, very likely, nomadic cultures along trans-Saharan trade routes. While early chariot crossings by the Romans are depicted in rock paintings, trans-Saharan trade only really blossomed after the introduction of the camel in the first centuries of the first millennium. The arrival of Islam facilitated communication through literacy and writing (Lydon 2009) and, by the ninth century, the routes were well established. From the eleventh century onward, along with gold, 'slaves were the most important trade item out of Kanem-Bornu' (58). At least by the fifteenth century, Timbuktu was a major commercial center with trade networks to the Southeast, including Kano, Kastina, Sokoto, and Gobir, and as far East as the kingdom of Kanem-Bornu and onwards to Cairo.

The Ottoman period in present day Algeria was the height of the trade and, as Lovejoy explains, the major market center of Bornu, 'had long maintained diplomatic and commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire and other Muslim states' (2004: 13). Caravan routes varied over time due to climate change or natural disasters, like shifting desertification and droughts. Political upheaval was also a major factor, such as the Moroccan raid of the Songhay empire in the 1590s which caused caravan routes to shift further east to 'Ottoman-monitored North African and central Saharan oases' stimulating trade with the Hausa markets of Kano, Sokoto, and Katsina, 'and especially with the kingdom of Kanem-Bornu further east' (Lydon 2009: 106).

Broadly, with relation to Algeria, the main north-south routes involved Timbuktu to Tlemcen or Oran via the Tuwat Oases (Adrar), and from the Mzab Valley up to

Medea—one of the largest slave markets—[18]and onto Algiers. At other times, caravans kept a more southerly trajectory through Ouargla and into Tripoli (see Lovejoy 2004 and Lydon 2012). Also important to the trade were the northeastern Saharan oases of Ghat, Ghadames, and Murzug (Lydon 2009: 80-81). Baude wrote in 1841 that the three main caravan points in Algeria were Oran, Constantine, and Medea (continuing onto Algiers), with Ouargla also being an important crossroads for caravans that continued to Medea and Constantine (Baude 1841:163; see also Fey 1858).

What the Ottomans encountered as they established a foothold in Algiers in the first part of the sixteenth century was a tribal society and one already rich with 'confederations' and organised groups. The Ottoman regime:

> 'singled out tribal leaders, known as *bachagas*, who in exchange for status and privileges acted as administrators and supplied fighting men . . . On top of this the Ottomans actively encouraged the Sufi orders by giving them judicial positions and tax revenues, as well as money to endow mosques and tombs. Thus, an essentially egalitarian lineage society was transformed into a hierarchical one linked to Ottoman authority in Algiers' —Evans and Phillips 2007: 23.

In *The Kingdom of Algiers Under the Last Dey*, Louis Rinn provides pages of various *zāwīyat* and *makhzen* tribes under the three main Beyliks of Constantine, Titteri, and Oran which the Turks had classified, such as the Zāwīya des Ūlād Sīdī Daḥū in Mascara under the Beylik of Oran (2005: 119).[19] One key tribal group was the 'Hamyane-Cheraga', grand nomadic caravaniers and vassals of the Ūlād Sīdī Shaykh tribe as well as the Turks, and agents of various Sufi lineages (Tijanniyya, Taibiyya and Qadiriyya) which served to aid their commercial ventures (Rinn 2005: 123). Favouring certain tribes and playing them off against one another, Ottoman governance essentially prioritised hierarchical and top-down relations. Interestingly, most of the names of these tribes correspond to the major *dīwān* families of these regions, suggesting that *dīwān* families may have taken the names of local *shyūkh* or saints not unlike the practice of slaves taking the family name of their masters—hence the proliferation of Turkish

---

[18] Dermenghem 1954: 257.
[19] 'Zaouia Des ouled Sidi Daho'.

family names in Algeria—or a sub-Saharan city of origin, like 'Kano.'[20] Furthermore, it is interesting to note that many names of such tribes, again named after saints—Ūlād Sīdī Brāhīm, ʿĪssa, and Bū Derbāla, for example—are also major *brāj* in the primary section of the *dīwān* ritual.[21]

Sufi Business

In the early part of the seventeenth century, 'an enduring Sufi movement led by the Bakkay branch of the scholarly Kunta clan [emerged] with positive ramifications on regional commerce' ; by the second half of the eighteenth century, the Kunta were 'actively involved in caravanning' (Lydon 2009: 97-98). It was particularly this 'Arabic speaking, scholastic, saintly' clan who then were the 'ambassadors of Islam and Al-Qadiriyya in the Western Sahara and Bilad Es-Sudan in West Africa'. Umar Shaykh of the Kunta tribe 'was initiated into the Qādirī . . . and this accounts for the almost exclusive prevalence of the Qadiriyya in West Africa until the nineteenth-century Tijaniyya was introduced' (Trimingham 1971: 88). They played such a major role in the 'propagation of the Qadiriyya Tariqa in West Africa, the Western Sahara, and the Maghrib that this *ṭariqa*… [Is] often referred to as Al-Tariqa Al-Qadiriyya Al-Kuntawiyya' (Batran 2001; 8). Lydon explains that they were intimately involved with many branches of the trade:

> 'Through patron-client relationships and a vast Sufi network, the Kunta commanded a sizable portion of caravan traffic, specializing in both the salt and tobacco trades, extending from the western Sahara to the Hausa markets of Sokoto. At the same time, they were involved in other areas of the regional economy from herding and rearing camels…to redistributing slaves…' (2009: 98).

Sufi-based networks across the Sahara provided institutional frameworks and social capital that, 'offered some protection to traders against regional instability'

[20] For example, the present-day major names of Dahou (Mascara), Benʿūda (Relizane), Bu ʿomer (Oran), Harrar (Perrigaux), Bouhadhjar (Ain Temouchent).

[21] In the west, 'Oranie' the four major tribes in the sixteenth century, before Ottoman governance had really took hold in the west, were the Ūlād Sīdī Brāhīm, Ūlād Mūsā, Ūlād ʿAbdellah, and 'Alahaxeses' (El Korso 1978: 85).

(Lydon, 91) and Lovejoy concurs that the spread of Sufism was largely dependent on these networks, which were closely associated with such centres as Timbuktu, Agades, Kulumbardo, and Katsina (2004: 16). Furthermore, the routes, resting points, and destinations were structured around various Sufi *shyūkh* (masters) and *zāwīyat* (religious schools, lodges) helping caravaners form 'tight-knit corporate associations based on trust and a reliance on Islam as an institutional framework' (Lydon 2009: 21). During the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, these kinds of systems were integral to the success of the trade because Turkish and indigenous authorities were incapable of governing and keeping in check the more remote parts of the territory:

> 'In an area where supernatural powers were presumed to play an important part in the life of human beings, it was natural for its inhabitants to appeal to those powers for the protection which the temporal authorities could not provide. The marabouts [holy men], who were considered capable of invoking these power and of using them, were also considered immune from molestation by an arbitrary ruler or from the attack of outlaws in distant lands. Holy men thus travelled in desolate areas loaded with valuable goods without fear of robbers. This partly explains the association of commerce with religion in such areas as the Sahara.' (Abu Nasr 1965: 6-7).

In other words, trans-Saharan trade was not only facilitated by but pioneered by Sufi orders on both sides of the Sahara; holy men were simultaneously business men and politicians; many marabouts became merchants or made a profession of securing merchandise.[22] While caravans stopped and rested, taking shelter at *zāwīyat* along the way, such institutional systems came to be a part of the integration of sub-Saharan subjectivity. These lodges had slaves and/or servants—documented particularly in the Sahara oases such as Tabelbala, the Tuwat oases, and the Mzab Valley—and working in these *zāwīyat*, they would have learned the ways of the system with the potential to eventually purchase their own freedom (Rozet 1833; Lovejoy 2004). 'Islamic practice also allowed slaves to work on their own account under a system, known as *murgu* in Hausa' (Lovejoy 2004:5). And if slaves were not already attached to Sufi lodges, they

[22] Furthermore, politically powerful Sufis in present day Algeria were also intricately involved and strategic; for example, at one point Emir Abdelkader is said to have tried to attract the former Tafilalet caravan towards Mascara (Baude 1841: 31).

could take refuge in them if they had problems with their master: *shyūkh* or 'marabouts' were instrumental in negotiating and mediating these relationships (Rozet 1833: 128).

While products from Timbuktu passed on from the wealthy empire of Tlemcen across the Mediterranean and into other markets, the Ottoman Empire was a notable power in the trans-Saharan slave trade, having great need for labor of all kinds—domestic labor in the homes, military labour, craftsman, and small trades like attendees in bath houses, metalsmiths, and butchers. The Turks were actively involved in importing slaves for external markets and for their own uses; some caravans were even escorted by Ottoman soldiers in certain directions (Baude 1841:184). Slaves were often sent as tributes by *shyūkh* and nobles across the span of the routes to the Dey in Algiers, such as the *shaykh* of Ouargla who gave the Pacha at Algiers thirty slaves as a gift annually (Baude 1841:164). In addition, as payment to Algiers, the beys of Oran and Constantine sent male and female slaves along with other products totaling around three thousand dollars each annually (Spencer 1976:57) Furthermore, the Turks filled the ranks of their garrisons with freed slaves (Dermenghem 1954: 256) and secured arrangements with freed slaves such as the beylik of Titteri who secured a *makhzen* tribe of freed slaves who were likely commanded by two blacks (Aucapitaine and Federman 1867:357).

Slavery within sub-Saharan Africa between various ethnolinguistic groups was ongoing and continuous throughout history so that sub-Saharan Muslims, particularly those with knowledge of the Islamic approaches to slavery, would have had certain assumptions and would have developed strategies to benefit from the various institutions that provided possibilities for emancipation. 'The experiences of slaves in Muslim areas, at least, may have encouraged Muslim slaves to seek avenues of freedom within the system' (Lovejoy 2004: 3-5). Such dynamics suggest that slaves might have worked their way through Sufi *zāwīyat* and positions, all the while taking in vocabulary and structures of *zāwīyat* and structures around them, even appropriating Ottoman and Sufi vocabularies of governance into their own ritual practices such as the terms *borj, dīwān, maḥalla, shawsh* and *moqedm, shaykh*, and *zāwīya*, respectively (see below). That is to say, over centuries, the trans-Saharan Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya Sufi networks, in particular, became not just contexts in which sub-Saharans found themselves but these

epistemologies, practices, and ideologies gradually found resonance in the lifeworlds of slaves, their descendants, and with other indigenous black communities.[23]

Hunwick explains:

> 'African religious practices found a continuing, if modified, expression through certain Sufi practices or were given a new lease on life by being integrated into North African festivals and shrine practices. Above all, religious rites gave enslaved Africans an opportunity to assume control over an important aspect of their lives, and to organize themselves along communal and hierarchical lines'
> —Hunwick in Lovejoy 2004:149.

Salīm Khīat's (2006) unprecedented work on black brotherhoods demonstrates a complex lineage system of marabouts, such as the assemblage of the black saint, Sīdī Merzūg, largely neglected by scholars but still very much alive in southeastern Algeria. Such miraculous legends of holy deeds, particularly those of black saints, continue to circulate in discourse in Biskra, for example, and are often linked to the many maraboutic dome-like tombs (*qubba*, sing; *qibāb*, pl) that dot the landscape.[24] While black Sufis or scholars may not be as normative in popular discourse, inside the mosque of Sīdī Abū Medīan in Tlemcen, one finds a circle of black mannequins dressed in white robes, sitting in a circle reading Qur'ānic boards, indicating that black Sufis were a mainstream reality.

That is not to suggest that the processes of adaptation, syncretism, or conversion were uniform and without tension and difficult negotiation. On the contrary, one must assume that politics and power dynamics of race, religion, and language were alive and well. Depending on from where slaves were brought, whether they were already Muslim

---

[23] Khiat notes a legend among the black communities of Nafta and Souf that both determine that Merzūg was a black servant (*khēdim*) of Sīdī Bū ʿAli; when it was discovered that Merzūg had supernatural powers, Sīdī Bū ʿAli exclaimed, 'a *wālī* [saint] cannot serve a *wālī!*' and 'a *shāykh* cannot serve a *shāykh*' after which Merzūg was thrown out. Because the daughter of Sīdī Bū ʿAli intervened, Merzūg did not 'land' far and thus, he became a local saint (2006: 118-119).

[24] Personal communication with various musicians and *dīwān* families in Biskra.To complicate matters, in Biskra the main family of *shekwa* (bagpipe, also known as the *mizwīd*) players have the family name of Merzūg. While there does not seem to be any direct claim of a tie to the saint, the *shekwa* and its regional performance is almost always associated with black/*sūdānī* populations of the region so that *shekwa* is synonymous with 'black' and also with the word 'Merzūg.' When one wants to hire a *shekwa* troupe, for example, he can simply say, 'I need some Merzūg.' The connection of black sainthood between Merzūg and Bilāl also turns up in the ways that *dīwān* or *ginbrī* practice in the east are linked to *shekwa*/Merzūg performances either by the same families playing both styles and/or by the two musical traditions being presented back to back for marriages or festivities.

or new converts, and whether or not they had any exposure to Arabic, many would have still been quite 'other,' most likely speaking Hausa, Kanuri, Songhay, or other *sūdānī* languages.[25]

In the western corridor where Sufi orders were strongest, there may be have been more opportunity for enslaved sub-Saharan Africans to gradually work their way through the ranks. However, despite the possibility for strong ties from within Sufi orders, we also find parallel, ongoing phenomena of spirit possession cults around Algeria—primarily influenced by the Hausa *bori* possession ceremony. About these phenomena, Lovejoy remarks, 'the enslaved were incorporated into the Islamic fold, but haphazardly and not always successfully' (2004: 2). The earliest surviving, recorded account, to my knowledge, of such practices is in 1833 by Rozet (1798-1858), a French geographic engineer. Rozet describes attending and witnessing a ceremony in Algiers seemingly analogous to today's *dīwān:* at that time, it was called *djelep*. To the best of my knowledge, there is no clear indication of when and where the term '*dīwān'* came into usage or if it was perhaps modified or developed from the *djelep.* It is quite likely that '*dīwān'* is the term the Ottoman Turks gave the gathering but it could have also had appeal for the practicing communities for its association with Ottoman governance and privilege. Despite the shock and disgust with which Rozet recounts these sub-Saharan rituals, various North African occult and divinatory practices were extremely common and intertwined with the social fabric—hence, Dermenghem's masterpiece, *The Cult of the Saints in the Islamic Maghrib*. Ottoman daily life in Algiers resembled much of what has come to be seen as the '*baraka* belt' (Clancy-Smith 1994) of North African popular Islam. As Spencer (1976) describes this phenomenon:

> 'Belief in evil spirits (*cin taifesi*) and the interventionary powers of marabouts was strong. The marabouts had a special role as intercessors and devotional objects for Algerine women, since they were not permitted to participate in public prayers. Women visited the *kubbes* [*qubba-s*] regularly to make votife offerings, light oil lamps, and lay flowers in support of the divine intervention they sought to alleviate social or family difficulties' (Spencer 1976: 89).

[25] Dermenghem 259 also notes the overwhelming presence of Hausa and Songhay.

The hierarchy of Ottoman social fabric reached into and was replicated within *sūdānī* communities in Algiers. All occupations and trades were organised into corporations, each of which had an *amin* or representative in charge who spoke on behalf the organisation with extensive and mediating authority to settle disputes (Rozet vol 3: 79).[26] Similarly, each neighborhood also had an *amin* accountable to the *beylik* (Léspès 1930: 180). Several early French sources state that communities of blacks (‘*les nègres*’) throughout Algeria often had a chief. or *qā’īd* (written *ca’id* in French literature). For example, while Rozet may be the first to document this in Algiers, Guichon’s (1927, 1931) study of female life in the Mzab indicated that black communities had a '*caid des negres*', a leader and spokesperson for the entire community who, again, took mediating roles similar those of Sufi *shyūykh.*[27] Similarly, all 'foreigners' or migrants to the city were segregated into gated neighborhoods called '*berranīyyas*'—from the word *berrānī* (male) or *berrāniyya* (female) an 'outsider'— such as those for the Mozabites, Biskris, Laghouatis, and the 'Ousfanes' or Blacks.

In Biskra, within separate, gated neighborhoods, there were also internal *diyār* separating groups by profession such as the *dār el-ʿabīd* (house of the blacks, literally 'slaves'), *dār el-ḥaddad* for the blacksmiths, and even houses for saintly lineages of *shyūkh* (Clancy-Smith 1994:25). While Rozet mentions that in Algiers blacks lived close to the city, in the same way that the 'Moors' did (volume 2: 140), it is not clear if he was referring to the *berrāniyyas* or another system of housing; these might have been the slaves living close to their masters.

In Algiers and Constantine as well as other smaller cities where Ottoman hierarchical influence was pervasive, we find an analogous system of communal houses or *diyār* (pl.; *dār*, sing.) associated with the different *sūdānī* ethnolinguistic groups previously mentioned. Around 1900, there were seven houses of Sīdī Bilāl in Algiers: three ‘eastern, Hausa' houses (Bornu, Katchina, and Zozo) and four 'western' houses (Bambara, Songhay, Tombu, Gourma)(Andrews 1903: 36). By the time Dermenghem was writing in 1954, there was only Dār Bambara and Dār Zozo remaining yet the latter

---

[26] Quote: '*Tous les méteirs à Alger sont organisés en corporations, dont chacune a un chef nommé Amin, qui possède une autorité très étendue, et même arbitraire; cependant il ne peut pas empêcher de travailler les ouvriers soumi à sa jurisdiction*.'

[27] For instance, the *caid* ensured that slaves were treated well and that they performed their duties (volume 2: 37)

was directed by a 'white' who was more involved with 'white' possession-divination ceremonies that had presumably absorbed influence of *sūdānī* practices (1954:261). Furthermore, while it is not clear if these houses grew out of the *berranīyyas* or existed at the same time, many of the most important *diyār*, as well as the largest slave market in Algiers, were situated very near the Casbah.[28]

Much like the Ottoman Regency's focused power in Algiers, it is also possible that some kind of power emanated from the *dīwān* community in Algiers out to other *dīwān* families through the country. One *dīwān muḥeb* (connoisseur) and ethnomusicologist in Algiers, ʿAbd el-Wāḥed Faḍel, suggested that these *diyār* of Algiers may have been a governing authority over the entire network of *dīwān* communities both within and outside of Algiers, including their practices and repertoires. If *dīwān* communities were similarly governed from the strength of the Algiers' *diyār,* this indeed could partly explain why the *dīwān* ritual music repertoire across Algiers towards the West is remarkably cohesive. It might also explain why the predominant style of playing in the West is, 'paradoxically,' known as '*shergī*' meaning 'eastern' (from *sharq* for East[29]), suggesting that, like Ottoman governance, perhaps an 'Eastern' *dīwān* authority governed the West (see below). While there was certainly some kind of shared *dīwān* corpus—something that remains to this day—certain houses not only had and still have particular songs and dances but they also utilised indigenous instruments to their ethnolinguistic group.

Many *dīwān* elders now cite the complicated dynamics of demographic change, shifting of power at state and community levels, and general upheaval after Algerian independence as one of the reasons that some practices and materials persevered while others disappeared; for example, we still find the Hausa *kurkutū* drum in use in Constantine and Biskra while, although the Sūdānī family in Algiers kept a *kurkutū* tucked away in their *kumania*, or sacred room for ritual objects, it is no longer played

[28] In addition, Algiers long had strong connections with the Mzab valley, particularly Ghardaia as many Mozabites, known as excellent and honest tradesmen, set up businesses in Algiers and Oran. For example, Spencer (1976) notes that, in Ottoman times, Mozabites in Algiers 'monopolized the position of hammam attendants and formed the majority of butchers and millers' (p. 69). Such connections are still apparent in musical spheres as well and here, too, we see echoes of representational and hierarchical governmentality. The prominent Sudānī family of Algiers' apparently still keep Dar Bambara and trace their origin to Ghardaia (personal communication, June 2013).
[29] In the west, the consonant *qaf* is softened and pronounced like the English hard 'g.'

anywhere in Algiers.[30] Similarly, while the Hausa one-string fiddle (*gūgāy*) shows up in old photos of Hausa musicians in Algeria, there is no longer any memory of its use although one still finds several decorating the walls in Dār Bornū-Hausa in Constantine.

Dermenghem (1954), Pâques (1964), and Lapassade (1982) note the steady collapsing of the *diyār* in Algiers and Constantine. Dermenghem noted the primarily Hausa and Songhay influences in *dīwān* but did not give details while Pâques similarly recognised that the slow disassembling of the *diyār* meant that Hausa and Bambara aesthetics would be the last standing since, in her view, the respective regions had symbolic and cosmological significance to the entire social organisation. During my own fieldwork in Constantine, similar to what Lapassade noted in 1982, Dār Baḥrī, and the combined Dar Hausa-Bornu still hold weekly Monday rituals, from late morning until mid-afternoon. While Lapassade called them '*diwan*', they are quite distant from '*dīwān*' in Algiers and the West. As he similarly noted, the rituals I attended were strictly held during daytime hours and consisted of singing and percussion only: *ṭbola, qrāqeb, kurkutū*, and occasionally *darbukka*—there was no *ginbrī* (three stringed lute, quintessential instrument of *dīwān*, see below).[31]

Wilāya of Oran and the West

The structural and demographic makeup of the West is quite distinctive from Algiers eastwards; geography is the first major influence. The west of Algeria is considerably less hilly and indeed, proved a less precarious crossing for caravans from Timbuktu or other areas. Early sources on caravan routes (Baude 1841:179) mention that when caravans had exceptionally heavy loads, they would choose the longer, westerly route to Oran to avoid navigating the Atlas Mountains in and around Medea and Algiers.

[30] The Fulani have an identical instrument, the *kunkuru* of Arab origin (Erlman 1983). Souag cites the *kurk(u)tu* as Hausa, according to Bargery (1934) and adds that in Songhay of Timbuktu, the verb '*kurkutu*' means 'beat drums' (Souag 2013: 222).

[31] This '*dīwān'* is of an almost entirely different order, typically treating only women with six to twelve *nūbāt,* and only one woman at a time in front of the musicians. The evening ceremony, simply called '*gumbri'* or *'ginbrī',* is closest to what is known in the west as a '*dīwān'* although *darbukka* may also be present.

The rolling hills around Mascara and Saida and the large agricultural expanses of the High Plateau northwards had somewhat sparse settlements; we see a great deal of smaller scale towns and encampments. However, social organisation and cohesion of the West was also drastically affected by a series of droughts, famines, and plagues in which Oran was considerably affected from the late eighteenth into the first third of the nineteenth century; particularly with repeated plagues, people fled the city in great numbers.

By the mid-nineteenth century, sources report that many different groups of rural migrants in search of work and from various tribes and outlying villages were camped outside the walls of Oran. Eventually the numbers grew so large that in 1845, Christophe Juchault de Lamoricière, acting governor general of Algeria from 1845-47, allotted these groups land and the creation of an 'indigenous village' that would be later termed 'Djalis' for 'foreigners' and then again, later termed *le village nègre*, referencing its 'black' inhabitants—where ‘black’ here was a generalised, colonial, racist term that included not just blacks but ‘Arabs’ or 'the Muslims' for their brown skin (Léspès 1938: 125). More importantly, the appellation indexed 'otherness' and poverty. It also may have been a nod to similar '*villages nègres*' dotted around the West, from Relizane to Mascara to Saida, wherein many of the inhabitants were all black.

Figure 1: Village Nègre in Perrigaux, photo hanging in *zāwīya*.

This great restructuring effort in Oran was meant to clean up the various tents and shanty towns around what was called the Kargentah neighborhood while containing outsiders. This area today is, interestingly, now called The New City, *Medīna Jadīda*. Within this area of Oran one still finds standing the vacated and quite small *zāwīya* of Sīdī Bilāl. Today, most of these *villages nègres* are called *grāba*, plural for *gurbī*, a shantytown or all black village and often housing a *zāwīya* or ritual space for the local *dīwān* community.

Also in the West and in some southern areas we find a smaller scale unit of organisation—such as that of a family lineage—to the *dār* system in Algiers and Constantine: what are called *maḥallat* (plural; *maḥalla*, singular) as mentioned above. This may be short for '*bit el-maḥalla*' or 'home of the *maḥalla*,' the *maḥalla* being the sacred chest of ritual materials absolutely fundamental to conducting a *dīwān.* The term *maḥalla* also works as shorthand for addressing the physical sacred space, as a synonym for *zāwīya*—here meaning a site for religious and spiritual learning or practice, not necessarily tied to Sufism. Finally, and most commonly, *maḥalla* can also signify an organisation, association, or troupe of 'musicians' (see my definition below), what might normally be called a *firqa* in non-sacred contexts, because any ensemble of musicians require a *maḥalla* in order to conduct a *dīwān.*[32] In ritual, everything revolves around the physical *maḥalla,* the sacred trunk of materials, so that to be authentic 'children of *dīwān*,' *ūlād dīwān*—those born and bred in the tradition and/or with *sūdānī* ancestry—the group must have inherited a *maḥalla* from their ancestors.[33]

B. The Afro-Maghribi Position

As noted, from the mid sixteenth century until 1830, Ottoman rule in Algeria had a notable role in organising and influencing the local, popular religious practices and socio-political organization of Sufi lineages so that, subsequently, *dīwān* developed into a syncretic Afro-Maghrebi ritual practice absorbing many of the same structures of other

[32] The term *firqa* is only used to describe *dīwān* troupes in non-ritual contexts such as when groups perform for festivals.
[33] During my fieldwork period, I heard a controversy over a troupe in Algiers who had allegedly borrowed the *maḥalla* of another family. Another controversy circulated in Oran over a scandalous supposed selling of one family's *maḥalla.*

musical traditions within popular Islam in North Africa: saint veneration and pilgrimage to saint tombs, trance, and ritual healing. While *dīwān* epistemology is very much rooted in these Sufi family resemblances—and still currently reflects this in ritual taxonomy, ritual roles, gate-keeping of knowledge, and approaches to divinely influenced altered states—it is equally part of a wider family of '*sūdānī*' spirit possession healing traditions in North Africa, namely the Moroccan *gnāwa* and Tunisian *sṭambēlī*. This shared trans-Saharan history contextualises their comparable epistemologies of ritual, the usage of common musical material, and their similar musical aesthetics.

Most importantly, the Afro-Maghribi family of music practices is commonly bound by its identification with Bilāl, an Abyssinian slave who converted to Islam, was tormented by others for his conversion, and was freed by the prophet, becoming not only a close companion to the Prophet but also the first *muezzin* (caller to prayer). Bilāl powerfully symbolises and validates black subjectivity in Islam and the supposed passage from slavery to freedom via Islam. Despite the fact that Bilāl was not a saint (*sīdī* or *wālī)* nor a holy man in the sense of performing miracles, and while he did not have a *ṭarīqa* (spiritual path*; ṭuruq,* pl.), disciples, or his own lineage—meaning that, by definition, his is not a Sufi order—Bilāl nevertheless functions *symbolically* as a *shaykh;* he is sometimes referred to as the 'spiritual father', *el-ʻābb er-rūḥī*. His disciples, who are referred to as the *Bilaliyya*, share epistemological lifeworlds with other orders, particularly the *Qadiriyya*, those who associate with the Sufi saint ʿAbd el-Qādr Jīlānī. The very fact of calling Bilāl a 'Sīdī' (saint) establishes him as a manner of *shaykh*. Dermenghem (1954) pointed out decades ago that North African Sufism makes little difference between saints and spirits; likewise, iconic figures easily accumulate the status of *shyūkh*. Holiness and *baraka* (divine blessing) may be flexible, porous, and transferrable.[34] Each of the three Bilāliyya, Afro-Maghrebi traditions of Algerian *dīwān,* Moroccan *gnāwa,* and Tunisian *sṭambēlī* similarly contain complex spirit pantheons that draw from former *sūdānī* sacred traditions and histories as well as localised hagiographies of North African and Muslim saints across the Muslim world—from the

[34] There is a great deal of porosity between orders in Algeria. Many who frequent *dīwanat* also frequent *ḥaḍrat* (gatherings) of Qadiriyya or Tijaniyya orders. Similarly, Qadiriyya or Tijaniyya adepts attend *dīwanat* and are sometimes invited to sing and play drums for larger events, such as weddings where *dīwān* is one of several 'Sufi' practices featured.

regional saint Merzūg in southeast Algeria (also important to *sṭambēlī)* to the Sultān el-Awlīya (king of the saints), ʿAbd el-Qādr Jīlānī, the twelfth century saint with powers to govern other saints. Central to each of these three traditions is the practice of ritualised trance, often as a means to gain the *baraka* (blessing) of these saints or to incorporate supernatural agents through spirit possession trance, often called '*bori*' in Algerian *dīwān,* a term that comes from the Hausa *bori* possession ceremony (see Besmer 1983; Tremearne 1914). In the *dīwān* community, this origin and connection is not recognised.

Let me establish here that for purposes of ease and clarity I will use the term '*ūlād dīwān'* to refer to the Algerian *dīwān* community: born-in-the-tradition, ritually trained culture bearers and family lineages or those who grew up in *dīwān* rituals, even if they are not from a *dīwān* family (a descendent of slaves or the family and tribal transmission that followed). This is the term that 'insiders' use to refer to themselves and their basis in ritual. While, of course, '*ūlād dīwān'* are not a homogenous group and there is an enormous amount of insider/outsider debate even between *ūlād dīwān*, this term serves to reference those who are primarily attached to the *ritual* context in contrast to a popular music context as will become clear below. Amongst the Algerian *dīwān* community, all of these musical and ritual practices are consistently and self-consciously situated within this Afro-Maghribi 'family' context—that is to say, there is an ongoing, lively polemic about how *dīwān* compares and contrasts to *gnāwa* and *sṭambēlī*, especially in its relationship to the *gnāwa* since most *dīwān* activity today takes place in the west of Algeria. *Dīwān* discourse asserts that its own repertoire draws from seven *sūdānī* tribes (*qabāʿil,* plural; *qabīla*, singular), but there is not consensus on which seven tribes comprise it. The most commonly cited are Hausa (specifically Katsina mentioned in Algiers), Bambara, Songhay, Boussou, Bornu, Zozo, Gurma, and Fulani/Peul. The gradual coalescence of these varying groups into somewhat connected 'communities' leads us to the term *ūlād dīwān, ūlād* being a common term across Algeria that references tribal affiliation.

Despite this narrative, the only songs (*brāj,* plural; *borj,* singular) in *dīwān* consistently linked to any historic, ethnolinguistic group mentioned above are Hausa,

Bornu, and Bambara (see more below).[35] Nevertheless, it is important to note here that an identification of tribe as such might not necessarily indicate the *origin* of the *brāj*. It could also reference the behavior and qualities of the spirits or personages depicted in the *brāj*. Indeed, it is the ideas and the imaginaries of 'Bambara' and 'Hausa' that live on in the world of *dīwān* so that what are called 'Hausa *brāj'* may or may not have come from any of the several the Hausa-speaking states. However, ethnolinguistic origin is difficult if not impossible to determine because east-west, interior trade, domination, war, and slave raiding was ongoing.[36] Such integrations can be seen at the level of religious and occult practices; for example, the Songhay spirit pantheon includes Hausa and Tuareg spirits (Rouch 1987) just as within the Hausa *bori* spirit pantheon there are Songhay, Tuareg, North African, and Fulani spirits (Besmer 1983).

Linguistically speaking, however, in *dīwān* we find mostly Hausa and Songhay survivals. Champault's (1969) brilliant monograph on the small community of Tabelbala in the Algerian southwest features discussion on a unique dialect, *kora n-die*, that primarily utilises Songhay vocabulary, Berber forms, and Arabic roots and that neighboring groups consider the language to be 'of the spirits' (*jnūn*) because of its unintelligibility (43). One also finds a local, rich *sūdānī* practice of *ṭbola* and *qrāqeb* and a complex social hierarchy of marabouts and *shorfa ṭuruq.*[37] One important and ubiquitous Songhay loan in *dīwān* is the word *'bania'* used consistently in *brāj* and meaning 'slave' but its current meaning indexes 'a child of *dīwān',* an insider. However, the largest degree of trans-Saharan connection is traceable through Hausa words, phrases, and names of spirits from the Hausa *bori* spirit pantheon. The most obvious is the common word in *dīwān brāj*, *'bāwa,'* meaning 'slave' in Hausa. Other common words in song texts are '*mai*' (master) and *'magani'* ('medicine, magic, or charm). One

---

[35] On rare occasion, the *borj* duo Gurma-Jayba (two *brāj* always played back to back) was associated with the Gurma tribe from the inner Niger River Bend, between the Mossi states and Sokoto Caliphate (Lovejoy 2000:156). However, Gurma-Jayba is classified under a special kind of *Baḥriyya* spirit pantheon of rivers and, to some groups is classified as 'Bambara' (see also JB Andrews 1903: 9 where he notes a similar connection). Moqedm Jallūl of Saida considered *Baḥriyya* as a 'tribe', throwing into question what is meant by the term exactly; assemblages of spirits, humans, or simply qualities or personages? (see Roberts 2014: 44-45).

[36] Lovejoy (2000: 156) details how slave trading was taking place across sub-Saharan Africa, so that one found slaves in the Asante kingdom from as far away as the Sokoto caliphate as well as Gurma and Mossi states.

[37] Shorfa are those who claim to have descended from the Prophet.

very popular *borj*, *Bori ya Bori Mana(n) Dabou* references the Hausa *bori* directly (*bori,* a spirit) and magic (*dabou*). Also in this *borj*, dancers use *bulālat*, whips of Hausa origin and made of animal hide or natural material. Some *ūlād dīwān* identify these trans-Saharan connections by specific ethnolinguistic origin, such as Mʿallem Ḥammītū Samāwī of Lʿatef (an Mzab town), reportedly from a Songhay family and who speaks some Songhay and Hausa.

In general, however, *ūlād dīwān* identify an extinct, hybrid *sūdānī* language called Kuria that was widely spoken between the slaves of various ethnolinguistic groups and their descendants. According to the majority of *ūlād dīwān,* it is Kuria that we hear in the Hausawiyyn and Migzawiyyn *brāj* as well as any other non-Arabic words still peppered throughout the other *brāj* suites. My attempts to clarify if Kuria might have been a form of Hausa were unsuccessful; however, since Hausa was a common trade language and because there are still intelligible phrases in Hausa in the Hausawiyyn *brāj,* such a connection is possible. Since Kuria is still seen today as a secret and powerful language that can call the *jnūn*, it may have some connection to the Bānū Kūrī spirit pantheon of the Bornu region (see Jankowsky 2010).

The present day geography of *dīwān* loci is still bound up with the above mentioned trans-Saharan caravan trade encounters, routes, and points of rest where slaves were sold en route. While the music ritual tradition of *dīwān* primarily developed in the towns and cities starting from the High Plateau northwards in the west and from Medea northwards around Algiers, former, southern caravan outposts such as in the Tuwat (Adrar), Gurara (Timimoun), Mzab (Ghardaia and Lʿatef), and around Ouargla still guard drum and dance traditions with *sūdānī* origin—such as *dūndān* in Ghardaia and *bēnga* in Ouargla—that share important aspects of *dīwān* epistemology, notably the attachment to Bilāl. Many *ūlād dīwān* consider these 'southern' traditions to be the pre-*ginbrī* origins of *dīwān.* Internal discourse among *ūlād dīwān* and *muḥebbīn* (connoisseurs), recognises *dīwān* as a 'northern' phenomenon, while in contrast, Algerians who know little about *dīwān* typically locate it in the Algerian 'south' often around Bechar, likely because it is understood to have come from 'black Africa' and because of associations with the annual Bechar *dīwān* festival (see below).

C. *Dīwān's* Afro-Maghribi Musical Elements and Sensibilities

Figure 2: Nūreddīn Sarjī (L) and ʿAmmī Daḥu Ḥarār (R). Photograph by Tamara D. Turner

It is important to begin by establishing that '*dīwān* music' as an ontological category is said to have not existed until the late 1950s or early 1960s. As Aḥmed Būrī, a *dīwān* adept in Oran, put it, 'Before, there was no such thing as "*dīwān* music". There was only "*dīwān*".' That is to say that organised sound—or what is called here 'music' as a separate practice or system of knowledge—had not previously been conceptually separated from the ritual. 'Music' is, rather, the very structure of the ritual and it is entangled in every dimension of the ritual. *Brāj* order ***is*** the ritual order in terms of temporal trajectory; it imposes texts, ritual acts, bodily movements, and produces affects.

There are no composers of *dīwān brāj;* they are understood to have arrived in Algeria with slaves, modified somewhat over time as sub-Saharans came to speak

Arabic and gradually lost their own languages. The crucial subtext here is that the *brāj* are, at least partly, agents of the supernatural world. While it was never explained to me explicitly how this might have come to be, the melodies of the *brāj* are commonly understood to be the melodies of the *jnūn* or *arwāḥ* (nonhuman agents, see below) perhaps transmitted to humans via dreams or visions. Quite importantly, then, 'music' in this case challenges the boundaries of humanly organised sound (Blacking 1974). Furthermore, the term 'musician' or '*musicien*' as it is used in French, is an ambiguous term in *dīwān.* Individuals who play music are referred to almost exclusively by their ritual roles, not as 'the musicians'. That is not to say that sound is secondary—on the contrary, it is the primary affective basis of the ritual—but that conceptions of 'music' separate it and such separation is secondary to the conception of sound as part of a wider network of relations.

That said, even while it is difficult and problematic to parse out *dīwān* musical 'data' from its ritual and otherworldly associations, local discourse in Algeria today does, indeed, carve out such a space so that the idea of 'music' is not only legitimate but important to address. Despite the fact that '*dīwān* music' as an ontological thing and practice may have, indeed, emerged out of fusion projects and festivals that distanced it from the ritual context, the '*dīwān* music' concept is not at all limited to younger generations, current discourse, or popular musicians using *dīwān* musical material. Ritual elders also talk about specific musical aesthetics, skills, values, and compositional makeup. They speak about instrumental and vocal timbre, quality and thickness. There is much talk about the amplifier and the *pastille* or contact microphone typically used to amplify the *ginbrī,* there is critique of others' *ginbrī* tunings, or whether or not a *mʿallem* recapitulates the necessary main musical theme of the *borj* (the '*rās el-borj'*) after playing a series of thematic developments. In speaking with *dīwān* musicians, I was told that some elders would occasionally give advice on *ginbrī* fingerings or *ṭbel* (barrel drum) sticking. That said, it is important to acknowledge that *ritual* musical aesthetics (and their respective skills) are understood to be quite different from and even incompatible with festivalised or popularised *dīwān* musical aesthetics; I will deal with this more at length in Chapter Seven on the Diwan Festival of Bechar.

For the reasons of contemporary practice and discourse listed above, and in order to explain what kinds of sounds are doing such work, in this section I will attend to the mechanics of 'the music itself'. Here, I will primarily deal with instrument background, construction, the basic fundamentals to musical composition (melodic mode, groove), and the structure of the typical *borj* (loosely structured repetition and development of motifs). However, for the remainder of this thesis, I will otherwise treat *dīwān* 'music' as one finds it in the *dīwān* ritual: it is everywhere and permeating everything. As sound, it cannot be tuned out, unlike other ritual practices that adepts might try to avoid. With regard to the ritual roles of music and *how* it does its work to engender trance, I will deal with this primarily in Section Two. The critical work that music does in ritual will be contextualised by the issues it attends to and generates: for example, its primary role of affective labour of the ritual ambience, the way the music, alone, is what determines the 'path' (*ṭreq*) of the ritual, the supernatural phenomena it produces such as the melodic and textual calling of supernatural beings, and through its role in connecting and separating ancestral lineages, like the ways families pride themselves on their specialisation of particular musical repertoires or sensibilities.

In addition, while *dīwanat* can be and are enjoyed as social gatherings, as regular meeting points for friends and family, where stories, jokes, and food is shared, and where men and women and children of all ages enjoy the pleasure of being up all night, the performance and reception of a *dīwān* is not 'simply' aesthetic, as enjoyable music and ambiance. *Dīwān* is always performed with the understanding and intention that certain divine or supernatural forces are being set in motion—from forces like *ḥāl* to the calling of supernatural agents. The public, too, *expect* the *dīwān* to be 'more' than a musical performance; it *must* incite *jedebbīn* (trancers) to trance.

1. The Instruments and 'Musicians'

Because of its sub-Saharan origins, *dīwān* music is sonically and materially 'other' in its Algerian context. While having a strong connection across the Sahara, *dīwān* shares these Afro-Maghribi aesthetics across North Africa to the East and West with the Moroccan *gnāwa* and Tunisian *sṭambēlī* ritual music practices; all three

traditions are linked by their shared history in the trans-Saharan slave trade even while their geopolitics, histories, and caravan routes varied dramatically. First and foremost, these musical aesthetics and traditions are marked by the variety of their quintessential instrument: the *gnāber* (plural; *ginbrī,* sing.), long-necked, three-stringed lutes that vary by body shape, some materials, and the length of the neck.[38] While the *gnāber* of each of the three traditions developed in North Africa, they have clear material, aesthetic, and performative ties to a large family of sub-Saharan lutes (see Charry 2000), particularly the Fulani *hoddu*, Hausa *molo,* and Bambara *ngoni*. For example, it appears that most West African lutes, while having similar shapes and construction, also tend to have three strings tuned in the same way, including an *ostinato* string at the octave. Most West African lutes use some type of metal resonator usually attached to the end of the neck; this will normally be a flat, metal plate pierced with metal rings around the edges with the purpose of jingling and vibrating with every pluck of a string or touch on the skin of the lute: known as a *chenchēna* in Algeria.[39]

In many West African lute traditions—particularly Fulani *hoddu* playing—and in Afro-Maghribi traditions in North Africa, the skin of the *ginbrī* is often struck in a percussive manner simultaneously with the plucking or strumming of strings by using the index finger to activate the strings while letting the other fingers hang down past the strings in position to strike the skin. In *dīwān,* this is quite rare and it is typically only really found in the West, often associated with what is referred to as the *baladī* style of Oran and Sidi Bel Abbess. Many *dīwān* musicians were quick to point out that their prioritisation of 'the notes' over 'just hitting the skin' set them apart from Moroccan *gnāwa*.[40]

In Algerian *dīwān* the *ginbrī* body is traditionally the shape of a large and deep rectangular box with a flat back and covered on its open side with camel skin.[41] The *ginbrī* body is fully transpierced by a long, thick, wooden dowel that extends out from

[38] I share Fuson's (2009) view regarding the spelling as *ginbrī*—which is sometimes also spelled *guimbri, gimbrī*—because the plural is *gnāber*; the n and b produce what sounds to be 'm.' In addition, we find analogous instruments across Algeria of varying sizes called '*ginibri*' such as in Timimoun and Biskra. Bartok, during his stay in 1913, similarly spelled it in Arabic with the letters *qaf, nun, bah, ra, and ya.*
[39] An analogous instrument is found in Moroccan *gnāwa*, the *sersera*, and in Tunisian *sṭambēlī*, the *shaqshaqa*. The *shaqshaqa* in *sṭambēlī* is not attached to the end of the neck, but is slipped under the strings at the base of the instrument.
[40] Here, '*les notes'* was used in French.
[41] The skin of the camel used is that around its neck.

the top of the body to become the neck. At the other end, it is exposed within a few inches of the bottom of the box by a hole in the skin so that its forked end serves as the attachment for the three gut strings that pass over and are held just above the skin by a wooden bridge. The tension from the strings that are attached at the neck by thin leather straps keep the bridge in place.

The *ginbrī,* played by the *mʿallem* ('master' or learned one, always male) is typically held at the right side of the body if the *mʿallem* is right-handed so that the left hand fingers articulate pitches on the two strings at the neck while the right hand articulates and strums all three strings over the body of the instrument. In this common position the string tuned to the low tonic is furthest from the ground. Two of the three strings of the *ginbrī* are tuned at an octave at the tonic with the third string tuned a perfect fourth above the low tonic. The high tonic is always the middle string and is significantly shorter, only reaching just beyond the body whereas the other two strings are attached at the distal end of the neck.

Only three of my interlocutors gave names for the strings, and sometimes the names given by an informant changed after later clarifications. Despite conflicting information I collected earlier in my fieldwork with Muḥammad Amīn Canon of Saida, in January 2016, he identified the name of the low tonic string is *yorkhi*, the highest tonic is called *biri*, and the stringed tuned to the perfect fourth above low tonic is called *kodo*.[42] Some of the confusion is due to string pitch relevance versus position in space: the string tuned to the perfect fourth above the low tonic is closest to the ground, therefore sometimes being called *taḥtiyya,* the 'lowest', when it is lowest in physical space but not lowest in pitch. For simplicity and clarity sake, I will refer to the strings by their relative pitch to one another as low tonic, high tonic, and perfect fourth.

[42] In previous meetings the string tuned at a perfect fourth had been called *yomani* and *kudo* was the middle string (high tonic). In Oran, I heard the low tonic string, instead, called *yomani*, the perfect fourth called *taḥtiyya*, and the high tonic called *ḥbīb*. One *mʿallem* in Oran, Muḥammad weld Baʿomar, called the high tonic *yomani* (rather than low tonic), with the string at a perfect fourth, instead, called *hassan* or *kergamou*.

Figure 3: Algerian *ginbrī.* Photograph by Tamara D. Turner

For a right-handed *mʿallem,* left-hand technique (at the distal end of the neck) includes pull-offs, hammer-ons, pitch slides, and small touches to already-sounding strings (strummed by the right hand) to create a variety of tones whereas right hand technique generally features picking with the index finger and strumming with several

fingers. In the Sarjī lineage (see below), several of the *mʿallemīn* are left-handed—something viewed as both ominous and mysterious—so that the outer strings on the *ginbrī,* the low tonic and the perfect fourth, have to be switched in order that the lowest string in pitch is still furthest from the ground. Part of this arrangement is ergonomic: the low tonic is the most important of the three strings to the musical foundation—tonicity, again—so that it is more natural for the hand and wrist to move downwards, away from the body and towards the ground (the same way a guitar would strum downwards from low to high). It also allows for the high tonic, which acts as an *ostinato,* to be in between the two 'speaking' strings, making its *ostinato* role easy to achieve: on the way from low tonic to the perfect fourth and back, the middle string, high tonic, can be brushed past. If there is no built-in pickup inside the base of the *ginbrī*, a *piezo* type contact microphone is attached to the skin of the *ginbrī* near the bridge so that it can be amplified and easily heard over the many pairs of double-headed, metal clappers, *qrāqeb* (*qarqābū*, singular), that sustain and emphasise the rhythmic modes of the *brāj* (see more below).

With the help of the *kuyu bungu* (lead singer, sing.; no standard plural) and *rqīza* (chorale), the primary ritual role of the *mʿallem* and his *ginbrī* is to warm the ambience of the *dīwān* by 'launching' it so that trance can take place. Once people are in trance, the *mʿallem* then plays specifically to these states and particular trancers, meaning he adapts musically on the spot, to address these people, especially the more experienced trancers (see more on this relationship in Section Two).

Call and Response Singing: The *kuyu bungu* and *rqīza*

While the origin of the term *kuyu bungu* is not clear, it likely comes from Songhay. The first part of the term was probably adapted from '*kaaya*' which can be translated as 'inheritance' or 'treasury of inheritance' which is appropriate considering the connections to griots and the importance of oral transmission of histories. The second part, *bungu,* may be Songhay for 'head', the body part, and while using the term 'head' to mean 'chief' in Songhay is not typical, this could mark Ottoman Turkish influence, using 'head' to mean master (Souag 2013: 225 and personal communication). Therefore,

'*kaaya boungou'* could have referenced a chief of inherited histories; the role of the *kuyu bungu* in *dīwān* certainly reflects this as it is he who recounts the texts of stories, legends, and indeed, praise songs to prophets, spirits, and saints.

The *kuyu bungu,* seated next to *mʿallem* to facilitate their communication, works closely with the him to ensure the flawless delivery of the musical 'call' in the call and response sections of the *brāj.* Because the *mʿallem* will often vary the amount of time he plays one section of a *borj* before moving on to the next section—usually to do with the trance happening in front of him—and because he has the freedom to embellish his playing, a *kuyu bungu* has to adapt accordingly. The *rqīza*, or response singers who play *qrāqeb* (see below), in turn, take their cues from the *kuyu bungu,* not the *mʿallem,* so that on the rare occasion when I observed a *kuyu bungu* enter the musical phrase incorrectly, the chorus followed him, also entering at the incorrect time in the phrase rather than correcting the timing to the *mʿallem's;* this reflects the musical hierarchy of control being in order of the *mʿallem,* the *kuyu bungu,* and lastly, the *rqīza.*[43]

In terms of trance and affective power of a *borj*, *dīwān* discourse dictates that the role of the *kuyu bungu* is nearly as important as that of the *mʿallem;* his role is indeed crucial in that he leads the chorus, and must know the musical phrases or cuts (*gaṭṭʿat*) that structure the *borj*, as there are designated points of entrance and lengths of phrases. Furthermore, as we will see below, many *jedebbīn* are moved by the texts of *brāj* as much as, if not more than, the melodic motifs; in these cases one can observe *jedebbīn* kneeling and trancing directly in front of the *kuyu bungu* in order allow the text to trigger and 'work' them best. A *mʿallem* will often work regularly with one particular *kuyu bungu* when the two have an established rapport of communication. In addition, the *ginbrī* is tuned in consideration of the *kuyu bungu's* vocal register.

The call and response singing of *brāj* is crucial to the identity of *brāj* in part because the *ginbrī* approach can vary so widely between *mʿallemīn* and because many *brāj* have similar grooves; some *brāj* might only employ minimal accompaniment so that, unless one knows the *ṭreq* quite well, it is possible to imagine losing track of the repertoire order or '*tartīb'*. I observed this on occasion from the women's section when

[43] Although on these occasions, because of superior musical ability, the *mʿallem* typically then adjusted to the *kuyu bungu.*

women were waiting to hear a particular *borj* but did not recognise it until the entrance of the *kuyu bungu.* Furthermore, while texts in *brāj* and the ideas about these texts can vary dramatically between regions and even within regions, the texts are nevertheless extremely important to the symbolic order and meaning of the ritual; they represent what the *brāj* are 'about' and what stories are being told. In addition, as many would say, it is the texts which 'call' *jnūn* or other nonhuman agents into being (see Chapter Three). In this way, the *kuyu bungu* is of the utmost importance.

In my fieldwork, I often heard that, 'even if you have the best *mʿallem* in Algeria, if he's playing with a mediocre *kuyu bungu*, the quality of the *dīwān* will nosedive.'[44] The *kuyu bungu's* role is invested with significant affective power to incite trance; in fact, more of my interlocutors credited their trance to the *kuyu bungu's* voice than to the nature of the *mʿallem's* playing. This had to do with the importance of the text and thus, the meaning of the *borj,* but particularly with the *quality* of the voice because of the unique affective power of the human voice to convey human suffering. The sound of human suffering is the best trigger to release those who trance because of their own suffering. In fact, the vicissitudes of human suffering is so central to trance (see Chapter Two), that the ability of the *kuyu bungu* to trigger this affective topography was a primary barometer for quality. Furthermore, the *kuyu bungu's own* suffering came into play in discourse on more than one occasion. One of the greatest *kuyu bungu-s* (pl., non-standard) in recent memory, Lʿaīd Hassānī of Saida, was praised for his 'emotional', high tenor voice and his special ability to sing in Kuria but he was critiqued by some fellow *ūlād dīwān* because he himself had 'not really suffered in life' because he was 'white', not black: this meant that he did not have the experiential background to adequately reproduce these affective topographies in ritual.

While it is lowest in the hierarchy of musical power and agency, the *rqīza* is also important here and discourse around the ideal *rqīza* involves their ability to sing with feeling, in tune, together, and most importantly, without letting the driving quality of the *qrāqeb* slip out of time; when the *rqīza* was scolded by a ritual elder, it typically had to

[44] However, I similarly heard the reverse being true as well, that a superb *kuyu bungu* with a mediocre *mʿallem* also fell short of producing adequate trance; in other words, the matching of musicianship between *mʿallem* and *kuyu bungu* was the single most important move to ensure a successful ritual, meaning successful trance.

do with this latter issue. In Mascara, the *rqīza* of the *maḥalla* of Ūlād Meriem is so beloved for their high tessitura precision and affective power that outside discourse 'forgives' other aspects of their performances that, in Oran for example, are deemed subpar (see Chapter Three).

The *qrāqeb* are played by the *genēdīz* (disciples, pl.; *gendūz(a)*, sing, masc., fem.), also called *rqīza* or, in French, the '*chorale*' (chorus) because they also sing the response phrases to the *kuyu bungu* after he delivers the 'call'. Both *qarqābū* in the pair are made up of two barbell-shaped plates, held together by a string tied through a hole in the middle, just below the top 'head' and a metal clasp at the distal end. Each player has one *qarqābū* in each hand, with the top 'head' of the *qarqābū* held between the thumb and fingers so that he brings together the two metal plates with the opening and closing of the fingers. Because *qrāqeb* are ideally made out of iron, the instruments and/or the *rqīza* are sometimes referred to as '*ḥadīd*' (iron, Arabic), as in 'follow the *ḥadīd';* in some places, however, they are made out of galvanised steel.

Figure 4: *Qrāqeb* pair

The *qrāqeb* are key to stoking and maintaining the energy of the ritual. With sometimes as many as twelve to fifteen pair of them, they produce an enormous amount of sound and energy; they are described by some as the ‘engine’ of the music. Being the primary percussive instrument of the group, they occasionally have a role in ‘driving’ a *jedēb(a)* to the apex of a trance if the *jedēb(a)* is in particular need of rhythmic force. I spoke with at least one woman who claimed that when she was unwell, ‘in a state’, what she really needed to hear in order to complete her trance was the clanging of the *qrāqeb,* even more than the sound of the *ginbrī* or the *kuyu bungu* and *rqīza*. While for the most part they stick to the metric cycles, on occasion, a player might embellish or accentuate pulses outside the cycle for dramatic effect, particularly in the entrance.

Lastly, the *ṭbola* (plural; sing. *ṭbel)* are double-headed barrel drums that are carried with a sling across the shoulder and played with a hard, curved stick and a flat, flexible lighter stick. Most commonly, the *ṭbola* are used in processionals with the *qrāqeb* (and always without the *ginbrī*) but are never used with the *ginbrī* in a *dīwān* in the West. It is only the east of Algeria, as previously mentioned, where the '*dīwān*' involves no *ginbrī* but features *ṭbola.* Now that we have the context of instruments and their broad ritual roles with respect to one another, I will move on to the technical elements of *dīwān* music and songs.

Figure 5: Two differently sized *ṭbola* and a stack of *qrāqeb*. Photograph by Tamara D. Turner

2. Make-up: Modes, Meter, and Compression

Modes:

Like West African lutes, North African *gnāber* generally employ pentatonic melodic modes. Particularly south of the High Plateau, around the Tuwat and Gurara regions, Algerian musicians referred to the pentatonic mode in Arabic as *khumāsī* (from *khamsa*, five), but in the North it is expressed in French: *la pentatonique*. However, despite a largely pentatonic framework, a given *borj* in *dīwān* might include both the major sixth above tonic and the minor seventh above tonic in different passages; that is to say that they would not occur in succession.

Figure 6: Theoretical pentatonic with major 6th

Figure 7: Theoretical pentatonic with minor 7th

On rare occasion, microtones may also be used, and the tuning of the second and fifth pitch of the mode can vary from region to region and from tradition to tradition.[45] In *dīwān,* the minor third above tonic is used occasionally as a 'colour tone', or embellishment and with my interlocutors, was sometimes called a 'bluesy note'.[46] The third degree, however, is otherwise not structural to the pentatonic mode and therefore, is not used. Even when the lowered third is used as an embellishment, it would not be used in an ascending step-wise fashion—something that does happen regularly in *dīwān brāj* where *ginbrī* passages outline the full mode from low to high tonic (ie: Mūsa Two) —because that would imply it being a structural note of the mode. Rather, the minor third is used primarily on the occasional descending passage as a way of pushing towards the low tonic or leapt to as a colour tone (see more in Chapter Six).

[45] In *sṭambēlī*, the second degree is often lowered while in *gnāwa* the minor seventh is utilised more than the major sixth as the fifth note of the mode.
[46] The term here used was in English: 'blues'.

While the figures above indicate which notes could be used in any theoretical, transposed pentatonic mode, the most important principle to melody and motif in *dīwān* music is ever-present tonicity and its constant reinforcement. That is to say that the high and low tonic and the perfect fifth are the most structural notes that *ginbrī* passages emphasise (G and D in the above example); secondly, on the scale of structural importance are, the perfect fourth (C) because it resolves to the perfect fifth, the second modal degree (A) because it resolves down to the low tonic, and, if there is a minor seventh (F) because it resolves up to the high G; lastly, the sixth modal degree (E) is the least structural. That is not to say that all *ginbrī* lines 'resolve' in these ways necessarily but, because these are the kinds of aurally cultivated points of modal stability and instability, melodic tension is regularly created in *dīwān* by the avoidance of such 'resolutions'; the most obvious is the delaying or suspending of the low tonic, the most structural tone—something that is done in some interpretations of *brāj* such as Sīdī ʿAlī and Gurma.

Throughout my fieldwork, particularly during the Diwan Festival of Bechar, I encountered a great deal of anxiety and discussion about the term *pentatonique,* primarily between well-educated musicologists, journalists, and some younger musicians. Not only was their concern about the accuracy and utility of the term—recognising that, indeed, there is no monolithic approach to mode and many *mʿallemīn* do use more than five notes in their playing, not to mention half-flats and quarter tones—but some seemed outright hostile to the term, seemingly because it represents a colonial, Western musicological approach to classification and therefore, brings with it assumptions about musical worth. While these debates are warranted, they did not produce alternatives. While the term needs nuancing and contextualising, I still find that speaking in terms of pentatonic modes has heuristic value to illustrate the foundations of the melodic palette while also rightly situating *dīwān* within the larger family of Afro-Maghribi musics with overlapping histories, practices, and aesthetics.

Metric Cycles/groove

Groove is one of the most important elements to *dīwān* music and one of the most difficult to convey textually or through transcription. Much like Moroccan *gnāwa* and Tunisian *sṭambēlī* metric cycles, *dīwān* metric cycles feature what I call a 'lilt'; this lilt has partly to do with the ways that articulations within one metric cycle are non-isochronous (Polak 2010). In other words, articulations of beats organised in musical time are not consistently equally divisible in relation to one another across the temporal space of one metric cycle. Rather, some subdivisions of beats are slightly larger or smaller than other same-value subdivisions within the same cycle. For example, rather than equally dividing a quarter note into two equal halves (eighth notes), four equal quarters (sixteenth notes) or equal thirds (triplets), or any otherwise isochronous dotted-value divisions, two eighth notes in the same beat might vary in duration so that rather than a 50:50 division we may find 57:43. Or, similarly, in ternary divisions, instead of equal parts of 33, 33, 33 we may find 25, 34, 41 (see figure 8 below):

Even, Isochronous Beat organisation:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">50</td><td colspan="3">50</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">33</td><td colspan="2">33</td><td colspan="2">33</td></tr>
</table>

Uneven, non-isochronous beat organisation:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">57</td><td>43</td></tr>
<tr><td>25</td><td>34</td><td>41</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 8: Polak 2010: 28

If we consider the most common, four-stroke metric cycle in *dīwān* (called '*quatre-quatre',* four-four) in terms of Western classical notation, the cycle falls between a) what would be transcribed as binary-triple organisation—two eighth-note triplets, or 'three-over-two'—and b) a dotted, binary-duple feel: (see figure 9).

a) Binary-triple organisation b) Binary-duple organisation

Figure 9: Quatre-quatre metric mode

This ambiguity between triple and duple feels, the quintessential metric lilt, is variable; some *brāj* feel to be more one than the other and this is oftentimes the result of accents in and contour of the *ginbrī* line. Changes between feel are also heightened with increased speed, as temporal compression means that articulations become closer together and more evenly spaced, producing less lilt (see below and Jankowsky 2010:118). Other scholars (Baldassare 1999; Fuson 2009; Polak 2010; Jankowsky 2010) of musics with similar challenges of non-isochronous organisation have approached textual representation and transcription in various ways; the most helpful and relevant of these are Fuson (2009) on the *gnāwa* and Jankowsky (2010) on *sṭambēlī*. In order to relate my own work to these scholars in an effort to contextualise *dīwān* aesthetics within the wider Afro-Maghribi musical traditions across North Africa, and because there is nothing particularly unique about *dīwān* metric cycles—except that *dīwān* appears to have less variation than *gnāwa or sṭambēlī*—I will here contextualise the *dīwān* metric cycles in relation to Fuson's and Jankowsky's representations.

In his unpublished PhD dissertation on the *gnāwa*, Fuson (2009) engages with Antonio Baldassare's (1999) transcriptions, making several important corrections to strong/weak beat representation and duple versus triple beat division. For example, in the four-stroke metric mode (four right-hand articulations, four left-hand articulations, see figure 10 below), the very '*quatre-quatre'* found in *dīwān*, Fuson maintains Baldassare's preference to represent it as binary-triple beat organisation—that is, the larger structure (time signature, 2/4) is duple whereas subdivision is ternary (triplets):

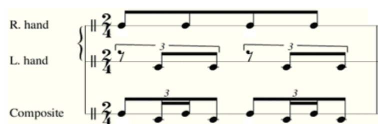


Figure 10: (Fuson 2009: 122)[47]

[47] While the *ginbrī* and *rqīza* follow the same groove, the metric cycles are most easily represented in the *qrāqeb* parts.

While the *quatre-quatre* cycle in *dīwān* is always executed in the same way physically—R-L-R-L, hence why it is called 4-4 or four-stroke—some *ūlād dīwān* claimed that there were two versions of the cycle. This had to do with emphases in melodic lines that suggest an off-set 'downbeat' so that *quatre-quatre* takes on a feeling of:

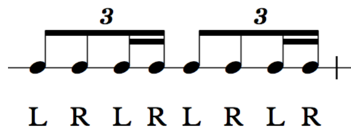


Figure 11: off-set *quatre-quatre*

The 'two-against-three' or 'two-***with***-three' feel is quite explicit in *dīwān brāj* so that, even while the underlying tactus is duple (the cycle is first binary, with each half divided in three), the three feel is ever-present. For example, on the occasions when the *qrāqeb* are asked to drop out for a moment, such as while a *jedēb(a)* is in a difficult state of trance and is needing to concentrate on the sound of the *ginbrī*, the *jedēb(a)* may ask the *qrāqeb* to drop out. On the re-entry of the *qrāqeb*—usually one or two very eager players will enter first after which the others follow—some experienced players will enter the groove by emphasising the three-feel of the duple beat subdivision; in other words, entering on what feels like three-against-two before falling into the duple groove:

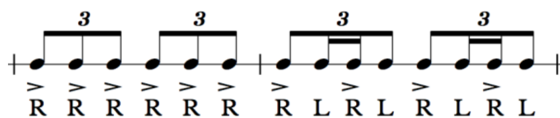


Figure 12: triple groove into *quatre-quatre*

Unlike *gnāwa* and *sṭambēlī,* the vast majority of *dīwān brāj* are in this four-stroke cycle and except for in the south of Algeria where we find one additional cycle, the only other cycle is the three-stroke, today referred to as *six-huit* (six-eight).

Three Stroke: Six-Huit

In *dīwān,* the *six-huit* mode or three-stroke—three strokes of *qrāqeb* to one pulse—usually feels exactly as it implies: binary-triple organisation, or one cycle divided in half with each half divided into thirds with two sets of dotted-eighth note, sixteenth note, eighth note:

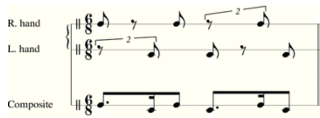


Figure 13: Three-stroke, Fuson 2009: 122

Most of the *brāj* containing this cycle in *dīwān* begin at a brisk tempo so that there is less temporal flexibility to draw out articulations or 'expand' senses of pulse; therefore, this cycle has less ambiguity. This much less common cycle typically finishes off *brāj* suites (such as Mūsa, Srāga, Sīdī Ḥsen), meaning that the last *borj* of the suite is in the three-stroke mode, and this metric shift functions as a quickening of the energy and ambiance. Other than these finishing three-stroke *brāj,* we find the most amount of the three-stroke mode in the Insa'wiyyn suites for the 'women'.[48]

Similarly, as these *six-huit brāj* accelerate, articulations even out so that the cycle becomes nearly evenly spaced triplets (see Jankowsky on the similar '*sūdānī'* rhythmic cell in *sṭambēlī,* 2010: 116):

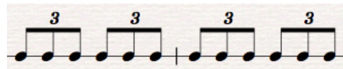


Figure 14: evenly-spaced *six-huit*

The only exception to this is in the south of Algeria, particular in the Mzab, where the 'signature' metric cycle is, indeed, a very 'heavy' (locals use the adjective *thaqīl* in Arabic) three-stroke that tends towards evenly spaced 2/4. That is to say that while this cycle is more commonly found in the *gnāwa* as a variation of the three stroke, in Algeria we only hear this particular variation of binary-duple in the South and as one

[48] Interestingly, this is similar to Moroccan *gnāwa* where we find this mode in the 'women's' suite and as a means of accelerating energy.

ritual elder put it, ‘when we hear this rhythm, we think about [the Mzabi town] “Ghardaia”.’:

Figure 15: Fuson 2009: 123

Of particular note here, then, is that metric cycles can index place and region.

Compression/acceleration:

Another key characteristic of *dīwān* music is that all *brāj* gradually accelerate, or, to be more attentive to the total affective aesthetics, they compress temporally. Because this quality has more to do with the propagation of trance, I will deal with its vicissitudes in Part Two. Here, I wish to mention it simply to indicate that such compression applies not only to the overall tempi of individual *brāj* but also to suites of *brāj* so that, when *brāj* are grouped within a suite—for example, Mūsa, Ḥammū, Srāga, and Ḥassaniyyn—the final *borj* is the fastest and lightest of the series. In addition, many *brāj* compress not just in the acceleration of their tempi, but by way of the musical composition, including the ‘cutting’ and/or shortening of motifs (*gaṭṭʿat,* ‘cuts’)—such as cutting a four-bar motif into two bars—as well as the *ginbrī* shifting from identifying motifs into an accompaniment texture where it ‘drives’ a particularly energetic tonic-heavy *ostinato* to signify the intensification of the *borj* (see below). This increase of energy at the apex of the *borj* is greatly aided by the *qrāqeb* players whose consistent, chugging metric cycles strive to push the *borj* to its peak.

Rich Jankowsky’s (2010) theorisation and graphic representation of this phenomenon similarly found in *sṭambēlī* music is quite helpful here. In the following example of what is the near equivalent of the three-stroke in *dīwān,* he shows how non-isochronous beat organisation transforms across time to become more even, like triplets.

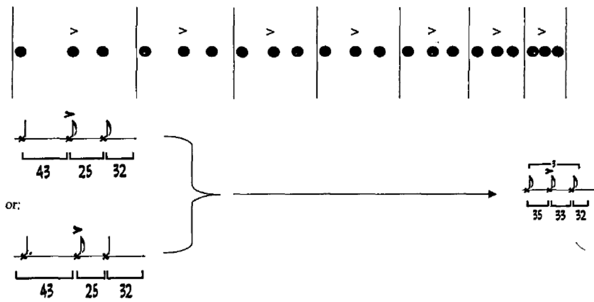


Figure 16: Three-stroke compression. Jankowsky 2010: 116

And how it might look graphically:

Figure 17: Jankowsky 2010: 117

Part of the reason for going into the details of these musical components and aesthetics—particularly mode and groove—is because they are distinctive Afro-Maghribi characteristics. That is to say that other musics in Algeria do not typically share these qualities, especially pentatonic modes and non-isochronous beat organisation.[49] Other musics might, however, feature an increase in tempi, making this category less particular to *dīwān.* However, it is worth repeating here that *dīwān* music is exceptionally 'other' in its Algerian context. The pentatonic, bass tones of the *ginbrī* and the clanging *qrāqeb*, the particular lilting groove, and the call and response singing that harkens back to praise singing of the Mande griots are all strong markers of musical (and ontological) otherness. Put plainly, *dīwān* music is often referred to by Algerians as being 'African' or 'pure African' as opposed to 'Algerian'—meaning, not based in 'Arab', 'Berber' or largely 'Mediterranean aesthetics.[50] It is difficult to over-state this

[49] The only exception to my knowledge is *ahelīl* music of the Gourara region where men do sing in pentatonic modes and there is some indication of non-isochronous beat organisation. However, this is still 'black music of the south', meaning that the populations practicing this music are black Algerians with debatable sub-Saharan or *haratīn* origins (freed slaves who have long worked or owned land).

[50] Since the 1990s there has been a gradually increasing interest in the youth populations, particularly in Algiers, of pan-African connections. The first Pan-African festival in 1969 and the second in 2009 planted the seeds for this awareness. During the time of my fieldwork, pan-African bands were quite popular in

point; the exceptional ‘otherness’ of *dīwān* music is representative of its unique history in the trans-Saharan slave trade, its association with Sufi epistemologies, and its special status still today as belonging to a minority group who are often marginalised due to their ancestry.[51]

3. Styles of *dīwān* music

The *ginbrī*’s all-permeating bass register in the musical ensemble is the primary characteristic that determines its musical role, making it the center of the musical universe in *dīwān*. The *ginbrī* serves as the musical support and foundation upon which the higher vocal lines of the call and response singing depend. With regard to its role as accompaniment and support to the call and response singing, it functions also as a melodic instrument—delivering the critical melodic motifs of *brāj* that help to incite trance—as well as a percussion instrument on occasion, when the skin is hit. The first way musicians talk about *ginbrī* playing and singing style is within three broad, geographically based categories. *shergī*, the western pronunciation of *sharqī* or 'eastern’; *baladī*, which was translated to me as the ‘city style’, and *gharbī* (western, usually meaning ‘like the *gnāwa’* of Morocco to the West).

Getting to the bottom of these supposedly separate styles in Algeria was no simple task as ideas about them vary considerably. Nevertheless, *shergī* is understood to be the most common style that, in the words of Hūwārī’ Būsmāha, ‘basically everybody plays’ in the west of Algeria, from Oran to Bechar and beyond. However, the term *shergī* seems odd considering that it means ‘eastern’. While I found no explanation of this seeming contradiction, I suspect that either ‘eastern’ indicates ‘east of Morocco’ to differentiate between the *gnāwa* with whom *ūlād dīwān* might have come into contact,

---

Algiers—Ifrikiyya Spirit and Djamawi Afrika were the top two, with the first landing a tour of the States in 2016—and at least two other projects were launched to establish creative and musical partnerships with artists across the Sahara, the most visible being that of El-Foukr R'Assembly and its ethos to 'look South'.

[51] This marginalisation is also due to their skin colour and because they are seen by some as practicing ‘voodoo’ or ‘black magic’ (*la magie noire).* Many of these prejudices come from the belief that the *sūdānī* occult practices they brought with them have persevered and are simply now disguised as ‘healing’. Furthermore, because it is generally known that *ūlād dīwān* deal in matters of the *jnūn* and *arwāḥ*—considered to be forbidden to humans who should leave well enough alone—they are doubly suspect.

or, as mentioned above, that it possibly reflects an older *dīwān* hierarchical social order in which *ūlād dīwān* in the west took direction from Algiers's system of *diyār.*

Baladī, on the other hand, is said to be a 'calmer' style and yet, the few remaining *mʿallemīn* who are said to be experts in this style, most notably Muḥammad weld Ba ʿAmar of Oran, play quite rapidly in a style that I found—somewhat confusingly—reminiscent of the more virtuosic *gnāwa mʿallemīn. Baladī* is generally associated with the cities of Oran and Sidi Bel Abbess only.[52] According to Hūwārī Būsmāha, *baladī* differs from *shergī* in that its vocal parts tend to be in a lower tessitura and much less embellished, privileging more subtle, low register melodic lines. He also claims that it has nearly disappeared; there are just a few *mʿallemīn* who continue to play it. However, when I asked about *baladī* elsewhere, such as in Saida with Muḥammad Amīn Canon, I was told that there was no such thing, only different 'touches' of *mʿallemīn*. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that today *shergī* seems to be ubiquitously understood as the most popular style.

In June 2013, Hūwārī demonstrated for me an example of the difference between the two styles in the *borj* Mūsa Two (Mūsa Kebir), playing *ginbrī* while also singing for me. In the two versions, he entered with a slightly different *ginbrī* introduction. Notice that in the *baladī* version, the *ginbrī* stays around the A-flat and B-flat (perfect fourth and fifth in the melodic mode, E-flat as tonic) in its highest range, except for the common *ostinato* on the high tonic (not considered part of the theme here but 'filler'). However, in the *shergī* version, the *ginbrī* range is slightly larger, particularly the way its call starts with C, B-flat, C, A-flat, B-flat. In addition, his articulation of the high tonic on E-flat in bars four and five is longer and therefore suggests being more structural. While adapting the *ginbrī* part slightly, Hūwārī primarily wanted to demonstrate for me the differences in the relationship with the *voice*: to him, this is what was most emblamatic about the two styles and therefore, what defined them—even though the styles are not thought of as 'singing styles' per se because the *ginbrī* also changes. In the first transcription below of the *baladī* version he played first, notice how he, the *kuyu*

[52] *Baladī* is said to have developed there with the help of the most legendary *mʿallem* specialising in *baladī* style in recent memory, Hūwārī 'Kaīkaī'. I heard one single recording of his playing during a chat with Muḥammad weld Ba ʿAmar but it was not clear what made *baladī* so particular. My continued questions about this style often resulted in conflicting information.

bungu (Kb), follows the line of the *ginbrī* so that it is nearly matches note for note what the *ginbrī* introduced. Furthermore, regarding vocal range, the highest pitch is on B-flat, *sol,* so that the range is only that of a perfect fifth. Lastly, Hūwārī added that in the *baladī* style, the *kuyu bungu* would approach higher notes later on in the *borj, s*o that it was primarily in the way that a *borj* began that determined the style.

Example 1: Mūsa 2, *Baladī* style. Audio in footnote.[53] ∾ = string pitch bend, hammer-on

Example 2: Mūsa 2, *Shergī* style. Audio in footnote.[54]

[53] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/04/mallem-huwari-plays-musa-2-baladi-style.html
[54] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/04/mallem-huwari-plays-musa-1-shergi-style.html

In the *shergī* version, the *kuyu bungu* enters on the high D-flat, the minor seventh and also a note of tension in the mode, and holds it out for two beats followed by a leap to the ninth—a whole-step above the 'typical' octave range—on F to resolve to the high tonic on E-flat. To the ears of *ūlād dīwān* and *muḥebbīn* this first gesture would sound virtuosic. In bars ten and eleven Hūwārī also emphasises the D-flat.[55] Furthermore, in the performance of these two styles, his vocal quality also took on two different aesthetics. In *baladī*, his tone was somewhat muffled, as if he was pinching the notes a bit, and intentionally staying somewhat reserved with the presence he gave the notes. On the contrary, in the *shergī* version, his vocal quality and timbre were greater in volume and presence, partly because to sing in the higher register also physically requires more breath support and a faster air stream to sustain the notes. What I mean to suggest here is that an *affective* difference between the two styles is also audible.

The second and most common way that *ūlād dīwān* talk about *ginbrī* playing styles—still often attached to regional tendencies—are with the Arabic term '*thaqīl'* ('heavy') and '*khfīf'* ('light'). *Thaqīl*' refers not only to the tendency to play at slower tempi but, quite importantly, with attention to a full timbre of the *ginbrī* sometimes meaning that *gnāber* are tuned overall to maximise harmonics; a trained ear sensitive to these timbral differences can determine which region a *mʿallem* is from based on timbre. In addition, at slower tempi, notes plucked on the *ginbrī* have more time to resonate; such lengthened resonation then offers the potential for the sounding tone to be coloured with 'embellishments' such as pitch bends, slides, or turns executed by hammer-ons or sliding the finger on the fingerboard.[56]

Thaqīl also refers to a tendency to err towards the accompaniment role of the *ginbrī* to support the vocal parts alone—something that is known as 'just playing the *sūg*', or holding to a driving *ostinato*. In Mascara and Saida, for example, and to an even greater degree in *maḥallat* based around Ghardaia, the *ginbrī* style tends to be more

[55] In discussions with *muḥebbīn* about these two styles, I was told that if singers surpass the range of the *ginbrī* too much, these are identified as 'false notes' or errors. What is being identified here is that the *ginbrī's* range is an octave and, typically, the vocal lines also span an octave. However, some of the most beloved *brāj*, such as this Mūsa above and Jamangaru, are those that feature dramatic, vocal leaps out of this range. Therefore, it is not clear where one might draw a line between what is considered '*shergī*' and thus, higher singing versus simply 'false notes'.

[56] A right-handed *mʿallem* who has already articulated a pitch on the perfect fourth string can then use another finger of the left hand to 'hammer-on' the same string followed by a release so that the pitch bends up and then back down.

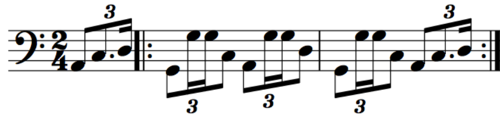
minimalistic than along the coast (see examples of this below). On the contrary, the aesthetic generality referred to by *ūlād dīwān* as '*khfīf'* refers to faster, even rapid tempi and a *mʿallem's* use of running sixteenth notes 'under' the main themes—a kind of compound melody—aiming for maximum thickness of sonic texture by filling the space with as many notes as possible; I find it helpful to think of these as 'filler notes', they fill out the sonic texture.[57] In any case, because there are remarkably different approaches to the complexity of *ginbrī* playing and because these approaches in general can be more or less mapped onto regions of *dīwān* practice—'*thaqīl'* dominating the hinterland and more southern regions like Ghardaia, whereas *'khfīf'* dominates the northern regions—there is a possibility that these differences reflect historical change; *dīwān* discourse also reflects this question.

On this note, and keeping in mind academic anxieties around simplistic depiction of musical change and gestures at an evolutionary anthropology, I would carefully suggest that it is worth considering that the rates and types of social change in geographically distant regions of Algeria could have also had an impact on the evolution of the *musical* practice and repertoire given the very different experiences of *ūlād dīwān* in the urban, industrial, cosmopolitan north compared to those in southern, rural Algeria. The more minimalistic *ginbrī* playing, such as was characteristic to some *maḥallat* in Saida and Mascara, and the still even heavier, accompaniment-style playing currently quintessential to the Mzab, may indeed have something to do with varied dynamics of historical change of playing style. The south is seen to have held on to *sūdānī* aesthetics more than the north.

When I encountered this discourse in my fieldwork, it was also pointed out that the most sub-Saharan of the *brāj*, Hausawiyyn and Migzawiyyn, share this more simple, accompaniment style of *ginbrī* playing. Like most of the other *brāj* in the Hausawiyyn suite, the *borj* for Bilāl, the spiritual father of *dīwān,* is identified musically by its call and response singing parts because it does not have a 'singable' motif on the *ginbrī* but, rather, is made up of the 'Hausa *sūg*' or accompaniment—a more typical *sūdānī*

[57] Two of these *mʿallemīn* with such a reputation are Qādī Ben ʿumrī of Sidi Bel Abbess and Laḥbīb Canon of Oran.

aesthetic on related lute instruments.[58] Because this Hausa *sūg* is not only utilised in the *borj* for Bilāl but is also found in a number of *brāj* which are not in the Hausawiyyn suite (such as Jamangaru), it is therefore the *vocal* lines and vocal melodies which establish the identity of these *brāj.*



Example 3: Hausa *sūg* used in Bilāl *borj and Jamangaru*

Example 4: Hausa *sūg-s* used in other *brāj*

Whether we are speaking of style categories or aesthetics, and whatever the explanation might be for these very different *ginbrī* playing styles, *ginbrī* activity is most significantly determined by the musical personality of the *brāj;* some have more elaborate melodic contours and opportunity for virtuosity compared with other *brāj* that are primarily built on compact motivic cells—such as Baba Inwa—that suggest more conservative *ginbrī* lines. This is to say that, regardless of all of the above mentioned variation of style, there are required melodic motifs that *must* be heard in order for the *borj* to be what it is. Let us now turn to look at how a typical *borj* is constructed.

4. Structure of A *Borj*

With the exception of Migzawiyyn *brāj* that proceed straight into the *borj* theme and the Hausawiyyn *brāj* that begin with a driving *ostinato*, all other *brāj* typically begin with a variable-length unmetered introduction, the *istikhbār,* also known in dialect as the *taḥwissa,* from the root, *ḥ-w-s,* to seek or search. At the beginning of *brāj* suites, and especially if there is a change in musicians or if there has been an extended pause for

[58] Studying the recordings made by Murray Last in the 1970s of Hausa *bori* ceremonies with the *garaya* lute, one also hears an accompaniment figure and not particularly a sense of melody on the instrument.

any reason, a *mʿallem* will often take his time warming up to the *borj* in this way. While the *taḥwissa* can serve as a means to warm up the *ginbrī* and the *mʿallem*'s technique while adjusting any tuning or microphone issues, it functions mostly as a way of warming up the environment and preparing the ambience for the *borj*. Oftentimes, the *mʿallem* will flutter up and down the pentatonic mode, highlight a few embellishments on the perfect fourth string, and hint at the motifs from the upcoming *borj*'s theme, as if to indicate where he is headed musically, or in case anyone has lost track of the *tartīb*. That is to say that these introductions are formulaic 'improvisations' that sound to be just as much about testing out the feel, resonance, and intonation of the *ginbrī* as much as indicating to the *jedebbīn* to prepare.

Following the *taḥwissa, brāj* begin with the *ginbrī's* main theme, the *rās el-borj,* literally 'head of the *borj',* that will be announced quite earnestly to grab the attention of the *rqīza* who should immediately jump in on *qrāqeb*, lining up correctly to the metric cycle if they don't catch the theme until the second or third pulse of the bar. After a predictable duration of multiple statements of the *rās el-borj*—in other words, a set number of 'bars' that everyone knows—the *kuyu bungu* then enters, beginning the call and response sections that will usually involve more than one vocal theme. Most *brāj* also will have thematic development and secondary or tertiary themes, what may be a series of *gaṭṭʿat*, or 'cuts', that are often motivically related to the *rās el-borj.* However, the *rās el-borj* is the most identifiable melodic aspect of the *borj* on the *ginbrī* so that, in theory, one could sing this short theme to identify any given *borj* in conversation, a technique I used when going through *brāj* lists with ritual experts.

Let's take for example the *rās el-borj* of Ḥammū (first *borj* in the suite by the same name). Here, the theme can be identified with the pick-up beat and the first full measure, and we see particularly that the four notes of the first full bar come back consistently: the D down to low tonic C, followed by the high leap up to the minor seventh on B-flat and the high tonic on C. Note the *rās el-borj*, indicated by the boxes:

Example 5: *Rās el-borj* in boxes. Mʿallem ʿAbdāqa Samī, 2 Oct 2014

In the performance transcribed above, Mʿallem Sāmī gives us four full statements of the *rās el-borj* before the *kuyu bungu* enters at the end of the last, thirteenth bar. *Brāj* themes vary in length, complexity, and degree of melodic contour but they are almost always introduced first by the *rās el-borj* on the *ginbrī.* This theme may be identical, close to, or simply complementary to the first statement of the vocal call and response. During the vocal response, sung by the *rqīza*, the *ginbrī* will often take more musical license to embellish so that he is primarily concerned with supporting the *kuyu bungu*. Or, at other times, the *mʿallem* may choose to back off a bit and let the call and response singing take precedence. The relationship between the call and the response sections also varies in *brāj* so that while sometimes the length of the call and response in musical time are equal—such as two bars of call followed by two bars of response, like Ḥāmmū One—at other times, the response might overlap the end of the call (see Ḥammū 2), or the response might be more motivically elaborate or longer than the call. At other times, while the call changes musically and textually, the response stays the same (Sergu One). In these sections of *gaṭṭʿat*, repetition is most crucial. While repetition is a key structural and aesthetic element of every section of the *borj*, call and response pairs of themes in most *brāj* are, in particular, articulated numerous times before being 'cut' into smaller pieces that will then also usually be repeated numerous times. Repetition here is absolutely critical.[59]

[59] Concepts of 'repetition' in the English language and particularly in Western music scholarship bring with them ideas about the recurrence of an 'identical' statement across time; in other words, a linear or possibly horizontal orientation to temporality and the experience of time. I would argue that the experience of time in *dīwān* rituals, structured by the *brāj tartīb*, is as much if not more so oriented by

With the gradual acceleration and compression of these *gaṭṭʿat*, the singing drops out altogether and the *ginbrī* goes into the last section of the *borj*—the *sūg* section—where it 'drives' the trancers to a finish. Here is where we see the most culmination of trances so that the primary goal here is for the excitement of the *ginbrī* to affectively push the *jedebbīn* to their finish. There is no given 'end' to *brāj*; the *mʿallem* works the *jedēb(a)* until s/he either collapses or until the *moqedm* or another ritual elder indicates to the *mʿallem* to stop. This can be done with a look, a simple hand gesture, or typically, by a person approaching the *mʿallem* and resting a hand on the neck of the *ginbrī*. To stop a *mʿallem*, however, is something that is typically reserved for older and more experienced *jedebbīn* and ritual elders. I often saw a *mʿallem* refuse to stop if either the person indicating it was not of high enough standing or if the *mʿallem* saw other *jedebbīn* who he felt he needed to finish off. I will say a great deal more about the musical production of trance in the coming sections.

---

compression and release. As I see it from a ritual perspective, repetition encourages a deepening of a particular sensibility, cultivating a vertical experience of time.

Name of section	What it is	Who shapes it
istikhbār or *taḥwissa*	Unmetered introduction, sometimes hinting at the main theme, *rās el-borj*	Entirely shaped by *mʿallem;* optional
Rās el-borj	Literally: 'head of the *borj*'; the main theme of the *borj;* while variation happens, it has to be recognisable to all	Shaped by *mʿallem,* who, having some degree of musical flexibility, can stretch out the duration (see Ḥammū One)
Entrance of the *qrāqeb*	As soon as the *rās el-borj* is recognised and/or the groove is established, the *qrāqeb* enter. Typically the *kb* plays also so that usually he will be the first to enter, followed by the rest of the *rqīza* (rq)	*Mʿallem* might throw a glance at the *kb*, or *rq* if they do not pick up the groove quickly enough
Entrance of *kuyu bungu* (*kb*)	The first 'call' of the call/response singing, the main theme. This theme is often closely related motivically, if not identical, to the *rās el-borj.* Musically superior to the 'response'	Typically the entrance timing is fixed, determined by *the rās el-borj* phrase structure; occasionally the kb might delay or enters incorrectly after which the *mʿallem* must adjust to him
Entrance of the *rqīza* (*rq*)	The first 'response' of the call/response singing. Oftentimes it is consistent even when 'call' changes. Musically inferior to the 'call'.	Determined already by the *kb* because the 'response' is a set relationship to the 'call' (not flexible)
Gaṭṭʿat (involves more *kb/rq* entrances also)	Literally: 'cuts'. Introduction of other themes, usually on the *ginbrī*, and usually motivically related to the *rās el-borj,* so that they are considered 'cuts' of it.	Changes can be determined by both *ginbrī* and *kb*, depending on the *borj*. ex: in Ḥammū 2, the *kb* indicates the timing of the 'cuts' from what he sings on the last beat of a bar, triggering a different response by the *rq*
Dropping out of all singing	no name	Typically the final call/response is decided by the *kb* who simply stops singing or might give an indication to the *mʿallem*
Restatement	a return to the *rās el-borj* on the *ginbrī,* often with some slight development from the original statement, such as repeating the last bars of it	Once singing drops out, this is entirely determined by the *mʿallem*
Sūg sections until end	Literally: 'to drive'. Best thought of as 'riffs' on the *ginbrī* to escalate trance	Determined by *jedebbīn* (trancers), the *mʿallem* here is playing directly to them. On occasion a *moqedm* might also direction the *mʿallem* or *jedebbīn* if he sees problems or sees that a particular *jedēb(a)* needs musical attention

Table 1: Structure of a typical *borj*

There are some exceptions to this structure but the above table would be a reasonable generalisation of the structure of most *dīwān brāj.* The most frequent exception to this structure is generated by call and response singing parts. For example, in most *brāj*, once the singing drops out, the *mʿallem* restates the *rās el-borj* to some degree (with some embellishment, not exactly as he did at the beginning of the *borj*) and he then proceeds to the *sūg* section. However, as we see in Ḥammū Two (Bania), there is usually a long solo *ginbrī* section before the entrance of a second set of call and response singing, what would be considered another grouping of *gaṭṭʿat.* I will go into more detail on this below.

Another 'exception' or complication here is that *gaṭṭʿat* are not necessarily universally recognised or counted. What some *maḥallat* consider a *gaṭṭʿa* belonging to a given *borj,* other *maḥallat* may consider an entirely separate *borj* that has been 'linked' onto the former: this linking is expressed in French as *brāj* being '*enchaîné*'. For example, Gurma and Jayba seem to be ubiquitously *enchaîné,* always played together without stopping.[60] Nevertheless, there are disagreements about which is which: *brāj enchaîné* or simply *gaṭṭʿat* of one longer *borj.* The best example of this ambiguity is probably the Srāga series with its many *gaṭṭʿat and* linked *brāj:* while most *maḥallat* perform the series as three main *brāj*—Sergu One, Two, and Three—with stops in between, I heard from several *muḥebbīn* that there were *five* Srāga, having to do with the third Sergu that could be parsed into three parts. Furthermore, certain regions have additional *gaṭṭʿat* particular to their region, such in Ḥammitū's performance of Ḥammū Two. In Algiers, the Ḥammū suite has three *brāj*, the third being Ḥammūda in 6/8 time, consistent with other 3-*brāj* suites.[61] In another example, Mascara has a unique 'introductory' *gaṭṭʿa* or even mini-*borj,* Tigirama, that precedes the *borj* Brahīm. Because most of these differences are initiated by and therefore associated with the call and response organisation of a *borj*, it is important here to clarify the types of call and response singing. They can broadly be categorised as such:

[60] Such ambiguity also comes up in Jamangaru-Lillia where it seems Mascara is alone in performing the two with a stop in between.

[61] Adapting to the regional *ṭreq* preferences, Mʿallem Qwīder ʿArūbī of Oran added this *borj* during a *dīwān* in Algiers even though when he performs in the west, he does not play this *borj.*

1) Types where call / response = 50:50. Call and response are of equal length and are often identical in melody. Response comes immediately following the call. Example: Ḥammū One, first call and response
2) Types where response overlaps with sections of the call (Ḥammū Two). In Ḥammū Two, the *rq.* takes over the end part of the call to finish it
3) Types where the chorus is significantly longer than the call, more elaborate (Musa 2), Ḥammū Two (Bania)
4) Types where regardless of what the *kb* sings, which changes, the chorus is always the same (Sergu 1)

As we will see in the transcriptions, while there is generally a protocol about phrase length and the contour of calls and responses, there is still flexibility in the number of calls and sometimes, the placement of calls. Some of this has to do with personal or regional style preference.

5. Musical Structure and Freedom: Comparing Musical Performances

In order to demonstrate many of the musical fundamentals to *dīwān brāj* mentioned above, this next section compares five performances of the western Algerian Ḥammū Suite, (the two *brāj* known as Ḥammū and Bania), mentioned in other sections of this thesis. I have chosen these particular performances based on the reputation and geographical importance of the *mʿallemīn* and their *maḥallat* as well for connections between them: *mʿallemīn* Qwīder ʿArūbī and ʿAbdāqa Sāmī of Oran; *mʿallem* Benʿūda Ben Brāhim from Relizane; Qada Canon from Saida; and Ḥammitū Samāwī from Ghardaia. These five *mʿallemīn* are well known in *dīwān* circles; they are frequently invited to play at various *dīwanat* across the country. The first three *mʿallemīn* are connected by way of the Majdūb *silsila* (see below) while the *maḥallat* of Saida (Canon) and Ghardaia (Samāwī), are not connected in kinship or *silsila,* but rather as mutual clients in friendship: they both regularly invite the other to perform in their *dīwanat* meaning that Ḥammitū is regularly invited to Saida and the Canons to Ghardaia.[62]

[62] Ghardaia has an exceptionally different *ṭreq*, however. Historically, the Mzab was more connected to Algiers and so shares much in common with the Algiers *ṭreq*. However, within recent memory, they have

The two purposes of the transcriptions below—and the accompanying recordings on the companion website—are to first demonstrate musical approaches to *dīwān brāj* regarding degrees of musical freedom and personal playing style within expected and fixed musical structures noted above: the *rās el-borj,* call and response singing, motivic development, and the *sūg* sections.[63] Secondly, these transcriptions will help to clarify these *brāj* structures such as giving examples of how motivic cells taken from the *rās el-borj* can be utilised and developed in the *gaṭṭʿat* sections or also in the *sūg* changes. It is important to establish first that these transcriptions are meant only as heuristic tools in order to demonstrate particular talking points. There are numerous problems with transcribing *dīwān brāj* in Western classical staff notation—something I alluded to above regarding non-isochronous groove and the difficulty of capturing it in notation. In addition to groove, differences in *ginbrī* string tuning and overall timbre are difficult to convey while the very vertically-oriented nature of the five-line staff of Western notation also imposes a certain concept of high and low, obscuring the particular antiphonal experience of the music and the ways that sounds cut through and across one another. Also suggested above are the problems of pitch; the *ginbrī* follows no rules of equal temperament and it is also quite common for the *ginbrī* strings to go slightly 'out of tune' as the *borj* progresses and the strings stretch ever so slightly.

Lastly, my gender and other logistics in my fieldwork limited my access to deep exploration of advanced *ginbrī* technique so that in certain recordings, while my knowledge of the *ginbrī* does inform how passages might be executed in terms of fingering, some of the more virtuosic riffs are nearly impossible to capture in transcription without having had the opportunity to ask masters about fingering and other techniques. In the rapid passages of Ḥammū for example, there are constant streams of sixteenth notes 'running' under the main theme. A complete transcription would capture what is being articulated on all three strings at the same moment. For reasons of readability, as well, I have only rarely represented these kinds of riffs under the apparent themes. That is to say, the transcriptions here function to put forward particular points and are approximations of pitch, rhythm, and compound melodic contour.[64]

---

taken up the 'western' *ṭreq,* closely resembling that of Saida while they continue to perform their own, quite particular *brāj* of Ghardaia in the first half of the *dīwān ṭreq.*

[63] See http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/

[64] In some of the recordings, the *ginbrī* is tuned between an E and an E-flat, for example.

Ḥammū One:

To begin, I have transcribed below the *rās el-borj* of the five performances of Ḥammū One to show the possible variations while the skeleton of this motif can always be identified. In these cases, I have transcribed up until the first entrance of the *kuyu bungu*; it is from this moment that in Ḥammū, the shape and melody of the call and response singing is consistent, although the number of repetitions of these calls and responses vary and are noted in the table (see bottom of this section). I have also transcribed the short motifs of the *sūg* sections, labeling them A-C as they relate to one another, in order to also show how *mʿallemīn* ratchet up and build energy, sustaining the trance experiences of *jedebbīn* while using condensed musical cells or motifs that allow for maximum adaptation and quick changes.[65]

The *sūg* section can usually be identified by a shift from the *rās el-borj* restatement on the *ginbrī* to motifs of (generally) two bars, with a respective two-bar harmonic rhythm commonly emphasising dominant-tonic or otherwise hovering around dominant and tonic as a means of driving musical suspension. The progression of this *sūg* section is entirely determined by the trancing bodies on the *ṭaraḥ* (ritual space) at the given moment so that there is no pre-determined structure, only the understanding that a *mʿallem* will build on previous themes and work them as he sees fit. I find it helpful to think of these *sūg* motifs as short *ginbrī* 'riffs' with the express purpose of intensifying trance. Based on what kind of trance is happening, a *mʿallem* may spend a longer time on one riff over another, such as if he sees a *jedēb* responding to it, for example. Or, if a particularly enthusiastic and experienced *jedēb* approaches him, he may switch into a more virtuosic riff that expands the pitch use of the *ginbrī*. Furthermore, as part of this increased intensity, it is from the beginning of this last section until the finish where we see the most acceleration of *tempi.*

[65] Short, condensed motifs are easier to 'cut' apart and repeat in varying ways, being recognisable.

Ḥammū, the *rās el-borj*

In the previous section, I introduced the *rās el-borj* in ʿAbdāqa's performance and drew attention to the statements of this theme before the entrance of the *kuyu bungu*. Given that, during my fieldwork, ʿAbdāqa and Qwīder often performed together at the same *dīwanat* with ʿAbdāqa acting as Qwīder's *kuyu bungu*, there is a certain degree of resonance between their playing styles, a similarity that is particularly noticeable when comparing them with Qada and Ḥammitū's approaches below. These first two are what we could consider as fairly 'standard' performances of the *borj*. Benʿūda, being connected to the former two by way of having been a *gendūz* of the same master, is notable in *dīwān* circles as playing virtuosically both in terms of speed and for his reaching outside of standard interpretations. In this first *borj* we see an example of this in his very brief hint at the *rās el-borj* before launching into a succession of triplet figures that harmonically delay the *borj's* progression. According to most performances, this musical choice would be heard as exciting and as creating suspense. This is an unusual musical choice since the beginning of a *borj* is typically treated as the primary time to firmly establish the fundamentals of the *borj,* meaning that interpretive flexibility or experimentation with the theme is generally reserved for later in the *borj,* as opposed to the beginning.

In contrast to what would be called locally the 'lighter' playing of ʿAbdāqa and Qwīder, Muḥammad Amīn Canon of Saida reinforced to me that his own playing style and indeed, that of Saida in general (thus including Qada, his older brother), was to deliver the *rās el-borj* in the clearest manner possible, to keep the embellishments to a minimum, and to stay physically and mentally relaxed in his playing—so in other words, the exact opposite of what Benʿūda has done. Muḥammad suggested that his family's approach is minimalistic compared to that of Oran. Here, I found it helpful to think about the 'filler notes' of the northern approaches (the running sixteenth notes mentioned, for example); in contrast, in Saida as well as in the playing of Ḥammitū from Ghardaia, the approach to *brāj* themes is noticeably more 'conservative'. Part of this tension is reinforced by discourse where playing at very fast tempi is often criticised.

On this note, while the starting tempi of Ḥammitū and Qada are 85 beats per minute (bpm) and Qwīder and ʿAbdāqa are higher, at one hundred and ninety-four, respectively, tempi is just one aspect of these impressions of 'lighter/faster' and 'heavier/more full'.

ʿAbdāqa:

Example 6: Go to footnote for audio[66]

Qwīder:

Example 7: See footnote for audio[67]; ∾ = string bend, hammer-on

[66] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/blog-post_25.html
[67] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/qwider-hammu-1.html

Benʿūda:

Example 8: See footnote for audio[68]

Qada:

Example 9: See footnote for audio[69]

Ḥammitū:

Example 10: See footnote for audio[70]

[68] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/blog-post.html
[69] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/qada-canon-hammu-1.html

In terms of these *rās el-borj* statements, we see variation in the number of bars taken to introduce it; Benʿūda takes the most time, with twenty bars in addition to the quarter note pick-up before the entrance of the *kuyu bungu*. This is a common point of flexibility with most *brāj*, so long as the theme is clear and the *kuyu bungu* understands the *ginbrī* cue as to when to enter. In other words, the *mʿallem* must always make it clear when he is ready for the call and response singing to begin by indicating with the harmonic progression of the theme. A *kuyu bungu* should not enter just anywhere but rather in particular musical relationship to the *ginbrī*. We will see below in the transcription of Bania an example of what happens when a *kuyu bungu* enters at the wrong moment.[71]

A *mʿallem's* decision to take more or less time in the *rās el-borj* has much to do with the overall ambience of the *dīwān* or *wʿāda,* such as expectations of the host—a small, private *dīwān* with fewer *jedebbīn* is likely to move more quickly through the *brāj* whereas in a *wʿāda* where there may be dozens of *jedebbīn* needing musical attention, the duration of *brāj* can triple, some taking more than thirty minutes each. In Ḥammū (see the table also) we also see that a *mʿallem* has a choice about whether to restate the *rās el-borj* before moving on to other call and responses phrases; the way he might 'cut' and develop the next sections also affects the trajectory of the song. Again, the number of these calls and responses (seen in the table) will have much to do with the ambience of the particular ritual event where larger gatherings generally inspire more leeway taken. Or, in cases of particular trance situations to be dealt with, such as a *jedēb(a)* being 'ill' (in Meriem's story we will see below), musical attention then is directed quite specifically to the needs of the person in question: their reactions to musical activity are noted and then adapted to accordingly.

Here is the first call and response series after the *rās el-borj*, the first entrance of the *kuyu bungu* (kb) in ʿAbādaqa's performance of Ḥammū:

[70] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/audio-example-hammitu-playing-hammu-1.html

[71] In my fieldwork I collected stories of *mʿallemīn* complaining about certain *kuyu bungu-s* who would 'cut them off' by entering in the wrong place.

Example 11: First call/response

In the above transcription, we see that the *kuyu bungu* sings for four bars plus the pick-up and is answered by the *rqīza* for four bars before the *kuyu bungu* goes on with another call, this time entering earlier, on the second half of the first beat, and overlapping the *rqīza.*[72] In the table, the number of calls and responses refers to the number of times the *kuyu bungu* comes in with a call like these two, answered in the same way by the *rqīza*. In the following transcription, a continuation from the one above, we see the remainder of the second call and the second response (2nd iteration):

[72] This is a common quality in *brāj* although other *brāj* feature clear endings to the *kuyu bungu's* call before the response enters.

Example 12: Second call/response

Referring this back to the table, then, in this performance there were nine calls and nine responses of this nature in ‘Abādaqa’s performance (see third row of table, ‘# of calls and responses’ under ‘Abādaqa’ and the number ‘9’). Then we move onto the second *gaṭṭʿa* where we see four two-bars-plus-one-beat calls from the *kuyu bungu* and four responses of the same duration:

Example 13: Second *gaṭṭʿa*

In this performance, the *kuyu bungu*, Hajiri, went straight into the second *gaṭṭʿa*—something that also occurs in Qwīder's performance where ʿAbdāqa acts as *kuyu bungu*—so that there is no *ginbrī* solo between the four-bar call and response and the two-bar second *gaṭṭʿa.* This differs from the performances of Benʿūda, Ḥammitū, and Qada where there is a short *ginbrī* solo section with no singing (see row four of the table, titled 'break between 2nd and 3rd *gaṭṭʿat?').* Next in the table we see whether or not there is a restatement of the *rās el-borj* followed by the timings where the *sūg* motif changes, labeled with 'A' and 'B' as themes. On average, the *sūg* section makes up one-third of the entire *borj* length.

The *sūg* section is triggered by the *ginbrī* since the singers have dropped out before its entrance and do not participate in this section. Oftentimes, after the

restatement of the *rās el-borj* and the call and response themes, the *sūg* section is triggered by the *ginbrī* delaying the resolution of the second part of a phrase. Again, the *sūg* sections depend entirely on what is happening, trance wise, on the *ṭaraḥ*. While the *rās el-borj* and call and response singing phrases could entice a *jinn* and/or *rūḥ* to come into a body, the *sūg* section is intended to work the body of the afflicted person. Because the *mʿallem* is no longer responsible to deliver *gaṭṭʿat* or to be aware of the singers, he has more freedom to play directly to individuals' needs, shifting gears and motifs frequently. This is why we see the greatest amount of variation in these performances in this section, from only thirty seconds of *sūg* with just two changes in ʿAbdāqa's performance of Ḥammū to four minutes of *sūg* and twenty-three changes in Ḥammitū's performance.

Most *sūg* motifs are either one or two bars in length and are riff-like *ostinatos* often consisting of running sixteenth notes that emphasise either the tonic or dominant. Their brevity and condensed musical material means that they can be cycled through and shuffled around quickly to adapt to intensifying trance states as the tempo continues to increase; this shortening of motifstwo is also critical to the required aesthetic of compression and acceleration. It also means that it is the section of the *borj* that has the least amount of musical identity—many riffs can be reused between *brāj* or resemble those of other *brāj*—although some *mʿallemīn* said a trained ear could identify which *borj* was being played only by listening to the *sūg*. As we will see in the transcriptions, certain motifs are recycled for this section by *mʿallemīn.*

Example 14: ʿAbdāqa's *sūg* motifs. Tonic = C (motif = D—F—D delay)

Notice that the first two bars after the first repeat sign are almost identical except for the tie on the G; this is the two-bar riff. The second line also follows a two-bar pattern with minor changes. In what is labeled the A theme, ʿAbdāqa is delaying tonic by driving on the dominant (G) and leaping down to the second degree. In all except one (Qada's) of the five performances, we find a *sūg* motif in modal degree of *re-fa-do* of *solfegg*. Here, ʿAbdāqa delays this by playing D-F-D-F instead of D-F-C (C being the tonic so that the former delays it). Benʿūda also chooses to delay this first motif in a similar manner, playing G—B-flat—G instead of G—B-flat—F (where F is tonic):

Example 15: Benʿūda's *sūg* motifs. Tonic = F (motif = G—B-flat—G, with F first bar, 3rd line)

Example 16: Qwīder's *sūg* motifs. Tonic= F (motif : G—B-flat—F)

Example 17: Ḥammitū's *sūg* motifs. Tonic = E (motif = F-sharp—A—E)

In Qada's *sūg* riffs, the motif does not appear:

Example 18: Qada's *sūg* motifs

This is just one example of variations on a single, common *sūg* theme in this *borj* but, as the table below demonstrates, there are a variety of themes and variations on repetition.

*M*ʿ*allem /* *kuyu bungu*	ʿAbdāqa / Hajiri	Qwīder/ ʿAbdāqa	Benʿūda/ Nasr	Qada / Bilāl	Ḥammitū/ Aissa
Type of perf	*dīwān*	*dīwān*	*w*ʿ*āda*	*dīwān*	*w*ʿ*āda*
istikhbār	no	33 sec	no, but unusual triplet entrance, 10 bars	7 seconds	no
Rās el-borj	12+ pick up	12 + pickup	10	15+ pickup	20+ pickup
# of calls & responses	9	18	35	18	29
break btwn 1st, 2nd *gaṭṭ*ʿ*at*?	no, immediate	no, immediate	yes, 18 bars	yes, 66 bars (1 min 20 sec)	yes, 50 bars (kb @ bar 51), 1 min
*Gaṭṭ*ʿ*a* #2 no. of calls & responses:	4	5	8	12	9
Restatement of *rās el-borj*?	yes, from 2:05	yes, from 4:02-4:44	no, straight to *sūg*	yes	no restatement but return to accompaniment
Minutes where. *sūg* motif changes	2:30 A 2:56 B 3:03 A to end	4:44 A 5:18 A1 5:25 B 5:55 A 6:00 A1 6:15 B 6:41 A 6:47 A1 6:55 B	7:58 A (8:14)*w/tonic 8:23 A1 8:36 A bridge 8:43 A 8:53 A bridge2 8:58 A	6:54 A 7:02 B, B1 7:18 B2 7:29 A 7:35 B 7:50 B2 7:59 B1 8:12 A 8:17 B + B1 8:36 A 8:43 A 8:53 A 8:59 A2 9:01 B 9:15 A2 9:24 B 9:46 A2	8:00 A 8:19 B 8:37 A 8:44 A1 8:53 B 8:57 B2 9:03 B3 9:22 A2 9:29 B3 9:36 B4 10:10 A 10:19 B4 10:34 A 10:41 B3 10:54 A 11:01 A2 11:11 B2 11:22 B4 11:25 B1 11:28 B3 11:37 A 11:44 A2 11:51 B2 12:04 A
Total min. *sūg*	1:15 min	2:03 min	1:10	3 min 02 sec	4:20 min
Total *borj* time	**3:42 min**	**6:30 min**	**9:02 min**	**9:46 min**	**12:12 min**

Table 2: Five comparisons of Ḥammū 1

I am going to move on now to five performances of the second *borj* in the Ḥammū Suite (usually called Bania, not to be confused with the opening *kuyu borj* also called Bania) before tying together these data points and examples and then proceeding to concluding thoughts about these comparisons.

Bania (Ḥammū Two)

In Bania, the second *borj* of the Ḥammū series (also called Ḥammū Two) we see examples of variation in all sections of the *borj*. The transcription of ʿAbdāqa's performance gives an example of the four key motifs: 1) the *rās el-borj*; 2) the once-only eight-bar call and response; 3) the main, four-bar call and response theme; 4) the second *gaṭṭʿa,* and 5) the third *gaṭṭʿat,* or 'cut', of these longer themes into four- and two-bar call and response pairs. I have only transcribed ʿAbdāqa's performance because, despite the performances having different tonal centers, the intervallic and temporal relationships between these call and response pairs are fixed—this is part of the musical formula and one of the non-negotiable aspects of the *brāj*. What is flexible here is the *number* of iterations of all of these call and response pairs except the first, once-only eight-bar call and response. Like the previous example, the primary purpose of the table below is to demonstrate the variation of these call and responses, both in their number and in the ways they work with the other parts of the *borj.*

1) Looking across the columns at the table below then, the *rās el-borj* ranges from eight to twelve bars, with one or two statements of the entire theme. Here's ʿAbdāqa's performance:

Example 19: Find complete audio in footnote.[73]

[73] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/abdaqa-hammu-2.html

2) Next, after the *ras el borj*, each of the five *mʿallemīn* takes the *borj* into the call and response sections and we begin first with the once-only eight-bar call and response pair noted in the table as '8-bar C/R'. In other words, there is no variation to this call/response pair.

Example 20: first 8-bar C/R

3) The next section of the *borj* is a longer, call and response portion made up of three parts: 1) call/response pairs (C/R) with a variable number of iterations at the *kuyu bungu's* choice; 2) an exit phrase of consistent length, and; 3) an eight-bar *rqīza* response of consistent length. The following transcription is of the first three iterations (call and response pairs labeled in the table as C/R) in ʿAbdāqa's performance:

Example 21: Longer call/response section, 1st, 2nd, part of 3rd iteration

After four of these iterations in ʿAbdāqa's performance (see table), the following 'exit phrase' (part 2) then signals the end of this call and response volleying:

Example 22: 'exit' phrase

Followed by the final eight-bar long response (LR) of the *rqīza* (part 3)*:*

Example 23: Final L/R phrase

These three transcription chunks above, then, have shown what is labeled in the table of ʿAbdāqa's performance as '4+exit phrase+LR' although I only transcribed three of the four call/response pairs. This three-part portion then repeats a variable number of times. It happens six times in ʿAbdāqa's performance, three times in Qwīder's performance, and nine times in Benʿūda's performance (count the rows of 'C/R+exit phrase+LR' of occurrences in the table where C/R is just a number).

4) The next separate section of the *borj* is often a solo *ginbrī* section and, typically, a restatement of the *rās el-borj.* Then we have a *ginbrī* cue for the next main section of call and response singing including two more *gaṭṭʿat* (cuts), the second and third *gaṭṭʿat*. These are respectively noted as uppercase 'C/R' (Call/Response) for the four-bar call/four-bar response pairs of the second *gaṭṭʿa* and lowercase 'c/r' for the two-bar pair of call and response.

Below is ʿAbdāqa's performance, starting from the *ginbrī* cue. Note that the *kuyu bungu* enters in the 'wrong' bar—he should have entered in the bar before or bar after his entrance in order to align with the melody of the *ginbrī*. This is because this *ginbrī* pattern is suggesting a kind of repeated harmonic loop of *sol-do-fa-sol* (here, A on the downbeat-D on downbeat-G leading back up to-A) and the *kuyu bungu* line should align harmonically so that the high E (*re*) of '*wah-wah*' then resolves to D ('yay') when the *ginbrī* is at the beginning of its cycle on A; this is where the most stable part of both phrases are: the *ginbrī* on *sol* and the *kuyu bungu* on D, *do*.

Example 24: *Ginbrī* cue and entrance of *kuyu bungu.* 2nd *gaṭṭʿa*

5) In the table, the number of iterations of this second *gaṭṭʿa* range from twelve to seventeen: fairly consistent in comparison although Ḥammitū's second *gaṭṭʿa* has a different melodic contour.

Then, at the *kuyu bungu's* discretion, he triggers the third *gaṭṭʿa* by changing the off-beat call. The words can vary for the *kuyu bungu* as long as they fit into the duration of the call while the *rqīza* always responds '*wah-yay-yay*':

Example 25: 3rd *gaṭṭʿa*

Looking at the table of the five performances, iterations of this third *gaṭṭʿa* ranged from ten to fifty-four—quite exceptional variation. As noted in the transcription with the high E in parentheses (last bar), the *kuyu bungu* can switch back to the second *gaṭṭʿa* again by the call he gives. In this section, between these two *gaṭṭʿat,* we see significant variation in numbers of iterations. Also while most performances involve oscillating between the second and third *gaṭṭʿat* (so C/R, c/r, C/R, c/r) before another *ginbrī* solo—meaning two each of the second and third *gaṭṭʿat*—Benʿūda does a third grouping: five additional four-bar C/R of the second *gaṭṭʿa* followed by fifteen two-bar c/r of the third *gaṭṭʿa* (see table).

In these examples, flexibility with the number of call and response pairs is almost always determined by the *kuyu bungu* because his call arrives on the second half of the second beat in the bar so that while the *rqīza* are still in the process of singing the response phrase, or just finishing the response, they hear the call for their next response phrase to come. In Bania, this back and forth speeds up so that a *kuyu bungu* can indicate a change between *gaṭṭʿat* with the cue of an eighth-note and a single pitch change. Occasionally a call will be missed or not responded to. In the table these are represented as '+ C'. For example, in Benʿūda's performance of the second *gaṭṭʿa,* there were eleven iterations of C/R (four bar call, four bar response) followed by one unanswered four-bar call: 11 C/R + 1 C. Unanswered calls happen for a variety of reasons and it is not uncommon to have some confusion if the call is not loud or confident enough. Sometimes a *kuyu bungu* might trail off in volume instead of just stop, for example, if he's trying to wrap up the series; this can result in confusion for the *rqīza* as to whether they should respond. At other times, a *mʿallem* may shift the *ginbrī* part against the *kuyu bungu* to indicate moving on to the next *gaṭṭʿa* and the *rqīza* may respond by moving on rather than answering the call.

Finally, by showing five examples of both consistency and variation in ways that *brāj* motifs can be delivered by *mʿallemīn* and in the ways *gaṭṭʿat* can be varied and played with, I have hopefully conveyed a sense of both the regulation and the freedom with which musicians work, that while there is a sense of what is normal or appropriate in the music, warming ambience and eliciting trance also requires the flexibility to attend to a given situation.

Mʿallem / kuyu bungu	Abdaqa / Hajiri	Qwīder/ Abdaqa	Benʿūda/ Nasr	Qada / Bilāl	Ḥammitū/ Aissa
Type of perf	*dīwān*	*dīwān*	*wʿada*	*dīwān*	*wʿada*
Istikbar	none	51 seconds	none recorded	none recorded	none recorded
Ras el-borj (rb)	10 + pickup	starts w/ 10 bars of B1 below, pickup to bar 11 rb enters, 10 b	two stmnts @ 8 bars + pickup	2 stmnts @12-bar *rb*+ pick-up	2 stmnts @ 8 bars + pickup
# 8-bar C/R	1 C/R	1 C/R	1 C/R	1 C/R	1 C/R
# of full 4-bar back/forth C/R + 4 bar exit phrase + 8 bar long response from chorus	4 + exit + LR 6 + exit + LR 3 + exit + LR 4 + exit + LR 3 + exit+ LR 3 + exit + LR	4 + exit + LR 4 + exit + LR 4 + exit + LR	5 + exit + LR 4 + exit + LR 4 + exit + LR 4 + exit + LR 5 + exit + LR 5 + exit + LR 3 + exit + LR 4 + exit + LR 5 + exit + LR	3 + exit + LR 3 + exit + LR 4a + exit + LR 4 + exit + LR 1 + exit + LR	4 + exit + LR 5 + exit + LR 4 + exit + LR
Restatement of *ras el-borj*?	*yes,* in bars of 8, 10, 12, 4e (as 'ending' phrase); 8, 8, 4e, 4e	@ 3:04 yes. bars of: 4+4, 4+4, 4+4.Then transition from 3:30, bits of restatement	yes, bars of 4+4, 4+4, 4+4	3:15 *gnb* : 4+4, 4+4 / 4+4, 4+ dev. last bars; @ 3:49, delay res. = trigger cue, does twice	4+4+4 / 4+ 4 / change of 1st 'call' part 4 + 4 , 4 + 4 + 4 / 4+ 4
How 2nd *gaṭṭʿat* is cued	4 bars *gnb, kb* enters on 5th, *gnb* adjusts, 7 total bars then	4:25 *gnb* starts cue of 2-bars, on 5th *kb* enters	6:53 repetition of cue, on the 5th statement, *kb* enters	4:16 gnb cue after 2 bars, *kb* enters timidly	3:42 *gnb* change of riff completely, end of 4th bar = *kb*
2nd *gaṭṭʿa,* 4 bars each # of C/R pairs	12 with chorus disagreement on 13th ->	15 C/R	11 C/R + 1 C	14 C/R but first C happens twice (mistake)	diff't *gaṭṭʿa:* @ 17 c/r (2 bars)
3rd *gaṭṭʿa*, 2 bar each, # of c/r pairs	13 then kb chg on upbeat	10 c/r	17 c/r	54 c/r but begins with 'r'	28 bars solo *gnb*; #29, *kb* enters reg C/R
# of 2nd *gaṭṭʿa*	7	7 C/R + 1 C	5 C/R	x	24
# of 3rd *gaṭṭʿa*	42 c/r	15 c/r	13 c/r	x	17 c/r + 1 r
(more C/R *gaṭṭʿat?)*	x	x	5 C/R + 15 more c/r	x	more *gnb* solo as *sūg*, 138 bars
Ginbri ?	32 bars groove repeat then sug starts @ 8:50	*Ginbri* solo on 2-bar groove @ 6:49	into sug	cont's with groove	return to c/r , 13
No. of *sūg* motif shifts & times	8:50 B 9:02 (wah yay groove) A 10:06 B triplets 10:17 A	7:49 A1; 8:01 A; 8:15: A1 8:33: B 8:40: B1 8:55: B	10:10; 10:45; 10:55; 11:07; 11:13; 11:20; 11:25; 11:34; 11:37; 11:43; 11:49; 11:57; 12:11; 12:19; 12:22; 12:33; 12:37; **12:42**;	from 7:13 gnb solo, 2-bar riifs based on A theme only, almost 2 min.	cont with 'A' *sūg* until end in 2-bar riffs
Total *borj* time	**10:31**	**8:15**	**12:58**	**9:08**	**10:00**

C/R longer call/response pair
c/r shorter call/response pair
numbers = number of bars
'exit' = exit phrase, (see transcription)
LR = long response, (see transcription)
rb = ras el borj
kb = kuyu bungu
gnb = ginbri
stmnts: statements, rstmnt restatement
dev developing
cont = continue
4a was the theme of a different shape, but still related

Table 3: Five comparisons of Ḥammū 2 (Bania)

Wrapping up these analyses

In this detail-heavy section, I have given concrete examples in two *brāj* where musicians have choices within the fixed structure of the *brāj*—with the fixed structure being the order of particular, recogisable themes and *gaṭṭʿat.* To recap, these choices included the manner in which the *ginbrī* presents the *rās el-borj* including its length, the numbers of calls and responses triggered typically by the *kuyu bungu*, whether the *ginbrī* takes a solo or proceeds to the following *gaṭṭʿat,* whether or not there is a restatement of the *ras e-borj* before the *sūg* section, and how the *sūg* riffs are triggered and delivered. Even with those choices, the *ras e-borj* must always be recognisable and clear enough that the *kuyu bungu* knows when to enter and the musical themes or melodies of *gaṭṭʿat* must also be recognisable. That is to say that a *mʿallem* or *kuyu bungu* cannot invent his own motif or melody or deviate from the formula as to which *gaṭṭʿa* comes first or second or the order of anything else in the overall structure of the *borj*. For example, the *sūg* section always has to be last in order to have had appropriate build-up.

While these details may be difficult to follow or digest for those who do not read music, the primary point to keep in mind here is simply that there are both musical choices and structures, improvisation and creativity guided within a musical formula and that these dynamics are conducive to trance. Expectation is extremely important in this context: *jedebbīn* need to have certain expectations met in the music since it is arguably an essential element to the emergence of trance. I will go into more detail on this point below in Chapter Three but in brief, musical *cultivation* of trance can only happen when certain, consistent musical factors are present in *every* performance—the recognisable

themes and order of *gaṭṭʿat,* for example—while at the same time, spontaneous musical creativity (through choices) also lends an air of suspense, surprise, and unique charm to the ambience of each ritual.

6. Final Thoughts on Recent Dīwān Musical Status

In this part of the thesis, I have mapped the emergence of *dīwān* practice from its origins in the trans-Saharan caravan routes from sub-Saharan Africa to Sufi order involvement across the Sahara and Ottoman influence in present day Algeria, resulting in *dīwān's* multifaceted Afro-Maghribi makeup. I gave examples of this through *sūdānī* linguistic markers, organology, and ritual musical aesthetics and sensibilities after which I went into detail about the technical musical components of *dīwān* practice that are themselves, quintessentially Afro-Maghribi. Having assembled the trans-Saharan and North African history of the emergence of *dīwān* for what it is today—a task that had yet to be attempted—I would like to now turn to briefly address 'recent' historical processes that still live in the minds and memories of *ūlād dīwān.*

Despite French oppression and segregation of black communities, such segregation nurtured community cohesion and, thus, transmission. Conversely, Algerian independence in many ways fractured this cohesion of *dīwān* communities and their ability to transmit *dīwān* practice because it resulted in the subsequent demolition of the *villages nègres*, the resettling and dispersing of black populations, as well as the shifting of power at state and community levels that would have also potentially shifted economic and client relationships in communities. Inevitably, increasing social mobility, modernised livelihoods, economic pressures, and different social conditions for black Algerians shifted priorities, meaning that many more *ūlād dīwān* went to school and fewer and fewer young people have since had the time or incentive to dedicate their lives to *dīwān* practice. It has gradually become, more and more, something that people do 'on the side' of their day jobs and other responsibilities rather than a livelihood.

While it seems that the sonic identities of *dīwān brāj* have largely persevered through these changes—at the homes of my interlocutors, I watched and listened to *dīwanat* dating from the 1960s up through the present—the texts have changed

noticeably with the passing of generations; time has put greater distance between *dīwān* communities today and the elders who could recount their ancestors being brought from the '*sūdān*' (black Africa) or who may have even grown up hearing Kuria. While it was never clear from the elders exactly when Kuria really started disappearing in Algerian *dīwān* communities, it is no surprise that with the social shifts beginning more than half a century now it was well on its way to disappearing; with the end of Kuria and people who understood it, so evaporated certain traces of trans-Saharan historical encounters. As we will see in several cases below, the disappearance of Kuria is, epistemologically, quite significant because Kuria words—sometimes identifiable as Hausa or Songhay—are particularly powerful at calling the *jnūn* or supernatural forces.

Furthermore, the Civil War in the 1990s and threats of Islamist action against any practices seen as remotely 'Sufi' also had a significant effect on *dīwān* practice; in many places *dīwān* rituals ceased for years on end, some experts were killed, and in several places such as Tlemcen that was once a thriving *dīwān* locus, communities disappeared completely. The information I was able to glean about this period was minimal. In fact, other than being told that independence caused social upheaval and increasingly modernising lifestyles since the 1970s has squeezed 'tradition' to the edges, very little was recounted to me about transmission of *dīwān* from the 1960s until the present day. As previously noted, there is a dearth of information on *dīwān* between the gaps in the main *dīwān* sources (Dermenghem 1954; Pâques 1964; Lapassade 1982) and the research span of this thesis, 2013 to 2016. Furthermore, I was limited in my own research by an inability to visit national archives—whether or not I would have found much information on *dīwān*-related news—and limited access to state institutions such as the many Dar Thaqāfa who may have potentially held old records of *dīwān* activity in former years. This kind of research and potential information was simply out of the scope of this thesis for reasons of time and resources. I will, however, say a bit more about transmission as a whole in Part Three and in the Conclusion. It is to the intricacies and depth of that *dīwān* lifeworld that I now turn.

PART TWO: THE *DĪWĀN* LIFEWORLD

In this second part of the thesis, I will flesh out the nature of *dīwān* lifeworlds: what is real, what is meaningful, and why. Chapter Three begins with an in-depth ethnographic description of a trance event in order to give context for the critical epistemological and ontological assumptions of this lifeworld that are necessary to understand before proceeding forward. Reflecting on the trance event, I will then deal concretely with these epistemological assumptions and the many ways they broadly interconnect with Algerian culture. From here, I will explore the ways that humans engage with affect, the ways they *work* it, manipulate it, and reproduce it—as systems of affective labour. With these foundations laid, Chapter Four details the phenomenon of *ḥāl* in *dīwān*—an affective field of social warmth—because it is with the human and nonhuman labouring of *ḥāl* that everything else in *dīwān* ritual can or cannot emerge—crucially, trance. I then flesh out the rich taxonomy of local trance terminology, categories, and requirements of bodily movement and community care. Through the caring of illness and suffering that manifests as trance, we see local ideas of chronic affliction or contagion. The primary goal of this section, then, is to provide a feeling for the world of *dīwān,* as much as is possible in a textual form.

CHAPTER THREE:
EPISTEMOLOGIES AND ONTOLOGIES OF *DĪWĀN*

In the simplest terms, the primary goal of *dīwān* ritual is, by way of music, to cultivate a variety of trance states. The purpose of these trance states is to recalibrate relationships between aspects of a 'self' and/or between individuals of the participating community, or between the self and the supernatural world. While in reality, all of these aspects are largely intertwined, some of these aspects are conceptually parsed out in *dīwān* discourse, particularly regarding the 'self', as physical/bodily, emotional/affective, spiritual/religious, and psychological/mental aspects. This recalibration, so to speak, occurs through the shifting of agency between these aspects or actors, sometimes almost complete loss of agency of certain aspects and/or functions of the self or community. For example, most trance in *dīwān* is understood to be one part of the self (often strong emotions or suffering) 'taking over' control, so that one loses one's ability to entirely control oneself. This understanding is heavily reinforced in discourse and was consistently represented to me as such. The body is crucially involved also so that, at times, the body's needs emerge with such intensity that a person is unable to stop him or herself from physically expressing. I will say a great deal more about this below but I simply wish to establish first that, again, it is this shifting of agency, this kind of recalibration of subjectivities, bodies, and energies that is therapeutic.

The other register of trance that is important to introduce here before going further is one that involves degrees of incorporation of supernatural beings into the host body. There are various different orders of supernatural beings in Islam and in *dīwān*. Unlike in English when we refer to 'spirits' in general or 'the spirit world', in *dīwān,* the use of the term *les esprits* in French typically refers to the *arwāḥ* (pl; *rūḥ*, sing;) in Arabic: specifically, the spirits of departed souls such as those of ancestors. But more common to the world of *dīwān* are the *jnūn* (plural for *jinn*) who were never human and are an entirely different order of Godly creation. For this reason, to avoid confusion below, I will always specify when speaking about the *jnūn* versus *arwāḥ* and will not refer to the *jnūn* as spirits or to their world as a 'spirit world'. I refer to these cases as 'inhabitation', for three reasons: it is the closest translation of the local, Arabic terminology; such

supernatural incorporation is rarely total unlike the common use of the word ‘possession’; and in order to explicitly resist the Orientalist legacy of the term ‘possession’.

The existence of *jnūn* is established in many chapter, or *suwar* (plural; sing: *sūrat*) of the Qur’ān, particularly in the *Sūrat el-Jinn,* as well as in the *hadīth*, collections of stories about the Prophet. The *jnūn* are supernatural beings made of smokeless fire that humans cannot see but who can see and hear the human world. It is widely known that they may be Muslim, Christian, Jewish, pagan, or atheist. While in general, they are typically considered mischievous and potentially dangerous, like humans they can—in theory—also be helpful, wise, goodhearted, and teach humans skills or give them special abilities. For example, I heard during my fieldwork that Harry Houdini, the magician, was believed to receive help from a *jinn* in order to perform superhuman acts. There is a hierarchy of *jnūn*; some rule over the others and the followers, like humans, may or may not obey their masters. In the words of Laḥbīb Derdīrī of Oran, a healer of *jinn* afflictions, various *jnūn* have preferable environments—some are spirits of the water, others the desert, for example—and some are particularly strong or adaptable. But just as humans cannot spend long amounts of time in unnatural environments, such as underwater without 'material' (oxygen tanks, a wetsuit), the *jnūn* also cannot spend much time in the human world without 'material'—that is, without a human host. Also like humans, even the Muslim *jnūn* do things they know they should not, like inhabit humans.

Trance, in the case of inhabitation, also involves the overlapping of or tension between multiple agencies, human and nonhuman. Sometimes the host will have limited control of him or herself, even while being inhabited while others are consciously aware of being inhabited but will have no control over their body, actions, or words. Still others are said to be completely non-present, their subjectivity entirely replaced by the *jinn*. Nevertheless, these relationships with the *jnūn* and *arwāḥ* are primarily considered in terms of health and sickness and I will largely treat them this way. In other words, trance in *dīwān* is a form of health maintenance. Here, we must ask what both personal and community ‘health’ means in this context. In turn, cultural approaches to health naturally suggest cultural categories of suffering, illness, and sickness and their possible

treatments. Such inquiry necessarily requires a close look at the epistemology and ontology of *dīwān* ritual, the goal of the forthcoming sections.

However, before proceeding to these epistemological assumptions that will run throughout the remainder of this thesis, I would like to provide an ethnographic grounding for these later theoretical discussions by recounting the story of one woman's supernatural affliction and her trance experience through this affliction that lasted for several suites of *dīwān* songs (*brāj,* pl.; *borj,* sing.). I will then return to the discussion on Algerian cultural approaches to agency, affect, and trance, and the more specific epistemological assumptions of *dīwān.*

A. Meriem's Affliction

It is three in the morning in early March 2015 and I'm sitting in the front seat of the sedan next to Mʿallem Muḥammad Amīn Canon, a *dīwān* ritual musician and authority, as we speed along the lightless, winding country road from Sidi Bel Abbess to Saida in western Algeria. In the back seat are two other friends and *dīwān* connoisseurs (*muḥebbīn*), Hūwārī and Mo, who have also come along; we're on our way from a *dīwān* in Sidi Bel Abbess to attend another in Saida planned for the next day. Because *dīwān* has remained largely a private and closed tradition, my mobility between communities, such as in this case, was always dependent on the help and consent of the culture bearing, born-in-the-tradition family lineages of musicians and ritual experts—*ūlād dīwān.* Muḥammad's kinship group are guardians of a collective *zāwīya* (a sacred building for ritual purposes) and they are quite well known as being a 'traditional' community who deliver a great deal of ambience: a '*dīwān ḥāmī*' (lit: a 'warm' *dīwān*). It is for this reason that Hūwārī, Mo, and I left the *dīwān* in Sidi Bel Abbess early to catch a ride back to Saida with Muḥammad for the Saida *dīwān:* a marriage celebration for the son of the *zāwīya*'s *moqedm* (spiritual authority).

I take this opportunity to ask Muḥammad my burning questions about the *dīwān ṭreg* (lit: path), or music repertoire order performed by his kin group—especially the difference between two groups of repertoire that are often conflated in other areas of Algeria, Hausawiyyn and Migzawiyyn. Hūwārī and Mo lean in from the backseat to

listen in; they are accustomed to my constant pursuit of the details, tickled by my curiosity, and are interested in what Muḥammad has to say. Muḥammad's responses about the relationship between the *brāj*, however, are vague. He seems to change the subject by quizzing me on the *ṭreg* order (*tartīb*) of the Hausa repertoire. The *dīwān ṭreg* in Algeria varies from region to region so he contests my Oranais *tartīb* as I list off the *brāj*.[74] With my questions still hanging, we arrive around four in the morning in Saida at the home of Muḥammad's extended family and catch a few hours of sleep before the preparations for the next evening begin.

* * *

Around eight PM, I travel with Muḥammad from the house compound to the *zāwīya* near the city center where groups of attendees and *ūlād dīwān* are already busily preparing for the *dīwān*. Surrounded by high walls and an iron gate, the *Zāwīya Sīdī Blāl* encompasses a large, open courtyard where most *dīwān* rituals take place. Behind the large courtyard is a long, rectangular building made up of a main hall, a central, indoor ritual space where *dīwanat* are held with other sectioned off spaces to the right and left. In the back right hand corner of it is a narrow door always left closed: the storage room for the sacred objects of the ritual, the *kumania*.

As we pull up in front of the gated *zāwīya* and before we get out of the car, Muḥammad turns to update me on some unusual dynamics unfolding around a young woman whom I will call Meriem, the daughter of an important ritual expert in the kin group. Meriem is quite unwell, afflicted by some supernatural presence; it has been driving her to trance relentlessly in recent *dīwanat* (plural of *dīwān*) much to the distress and displeasure of her father who, I am told, does not want her to attend tonight. When I ask what the problem is, Muḥammad shrugs. He supposes her father is upset because it is generally problematic for a young, unmarried woman to be in trancing continuously in front of the men; one or two *brāj* would be acceptable, but trancing *borj* after *borj* can be risky.

---

[74] 'Oranais': being from the *wilāya* of Oran.

Several of the family members did not agree with her father's view. Meriem's state was beyond her control; she has something of a history of being vulnerable to such afflictions. Earlier that year, Muḥammad had recounted a story of a previous episode that had 'spread' or otherwise affected other women in the housing compound, including his wife, who similarly fell 'ill' (*mrīḍa*), hearing voices and experiencing supernatural affects. With this background context, we climb out of his van, pass through the left metal gate of the *zāwīya*—the men's entrance—and greet the men gathered in the large front courtyard that is framed on the other three sides by high walls. I have not seen many of them for several months so there is plenty of greeting and catching up to do.

Out in the courtyard stretching the length of the *zāwīya,* I see Moqedm Jallūl, the spiritual authority of the *zāwīya* since 1997. He is in his mid-seventies but only his trimmed shock of white beard betrays his age.[75] His height, strong eyes, intense face, and strict demeanor can be intimidating but his unpredictable and explosive laughter has a way of shattering any unease. As we are catching up he mentions that in earlier times no one ever held a *dīwān* for a marriage celebration. '*Dīwān* is sacred!' he says, meaning too sacred for a marriage celebration that, today, would typically be animated by popular DJ music. There are many secrets to *dīwān*, he says—nuances that people do not grasp today.

He invites me into the *zāwīya* to show me the *kumania* in the back right corner. It is a narrow and deep room with a tall ceiling that guards all of the ritual materials when they are not in use, including musical instruments, ritual props, spices, and just about anything needed to conduct a *dīwān*. I had been in this room during my first visit in 2013 so I know to turn around backwards and enter the *kumania* with my back first, a sign of respect to the nonhuman, unknown worlds of the *arwāḥ* and *jnūn*. As I enter I say, '*bismillah'*, '*in the name of God*'— another required gesture of respect and humility towards Allah and the supernatural world. There is a sweet, woody aroma of incense and other herbs. Moqedm Jallūl shows me where some of the special spices and ingredients for food offerings are kept. He tells me a story about a time in his youth when he found a *kumania* in disarray because the old man caring for it was blind. He began ordering its contents and afterwards, was quite proud of himself for having 'done a good thing'—

[75] He had taken over from the previous *moqedm*, Ṭayeb Canon.

helping to clean up. But the next day, he was scolded by the elders and told never to touch anything; although the old man was blind, he knew what he was doing. Making the meaning of his story explicit here, Jallūl indicates that the young generation also should leave *dīwān* 'just as it is'.

Shortly after we exit the *kumania*, Meriem arrives at the *zāwīya* in tears. Despite her father's wishes that she not attend, her state had become so agitated that her grandmother sent word to Muḥammad that she be brought to the *dīwān*. Moqedm Jallūl tells me later that when he spoke to her, he addressed her as '*madam*' and told her to go inside in the *kumania* and rest. His explicitly pointing this out to me, the way he addressed Meriem—an unmarried girl in her early twenties—as *madam* is the *moqedm*'s way of telling me that, in this moment, Meriem is not herself: she is incorporating—corporally—an older, female subjectivity. It is this subjectivity to whom Moqedm Jallūl defers. Feeling that I should let the *moqedm* attend to his ritual responsibilities, I take my leave and find a spot on the floor against the long back wall to the side of the semicircle of cushions lined up for the musicians who will sit in an arc facing the ritual space, the *ṭaraḥ*. This particular March evening is unseasonably cold and with the open air nature of the *zāwīya*—grates for 'windows', for example—we are bundled up in winter attire and cover ourselves with any unused blankets. It is so cold that I tuck my spare batteries inside my coat to help them last through the night.

Mʿallem Qada Canon, the older brother of Muḥammad, tunes up the *ginbrī;* the contact microphone and amplifier catapult its tones against the concrete walls and tile floors of the *zāwīya*, signaling the *qrāqeb* players or *genēdīz* (lit.: 'disciples') to take their seats in the semicircle flanking Mʿallem Qada. The *ṭreg* begins with the *brāj* of *Slāt En-Nābī,* Prayers for the Prophet[76], consisting of the *brāj S*alou Nabina One and Two. Unusually, the *ṭaraḥ* is empty; it is a slow start, probably because of the cold. The third and fourth *brāj*, Bania and Sīd El-Youm (or 'Sīd El-Yay', Sīd El-Mēl'*)*, require light-hearted, 'folklore' dancing in pairs, lines, circles, and as solos in order to 'warm up' the ambiance of the space before the ritual proper begins; such dancing is known as *kuyu*.[77]

---

[76] One could also say that it is this family of *brāj* that secures *dīwān* as being within the fold of Islam

[77] The *borj* Sid El Youm is, categorically, slightly out of place since it does not reference the Prophet but it is a *kuyu borj* in which older men typically take the opportunity to show off their fancy footwork and

So while everyone has stayed hunkered down against the cold for Ṣalū Nabīna*,* the beginning of Bania inspires a group of young men to form a circle on the *ṭaraḥ* and, while playing *qrāqeb* and singing, they dance, turning slowly as a group with playful, choreographed footwork—right foot forward, small hop; left foot backwards, small kick—moving sideways. As the *borj* gradually quickens—a feature of every *borj* in *dīwān*—the coordinated movements become more fluid, syncronised, and festive.

The *dīwān* ritual proper only begins at the next major *borj,* Lafū, a word rich in meaning and importance often translated as 'divine grace' or 'divine pardon.' No *dīwān* can begin without this *borj*. Ma Yamina, an elderly woman and the *ʿarīfa,* the female spiritual leader of the *zāwīya*, enters the *ṭaraḥ* carrying a *ṭbag*,[78] a flat basket filled with ritual offerings such as henna and smoking *bkhūr* (special incense). She places the *ṭbag* in front of the musicians, an act of blessing the space and 'opening' (*ftiḥ*) the ritual proper. *Bkhūr* is also what invokes the *arwāḥ* and/or *jnūn*; it is at this moment when *jedba* (trance) can begin, but not before. Repeatedly called 'the mother of *dīwān' (el-omm el-dīwān), bkhūr* is essential to shifting the social field towards the divine, spiritual, and otherworldly.[79] With the *bkhūr*, the role of Lafū is to musick the transition of the entire social field—that is, the complete aesthetic, affective, and ontological complex—into the sacred. One senses the ambiance growing quickly and both men and women observers now begin to come through their separate entrances to the building, taking seats on the ground. The inside of the *zāwīya* is beginning to get crowded. The *dīwān* is warming now.

Now a tall, older gentleman, Aḥmed Farajī, Muḥammad and Qada's cousin, moves from musician to musician, carrying a metal bowl suspended from chains and a hook, filled with hot coals over which the crystal-like shards of *bkhūr* burn. Each musician waves his *qrāqeb* playing hands in the stream of smoke—right hand over left, left over right. This gesture, *msellmīn-mketfīn,* signals humility and respect for elders and masters of both the human and supernatural world. It similarly serves as a spiritual purification

coordination while playing the *qrāqeb*. It is possible that there has been some gradual collapsing of what was formerly a very large 'secular' *kuyu* repertoire in addition to the grouping of Ṣalāt En-Nābī.

[78] The word in classical Arabic is *ṭabaq* but western Algerian pronunciation softens the letter *qaf* to a hard 'g' as in the English 'good.'

[79] According to many of my interlocutors, there are many types of *bkhūr* with various properties. While some types attract supernatural entities, others repel them. In addition, every *maḥalla* or *dīwān* kin group may have their own type.

and act of protection, *msellmīn-mketfīn* meaning 'we are Muslim (we submit) and we are bounded (we mean no harm, we come in peace)'.[80]

The *bkhūr* is then taken to the front wall of the *zāwīya,* opposite the musicians, and against which sits the *maḥalla*: the large, sacred trunk of ritual objects and clothing. With the help of Muḥammad, Aḥmed lifts the lid and the inside of the *maḥalla* is fumigated. Various coloured, satin ritual cloaks (*abayat*, plural; *abāya,* sing.) are neatly stacked on top. It is only now that the *maḥalla* has been purified that the green *abāyat*—the colour for the *borj* Lafū—can be taken out by the *shawsh*—the *moqedm*'s helper—to be given to or placed over the heads of the *jedebbīn*, dancers or trancers (*jedēb,* sing. masculine; *jedēba,* sing. feminine). The ambiance of the *dīwān* continues to warm; the *genēdīz* are singing more enthusiastically now and some lift their *qrāqeb* above their heads while playing, rocking their torsos side to side or forwards and backwards. The *jedebbīn* appropriately respond with more pronounced movements—the swinging of arms, forward bending at the waist, a dropping and side-to-side swinging of the head. The musicians and *jedebbīn* build on one another's energy and enthusiasm so that there's an upward, spiraling sense of ambience.

Quite immediately, at the start of Lafū, Meriem, immediately approached the *ṭaraḥ* and began to *tejdeb* (trance) quite earnestly, bending forward at the waist to her right and left.[81] Her head and entire face are covered by a scarf for her own privacy to veil her vulnerable facial expressions and also to protect her face from the potentially risky gaze of others: at worst, the Evil Eye. On par with the ideal, this *dīwān* quickly 'launches' (*yeṭlaʿ*), meaning its ambiance 'takes off'; it is electric, buzzing.

From Lafū, the *ṭreg* continues to Mūsawiyyn, a *brāj* family that in all parts of Algeria is made of up three Mūsa *brāj*—Baḥrī Mūsa Ṣalū Nābī, Shohada (aka Mūsa Kebir or Musa le Grand), and Mūsa Sghīr or Mūsa Three)—a series of the most well

[80] The gesture is not particular to *dīwān*: it is widely understood and practiced throughout Algeria as a symbolically-charged gesture in popular Islam, typically used when approaching the tomb of a saint, in imploring '*baraka*' (blessing) from a saint, or within the context of pilgrimage (*ziyāra*). Less commonly, it may be done upon hearing news of a supernatural nature, something that could have to do with spirits or *jnūn.* Not only is the gesture supposedly performed towards and for mercy from saints, spirits, or *jnūn* but also towards fellow *ūlād dīwān*, especially *mʿallemīn*, *moqedmīn*, or elders, when a person enters the *ṭaraḥ* to *tejdeb*. Ideally, the adept should perform the gesture towards any others on the *ṭaraḥ*, as well, to communicate his or her *niyya*, good intention.

[81] *Tejdeb* is related to the root *j-dh-b* in Arabic, of which the noun form is *jedba* and meaning 'attraction', typically implying something divine or supernatural.

known water spirits (or possibly *jnūn*) , a classification called Baḥriyya. In Saida, as well in other areas, a fourth *borj*, Jamberika (or Berika, Mbirika) is also considered part of Mūsawiyyn and is usually played between the first and second Mūsa *brāj*.[82] During all of these *brāj,* the green *abayat* are kept on*;* in most of the west of Algeria, green is the auspicious colour for Baḥriyya while others use blue.[83] Meanwhile, Meriem is still in trance, standing on the *ṭaraḥ*, and slowly swaying a bit to the pulse, rocking from one foot to the other.

It is then with the arrival of the popular and energetic *borj*, Dabu *('Bori ya bori manan dabu')* that the *ḥāl (*ambience) peaks. Dabu is where one typically sees the first vigorous trance. Indeed, it is practically protocol that at least one *jedēb* (usually male) will use the *bulalat,* natural fiber whips of Hausa origin, to whip himself, alternating with one *bulāla* in each hand, beating his back in time with the pulse. There is a long section at the end of the *borj* where *jedebbīn* begin by whipping themselves as a group, in a circle, and then break up into solos, taking turns whipping themselves in front of the musicians. Meriem is still on the *ṭaraḥ* but standing near the *maḥalla*; she hangs her head while moving to the music, letting her arms hang down at her sides, with a *bulāla* in each hand while Aḥmed stands near her, keeping an eye on her.

After this high point, Baḥriyya is concluded by the *borj*, 'Nabina' (Our Prophet). It would be rare to see any serious trance in this *borj* which functions mostly as a cooling pause in order to prepare for another set of warm *brāj*, the Ḥammū series discussed at length above. These two *brāj*, associated with the colour red (but sometimes taking green, left over from Dabu) may involve knife play. In some places, including within the Moroccan *gnāwa*, Ḥammū or sometimes Ḥammūda is the personage of a butcher with the colour red signifying blood. These *brāj* are then followed by Habībī Raṣūl Allah ('Beloved Messenger of God'), to provide another pause of energy, another brief cooling.

This gradual ratcheting up and down of the *ḥāl*, this alternation of warming and cooling *brāj*, heavy and lighter *brāj*, is crucial to guiding and pacing trancing bodies and subjectivities through physically taxing processes of ritual; it may be thought of as climbing a mountain, taking rest stops as the slope increases. These 'rest stops' are

---

[82] In Mascara, however, *Jamberika* has a special purpose to 'prepare the ground' (*yfarresh)* of the *diwan.* It is played before Mūsawiyyn.

[83] Colours of many of the *brāj* consistently vary from region to region.

always associated with the Prophet Muḥammad by text and *borj* name. One very much *senses* these rest stops in the overall aesthetics; the *mʿallem's* fingers on the *ginbrī* seem more nimble somehow, bodily gestures become less vigorous, feet step more lightly, the energy lifts and breathes for a moment.

Qada gets up and Muḥammad Amīn takes his place as *mʿallem.* Now the ritual is launched into the two 'hottest', heaviest, and most intense of *brāj* groups, Srāga and Sīdī Ḥsen (also known as Ḥassaniyyn) during which the most demanding and violent of trances can unfold with self-mortification through spear and knife play. Most *ūlād dīwān* literally refer to them as 'hot' (*'ḥāmī'*) *brāj* meaning that heat can be sensed in the ritual space due to supernatural presences. According to one *dīwān* ritual expert, ʿAzzeddīn Benūghef of Mascara, the reason for this heat, a form of intensity, is that, 'here, it is the "sick" people who dance': '*on trouve les malades qui dansent*'—'sick' here meaning 'hit' or afflicted by the *jnūn.*[84] But many who 'dance' to these hot *brāj* do so for other reasons: some have affective 'attractions'—this is the meaning of *jedba* after all, *divine attraction*—to the songs (see more below).

These two dramatic song sets are the most popular in attracting both *jedebbīn* and spectators. Musically, Sergu, the first *borj* of the Srāga (plural for Sergu) group, and heard as quite foreboding, is often played sparsely at first by the *ginbrī* in a moderately slow tempo:

Example 26: Sergu, *rās el-borj.*
See footnote[85] for audio of this particular performance.

With the first few notes of the *ginbrī,* the ritual space is often shattered by screams or moans of *jedebbīn* who, with these sonic indications of distress, fall immediately into trance; in these first few minutes, commotion is typical. Sergu is a Tuareg male, and

[84] I clarified, 'What do you mean by 'sick'? ('*mrād kifesh?*) to which he clarified, 'those who are hit by *jnūn*.' ('*madrūibbīn, li darrebhūm jinn*'). Interview 6 May 2015.
[85] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/sergu-saida-diwan-march-2015.html

hunter personage, whether spirit, idea, or memory.[86] His adepts are draped in black *abayat* and some male *jedebbīn* simulate his Tuareg dress by wrapping black turbans around their heads and faces, leaving only the eyes visible. From the beginning of my fieldwork, I noticed the extreme distress of *jedebbīn* in this *borj.* Could there be a collective, traumatic memory of the central role of the Tuareg in the trans-Saharan slave trade collapsed into Sergu, the hunter whose prey is human, who raids villages to steal people away? Or could there be a relationship with the popular Algerian tale of Thergu, a monster that comes in the dark of the night to eat people—usually misbehaving children? While it is not entirely clear if Sergu is understood in this way by *ūlād dīwān* or his *jedebbīn*—I only got hints of these meanings—communities do speak of his blackness, wildness, and the association with danger.

Sergu's adepts dance with long, black spears.[87] When all the experienced *jedebbīn* have their spears, they form a circle facing one another and the *moqedm* or *shawsh* crouches at the center of the circle with a small brazier full of hot coals. At a specified moment signaled by the *moqedm,* he drops *bkhūr* onto the hot coals in the brazier so that thick smoke pours upwards at the precise moment when the *jedebbīn* turn the spears on themselves—these coordinated actions are intended to protect the *jedebbīn* against injuring themselves either due to the purifying, sacred properties of *bkhūr* or because of its ability to call the *jnūn* who may, in turn, protect the *jedebbīn* who trance on their behalf.[88] The air rips open with uproarious ululation catapulted towards the *ṭaraḥ* from the women's section. This crucial sonic indexing of intense feeling is obligatory for dangerous moments like this; the non-negotiable role of women's ululation here

---

[86] Speaking to some of the women who *tejdeb* to Sergu, I was told that he is a severe spirit who torments his subjects mercilessly. Without giving a lot of detail, the women communicated a certain heaviness and ferocity to him and that one had absolutely no choice but to do what *Sergu* wanted. The earliest known source on *dīwān*—Andrew's work in 1903—noted that the category of spirits who dressed in black and who were shared by the Bambara, Songhay, Tombu, and Gurma houses in Algiers were called 'Ouled Sergou.' He listed these spirits as 'Sidi S'na; Djenghina; Nouari; Taoua; Djabayarmana; Belladji' [Belayji] (26). Similarly, in present day *dīwān*, black spirits are known to come from *l-khelā'*, the void, the bush, or wilderness. The Hausawiyyn and Migzawiyyn *brāj* (see below) are also understood to be from *l-khelā'* and interestingly, in Algiers, Sergu has sometimes been recently categorised as being within the Migzawiyyn family. Like Dermenghem in 1954, I observed Srāga being played at the end of the *dīwān* in Algiers at the point when groups also typically play the Migzawiyyn *brāj* (see Dermenghem 266).

[87] Most but not all *jedebbīn tejdeb* with spears in Srāga; some *jedebbīn*, particularly women in deep trance, may approach the musicians directly and *tejdeb* on their knees, throwing their torsos so vigorously forwards that their heads nearly miss the ground

[88] Holding two spears far out in front of the body either directly in front or one slightly at each side, each *jedēb* thrusts the points of the spears into their own torsos in time with the music.

demonstrates the importance of sound to articulate and enfold affective density. Towards the end of the *borj*, the circle breaks apart, the *bkkūr* is returned to its place in front of the *mʿallem* and each *jedēb,* moderated by the *shawsh,* takes his or her turn (*nūba*) approaching the *mʿallem* and *genēdīz* to *tejdeb* with the spears in a similar way. The *jedēb* listens for the *ginbrī* to musick his movements while the *mʿallem* carefully watches the *jedēb* to determine his musical needs.[89]

As the Sergu *borj* progresses, Meriem has joined in for the spear trance, embodying Sergu as well. I am beginning to see what Muḥammad meant when he said that her relentless trancing was worrying to some; the unyielding and compressed intensity of her trance has not abated, she has not left the *ṭaraḥ* since Lafū. No one is stopping her, however; in fact, she is being attended to, mostly by Aḥmed. Now there is a charged pause in the music while Mʿallem Muḥammad tunes up the *ginbrī* again—the natural, gut strings often stretch out with vigorous playing, causing the *ginbrī* to go flat. The *genēdīz* shuffle around, swapping places to get a seat on one of the soft mattresses flanking the *mʿallem*. One or two get up for a smoke break and wave over a replacement. There is some exchanging of pairs of *qrāqeb* as players search for preferable size and weight. On the *ṭaraḥ,* Aḥmed, acting as *shawsh*, helps the still-remaining *jedebbīn* swap out their black *abayat* from black to red—some impatient *jedebbīn* have already donned their red *abāya* before the end of Srāga. Many of the *jedebbīn* who *tejdeb* to Srāga also *tejdeb* to this next group, *Sīdī Ḥsen,* so that the *ṭaraḥ* is full of *jedebbīn*. They pace around the edges until, finally, the *ginbrī* calls out with another bottom-heavy, sauntering theme. The *genēdīz* immediately join in on *qrāqeb* and the *kuyu bungu* calls from the high tonic, cascading down with the vocal theme and text

[89] This main Sergu *borj* is followed by the second prominent *borj,* Sergu Belayji, with a slightly 'lighter' motif that inspires similar registers of spear trance. The first two Sergu *brāj* take a great deal of persistence, patience, and time. They feel so cumbersome that they give a feeling of needing to be forcibly *pushed* through the space-time they are inhabiting. Their long, dramatic musical arcs intensify ever so gradually—sometimes a single *borj* can last a half hour. But the last three *brāj* of *Srāga*—Wulla Ya Rebbi, Slimani Ya Baba (aka Soulmaniyya), and Yay Wawa—set in lilting six-eight, triplet feeling metric modes, are remarkably lighter and push the tempo. Arms and torsos swing with less vigour now, and feet step more lightly. We do not hear Sergu's name called again; these last three *brāj* likely index other names, spirits, or ideas that are closely related to him. For example in the last *borj* one often hears people singing 'Yay Wawa' and 'Slimani ya Baba': 'Wawa' in Hausa means 'monster' and Slimani, in the Sahara, is a genie sultan of the desert (Dermenghem: 287).

that will drive itself into our bodies for the next twenty-four minutes: '*Ay, Baba Inwa, Jangare Mama!'*[90] It is the arrival of the first *borj:* Jangare Mama.[91]

Example 27: *Rās el-borj* groove.
See this footnote[92] for audio of entire *borj,* this performance.

Meriem is now in a semi-catatonic state, unable to move her body. Several men carry her carefully from her legs and under her armpits to set her down in the middle of the *ṭaraḥ* with her legs outstretched, her back to the musicians. Although her face is now exposed, her head is still wrapped in the scarf and it slumps down to her chest. She does not move, but she is able to sit upright. She is draped in the gold-trimmed, red *abāya* required for Sīdī Ḥsen.[93] This family of *brāj* is, without question, the most intense, dramatic, and 'hottest' of all the current *dīwān brāj* families.

From early on in the *borj*, in addition to Aḥmed, a group of six men have arranged themselves as a group on the *ṭaraḥ*—including Mo who rode down with us from Sidi Bel Abbes, Bū ʿamāma Farajī, (Aḥmed's younger brother), and a *moqedm* from another *dīwān* family—all dressed in red *abāyat*, gently moving in swaying steps with the

[90] Although pronunciation suggests that *ūlād dīwān* sing 'Baba Noar,' this is most certainly a recent slippage from 'Baba Inwa' or 'Enwa' with Inwa being an important Hausa spirit and personage with a recorded history in Algeria. Both Andrews in 1903 and Pâques in 1964 (613) mentioned Dār Zozo in Algiers which was commanded by the genie Inwa and further afield in Biskra where Inwa was associated with the Hausa *dār*. To this day in Biskra, there is a *brāj* series (or as they say locally for song(s): *nūba, nūbat*) called 'Baba Inwa' with reported Bornu origins.
[91] The word 'Jangare' in Hausa is the city of the *bori* spirits. Tremearne (1914: 255) says: 'The chief abode of the *bori* is Jan Gari (Red City) or Jan Garu (Red Walls), which is stated to be in the Red Country (Jan Kassa) between Aghat and Asben. No living person has ever seen this city, but, [quoting one of his informants:] 'all travelers know of its whereabouts, and, should anyone enter it, he will never be heard of more.'' In *dīwān,* interestingly, this entire family of *brāj* requires the colour of deep red.
[92] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/jangare-mama-saida-diwan-march-2015.html
[93] *Jedebbīn* must wear a red belt *(hizām)* around their abdomen along with the red *abāya*, and some wear red crowns with cowrie shells or other regal clothing.

music. They each have a bundle of two knives held in one hand. Like Srāga, the exceptionally slow beginning of Sīdī Ḥsen allows *jedebbīn* to make their way to the *ṭaraḥ* and, anticipating the challenging trance ahead, they will gradually prepare their mind, body, and mental-emotional state: in Arabic, one's '*rūḥ'*, a term that encompasses all of these. Sīdī Ḥsen tends to attract the older and most experienced *jedebbīn* because this series involves the playing of knives *(el-lʿabb l-khadām).* A *jedēb* should ideally have his own set of knives—although not all do—with which, upon entering the *ṭaraḥ,* he pays his respects to the *mʿallem* and *kuyu bungu* as well as most of the *genēdīz* by performing the *msellmīn-mketfīn* gesture with a knife in each hand, touching just the tips of the knives to the head. The *jedēb* moves down the line of musicians this way, an act that is also understood to be a request for authorisation—*yeṭlubb el-teṣrīḥ*—to work the knives. Such permission of senior and elder *ūlād dīwān* is, in theory or in some discourse, required to ensure the *jedēb's* safety.[94]

Moqedm Jallūl takes advantage of this slow-burn crescendo to attend to Meriem. He begins by fumigating her with the metal dish of smoking *bkhūr*, circling it around her back and head, and then setting the dish on her head for a moment. Approaching her from the front, he lifts each limp arm by the hand, shakes it out, and fumigates underneath. He then lifts up each stiff leg and passes the smoking dish under the ankle. He sets the dish of smoking *bkhūr* on the ground at her feet and returns to her back. Leaning over her, using his body weight to push her forward, he reaches down to take her arms and pushes them down her shins. After several moments, he then pushes down on her shoulders and arms, as if to stretch their connection to the neck, then walks around to stand in front of her again. Taking each one of her hands in his now, he pulls them towards him while stretching out his right foot, placing and pushing it gently into her solar plexus so that she is being stretched at the rib cage. He holds this position for a moment, puts his foot on the ground to rest, and then repeats the gesture.

While the *borj* continues and the other six men move around the *ṭaraḥ,* Būʿamāma Farajī is standing just in front of the *ginbrī,* dipping his torso forwards and backwards

[94] I was told a story by several different informants about a young man who used knives during these *brāj* without such permission after which he severely injured himself in a *dīwān*—the knives penetrated his stomach, '*dekhlū fī kershū*'—and he spent two months in the hospital in critical condition. Furthermore, the young man's father was a *moqedm* and, because of the son's negligence in working knives without permission, the father adamantly refused to visit his son in the hospital during the two months.

and to the side, as if to draw the letter V with his head: this movement signals the deepening of trance. Moqedm Jallūl then walks up to retrieve a bundle of knives at the feet of the musicians and takes them in his right hand, taking a moment to face the musicians and move to the music himself. The *ginbrī* theme changes to a shorter, condensed *gaṭṭʿa* that has the effect of speeding up the pace, signifying the next musical and ritual stage.

Kb
Ah, Mou - la - na Jan - ga-re Ma - ma
Rq
(Ma - ma)
Ah Ya - llah Jan - ga-re
Gnb

Example 28: *Gaṭṭʿa #1*

Still, the *borj* tempo increases ever so gradually. The *ginbrī* delivers a second and third *gaṭṭʿa*, each time followed by changes in the call and response singing.

Kb
(open to improv) Jan - ga-re Ma-ma
Rq
(Ma-ma)
Yay Ya - llah Jan - gar-e
Gnb

Example 29: *Gaṭṭʿa* #2

This *gaṭṭʿa* above emphasises an overall motif of B A, E D so that the B and E can be heard as delays that resolve to the A (*sol*, dominant) and D (tonic). Then another shift occurs where, rather than leaping up to B from the low tonic, the A takes on more prominence on the downbeat.

Example 30: *Gaṭṭʿa #3*

The *borj* is being slowly ratcheted up.

Now, even while still sitting down, Meriem is gently swaying to the pulse, bending ever so slightly at her waist and dipping just a bit side to side in rhythm. The *borj* continues to build. Moqedm Jallūl takes another chunk of crystal *bkhūr* from the *ṭbag* at the feet of the musicians and places it in the dish of hot coals still at Meriem's feet. Mʿallem Muḥammad responds to the cue and changes the *ginbrī gaṭṭʿa* again: this is the motif that signals that knife work is about to begin:

Example 31: 'Prepare for knife work' *gaṭṭʿa*

Emphasising the subdominant (G) and subtonic (E) for forty-seven seconds, Muḥammad plays variations on this theme, crucially suspending the resolution to tonic (D) and thus, drawing out the musical tension, giving plenty of time for the *jedebbīn* to prepare.[95] The men now hold a knife in each hand; they take one of the knives and place its point against the abdomen, holding the other knife above their head, suspended and waiting. They are awaiting the *ginbrī* signal to begin slashing at their abdomens but

[95] The high D, it should be noted, is not heard as a resolution here partly because it is on the highest string which plays 'filler' notes but also because we are so strongly in ii / iv changes (second and fourth modal degrees).

Mʿallem Muḥammad delays it musically while Moqedm Jallūl, standing behind a still motionless Meriem, raises the knives above his head and makes the *msellmīn-mketfīn* gesture twice: the final preparation before the knife work.

Now the *ginbrī* announces the knife work motif.

Example 32: Knife work motif

The six men, having formed a circle around Meriem, begin swinging their knives out to the side, alternating right and left, and in towards their abdomens in time with the rhythm while they simultaneously are moving their feet side to side and the circle rotates counterclockwise. Moqedm Jallūl stands behind Meriem and bends over her to gently make the same movement on her abdomen with the two knives in his hands. He is doing her affective work for her; were she more present in her body, it would be her responsibility to do this action on herself. Another *ginbrī gaṭṭʿa* signals the rest, for just a moment, before returning to the knife work *gaṭṭʿa.* Now Moqedm Jallūl, still standing behind Meriem, so close that his legs are touching her back, works the knives on his own abdomen with enthusiasm and the entire women's section responds with bursts of ululations. The other men on the *ṭaraḥ* are in good form, energetically swinging the knives in and out, in and out to their abdomens.

After the next *ginbrī* signal to break—the *ginbrī* alternates between these two motifs to 'prepare/stop' and 'start' working the knives, sensing closely what is happening on the *ṭaraḥ*—the *moqedm* indicates to one of the six men near him to come around to the back of Meriem to work the knives on her. The man is visibly reticent but Moqedm Jallūl insists, motioning for the man to lean over her and do as he has just done; he watches carefully to monitor. Following suit, several other men take a turn working the knives on Meriem's abdomen as she sits motionless. After three rounds of this, Moqedm Jallūl stands in front of Meriem, takes both of her hands and, pulling them taught, slowly pulls her to her feet. She is able to stand now and when she turns around to face the

musicians, she places both of her hands behind her back. Into her hands, Moqedm Jallūl places two knives and she slowly approaches the musicians.

Before she starts to work the knives, Aḥmed is quick to reach around her front and tie a long, red scarf around her waist; a *hīzāma,* or belt. This piece of cloth is required in the *Sīdī Ḥsen* series—some say to protect the abdomen, others say because it indicates respect and deference to the *jnūn* associated with the *brāj* series whose colour is red and who can give or take away their protection at will. Without any hesitation, Meriem goes immediately into knife work but with a different motion: she intently thrusts both knives at once towards her abdomen in quick, measured, small bursts. Moqedm Jallūl stands to her left monitoring her and when she begins to lose a bit of her composure and control, he approaches and gently places his right hand on her upper back to communicate, 'that'll do.' She continues for a few more strokes and when he rubs her back, she drops her arms, stops, and turns to rest her hands on his shoulders. They both acknowledge one another in this moment, bowing their heads to one another. He puts his left arm around her shoulders and walks her back across the *ṭaraḥ* to join the other men who stand at the back near the *maḥalla*, waiting for their turn—their *nūba*—to *tejdeb* in front of the musicians. Meriem's affective state has been brought to its needed fruition; she is now in a state where she can look after herself.

One by one, each of the six men now takes his *nūba* so that Mʿallem Muḥammad can play directly to his state. Meriem now remains by the *maḥalla* with the others, as one of the group now, and the *borj* accelerates to its sudden end. Meriem's affliction has been musically released.

Figure 18: Aḥmed preparing *bkhūr* during Jangare Mama. Photograph by Tamara D. Turner

* * *

One afternoon several days later, Meriem invites me to go with her to the local *hammam*, the public bathhouse, in Saida. Hoping to be able to ask her about her trance experiences, I agree. She is more than happy to talk about it as we're walking back afterwards, but there is not much to say. Many people experience amnesia and do not recall their experiences at all. I was curious to know what it first felt like to enter into trance. She tells me that she hears *en-ness eṣ-ṣalīḥīn*, literally, 'holy people' but this term is open-ended and vague; it is sometimes used as a euphemism for the *jnūn*. Being quite direct here, I ask if she means the *jnūn;* she says no. I am intrigued because, according to official Islamic discourse, departed souls go to purgatory, to *barzakh,* where they await judgment and, in theory, no one is able to hear, see, or interact with these souls. If someone sees or hears a spirit that resembles a human than it is thought to be the *jnūn* masquerading as others.[96] Meriem is sure this is an entirely different spirit order, however.

When I ask Meriem what it feels like when she goes into trance (*'wesh ḥasītī?'*), such as when she hears the melody of the *ginbrī*, she says that as soon as she smells the

[96] However, as an Algerian friend in London told me, 'Nobody really knows what happens in *barzakh*, so anything is possible'.

bkhūr, her mind goes blank and she doesn't remember anything after that. But she also spoke of hearing the voices of *en-ness eṣ-ṣalīḥīn* and she seemed to associate that with the moment of smelling *bkhūr* as well, in those, perhaps, seemingly vague and unutterable moments when human agency is lost to nonhuman agency. Having spent two years already observing dozens of *dīwān* rituals, I understand that trance rarely just happens in a flash.

On the contrary, in *dīwān*, trance is typically a spectrum of having and losing agency; the trancer's agency varies throughout the experience. In the *dīwān* described above, Meriem had varying degrees control, even if at times very little control. Even during the most intense and paralysing part of her trance, during Jangare Mama, she was at least able to hold her body upright. In this moment, there is a complication. Going nearly catatonic in an unresponsive state is quite unusual; it indicates a blockage of some kind in the transference between human and nonhuman agency and this explains the *moqedm*'s long and detailed work to bring her into a state where she could work the knives. When the *moqedm* pulled her to her feet, even though she was hardly responding at all before that moment, Meriem was able to go immediately into working the knives on herself. In the material below, I will say a great deal more about ways of understanding human agency in *dīwān*, even in inhabitation. However, my primary goal here has been to show, through Meriem's story, the intertwining of agencies, the importance of affect and affective work, and the sensory transmission of information: topics I turn to now.

B. The Epistemologies of Agency, Affect, and Transmission

Despite rich and contested variation in points of view and practices, it is possible—and for the goal of this thesis, heuristically important—to assert a foundational 'epistemology of *dīwān'.* Meriem's story of supernatural affliction introduces some of the key epistemological assumptions of *dīwān* worlds that are explored in this section and that run throughout this thesis. The three main epistemological assumptions that I will deal with here are as follows: 1) dynamic agency between human/nonhuman actors; 2) prioritisation of affective dynamics; 3)

multi-dimensional transmission (transference and reproduction) of *dīwān* knowledge within the human world as well as *between* human and nonhuman dimensions. These *dīwān* epistemological assumptions are critical because they open and prepare the existential space for the *dīwān* lifeworld; they explain how it is that *dīwān* comes to exist, be meaningful, and do what it does.

First, these epistemological assumptions are not altogether unique to *dīwān.* Rather, they are inextricable from and are made possible and plausible by the particularity of Algerian lifeworlds. It is difficult to over-emphasise this point. That is to say that understanding 'extraordinary' or supernatural phenomena in *dīwān,* such as the nonhuman inhabitation of human bodies in trance, requires understanding the broader, Algerian social context—and, therefore, the ontological and epistemological context—in which such phenomena emerge. In their social context, many of these phenomena are, *quite importantly*, considered not just possible but expected and even 'normal'. It is for this reason that before going into the specifics of the ways that these epistemologies manifest in *dīwān* specifically*,* I want to first explore the roots of these epistemologies in Algerian culture at large.

The first fundamental assumption in Algerian culture, and to a large extent North African culture in general, is that human agency is always in question.[97] A great deal of this state of affairs originates in Islamic belief such as that one's destiny, and even the time and date of death, is already determined by God. Humans have limited control over the future. This assumption is ubiquitously articulated and reinforced in regular, daily interactions through the social norm of pronouncing, '*insha'Allah*', '*if God wills it*', after any statement about the future, a possibility, or something that has not yet occurred. Despite the phrase being based in religious concepts, however, it is so culturally embedded, as an automatic reflex, that even non-believers are compelled to use the phrase. Listeners are also required to respond with '*insha'Allah',* particularly if the speaker has forgotten to say it or has not said it promptly. Two similar, ubiquitous expressions are '*mektūb'*, literally, 'it is written'—meaning 'God's has written it, it is

[97] By agency, and in considering the study at hand, I am referring to the power to make decisions for oneself and for others, power to control one's own circumstances which may involve the power to control one's social mobility, social standing, one's power to speak or to have the opportunity to speak, power to decide and choose for oneself what one wants to experience or feel, and perhaps most importantly to *dīwān*, the power to maintain one's own physical, emotional, and psychological boundaries.

destiny'—and '*Allah ghāleb*', literally, '*God is victorious, all powerful.*' In other words, '*there is nothing that can be done.*' God is omnipotent and humans have limited agency at best over their lives and circumstances—at least in theory.

The importance of emphasising this particular epistemological assumption first is because questionable or unstable agency is so embedded in Algerian culture—to the extent that, for some, there is no free will—that the supernatural phenomena in *dīwān* have tremendous ontological resonance with quotidian understandings of how the world works: they are all phenomena that attest to and reinforce limited human agency. Therefore, enfolded in Algerian lifeworlds, *dīwān* epistemology *also* assumes a world of nonhuman actors, nonhuman agency, and nonhuman action that affect, interact with, and limit *human* agency. Agency between these human and nonhuman actors is consistently shifting, unstable, and is sometimes quite contested. As well as supernatural entities such as God, the *arwāḥ, jnūn,* or indeterminable affective forces like *ḥāl,* black magic (*seḥer*), or the Evil Eye, nonhuman agents may also include ritual objects and musical instruments.

Because there is an understanding that there are unseen forces, bodies, or beings outside of human control that can and do profoundly affect the human world, *ūlād dīwān never have complete control* over the feel, the events, and the development of any given *dīwān* ritual. For example, in the most key aspect of *dīwān,* the music, both the instruments (especially the *ginbrī*) and musicians are regularly penetrated by presumed outside agencies such as *jnūn* and affective forces (memories, emotions, physical sensations). While a *mʿallem* has rehearsed his musical skills, it is not uncommon for him to be 'taken over' (*khatfū*) or to 'go absent' (*yghīb*) so that his body and instrument become vessels, inhabited and controlled by other forces. For example, speaking with the wife of one *mʿallem*—women were often more willing to talk about such things—she told me that her husband reported that when a *dīwān* is really 'hot' (*ḥāmī)*, meaning full of energy and excitement, it is because there are a great number of *jnūn* present who are also 'working' (*ykhedemū*), even taking part in the *ginbrī* playing; they are playing *through* her husband, the *mʿallem.*

Trance, the express goal of *dīwān* to which most of *dīwān* practice is dedicated, is by definition a modality of push-and-pull agency between the *jedēb(a)* and affective

forces. These forces—sensations, emotions, memories, and energies—can be one's own or they can belong to other people, spreading like contagion, and/or they can belong to supernatural beings present (God, *jnūn*, *arwaḥ*). That is to say, if there is one quality that unites all registers of trance in *dīwān* it is human agency loss; it is simply a matter of degree and type. Trance states are particularly legible examples of the unstable nature of agency because one can observe *jedebbīn* in various states of conscious awareness, working at or sometimes struggling to stay upright, to maintain a certain level of consciousness, to move, or to participate at all—as we saw with Meriem's story. However, in other forms of trance where supernatural entities are not involved, there is still a struggle for agency. These experiences are commonly understood as a 'non-dominant' part of the self (usually strong emotions) which is usually kept in check overwhelming the thresholds of another part of the self (the editing, controlling self). This means that even within the realm of human agency, there are internal nuanced categories of agency between conscious/ subconscious, and dominant/ non-dominant aspects of the self, such as, for example, conscious action versus one's dreams or a person's pain that can feel to be acting on its person (see Scarry 1985; Ahmed 2013). However, as I will explore further below, affective fields or agents in the worlds of *dīwān* are neither distinctly singular nor exclusively human/nonhuman: they are almost always both.

This brings us to the second epistemological assumption in *dīwān* for which we find many fundamental conceptions throughout Algerian culture: the importance and prioritisation of affective dynamics as fields and forces. The most ubiquitous and fundamental example of a powerful affective force that, in Algeria, cuts across socioeconomics, class, and race is The Evil Eye, or *lʿaīn.* Belief in *lʿaīn* does not seem to have any connection to upbringing or religious belief; its dangers are discussed amongst upper class intellectuals educated in France as well as atheists. Known for its power to hurt, maim, or kill, *lʿaīn* is understood to originate from a person's malicious envy towards another. Through the eye of the envious perpetrator, the malevolence and bad intention can be energetically transferred as a wave of negative energy to the victim and cause misfortune. It is often considered to be even more dangerous than black magic (*seḥer*, see below) since the latter does not usually end in death while *lʿaīn* is known to

kill. Therefore, being highly visible, vulnerable to the gaze of others can be a risk; this was the presumed reason for Meriem's father's resistance to her attending *dīwanat*. Because *lʿaīn* primarily does its dangerous work via the envy of others, people with exceptional talent, beauty, luck, or fortune are particularly susceptible as well as those who are unusual, out of place, or otherwise attract attention.[98] The only real way to prevent any negative energy of *lʿaīn*, is to say, '*ma sha'Allah*' (*God has willed it*) when viewing something enviable, giving someone a compliment, or admiring a person or thing. Speaking out loud that God has willed such beauty or fortune serves as a reminder that God is in control, knows best, and such things should, therefore, not be envied. Crucially, this means that words, as sound, can block dangerous affective potential.

The importance of this discussion of *lʿaīn* is that it illustrates a culturally dispersed example of interlocking relationships between affect, agency, and transmission: *lʿaīn* is generated from an affect, a feeling of malicious envy that is transmitted from the perpetrator energetically as a harmful wave of intent (affective field) that travels, finds, and latches onto its victim and causes misfortune (transference, transmission of affect). Therefore while being humanly generated, the affective field of *lʿaīn* is neither human nor nonhuman; *lʿaīn* takes on its own agency acting on behalf of the perpetrator against the victim. These dynamics of *lʿaīn* are revealing of the epistemological assumption that humans have the power to produce energies while these energies take on agency of their own. Positive affective fields are also possible: that of *niyya,* understood to be the state of good intention and purity of heart, an intention that can produce real effects—often magical results—that are not possible without it. Good or bad intentions can both create affective fields, in other words.

Related to this cultural understanding of affective dynamics, affective forces (such as directed energies) and affective fields (such as ritual ambiance) in *dīwān* epistemology are *also* of fundamental importance. In simplest terms, the 'feel of things' in *dīwān* is critical; it is not an exaggeration to say that this is ***the*** most important criterion of ritual success. One reason why affective dynamics are so prioritised is that these human-nonhuman relationships are established, flourish, and are meaningful

[98] But in addition to the intentional, negative affective harm caused by *lʿaīn*, many Algerians I spoke with asserted that *lʿaīn* can also take effect accidentally, such as by a mother looking at one's own child too long.

through *affective* fields and dynamics. That is to say, the contact, the communication, the flow, accumulation, and blockages of information between human and nonhuman actors (ie. between humans and supernatural beings)—and the ways in which humans employ various mechanisms of control over such nonhuman actors—happen mostly through affective mechanisms, via the senses. For example, the presence of *jnūn* is detected by feel—heat, usually—and their approach or enfolding of their human host has visible affective results in the host: passing out, sobbing, becoming paralysed, or running away. Furthermore, the main ritual aid to encourage the complete manifestation of the *jnūn,* in order that the *jinn* might fully cross the threshold of human/nonhuman agency, is *bkhūr,* incense—its smell is irresistible to the *jinn* and thus helps it to fully manifest so that the host transitions into a deeper trance.

Affective dynamics are critical as well because it is through feeling—both in terms of what we might parse out in English as sensing and emotional response—that ritual elders know what is happening and what needs to be done at any given moment. Ritual experts may sense heat, compression, tension, or negative energy and, therefore, know whether to burn incense, to call for a different *borj,* to tell the musicians to play more loudly, or to stop. Specifically, through a trance taxonomy, ritual elders and experts, musicians, trancers, and observers have varied, complex, and hierarchical ways of talking about and indexing the origins, natures, dimensions, and ramifications of affects or feelings, both collective and personal ones, and including somatic and 'emotional' ones (see section on trance). They also have a variety of contested and personal ways of investing meaning and agency in these affects. As Teresa Brennan proposes, 'emotional discernment is valued in cultures . . . that are more inclined to take the transmission of affect for granted, that is to say, are more conscious of it' (2004: 11). It is through feeling into their own states, in a kind of listening with the body, that *jedebbīn* find expression of their trances, that they know what they need to do, such as to approach the musicians for more direct musical (affective) 'treatment'. But sometimes these decisions are made by others observing and sensing the dynamics: this is the precise role of the *shawsh* who referees *jedebbīn* by observing and sensing each individual and between the group, pushing some *jedebbīn* forwards and telling others to back away, and delivering to them ritual objects to aid their states.

What makes this affective system of communication possible is, first, the ontological reality of affective fields, specifically *ḥāl*—the collective ambiance or vibe of the ritual that makes trance possible. As well as *ḥāl*, different but related 'affective fields' in *dīwān* include physical sensations that can travel and spread, and forces or energies—both nonhuman ones like affects created by the manifestation of spirits. We can also speak about affective fields of 'emotion' where emotions can be and are identified by those affected such as Mehdi's story (Chapter Four) of feeling sadness without knowing to whom it belonged. I will say more below about how I differentiate between affect and emotion, but as previously mentioned regarding the use of these terms in affect theory, they are not so easily demarcated in *dīwān.*

This second epistemological assumption of affect prioritisation is critically intertwined with the first assumption of unstable agency because affective fields, regardless of their origin, regularly eclipse human agency. Trance is entirely dependent on affective fields: a trancer may see or hear things that others cannot see or hear (*jnūn*, voices), one may feel presences coming at him or her, penetrating him or her, and, therefore, act or respond to such feelings. Or when trance is brought on by strong emotion—such as I mentioned with nuanced registers of dominant/non-dominant agency within a single person—*dīwān* epistemology assumes that certain accumulations and intensities of affect can overwhelm thresholds of agency in a person: one register of trance in *dīwān* is said to originate from intense love that 'takes over' its person.

The third epistemological assumption of *dīwān* mentioned above, multi-dimensional transmission or reproduction, is *also* deeply rooted in Algerian cultural ways of knowing. Let me start by stating that, in my usage, 'transmission' deals with the myriad ways that information moves—be it specialised musical knowledge, secret spiritual knowledge, affects, or sensory experience—and is transferred between a sender (human or nonhuman agent) and receiver(s) (also human or nonhuman) within particular conditions. This flexible use of the term reflects the fact that transmission in *dīwān* ranges between varieties of implicit, accidental, energetic, and supernatural transmission at one ontological pole and explicit, intentional, humanly structured performances and systems of transmission at the other pole. Most means of transmission, however, combine elements of both. What I mean by the latter, 'explicit' transmission here

includes ritual performances, family lineages comprising master-student relationships with the intent of transmitting specific knowledge (song repertoires) or oral histories, and the annual state-sponsored production of the Bechar *dīwān* festival. Using the terms 'explicit transmission' is my way of attending to these particular, 'structured' pathways of learning and reproduction that are primarily humanly organised (see Chapter Six and Seven).

Although I will deal most explicitly with 'transmission' as a whole in Part Three, in the interests of continuing to establish the epistemological foundation of the *dīwān* lifeworld and its close relationship with Algerian cultural systems, it is necessary here to mention a couple of key examples of energetic or affective transmission because such phenomena are entirely enfolded with agency and affect, the focus of this section. For example, the ways that energies move through space and time and between people or 'bodies': the transmission of affects (Brennan 2004) and the concept of contagion we saw in Meriem's kinship household. This kind of energetic movement can happen of its own accord or can be directed, such as the way the Evil Eye is said to be able to cause harm both accidentally and intentionally. In some cases of trance, affect may not necessarily have so-called 'cognitive understandings' with it but may be closer to the transference of affective experience from one 'body' or realm to another. This is not to reinforce a false binary of cognitive versus affective domains, but rather to posit that the 'receiver' of transmission may not always know or understand why or what is being transmitted, even while he or she may feel it—such as Meriem's falling 'ill' and receiving messages from the 'spirits', the message or reason of which she did not understand and that later 'spread' to other women in the family compound.

One example of energetic transmission phenomena shared between broad Algerian cultural ways of knowing and *dīwān* epistemology is the way that affect can be transferred through *material* agents. In Algerian culture, a widely understood phenomenon cutting across socioeconomic class and background is that of *seḥer,* a kind of black magic, that binds certain *jnūn* to do its evil labour through physical agents that come in contact with the victim. *Seḥer* comes up in a variety of quotidian contexts, not simply occult or religious ones. People turn to *seḥer* out of a malicious type of envy,

ḥesed—an affect—in order to harm the person whom they envy.[99] *Seḥer* takes the form of certain material but 'living', organic ingredients that are invested with agency—commonly strands of hair of or bodily fluids of the victim mixed with other ingredients, or stolen objects of clothing of the victim. *Seḥer* may be a potion or a small bundle of material items and seems to be commonly placed on the threshold of the victim's door, or in their house, or may be hidden in food served to the victim. It is understood that a *jinn* is 'employed' by his 'chief', a head *jinn*, as responsible for guarding the bundle so that it cannot be found and destroyed.

One victim of *seḥer,* 'Zeynep', ingested *seḥer* in food served to her by her perpetrator and it had lodged in her side. With the *seḥer* physically inside her, she then suffered several years of ongoing *jinn* affliction where the *jinn*, energetically attached to the *seḥer* in her body, would take over her body, emotions, and thoughts in spells that she called 'crises' ('*les crises'*). Many Algerians told me that *dīwān* could not rectify *seḥer* and that the only solution was finding and destroying the *ṭalasim* (talisman) or evil, magical bundle or, if it had been eaten, being treated with Qur'ānic *ruqiyya,* recitation of certain chapters (*suwar)* by a healer. Others, however, implied that the kinds of people who frequent *dīwanat* may also be the type who are accustomed to working closely with the *jnūn,* and/or who may seek their victims at a *dīwān.* In other words, the precarious and dangerous world of the *jnūn* is porous and extends into various quotidian and ritual domains, including other *Sūfī ṭūrūq* (orders), such as, most importantly in Algeria, the ʿĪssāwa. This idea of powerful affects (including positive ones) being transferrable via objects is also important in *dīwān* as we saw in Meriem's story with the agency of the knives being worked on her to bring her out of her catatonic state, or the ways that an important part of the *shawsh's* role is to deliver ritual objects in the *maḥalla* to aid trance states of *jedebbīn*.

Indeed, Meriem's trance story helps to illustrate all three of these critical epistemological assumptions of *dīwān*. First, the flux of distributed agency: Meriem's person/body/self is understood to be inhabited by an outside force, a force that makes its presence known through affectivity. It is a force that changes what she feels, that

[99] Throughout my fieldwork periods in Algeria, I regularly heard stories of magic being used against people, usually for reasons of jealousy.

changes her ability to feel, that changes what her body can do, that makes her catatonic, that makes her unable to physically or emotionally respond when she's sitting on the *ṭaraḥ*, but that eventually recedes so that she is able to rise and *tejdeb*. This process of fluctuating agency in varying affective states is often a struggle and is sometimes an unpleasant one. That agency is negotiated through affect, as the above examples show, speaks to the second epistemological assumption, the prioritisation of affective fields and energies.

In addition, I explained that Moqedm Jallūl had to physically enact for Meriem the required actions of stabbing her abdomen with the knives as an offering and placation to the *jnūn* of Sīdī Ḥsen. Afterwards, the *moqedm* indicated for the other men present to also enact this motion in lieu of Meriem. These men were then affectively taking on her state, taking on her responsibility to the *jnūn,* implicated in the affective action. Their bodies, their intentions, and their actions serve to stand in for hers; regardless who does it, the action of stabbing shifts something in Meriem's affective relationship with the *jinn*. Here, agency is taking place at the site of Meriem's body and in her affective state, agency is shared here between Meriem (the physical body being acted upon), the agent acting upon her and inhabiting her so that she is not entirely conscious or agentive, and the men, physically acting out the knife stabbing on her with their own bodies. In this example, we also see the two epistemological assumptions of dynamic agency and affective prioritisation.

Lastly, in terms of multi-dimensional transmission, dealt with primarily in Part Three, we need to consider what is being transmitted here in these final actions with the knives. Most obviously, perhaps, Meriem's duty to the *jnūn*—the stabbing motion—is transmitted through and by the men; this is a very intentional transmission (transference) of affectivity in lieu of Meriem. The work that these other *jedebbīn* do to Meriem is also a primary example of what I consider to be *affective labour* in trance: affective labour that asserts agency with and over affect to produce and transmit other affects. Affective labour, as I see it, is the process through which agency, affect, and transmission—the critical epistemologies and ontologies of *dīwān*—come alive together. It is to this conceptualisation of affective labour systems in *dīwān* to which I would like to turn now.

C. Affective Labour Systems in *Dīwān*

Why 'affect', why 'labour', why 'affective labour'?

The term 'affective labour' at least partially emerged out of a branch of Marxist thinking, the Italian school known as 'autonomous Marxism', that was turning to ideas of 'immaterial labour' in the mid-1990s (Toscano 2007: 73-74; Lazzarato 2007). Later, these ideas were taken up around the theme of precarity— 'insecure, casualized or irregular labour'—and in consideration of worker's subjectivities, such as 'creative labour, network labour, cognitive labour, affective labour and immaterial labour' (Gill and Pratt 2008; Neilson & Rossiter 2005). A key turning point here is the notion that ideas, affects, and feelings are not only effects or products to be consumed by other forms of labour but are, rather, also centrally *productive,* perhaps even independently intelligible systems of labour.

As a concept, affective labour is critical in order to be able to attend to and discuss the affective epistemology of *dīwān*. I consider the epistemology of *dīwān* broadly as an '*affective*' one because *feeling* (sensory, emotive) is the primary means through which agents are perceived, experienced, known, and considered 'real'. My use of 'labour' serves to highlight the actual 'working' or 'labouring' of affects and affective processes in *dīwān*. While affects and affectivity are fundamental, affects do not 'simply' happen or arise. This is where the concept of labour is important. Affective labour is the activity—the sounding instruments, the trancing bodies, the caretaking of those bodies, the shouting of directions—for the purpose of perceiving, engaging, producing, manipulating—in a word, *managing*—affects and affectivity in order to arrive at a successful ritual. Sometimes expert affective labour is required such as the way a *moqedm* knows when and how to release paralysing affects in the body of a *jedēb(a)* by the application of knives or fumigation with *bkhūr*. Although *dīwān* practice does involve the exchange of money, and although it is increasingly emerging within a market economy as cultural capital and as a 'service' or part-time paid work, I want to primarily attend to the obligatory and exhausting human (and nonhuman) labour of 'working' the ritual ambience (*ḥāl*), how working musicians 'work' the *jedebbīn* who 'work' the *rūḥ* or *jinn* inhabiting their bodies, or the ways *jedebbīn* 'work' their sensations and feelings that

come up in certain trance states, and affects that have to be 'worked' to be processed and transformed. There is also the dynamic of the *arwāḥ* or *jnūn* working the *jedebbīn*, imposing upon them the impulse to move and trance. Especially in serious cases of inhabitation or 'illness' from supernatural agents, the *jedēb(ā)* has no choice in the matter but to move and placate the will of the supernatural agent, otherwise s/he will fall extremely ill.

In *dīwān,* the Arabic term 'to work', *ykheddemū,* is used literally here to mean, 'to make someone work [for another]', to impose labour upon another. For example, the *jnūn ykheddemū* the musicians ('they work them', *ykheddemūhum*), meaning that they require, even demand, the musical performance of certain *brāj* in order to be placated. In addition, the musicians *ykheddemū* the *jedebbīn*—meaning the musicians, through their music, oblige the *jedebbīn* to trance. Therefore, using the term affective labour indicates the ways in which affects and affective states have to be perceived, launched, manipulated, taken on, transformed, or otherwise actively engaged with human labour, whether it is the *moqedm* directing, the musicians musicking, the *shawsh* refereeing the ritual space, the *jedebbīn* trancing, and the community caring for unconscious *jedebbīn*. Furthermore, 'affective labour' allows for the consideration of the systems of labourers in *dīwān:* all labourers whose job it is to work for the movement and transformation of affects and affective fields. Four codependent systems of affective labour can be noticed here: ritual experts, musicians, *jedebbīn* entangled with supernatural agents, and the public.[100]

The labourers with the greatest authority are the ritual experts who oversee the workings of the ritual and what is transpiring on the *ṭaraḥ*. While these experts may include older *mʿallemīn* and *kuyu bungu-s* who may chip in with advice, the *moqedm* has the highest authority over the ritual and is understood to have the greatest amount of knowledge and experience. In particular, he understands the workings of and has agency over the supernatural world; he therefore, has the largest overview and greatest ability to direct a *dīwān* towards a beneficial outcome. He is ultimately responsible when individuals in intense trance states are in need of expert care. We saw this in Meriem's

[100] The first three of these systems were described to me by Nūreddīn Sarjī except he did not mention the supernatural agents as part of the system with *jedebbīn.* This is just to say that my ideas are rooted in local discourse.

story such as the ways Moqedm Jallūl knew how and when to treat Meriem with *bkhūr* and with the mimicking of the knife motion on her abdomen—both affectively-charged gestures—in order to transform her affective state.

The *moqedm's* assistant, the *shawsh*, also attends to *jedebbīn,* partly acting as a referee on the *ṭaraḥ;* he often knows the *jedebbīn* personally and, thus, closely understands their affective needs. Part of this affective management, by both the *moqedm* and *shawsh,* involves the manipulation of ritual objects which can be invested with supernatural agency in ritual—meaning *arwaḥ* or *jnūn* may use them to transfer affect—because these objects *also* manipulate and transmit affect (ie: *bkhūr*) and thus, support and affect trance processes. The *ʿarīfa*, or female assistant to the female *jedebbīn,* is part of the system of ritual direction although this official role has almost completely disappeared and more experienced women from the public may step in to help female *jedebbīn* as needed.[101] Broadly, the primary nature of affective labour of this group is overseeing and managing the ritual *ḥāl*, and helping to manage the trance states of *jedebbīn.*

Just below the hierarchical authority of the *moqedm,* we have a second system of musician labourers: the *mʿallem* on *ginbrī*, the *kuyu bungu* as lead singer, and the *rqīza* as response singers and players of the *qrāqeb*. As I will discuss more in Chapter Four, their critical roles involve the launching and sustenance of *ḥāl*, working the *jedebbīn,* and calling the *arwaḥ* or *jnūn* to manifest. The *mʿallem* is the key authority supported by the *kuyu bungu* and *genēdīz.* Musicians work in cooperation with the *jedebbīn* who, in return, inspire the musicians or 'work' them, too; they also have the ability to stop the musicians when they are done. I elabourated in Chapter Two on musicians' abilities and musical flexibility to adapt to and manage the *ḥāl* of the ritual, adjusting by adding phrases, *sūg* motifs, or, on the other hand, by keeping the *ginbrī* line 'minimal'. In Chapter Four below I will go into even more detail about musical controlling of *ḥāl* but it is worth clarifying here that this 'work' is affective work, affective labour.

Jedebbīn and supernatural agents, together, are also intertwined in a flux of co-creative affective labour. In trance, bodies perceive affects, sometimes drastically and

---

[101] Both in current discourse and in early writings regarding *dīwān* (Rozet, Dermenghem), women previously had roles with more authority. Some Algerians told me that it was the increasing influence of Islam in Algeria from independence that gradually minimised female power in the ritual.

violently, and are obliged to move these affects, to physically *work* them in order to transform and release them. The bodies of *jedebbīn* can become hosts for the *arwaḥ* or *jnūn* to affect or inhabit them to varying degrees of agency so that while the *jedebbīn* are said to 'work' the 'spirits' (*arwaḥ* or *jnūn)*—working them with their bodies'—the supernatural agents also work the *jedebbīn*—they impose on their hosts affectively, they force them to labour through the body, they force them to move, they impel them to cry, to scream, or to hit themselves. Who is labouring for whom in this dynamic is precisely the first epistemological assumption of distributed agency.

Finally, the community of *ūlād dīwān* and other public in attendance—the fourth system of labourers—labour for the *jedebbīn,* coming to their aid in trance, attending to their states (see Chapter Four). Communication between these labouring groups flows in multiple directions. The *moqedm* has the most agency, in theory, over all the labouring groups (musicians, trancers, objects, and the public) so that his authority often flows top-down. Many times, however, I saw a *kuyu bungu* or a *mʿallem* in attendance rise and act as the *shawsh* or *moqedm* when one was needed. There is a certain understanding that, with the exception of roles with very honed skills (such as musical expertise of the *mʿallem*), age and experience often eclipse labourer rank.

In this chapter, I have outlined and fleshed out the epistemologies and ontologies of *dīwān* both in terms of how they relate to Algerian culture at large and how they are particular to the *dīwān* ritual. I did this by reflecting on the thick description of a trance event and connecting its phenomena with these critical epistemologies and ontologies of dynamic agency between human and nonhuman agents and the central importance of affectivity. I ended this section by introducing how it is that humans engage with affectivity: through organised systems of affective labour. Let me conclude by reiterating that all of this affective labour on the part of the ritual elders, musicians, *jedebbīn,* and public is a means of perceiving, absorbing, launching, manipulating, and transforming affect in order to cultivate the favourable affective milieu—*ḥāl*—to engender therapeutic trance. Trance is *also* a modality of affective labour, perhaps the most legible example of it. Therefore, I will now turn to the obligatory production of favourable *ḥāl* and therapeutic trance that affective labour realises.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SOCIAL FIELD OF TRANCE

In this chapter, I consider trance as not just a personal, individual, subjective experience but as a totally encompassing social field. That is to say that the precipitation, flourishing, transmission, and abatement of trance is dependent on social relationships and dynamics, most specifically in the social organisation of ritualised affective labour. Considering trance as a social field comes directly from my fieldwork in Algeria as I observed the consistent reference to the concept of *ḥāl* that functioned in this way. I will begin this chapter by explaining the background of this concept after which I will move on to how it is produced and how it functions in *dīwān.* With this social, dynamic field cast in front of us, I will then move on to the vicissitudes of trance in *dīwān* that can only arise in this particular social field.

A. The Cultural Background of *Ḥāl*

In May 2013, when I asked a reputable *moqedm* in Algeria, Sheikh Moqedm Hocine Daijai, 'What do you feel when you are directing the *dīwān*?' he replied, 'I feel *everything.*' Ritual experts learn to keenly sense ritual ambience. Affective sensibilities and interpretation are privileged because the ability to do this determines the success of the ritual. This importance placed on how a *dīwān feels* cannot be overemphasised. How ritual experts come to learn what a proper *dīwān should* feel like is what I would like to begin to explore now.

Teresa Brennan has asked, 'Is there anyone who has not, at least once, walked into a room and "felt the atmosphere"?' (2004:1). In Algeria, it is expected and taken for granted that we can feel a place, a person, or an overall energy. What we sense as that atmosphere or energy is called *ḥāl.* The baseline of this entire affective epistemology of *dīwān* and, thus, the primary means of sensing, measuring, and talking about it begins with the concept of *ḥāl.* However, the ontological terrain of *ḥāl* is not particular to Algeria; it is widespread in the Muslim world and ubiquitous in North African popular Islam. It is often translated broadly in formal Arabic as 'a condition', 'situation', or 'state

of being'. These common translations, however, fail to attend to the equally conceptual, fleeting, and abstract qualities of *ḥāl. Ḥāl* is generally understood within the context of its long history in Sufism where it is quite central to ideas of the transcendental and alternate states of consciousness in this pursuit of communion with God, from the pursuit of divine love to evaluating a Sufi's personal character. Mukhtar Ali explores *ḥāl* as the primary step in the attainment of divine love: 'In the terminology of Sufism, it is that which a wayfarer receives by pure divine bestowal and is neither dependent on his will nor connected to his acquisition (4). Within Sufi practices in Africa, *ḥāl* may be synonymously glossed with *wajd*, ecstatic trance (Frishkopf 2008: 496).

In Algeria, however, while *ḥāl* in general distantly echoes Sufi epistemology, it is much more intertwined within the fabric of popular culture and quotidian exchanges. In its most simple usage, *ḥāl* can address the weather and yet, where it differs from other terms for 'weather' (such as '*el-ṭaqṣ*') are the ways in which it comments on how the weather *feels*. One could use *ḥāl* to express that the frequency of rain in London feels calming, oppressive, or conducive to introspection. Similarly, *ḥāl* can be used to ask about a health condition or one's mood such as in the common greeting, '*kīf el-ḥāl-ek*?': literally, *'how is your ḥāl?'*/*'how are you?' Ḥāl* can also be used for an abstract sense of time, but, unlike the term '*waqt'* that specifies an hour or minute, using '*ḥāl*' in reference to time is to comment on conditions. In other words, the common phrase, *'mazel el-ḥāl',* while translated as, '*the time has not yet come'* in English, refers to the network of relations in order for the given event to take place. *Ḥāl* can index the intensification of joy or pleasure. A popular comment heard at music concerts in Algeria is *'jebū el-ḥāl!'*: literally, 'they brought the *ḥāl',* meaning 'they rocked the house.' Most broadly, *ḥāl* is understood as the vibe, ambience, energy, or, in musical contexts, the groove: it is collective of everything present and happening in a given situation. When people talk about the energy of a speech being 'electric', for example, or that during a meeting 'things just clicked', or individuals in a team felt 'in synch', in a North African context, these expressions would be identifying the situational *ḥāl.*

Like so many words in Arabic, *ḥāl,* as a single term, retains a broad conceptual integrity while having a rich symbolic imaginary that can expand or condense with context. For example, in Algeria, *'dēr ḥāl-o'*, literally, 'he turned his *ḥāl*' could mean 'he

changed his mind' in one context but, in another, roughly translates to 'he's gone a bit mad.' Here, the descriptive potentialities of the verb *dēr,* 'to turn', range from turning at a traffic light to 'turning' one's state of mind towards another direction—and with increasing intensity—to 'turning one's state' to a point of mental-emotional instability and dubious lack of self-control. Quite differently in the Moroccan Ḥamadsha context, when in trance, one is 'out of one's conditions', *kharj el-aḥwāl (aḥwāl:* plural) (Crapanzano 1985: 117). Hence, *ḥāl* can often index abstract and somatic and/or mental-emotional states and processes that surpass social norms. One regularly hears a common lyric in traditional and popular songs, particularly those referencing the saints, *'dāwī ḥāl-ī'*: heal my *ḥāl.* In these registers, *ḥāl* occupies a coinciding existential space of what we linguistically parse out in English as mind, soul, and heart.

Despite all of this nuance and contextual complexity, *ḥāl* retains its identity as a signifier because of the myriad ways that it consistently attends to textures of energy and feeling. *Ḥāl* attends to all of the affects we would identify in English as 'emotion' (like grief), and sensory feeling (like burning skin) as well as anything that might move between and beyond categories (hairs standing on end, spine tingling, hearing voices, unexplainable sensing of *something*). While these experiential registers can be linguistically and conceptually separated in English—by talking about an emotion versus a physical sensation—*ḥāl* is very important here for the way that it *enfolds* emotional and bodily sensing capacities.

Allow me here to explain how I use the terms of 'emotion', 'feeling', and 'affect'. I prioritise and favor the word 'feeling' for its pliability as verb and/or noun and precisely because of its ambiguity in indexing *both* emotional and/or bodily experience that can and do take place simultaneously. As mentioned above regarding the work of Cromby (2012), I would reiterate that 'feeling' is a more helpful term for its ability to encompass a variety of usually quite blurred bodily, 'cognitive', and affective registers. *Ḥāl* is also ambiguous in this way; it takes for granted an intermingling, coinciding capacity for total sensing where bodily experience is at once emotional experience. Except when referring specifically to an emotional register the way it is understood in *dīwān*, such as when my informants have used *'les emotions'* in French or talked about 'emotionality', I favour and use the term 'affect' as in 'affective' worlds and fields to include *both* what we

consider (and often separate) in English as emotional and somatic experiences. Indebted to William James who posited that there is no such thing as a bodiless emotion, and drawing heavily from Teresa Brennan's work on affect (2004) wherein she argued that, 'affects are in the flesh', I consider *ḥāl* as an 'affective field' because it encompasses the multiplicity of response and action. Like Brennan argues, *ḥāl*, as a feeling register, very much 'gets into the flesh' (2004: 25).[102]

Ḥāl in the Context of *Dīwān*

Put plainly, 'proper' *ḥāl* is like the ideal radio frequency upon which messages can pass. However, certain exterior conditions—in this metaphor, take the weather for example, like a storm—can affect the ability for the frequency to be transmitted. But when conditions are right—in *ḥāl's* case, dedicated and rightly intentioned human labour as well as favourable external conditions like the location of the ritual, the mood of the crowd—this frequency is vibrant and conductive. Human labouring in order to produce ideal *ḥāl* is so important because the 'right' kind of *ḥāl* makes trance possible. Therefore, we can also think about *ḥāl* as a kind of setter-in-motion, an affective agency pregnant with possibility.

In the *dīwān* ritual context, the term *ḥāl* has two main uses. It is a register of trance in which the *jedēb* has very little, if any, control over himself (see below). However, the broadest usage of the term *ḥāl* in *dīwān* is to index overall ambience: the collective vibe or energetic milieu of the *dīwān* ritual composed of the community of participants and observers and also the energy of the physical place where the *dīwān* is held. I draw particular attention to this usage of *ḥāl* as a dynamic, affective, social field and use the word 'affective' here to mean that *ḥāl* may include anything and everything that can be felt physically, emotionally, or psychically as well as anything intuited or imagined.

I consider *ḥāl* a 'field' primarily because it is non-localised, spatially diffused and distinctly palpable. *Ḥāl* is not just the ambience 'in the air' but it ***is*** the air. It extends

[102] As Brennan similarly clarified, 'the person forged in a culture in which the transmission of affect and energy is taken for granted is more likely to be treated by methods that accept that such transmissions take place. This means methods that accept that ***the traffic between the biological and the social is two-way; the social or psychosocial actually gets into the flesh and is apparent in our affective and hormonal dispositions***' (2004: 25, my emphasis).

everywhere in all directions (up, down, in, around, out, through) and permeates all dimensions, enfolding divine and supernatural dimensions. However, I should clarify that while 'field' might evoke a sense of agentless neutrality, horizontality, or a space devoid of power dynamics, on the contrary, *ḥāl* absolutely accounts for agency, power, complexity, and contradiction. *Ḥāl* collects agendas, moods, intentions (*niyya*), and actions of the entire community present, the same way we understand in English that a 'good vibe' or 'bad vibe' of a given setting comprises everything in its perimeter (the 'feel' of the building, the mood of the people in it, the weather, a certain 'buzz' in the air).

Being energy, *ḥāl* can stabilise, it can move, it is adaptable, receptive, sometimes stubborn, and, over time, in the discourse of memory as an assemblage of sensoria, it can be remembered and thus, historicised. For example, musicians often recount past *dīwanat* for their quality of *ḥāl* and often do so by describing how they felt, such as one description I often heard: '*ychowwek el-.ḥam*'; '*it makes the flesh* [body] *tremble'*.[103] During and after each *dīwān,* praise or critique or indifference is leveled as to how fulfilling the *dīwān* is or was; *dīwanat* are judged first by their quality of *ḥāl.* Furthermore, *ḥāl* has to be noticed, commented upon, and engaged with in order to be meaningful. *Ḥāl a*nd its discourse co-function as a social barometer: talking about *ḥāl* is a way of critiquing feeling, energy, and intensity.

To elaborate more on the importance of discourse here, the ephemerality of *ḥāl* is practically tethered to and entangled with *ūlād dīwān's* discourse about it. One can only really process and understand what *ḥāl* is and what it does by way this discourse. That is because, while *ḥāl* is intangible it is palpable; talking about it gives it enough presence that it can be reacted to, contested, affected, or remembered, much the same way that thoughts or beliefs are unlocatable (where do they exist in space?) and yet we conceive of them, nevertheless, as things with very real, material consequences (such as human action taken in response to them). In addition, *ḥāl*, like fire, retains its identity only through movement and flux up to the point of being so unstable that it dissolves. Mukhtar Ali paraphrases a classic Sufi understanding of *ḥāl* in a similar way: '*Ḥāl* in its verbal root suggests change, and mutability. Once it becomes permanent it ceases to be *ḥāl* and becomes a *maqām* [station]. In the terminology of Sufism, it is that which a

---

[103] Also a phrase to mean gooseflesh.

wayfarer receives by pure divine bestowal and is neither dependent on his will nor connected to his acquisition'.[104] While physical spaces and structures may have their own *ḥāl* based on their histories (the *ḥāl* of a cemetery as different from that of a mosque), and while *arwāḥ* or *jnūn* might also bring a certain *ḥāl* with them to the *dīwān* (ie: playful or devious), *ḥāl* has the potential to be transformed by human agency. That is because, although the *ḥāl* of other agents can affect the *ḥāl* of humans, human action has the limited ability to change, modify, or purify *ḥāl*. Reciting *Qur'ānic* passages or using purifying *bkhūr* to cleanse a person or space, for example, transforms *ḥāl* for the better.

B. How *Ḥāl* Is Produced in *Dīwān*

Like the radio frequency metaphor, despite the fact that there are certain external conditions that can also influence the status of *ḥāl*, it largely takes human labour to produce and human labour to maintain and diffuse it. This production, management, transformation, and sometimes failure to affect *ḥāl* is done, firstly, through *dīwān* music, more so than any other ritual constituent. This is where the majority of regulation—affective labour—occurs. First, in this section, I will outline the specific 'big picture' concepts about *dīwān* music, such as the overall, spiritual, ritual role of the *mʿallem* and his need to command the sacred workings of the music. Secondly, I will attend to the technical musical details of how, aesthetically, music shapes ritual *ḥāl* (and therefore, precipitates trance). Thirdly, I will deal briefly with the intermingled and sometimes inseparable roles of trancers (*jedebbīn*) for the ways that they are instrumental in working with the *mʿallem* to launch and stoke *dīwān* warmth.

While opinions often differ on *mʿallemīn's* styles, talent, personal 'touches,' or their control of the energy, positive *ḥāl* is *always* 'warm'. An exciting and successful *dīwān* is praised as having been 'a warm *dīwān*': *dīwān ḥāmī.* Conversely, a struggling or failed *dīwān*—one without an adequate buzz in the air— is critiqued as a 'cold *dīwān*': *dīwān berd.* Warmth here is, first, social warmth. A *dīwān ḥāmī* is inviting, uplifting, flexible, relaxed in ritually appropriate ways (smiles, laughter, friendly chatter among the public) in much the same way that friendly people are 'warm' and rude people are

[104] Mukhtar Ali, Station of Love, unpublished, 4.

'cold' in English. But these warm/cold descriptions are not 'mere' metaphors; musicians in particular discuss them as imaginaries and sensibilities for 'real,' palpable experience. Warm *ḥāl* is full of motion and vibration. For them, music should *literally* 'warm' (move, imbibe, activate, ignite) the atmosphere. This warmth is musically delivered and it is affectively sensed.

At the broadest level, music produces and directs the energy of the ritual as the primary structural, temporal, and dramatic blueprint of the entire ceremony; musical trajectory orients ritual time. We know where we are and where we are going in the ritual because of the consistent ordering of the repertoire. 'Real' connoisseurs and *ūlād dīwān* will know what classification of *brāj* have come and gone and which suites lie ahead; this orientation affects their experience and behavior, from anticipating or dreading certain *brāj* that put them in trance to timing their coffee and cigarette breaks during those they do not favor as much. As music casts the ritual pathway—launching, stoking, and maintaining the *ḥāl*—the *dīwān* takes on its personality, its mood, its affective world that fleshes out the ritual moment. As Richard Jankowsky points out, in ceremonies like *dīwān*, music 'is not epiphenomenal, or even merely expressive, but is rather pragmatic; it constitutes a bodily, sensory intervention through which realities are constructed, perceived, and transformed' (2010: 4).

Musical control of ritual *ḥāl* primarily rests on the *mʿallem* as the leader of the musical ensemble. Part of his role is the 'big picture' management and leadership of the musical trajectory: pacing, affective build, and deciding which *brāj* to play or skip based on the needs of the *dīwān* sponsor, the *jedebbīn* (trancers), and/or the individual contexts of location. The complete *dīwān* repertoire is almost never played in full for reasons of time. While playing and directing, the *mʿallem* consistently monitors the *kuyu bungu* and the *genēdīz* with their response singing and especially their *qrāqeb* playing; a hard glance or head jerk to musicians can indicate any number of performative directions, from 'ease off' to 'bring me a different *ginbrī*.'[105]

Most broadly speaking, in terms of musicality and performance, a *mʿallem's* authority and respectability revolves around his ability to 'launch' (*ṭullʿā)* the *dīwān.*[106]

[105] Some of the big picture decisions are shared with the *moqedm* whose ritual authority surpasses that of the *mʿallem* (see more below).
[106] In French, '*faire monter*.' Very occasionally I heard people use the French to clarify.

While its grammatical root is connected to the idea of lifting or launching, *ṭullʿā* in *dīwān* usage is coloured with poetic imagery, implying care, attention, and *niyya* required for setting the ritual in motion. For many *ūlād dīwān, 'el-mʿallem yeṭullʿā ed-dīwān'—the mʿallem launches the dīwān*—means, at a more nuanced level, '*el-mʿallem yḥāmmī ed-dīwān': the mʿallem warms the dīwān.* This connection with 'heating up' may very well be a familiar colloquial transformation of the classical Arabic word '*wellʿa'* or *'twellʿa'* associated with passion or adoration, indexing fire—in a sense, to feel warmth for another, somewhat like the French verb *'enflammer.'*[107] In other words, the conceptual root of *ṭullʿā* sprouts a sensorial domain encompassing the affective textures of launching, elevating, caring, infusing, imbibing, heating, and loving. However nuanced, all of these understandings serve the same purpose. If a *mʿallem* does not successfully *ṭullʿā* the *dīwān ḥāl, jedebbīn, and* the *jnūn* or *arwāḥ* will not be drawn to the *ṭaraḥ:* trance will not happen. Everything depends on this adequately warm *ḥāl*. If the *ḥāl* is not right, *ūlād dīwān* have no qualms about walking out in protest.[108]

Musical agency over of *ḥāl* begins with *baraka* (blessing); that is, the *mʿallem's* gift, his musical prowess understood to be God-given talent that belongs partly to him but ultimately to God. In moments of remarkable musical genius, the notes of the *ginbrī* are understood to come 'on their own'—*yjīū waḥedhūm*—from the divine or from other worlds. An exceptional *mʿallem* must have adequate skill to musically respond when 'something else' speaks through him. Much of this discourse is based in the understanding that the *ginbrī*, itself, is an agent with the ability to affect people and the overall *ḥāl* of the *dīwān.* Being made out of natural, 'living' materials—the body made from the wood of a tree, the strings made of sheep intestine, the sound membrane made from the skin around the neck of a camel—it contains the spirits or energies of the previously living beings that provided its material. Trees, in particular, are commonly thought to be inhabited by 'spirits' (usually *jnūn*). I heard from various *mʿallemīn* that it is for this reason that the *ginbrī* is '*roḥānnī':* spiritual. Some stated outright that the

---

[107] Algerian dialect commonly repurposes words from classical Arabic, changing them slightly with local pronunciation.

[108] Early on in my fieldwork when I always attended *dīwanat* accompanied by chaperones and because these young men considered themselves responsible for educating me on 'good *dīwanat',* I was consistently out-voted to leave versus stay and listen if the quality of the *ginbrī* was judged by them to be aesthetically subpar, despite trying to persuade them that I was interested in hearing 'all *dīwanat* "good" or "bad".'

ginbrī itself can be inhabited (*maskūn),* and that its link with the supernatural world is what allows it to 'call' supernatural beings through sound. This is where the *ginbrī* has the ability to take on power, to be an agent outside human control.[109]

A *mʿallem* must have control and technical skill for thematic material, as well as necessary virtuosity and an ability to inspire trance through a potentially 'inhabited' instrument. In the *dīwān* context, '*mʿallem'* refers to the mastery of ritual knowledge such as the order of the *brāj,* texts, histories of the songs, ability to musically manage *jedebbīn,* particularly in difficult trance moments, and a sufficient amount of technical skill on the *ginbrī.* However, the most important musical skill, discursively, that determines success or failure in launching ritual *ḥāl* is the *mʿallem's* mastery of *'la cadence',* French for 'cadence'. Here, 'cadence' refers to rhythmic or temporal consistency—*mʿallemīn* are praised for keeping time 'like a metronome'—as well as the importance of phrasing on the *ginbrī* to establish harmonic rhythm.

In addition, 'cadence' points also to broader concepts of pacing; that is, rate of intensification and development, examples of which we saw in Chapter One of the five performances of the Ḥammū suite. Cadence is the temporal structuring of *everything* in the *dīwān* because everything in the *dīwān* (especially *ḥāl*) ultimately depends on what the *mʿallem* is doing with his *ginbrī*. Cadence and the musical regulation of *ḥāl* include the acceleration of tempi in *brāj,* the variation of tempi *between brāj,* changing musical phrase lengths and harmonic cadences, *ginbrī* ornamentation that thickens texture, the compression or expansion of song texts, and special attention to the bodily movements of *jedebbīn*, such as 'driving' a particular section of a musical theme so that the *jedebbīn* respond with more energetic movement. All of these nuances are addressed with the idea of 'cadence'. At times when *ḥāl* needs a noticeable warming—with a tempo increase, by developing the musical motif—emotional response heats up with shouts, cries, and ululations, and copious amounts of *bkhūr* are chucked onto the hot coals in the brazier to saturate the space with plumes of the heavy, sweet odors. In other words, warmth can be

[109] Similar to ideas I encountered in Morocco with the *gnāwa*, *dīwān* elders spoke of times when the *ginbrī* was considered so sacred and dangerous that it was kept out of sight and reach of anyone but the *mʿallem.* Children, especially, were not allowed to touch it. I encountered various stories of *gnāber* playing on their own in the middle of the night, or 'refusing' to be played, to be tuned up, or by the bridge falling over constantly.

sensed through heightened *musical* activity transferred to movement and accompanied by smell and sound. More bodies fill the *ṭaraḥ* and trance is much more probable.

Very much like stoking a fire, attending to *ḥāl* and sustaining its social, tangible warmth is a delicate, nuanced business; it takes extraordinary patience and sensitivity. The musical body of *dīwān* has within it dramatic peaks and valleys that give it cohesion and a broad, dramatic arc. Even the shortest *dīwān* rituals deliver a minimum of seven to ten *braj* suites—totaling around sixty-five songs. Each of these have their own affective identity, such as particular musical aesthetics (tempo ranges, for one), required physical gestures, *abayat*, and crucial ritual props or symbols such as particular spears, knives, or whips. So while keeping the ritual *ḥāl* in mind, the *mʿallem* also must accommodate the dramatic arc of certain *brāj* families that are meant to be warmer or cooler (more calm) than others. Furthermore, ***every*** *borj* in the repertoire must have an accelerating, intensifying temporal arc; it must be temporally structured as a long and gradual quickening of tempo, sometimes over the course of twenty to thirty minutes for more popular *brāj*. It is with attention to both the macro and the micro that the *mʿallem* realises the dramatic role of each *borj* and the musical body as a whole. *Ḥāl*, needing to be monitored over six to nine hours of music, means that the consequences of musical failure can mean ritual failure.

Music is not only the main engine of *ḥāl* but, perhaps most apparently, it is also what *jedebbīn* are trancing *to* or rather *with.* It is generally understood that it is with the 'musical motto' or the *rās el-borj* on the *ginbrī* when most *jedebbīn* will feel the first 'pull' to trance. Therefore, the musical usage of this motif becomes extremely important. As we saw in Chapter Two, the call and response themes continue to build the energy and are then 'cut' into pieces—*gaṭṭʿat*—quickening the feel again. The *mʿallem* may embellish (*zewwaq*) these cuts, giving them a bit of time before the final and quite anticipated *sūg* section also explored in Chapter Two where trance is brought to its conclusion.

In addition to the musical authority of the *mʿallem,* the *moqedm* is the ultimate judge presiding over the affective labouring of *ḥāl* in a *dīwān:* he verifies that everything is in line with protocol, that the energy is right, and that the musicians are drawing *jedebbīn* to the *ṭaraḥ.* He has the final say over what happens both musically—

whether the *tartib* (song order) needs adaptation—and in terms of ritual activity: use of cloaks, spears, knives or other ritual props, or behavior that is permitted or not. At times, the *moqedm* will request the repetition of certain *brāj*— such as if an experienced *jedēb* fails to realise his trance—or may request that some be skipped in the interest of time, or that the *tartib* needs adjustment, often based on the case-by-case needs of *jedebbīn*. In the middle of a *borj, moqedmīn* may give non-verbal musical cues to the musicians (to repeat certain phrases, adjust the volume) and admonitions for not playing in synch, or not listening to one another, again based on what he sees happening with *jedebbīn* who are his greatest concern. This very specific musical direction happens especially when experienced *jedebbīn* are on the *ṭaraḥ* or when a *jedēb* is going through an especially intense trance, requiring careful musical attention.[110]

Other indications of the importance of warming the *ḥāl* is emphasised by another technique reported by several ritual elders: 'When there's a cold *dīwān*, the *mʿallem* calls up his *faras*' (*'Ki ykūn* dīwān *berd, el-mʿallem yjīb el-faras'*).The *faras* (lit.: female horse) is the (usually male) expert *jedēb,* known for his nimble, skillful, energetic dancing that not only warms the energy but encourages others to enter the *ṭaraḥ* as well. In some *dīwanat* I observed, if there was no *faras* and the *ḥāl* needed warming, I witnessed older men, even the *kuyu bungu*, pull certain attendees to their feet and push them onto the *ṭaraḥ*; knowing these men, I could determine that the *kuyu bungu* had selected them for their known history of being 'good *jedebbīn*,'—that is, inciting a warming and inspiring energy so that others might also be encouraged to *tejdeb*. Thus, there is a certain contagious quality to *ḥāl*; once it gets going it is easier to sustain. I was also often told that if the *ḥāl* is not launched from the beginning of the *dīwān*, it is much more difficult, if not impossible, to get it going. It was for this reason that the most dependably exciting *mʿallemīn* would often be asked to begin the *dīwān*

Finally, *jedebbīn* also have some authority to direct the musicians so that they too are permitted to labour for and attend to the texture of *ḥāl*. It is not unusual to see an experienced *jedēb* in the middle of his *jedba* advise the musicians to 'pick it up' or 'slow down.' At the height of trance, *jedebbīn* often flap their arms at their sides to indicate to

---

[110] The most common problem tends to be inexperienced *qrāqeb* players who are not able to keep time at high speeds.

the *qrāqeb* players to stop playing in order to concentrate on the sound of the *ginbrī*—this gesture is widely known and used. An experienced *jedēb* has the ability to stop the musicians entirely upon finishing his trance by placing a hand on the neck of the *ginbrī*—this is a role that normally belongs solely to the *moqedm*. In several *dīwanat* I observed there was controversy over a younger *jedēb* who would repeatedly stop the *mʿallem* when his own trance was complete, regardless of how many other *jedebbīn* were still on the *ṭaraḥ* and wanting to continue. This was seen as his asserting too much authority and self-importance; *mʿallemīn* largely ignored him and continued playing for the remaining *jedebbīn*.

Despite the majority of good intentions *ḥāl* can absorb any of the energies present, including 'bad energy' of insincere or misbehaving *jedebbīn*, for example. Young men who appear to be 'showing off' (y*tekeberū*) rather than sincerely 'working' their *jedba* are critiqued openly: 'get serious' or 'that it not how it is done.' Experienced members of the public can and do shout out criticism to *jedebbīn* whether or not the ritual experts do. For example, on many occasions spectators critiqued the way young men lashed themselves with the *bulalat* if the men appeared to be inexperienced or showing off. The offenders are asked to stop or leave the *ṭaraḥ* because their lack of *niyya*—demonstrated by their showing off—unsettles good *ḥāl.* During one *dīwān* in Mostaganem, in the middle of playing, the *mʿallem* looked directly at a *jedēb* who was crawling on the ground and moaning—not typical trance behaviour—and said, 'Get serious, brother. You are welcome here but you need to be a bit serious.' In another *dīwān* in Mascara, an older woman shouted at and scolded a young man for disrespecting the ritual materials by throwing the *bulalat* off to the side (rather than placing them down on the ground) after he was finished whipping himself.

Finally, despite all of this collective effort and purifying agents such as *bkhūr* or the recitation of Qur'ānic passages, there are simply times when human labour and intention, musical or otherwise, is inadequate to master *ḥāl*; there is always a danger of it escaping human agency and *ūlād dīwān* take this seriously. A *dīwān* I attended in Ain Temouchent was cancelled after only a few *brāj* had been played due to an inebriated gentleman who refused to keep a safe distance from the *dīwān;* the gentleman's undesirable state was polluting the collective *ḥāl*. Another time in Relizane, the *dīwān*

was stopped for several hours until an unruly bunch of men could be herded away after which the ritual picked up again. Despite the members of this *dīwān* having had *bkhūr* or other means to 'purify' the collective *ḥāl,* the ritual experts in these circumstances decided that the imbalance was serious enough to warrant stopping the *dīwān* altogether. In summary, producing and monitoring *ḥāl* during a *dīwān* is a full-time job shared between the collective community of labouring ritual experts, musicians, *jedebbīn,* and the public. *Ḥāl* is permeable: it can spread, and it is contagious. And again, this is absolutely critical because *ḥāl* makes or breaks a *dīwān:* it precipitates or impedes trance, the subject of the next section.

C. Trance Types

I have arrived late for the Mascara *wʿāda* being held in a large outdoor courtyard between apartment blocks. Thanks to some special treatment from the hosts who let me enter the ritual space via the metal barriers they are guarding, I manage to carefully pick my way through the immense crowd of women sitting on the ground, tenderly stepping around their outstretched legs and overnight bags to find a spot on the ground in front of another metal barrier. It partitions off most of the women from the rest of the ritual space—a barrier to provide a sense of protection and to keep out any men who might stray off the ritual space—so that I am just behind the *qrāqeb* players, sitting precisely where the women's section ends and the men's section begins.

Once I have settled in, the *borj* for *Bū Derbāla* comes up—indicating that I have missed approximately the first two hours of the ritual—and immediately to my right, there is suddenly shuffling and commotion. I turn to see that a man is lying face down, his body straight as a board, as if he is paralysed. Several men have crowded around him, others motion to the *moqedm* and, from the *ṭaraḥ*, a man brings two medium sized butcher knives. A gentleman standing at the head of the paralysed man crumbles small pieces of *jāwī* (benzoin) on his back and another man, kneeling at his feet, begins to gently lay the knives flat on the body of the victim at the joints: the backs of the knees, the ankles, the hips, the shoulders. A couple minutes later, the man is pulled slowly to

his feet by two other men and is then limber enough to be able to helped, half walking, half stumbling, to the *ṭaraḥ*.

It is critical to note that the knives here work as a physical agent through which affect flows: an energy force—perhaps the *jinn* itself—used the knives as an agent, flowing through the knives to release the man's body enough that he was able to get to his feet and *tejdeb* (trance). This was a moment of affective blockage: the man versus the *jinn,* manifesting as affect—both energies—struggle over a body. Members of the public are then responsible for being present to aid such a release, to attend to the affective threshold between the man's agency and that of the affect/*jinn*, to transition him from paralysation to the ability to rise and trance.

* * *

In this section, I will illustrate the interconnected ways that all trance types in *dīwān* and their taxonomies reveal trance as, primarily, an *affective* experience that must be *physically moved* through the body. Movement in the body imbibes the affective state so that whatever blockage—the manifestation of suffering—whether it be 'physical', 'sensorial', 'emotional', or some combination of the three, can be loosened, transformed, and released. While the human body here may be comprised of and/or inhabited by multiple energetic, psychic, material, and spiritual bodies at once, its tangible, moving, trancing materiality is critical: the trancing human body enacts suffering, makes it legible, and provides the material 'site' for which the public, the attendees and *dīwān* community, must offer care and compassion. From here, my point is to demonstrate how all of these stages—from trance states to bodily movement to caretakers—are processes of crucial affective labour.

I would like to begin with an introductory word about my use of the term 'trance' and the work it does in this thesis before immediately progressing to the very particular trance worlds of *dīwān.* In the same manner that both 'insiders' and 'outsiders' to *dīwān* use the French term *la transe* to speak generally of the phenomenon, I use the term 'trance' below to address broad questions and points in common between the varieties of altered states in *dīwān*. The importance of making theoretical space to speak generally of trance is that there are certain fundamental, epistemological and ontological

assumptions to all kinds of trance in *dīwān* that are intimately connected to the epistemologies of agency, affect, and transmission that I outlined above. While *dīwān* ritual protocol regarding trance does impose a certain kind of social and sensory choreography (Pinto 2013:84)—certain kinds of movement and expression are more cultivated than others.

So what might these nuanced registers look like?

Every variety of trance in *dīwān* ritual begins with a musically triggered bodily-affective response, an unsettling of what is thought of as a 'normative' state. This unsettling, as I will explore more thoroughly below, is an unsettling of boundaries, of agencies. It is a marker of active thresholds and the penetration of those thresholds—thresholds of the physical body, of one's emotions or affective state, of one's mind, of one's sense of self, among other conceptions. This bodily-affective response is the moment—a visible, physically experienced moment—when agency loss occurs between the person in question, the 'individual' entering into any kind of trance state, and some 'other' agent—whether it be a strong emotion, a *rūḥ* or *jinn*, or another energy. What I mean by 'bodily-affective' response here concerns both the ways that trance is a sensory domain *and* the ways that it involves what we could call feelings or emotions in English. Understanding such cultural patterning of the senses is critical to understanding the work that *dīwān* does, as Kathryn Guerts argues: 'a culture's sensory order is one of the first and most basic elements of making ourselves human' (2002: 5). Here, sensory orders, which are completely tied up with the emotions, are the primary language with which people speak about trance in *dīwān:* altered states come first as a *feeling.*

At the moment of musical triggering, often soon after the beginning of the *borj,* I often saw seated women bring a hand up to cover their eyes, as if reacting to a headache—one of the early indications that the woman's own agency is slipping, that she is struggling to maintain control. Others nearby usually respond by indicating to the *moqedm* to bring *bkhūr*. Some people feel dizzy at the onset of trance or their head may feel foggy or heavy. Others might curl into a ball and bury their faces in their knees upon hearing the *borj*—the response can involve the contraction of muscles, for

example—or some might gently hang their heads and sway. Still others demonstrated more intense responses, throwing their arms about, clenching their abdomens in a fetal position, or throwing their heads back with grimaces of pain. Sudden, loud sobbing is considered particular to variations of supernatural inhabitation. In fact, a wide spectrum of 'uncontrollable' crying, even silent tears, is one of the most prominent markers of a crossing of thresholds between human and nonhuman agents. Crying is ubiquitously associated with the *jnūn* and this association occurs even outside of *dīwān* worlds; it was consistently explained that crying indicates a softening or weakening of self boundaries that make a person even more porous to forces. Discourse around this phenomenon includes both *jnūn* 'causing' the crying—the *jedēb(a)* may cry in fear at the arrival and affliction of the *jinn*—and/or the *jedēb(a)* may be crying due to difficult life circumstances, after which a *jinn* may take advantage of the weakened boundary and afflict or inhabit him or her.

I spoke with several men who reported that they become immediately paralysed (*tʿawwej*)—much like the man in the *wʿāda* above—when they hear the melody to a certain *borj* while others go limp or faint. One gentleman known as 'Ba ʿAmran' whom I saw regularly at *dīwanat* around the West would abruptly pass out several times during a single *dīwān,* often falling straight backwards so that there was often someone assigned to stand near him. For still others, the intensity is such that they might scream or hit themselves—slapping at or pounding one's own thighs is consistently reproduced by both men and women. Others tear at their clothes or hair, collapse into a ball on the ground, run towards the *ṭaraḥ,* or run away from the *ṭaraḥ*. It is conventional to see adepts try to escape the sensations brought on by the music—particularly in cases of inhabitation where the adept will make a bolt for the exit, knocking over objects and trampling people in their path at the first sensory indication of a *jinn* coming to inhabit them—a couple times I was nearly trampled by *jedebbīn* in this way. Here we see, again, a struggle over bodily agency.[111] In Saida, I was told a story about a woman who jumped out of a window when she heard a particular melody that put her in trance.[112]

[111] Ritual protocol determines that these people should be chased after and brought back.
[112] Personal communication, Muḥammad Hazeb Weld Bent Saleḥ, Sept 2014.

Trance brings with it a world of memories, images, feelings, and sensations. Some people, for example, spoke to me of 'seeing' deceased members of their family or friends standing before them. One *jedēb* in Oran, Mo 'C', reported that when he is in trance, he doesn't feel like himself and that he has tunnel vision: he cannot see the people standing or seated before him. Meriem in Saida, for example, said she heard the voices of holy people ('*en-ness eṣ-ṣalīḥīn'*), voices that no one else could hear. One of the most common affective markers of trance mentioned by numerous women and men was feeling a knot in the solar plexus from the beginning of a song. Many said at the moment trance comes on, 'I just don't feel right/good' *('ma ranīsh normale', 'ma ḥasīt mlīḥ').* Many tremble *(zenzel)* and experience nausea, or dread; in fact, like crying trembling is particularly common. Several ritual elders spoke to me about the common sensation of shivers or gooseflesh when being musically triggered: '*chuwwek'.* Others remember very little and sometimes do not remember anything they did or said after smelling the *bkhūr* brought to them because *bkhūr,* acting as a threshold aid, may help a *jinn* to complete its inhabitation of the host.

All of these bodily-affective responses are unanimously understood to be personal reactions to personal conditions that might vary in every *dīwān* even for the same person: *'kūl waḥed ū kīfēsh ydīr'.* I heard this expression in nearly every conversation I initiated regarding the 'why?' of trance—the expression explains that, 'everyone does something different', that, 'it all depends'. Even when certain informants had particular ideas about what separated one state or affective response from another—differences between the three main categories of trance: *jedba, ḥāl,* and *bori*, with the latter being indisputably a case of supernatural inhabitation—humility was always consistent around limiting these categories.

To index the various kinds of 'trance' and how these different altered states *feel, ūlād dīwān* use a nuanced taxonomy, rich with sensoria that explode the bodily-affective imaginary. For example, to be in trance can feel, 'stormy, turbulent, like waves of the ocean in winter time', churning and crashing. For this affective experience in trance, *ūlād dīwān* use the verbs *yhīj* and *yetḥawwel*. That is to say, *jedebbīn* explained that the physical body feels like stormy, crashing waves. Most trance, particularly *jedba* (see below), was consistently explained to me as a means of purging troubles, a sense of

emptying out or unloading, very much like Brennan's description of affective movement as a 'dumping, externalizing or projecting outward' (2004: 2). For this experience, *ūlād dīwān* most often use the French verbs *défouler* (Arabicised as *dīfūlī*), *dégager,* or the Algerian dialect verb *yfājī*— or in eastern Algeria, *skhāf.*

In other ways, trance is a 'being away', to be out of one's senses, to 'go absent': y*ghīb*. Here, some part of human presence becomes untethered to the physical body, at times resulting in amnesia, and this is quite commonly expressed as one being 'in another world' (*'fī ʿālam waḥed ākhar'*), sometimes implying ***the*** other world of the *jnūn* mentioned in the Fatīḥa, in the opening verse of the *Qur'ān*.[113] *Yghīb* is also used to mean 'being unconscious'; when discussing degrees of trance experience with *ūlād dīwān*, we used this term (or *yduwwakh*) to distinguish when people could not remember what they did or said during trance. Similarly, some express trance as a feeling of traveling—'he went [away]': *Raḥ!* And on the same register of experience, trance can actively 'take' you (*yjebdek*) or steal you away (y*khatfuk).*

Despite fluidity and variation of classifying registers of trance, the most common categorical term for non-possession trance is '*jedba*' and even as a category, a noun, it implies motion: it is usually translated as 'attraction' from the Arabic root *j-dh-b* but pronounced locally *j-d-b.* This attraction equates with a certain magnetism: it is understood as a feeling of being pulled on, at least partly if not fully, against one's will, to the *ṭaraḥ* to *tejdeb.* That is to say that *jedba* trance is always understood to involve some degree of loss of agency on the part of the *jedēb(a)*—terms also derived from the same Arabic root indicating attraction, to be attracted, the one who is attracted (by something). Accounting for the sense of *movement* here, it is a loss of agency to that energetic attraction, to the magnetism that is oftentimes considered divine. This magnetic attraction is entirely responsible for *how* affect moves, as I posited earlier regarding the ways that affect does not only move as waves or forces or as isolated events in the body.

Like gravity, affect pulls matter together, and constructs worlds of experience. This attraction pulls on the *jedēb(a)*, pulling him or her to the *ṭaraḥ,* and this push-pull of agency between *jedēb(a)* and the affective dynamics of such 'attraction' are what

---

[113] *'el-ḥamdu lillah rebbī el-ʿalamīn'.*

account for the trance experience. The *jedēb(a)*, still at least partly conscious, wrestles here with this pulling energy and an urge to physically move that is said to be more powerful than any impulse to resist it: the feeling is commonly expressed by *jedebbīn* as *'hadī kebīr mennī'*: 'the force is bigger than me'. Most of the stories one hears about trance, in fact, seem to gravitate to this kind of particular affective experience, to what is considered '*jedba'* trance, but even *jedba* moves along a spectrum; it can develop into 'deeper' states, even into supernatural inhabitation. In other words, it is not uncommon to see a *jedēb(a)* start out in *jedba* trance and eventually reach a state of less agency, of *jinn* inhabitation; this is because the *jnūn* or *arwāḥ* may be attracted to inhabit a host by their affinity for *jedba* trance.

Not to be confused with *ḥāl* as the ambience of the *dīwān*, there is also a register of trance intensity called *ḥāl*. This use of *ḥāl* tends to signify an intensified register of *jedba* with less conscious awareness and agency on the part of the *jedēb(a).* It is *ḥāl* that most often references being 'in another world', and, for some, does presume the presence of supernatural entities. Given the potential for the term *ḥāl* to represent 'going mad'— *dēr ḥālo*— it indexes a transcendental potential that *jedba* usually does not. While *jedba* tends to be personal—like dancing one's disease (Friedson 2009), moving affects, even while the *jedēb(a)* may not be entirely in control— *ḥāl* is often more transpersonal and dissociative. However, again, it is important to underline that these terms are 'nodes' along a spectrum that, while having no consistent definition, also move and transform into other nodes.

On one end of the spectrum, trance can be 'gentle' or meager in stimulus (*'khelwī'*) so that the *jedēb(a)* is mostly or entirely consciously aware and—although it might entail a bit of struggle—has the ability to end his trance at will (having primary agency). On the other end of the spectrum, trance includes degrees of supernatural inhabitation, the register in which the *jedēb(a)* has the least amount of control, if 'none' at all. Most trance in *dīwān* flourishes somewhere in between these two extremes but *jedebbīn* consistently move along the trance spectrum of fluctuating agency to move in, out of, and through a range of affective intensities even in a single trance episode—like Meriem's story. Furthermore, because all trance has a trajectory, somewhere it is headed,

a point of completion and something that it serves to accomplish, its processual nature similarly encourages this flux between points on the spectrum of experience.

On another affective register of experience, trance can superimpose upon, permeate, or enfold a person's subjectivity: Mʿallem Tūfīq ʿAbdesslam of Algiers considered this the essence of 'trance' and used the Arabic term *sāken.* This might be cause for some confusion because the adjective form, *maskūn,* from the same Arabic root *(s-k-n)* means 'inhabited' and the term is regularly used in possession contexts to index *jnūn* or *arwāḥ* overpowering bodies. However, Mʿallem Tūfīq insisted that *sāken,* like all other forms of trance, is by degree ('*par degré*'): one can be *sāken* just as easily with emotion, or pain as with some other presence or external agent. He even considered James Brown's passion and presence on stage as such, saying: 'That's trance! It's his *sāken!'* (*'C'est la trance! Sāken entʿāw!'*). Mʿallem Tūfīq brought up another affective experience in trance, the feeling of mounting something, the verb—*yerkeb*—or the adjective, being presently mounted by something—*merkūb*. Like *sāken* this experience can but does not necessarily reference inhabitation by supernatural bodies; the mounting of or being mounted by a presence or energetic force similarly varies by degree of intensity. And yet, while the terms *sāken* or *merkūb* indicate a range of affective textures without necessarily pointing directly to the 'cause' of the affect (*jnūn* or not), other affective states do consistently indicate the 'cause' (such as *jnūn*) but similarly range in affective intensity.

A common example of this are the three words of *memsūs, merīūḥ,* and *maḍrūb*, all three of which point to a spectrum of experience of being touched or hit by a *jinn*. In my own fieldwork, I most often heard *memsūs*, the lightest in intensity of the three terms; it was usually explained as the feeling of being brushed by a 'wind' (*rīḥ*) of the *jinn*. ʿAzzeddīn Benūghef of Mascara explained that this kind of being 'hit' might just make a person tired and want to go to sleep. *Merīūḥ,* also indicating being 'hit by a wind' is typically more serious. That is to say, one can lose consciousness if one is *merīūḥ* but not usually with *memsūs*, even though both involve being touched or hit by a supernatural wind. *Maḍrūb,* on the other hand, is to be hit with so much force by a *jinn* 'that a person may not be able to walk'.[114] Drawing attention to this kind of graduated

[114] Again, personal communication with ʿAzzeddīn Benūghef, Dec. 2016.

affective experience with the *jnūn* is also important for highlighting that encounters with them are more varied than being simply inhabited or mounted. In one *dīwān*, when a man passed out near the women's section, one woman turned to the other to ask, 'What's wrong with him? Is he inhabited?' (*'Wesh bih? Rah mrīḍ?'* using the adjective *mrīḍ*, literally 'sick'). The other woman answered, 'No, he's *merīūḥ'.*

Trance As An Expression of 'Sickness'

Earlier, in my overview of affect theory, I narrated the story of a man I observed in Mascara in August 2016 with a chronic illness of *jinn* inhabitation that began in the *borj, Bū Derbāla*. He was deemed to be 'sick' and, based on the intensity of his trances, seen to be unlikely to escape from the pattern. In the *dīwān* communities that I frequented, this was the most common way to denote *jinn* inhabitation: *mrīḍ(a)*, the masculine/feminine adjective meaning 'sick'.[115] The term can be used in quotidian circumstances to indicate common illnesses like a cold or flu, and it can also be used, like in English, to mean someone who is mentally 'sick', repulsive, or socially deviant. However, its use in *dīwān* is particularly interesting in that it highlights the concept of bodily-affective thresholds and loss of agency, a weakening of self-other boundaries, and a concept of contagion—in this case, the contagion is the *jinn*. In other words, *mrīḍ(a)* is the primary way to refer to inhabitation or what is often called possession. The use of this term is revealing for ways of thinking about trance and affect, particularly because the more literal, Arabic term available '*maskūn*', which means 'inhabited' is rarely used. In my conversations with people, it was only used to specify exactly what was meant by the term '*mrīḍ*' by asking, '"Sick" how? Do you mean 'inhabited'? [*maskūn(a)*]'.

Thinking here with the work of Ed Cohen (2009) and Lisa Blackman (2012: 6-7), if we consider the immune system as 'involved in boundary making and defence', with the 'concept of the fortress defended self that is enacted as immunity-through-defence as a form of biopolitical individualization', the invasion, penetration, and breaching of the *jinn* then challenges personhood and, at the same time, evokes an

[115] Plural = *mrāḍ.*

affective milieu of compassion for the victim because the victim is understood to be helpless in this situation. The term *mrīḍ(a)* also implies the processual, ongoing nature of such a relationship with a *jinn*—like the way an illness emerges, develops, and abates and might return or become chronic. This is quite different than '*maskūn*' which, crucially, does *not* place the victim in a time-space milieu of process but speaks of inhabitation as a state.

This difference between certain kinds of trance being conceived of as a *process* of chronic sickness is critical because, for the *jedebbīn,* there is very rarely a sense of ever being 'cured' of their pain and suffering. As Obeyesekere (1990) posits about the category of 'cathartic' rites, there is not an attempt to resolve psychological conflicts although in *dīwān*, there is some attempt to recalibrate them. It is almost unheard of that any 'child' of *dīwān* would stop attending *dīwanat* or leave the tradition altogether—most *ūlād dīwān* begin attending *dīwanat* from childhood and continue to do so into old age, meaning that one might attend hundreds over a lifetime.[116] This lifetime relationship to *dīwān* is not necessarily reserved for victims of supernatural inhabitation wherein hosts have kinds of 'contracts' with the *jnūn*. Indeed while it is quite common to hear of a *jinn* choosing a person early on in their life and afflicting them for the duration of it, the processual nature of suffering, illness, ritual healing and subsequent improved wellbeing also applies in *jedba* or *ḥāl* registers of trance. A *jedēb(a)* never stops being a *jedēb(a)* much as individual's health and wellbeing is always an ongoing process—we are never 'done'. In other words, *dīwān* ritual is not a 'cure' but, rather, a dependable, recurring structure for self-maintenance—and one that is at once personal and public; over the course of their lifetimes, their stories of suffering and illness also become public knowledge and memory. These stories are then reproduced and repeated. The kind of treatment or medicine—*ed-dwāʿ*— that *dīwān* entails, then, is one of continual attention, not just attention by the sick to attend to their sickness but also the attention of the community who, over and over, witness and care for other's struggles.[117]

[116] Philip Schuyler described a similar 'recovery' from 'sickness' in *gnāwa* practice as remission. Personal Communication, Nov. 2016.

[117] Suspending for a moment the predominantly medicalised, pharmaceutical, and biochemical connotations for the term 'medicine' in the English language, an expansive consideration of *ed-dwāʿ* could enfold the ways that various substances, energies, intentions, and objects are invested with meaning, as therapeutic agents, and come to be effective aids for a person's wellbeing. Such thinking may harken back

This therapeutic process is an ongoing attending to equilibriums of agency, to the balance of power in relationships.

D. Bodies and Movement

Trance ultimately challenges notions of a bounded self; it is always in the process of emerging or fading, of coming in and out of focus. The dynamism and porosity of the physical body is a given in *dīwān* and, thus, lends itself quite fluidly to other kinds of permeability, such as altered states. The 'physical body' is never simply singular as material, but is always as much outside itself, in the world, as inside itself (Seigworth and Gregg 2010:3).[118] It is 'more assemblage than form, more associated milieu than being' (Manning 2010:118). Such a porous conception of the body is key to the dynamics of movement; movement that involves agents crossing thresholds. Trance is almost always about *moving* the body, moving affects, moving the *jnūn*, moving towards one's own pain. From the moment of the musically triggered affective response, there is a sensory listening with the body (see Guerts 2002), of the music penetrating the *jedēb(a)* and stirring action. Trance, then, develops and deepens ***only*** through physical movement and expression of the affects experienced by the *jedēb(a)*. It is the job of the *jedēb(a)* to make his or her way to the *ṭaraḥ* (often with difficulty or some help from others) to *move* and cultivate its presence with the help of the music. Trance *has* to be moved to be realised, to ease unpleasant symptoms. This is why when a *jedēba* is in such a deep state that she cannot move herself—like in Meriem's story—she was propped upright and her limbs were moved for her.

---

to the orientalist, Edmond Doutté, who, in his survey of magic and religion in North Africa (1909), suggested that the line between a doctor and a sorcerer, between miracles or magic and 'medicine' is often quite a fine line. I would propose that such a consideration, if taken in the spirit of medical anthropology, divested of orientalist notions of the 'primitive' versus 'modern' (see Amster 2013), has potential to be quite instructive. In *dīwān* where the nature of dis-ease, troubles, or ailments tend to be acute or ongoing such as affective, psychological, social, and interpersonal struggles, *ed-dwā*ʿ is very much an ongoing process rather than a one-off solution. Ideas of medicine and treatment, then, include the social dynamics of community witness and care implied in *dīwān*.

[118] While embodiment theory in anthropology advocated for the body as subject, the continuous fluctuation of agencies in trance renders the object/subject dualism clumsy. Nevertheless, regarding the statement 'the body is the key' it would be most accurate to understand the 'body' here as subject rather than as object as the statement might suggest.

The body-as-key is a central idea around all types of trance in Algeria; it is the mechanism through and with which trance needs to be physically 'worked' in order to be culminated and contracted. It is not unusual for *jedba* trance to occur in varying social contexts and during family or community events, from various branches of 'Sufi' *ḥaḍrat* (gatherings), to 'secular' wedding parties, mourning rituals, and music concerts. Culturally, there is an understanding about access to other 'states' that can be cultivated through bodily technique, particularly at moments of heightened emotion. For example, in Constantine while staying with a well-to-do family, during a family party when the relatives were dancing to recorded music in the living room, I watched as the oldest aunt became increasingly enthusiastic and began to cultivate a trance-like choreography with her body, bending more deeply forward at the waist, and gradually entered an altered state. The family kept dancing, seeming pleased for her, and appropriately responded by keeping an eye out so that she did not lose so much control as to risk running into the furniture, hitting her head, or otherwise hurting herself. Someone tossed her a scarf that she loosely wrapped around her uncovered head. Her trance went on until the end of the song. Having had many opportunities to spend time with Algerian families of all backgrounds and socioeconomic status, I found such 'light trance' events to be common and it was understood that it is through the body in motion that suffering is 'worked out'.

In *dīwān*, many forms of trance are extremely physically demanding and involve subtle management between learned, codified movement patterns, a *jedēb's own* spontaneity, sacred or divine inspiration, and forces outside the control of the *jedēb(a)* such as affects, supernatural beings, and divine attraction that all have the potential to act upon and overpower the *jedēb(a)*. A *jedēb(a)* learns how to move his experience in an aesthetically appropriate way—there are beginners and advanced *jedebbīn*, for example. A *jedēb* learns how to share some of the control of his movements with forces (*jnūn*, powerful emotions, pain) that are doing things to his body and to his senses of self. Less choreographed than a 'dance' but more structured than spontaneous movement, there is a certain performativity and aesthetic importance to a *jedēb's* motion, even while the ways he moves are not *so* shaped by him as to make his movement a 'performance' per se. So while it is cultivated and learned, unsettling

binaries of volitional and non-volitional (Kapchan 2007), trance in *dīwān* is not typically a choice.

The exceptions to this are *jedebbīn* with some ability to affectively self regulate and/or who have strong wishes to remain sitting, usually for reasons of modesty but occasionally out of fear—because arising and making one's way to the *ṭaraḥ* can often immediately intensify the state. As some women told me, if there is a *jinn* or *rūḥ* in question, that action of getting up signals compliance. Remaining in one's place, however difficult, may sometimes prevent the affective state from developing but this is viewed as less than ideal and understood to intensify symptoms, worsening the situation so that other women will prod the victim, 'Get up!'—'*Nōḍī!*' However, I often did see women vehemently refuse and there was a common trick for dampening the affective state: eating *jāwī*. A few small pieces of the benzoin chewed up and swallowed acted as an 'anaesthesia' for some. Having clarified with several women whom I watched do this, the affective regulation, then, was quite particular: to smell *jāwī* quickens the affective state, but to eat it dampens it.[119]

On the other side of the spectrum, there are times in which *jedebbīn* explicitly act upon their own persons, in self-harm. Some in the world of *dīwān* might suggest that, in these cases, a *jinn* incites or requires its host to hurt him or herself. But there are other examples that demonstrate that this is not always the case, that in some instances, there is some kind of work that self-harm does for the affective process. In Meriem's trance story, I spoke of the *brāj* group, *Srāga*, in which *jedebbīn tejdeb* with long, pointed spears turned on themselves and the *brāj* group of Sīdī Ḥsen where they do the same with knives in time to musical cues. Other *brāj* call for knives as well, like *Dāwī*, and a handful of Hausawiyyn *brāj* in which a *jedēb* (male) must work smaller knives on the tops of his thighs—a trance specialty in Mascara and Saida. What interests me here is to explore what the affective labour of violence to the self might do for one's own suffering and recovery. These moments of self-mortification are, observably, quite performative, one might even say theatrical. Some *ūlād dīwān* are quite critical of such practices partly for this reason—not only is it *haram* (forbidden) to harm oneself, but the manner in

[119] Other reasons I encountered for women remaining in their place had to do with particular high standing males who did not like women to enter the *ṭaraḥ*, and who preferred to keep *dīwān* as performed 'for men, by men'.

which people do it is commonly criticised as 'showing off' or doing 'magic tricks' that enable them to perform super-human feats (stabbing themselves unharmed); essentially, 'lying to people' (*ygeddebū lī en-ness*). But leaving performativity aside for a moment, as well as possible supernatural explanations for how individuals are able to endure such pain—if indeed they are present enough to feel it, or why they might not be able to feel it—I want to narrow in on the behavior of inflicting pain on the self as a means of intensifying affect, as a way of 'going deeper' or moving towards pain as a means to fully feel it, realise it, manifest it, and thus complete it.

During one *dīwān* in Kristel, I watched as Belkhīr, a ritual elder in his eighties living in Sig, approached the musicians and began taking over the role of the *kuyu bungu*, singing the 'call' of the *borj*, Lillia—doing so pushed him further into his state and he began to pump his arms forward in quick rowing-like motions after which he fell to his knees. On his knees, he began slapping the ground in front of him with both hands in time to the pulse, then pounding his own legs. His energy kept accelerating, and still on his knees, he 'hopped' around in a circle. Watching the energy escalate, someone brought *bkhūr* to his side to fumigate him and from this moment, he rose to his feet and found a graceful cadence of movement, exiting the intensity of his state until he bent over and calmly touched the neck of the *ginbrī*, the sign to the *mʿallem*, 'that will do'. Observing many moments like these, there appears to be a consistent affective crescendo in these states, bringing the *jedēb* up to a threshold; the moment of self-harm feels to be a condensing of the struggle.

In another example, an older *moqedm* entered into a trance, similarly by beginning to sing the text after which he began to cry. At this point, he took a pair of *qrāqeb* from one of the musicians near him and began hitting his forehead with them forcefully until one young man near him stopped him, giving him a long, concerned look. There is a sense here of the *jedēb's* striving to meet and mingle with the affective intensity, of the *jedēb* working himself, to move towards the intensity, to magnify it, to condense it and speed up its vibration. In these moments, it is an intensification of affect, a seemingly intentional digging into the suffering or pain, and this leaning into the sharpness serves to push past the threshold where the suffering hovers. We may even find some resonance here in Brian Massumi's treatment of the Snowman study wherein

nine year olds ranked sad scenes with pleasantness, the 'sadder the better' (1995:84). Trancers might actually find ‘pleasure’ in condensing and intensifying certain painful states.

I pursue these ideas because of what is at stake epistemologically; that movement towards pain, for some, might be the only way *through* it. This is, in other words, a therapeutic approach: a movement towards suffering—and in these cases, a magnification of it in order to resolve it—rather than moving away from it. The importance of this idea is that trance in *dīwān* operates on this approach: that, through the body, techniques are cultivated in which suffering and pain (as well as other affects) are 'worked', are 'performed', are entered into more fully—affective labour. Keeping this in mind, self-harm in trance is more explicable.[120]

'Performance' of suffering, whether self-harm or not, needs to be understood as re-presentation of the self, as part of the self-organisation of the self, a cultivated self. That suffering is 'performed', in other words, does not suggest that it is not genuine. *Jedebbīn* perform for themselves as much as they might perform for others and because some kinds of choreographic movements are more appropriate than others, the performance of trance can be stylised and aestheticised. Sometimes the 'performance' of suffering might very well be enacted without being genuinely 'felt' as one *jedēb*, Munir, told me. He was quite well known for being on the *ṭaraḥ* during certain *brāj*; they were known as 'his *brāj*'. He once explained to me that even when he was not 'feeling it', even when he was not really in the mood to *tejdeb* or was not particularly enjoying the *ḥāl,* he would often get up and move on the *ṭaraḥ* anyway because those who knew him expected him to. I witnessed one time when he remained seated during some of 'his *brāj*' and he was pulled to his feet by a friend who then shoved him in the direction of the *ṭaraḥ* insisting he *tejdeb*.

[120] There are some connections here with other kinds of Sufi trance as well as *ṭarab*—trance triggered by heightened emotion. We hear of people tearing at their clothes or hair, for example. See Racy 2003.

E. Care

Figure 19: Man in trance is cared for. Photo by Tamara D. Turner

Finally, as *jedebbīn* or others present in the *dīwān* fall into trance states, ritual elders and fellow *ūlād dīwān* react accordingly, coming to the aid of the *jedebbīn*. Care, the final means of affective labour I mentioned above, comes in many forms. Members of the community or ritual experts shout at *jedebbīn* who have fallen over or become paralysed to 'get up [and dance]!', they bring *bkhūr* to the *jedebbīn* to fumigate them (incense that helps the *jedēb* cross the threshold into deeper trance), they help them to the *ṭaraḥ*, protect them from falling or from hitting their heads against objects, they cradle them, hug them while they dance, cover them with appropriately coloured drapes *(abāyat),* stroke their backs, spray them with orange flower water *(mazhar)*, place ritual objects in their hands, and circle money over their heads for good luck. Many will enter the *ṭaraḥ* to assist a friend or loved one in trance, to tie back loose clothing so it does not obstruct movement, to push them towards the musicians if they start to lose will or momentum, or tell them to ease off if they take too long or go too deeply into their state,

saying *'nūba, nūba!' your turn is up.* With intense trance states, some women will tie a band of cloth around the waist of the *jedēba* and hold onto it as a tether in order to allow the *jedēba* to release more deeply while keeping her physically safe.

When I was encouraged to get up for 'my *brāj*', I was treated in these ways as well, even as an amateur *jedēba* still learning how to let go into the experience even while maintaining appropriate control of myself. In one instance, a female ritual elder, an *ʿarīfa*, kept her right arm around me during the entirety of the *borj* for ʿAlī, practically showing me the steps she thought I needed to take. Two years later, in the summer of 2016, during several *dīwanat* I frequented and that were also attended by the same 'regulars', seeing me again 'labouring' to the *borj* ʿAlī, Nūreddīn Sarjī began taking me under his wing and coming to my side during my *jedba* to pat me on the back and speak encouraging words. In Meriem's story we also saw the way family and kin cared for her in a variety of ways: her grandmother insisting she be allowed to attend the *dīwān*, Moqedm Jallūl instructing her to go inside the *kumania* and rest, the way Aḥmed Farajī stood by her to monitor her state, tying her clothing back, the way Moqedm Jallūl carefully fumigated her, pulled on her arms and legs, stretching her out, attending to her body in various ways, and finally asking the other *jedebbīn* to act out knife stabbing on her. This example in particular is important for illustrating that affective labour of trance is not just the 'work' of the *jedebbīn,* but the work of the community.

While the performance of care in ritual can serve to render visible alliances and ruptures and mend relationships, its enactment is, first, critical at a basic level of safety: trance can be unpredictable and some responses can be potentially dangerous. I observed *jedebbīn* fall over into the musicians and bump into microphone stands on occasion, fall backwards and hit their heads, and come close to inflicting injury on themselves or others nearby with ritual fire, whips, spears, and knives. Individual trance experiences ideally result in some form of personal and communal reconfiguring—what some may call catharsis or 'healing'. The recurrent, nature of such treatment and the ways it positions individuals with regard to their experiences of themselves and within the community matrix of the ritual further demonstrates that 'healing' here is a process of constant becoming that has more to do with temporality and experiencing oneself across expanses of time than it has to do with 'end results'. Because there is no such thing as

leaving behind suffering, we must reimagine the meaning of 'healing' and 'treatment' and the outcomes or goals towards which trance is always steered.

* * *

In Part Two, it has been my goal to address the lifeworld of *dīwān*—that is, its epistemologies and ontologies—in order to best make comprehensible a world that might be considered quite distant from that of a western subject. To do this, I began in Chapter Three with a trance event from a *dīwān* ritual to set the stage for discussing the most important epistemological assumptions of *dīwān,* showing the dynamics of agency, affect, and transmission and the ways music engenders such events. I then explained the importance of the ways affects have to be *worked*—they cannot just 'emerge'—by suggesting overlapping systems of affective labour in *dīwān* with the goal of manipulating affect*:* ritual experts, musicians, *jedebbīn* with their potential supernatural hosts, and the public.

Thus, having laid the groundwork for the *dīwān* lifeworld, in this chapter, it has been my goal to look at the social field in which trance emerges and is abated. This social field began with the crucial baseline of *ḥāl* with ways that the affective labour of human and nonhuman agents produce ideal *ḥāl* in order to generate favourable conditions for trance. Next, I elabourated on the vicissitudes of trance as an affective epistemology: the ways it *feels,* can be observed in ritual, and the ways people talked about it and categorised it. I explained the variety of terminology to attend to the affective textures of trance explaining, for example, why the idea of 'sickness' and contagion are important, and then suggested that presence and absence can be more helpful means of thinking about such states rather than the common understandings of trance as related to 'consciousness' or being 'in the head'. Finally, I attended to the ways that bodies are required to *move* such affective states and how publics are then required to attend to those bodies, in the affective labour of care. I now turn towards Part Three to address transmission, particularly the social structures and interpersonal negotiations that circulate, guard, and reproduce *dīwān*.

PART THREE: TRANSMISSION: HOW *DĪWĀN* THRIVES, STRUGGLES, AND IS REPRODUCED

In this third section, I now want to consider how the knowledge that emerges from the epistemologies and ontologies of the *dīwān* lifeworld is transmitted across time. The primary goal and thematic thread of this third section is to consider how *ūlād dīwān,* seeing themselves as the caretakers of a centuries-old tradition, currently negotiate the transmission of *dīwān* practice in the face of a changing, 'modern', Algerian context. For heuristic purposes, I refer to the binary poles of 'tradition' and 'modernity' as a framework in which to situate and analyse the struggles and negotiations between different ways of being in the world—ways that include different expectations, priorities, and goals. I enclose these terms in scare quotes to account for their imagined stability as signifiers and for their symbolic role in discourse, recognising that both categories are dynamic and enfold one another. These terms are used both by *dīwān* insiders and outsiders to situate the difficulty—even crisis—of transmission they are faced with and have been faced with since at least Algerian independence and its upheavals in social structures.[121] While positing this spectrum of 'traditional' and 'modern' lifeworlds, I resist the traditionalising or modernising sides of ethnography by illuminating specifically how these lifeworlds are intermingled and in tension, sometimes productive tension and at other times, outright conflict.

As I pointed out in Chapter Three, in terms of intermingled ways of being 'traditional' and 'modern', Algerians educated abroad and who consider themselves quite cosmopolitan and 'modern' often hold beliefs that could be labeled as 'superstitious' or 'old fashioned', such as belief in *jnūn* or the Evil Eye. What I mean to underline here is that even a conception of a 'contemporary Algerian lifeworld' does not make mutually exclusive values and beliefs that predate the modern period with those of modern science—especially in the context of Islam and what it means to be a Muslim in today's Algeria. Of course, Algerian lifeworlds are fashioned from pixelated ontologies of what is 'real' and what is possible.

So in order to be more specific about what I am referring to with these categories, let me specify that my treatment of a contemporary Algerian lifeworld features national

[121] I mentioned some of these changes above, such as the destruction of the *villages nègres* or *grāba* and thus, the relocation and dispersal of *ūlād dīwān* in many locations. I do not have any archival evidence to back up of these claims but it seems that changing lifestyles, demands, and priorities in a modernising world had as much to do with the crisis in transmission as anything else. The death of elders with no one to pass on their knowledge to was often recounted.

culture, the market economy and its products and desire for those products, and expectations that 'Algerian culture', as a product (particularly when funded by the state), should be publicly accessible. But even *more* pertinent here about the modern world is the expectation that *knowledge* should be democratically available, inscribed, and transparent. This is particularly challenging to the *dīwān* lifeworld because, for many *ūlād dīwān,* part of *dīwān* practice and knowledge involves dealing with the nonhuman world of *jnūn* and *arwāḥ,* This kind of knowledge can be dangerous in the wrong hands and therefore should be painstakingly earned and carefully guarded within family lineages and/or with other 'insider' relationships.

Furthermore, what interests me here, particularly, about how *ūlād dīwān* negotiate their place and the transmission of practice today has to do with their minority status within Algerian culture at large. Their own battles with how to reconcile (or not) 'traditional' approaches to knowledge transmission with modern expectations is quite specific given their history and their status in society: descendants of slaves, being 'black Algerians' where racism is still alive and well, and identifying with Sufi epistemologies that are sometimes also seen with suspicion. That is to say that *ūlād dīwān* do not particularly have power, resources, and influence on their side, something that contributes to being self-protective and guarding identities.

By considering how *ūlād dīwān* negotiate transmission in a today's Algeria, this brings us to a more specific question: what kinds of 'knowledge' and its movement (or blockage, sedimentation) are being negotiated? To begin answering this, I present three case studies—Chapters Five, Six, and Seven—that address three domains of knowledge transmission and the interplay between these domains and such negotiations—'interplay' because negotiations are not always successful, particularly when some transmission is set in motion by nonhuman agents. These three domains are: 1) through the discursive role of secrets and the performance of this secret knowledge; 2) through the structures of family lineages and place; 3): in the state-sponsored *dīwān* music festival.

The first case study, Chapter Five, considers secrecy as a site for negotiation. Such negotiation happens primarily in discourse, first by the manner in which people talk about or *around* secrets, referring to their existence and to their keepers. The contents of

‘secret knowledge’ are also shared, in varying degree of detail, between *ūlād dīwān* and others so that, as we will see, in their sharing they are invested with symbolic power and meaning in stories. The secret performs the boundary between insiders and outsiders, indexing—to begin with—who has such secrets to tell or talk about versus who has lost them, and who should and shouldn’t have secret knowledge.

Chapter Six looks at three geographical sites where *dīwān* family lineages are exceptionally strong in Algeria—Oran, Mascara, and Saida—and the ways that family lineages and their associated ‘signature’ practices are also involved in the negotiation between different approaches to being in the world. In this chapter, I explore how the dominant lineages are faring today and the ways they present themselves as either or both ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’.

Finally, Chapter Seven addresses the annual Dīwān Festival of Bechar with its inherent expectation that Algerian ‘culture’, such as *dīwān* music, should also be publicly available for consumption, particularly as ‘intangible cultural heritage’, meaning part of Algerian national culture and identity. When knowledge in *dīwān* tends towards secrecy and containment and is kept in families, the question, then—that is never explicitly stated—is: does *dīwān really* belong to all Algerians for consumption? *Whose* intangible cultural heritage is it? In the festival, then, we see complex negotiations of ritually trained musicians asserting their ritual authority but in a space that suggests performative codes that these musicians struggle to reconcile with their own codes.

Let me now proceed to these three case studies of explicit ways that *ūlād dīwān* grapple with dynamics of transmission in a quickly changing world.

CHAPTER FIVE: SECRET KNOWLEDGE

A handful of dirt, when clenched in the fist of blessed *mʿallem,* transforms into *jāwī*, *benzoin* used as incense. Smoldering coals taken from the fire being stoked to keep the sacred incense burning are thrown into the air by a *jinn*-inhabited *jedēb* and, in mid-air, turn into hard candies wrapped in glittering foil. A woman locked in a windowless room by her husband to prevent her from going to a *dīwān* had disappeared into thin air when the husband went back to release her. Another woman throws herself out of a window when she hears a *dīwān borj* but is entirely unhurt. Back in the 1960s, the engine of a ferry from Mostaganem broke down and despite every effort to repair it, refused to start. The captain had ties to a *dīwān* community and their *moqedm* suggested that a bull needed to be sacrificed; sure enough, shortly after the offering, the engine fired up. An uncle fixing up an abandoned building for his home, adjacent to a *marabout* shrine in Kristel, suddenly finds that one of his hands begins to bleed. The bleeding persists until someone advises him to make a sacrifice to the *marabout* after which his hand finally stops bleeding.

During a *dīwān,* a young boy watches in amazement as his aunt, a reputable priestess, spits in the face of a handicapped woman in a wheelchair who is subsequently able to get up out of the wheelchair and dance. A group of *ūlād dīwān* processing through a village are invited to stop at a *boulangerie* by its owners who ask if the group might fumigate with *bkhūr* their wheelchair-ridden son. The *moqemda* (female *moqedm*) does this and places a long, wooden rod near his lame leg and then begins to push him around in his chair up and down the street. When she returns the boy to his parents, the boy's leg is miraculously healed. Men dancing with knives in the *dīwān brāj* suite Ḥassaniyyn slice open their abdomens that begin spilling blood; however, after the *moqedm* fumigates the wounds with *bkhūr,* the bleeding ceases and there is no sign of injury.

The above anecdotes are truncated examples of miraculous stories I heard from my interlocutors over the course of my fieldwork. A couple of these stories turned up in various different places, such as the ferry story that I heard both from a *dīwān* family in Saida and in Mostaganem—only the identity of the ferry captain changed. I heard these

stories during *dīwanat,* when conversing with ritual experts before and after *dīwanat,* and especially during the outings with my male interlocutors in Oran who regularly brought me along to their social *café* outings. Particularly in these *cafés*, various kinds of family stories were shared and discussed, sometimes even debated for their meaning and possibility.

Such legends and miraculous stories are an important register of oral transmission of *dīwān* worlds. While explicitly, such stories trace histories of kin relationships and the reputations of my interlocutors' ancestors, the telling of these stories, most importantly, articulates power around and within the storyteller's *dīwān* community. For example, the subtexts of the stories about the ferry engine refusing to start or mysterious bleeding communicated that supernatural phenomena follow and envelop 'authentic' *ūlād dīwān* even in contexts outside of the ritual; even 'undesirable' events like a bleeding hand still enfold the subject and storyteller into a divine web of insiders and outsiders. In other words, these sorts of things rarely, if ever, happen to the uninitiated.

Furthermore, anecdotes such as the *mʿallem*'s personal, supernatural ability of trans-substantiation, turning dirt into *benzoin,* or a woman escaping a locked room often function quite explicitly in discourse as critical social capital, pointing to those who possess particular supernatural 'powers' over the natural world as opposed to those who only happen to be in its vicinity or one step removed, telling the story. While pointing first to the individual power of the story's subject—suggesting who has power and who does not—the *telling* of these stories also points to who *has* such stories to tell. Put another way, the simple telling of such a story is a small claim to power. Furthermore, while pointing to power, such oral transmission indexes past successful transmission or ***failure*** of transmission of power, sometimes serving as a warning to be mindful of supernatural interference. With the context above in mind, there are two critical underpinnings to these discourses to establish here. Firstly, whether considered an unintentional, unexplainable happening (the ferry), *or* some kind of personal power (trans-substantiation), all manner of such mysterious events are most typically situated in one way: the intervention of the *jnūn.* Secondly, *dīwān* discourse enfolds these

interventions or any other mysterious events into one convenient, discursive indexical sign: a 'secret'. This is expressed both as *es-serr* in Arabic and '*un secret* ' in French.[122]

While I will provide examples of what some of these secrets attempt to conceal, my primary assertion in this chapter is that secrecy is *performed*——both *discursively* and *physically*, such as in 'secret' actions taken in ritual—and that such performances divulge anxieties about transmission under contemporary circumstances. These are: that *dīwān* is often performed in public, in front of outsiders whose interests may be ambiguous, and that the music is performed today under the gaze of media systems, operating within desacrilised frameworks of national culture and 'heritage'. In the examples that follow, I show that secrecy is a way of enacting some kind of imaginative control over these circumstances. Therefore, 'transmission' in this context is one that necessitates an analysis of such performances, asking key questions such as: what counts as this 'secret knowledge' in these examples, by whom is it being evoked, and for what purposes, and with what kind of listeners/viewers in mind?

A. Secrets

'A secret that two know is no longer a secret.'
-Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Secrecy and Secret Societies, (1906: 471).

In speaking with *ūlād dīwān*, particularly elders above the age of sixty, the importance of secrets was brought up consistently. There were secrets about the history of the *brāj*, about why there were several *brāj* with the same name (i.e.: multiple Ḥāmmū), and why certain acts were performed during *brāj,* like why *rwīna* (raw, doughy balls of grilled wheat flour, water, and sugar) had to be made and fed to the musicians and attendees during the second Ḥammū *borj*. There were secrets about the powers of the *ginbrī*, the 'real' words and 'real' meanings of the texts of *brāj*, especially texts in the Hausawiyyn and Khela'wiyyn suites that still contain Hausa words and phrases with supernatural powers. There were secrets about what was 'really happening'

[122] The exception to this rule is that, with strong enough *niyya* (pure intention), or *baraka* (divine blessing) a person might be able to perform miraculous acts, but would still be aided by the supernatural: ancestor spirits, saints, or possibly God.

when certain people fell into trance. This ‘domain’ of secrets regarding trance, especially, was not something that was discussed casually or without hard-earned trust.

There were secrets about the meanings and purpose of the offerings of henna, eggs, milk, *bkhūr*, *rwīna*, and perfume in the *ṭbag* (basket) and why they were dumped onto the ground at the moment of sacrificing an animal, and who these offerings were for (many said the *jnūn*). There was a mystery around why salt was thrown down on the ground at the moment of sacrifice, too. Or, as I saw one time, it was thrown on the *ṭaraḥ* during a *borj* for the Prophet. Later, the wife of the *mʿallem* playing at that moment explained in hushed tones that it was a way of dispersing the *jnūn* when the *dīwān* was getting too ‘hot’. There were secrets about what incantations the ritual elders would chant as they set *bkhūr* alight or as they set down the *ṭbag* of offerings in front of the *mʿallem.* In other words, secrets were invested in nearly every aspect of *dīwān*: the music (notes), texts, instruments, trances, incantations, objects, and actions.

For many *ūlād dīwān*, secrets reference the *jnūn* and their world or some kind of relationship with them. Secrets often functioned as the primary euphemism to avoid saying the word '*jinn*' because they could easily be called. At other times, secrets as a euphemism were used to smooth over or obfuscate the fact that *jnūn* were being dealt with at all: dealings with the *jnūn* are widely seen to be *ḥarām* (severe taboo) and dangerous. ʿAbd Zamūsh in Mostaganem told me that while people used to be afraid of the *jnūn*, now the *jnūn* are afraid of people, suggesting that humans have become too bold, dangerous, and fearless. Yet, despite this common understanding, the meanings and bearings of ‘secrets’ could not be stated explicitly because, of course, as Simmel points out in the citation above, to disclose a secret is to destroy it. Furthermore, I spoke with many *ūlād dīwān* who believed that there were no longer spirits or *jnūn* in *dīwān* ceremonies, even while they left open the possibility that there might have been in previous times.

Therefore, even while it is often difficult if not impossible to nail down exactly what these secrets are and might stand for, secrets provide a way of talking about, measuring, critiquing, judging, and investing in *dīwān*’s efficacy and authenticity. In the short-hand, it is easier to talk about ‘secrets’, as a broad category, for example, and as a vague barometer of the mysterious, unexplainable, and ineffable. ‘Secrets’, as a

category, allows for a broad spectrum of signification, from a general sense of enchantment to the possibility of *jinn* inhabitation.[123]

As I suggested in the introduction, secrets do most of their work in discourse, in the ways *ūlād dīwān* situate themselves as insiders. Secrets are social and performative rather than private. They are most effective and legible when circulating as social capital. Simmel proposed that the 'application of secrecy as a sociological technique as a form of commerce' was self-evident (1906:464). Talking about secrets meant talking about who had them and who did not, if the secrets had survived or not, or if there was anything secretive left about the *dīwān* at all. They are a way of publicly staking claim to knowledge: knowledge one does not have to account for, prove, or necessarily pass on if one does not want to. For example, one *mʿallem* I met in Bechar who publicly stated at a conference to have memorised more than three hundred and sixty-five *brāj* but who, upon being asked for details by other *mʿallemīn,* would not divulge the list of names because they were his 'secrets'. Sometimes these kinds of secrets were property of families and so played a part of the individual qualities of lineages, like with the infamous *moqedma* Kheira Foṭa, sister of Shaykh Majdūb, about whom many tales are still told for her ability to heal the sick with her saliva.

Secrets are also a primary way of talking about enchantment. It would be difficult to imagine a *dīwān* without any 'secret', without any magic, enchantment, or mystery. After all, those who frequent *dīwanat* look forward to them as a space 'away' from daily life, where mysterious, wonderful, magical, and secretive things can happen. Without the potential for re-enchantment, reinforcement of relationships, and/or transforming and remaking undone things (like psychological and emotional distress, suffering), there would be no reason to go to a *dīwān*. Like *ḥāl* that is similarly mysterious and difficult to articulate, secrets are magnetic signifiers of the unknown, the unspeakable, the inarticulate, the nonhuman, and the 'other' that is necessary to enchant *dīwān.* We are, once again, in a world of affect, pluralistic agency, and issues around movement of information. As we will see later, this enchantment and mystery is crucial to staking out the thresholds between what is ritual terrain and what is 'secular' or non-

[123] A more cynical view might also suggest that the opacity of 'secrets' also allows for critiquing one's contemporaries without accountability on exactly what is subpar.

ritual terrain—what was often disregarded as being 'folklore'—particularly regarding insiders and outsiders and regarding ritual and staged contexts.

I now want to share three partial transcriptions of the most productive conversations I had with ritual elders where secrets emerged and were central to the discussion. These conversations illustrate three perspectives on how secrets work to establish power, index insiders versus outsiders, and the ways they are involved in transmission of knowledge, even outside of human control.

1. A Conversation with Moqedm Jallūl Moṭam: Secrets have been damaged, lost, and are so dangerous that it's better that they disappear

I first met Mʿallem Muḥammad Amīn Canon when he was acting as a member of the jury for the 2013 Diwan Festival of Bechar. A tall, poised gentleman in his thirties, Muḥammad spoke at length about the *dīwān* tradition in Saida and had with him a thick pamphlet on his Saida group, 'Association Culturelle Folklorique Traditionnel Sidi Blel Saida.[124] After our long discussion, I took his contact details and the next month, arranged a trip to visit his community and the Zāwīya Sīdī Blāl Saʿīda. At this early stage in my research when I was still getting to know the community of *ūlād dīwān* and was still unsure if traveling alone might be unsafe I persuaded an older Algerian colleague and linguist, Sī-Muḥammad Belkhādem, to accompany me to Saida for several days.[125] Belkhādem, also a *dīwān muḥeb* primarily familiar with the Oran scene, was keen to discover the *zāwīya* in Saida.

On our second evening, July 19, we gathered in the outdoor courtyard of the *zāwīya* in order to meet and speak with Jallūl Moṭam, the *moqedm* (spiritual leader) of the *zāwīya* and *dīwān maḥalla* since 1997.[126] Along with the *moqedm* and Muḥammad, several others joined Belkhādem and me in the outdoor *zāwīya* courtyard: those who were the *zāwīya's* protectors and 'members,' *muḥebbīn* or otherwise connected *ūlād dīwān*. We sat in a circle on mats carefully laid out over the ground—it was a warm summer evening after all—and one of the men served up sweet tea on a small gas stove.

---

[124] A cultural, traditional 'folklore' association of Sidi Bilāl in Saida.
[125] Algerian friends had been recommending to me that I not travel alone outside of major cities.
[126] He had taken over from the previous *moqedm*, Ṭayeb Canon.

After some time of introductions and polite conversation, the men began to talk about the history and dire state of *dīwān.* I turned to Muḥammad to ask if I could record; he chuckled and nodded. Being the only woman and non-Algerian present, as well as a stranger to most of them, I opted to stay quiet for the first hour or so, letting Belkhādem take the reigns. To my surprise and interest, Belkhādem quickly engaged the *moqedm* and pressed him on his seemingly vague descriptions of *dīwān* transmission, particularly how certain 'secrets' [using the French '*secret*'] of *dīwān* practice had disappeared.

Pushing back, Moqedm Jallūl tried to explain, using the case of a hypothetical *weld dīwān* ('son of *dīwān'*) who had unwisely shared his secret(s) with others:

'I'm going to tell you how his secret was lost. Because, say he had given me his secret, I would have spoiled his secret, ruined it ['*khasserha',* lit. broken]. Because I don't do things the way he did'.['*Ma nemshīsh kīma mshā hūwa*'.]

Belkhādem jumped in, 'So [*dīwān*] has deviated a bit?' ['*tinḥerref shwīya?'*]

'. . . Meaning, it becomes his fault [the *weld dīwān*]… he, sometimes he, he, it's his issue. That's it, that's why . . . Everybody's secret is lost. And it has stayed like that. Now, here…'.

Interjecting again, Belkhādem presses, 'But how do you explain, that is, something founded on a secret [*mebnī ʿāla serr*] and yet it is passed down from generation to generation to generation? [*entāql men jīl, jīl, jīl, jīl*]. How is that possible?'

'It is passed down . . .' [*entāql…*]

'That's the thing!', Belkhādem speaks over him.

'It *is* passed down, this is what I'm trying to tell you . . .'

Interrupting one more time, Belkhādem pushes:

'Something based on secrecy and yet it is transmitted!'

'No, it's passed down! [*Lā, entāql, entāql!*] This is what I'm trying to tell you! [*wesh ranī ngūlek?*]. It is passed down. From the first ones [the first *ūlād dīwān*], it was like that, each time it [the transmission] was approximate, approximate [*taqrīban*]. I'm telling you, eighty percent… of what the first ones left. And it went on like that, gradually, and it dwindled. It dwindled [*'zed kemmel'*]. And… now, there's nothing, no *dīwān* left now. Now, nothing remains…'.

Moqedm Jallūl lets out a hearty chuckle that seems like uncomfortable laughter.

'No . . . there's still a blessing. It remains' [*'Mazēl baraka. Mazēl'*], Belkhādem insists.

Impatiently, the *moqedm* scolds, 'No, no, no, no, no! There's no more blessing, there's none!' [*ma bqatsh el-baraka, ma bqatsh!*]

'There's none?!' Belkhādem raises his voice.

Pausing and taking his words slowly now, the *moqedm* professes,

'*Dīwān*, as it was before, was something . . . Something profound!'

[*'Haja ʿaḍīma'* or marvelous, immense].

'Yeah . . .'.

'But now, there's no *dīwān*. Today it's, it's … all . . . something entirely . . . Not . . . Not . . .'. The *moqedm*'s words trail off and he sounds defeated, resigned, unable to find the words.

Belkhādem softens a bit: 'Hmm…'.

Searching, the *moqedm* tries, 'All of it …I don't know… I'd tell you, I…'.

'In other words', Belkhādem offers, 'it's been really mixed up?'

[*tkhellaṭ*: jumbled, polluted]

'Mixed up a lot! Mixed up a lot!' [*'Tkhellaṭ bazzēff, tkhellaṭ bazzēff!'*]

'Ahh….' Belkhādem's tone of voice indicates that he can relate.

'And it got even worse, and worse, and worse with the independence of Algeria here in Oranais [the *wilāya*]. It slowed and slowed [stopping, getting worse]. Because the elders, the few who were left, the little that was left, disappeared [*'raḥū'*].'

'Hmm…' Belkhādem pauses.

The *moqedm's* voice is sounding tired now, but he continues:

'Here, here, it's like . . . Here in Saida, there are no elders left . . . it's all approximate, it's all diminished, so that it's only approximate [to what the elders did]. You see some guy just learning from another guy, who's learning from another guy. You see? There's no, no… nothing left. No foundation [lit. 'nothing to mount,' '*ma kāynsh ʿāla yerkeb*']. No foundation. There's nothing on which to fasten oneself, ['*ma kāynsh ʿāla yerkez*']. *Le vrai tsemma ma kāynsh!* [the real *dīwān,* to so speak, is gone.]'

Sounding worried or a bit desperate now, he turns directly to Belkhādem, 'Don't you understand me?!'

MB: 'Yeah, I understand you… I understand you' [*'wah, fahmtek, fahmtek'*.]

MJ: 'That's what's going on. I'm telling you.. There's not . . . remaining. . . it's diminished. It's been diminishing until now. Everything is all mixed up [jumbled]. Now it has all diminished [evaporated, slowed to a halt]. It has all diminished. All of it. It has all evaporated.'

Qada, the older brother of Mʿallem Muḥammad and also a prominent *mʿallem,* then entered the *zāwīya* courtyard to join us, greeting each of us one by one. Underneath the greetings and cheer, barely audible in the recording, Moqedm Jallūl says to Qada, off the cuff and half chuckling, 'I'm drowning here!' (*'rānī gharq mʿa'*), referring to all of Belkhādem's questions. Qada, continuing to greet the others, laughs heartily and teases him, 'You're sinking, Sīdī?' [*'wesh gharqt, Sīdī?'*]. Qada is a tall and strongly built, easy going man; he smiles and laughs easily, enjoys teasing everyone, especially the kids, and has a pronounced, resonant voice. He's also quite articulate and often seems to speak on behalf of the *dīwān* community; he often uses his voice in a theatrical way, knowing when to speed up or speak louder for dramatic effect.

After finally taking a spot on the mats with us, Qada begins setting out some of the basic values of the *dīwān* tradition within the family grouping, speaking mostly in French, to which Moqedm Jallūl adds several, punctuated, approving chuckles and 'yeah!'s [*'wah!'*]. The conversation eventually turns again to the challenge of *dīwān* secrets. Moqedm Jallūl begins explaining how when others—mostly journalists—have come to ask questions about *dīwān,* he couldn't give detailed answers to their questions and therefore, they thought he was intentionally withholding information:

'We don't know [the tradition] correctly!' the *moqedm* starts. 'They [the elders] did not give over the information, they did not give over the information. Here, [the tradition, secrets] they have not hung on. I told you, I told you that, long ago, people did not ask questions!'

Another man sitting nearby whispered, 'True!' and Qada added, 'That's what we're saying . . .' [*'C'est ça qu'on disait!'*]

Moqedm Jallūl continued, 'Someone would come to the *dīwān*, find the *dīwān*, he lives the *dīwān*, until the morning or until whatever, and he's not paying attention [lit.: it escapes him]. He doesn't try to understand ['*il cherche pas comprendre*'].

Qada adds, 'Meaning, they [the secrets] dwell in mystery [*gʿād fī mystère*]. That means that every time someone leaves [dies], he takes with him an entire library [of knowledge]!' Qada and all the others burst out laughing.

Moqedm Jallūl jumps in immediately: 'That's it! There you go, there you go. Each person takes his knowledge with him.' ['*Yddi mʿa swaleḥ'*]

Chuckling more now and seeming quite pleased with his explanation, Qada brushes his palms against one another as if to brush off dust between them, symbolising this knowledge being lost forever.

'Exactly! He takes his knowledge with him and . . .'

Moqedm Jallūl interrupts again: 'And thankfully!' ['*mzīyya!'*]

Qada agrees, 'Fortunately, fortunately!' [*'heuresement, heuresement!'*]

There is more boisterous laughter now between all the men and I wonder if it is tense laughter or if the idea is just so shocking that they cannot help but laugh. Belkhādem cuts through the laugher, raising his voice:

'But why 'fortunately'?!'

There is some slight backpedaling now.

Qada: 'No, because . . . '

Jallūl: 'Because . . . '

Qada, laughing: 'Now he [the *moqedm*] is going to tell you…

Jallūl: 'Because . . . '

The laughter rises up again and Qada's voice is playful now, 'This one [the *moqedm*], he's going to tell you why!'

There is something in this moment that feels important and telling, the way Qada and Moqedm Jallūl circle around the suspense, the way Qada starts to explain but then

defers to the *moqedm* out of respect. The way he teases, 'This ones's going to tell you!' like he's dodged a bullet.

Belkhādem, chuckling now also, pushes a little: 'Say it, say it!'

Finally, with a dramatic pause, Qada takes the floor, blending Algerian dialect and French: 'Because, no . . . Because . . . Now we see these people who have nothing to do with it [*dīwān*], they, they . . . invent these things, telling you this, to do that, or we heal with such-and-such, or 'do this', misleading people, and then suddenly, they've got a group of people following them.'

In other words, just like Moqedm Jallūl was trying to explain to Belkhādem, Qada also suggests that secrets in the wrong hands are dangerous; especially when someone 'takes' or is 'given' a secret and doesn't know what to do with it, or worse, 'damages' it—*khasserha*. Better to let certain knowledge die than see it pass on to the wrong people.

This is an important point worth pausing on. That is to say, for some *ūlād dīwān,* at least discursively here, the preservation or transmission of the tradition is *secondary* to the content of transmission.

As Moqedm Jallūl summed it up: *'Kanet kayn niyya, kanet kayn niyya!'* In the past, 'There was *niyya!* There was *niyya!*'

This particular visit in the *zāwīya* of Saida lasted upwards of three hours. It was after midnight by the time Muḥammad took us back to his house to sleep.

* * *

Belkhādem was not remiss in asking how it is that secret knowledge passes down from generation to generation. Over the course of my fieldwork, I, too, regularly posed questions to *ūlād dīwān* and *muḥebbīn* about how *moqedmīn* are chosen, learn their craft, and transmit it to others but in all cases, responses were vague at best, usually implying that *moqedmīn* were chosen based on age or that knowledge was simply 'picked up' by being a permanent part of the *dīwān* community. Paradoxical as the generational transmission of secrets seemed to Belkādem and despite Jallūl and Qada

insisting that there was no transmission of these secrets or that they were being corrupted, Georg Simmel's analysis here is helpful for getting at this tension between whether or not secret knowledge should and can be both protected and transmitted—as *dīwān* transmission has required and continues to require to some extent:

> '[T]hroughout the form of secrecy there occurs a permanent in- and out-flow of content, in which what is originally open becomes secret, and what was originally concealed throws off its mystery. Thus we might arrive at the paradoxical idea that, under otherwise like circumstances, human associations require a definite ratio of secrecy which merely changes its objects; letting go of one, it seizes another, and in the course of this exchange it keeps its quantum unvaried.' (1906: 467-68)

Moqedm Jallūl never did explicitly articulate what these secrets were that had been lost or damaged but it is common knowledge in *dīwān* circles that the role of a *moqedm* requires him to know how to deal with the *jnūn* and *arwāḥ*—particularly ones that can be devious or dangerous—and what to do when someone is inhabited and takes up knives or hot coals, how to make spirits leave when necessary without creating trouble, and how to sacrifice animals. It should be no surprise, then, if much of this knowledge is private knowledge for a select few. As I came to know and speak more at length with Moqedm Jallūl over the course of the next three years, regularly visiting Saida to attend their *dīwanat* and their famous annual *wʿāda,* the views he expressed in this first meeting partly transcribed above were gradually contextualised by more and more detail that he slowly revealed—detail having to do with dangerous 'secrets'—perhaps curses, spells, and other harmful deeds—but that were so powerful that they could kill a man.

It is not just in Saida that ideas about transmission pool around concepts of secrets, *niyya*, and purity—many elders like Moqedm Jallūl see the ritual tradition today as having changed a great deal, to have been mixed up—*tkhelleṭ*, from the root *kh-l-ṭ,* to mix up, confuse, or jumble—or even damaged or broken—*emkhasser.* While there are strategic discursive and political moves being made by an insistence on the disappearance of secrets, there are also undeniable logistics about how *dīwān* and its transmission have, indeed, faced drastic and sometimes insurmountable change in Jallūl's lifetime. It is worth also considering that Moqedm Jallūl's insistence on there being no *dīwān* left—no *baraka*, no magic—might be partly, a performative move.

Algerian social codes frown on boasting about one's talents, gifts, or good fortune: such behaviour is thought to attract the Evil Eye and, thus, invite disaster. It is much more common to hear people speaking of their struggles, troubles, and health issues, inviting sympathy but also the opportunity to express gratitude to God: *el-ḥammdūlīlāh.* Discourse around secrets, then, also would need to be conservative, humble, and protective.

Jallūl told us later in the visit that some journalists thought he was withholding information from them during interviews and, while he claims that they simply 'don't know the answers', it would be understandable for him to do so. Such modesty might be a way of drawing attention away from himself: I was told that certain practices in the ritual are not done at the annual *wʿāda* if television crews or journalists are present because they might be misconstrued in a negative light. I often overheard anecdotes about other *moqedmīn* misleading or tricking naive journalists or other visitors with false answers to prying questions and it is not difficult to sympathise with such an approach when many Algerians—even the young men in Algiers who love the music—see *ūlād dīwān* as transgressive for dealing with the supernatural world.

There is an understanding, therefore, about knowledge being earned, sometimes even the most basic knowledge. But *dīwān* is by no means the only *tarīqa* to have ideas about secret knowledge; on the contrary, this is a common theme in Sufi epistemology. When I interviewed a *ṭaleb*, a sort of diviner and shaman, in Oran who had connections to *dīwān* as well as other Sufi-like practices, he explained from the beginning that he could not tell me much about his work: some knowledge, he said, were he to share it with me, could kill me. Powerful and even 'dangerous' knowledge is not meant for everyone. Within and outside of *dīwān, shyūkh* are expected to select one main *gendūz* (disciple) to whom he passes his knowledge, despite many *genēdīz* who may be training.

However, aside from this world of secrets, miracles, and dangers, there ***is*** explicit musical knowledge—upwards of hundreds of songs and texts to remember and in a particular order, not to mention the musical and technical proficiency and musicality required to inspire the *jedebbīn* and the public. There are bodily kinds of knowledge, too, such as what kinds of 'dances,' trances, or movements a *borj* might require and how to musically engage with such expression. Knowing how to play to and with an expert

trancer versus an amateur, or which one to follow, or when to give more or less—these are all musical sensibilities required of a *mʿallem.* Much of this 'technical' or 'practical' information seems to have always been transmitted through observation and imitation with little to no verbal explanation.

This first meeting with Moqedm Jallūl was impressionable: I was intrigued by the polarisation of Jallūl's perspective on the 'sad state of *dīwān'* in Algeria, in contrast to the very active and 'traditional'-minded younger contingent I knew and spent time with. In addition, even when this was pointed out by Belkhādem in this first meeting—'But there are youth like Muḥammad here, God bless him, and he's very faithful to the traditions; so what about that?'—Jallūl still found nothing to praise in the current generation and insisted that *dīwān* had slipped and continued to slip through the fingers of negligent generations. This dynamic set the tone for my future visits to Saida in which I observed very different approaches and ideas about 'tradition' and practice even within this relatively tight-knit kin group, further emphasising the complex dynamics of transmission, and both its perceived 'success' and 'failure'. I will say more about this in Chapter Six on transmission as attached to place.

2. A Conversation with Shaykh ʿAbd el-Qādr Guellāl: Secrets are everywhere, they are what make a *dīwān* 'warm'

ʿAbd el-Qādr Guellāl is a tall, thin, friendly, older *mʿallem* and *kuyu bungu* with a pinched, tenor voice and one of the last in a long chain of *dīwān* experts from Mostaganem. Known as ʿAbdāqa, he comes from a family of *guellal* (goblet drum) players, hence the family name given by the French administration. He grew up in Mostaganem going to *dīwanat* with his whole family from a very young age.[127] Back then, he says, there was a *dīwān* every week and, as young boys, they would often participate in the pre-*dīwān* processions, carrying small flags and the like. As he grew up, his s*haykh*, ʿAjāl, began teaching him to play *ṭbel* and later on, taught him the role of *kuyu bungu*. Later still, the *ginbrī* started 'calling' to him. Much like other *ūlād dīwān*

[127] Also, his late father was a friend of Nūreddīn Sarjī's paternal grandfather, Muḥammad. I will discuss the Sarjī family in the Oran section of the family lineages, Chapter 6.

have told me, he specifies, 'we don't go seeking out the *ginbrī*, it has to find you.' Eventually, he began frequenting the homes of Shaykh Hamza, the *shaykh* of Majdūb, and the well-known *moqedm*, Qada Būsū—'a real *sūdānī bousou* man who spoke [a] *sūdānī* [language]'—with whom he began to learn the *ṭreq*. He remembers that Qada got so accustomed to having ʿAbdāqa around that sometimes he would drift off into trance, leaving ʿAbdāqa's alone to practice.

ʿAbdāqa is also well known outside of Mostaganem; many *ūlād dīwān* in Algiers had recommended that I meet with him. Although ʿAbdāqa and I had previously met at a *dīwān* in Mostaganem six months earlier, we had not yet spoken at length. Nūreddīn, his half brother Hammiya, and I arrived at ʿAbdāqa's house late one weekend morning in February 2015. ʿAbdāqa welcomed us into his sitting room where we settled in, kicked off our shoes, and sat in an oblong circle along the walls lined with cushions. There was much chattering and catching up on news while the women of the house brought us tea, coffee, and sweet cakes. After twenty minutes or so, ʿAbdāqa turned to me to ask what I would like to ask. Wanting to properly introduce myself, I asked if my chaperones had explained to him what I was doing in Algeria—I wasn't always sure what people knew about me before meeting me and wanted to make sure he knew that I wasn't a journalist.

'Yeah, they told me that you're doing research.'

'I'm doing a doctorate in musicology on *dīwān,* and . . . '

'I *know*,' he interrupted me, with an uninterested tone. Before I could say more, he jumped in:

'But! You're no longer doing research. That's it! You're caught up in it (it has taken you)'. The word he used was *mamlūka,* which can mean 'owned', as in being the property of something or someone else—it can also potentially mean possessed by spirits depending on the context. I started to agree that my work was more than 'just research' but he jumped in again, 'That's it!' with a seeming connotation of, 'you're not in control anymore': '*Ça y est! Ntīa mamlūka! Ça y est!'*

Nūreddīn agreed and jumped in at this point to tell a story of a *dīwān* he held at his family's home in Mostaganem in 2013 during which he watched me 'trance' (*tejdeb)* like it was something I had been doing a long time. For me, the experience was simply moving to the beat and imitating what others did but, in his view, it was significant,

indicative of something bigger happening. This discursive way of wrapping my subjectivity—foreigner, outsider, white, non-Muslim, American woman—into the mysterious workings of *dīwān* thus involved me and my research in some of the issues around transmission, on how *dīwān* moves in and between and through people, teaching them things with or without their 'control', consent, or official association. More tea and sweets were followed by heaps of couscous topped with roasted vegetables. As we ate, the conversation grew more intense. By way of sub-Saharan origins of *dīwān,* ʿAbdāqa addressed the group of us:

'How is it that some *dīwanat* are [properly] launched?' [*yeṭlʿā*].

No one answered.

He turned to me, 'You've seen *dīwanat,* haven't you?'

'Yeah.'

'Well, there are *dīwanat* in which you feel warmth ('*chaleur*'). You feel real heat (*teḥessī ḥummān*), that's there. And there are *dīwanat* in which there is no mood (*'aucun goût'* in French). There is no taste ('*binna,*' in Arabic), there is none.'

'Why is that?' he urges me. 'Here we say, we say that a *dīwān* that is warm [*'ḥāmī'*] and everything, it has [inside it] a secret [*fīh serr*]. And the *ginbrī*. The *ginbrī* has [inside it] a secret. The secret of *dīwān* is also the *ginbrī*! What calls the *borj* of the *dīwān?* So that the *borj* begins? It begins with the *ginbrī*. The *ginbrī,* that's what captures ['*entaqbeḍ'*] the *borj.* That *borj* that is captured, that one, it belongs to the *jinn*'.

Trying to clarify the last part of this phrase, I ask, 'The *ginbrī* speaks with the *jnūn*?'

Speaking more softly now, he confirms, 'It's the one who speaks' ['*hūwa lī hadder'*]. Then he adds, 'There are two things that speak to the *jnūn* in *dīwān:* the *ginbrī* and the *jāwī* [benzoin, incense]. Both of those.'

Later on, he elaborated the *jāwī* is not just 'calling' the *jnūn* but it is a door to the human world. It is their secret, their way in. He went on:

'Their [the *jnūn*] secret, what is it? Their secret is the *jāwī.* The secret of this path is the *jāwī.* What does the *jāwī* bring? *Jāwī* brings the *jnūn*'. *('El-serr entʿāhum, shawāla? El-serr entʿāhum huwa el-jāwī. El-serr entʿā ṭariqa hādī, hūwa jāwī. Jāwī wesh yjīb? Jāwī yjīb el-jnūn'.*)

Knowing him to be a *kuyu bungu*, I playfully teased, 'And the *kuyu bungu*, he doesn't speak to them [the *jnūn*] too?'

'The *kuyu bungu* [speaks to them] later!' he declared with enthusiasm. 'He comes back to call [them].' ʿAbdāqa went on to explain the differences in various *kuyu bungu-s* but pointed out that the *kuyu bungu* is the one who literally names the *borj*—by singing it into presence. This is significant as the recitation and utterance of names, particularly of spirits or saints, can also call forth their presence.

He speaks about the many conditions and possibilities in a *dīwān,* and returns to the idea of warm *dīwanat* and cold *dīwanat.* Now ʿAbdāqa's adopted daughter joins us in the sitting room and occasionally adds to the discussion. Her father says that she also learned *dīwān* 'just like that', without trying; certain knowledge just became accessible to her. She seems to have particular authority on the subject of the *jnūn* to which even her father defers. We discuss some of the controversies around particular *brāj* that are linked more directly to the world of the *jnūn*; the *borj* Brāhīm—Abraham, the prophet—has a twin *borj* called 'Ṭō Brāhīm' which he says is the name of a *jinn*, and while there is no connection between the two personages, Ṭō Brāhīm is a Muslim *jinn*. To demonstrate more clearly, ʿAbdāqa explains the same phenomena in the *brāj* suite, Ḥammū, which usually includes two to three *brāj*. Ḥammū is another name for the Prophet who can be called by many related names: Muḥammad, Ḥammū, Aḥmed, Bū Medīna, or Ḥammūda. In the first of the *brāj* for Ḥammū, he says we are singing about the Prophet. But in the second Ḥammū, with the making of *rwīna*, this indicates that we have entered the world of a *jinn.*

'Is that the food of the *jnūn*?' I ask, having heard this idea before.

'That *jinn*, his secret is the *rwīna*,' ʿAbdāqa says.

His daughter interrupts to clarify, 'It's not his [the *jinn*'s] *food*, it's his secret. His secret.' [*Māshī mekeltu, serru, serru.'*]

ʿAbdāqa agrees and recounts some of the lyrics to this *borj* to prove his point:

Bābā Ḥammū, ṣalū en-Nābīna,
Ḥammū mūl el-kūrsi
Ḥammū mūl el-dīwān

Father Ḥammū, pray to the Prophet,
Ḥammū possessor of the throne
Ḥammū possessor of the *dīwān*

What emerges with this example is that in the *dīwān ṭreq,* the order of the repertoire where we have sets of *brāj* that invoke 'Muslim' personages (like the Prophet Muḥammad), or songs for Jews like Solomon (Souleyman), or Jesus (ʿĪssa), or 'pagan' personages, we are also calling the accompanying *jnūn* usually of the same faith. Referencing the example of the *borj* text, ʿAbdāqa explains that Ḥammū is a Muslim *jinn* because, 'would a pagan *jinn* pray to the Prophet? Of course not!'

At this point in the text then, ʿAbdāqa says, 'here, we have entered, we are with the *jinn*.' [*'Henna dakhelnā fī jinn.'*]. It seems obvious to me now, particularly with the reference to the *kūrsī* (throne).

Hammiya, sitting in the corner, says, 'There are people who don't know what they're singing', and ʿAbdāqa agrees. There are moans and chuckles of understanding from the other guys, too. Repeating again, ʿAbdāqa tells me that the secret of that *jinn* is the *rwīna*; there are those who heal with it. When someone sick comes, they give her that *rwīna* and, with her *niyya*—if her heart is in the right place—it can heal her.[128] He explains another *borj* in the same way, one called Būya Madānī, yet another name for the Prophet (Father of Medina, one of the holiest cities in Islam).

'This Būya Madānī, it's the name of the Messenger, peace be upon him. But! Later,' his voice picks up speed, 'here, we enter the secret! We enter the secret of the *jinn*! That egg, that thing. That was a *jinn*'. [*'Būya Madānī ism Raṣūl, ṣalih ʿalīh u sillem. Bssaḥ*

[128] Although I did not confirm it at the time, ʿAbd el-Qādr is suggesting that this *jinn* is also Muslim which is why he is being reminded to pray for the Prophet. Given that we are in a series of *brāj* and the first Ḥammū does sing of the Prophet, the second *borj* for the *jinn* could very likely be the *qarīn* of the Prophet, the *jinn* that attached himself to the Prophet and whom the Prophet converted to Islam, as communicated in the Qur'ān, Sūrat Al-Jinn, number seventy-two.

men bʿād, hennaya nedkhol fī serr, nedkhol fī serr . . . entʿā jinn. Hādak el-bayḍ, hādak. Hadak kān kāyen jinn!']

That is to say, in the moment we see a ritual elder bring out hard boiled eggs, part way through the *borj*, we know that we have entered the world of the *jnūn* again. He says that, sometimes, a person will lie down on the ground and act like serpent, taking the egg in his mouth. ʿAbdāqa asks us collectively:

'So who is that? [acting like that]? Not Būya Madānī! It's the *jinn* who takes that *borj*. That's the secret of that *borj*.'

He goes on to give me more and more examples of secrets, such as those that protect trancers from getting hurt when they dance with knives and slash the bare flesh on their abdomens. Those who injure themselves or who draw blood obviously have no secret. One of these *brāj* is *Jangare Mama,* discussed at length in Meriem's story. The *jinn*, the possessor of the knife, is called 'Chenguer', he says, from which the *borj* name comes. He tells a story about debates around the meaning of *Jangare Mama* and other *brāj* named after *jnūn* but laments that few people know about this. He explains how with time, the mispronunciation of texts has shifted the meanings of songs, such as the *borj* that is now sung as 'Muḥammad Dawa' having originally been that of Muḥammad Ṭawa, a *jinn* who incites his trancers to dance on sharp pine needles (*ṣidra*) until they become powder—this is a detail I had heard all over Algeria.

'That was his secret. And he [the *jinn*] was Muslim. He was called Muḥammad'. ʿ

Abdāqa then explained why it is that certain *dīwān* are so warm: many *jnūn* are present. He spoke of secrets, zooming in on ***the primary*** secret being this world of the *jnūn.* When I continued to ask for clarification on ʿAbdāqa's descriptions about the nuances of secrets and *jnūn*, the conversation turned back to me. The daughter believed I was having interactions with the *jnūn* that I either did not realise or that I was denying; perhaps this was her interpretation of why I was asking so much about them. I also realised later in the conversation that she had seen me 'trance' at that *dīwān* in Mostaganem six months earlier. She interrupted and appealed to her father, taking up my cause, in a sense conveying that she could sense what was going on with me:

'She [Tamara] is trying to understand but you [the men] didn't explain it to her. She's trying to understand the *jinn*. What *dīwān* is'.

I am a little puzzled but fascinated by the daughter's insistence and what might be going on here. Although I'm already feeling quite satisfied about the amount of detail on the *jnūn* I've already been given, I don't say anything, wondering where this next development is going. ʿAbdāqa, pausing and thinking, speaks for several minutes now, explaining more in detail how some *jnūn* have secrets and if he were to tell me, if I were to write those things down, they would hurt me. 'Are you willing to risk that?' he asks me. I decline. 'No, no, I don't need to know, don't worry,' I assured them. Putting my notebook away. I'm feeling awkward partly because I'm quite aware that Nūreddīn and Hammiya are uncomfortable with so much talk about the *jnūn.* The conversation moves on, ʿAbdāqa pulls out the photo album and we admire pictures of the late ritual elders of Mostaganem whom the guys all recognise. After we have been at the house for around three hours, Nūreddīn pipes up, 'Tamara, shall we go? Until next time?' immediately apologising to the hosts.

* * *

On the drive back to Oran, there is a great deal of anxiety about so much talk of the *jnūn*. When something like this has happened before, Nūreddīn considers it his responsibility to situate for me all the information I have been given, sometimes telling me not to believe what I have heard. His position is quite consistent, that while in earlier days people might have known what they were doing, today, people use or talk about the *jnūn* as ways to swindle people, make money (telling fortunes, etcetera). Nūreddīn has a point; there are people who make very good money preparing charms and spells against curses and *jnūn* or to combat the Evil Eye.[129] But over the course of these several hours with ʿAbdāqa, I had come to understand a great deal more about the importance of secrets and what they had to do with transmission.

To ʿAbdāqa, secrets give *dīwān* its warmth: that infamous *ḥāl* that is so important to the success of the *dīwān*. The *rwīna*, the eggs, the *jāwī:* these are all secrets of the *jnūn*. And the *jnūn*, *they* are the secret of *dīwān. Jnūn*, after all, are what make a good *dīwān;* a warm *dīwān:* a *'dīwān ḥāmī.'* That's also why *brāj* special to *jnūn* are called 'hot' *brāj*.

---

[129] I went to visit one of these '*ṭālebs*' in Oran who prepared an amulet for me to protect me from bad effects of *jnūn*—this gentleman determined that I had been brushed by a *jinn* (*memsūs*) leaving the body of another woman near me during a *dīwān* and I required future protection. The full treatment and amulet cost me the equivalent of what could easily be two day's pay for many of my *dīwān* contacts.

And the *ginbrī*—it has a secret too: it speaks to the *jnūn*. The *mʿallem* playing the *ginbrī*—'he, too has a secret' in order to speak through his *ginbrī* to the *jnūn,* he would have to be included*: 'Hūwa tānī ʿandū serr.'* ʿAbdāqa's viewpoint also might shed light on Moqedm Jallūl's cynical take on the state of *dīwān* to some degree and why loss of knowledge might even be 'fortunate' if secrets have to do with precarious information that could fall into the wrong hands. But up until this discussion with ʿAbdāqa, I had never been given such an explicit explanation as to *what* these secrets might actually be. In the next conversation, we will hear a bit more about specific secrets as texts.

Figure 20: Types of *bkhūr* and *jāwī* collected in Algeria

3. A Conversation with Mʿallem Tūfīq ʿAbd Es-Selam: dangerous secrets can be spread unintentionally through lack of knowledge

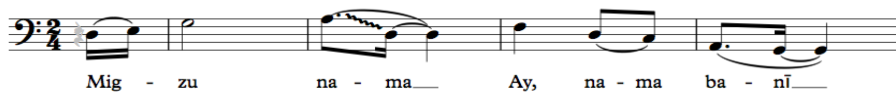
Above, ʿAbdāqa mentioned that when certain words are sung in a *borj*, 'here we enter the world of the *jnūn.*' I encountered this same problematic in Algiers in March of 2015 while speaking with Mʿallem Tūfīq ʿAbd Es-Selam and Mʿallem Allal Bembarka. Tūfīq particularly emphasised that such words have inherent agency to invoke worlds and call forth *jnūn*, with or without the knowledge or intention of those singing the words. The idea that words can have magical and/or healing effects, whether or not they have a direct relationship with a supernatural world, is quite common in West and North Africa but has also been explored in numerous other anthropological sites and studies (Malinkowski 1935; Tambiah 1968; Ong 1967, for example); however, the most closely related to this thesis is that of Stoller's (1984, 1996) exploration of the power of sound for the Songhay.

I first came to meet Mʿallem Tūfīq and Mʿallem Allal because both *mʿallemīn* are regularly invited to *dīwanat* in the west of Algeria where I was based throughout my fieldwork. I arranged to meet with the *mʿallemīn* over the course of two afternoons and was accompanied by a friend and young *dīwān muḥeb* and musician, Lotfi Slakem, along with his friend, Ayoub, who tagged along. We gathered in Allal's lounge refreshed by sweet mint tea while an old cassette tape of solo *ginbrī* fluttered on low volume in the background. Mʿallem Tūfīq, being slightly senior in status, did most of the talking and required no prodding from any of us to discuss the key issues at the heart of *dīwān.* He was particularly interested in *dīwān* texts that supposedly contain Hausa words or those generally identified as survivals from the *sūdānī* language, Kuria.

'I'm not going to lie to you,' Tūfīq says. 'I'm against all the *brāj* in which there is not Arabic (the language). I don't trust them (*ma amansh bīya*).' He goes on to explain the problem of certain people in *dīwān* continuing to sing in a language that they don't understand or speak: 'If you know Kuria well, you understand it! But later when you ask [those who sing it], "What did you say?" they respond [inadequately], "From the old times, they sang it like that" [*bekrī kānū gūlūha*]. And that's serious [dangerous]! (*et ç'est grave!*).' Tūfīq means here that even people who appear to sing well in Kuria do

not know what they are saying and fall back on the explanation of 'that's how I learned it' or 'this is what people have always sung.' This anxiety about not knowing what one is singing is widespread among *kuyu bungu-s*, *moqedmīn*, and *muḥebbīn*; I encountered it in nearly every conversation with ritual experts, especially when we discussed specific *sūdānī* words that turned up in otherwise Arabic texts—such as the *borj* for Sidi ʿAlī (see below). As an example, Tūfīq uses the song Migzu, the chief and hunter of the forest. He sings for us the *rās el-borj)* in what appears to be Hausa:

Migzu, nama, ay nama bani! : Migzu! Meat! Hey, give me meat!



Example 33: Migzu. Audio link in this footnote.[130]

'That [first] line, you cannot change it (*ma truḥsh*) because it's the key (*la clé*) of the song'. Allal and Lotfi audibly agree; one ***must*** sing that in order for the *borj* to be the *borj*. 'But later', Tūfīq adds, 'you have to cultivate something [the words] that the public knows', meaning that, after this first line, the text should switch to Arabic. To illustrate his reasoning, Tūfīq goes on to tell a story about a time he was playing in a *dīwān* along with Hūwārī, a *kuyu bungu* he often works with. During the *borj Bū Derbāla*, a particular elder from small, western hinterland city began singing in Hausa or Kuria. Tūfīq complained that, first, the singing was not in rhythm with the *ginbrī* and *qrāqeb.* He demonstrates the singing for me, how it stumbles in time because there are too many *sūdānī* words to fit into the *ginbrī* cycle. In this case, Tūfīq is not pleased with *Bū Derbāla* being sung in Kuria because the *borj* is another name for ʿAbd el-Qādr Jīlānī, a saint and holy man; the implication is that one should sing about such a saint in Arabic.[131]

A key part of Tūfīq's argument here, taking us back again to the question of agencies known or unknown, is that the meanings of words have power to affect circumstances whether or not those meanings are understood by those singing them. In

[130] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/chapter-7-diwan-festival-of-bechar.html
[131] There appears to be some connection between this *borj* and Hausa origins as many elders sing in Kuria in this *borj*. Its trance is often more intense than one would expect, by *dīwān* protocol, for a saint's *borj*.

other words, if a *kuyu bungu* is singing in Kuria or Hausa or a language he does not understand, he could inadvertently attract spirits or energies drawn to or called by those words. As he explained, 'You can sing to [the *jnūn*] with certain terms! Why did I tell you that you have to know [what you are singing]? There's something like fifty percent of the terms [like this in *dīwān*]. There are terms that call them [the *jnūn*] without your awareness! You're calling them! Because [the words] are theirs, theirs! It is their domain! And they come and hang out with you and everything. There are *brāj* that are theirs.' (*Kayn des terms, ntā taʿītelhūm, ble ma ʿala belek. Tetaʿītelhūm! Parce que entʿāhūm, entʿāhūm, had el-domain entʿāhūm! Ījī yrīḥū mʿak ū aʿītelhūm ū gʿā. Kaynīn brāj entʿāhūm.*')

Tūfīq goes on to give us a specific example about the Ḥammū *brāj* suite that I transcribed in Chapter 2 and that ʿAbdāqa mentioned above that requires *rwīna*:

'When you listen to Ḥammū. Why is there a Ḥammū One [*borj*], and a Ḥammū Two [*borj*], for example?' He jokes, 'Do you think there's one Ḥammū, the master ('*mʿallem*') and one Ḥammū, the engineer?' We all chuckle. 'It's not possible!' The way Tūfīq explains this phenomenon in a joking manner implies that it should be quite obvious. He continues:

'Very simply! There is Ḥammū, a human being, the saint. And there's a *jinn*!' Ayoub interjects here: *'Qarīn entʿāū' : his qarīn.*

A *qarīn* is the individual *jinn* each person is born and dies with, like a double. Tūfīq affirms:

'Ay! Basha Ḥammū'. ('Yes, that would be Basha Ḥammū').

Ayoub suggests here, 'Like Sīdna Mūsa?' and Tūfīq agrees again.

'But why do we say, 'Sīdna'?' Ayoub asks, referring to the *jinn*.

Sidna roughly translates as 'our master'.

'Because they [the *jnūn* also] are Muslim!' Elaborating, Tūfīq continues:

'*Dīwān*—what is it made up of? You recount the descendants of the Prophet (*shorāfa*), you recount the Prophets (*anbīyya*). Okay! But in order to really understand this, how many *brāj* are there in Mūsa? In the West (Morocco] they say "Mūsawiyyn". They have twelve. We, we have five. But not five *brāj* for the Prophet Mūsa [Moses]'.

In other words, just one of the *brāj* is for the saint, the human. The rest are for the *jnūn*. The lack of mastery of texts—or disregard, or otherwise 'mixing' of them—also becomes a problem when words that reference the world of the *jnūn* are mixed with words that reference the Prophet Muḥammad. This commonly comes up in the *borj* for the spirit Sergu (considered Migzawiyyn in Algiers) where I noted that in every version I heard, *kuyu bungu-s* and their chorales sing, 'Ya Rebbī!' over and over ('Oh God!'). At least one *dīwān muḥeb* pointed out this problem to me as well: 'it's *ḥarām* (blasphemous) to mention the name of God when singing for a *jinn!*'

However, Tūfīq's example went the other way around: in one of the several *Ṣalou Nabī brāj* for the Prophet Muḥammad, and just after singing, *'Ṣalou Nabī, Nabī Muḥammad',* singers go immediately into a new *gaṭṭaʿt*, singing, *'Yay, Janari Yumyum*' on the same melody. Janari Yumyum is a *borj* for a non-Muslim, Migzawiyyn 'spirit' and, in this *borj,* one of the *jedebbīn* is meant to eat raw meat, tearing it with his teeth 'like a wild animal.' Here, I'll call the entity a 'spirit' because it is not clear if the entity for Janari Yumyum is a *jinn* or some other order of supernatural being. Its text seems to reference the powerful *kuri* spirits of the Bornu region. The important point, however, is that to go from singing about the Prophet Muḥammad to eating raw meat (forbidden in Islam) without skipping a beat poses a serious problem for not just Tūfīq, but other ritual experts I spoke with. These worlds are meant to be kept separate musically, textually, temporally, and materially—as in the ritual objects used for these *brāj* must *also* be kept separate—over the duration of the ritual.[132] A key point here to take away is that agency is invested in nonhuman bodies and things: Tūfīq is saying that words referencing the world of the *jnūn* call the *jnūn* even if the singer is unaware of it and does not have such intent. Here, even human *niyya* is eclipsed by the nonhuman agency of words.

About this *borj* and some of these same issues, Shaykh ʿAbbess Zerwālī of Perrigaux sang for me his version of the text:

[132] The idea that these worlds should be separated seems to extend beyond discourse. In Saida, for example, all of the ritual materials for the Migzawiyyn, non-Muslim *jinn*-personages, are also stored separately and should never be mixed with that of the other ritual personages and their respective *brāj* from the first half of the *dīwān*.

Ya janari yo yay kuri
Ya janari kuri ya Bornu
Yay janari yumyum ya bawa
Yay janari yo ay kuri
Janari kayba ya kuri
Janari kuri, koye
Ay janari baba ya kuri
Yah kuri m Bornu ya kuri
Yay kuri madi, kuri

Except for what is most likely the Arabic *bābā*, for 'father', and *bawa* as the Hausa term for 'slave', the meaning of the text is unknown. Another way of thinking about this example and other *brāj* with ontologically 'mixed' texts is that they may represent stratified, historic layers of changing languages and shifting meaning as *sūdānī* ritual orientations to supernatural beings encountered North African personages of various holy men and prophets. The *borj* for ʿAlī is an example of this kind of 'layering', of textual 'back stories' or double meanings. For the most part, it is portrayed as praising ʿAlī Ibn Alī Ṭālib, the cousin and son in law of the prophet. The *nashaṭ* (required actions, gestures) of the *borj* involve *jedebbīn* 'dancing' as if they are riding a horse, slashing a sword (*sīf*) to represent ʿAlī's courage in battle and his special sword. While the texts vary moderately from region to region and *maḥalla* to *maḥalla*, in general, the text is said to praise ʿAlī' and his lineage:

ʿAlī ʿAlī, ʿAlī ʿAlī mani (bani) shawara
('ʿAlī … he doesn't have/give me an opinion' see below)
Ḥsen u Ḥsin, bābāhum ʿAlī, mani shawara
(Hasan and Hocine, their father is ʿAlī)
ʿAlī ʿAlī, ʿAlī ʿAlī mani shawara (same)
La ila ilā Allah, La ila ilā Allah mani shawara
(There is no God but God…)
Lalla Faṭīma, bent er-Raṣūl, mani shawara

(Lady Faţīma, daughter of the Prophet…)

ʿAlī ʿAlī, ʿAlī dodo mani shawara

(ʿAlī… evil spirit…)

Nebki waḥed denni, refāq habābī mani shawara

(I was crying one time, my friends [gave me] company…

[Then towards the end]

ʿAlī , ʿAlī dodo, ʿAlī dodo….

(ʿAlī evil spirit…)

In the beginning, the text fits the portrayal. '*Mani(sh) shawara*' was translated as 'he doesn't have an opinion' or, because some people sing instead, '*bani shawara*', here it was explained as 'give me advice/a consultation' with the first word, *bani,* in Hausa, *shawara* in Arabic. But the most galvanising part of the text are the words, '*ʿAlī dodo'*. To my knowledge and from the information from my interlocutors, *dodo* has no meaning in Algerian dialect. I first encountered the word while researching Hausa connections to *dīwān* in Besmer's (1983) descriptions of the Maguzawa (Hausa) *bori* spirit pantheon where he translates it as 'evil spirit' (p. 6, 158). Later, in a conversation with an Algerian scholar in Algiers, Salīm Khīat, we mused at the possibility that the *borj* for *ʿAlī* might, on some other register, be referring to another very important ʿAlī in the history of Islam in Africa: Alī Sonni Ber, the first, fifteenth century king of the Songhay Empire, known for his adherence to animism while also professing to be Muslim and considered by some to be quite terrifying.

In speaking with several Algerian scholars in Algeria with some musical knowledge of *dīwān,* each proposed the idea that *brāj* often have multiple layers of meaning and reveal cross-sections of trans-Saharan Islamic history much like sediment layers in soil. Dermenghem (1954) also rightly pointed out that, '*ūlād dīwān* do not seem to make much distinction between saints or spirits' so that perhaps *dodo* is a similar slippage, simultaneously referencing ʿAlī, the cousin of the Prophet, ʿAlī Sonni Ber as a potentially ominous figure, and/or the Maguzawa word. When I repeatedly asked *ūlād dīwān* about this word, *dodo,* explaining its meaning in Hausa, a few musicians

responded vehemently: 'This is why we shouldn't sing in Kuria! We don't know what we're saying!'

Reflecting on these song texts, their supposedly problematic mixing of worlds, and Tūfīq's advice, we see again the inherent agency of 'secret' words to affect reality and, in this case, cause potential harm to humans—secrets because most people, according to Tūfīq, don't seem to understand what they are doing and what is at risk. Tūfīq makes very clear that, even when one does not intend it but sings particular words in Kuria, he can call the supernatural world, because 'these are *their* [the *jnūn*] terms.' Transmission of negative, harmful—albeit, unspecified—affects from these words, then, can happen accidentally and against the will of the humans involved in the accident. Also important to note here is that, as much as *niyya* is so frequently used discursively as a fail safe for such mishaps in *dīwān*—for example, the idea that if one's intent is pure, good things are possible, even happen *because* of the intent—in this case, intent *does not* matter. This is also a crisis for transmission of secret knowledge that cannot be contained, which is why Tūfīq advises that people stop singing any non-Arabic words.

From his point of view, we see resemblances here, also, with ʿAbdāqa's point of view: if these words have such power, there *are* very much still secrets present in *dīwān*. And when we compare this with Jallūl's perspective, perhaps this one example of secrets being lost or damaged—secret words that could call the *jnūn* are being sung without awareness. In Tūfīq's monologue, we can also see the enactment of power dynamics: he knows that these Kuria words are dangerous where others apparently do not seem to know this.

Now that I have given three examples of conversations exploring the discursive power and ritual use of secrets, I would like to turn to two ethnographic examples of mysterious happenings I observed and collected in my fieldwork: events that are tied to secrets in terms of being supernatural acts and not the kinds of things that come up in regular conversation. I will then conclude by tying together these examples with the propositions laid out at the beginning of this chapter.

Supernatural Involvement in Transmission

One: Punishment if Transmission Codes Are Neglected

It was the second night of a two-day *mʿarūf* (a small *wʿāda*) in Mostaganem in September 2016 and during the two *brāj* for *Ḥammū*, during which *rwīna* should be prepared and then distributed, that one of the men had brought over the large basin (*gasʿā*) of *rwīna* to the women's section, after having distributed it to the men. For some reason unbeknownst to me—perhaps everyone was tired or no one was paying attention as it was, after all, the second sleepless night—none of the experienced women rose to take the *gasʿā* and so it happened that an 'outsider' girl stood up, took it, and began distributing *rwīna* amongst the women, handing each of them a small, doughy ball.

Moments after the girl placed a ball of *rwīna* in the left hand of a woman whom I will call Haja, sitting immediately to my left, Haja grew very agitated: her whole body began shaking, she made a fist with her left hand and pumped it in the air while her facial expression was one of distress and what looked to me to be anger. Haja's daughter, sitting a few rows in front, saw this happening and rushed to her mother, scolding the young outsider girl. The daughter then rushed to the *moqedm* on the *ṭaraḥ* in such haste to retrieve and bring to her mother the brasier of *bkhūr* that she did not bother to cover her head as a woman normally would when moving into the male space. Haja, in her state of distress, did not seem to take well to the *bkhūr* and refused it, shaking her head 'no' and turning away from it. Next, the daughter offered Haja more *rwīna*; it helped ease Haja a bit but she was still visibly agitated, her body still jerking. A few moments later, one of the older women of the hosting *dīwān* family, Aisha, approached with a second *gasʿā,* also full with *rwīna,* when she was quickly informed by the daughter what had happened. Aisha then scooped up a very large ball of *rwīna,* the size of her palm, and placed it gently in Haja's left hand. Haja nodded, accepting the *rwīna*, and quickly became more calm. Several minutes later, she seemed back to her normal self.

Later, when I asked Haja what had happened she explained that *Ḥamū* is her *borj*—in the *dīwān* context, this is a way of saying that during this *borj*, a *jinn* may take hold of

her, or that she has a relationship with that *borj* that includes its *jinn.* Usually this is a type of contractual affective relationship meaning that every time Haja were to hear *Ḥamū,* its *jinn,* or possibly other nonhuman agents associated with it, would manifest and inhabit her. She explained that only an insider, a *weld* or *bent dīwān* ('son' or 'daughter' of *dīwān),* should serve *rwīna* to *ūlād dīwān.* As discussed above, *rwīna* is considered one of the 'secrets' of the *jnūn,* meaning it has a sense of transmittable power. Here, the *jnūn* have a say in who is allowed certain kinds of agency and who can get close to or involved in their secrets: they act to enforce who has the power to transmit *rwīna.*

That is to say, one of their own has to be the server: an insider, someone with some degree of initiation. The young girl who served Haja the *rwīna* was a *berraniya*, an outsider to the tradition, and possibly just a girl from the town who had turned up for the outdoor *mʿarūf* to watch; this is quite common when rituals are held outside in tents. While outsiders are more likely to make mistakes, *jnūn* do not just punish *ūlād dīwān* for such mistakes; throughout my fieldwork, I also heard stories of *jnūn* punishing those outsiders who disrespected them, such as video cameras not functioning properly or breaking. As with what happened to Haja, if insider/outsider transmission lines are crossed, even inadvertently, affective 'reminders' are given and sometimes punishment is exacted.

Two: Supernatural Contracts Between Human and Nonhuman Agents

Even when people are not born into *dīwān* families, transmission can cross lines of birth through nonhuman agents exerting control over the human domain and claiming an insider (ie: being chosen by a *jinn*), or through the collaboration of human and supernatural action. An example of this is the 'selling' (*ybīʿū*) of children to the supernatural world of *arwāḥ* and *jnūn*.[133] With an incantation or particular ritual acts, children are offered up to be assumed under energetic contracts with the *jnūn* and/or *arwāḥ* and are henceforth obliged to be bodies in which nonhuman agents may descend

[133] This tradition has been noted at least since the 1930s by Gouichon (1931, vol. 2: 276-277) and later by Pâques (1964:658-665).

and dance at will from that point forward. I encountered a specific story on this phenomenon in Oran in 2014 about a *dīwān jedēb* and interlocutor of mine whom I will call Munir.[134]

Although Munir did not grow up in a *dīwān* family or have relatives who were directly involved in the ritual, he recounted to me that when he was a child, his grandfather had set him on the back of a bull during a procession of *ūlād dīwān* near his house. He explained that, from the moment he was placed on the bull, something had taken ahold of him. As an adult now, he could feel in his body the physical, sensorial, and overwhelming *need* to attend *dīwanat*; he could sense when a *dīwān* was going to happen, and, if he did not go, he would become agitated. A day later I had a chance to speak with Munir's wife and she confirmed that she used to try and stop him from going but that she eventually realised that, if prevented from going, he would become upset and difficult to be around. In other words, Munir's wellbeing and that of his family's depended on his going.

One evening during Ramadan of 2016, I was invited to break fast with his family. There, I had the chance to speak with his mother, 'Layla', about Munir having been 'sold' to *ūlād dīwān.* Layla recounted the story about the bull, that someone told little Munir to grab hold of the bull's horns and he rode around on the bull for a moment while the *ūlād dīwān* continued to walk the bull around and burn *bkhūr*. It was from that moment, Layla explained, that Munir had been 'sold' to *ūlād dīwān.* At the time, she said, she did not understand what had happened. It was not until Munir was grown and she saw him trancing in a *dīwān* that she became very upset and began asking questions about her son's dilemma.

'After I saw him trancing, I cried for a week', she told me. 'I didn't want to see my son like this.' Once Munir was grown, there was no way to undo the agreement between him and the nonhuman world. He had become an offering, he was their property, their labourer. Layla continued to explain how such contracts worked: Munir's *qarīn*, his own personal *jinn* or double, had a liking for the *jnūn* of *dīwān.* She recounted

[134] According to many of my informants, the most common way that this happens is that, during a *dīwān* ritual, a baby or toddler is taken in the arms of a *moqedm* or male, ritual elder who, dancing in front of the musicians, smears the sweat of the brow of the *mʿallem, kuyu bungu*, and each *gendūz,* working his way down the line of musicians. This sweat, the *baraka* of the musical labourers, is the agent that seals the child to the *dīwān* community and to all the nonhuman conditions that go along with it.

one particularly memorable time that the *qarīn* took over him: Munir was getting ready for a *dīwān,* showering, and getting dressed. When she saw him, ready to leave the house, she said, ‘It was not him’ but rather, she saw that his *qarīn* had taken over his body: 'he was white, fat, a bit old, and very tall. It wasn’t my son.’ As others told me at earlier points in my fieldwork, the *qarīn* is the human’s direct connection to the world of *jnūn*; a person’s *qarīn* communicates with the *jnūn* and it is through one’s *qarīn,* then, that links may be developed with other bodily and affective states.

Several days later, spending time with his family for ʿAīd el-Fṭor, Munir’s grandmother chimed in on why *ūlād dīwān* ‘sell’ children in such ways, using the word’'*dekhlūhūm*', 'to initiate them' or, literally, to 'make them enter’ adding, ‘they sell them to the *dīwān* so that they will also become one of them.’ That is to say that here, transmission is equally in the hands of nonhuman agents.

* * *

‘*Dīwān* is like a knife. If you grasp it carelessly, it will hurt you.’
[*‘Ed-dīwān, hūwa kīma el-mūs. Īda teddī ghīr hāka, yejḥrek.’*]
—Mʿallem Benʿūda Benbrāhīm of Relizane, 2013

Benʿūda’s comment to me above was explaining that *dīwān* is not something that anyone can or should ‘handle’ or try to grasp; it requires care and attention. His comment also hinted at an aspect of risk, referencing the kinds of ‘secrets’ I have been talking about, the types of things that could hurt a person if not dealt with correctly or if they were to fall into the wrong hands.

In this section, I have provided three conversations with elders about secrets—how they get damaged or lost, what they might be, and how they get transmitted—as well as two short ethnographic stories of mysterious happenings—nonhuman enforcement of transmission boundaries and nonhuman claiming of young adepts. With these examples, I have begun to illustrate the roles, agencies, and uses of secrets with regard to transmission.

As I outlined in the introduction to this chapter, these conversations are also examples of the varying discourse on secrets that perform insider and outsider relationships. However, these ethnographic examples also reflect the ways that elders see their ritually organised, ‘secret’ world of dangerous knowledge threatened by a contemporary mentality where people no longer respect the value of the secret so that they are indiscreetly shared, lost, or damaged as Jallūl described or are uttered without awareness and care as Tūfīq described. Here, I find Simmel’s analysis helpful for situating the deep anxieties around secrets that I encountered in the *dīwān* context:

> ‘In general, men credit themselves with the right to know everything. . . . In point of fact, however, indiscretion exercised in this way may be quite as violent, and morally quite as unjustifiable, as listening at key holes and prying into the letters of strangers.’ (1906: 455-56)

In both Jallūl’s and Tūfīq’s words, there was practically a sense of violence being done to *dīwān* worlds with the indiscreet sharing of secrets. For ʿAbdāqa, however, secrets are still alive and imbibing the ritual. These ‘traditional’ approaches then

encounter a world where democratic flows of knowledge are usually celebrated, and where its distribution is typically considered 'liberating' and mobilising for those who hold it; hence the anxiety.

To add a final thought here: secrets also conveyed a sense of unspoken, vulnerable grasping at meaning. Secrets seemed to function, quite importantly, as traction for holding onto a sense of enchantment with the world of *dīwān*. They were usually referred to quite vaguely and served as a social barometer of ritual magnetism and charisma—recall ʿAbdāqa saying that they were what gave *dīwān* its warmth and 'flavour' (*'goût'*). To own secrets also represented a sense of belonging to something special, as proof that *dīwān* is still important in today's modernising world because not just anyone has access to its hard-earned and valuable contents. After all, 'that which is withheld from the many appears to have a special value' (Simmel 1906: 464).

While we saw some specific examples of what these secrets might actually be (texts, *rwīna*), in this chapter, I have wanted to draw particular attention to the play of human and nonhuman agency across the symbolic *category* of secret knowledge. As I laid out in the beginning of this chapter, much of this 'play' of agency is discursively and ritually performative and these performances, at least partly, enact an imagined agency over the transmission of certain kinds of knowledge. The difficulty and even irony here is that, despite all of these human attempts for control, because this 'secret knowledge' usually enfolds the supernatural world, such human efforts can be eclipsed at any moment by nonhuman intervention. This takes us back to the first critical epistemological assumption of the *dīwān* lifeworld that I laid out in Chapter Three: unstable human agency. Let us turn now to one of the foundational structures of *dīwān* knowledge transmission with more capacity for human agency: family lineages.

CHAPTER SIX: FAMILY LINEAGES AND PLACE

In this chapter, I will show how the role of family lineages', as containers of knowledge and systems of transmission, has both persevered and changed in a contemporary Algeria. While relationships within lineages continue to define *dīwān* transmission—and they do so with striking differences between particular *dīwān* communities—musical authority now works in very different ways.[135] This is because 'transmission' today includes the circulation of some kinds of *dīwān* knowledge in modern fields of technology, mass media, festivals, and national cultural heritage schemes initiated by the nation state. To this end, I will be looking at the primary family groups with whom I spent the majority of my time and whose *dīwanat* I attended and came to know best: the Majdūb Sarjī lineage and family group based in Oran and Mostaganem; the Canon-Farajī-Būterfās kinship assemblage in Saida; and the Bel ʿArabī family group in Mascara, best known as 'Ūlād Meriem' for their aunt and sister, Meriem, as well as the connected group of friends and experts down the road from the Bel ʿArabī family and centered around the Mascara *zāwīya Bāb ʿĀlī*: namely the well-known *kuyu bungu*, ʿAzzedīn Benūghef and his most common collaborator, Mʿallem Benʿamar Zendēr, along with one of their most active *genēdīz* and my most faithful friends and contacts, Chekīb ʿAīnār.[136]

In the west of Algeria, one typically sees a consistent group of *muḥebbīn,* musicians, and adepts attending *dīwanat;* like them, I became a 'regular'. As my fieldwork deepened, I moved between family groups via connections of kin or friendship between these groups. While I was based in Oran, attending *dīwanat* that primarily featured Mʿallem Qwīder and close contacts of his, I made frequent trips to Mascara and Saida because these two cities also had familial ties to Oran and very active *dīwān* communities. Some of these ties can be traced back to trade and caravan routes

[135] On this topic, the works of Neuman (1990), Basra, Widdess (1989), and Dāśaśarmā (1993) on *gharanas* are particularly relevant.

[136] Due to challenges and barriers of city size, transportation, and decreased *dīwān* activity, I spent limited time in Algiers with the surrounding *dīwān* communities: the *Sūdānī* family of Kolea, the *Behāz* family of Blida, as well as the young '*dīwān'* music groups who stage *dīwān brāj* but do not attend, much less practice, ritual, *Wlad Bambara, Diwan Baḥia,* and *Ifrikiyya Spirit*. Nevertheless, many of these connections remained important and influential throughout my fieldwork and I will note this where possible.

between Oran and the hinterland. More recently, however, Mascara and Saida, as agricultural centers with demand for labour, had active railroads connecting them with the coast. Within *dīwān* worlds, it is common to find family groups dispersed between Mascara, Oran, and Saida; my connections also followed these lines.

My frequent trips to the town of Saida and Mascara were highly motivated by my interest in learning more about the Hausawiyyn and Migzawiyyn *brāj*: the least known, most '*sūdānī*', and currently most popular and coveted suites of the *dīwān* repertoire.[137] Because they are seen as the most 'exotic', these *brāj* have recently gained immense cultural capital so that, while Saida and Mascara are known as the 'hot spots' for these *brāj,* many groups are staking a claim to them. This dynamic is triggering debates around ownership and lineage, and how these *brāj* should and should not be claimed or transmitted.[138] For example, Nūreddīn Sarjī and his family group based in Oran and Mostaganem also claim some authority to Migzawiyyn expertise because his father's (Sarjī) line reportedly established this repertoire in Saida.

My time with each of these family groups taught me something unique about various ways of transmitting *dīwān,* particularly if it is seen to be in crisis. The young people or at least those aged forty or younger, for example, were always my way 'in' to the communities and were consistently very interested in how to keep *dīwān* tradition alive and vibrant while the elders were consistently more skeptical about the intentions of the young people and their 'modern' mentalities such as some wanting to present *dīwān* music on stage and, in the elders' view, make money from it. So while I will discuss the family lineages and *maḥalla* structural organisation as well as giving some basic historical background to the *dīwān* scenes in these areas, I mean to highlight the various ways of negotiating transmission within and between groups in these places and the ways these groups situate themselves in relation to one another.

[137] Migzawiyyn was especially popular amongst *ūlād dīwān* and as we will see in the Diwan Festival of Bechar; its representing black authenticity means that it has exceptional cultural capital. For reasons of space, I have not been able to cover these repertoires in this thesis as I would have liked. Look for a future publication on this 'Hausa Songs in Algeria'.

[138] Given that the Northern Nigerian 'Maguzawa' after whom the Migzawiyyn are undoubtedly named, were Hausa and cultivators, as well as many other Hausa groups, and given that we find a Hausa concentration in an abundant agricultural region of Algeria, Mascara and Saida, perhaps it is not so surprising that these *brāj* flourish here, the hinterland.

Oran and the Lineage of Majdūb

Shaykh Majdūb Sarjī or Messarjī (18 February 1935-16 December 2000) is widely recognised across Algeria as one of the greatest *mʿallemīn* in present day *dīwān* memory. He traveled extensively, cultivating connections with *dīwān* families across the country, and is said to have visited every *wilāya* in Algeria—spending significant amounts of time in Algiers and Blida as well as periods in Bechar and Constantine so that ritual elders there still remember him with fondness and admiration. He is probably best known for having 'modernised' (French, '*modernisé*') *dīwān* music in several ways: with technology—by introducing a microphone and amplifier to the *ginbrī*—with his approach to *ginbrī* performance temporality and modal deviations—by 'bending' the musical time and inserting pitch bends or 'bluesy' notes—and in his overall playing style: combining the two main *ginbrī* styles of *shergī* and *baladī* (see Chapter Two). Given that during his lifetime we were already at a moment of 'modernisation', I am interested in what it means in this context to be 'modern' and what might be considered 'traditional'. What can be known about Majdūb's playing is primarily thanks to recording technology—amateur cassette audio recordings taken from *dīwanat*—even while most audio or video documentation dates from the 1980s or 1990s with only a handful going back further to the late 1960s or early 1970s. There is plenty of discourse about his playing, however, and about what he thought *dīwān* could and could not do. In this section, particularly considering Majdūb's reputation, I want to discuss the ways that ritual musicians place themselves with regard to 'modernity', sometimes by rejecting what they see as 'tradition' as Majdūb is said to have done in some cases. Interestingly, because recordings of *mʿallemīn* do not appear to go back much further than his legacy, he is simultaneously often thought of as 'traditional', in terms of being the first well 'documented' *mʿallem* relative to today's *dīwān* practice. First, I would like to provide the context in which I came to know and learn about Majdūb after which I will proceed to more detail about his life, legacy, and symbolic meaning for *ūlād dīwān*.

* * *

Nūreddīn Sarjī (1972–), the son of Majdūb, and his pal Nūreddīn 'Nounou' Khīter were my first two contacts in the western Algerian *dīwān* scene when I first arrived in Oran in May 2013. At the time, Nounou, was a student (*gendūz)* of Mʿallem Hūwārī Būsmāha, who himself was the last *gendūz* of Shaykh Majdūb; this attachment to Majdūb is what brought the guys together. I had first 'met' Nounou over Facebook by following the tightly knit network between *dīwān* musicians and connoisseurs. These two 'brothers' became my ticket into *dīwanat* in the West and I immediately began meeting numerous *dīwān maḥallat* and *ūlād dīwān* from around the country. As the son of Majdūb, Nūreddīn, himself a very active *kuyu bungu,* was an especially valuable contact to help me into the *dīwān* world; he is widely respected for his own good nature but also because of his father's reputation.

In the months that followed my first trip to Oran in 2013 and again in 2014, Nounou and Nūreddīn regularly took me to *dīwanat,* making a point to introduce me to ritual experts, and by way of their 'vouching' for me, I gradually came to know and be known by most of the western *maḥallat* who increasingly welcomed and warmed to me. Some of these experts were usually former friends of or admirers of Majdūb, particularly those who had attended *dīwanat* of Majdūb—such as Shaykh El-Hādī Ben Wālī of Mostaganem, a beloved and notable ʿĪssawa *shaykh* who turned up to every *dīwān* I observed in my fieldwork—or those who had worked along side Majdūb, such as ʿAbd Zāmūsh who formerly sang as *kuyu bungu* with Majdūb. Nūreddīn liked to take me to those who could talk about his father, who knew his father better than he had, and who could answer my questions about the family history, if not confirm what Nūreddīn had been telling me.

From early on in my fieldwork, Nounou, Nūreddīn, and I took countless road trips in the evenings after work and on weekends, traveling around the western hinterland as far as Perrigaux and Ain Temouchent. It was during these regular trips that we listened to hours of recordings of Majdūb: old recordings from cassette tapes, some thirty years old, that Nounou had been slowly digitising into MP3s and that he carried around on thumb drives. Nounou liked to point out to me the genius of Majdūb's playing: that he varied the rhythm of the *ginbrī* in ways that made him extraordinary and unlike any other master in current memory. These hours of recordings, oftentimes distorted and from

dīwanat performed at least twenty years earlier, filled my ears and computer hard drive for months on end. They were indeed remarkable; as Nounou had said, I did find that they were particularly striking for the ways that Majdūb experimented with *ginbrī* rhythm, letting the *qrāqeb* hold down the tactus while his phrases skirted the edges of the metric cells with elaborate hemiolas. In one recording the guys played for me, the *borj* for ʿAbd el-Qādr Jīlānī, Majdūb's consistent use of hemiola is so insistent that the *qrāqeb* players are thrown off, lose track of the tactus, and drop out entirely; they wait for a full eight seconds while Majdūb continues to play and eventually find their way back in.

Example 34: Find an audio example in this footnote[139]. Transcription begins @ approx. 1:04 in recording (Notice how Majdūb is playing 'between' the beats starting in the third measure and continuing until the *qrāqeb* drop out in the tenth measure. In the recording, one can hear that they're losing the pulse by the ninth measure. See recording, 'Majdūb ʿAbd el-Qādr hemiola')

Such a mishap would have been and would still be quite rare and shocking as, particularly at that time, *qrāqeb* players would have had to earn their spot next to the *mʿallem* by possessing an exceptional sense of musical time.

Over the years, I saw less and less of Nounou: he married, had a daughter, and, by my 2016 trip, was working two jobs to support his family. In turn, I spent more time with Nūreddīn and his extended family, as well his closest male *dīwān* friends in Oran, my 'band of brothers'. These regular, informal *café* chats with the guys were

[139] http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/audio-example-shaykh-majdub-syncopation.html

surprisingly insightful gatherings as the men casually discussed stories about *dīwān,* histories, current events, and worked out how to organise the next *dīwān*. Some of these *cafés* were favourites with many *ūlād dīwān* in Oran so that these outings also provided opportunities to run into other ritual experts, reminding them of my presence and interest. Sometimes, simply knowing that I was cooped up in my apartment in Oran hard at work, Nūreddīn would pop by—always, unannounced—and take me for drives around Oran. As we drove around, we planned our future trips to see other *dīwān* experts he felt I should speak with—again, usually those who knew his father—and we reflected on *dīwanat* we had recently been to or paid visits to his other friends. Nūreddīn was eager to help answer all of my questions, particularly about the supernatural world and the polemic around the existence of *jnūn* in *dīwān*. Here, he often quoted his father—thus, lending authority to the claim—who, according to Nūreddīn, did not deal in such things and was very skeptical of others who claimed to, reportedly saying, 'The *jnūn* in the *dīwān?* Nonsense! Show me them, then!' This attitude is not uncommon these days and would be considered to be a more 'modern' approach to life and music: that dealing with the *jnūn* only happened in former times before people were properly educated in Islamic principles.

The Sarjī family were originally from Saida where Nūreddīn's grandfather, Muḥammad, led Gurbī Sarjī as one of three *grāba* at Greb el-Ouēd.[140] At one point, however, Muḥammad Sarjī closed the *gurbī* and moved the family north, first to Arzew then later Mostaganem where Majdūb was born in 1935. In Mostaganem, the Sarjī locale was known as Dār Sʿaīdī (Saida House), referencing the Saida connection. Majdūb built his life there, had at least one wife, home, and many sons. His open-air house in Mostaganem is still the basecamp where his sons gather and put on *dīwanat* and where one of his wives still lives. Mostaganem is still rich with historical *dīwān* sites important to the Sarjī family where, in the old days, following the first *ūlād dīwān,* the family did their animal sacrifices at the seafront tomb of Sīdī Majdūb, the saint, or the site of Sīdī ʿAbd El-Qādr, a small summit overlooking the Mediterranean. Majdūb

[140] The two others were Gurbī Jemāʿa, and Gurbī Ma Sūṭra.

held his *dīwanat* there and, quite consciously in 2016, Nūrredīn held his first state-funded *mʿarūf* there as part of his newly established association.[141]

Majdūb later had a wife and other close connections in Oran and in Algiers, too, and was close with the Sūdānī *dīwān* family in Algiers and the Behāz *dīwān* family in Blida. Such family connections are noteworthy because these *dīwān* families intermarried across *dīwān maḥallat* between the West and Algiers. For reasons of these family connections as well as Majdūb's signature *ginbrī* aesthetics, his lineage still resonates as far away as Constantine. This is quite different than the case in Saida, as we will see below, where the *shyūkh* and close kin associations were all based there, stayed there, and have long histories there—their musical aesthetics mostly stayed there, too. In addition, Majdūb took in *genēdīz* from *outside* the family and outside of Mostaganem, further producing a multi-sited *silsila* (lit. 'chain' of transmission). That is to say, despite his base and legacy in Mostaganem, Majdūb's lineage does not exemplify the same rootedness to place. Rather, what makes Majdūb's lineage different is that while place is still quite important to transmission as *his* home base and not the home base of his ancestors (Saida), Majdūb's style, like no other, is known across Algeria and began its own lineage.

In the larger picture, because so many *maḥallat,* particularly in the north, have broken apart, shifted 'members' significantly or dissolved due to rapid urban growth and social change, the death of elders, and changing social conditions and lifestyles of the younger generations, the Majdūb *silsila* therefore stands as one of the last 'intact' and easily traceable lineages in Algeria in general, but especially in the north where few others are still remembered. It is also quite a 'recent' *silsila* in that Majdūb is seen as the initiating *shaykh* even while it is one of the last lines of transmission that both harkens back to transmission practice of earlier days (from *shaykh* to *gendūz*), lending him somewhat of a 'traditional' impression. That said, Majdūb's rise also coincided with the development of audio recording technology so that while stories are still told of other impactful *mʿallemīn* before his time, there is little sonic trace of the others. Amateur recordings of Majdūb's playing in *dīwanat* circulate widely across Algeria—they were

[141] Lecomte reports that in the 1970s, ritual sacrifices were performed at the tomb of Sīdī Majdūb and that they had reportedly always been there.

played for me from as far away as Biskra to Algiers—particularly amongst young *dīwān muḥebbīn* who make a habit of collecting and circulating recordings.

To detail, then, the specific ways Majdūb was impactful—and, in discourse, 'modern'—his introduction of the amplifier to the *ginbrī* in *dīwān*, reportedly in the mid- to late 1970s, was a watershed moment and one that is said to have caused outcry in the *dīwān* world. According to one of Majdūb's former *kuyu bungu-s,* ʿAbd Zamūsh, the master was widely criticised and even threatened for this move. 'There were those who loved him and those who despised him', he explained, such as elders and 'purists' who detested this change and spoke against him. ʿAbd Zamūsh also recounted that when he was criticised for his innovation, Majdūb responded with the spirit of, 'This is not religion, it's music!'—to make such a remark would be perceived as antagonistic to tradition as well.

Mʿallem Tūfīq in Algiers, mentioned above, is also a fan of Majdūb's and similarly recounted this turning point, arguing that the amplifier made things technically easier for *mʿallemīn*, allowing a drastically clearer sound to flow from the *ginbrī* with much less effort on the part of the *mʿallemīn.* It would have championed the sound of the *ginbrī,* making it dramatically more audible with much less effort so that it was no longer drowned out by the *qrāqeb*. Tūfīq reported that Majdūb saw no reason why people should resist the amplifier if they were confident *mʿallemīn.* Today, every *mʿallem* uses an amplifier in *dīwān*; it would be rare to find one who does not—although Ūlād Meriem in Mascara proudly informed me that they were the very last *maḥalla* to introduce the amplifier and therefore, were 'traditional' longer than others. While dramatically changing *ginbrī* playing technique—subtle touches and intricate ornamental phrases could now be heard clearly—and allowing *mʿallemīn* to play longer with less energy, the use of the amplifier also seems to have, by and large, ended the use of the *chenchāna* (see Chapter Two). It is unusual to find recordings of *dīwān* music in which the *chenchāna* is used except in intimate, non-ritual contexts since the amplifier is now ubiquitous.

In *dīwān* discourse, Majdūb is also unusual for being known as 'a musician'—that is to say, 'not just a *mʿallem.'* Despite the ambiguity of the term previously discussed, many emphasise that his greatness was *due* to his being a musician, meaning he paid

attention to musicality, he varied his phrases more than others and he was endlessly creative and imaginative in the ways he executed *brāj*.[142] He also played the keyboard among other things, did mixes of *ginbrī* with other instruments, and played in other non-*dīwān* musical groups, which made him unique (and 'modern') because few ritual *mʿallemīn* play music in other Algerian genres.[143] On the contrary, *mʿallemīn or,* in particular, the young men in Algiers who play in '*dīwān'* music groups are commonly discredited for 'just being a musician', implying one is only doing it for the money. Here, the critique implies 'musician, but not a master'. In other words, 'musician' stands for the 'modern' and a '*mʿallem'* stands for 'traditional.'

Majdūb was also known for his high, pinched, tenor register voice when he sometimes accompanied himself as *kuyu bungu* and for personalising the texts for the listening audience. The most well known example is a recording—one that turned up all over Algeria among *ūlād dīwān*—of him singing and playing the *borj* for Sīdnā ʿAlī. In this recording, at a moment when women are going into trance, he sings, 'Nora, get up for me, get up for me' and, at another time, 'I'm sorry, please forgive me.' This example was presented to me several times with awe by various *muḥebbīn* as far away as Algiers because no other *mʿallem* is reported to have been so bold as to personalise the texts of a *borj* to such a degree, much less address a woman friend directly in a *borj*—meaning this would have been seen to break with convention. Then again, Majdūb had a reputation for being daring, no-nonsense, and direct. While Nūreddīn told me many stories about how stern his father could be, that many were quite intimidated by him, other stories indicated that he was quite distressed by the ways others spoke against him.

[142] Nounou told me that he had a 'morning' time and 'evening' time way of playing the same *borj,* meaning he knew how to adapt the *borj* to the surrounding mood or conditions.
[143] Some exceptions are the brothers ʿĪssa and Faysal Sūdānī of Algiers who play in other folk and rock groups, including *dīwān* fusion rock groups such as Īssa's group, Wlad Haoussa, and Faysal's primary position in the group, Wlad Bambara, that broke apart and was reformed with new members in 2015.

Time with Majdūb's *genēdīz*

While it is said that Shāykh Majdūb had many *genēdīz* all over the country, his most well known *genēdīz* today—again, all from outside the family—are Qwīder ʿArūbī of Oran, Benʿūda Benbrāhīm of Relizane, and Hūwārī Būsmāha of Oran. With Nounou and Nūreddīn's introductions, I met and spent time with all three masters shortly after my arrival in 2013. Because Qwīder was the most active as a ritual *mʿallem*—Hūwārī mostly played for 'secular', folkloric 'spectacle' performances associated with cultural institutions—and because his home in the Medīna Jdīda *quartier* of Oran was quite convenient to reach from my lodging,

I spent a significant amount of time at his home visiting with the family, as well, occasionally spending the night with them after *dīwanat* that Qwīder played. Qwīder had towering stacks of old *dīwān* videos, as far back as the 1970s and 80s and enjoyed sitting me down in front of the television to watch them for hours on end—even while he would then disappear to go off to the mosque—while his generous wife, Fāṭī, would sit tea and cakes in front of me. On many of these occasions, after being there for hours, I was then coerced into staying for dinner. In exchange, I brought Qwīder CD and DVD copies of the audio and video recordings I made of him at his *dīwanat.* Whenever possible, I tried to compel him to recount to me bits of information about the Oran *ṭreq*. Over the years, mostly by attending his *dīwanat* and keeping close track, I managed to gradually assemble his list and some of his commentary about the *brāj* meanings. Even despite knowing me for years, however, he was reluctant to go straight through the *tartīb,* start to finish. Perhaps this was, again, another test in patience of knowledge that needed to be earned over time.

Benʿūda is another of Majdūb's main *genēdīz* and is especially well known across Algeria for his signature virtuosity—recall the Ḥammū examples in Chapter Two. He is based in Relizane, a small city about two hour's drive from Oran, that also has a long history of *grāba* and *dīwān* activity. I had the misfortune of often missing his *dīwanat* for various reasons but finally had the opportunity to attend his three-day *wʿāda* in 2016. While we did not have significant amount of time to talk about the meaning of *dīwān*, he too saw it as mostly addressing suffering.

As for Hūwārī, I had several interviews with him both in Oran and during the Diwan Festival of Bechar (see section below). For the first two years of my fieldwork, from 2013 until sometime in 2015, Hūwārī formed and ran a state-recognised association he called ‘Turāth Gnāwa Dīwān Wahrān’ (Gnawa Diwan Heritage of Oran) made up of himself as *mʿallem*—he preferred ‘Shaykh’, as everyone called him—and Nūreddīn as *kuyu bungu* with more of Nūreddīn’s half brothers, Smaʿīn and Būbakar as *kuyu* (dancers) and with occasional musical help from Hāmmiya and Ḥūsīn of Mostaganem, also half brothers. During the first two years of my fieldwork, the group performed for secular, cultural events such as in 2014 for the First of November parade for the sixtieth anniversary of the beginning of the War of Independence, events organised by the French Institute of Oran (Institut Français d’Oran), and even at an elderly care home. Nounou, as Hūwārī’s most educated and entrepreneurial *genēdīz,* ran errands, made and distributed business cards, did much of the administrative work, and on rare occasion, played *ginbrī* with Hūwārī at one or two events.

While Nūreddīn encouraged me to join Hūwārī’s weekly, collective *ginbrī* lessons with his group of teenage male students, my presence caused enough gender tension in the first lesson that I returned to learning from recordings, as most aspiring *ginbrī* players do today. By the end of 2015, however, for interpersonal difficulties, Turāth Gnāwa Dīwān Wahrān begun fracturing and no longer exists as such. At the same time, starting in 2015, Nūreddīn was more invested in organising and securing frequent *dīwanat* and *dīwān* ‘spectacles’ (non-ritual performances of *dīwān brāj*) with his half-brothers in Mostaganem and often in partnership with the cultural center there, *Dār Thaqāfa*. In tandem, he was spearheading the revitalisation of the formerly state-recognised Sarjī ‘association’ in Mostaganem, linked to his father who had established it and that eventually went through various incarnations.[144] He calls the association Migzawiyyn Ūlād Majdub—here, staking a claim to Migzawa ‘worlds’, whatever those might be imagined to be. Part of the purpose of reestablishing such an association is to receive state financial aid and support for putting on cultural events while also lending

[144] I do not have firm dates on these iterations but Nūreddīn mentioned three separate initiatives that Majdūb recorded with the city of Mostaganem, probably at Dār Thaqāfa, House of Culture.

credibility and visibility to such activities. By the end of my trip in 2016, Nūreddīn succeeded at securing and producing his first, state-funded two-day *mʿarūf*.

Nūreddīn had explained to me upfront that Hūwārī, Qwīder, and Benʿūda are the three *genēdīz* to have best preserved the knowledge and 'sound' of Majdūb; that is, one can hear his influence even while each *mʿallem* has his own personal 'touch' (using the French '*touche*' here) and therefore, can also be identified by his own style. One of the hallmarks of Majdūb's 'touch' is the way he highlighted the lowered third degree of the pentatonic mode, sometimes referred to as a 'bluesy' note, in an otherwise major pentatonic framework (as in the transcription above). He often slid in and out of it, as a kind of ornamentation. This 'note', therefore, accumulated association with Majdūb, becoming known as part of his musical signature, particularly amongst his next of kin and *genēdīz,* and can still be detected in the playing of all of the main *genēdīz* of Majdūb, even in the Sūdānī family lineage in Algiers with whom Majdūb associated. At the same time, his main *genēdīz* have their own styles so that Hūwārī, for example, can be identified from Benʿūda and Qwīder. As well as lowering the third degree, in another recording, in the *istikhbār* for Brahīm (Abraham) he also lowered the sixth degree as an ornament to the fifth: another rare 'colour' or embellishing tone that would be unusual to hear outside of his lineage today. The lowered sixth is even more striking, unsettling the feeling of pentatonic, because the relationship between the sixth and fifth hints at the *hijāz maqam* (Arabic mode) since a minor sixth would not exist in the pentatonic mode in *dīwān.* This probably explains why the lowered sixth turns up in the *istikhbār* but not later in the *borj.*

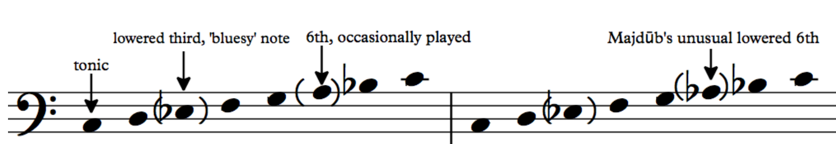


Figure: 21: Uses of the minor 3rd and minor 6th modal degrees

Again, this 'signature' lowered third, particularly, is often identified with Majdūb's personal style when it turns up in the playing of his *genēdīz*. On that note, despite disagreements about what 'style' means in a larger sense, Majdūb's sons say that he combined the playing styles of *shergī* and *baladī* (see Chapter 2).

While there is, to begin with, no clear idea on what either of these styles are, the clearest evidence I could hear in recordings of Majdūb's playing was that, while his *ginbrī* style was typically 'heavier' than *shergī,* reminiscent of the heaviness of the Saida style, he had moments of illustrious, florid embellishments and stunning virtuosity. Sometimes in his *istikhbār*, the long unmetered introductions on the *ginbrī*, he unleashed incredible virtuosity, taking great liberties with the rhythmic consistency of the *ginbrī*, stretching its musical role. It is also difficult to parse out what it is in Majdūb's style that is particularly '*shergi*' versus '*baladī*' and/or what is his own personal 'touch'. For these reasons, transcriptions and recordings are not particularly helpful as despite years of investigating the nature of these styles, I cannot claim to understand how it is that Majdūb 'combines' these styles. I am also quite aware that perhaps this so-called mixing of styles is more of a strategic discursive move to simply index that Majdūb's style is complex and without clear categorisation while still being rooted in 'tradition': these two styles, despite having vague boundaries, symbolise 'traditional' approaches to *ginbrī* sound.

Qwīder, Benʿūda, and Hūwārī each have their own *genēdīz* although these associations can sometimes be quite tenuous so that a *gendūz* might just be an aspiring *ginbrī* player who often hangs around the *dīwanat*. Such is the case with Qwīder who, while he considers ʿAbdāqa Sāmī of Oran his *gendūz*, Sāmī is an accomplished *mʿallem* in his own right, is close in age to Qwīder, and identifies as the *gendūz* of another, late *gendūz* of Majdūb, Būshāma. This kind of claiming can happen discursively without much practice or real relationship to support it. Hūwārī's most well-known former *gendūz* is Laḥbīb Canon of Oran, a young, prodigy *mʿallem* who, even while being associated with the lineage of Majdūb through Hūwārī, is criticised in the south for playing too quickly and criticised in the north for using synthetic *ginbrī* strings and for being too innovative and daring in his playing—in other words, too 'modern'—despite Majdūb's notoriety being so fundamentally based on his innovation. Important to mention here is that the primary marker for 'traditional' versus 'modern' playing has to do with speed, where the slower styles mentioned earlier and labeled *thaqīl* would be classified as probably 'older' ways of playing but, undoubtedly, speed is associated with youth, the new generation, and therefore, a 'modern' approach. Nevertheless, Laḥbīb

continues to attract attention amongst the young people for his brilliance both in playing and for his stunning, tenor voice; he is one of the few *mʿallemīn* who regularly accompanies himself as *kuyu bungu* and who performs exceptionally well both in ritual contexts and on stage.[145]

This kind of complicated, interpersonal tension with regard to transmission and its protocol and structures certainly appears to be common. However, what seems to be a hallmark of Majdūb's lineage is that, despite those who might criticise innovation and even for those who profess to dislike his style, he is nevertheless admired and respected for his historical impact and the influence of his 'sound.' Having introduced the amplifier, experimented with the possibilities of *ginbrī* voice and temporality, and having revolutionised *ginbrī* playing style, Majdūb is one of the most influential 'modern' and yet oldest *mʿallemīn* in recent memory. He made such an enormous impact on *dīwān* music that his influence seems nearly inescapable in Algeria.

Saida Lineages

Saida, a medium sized city three hours by car south of Oran in the dry and hilly terrain of the High Plateau, is commonly thought of as one of the 'sources' of *dīwān,* an area where *dīwān* practice is considered more 'traditional' compared with Oran and *dīwān maḥallat* (groups) further north.[146] Viviana Pâques's descriptions of Saida and its ceremonies in the early nineteen-sixties were of particular interest because they arose from a 'quite pure black environment' and because the former slaves were able to develop their rites and intertwine them with daily life (1964: 511). At this time, Saida still had remnants of former *dīwān* social organization: two main *grāba (gūrbī:* singular), groups of bidonvilles or shanty towns constructed by blacks—the descendants of slaves from sub-Saharan Africa—and what the French commonly referred to as 'the black villages', *les villages nègres*.

[145] He took the second place prize at the Bechar Diwan Festival in 2014, for example where, incidentally, Hūwārī was on the jury.

[146] Salīm Khīat, an Algiers-based anthropologist working on black communities in Algeria at the National Center of Research in Anthropology, Prehistory and History (*Centre National de Recherche en Anthropologie, Préhistoire et Histoire; CNRAPH)* later recommended it as well, since much less is known about their repertoire—particularly the Hausa repertoire—in comparison to *dīwān* practice of Algiers (in the work of Dermenghem and Pâques).

After the abolition of slavery in 1848, the French government granted blacks land on the outskirts of the city where they constructed *grāba* in two main suburbs of the city: Dwi Ṭabet, now called Greb el-Ouēd (it was west of the River Saida) in the south of Saida and Greb el-Amrus in the North (Pâques 1964: 511).[147] The latter, Amrus, which was somewhat more solidified, came to be known, particularly, as '*le village nègre'*. Pâques notes that in 1955, it was made up of six parallel rows of housing of which only seventy homes were still inhabited by blacks; the others had been rented to poor nomads who had settled near the city or to '*Gurari*' people from the South near Timimoun. Greb el-Ouēd, however, after being granted to the former slave population, was then dubiously reclaimed by the apparent 'landowners' so that many blacks had to relocate (1964: 512).

Despite their geographic separation, these two main *grāba* had regular joint gatherings *(wʿādat)* and pilgrimages to saints' tombs although Pâques's descriptions of their different symbols and colours draping the sacrificial bull suggests that they had each honed ritual specialities. Although documentation is sparse, it is almost certain that before the *grāba* establishments and French administration, these black communities had long histories of living together, particularly organised around ethnolinguistic groups such as we see in the larger cities with Ottoman social organisation. It is also highly likely that kinship relations between the two groups went back quite distantly as oral testimony shows that different ethnolinguistic groups intermarried.[148]

Oral and written history of Saida concur that both Greb el-Ouēd and Greb el-Amrus (now remembered as just 'Amrus') were composed of smaller *grāba* which were made up of families, tribes, and friends or relatives who associated with one another as a unit and who established an identity of *dīwān* ritual practice.[149] While these two main *grāba* were geographically separate and had stylistic differences in *dīwān* practice—their musical styles were slightly different and the order (*tartīb*) of the musical repertoire

---

[147] I have not yet found information on where blacks lived before 1848.
[148] Personal communication, Muḥammad Amīn Canon. His father's side was Hausa, mother's side Bambara.
[149] Pâques (l1964: 511-12) cites Amrus and Dwi Ṭabet as the two main groups with the former also being known as *'le village nègre*.'

varied[150]—many of the families between the two groups were connected through kinship. For example, the Farajī family, originally from Greb el-Ouēd, are cousins of the Canon family who were mostly based in Amrus. Other ties were based on master-disciple relationships, such as with the late Mʿallem ʿAbd el-Qādr Būterfās who, while being associated with Amrus, learned the *ginbrī* in Greb el-Ouēd.[151] It is important to mention here that family names or surnames only became standardised with French administration and otherwise, naming tradition followed Arab customs so that even today, most *ūlād dīwān* know one another primarily by first name only or by one's father's name. Muhammad Amīn Canon explained, for example, that the family name of 'Canon' was taken because of French administration protocol and referenced their origins in Kano, Nigeria.

Greb el-Ouēd included the subgroups Gurbī Jemʿā—the first *gūrbī* built in 1904 at the center of the old village—and Gurbī (Muḥammad) Sarjī, the father of Majdūb mentioned above.[152] And, for example, in an interview with an elderly *dīwān muḥeb,* Muḥammad Hazeb Weld Bent Saleḥ, he identified himself as being from Greb el-Ouēd and the Sarjī 'camp' although he is not related to the Sarjīs—in fact, he's 'white'.[153] Mʿallem Qwīder described Greb el-Ouēd as made up of extended family around the great *mʿallemīn* Qada Khwāna, Hadj Naily (a family of blacksmiths), Bū Dīna, and the great *kuyu bungu*, Lʿaīd Hassānī, who was, quite notably, 'white'.[154] Other important names at one time associated with Greb el-Ouēd were Tayeb Canon, Mbarek Bambou, Mīlūd Bambra, Mīlud weld ʿĀdīa and a grandfather Banbou.[155]

Greb el-Amrus, on the other hand, was associated with the family groups of Mʿallem Zendrī (probably from Zinder in Niger), Qaʿīd Belkhīr, Mʿallem el-Qaʿīd Bellou and his son, Mʿallem Lʿaīd weld Qaʿīd, the family Moṭam,[156] and the family Būterfās.[157] Oral

---

[150] Personal communication with Muḥammad Hazeb Weld Bent Saleḥ who said that after the main *baḥara* section, the *ṭreq* varied between the two groups. He also said that Perrigaux, approximately fifty-two miles away, was highly influenced by the Greb el-Ouēd style.

[151] Personal communication, Muhammad Amīn Canon. 18 Feb 2016.

[152] Pâques (1964: 513) called him Bū Serjī and describes his group as being one of three families, the remaining two as 'Kada Futa' and 'Mostra'.

[153] Algerians typically use the French word *'blanc'* here and by this they usually mean Berber or even 'Arab' in origin—in other words, not 'black.'

[154] Personal communication, August 2014.

[155] Personal communication with Muhammad Amīn Canon 18 Feb 2016.

[156] The family of *moqedm* Jallūl I mentioned earlier.

histories regarding the fate of these *grāba* vary but, over time, with the disintegration of these shantytowns and especially with the social reorganisation of cities after independence and subsequent growth, *dīwān* practice also shifted and splintered, with some *ūlād dīwān* moving to other *maḥallat* both in and outside of Saida.[158]

Today, not surprisingly, there are still debates and tensions around the various Saida *dīwān* family groups and their legacies. While there is no longer any trace of Amrus or Greb el-Ouēd, there is one primary *dīwān zāwīya,* Zāwīya Sīdī Blāl Saʿīda, that was built close to the city center in 2001 with 'minimal' help from the Algerian government.[159] The *zāwīya* was built mostly with the personal funds of the family groupings who run it: that of Canon, Farajī, Būterfās, and Moṭam.[160] In all of Algeria, it is the largest, most organised, and most reputable *zāwīya* for the annual *dīwān wʿāda* (large festival-like gathering) the families host there in late early autumn, regularly inviting at least five other *dīwān maḥallat* (troupes) from Oran, Mascara, Perrigaux, Ghardaia, and Bel Abbess. In this *wʿāda* every year, *dīwanat* are held throughout the night for at least four nights in a row, although the *ṭreq* (ritual path) tends to be more varied and does not so strictly follow the typical *tartīb* (order) of *brāj.* (see more below).

Along with Mascara, Saida is well known for specialising in the so-called Hausawiyyn and Migzawiyyn repertoire of *dīwān*, the latter, I believe to be also of Hausa origin. Muḥammad Amine Canon recounted to me that his late, Hausa-speaking uncle, Lʿaīd Canon, made him wait and persist for thirteen years before he began sharing information with Muḥammad, particularly how to sing in Hausa—this is what Jallūl and the other men meant above about the elders 'not sharing secrets.' Even then, with his uncle's meager help, Muḥammad did not know the meaning of the words and began asking one particular Hausa-speaking immigrant living in Saida. Despite or perhaps because of how he struggled, Muḥammad's current approach to sharing these Hausa texts is not dissimilar from his uncle's: while he was passionate about explaining the 'real meanings' of Hausa words to me that others mispronounce or misunderstand, he

---

[157] Personal communication, August 2014. This information was corroborated by another interview with an elder in Saida, Muḥammad Hazeb Weld Bent Saleḥ.

[158] Many *mʿallemīn* in Oran, such as ʿAbdāqa Samī, have family roots in Saida, for example.

[159] The minister of culture supposedly donates just enough each year to pay for the electricity and water and, according to Muḥammad, that is only because the family group has formed an official 'association'.

[160] Apparently the family Farajī may have come from Greb el-Oued to Amrus, according to some accounts.

does not actively correct his comrades and, when I asked him about this, he admitted that he does not want to teach the words and their meanings to others, having had to work so hard for the information himself. When asked, he will, however, select a few of the most popular mispronunciations in Hausa *brāj*, the most common being about the hunter, Migzu, that contains the word '*nama*' meaning 'meat' in Hausa whereas others often mistakenly sing it as '*nana*'.[161]

But apart from this particular uncle, Muḥammad identified his main *shaykh* as Mʿallem Lʿaīd weld Qaʿīd (see above) because, he says, his own playing is the most like this *shaykh* and it was he who encouraged and pushed Muḥammad. Even *shaykh-gendūz* relationships are oftentimes tenuous, however; Muḥammad never received any explicit instruction from Lʿaīd weld Qaʿīd but rather, it was a recognition of similar approaches to the *ginbrī*—what the men always referred to as learning by observation.

During one trip in 2014, Muḥammad took me to meet the much admired, late Mʿallem Būterfās and his family. As we left, he told me that Būterfās considered him, Muḥammad, his *gendūz* because he admired the way Muḥammad played the Baḥriyya *brāj* and saw himself as an expert of these *brāj*. Once we were out of earshot, Muḥammad indicated that he did not necessarily see himself in this way. So while it is possible that a *gendūz* may sit by the side of a *mʿallem,* attending his *dīwanat* for decades, gradually picking up techniques that are quite possibly personal 'touches' of the shaykh, and while there might rarely be explicit instruction, I gathered that these *shaykh-gendūz* relationships are often informal and discursive or symbolic connections. It may be best thought of, from the point of view of the *gendūz,* as having an older *mʿallem* that one especially admires, with a sound that one gravitates towards. This is what might make a *gendūz* claim a master, as if to say, 'I aspire to learn from you and play like you.'[162]

---

[161] Muḥammad's semi-secretive approach included me, not surprisingly. I somehow never had my recorder handy when he began to clearly pronounce and sing the Hausa texts in their entirety; I was only able to catch a few words and phrases here and there.

[162] I even found myself doing this as I practiced *ginbrī* on my own at my apartment in Oran and found myself most often listening to recordings of Muḥammad's playing, trying to imitate it for its elegant minimalism and his ability to draw out of the *ginbrī* such deep resonance through the smallest touch. I half-joked with him once that *he* was *my shakyh,* although a woman could never be taken seriously as a *mʿallema* .

As for transmission today in Saida, despite generational transmission challenges and the disheartening or cynical views of Moqedm Jallūl and Qada mentioned above, even if secrets and precious knowledge is being lost forever, *dīwān* is still being learned: transmission is taking place. The most explicit and visible negotiation is the annual *wʿāda,* held in the Zāwīya Sīdī Bilāl, organised by the kin groups of Canon, Farajī and Būterfās; it is the largest and most popular *wʿāda* in the country, drawing attendees who travel for days to observe or participate. Young men and women help out in the *zāwīya*'s kitchen, help organise, clean, herd children, set up barricades, and otherwise prepare the *zāwīya* for events sometimes weeks in advance. Mʿallem Muḥammad and his brother Qada are actively involved in keeping the *wʿādat* running smoothly, organising meetings among the elders, sending out printed invitations to other *maḥallat* across the country, and buying the provisions for hundreds of attendees.

Probably most famous about their annual *wʿāda* is the last day entirely dedicated to the Migzawiyyn *brāj* alone.[163] This day, in itself, says a great deal about transmission, lineage, and physical place because it is the only *maḥalla* in the country to do such a thing. Using only *ṭbel, qrāqeb,* and call and response singing, the entire repertoire is played during midday, preceded by a ritually prepared sacrifice of a black bull, black goat, and chickens. For the long musical suite, women, children, men, and boys are all invited to dress up in costume, lending a carnivalesque sensibility, and they process one by one in a large circle, dancing through the outdoor courtyard while singing along.[164] The *shawsh* distributes the Migzawa drink, *doghnu*, a slightly sour and fermented rice drink that replaces the alcohol that would have purportedly been drunk in pre-Islamic times. The Migzawiyyn *brāj* repertoire takes several hours alone and its annual performance continually establishes Saida and this particular family grouping as its holders. While some typical *dīwanat* might touch on a few of the *brāj*, particularly in a *wʿāda* context where more time might be allowed, none cover the entirety of the repertoire with such depth as this dedicated day in the Saida *wʿāda.*

[163] See this link for a video: http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/migzawa-during-annual-saida-wada-2014.html
[164] See a video link of the first *borj*, Migzu, at this link: http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/migzawa-during-annual-saida-wada-2014.html

Muḥammad and his brothers, cousins, uncles, and other extended family—many of them living together in one large housing compound—continue to guard and document their lineage. Inside the *zāwīya,* the walls are adorned with several old photographs of the great *mʿallemīn* of Saida as well a pair of ancient *qrāqeb* several times larger than current ones. Parked against one of the walls are several large, movable glass display boards covered with photographs from Saida *dīwān* history, such as photos from *wʿādat* in the 1960s and 70s.

Figure 22: Photo board inside *zāwīya.* Photograph by Tamara D. Turner

The continuation of the *zāwīya* and its activity are so well cared for that every detail seems to have been considered: a small prayer room on the far left side of the main hall for the men to pray, cabinets filled with blankets and pillows so that during long *dīwanat*, members of the public can curl up in a corner to sleep, sometimes with the *dīwān* still in full swing. Because proper *dīwān* and *wʿāda* hospitality means providing tea, coffee, cakes and, for the bigger events, a meal usually of couscous, the entire right

hand side of the *zāwīya* building block comprises a fully stocked, two-room kitchen and storage room packed with plastic tables and chairs, thermoses, hundreds of tiny tea glasses, and a freezer.

Keeping these traditions going while knowing how to benefit from state funding is quite visibly intergenerational and the young people are now well aware of the cultural treasure they possess, particularly with UNESCO’s 'Intangible Cultural Heritage' label on everyone’s minds and lips. Mʿallem Muḥammad, in particular, is publicly engaged with cultural associations and other activities outside of the *dīwān* locus; he organises the young men of the family to play at cultural events, for example. As I mentioned previously, I first met Muḥammad at the 2013 Bechar Diwan Festival when he was a member of the jury. Saida, thus, presents a solid example of a historical family lineage and place very much being a foundation of ‘tradition’, including keeping ritual traditions going, while negotiating the expectations and resources of a ‘modern’ world of cultural associations, festivals, and national media and while working around day jobs and other financial and family responsibilities.

Figure 23: Saida *zāwīya* during a *dīwān*. Photograph by Tamara D. Turner

Mascara Lineages

The *wilāya* of Mascara is well known as a *dīwān* locus with unique musical aesthetics and approaches to the *ṭreq tartīb*, especially compared with that of Oran and the coast. The small towns and cities best known for holding active *dīwanat* are the cities of Mascara, Perrigaux (also known as Muḥammadia) and Sig, in order of most to least activity. I spent the greatest amount of time in the city of Mascara but also took several trips to the small city of Perrigaux to meet with ritual elders and experts of the two main *maḥallat* there: that of the family Maḥārrar and the family Zerwālī, the former being based at the old *gurbi* or *village nègre* where there is a *zāwīya* and house compound standing. However, for reasons of stronger contacts and uncomplicated mobility between groups, I came to know best a network of four *dīwān maḥallat* in the city of Mascara. This network, in particular, provides another example of the ways that certain kinds of knowledge and its transmission are embedded in structures of family and cross-family lineages based in physical locations with long histories of *dīwān* practice.

Mascara (*Mʿaskar*) is a small city of approximately two hundred thousand inhabitants and an hour's drive north of Saida, also in the High Plateau beyond the rolling hills that gradually give way to Oran and the Mediterranean. While it is discussed in the key sources of *dīwān,* the area triggered my own interest in the first month of my fieldwork when I was taken by Nounou and Nūreddīn of Oran to my first *wʿāda* in Kristel, a small seaside village about an hour's drive from Oran. It was there where I heard the very unusual *ginbrī* playing of Mʿallem Daḥū Ḥarār—known locally as ʿAmmī Daḥū—the octogenarian brother of Moqedma Meriem Bel ʿArabī of Mascara (see below).[165] ʿAmmī Daḥū is one of the eldest living *mʿallemīn* and one of the finest makers and prominent suppliers of *gnāber* and *ginbrī* strings in the west. In addition, at this same *wʿāda,* I first met and spoke with the acting *moqedm* Hūsīn Daīdjaī, also originally from Mascara and with a ubiquitous reputation of knowing much about the Hausa and Migzawa repertoires so abundant in Mascara. Finally, a month later, at my

[165] ʿAmmī, literally means 'uncle' and is used frequently as a term of endearment for older men.

first Bechar Diwan Festival in 2013, I heard and met the extended Bel ʿArabī *dīwān* family lineage and arranged a visit.

I first turned up in the city of Mascara at the beginning of my second trip to Algeria in 2014, an exceptionally hot July, and just after the end of Ramaḍān. Waiting for me at the shared taxi station was Chekīb ʿAīnār, a young, fair skinned, blond, and impressively dreadlocked *dīwān muḥeb* in his early thirties. Chekīb is well liked and known in the *dīwān* community for being a free spirited, musician, actor and artist. Despite not being a '*weld dīwān*', and being 'white', he is quite immersed in its world—something I did not often encounter with the young generation in Algeria. Chekīb quickly became my passport into every corner of the Mascara *dīwān* world, not only serving as a guide but as an escort—something that was especially needed in terms of etiquette and safety in rural areas such as Mascara. Chekīb was my primary guide to the city, taking me by foot and taxi to little-known corners, especially those that had associations with *dīwān.* Chekīb's story with *dīwān* was also notable; it had 'saved' him, giving him structure and something to love and work at during a difficult time in his life. He recounted to me how, when he was young, he would turn up to *dīwanat* to watch from the door until, very gradually, he worked his way inside, literally and metaphorically. Today, he is as dedicated as any of the *genēdīz*, singing, playing *qrāqeb,* and dancing with all of the *maḥallat* of Mascara. He moves especially easily and without complication between the groups, likely because of *not* being a *weld dīwān* attached to any particular family group or *maḥalla* of Mascara. His history with *dīwān,* then, is an example of transmission surpassing background, family lines, and racial categories where belonging is based in shared feeling and affinity.

To begin with a brief history of *maḥallat* in Mascara today, oral history among *ūlād dīwān* in Mascara concurs that the 'first', foundational *dīwān* family group in Mascara is that of Sīdī ʿAlī Muḥammad Būfraḥ, otherwise known as Hāj Muḥammad Ganga, or Bū Ganga (Father [of the] Ganga), as he is often known today, because he was a genius *ṭbel* player—*ganga* being a *sūdānī* appellation for a *ṭbel.* According to current testimony, Bū Ganga played a *ṭbel* that weighed eighty kilograms but was also a *mʿallem* of the *ginbrī* as well. As his day job, he worked for a Jewish man they called 'Sādun' who had a grocery shop in town. The son of Bū Ganga, ʿAbd el-Qādr Būfrah, known

today as just Mʿallem Bīkādī, was born in 1934 and took over as Mascara's most prominent ritual elder, the case still today. According to one *weld dīwān*, Bū Ganga died in 1963 at the age of seventy-six, suggesting that he was born in 1887. It was with Bū Ganga and Mʿallem Bīkādī that many other *ūlād dīwān* in Mascara studied and learned, and therefore, this is how they came to be connected. Many of these elders and their family groups are still active in Mascara and have their own *maḥallat*. When I had the chance to meet and visit with Mʿallem Bīkādī in 2014, already quite ill, he was still living in a home close to the perimeter of the former *village nègre*; one could still make out sections of the walls from former buildings, most of which had been torn down decades earlier. One can also still make out traces of the railroad that drew so many to work in Mascara.

As far back as local memory extends, Mascara began with two main *grāba* or *les village nègres:* that which is referred to as 'Bab ʿAlī' a neighborhood of Mascara where a main *dīwān zāwīya* still stands and is used; and that of Sīdī ʿAlī Muḥammad, the latter of which was relocated twice. According to ʿAzzedīn Benūghef, the first known locale was formerly in an area called *Duwār Sbāys*—apparently from 'houses' of the Spanish—also known as the location of the *lycée, Jemʿā El-Dīn*. In 1918, the *grāba* was moved to the neighborhood of Sīdī ʿAlī Muḥammad, not far from where Mʿallem Bīkādī still lives. One of the main family groups who frequented the home and learned with Bū Ganga and Mʿallem Bīkādī was the Bel ʿArabī family. They are now likely the best known *maḥalla* of Mascara, having performed several times at the Diwan Festival of Bechar where they took first place in the competition in 2014. Known outside of Mascara as 'Sīdī Bilāl Mascara' they are a tightly knit *maḥalla* of brothers, cousins, and close relatives known by insiders as 'Ūlād Meriem' for their aunt 'Moqedma Meriem'. These are the first two connected *maḥallat* today*:* that of Sīdī ʿAlī Muḥammad (Bīkādī) and the Bel ʿArabī (Ūlād Meriem) family.

A third very active *maḥallat* based at the Bab ʿAlī *zāwīya* is centered around the prominent *mʿallemīn* Benʿūmar Zendēr and his main, well known *kuyu bungu*, ʿAzzeddīn Benūghef, who also regularly attends and performs at *dīwanat* in Saida and Oran as well. I had several long, fruitful meetings with Azzeddīne, Mʿallem Zendēr, and Chekīb where, for hours on end and often including pauses only to eat couscous and

drink tea, we went through the Mascara *ṭreq borj* by *borj* with historic and textual details. ʿAzzeddīn, being a *kuyu bungu* and thus, required to know all the texts to *brāj*, was an encyclopedia of musical knowledge while, being in his mid-forties, was also old enough to have known some of the elders.[166]

Musically speaking, the *maḥalla* of Ūlād Meriem—including their *mʿallem,* Bilāl, their *kuyu bungu,* Abdāqa 'Gousgous', and their *moqedm* Ben ʿĪssa—perhaps has the strongest reputation of its own, sonic 'Mascara' signature. Before traveling to Mascara, I began learning about its particular style of *ginbrī* playing mainly through a discourse in Oran: one can immediately recognise the Mascara sound for its 'strange, out of tune' *ginbrī* tuning: what is normally tuned to be an octave between the lowest and highest strings was instead, a slightly larger interval, sometimes a half step larger. In addition, Ūlād Meriem are well known for having the strongest and most precise chorus ('*chorale*' or *rqīza*) in Algeria: they sing exceptionally vibrantly, in tune and in high registers. And, concerning 'modern' approaches, while Ūlād Meriem reported to me that they were the last group to add the microphone to the *ginbrī,* they are the only group I witnessed who regularly, in ritual, use a lapel microphone on their *kuyu bungu,* ʿAbdāqa. The power and high register of his voice often creates distortion in the amplifier but this appears to now be somewhat cultivated and aesthetically preferred, perhaps relating to the infamous 'buzzing' that the *chenchēna* used to provide. On that note, Ūlād Meriem were also the only group I witnessed who still occasionally use the *chenchēna*—definitely a more 'traditional' approach—while also using microphones on the *ginbrī* and voice.

When in Mascara, I was particularly interested in speaking with Ūlād Meriem after seeing their performance at the 2014 Saida *wʿāda* where they played the longest set of Hausawiyyn and Migzawiyyn *brāj* I had ever observed, including several that I had never heard before. Interested in their approach to these repertoires, I made a special trip to visit with them in early 2015 and brought them recordings of this performance.[167] We

---

[166] A fourth main *maḥalla* in Mascara is that of the nearby village of Rachidia with Moqedm ʿAlī 'Gargu' as the leader. While I did not have conversations with the ritual elders of this *maḥalla*, I did attend several of their *dīwanat* along with Chekīb, and because they often used the Bab ʿAlī' *zāwīya* or worked closely with the members of the other Mascara *maḥallat* who attended.

[167] It is hard to say why Ūlād Meriem, in particular, seem to be the keepers of Hausawiyyn and Migzawiyyn in Mascara. While Zendēr and Benūghef (*mʿallem* and *kuyu bungu* who work together but who are not related) are also knowledgeable, my conversations, interviews, and ritual recordings of their *ṭuruq* indicated that Ūlād Meriem have been the most prolific at maintaining these repertoires. Another

carefully went through each recording, and compared it with a list of titles they had written down, coming up with thirty-eight combined Hausawiyyn and Migzawiyyn *brāj* as compared to the typical *dīwān* in which one would, on a good night, hear approximately eleven *brāj*, all Hausa except the very last: Boulal, Rima (1, 2, 3), Yurah, Makanjane, Ya Juru, Bawshki, Maysama, Kobana Diki Diki, and Bani Showara Dogomah. In addition, the texts of these *brāj* are noticeably different than performances in Saida so that, oftentimes, what allowed me to compare *brāj* was a basically shared melody or the *borj's* place in the *tartīb,* and/or if words sounded similar, such as Yajrou in Saida pronounced as *Ya Juru* in Oran and *Natiro* in Mascara. Having memorised melodies and parts of the Hausa *brāj* from Saida, I was then able to crosscheck with Ūlād Meriem.[168] What is important about these Hausa and Migzawa repertoires and their transmission in Mascara as compared to Saida—and what drew me to spend time in both places with the goal of comparing them—is the example of knowledge being kept within family lineages or *maḥalla* groups. Despite their close distance, the Mascara and Saida approaches to these 'specialty' *brāj* are quite different, suggesting that there is no, or very little, regional influence where one might expect it.

Furthermore, and broadly speaking, what is most unique about the approaches to transmission in Mascara is the way that several very active *maḥallat* but of different lineages—Ūlād Meriem (Bel ʿArabī), Zendēr, and Gargu—share a foundation in Bīkādī while the latter two also share a *zāwīya* and will, on occasion, perform for the same *dīwān.* In comparison, none of the Oran *maḥallat* with whom I was involved have an official *zāwīya* or locale being actively used and, instead, are invited into others' homes for the rituals. Saida, on the other hand, has one well-known *zāwīya* but it is exclusively used by the Canon-Farajī-Buterfās kin group. Whether the shared *zāwīya* and shared founding father of Mascara has an effect on the sharing of ritual approaches is hard to say but there is, at least, a sense of overlapping communities as concentric circles with Bīkādī in the middle—again, something unique to Mascara.

---

issue tying Migzawiyyn to Mascara is that Moqedma Meriem is regularly afflicted by Migzu; she would often fall quite ill so that only a *dīwān* could cure her. Her family explained that someone who spends a great deal of time in the country or out in the 'wild' may be henceforth afflicted by him.

[168] For example, 'is the *borj,* Natiro in Mascara what they sing in Saida as 'Yajrou'?'

In this chapter, I have highlighted the vicissitudes of family lineage transmission in three locations in today's Algeria. We saw that each of these lineages demonstrated unique relationships to emplaced *dīwān* history: the way Majdūb's lineage surpasses place, the way the Saida kin group is very much still rooted in place, and how Mascara, also rooted in place, is the most flexible in terms of cooperative non-kin based family networks. We saw how knowledge moves or doesn't move within and between groups; this is part of the various ways that *ūlād dīwān* both guard insider-ness while also maintaining a sense of a larger *dīwān* community.

Because certain kinds of *dīwān* knowledge circulate in new ways with new kinds of audiences—for example, the recordings of Majdūb and videos from private rituals that circulate nationally—transmission today implies that lineage-based musico-ritual authority fails to exert control over some modern fields of transmission while it adapts to others. One of the most legible examples of such adaptation is the very recent efforts of *ūlād dīwān* to create associations, distribute business cards and formal invitations to their *wʿādat* and *dīwanat*, and to work increasingly as 'artists' and 'musicians'.[169] The establishing of *dīwān* associations, in particular, has been picking up in the last decade. We saw examples of this in Oran with Nūreddīn and Hūwārī's associations and in Saida with the official 'folkloric' association led by Muḥammad Amīn Canon. These efforts are at least partly influenced by the Bechar festival where all *maḥallat* take on an official 'band name' with a biographical history printed in the festival program. There, *dīwān* is shaped into a more commodified space. Let us turn now to this festival.

[169] See Chapter 2 for a discussion on the politics of what it means to be a 'musician'.

CHAPTER 7: THE *DĪWĀN* FESTIVAL OF BECHAR

The festivalisation and popularisation of sacred musics is familiar ground in ethnomusicology and anthropology, including such endeavours in 'Sufi' contexts (Shannon 2003; Kapchan 2008; Frishkopf 2009; Jankowsky 2010; Kirkegaard 2012) where common questions emerge about representation and audience expectations (particularly 'sonic translation,' see Kapchan). In this next chapter, while familiar themes emerge, I will draw particular attention to the struggles for authority over transmission—specifically the anxieties of ritual experts about festival protocol—and how this protocol is in tension with those of ritually based performances.

I provide an ethnographic perspective on how ritual musicians, that is *ūlād dīwān*, speak about and grapple with the expectations and guidelines of the national festival of *dīwān* music, including the confusion around what '*dīwān* music' on stage might consist of. While giving background information about the festival, I highlight conversations with *ūlād dīwān* during the festival over the course of three years in order to show how they discursively represent the issues to one another and to several journalists from Algiers. I conclude by recounting an incident that occurred at the festival in 2015 that, to many *ūlād dīwān* who were present, seemed to confirm their mistrust of the challenging expectations of the festival. These contestations are all, of course, taking place against the backdrop of historical and current social relationships between *ūlād dīwān* and wider Algerian society. That is, given that *ūlād dīwān* have been historically segregated, marginalised, and critiqued, the recent attention of nation-state heritage programs—whose interests do not necessarily benefit *ūlād dīwān*—creates great ambivalence. While recognition is appreciated and desired on the one hand, we see that experts are often quite unsettled, if not outright hostile, toward what can be experienced as yet another form of displacement and outsider profit from their labours.

A. Background of the Festival

Only fifty-eight kilometers southwest from the Moroccan border, the Sahelian town of Bechar has been annually hosting the National Cultural Festival of Diwan Musique (*Festival Culturel National de la Musique Diwane*) since 2007. The festival aims to 'protect, preserve, and lift up *dīwān*'—in other words, *dīwān music*— by staging it and presenting it to a general, Algerian public. After troupe auditions held in each *wilāya*, successful portfolios with DVDs are sent to the Bechar festival committee and then twelve to fifteen troupes are selected for the competition—referred to as '*le concours,*' in French. First, second, and third place winners receive cash prizes and earn a place at performing in the Algiers' International Diwan Festival (*'Le festival culturel international de la musique diwane'*) several months later. This competitive environment, therefore, often generates quite a lot of discussion and tension around outperforming other groups and enchanting the jury that is usually made up of scholars and typically at least one ritually trained *dīwān mʿallem,* whose merit and qualifications are always under intense scrutiny.

Typically, about half of the competing troupes come from *dīwān* lineages, including musicians who have learned from within ritual—whom I will, for the sake of brevity, refer to here as *ūlād dīwān*. The other troupes are made up of young men who have learned the music from file sharing audio recordings and very occasionally, from having attended the odd *dīwān* ritual; these troupes are often referred to, somewhat condescendingly, as '*les jeunes*' (the youth), or '*les amateurs*' (amateur musicians). The festival also attracts dozens of journalists from around the country, music and culture scholars, and a handful of *dīwān muḥebbīn.*

The festival concerts, competition, and any other evening events are held outdoors on a circular sports pitch with modest, stadium like seating on the far end facing the small stage. Most of the public watches the festival from midway up the pitch, standing behind several layers of metal, waist-high barriers that are guarded by security. On the other side of those barriers, on the stage side, a limited amount of plastic chairs are lined up for the families of performers, delegates, and other relative 'insiders' with badges. There is a large open and empty space between the front of the stage and the first row of

chairs or the jury, for use by the press. This space, however, tends to not be used. Many of participants of the festival whom I spoke with found this quite unfortunate to be looking out at an empty space in front of the stage; it made it difficult for them to connect with a physically distant public.

The first evening of the festival groans into movement with the long, opening announcements (*edition d'ouverture*) by and mostly for the important local authorities for whom large, plush recliner style chairs are lined up just this once in the first row of the public space. The evening is then properly kicked off by an Algerian 'traditional' or acoustic music group, warming up the atmosphere for the first competing *dīwān* troupe to perform. After this single competing troupe the evening is rounded off by an Algerian popular band, typically one quite familiar to a young and predominantly Algerois, male public with pan-African, reggae, and otherwise 'Afro' sensibilities.[170]

The following three or four evenings are mostly made up of the remaining twelve to fifteen competing troupes, generally with three to a night, and also end with a non-*dīwān,* Algerian popular music act. The last evening begins with *dīwān* troupe who won the previous year's competition and is followed by the awards ceremony in which first, second, and third place cash prizes are awarded. Once again, this last night is highlighted by at least one Algerian popular music group, often the favorite local groups Es-Sed or Gaada Diwan Bechar. The festival evenings are, thus, quite charged, typically ending well after midnight and are often followed by communal hotel room jam sessions into the wee hours of morning.

Each morning during the festival week, organised buses arrive at the hotels around nine AM to pick up sleep-deprived musicians, journalists, and academics for the morning academic papers held in the large and plush auditorium at the *Dār Thaqāfa* (House of Culture) in Bechar. Except for the occasional guest scholar from abroad (typically France), the papers are mostly conducted by Algerian scholars and the vast majority are given in classical Arabic, taking historical and anthropological approaches. These formal academic presentations are mostly populated by journalists and scholars attending the festival; they are not especially well attended by *ūlād dīwān* and, from what I gathered in conversations afterwards, are not particularly well received by them

---

[170] For example, Raina Rai, Djimawi Africa, or Freeklane are some examples.

either. Language barriers (papers in French) and ways of thinking about *dīwān* are very much contested in this space; there is often a good deal of pushback in the Question and Answer session from the few *ūlād dīwān* in attendance who consistently challenge scholarly interpretations. With *dīwān* being such a racialised minority practice in Algeria, it is not surprising that *ūlād dīwān* have difficulty hearing their worlds expressed by those whom they perceive to be 'white, privileged', outsider scholars. The lunch hour discussions immediately following these panels are similarly wracked with debate. However, the knowledge and expertise of *ūlād dīwān* is invited and privileged at the festival, primarily in the above mentioned informal, afternoon discussions organised by festival committee members. These are particularly well attended by *ūlād dīwān.* Every year I attended, the first order of business was to invite feedback on how the festival is and could be organised in order to 'protect' *dīwān* 'heritage'.

Having attended these discussions over the course of three years, I noted recurrent and common themes: journalists prod *ūlād dīwān* to consider musical transcriptions, writing down texts, and classifying all the *brāj* by ethnicity. *Ūlād dīwān* are, not surprisingly, unable to respond to these suggestions clearly since transmission has always been oral and classification varies even within their own communities. Classification can be a contentious topic as there are often strong feelings around whose *ṭreq* is 'correct.' Furthermore, *ūlād dīwān* are typically more concerned with pressing, logistical needs such as the everpresent problem of inadequate real estate to host *dīwanat*: '*ma kāynsh locale'* is the repeated quip: 'there's no place.' These annual discussion-debates find tenuous common ground in the general acceptance that the festival—or perhaps just its official stance—is only trying to show the 'artistic side' (*la côte festive, la côte artistique)* of *dīwān.* But here, the elephant in the room is the question about separating ritual music from its ritual context for purposes other than the sacred and therapeutic. Can the sacred be stripped from the sounds so that such a separation of 'just the music' is possible? And if so, who should do it and how should one do it? What stays, what goes? These anxieties are often the topic of much discussion in Bechar.

Lʿamārī Ḥamdānī, the *commissaire* of the Festival (*muḥāfaḍ el-mahrajān*), assumes we can and must cultivate, and thus separate, the music. He sees the goal of the Bechar

festival as the preservation of national cultural heritage (*'le sauvegarde du patriomoine culturel national'*). Lʿamārī's goal, as he stated it to me, is to attract attention to *dīwān*; he wants it to take its place among the icons of Algerian culture, particularly in light of the UNESCO buzz around the protection of 'intangible cultural heritage'.[171] He also sees the competition as being an important part of doing this. The *concours* is the most hotly debated aspect of the festival among the vast majority of the participants I spoke with, particularly amongst *ūlād diwan.* Many of them see it as demeaning to compete against young, amateur (non-*ūlād),* musicians who 'have no *shaykh*' (master) or who 'just learned *dīwān* yesterday' ('*tʿallemū dīwān ghīr elbareḥ*') while they, *ūlād dīwān,* were born into the tradition and have spent a lifetime learning 'inside' ritual. For Lʿamārī, however, the competition is essential as the only real way to motivate musicians to work hard and think seriously about their performances and presentations of the heritage. Were there not a competition, he said, few troupes would apply to participate and even more so, there would be no incentive to augment the artistic level of performance. He elaborated on the problems he already had getting quality submissions and consistency in the troupe makeups.

The question around de- or re-contextualised *dīwān* music is particularly important when '*dīwān* music' is considered by many ritual experts to be 'more than just music'. While there is nothing wrong with enjoying it aesthetically, its main purpose is understood to be therapeutic, something 'spiritual' (*roḥānniya*), even supernatural; it sometimes renders people unconscious (*yghīb*) or sends them into other dimensions (*yrūḥ*, to travel). But of even greater concern to some is that, as we saw above, *dīwān* music has the ability to call *arwāḥ* and *jnūn,* some of them quite potentially dangerous; therefore, *dīwān* music poses a potential risk.

Keeping this in mind then, what does it mean to 'preserve' and 'protect' such a *musical* culture at national festivals, particularly when this musical culture is bound up with such 'risky' kinds of knowledge that are not intended to be widely known or publicly presented? And if 'culture protecting' governmental bodies understand that ritual practice cannot be 'captured' (publicly re-presented) to be protected—as Lʿamārī

[171] In 2013 the *imzad*, a gourd-shaped bowed lute played only by Tuareg women of southern Algeria, was listed with UNESCO under this project.

seems to recognise by focusing on the 'artistic side', or 'the music and choreography' alone—then what does it really mean to produce a *dīwān* festival in order to 'preserve and protect' intangible cultural heritage when the festival attempts to desacrilise a musical practice for public consumption when 'sacred', ritual meanings are continually invoked in texts, with stage choreography, and ritual dress or objects (such as spears or *abayat*)?[172]

When *dīwān* songs are 'arranged' for the stage, without a *jedēb(a)* to interact with the music, the number of calls and responses and timings of *gaṭṭʿat* have to be worked out in advance and the *mʿallem* then plays for the sake of it, not for the sake of another. Spatially, given that the stage imposes microphones and microphone stands, a sound cable attached to the *ginbrī*, and pre-determined lighting choices, it is clear that the stage encourages and discourages certain bodily dispositions onto the 'experience' of the music, like standing with the *ginbrī* instead of sitting, or only being able to move side to side because of microphone stands. Therefore, even basic festival logistics, not to mention competitive protocol and rules, already pose challenges to some ritually-trained musicians. Let us now hear more from them.

B. Talking with Ritual Experts

During one of the sluggish June afternoons discussion sessions of the seventh annual Bechar festival in 2013, three *mʿallemīn* from around the country and three journalists from Algiers gathered in an air conditioned lounge to discuss the relationship of 'traditional' (ritually situated) *dīwān* music and the *dīwān* festival context. They were seated in a circle on couches and plush armchairs and a long wooden coffee table stretched between them on which sat several burgeoning ash trays, dainty white cups of strong, sugary espresso, and flashing recording devices. Cigarette smoke filled the room as the journalists, Sāra Kharfī, Nadīr Hammū, and Faṭma Barūdī took turns questioning Mʿallem Muḥammad Amīn Canon of Saida, Mʿallem Muḥammad Raḥmānī of Ain Sefra, and Mʿallem Hūwārī Būsmāha of Oran, the latter being the most senior *mʿallem*

---

[172] For example, even on stage, when *brāj* are performed, their required movements are usually enacted—in *Dabu*, it is expected to see 'dancers' (rather than *jedebbīn*) enacting the beating of the *bulala*t whips against their backs, even if they do it in jest without whips.

(although still in his forties). All three journalists specialise in cultural issues and have a particular liking for all things *dīwān* or *gnāwa.* As mentioned, a large number of the participant-performers at the Bechar festival are young *muḥebbīn* musicians—in other words, not *ūlād dīwān:* they typically learn the repertoire through sharing recordings with friends.

As one would expect, the festival project prioritises musical and performative aesthetics that appeal to the general Algerian public, an audience that knows little about *dīwān*—that is to say, modern, performative sensibilities like aesthetically pleasing costumes, coordinated choreography, and tight musical arrangements. Many of the musicians, including the festival committee and personnel, similarly know very little about the history and ritual aspect of *dīwān*. The journalists' meeting with the *mʿallemīn,* therefore, was an attempt to 'go to the source,' to *ūlād dīwān,* in order to understand how the 'masters' feel about the festival.

While Nadīr started off the questioning by asking if it was possible to classify the songs of the *dīwān* repertoire, the conversation quickly moved to how *dīwān* should be presented on stage and issues the *mʿallemīn* had with adapting and adjusting to the stage. Mʿallem Muḥammad Amīn Canon, hereby referred to as Amīn for clarity, was quite eager to explain:

'Let me give you an example: as our brother [the other *mʿallem*] was telling you, one cannot do *dīwān* on stage'. [*Dōk nʿātīk exemple*. *Kīma kān ygūlek el-ākh, matqaddersh tdīr dīwān sur scene*]. Before letting Amīn finish, Faṭma interrupts to confirm that this means 'leaving out' ritual elements:

'So you're only prepared to deliver the *festival* side [*côté festif entʿā dīwān*] of the *dīwān* and nothing more?' ['*pas plus'*]

Amīn quickly responds, 'That's it. Yes.' [*Voila! Oui.*]

Hūwārī adds, 'Nothing more, yes, thank you!'

Amīn continues, 'It's a show, a show' [*C'est un spectacle, un spectacle*]. The term *spectacle* helps to clarify the non-sacred here and seems to be more widely agreed upon than what '*dīwān*' might mean at the festival. To some, the word '*dīwān'* automatically implies ritual where to others, as a shorthand, the term is used to reference the music.

But this confusion is important for the ways that it indexes, again, the conflict around trying to separate the music that is, in the minds of so many, inseparable from the ritual.

While Hūwārī is hesitant and soft spoken, his anxieties over festival protocol urge him to speak up now—in a strained but authoritative tone of voice, speaking quite quickly, he outlines the basics to what he finds distressing about this 'show' aesthetic, the requirements of playing on stage:

> 'Because! *Dīwān, dīwān!* Even just to introduce one song in a *dīwān* [looking at Amīn]—the *mʿallem* here, he knows what I mean! [Amīn softly says, yes : *nʿām*]. In order to just enter into that song, I have to prepare it, [prepare] my spirit, [prepare] myself. I am required to [do] that *taḥwiss* [long unmetered introduction]. That takes time. Me, I can't… I have to take my time [literally, I play the time].'[173]

.

Nadir says softly, 'Of course,' and Hūwārī keeps going:

'It's not the same thing [as a festival]. Do you understand? [At the festiva] one has to do it quickly, one has to play fast. . . To give people a 'cocktail,' to give them a show.'[174]

In other words, much of the anxiety has to do with these two spaces of ritual/home and stage or public space and the kinds of aesthetics they require: a general public is not going to be very interested in a long *taḥwissa* when they came for a 'show'.

A discussion then develops around the various ways that the *mʿallemīn* would like to see 'rules' of the festival instigated. There are some questions about what items the jury is considering—Amīn, being a member of the jury in 2013, offers that there is no rule that says that a *mʿallem* has to play standing up, for example. This issue around playing the *ginbrī* standing is one of the most troubling to everyone. 'A *mʿallem* lives the *dīwān* best when he's seated,' Amīn says. There is anonymous agreement. Practically speaking, it's much more comfortable for the *mʿallem.*

---

[173] '*Khatersh! Dīwān, dīwān! Déjà bēsh emqadem ūghnīyya fī dīwān, el-mʿallem yʿarref! Bēsh emqadem ghīr ūghnīyya, besh nedkhol dīk ūghnīyya īlīqlī… il préparé, rūhī, nafsīyya. īlīqlī dīk taḥwissa hādī, ça prends du temps. Ana ma nenjemsh, ana nlʿāb el-wāqt.*

[174] '*C'est pas pareil. Fehmt? iliq, il vaut faire vite, il faut jouer vite . . . Bāsh neddīh wāḥed le cocktail, u ndīrūh hād el-spectacle.'*

Then, the idea comes up that, since each group is only allowed twenty-five minutes on stage—the time constraint that Hūwārī was referring to and that many others heavily criticised—that perhaps every troupe should be required to play only a single *borj* in their allotted time. This, they thought, would allow the jury to see if the musician playing the *ginbrī* was really a *mʿallem* or not. What is not addressed is that such a performance would be difficult to pull off in a national festival with a public who knows little of the ritual background and without *jedebbīn* to interact with the *mʿallem* during the twenty-five minutes of a single *borj.* Furthermore, given that the performances are being judged, how would a jury account for knowledge that is ritually based? Who should the jury be? Raḥmānī is the most explicit, saying:

> 'Already this jury here, this jury of *dīwān,* it's not easy. Not easy [*mashī sahel*].Me, I dance *kuyu*. What jury? The jury of Ain Temouchent? The jury of Ain Sefra? Of … ? What jury?! Me, I'm against there being musicologists [in the jury]. Because what does he [a musicologist] see? He has no way of seeing/judging me [*ma ʿandha ma ychuffnī*]. And the *ginbrī*? It speaks. And at the end, if he were to tell me, 'You didn't place in the competition', I would tell him, "The *ginbrī* speaks with a supernatural voice [*une voix surnaturelle*]. You, you don't know it [the voice]. Me, I know it. I feel it [*Ana nʿarrefha. Nḥess bīha*]. You, you don't understand it". This jury? I don't understand. Now, how they . . . [trailing off]. I don't understand [whispering]. I don't understand.'[175]

There are sounds and exclamations of support for Raḥmānī's statements. Amīn later suggests that a jury should be made up only of *ūlād dīwān*. How could an academic possibly judge *dīwān?* Here, Sāra seizes an opportunity to get more specific about what the men would prefer, addressing Hūwārī:

'How do *you* see the stage?' [*kīfēsh rāk chūf la scène?*]

'How do I see the stage? Ah! Good question.' Sounding content and confident now, Hūwārī begins:

[175] Here, the way he uses the Arabic word '*fahm'* with *ma fahmtsh*, this can also equate to the English of, 'it doesn't make sense', or, 'it's beyond me', or, 'it doesn't add up.'

> 'I consider the stage, firstly . . . well, I have to be seated. In order to work with my instrument. I sense. . . I cannot work the instrument while standing. It's not. . . You see, there's the *mʿallem* of the stage and there's a *mʿallem* of the *ṭaraḥ* [ritual space], in the blood. The *mʿallem* of the stage, it's not possible for him to do a pure *dīwān* ritual. Impossible! There are sacred things. There's communication, this, that, there are tricks. There's… there's the need to launch the *dīwān,* the *mʿallem* he sees our masters [before him], he relaunches the *dīwān,* he can't rush, he can't push, like that… he has to follow in the path of his grandfather [like what his grandfather did]. He doesn't play by chance [improvisation]. That's…that's… like we say here [at the festival], it's all about the fashion. That's the young people of today!' (whispering the last word).[176]

Hūwārī goes on to say that he's not criticising *les jeunes*, not getting down on them, but, if one doesn't have a *shaykh* to follow, one is 'just playing' (*ghīr tlʿab*, meaning there is no deeper purpose), just going around in circles (literally: turning in the emptiness, *ydūr fī el-khwā'*). Interesting to note here, however, is that Hūwārī himself is not seen as a particularly 'traditional' *mʿallem,* especially given that he is not a ritual musician, as previously mentioned, but only really plays cultural events for non-ritual publics.

In any case, we see here another peek into the conflicting desires of *mʿallemīn*: *dīwān* ritual, or at least certain aspects of it, cannot and should not be performed on stage (*ma tqaddersh tdīr dīwān sur scène')* because of the restraints and limits of the stage. But what it is, exactly, that you cannot do when you can play the music, don the *abayat*, play a single twenty-five minute *borj*? Where are the thresholds, in other words, between acts, their intentions, and social contexts? And yet, at the same time, to only focus on 'the music' and perform something that is solely '*artistique*' or that defers to typical stage aesthetics—coordinated dancing, playing while standing, having visually appealing costumes—does not work for Hūwārī either. Here, he points to the main problem being that these young men do not have a *shāykh* and this is where the big

---

[176] *'Nchūff la scène déjà, eh, īlīq nkūn jemmʿa. Bēsh netfʿal mʿa āla (instrument). Nḥess... Mā nenjemsh nekhdem āla bel waqaf. C'est pas... bon. . . . c'est... Kāyn mʿallem entʿā la scène u kāyn mʿallem entʿā ṭaraḥ fel demm. El-mʿallem entʿā la scène, c'est pas possible bēsh ykhdem līlā entʿā dīwān pur. Impossible! Kāyn swāleḥ, kāyn communication, kāyn hekda, kāyn ʿafsāt , kāyn ṭellʿa, el-mʿallem ychūf shāykhnā, yʿaūd līk ṭellʿa, mā yzrebsh, mā ykhūffsh, hekda, ytebʿa mʿa jeddah, mā ylaʿbsh au hasard... Hādū c'est le... c'est... kīmā ngūlū hennāya c'est libess, naqās, hakda... hāda hūwā les jeunes entʿā derwek (whispering last word).*

divide lies.[177] Later, when Hūwārī elaborates, he goes even further, however, saying that he thinks the festival is brought down by the young people with no experience who just 'want to dance', referring to stage choreography—*'sghār, khawīn, baghīn neshtū, hadī yteḥ festival*'. He suggests that the festival should only allow 'pure' *dīwān,* and should require participants to show proof of their having studied with a *shāykh.*

In an effort to relate to the *mʿallemīn* about their discomfort with competing against *les jeunes*, the 'amateurs', and in order to make a connection with their ritual, 'authentic' self image, Faṭma Barūdī then spoke up, almost confession-like: *'Je suis puriste'*—'I'm a purist'—in order to situate her position which seems to be an attempt to cushion a potentially sensitive question after all the talk about *les jeunes*. She asks Hūwārī what happens when someone from 'inside *dīwān*' *(men dākhel ed-dīwān)* is not apt to deliver a show ('*une spectacle'*) on stage, purely artistically speaking (*'dans une vision purement artistique'*)? In other words, previous editions of the festival had shown that many 'traditional' *mʿallemīn* had never played on stage before, were awkward with using microphones, and did not have experience regarding stage sensibilities: how to 'give a good show'. Faṭma was suggesting ever so slightly that perhaps there are certain skills that young people possess, certain sensibilities that a *weld dīwān* wouldn't possess, that he wouldn't be 'apt' (she uses the French '*apt*').

Hūwārī clarifies: 'Artistically? No, he's apt. Why not? He's apt.' : '*Artistiquement? Non, il est apt. ʿAlesh la? Sur scène? Il est apt'.* But this is precisely a central issue: the stage simply requires a different skill set, a different aesthetic than ritual, such as how to perform well with microphones, face an audience while standing, and get the crowd going. So far in Bechar, it is generally understood that it is *les jeunes* who possess these particular skills, despite have little to no ritual background. So when put in competition against ritually trained *mʿallemīn* who may be twice or three times their age and who are not necessarily motivated to 'put on a good show,' *les jeunes* often do come out on top.

Hūwārī interrupted to try and explain why, perhaps, the three of them were being so particular and perhaps critical of the young people:

[177] While most of *les jeunes* who participate in the festival have, in fact, learned the repertoire through recordings, a handful of them do follow a teacher in the sense that some have attached themselves to a *mʿallem*, try to learn some of the context and history of songs, and understand the texts. That said, all of the young men in this situation whom I spoke with avoid the ritual as much as possible and emphasise that they are 'only doing the music.'

> 'Because, the *mʿallem*, why are we—just to explain to our brothers—the *mʿallem*, why are we saying these things about the stage, about being seated, about these conditions, why do we do them? Not to complicate things, or. . . Some might say these are complications, like why one won't play standing up. . . Why? Because here, at a certain moment, the *mʿallem,* he travels [goes into trance]. He's just smiling, he's playing this and that, then later, without realising it, that's it! He goes absent. That's it! [Amīn: He also goes into trance!'] Ahh! He enters, he enters into trance! That's it. He's not paying attention.
>
> 'He needs… he needs, in order to work these [sacred] things! Ahh, the *mʿallem* [speaking about Muḥammad Amīn Canon near him]*,* he knows. You see Muḥammad, he looks normal, he's playing along [the *ginbrī*], *borj* after *borj,* then he's seized by something. Ayee, that's it! His *shāykh* appears before him [in spirit], his father [he sees the spirits of his father] sitting over there, and he remembers the *jedba* of his *shaykh,* and that call of his *shāykh*. . . All that ambiance [or humour, temperament], it gives you a certain yearning [desire] you can only sense in pure *gnāwa*. You can't experience that on stage.'[178]

What is not clear from Hūwārī's comment is if he was using this example of going into trance as rhetorical reasoning for only allowing ritually trained *mʿallemīn* to play in the festival or whether he thought it could be possible, even probable, that such a thing could happen on stage, at the Bechar festival, should a *weld dīwān* be the *mʿallem*. However, what interests me about this last long quote is also the strategic entrance of nonhuman agency—the *mʿallem* being 'taken by something' when he's not paying attention, something that sends him into trance. Hūwārī uses this as justification for what might be seen as intolerance towards outsiders: those who have not been ritually trained. Hūwārī also says that this loss of agency on the part of the *mʿallem must* happen, the *mʿallem must* 'go absent', meaning go into trance, in order to 'work' the sacred things—*yghīb besh ykhdem swāleḥ.* But these 'sacred things' that a *mʿallem* 'works' while in trance, *can* they be 'worked' on stage? *Should* they be? Part of the discussion above

---

[178] *'Khatersh l-mʿallem, ʿalēsh rānā—ghīr besh nfahhm khūtī—l-mʿallem, ʿalēsh rānā ngūlū dok la scène, dok njemmʿu hādī l-conditions, ʿalēsh rānā ndīrū fīhūm? Māshī pour compliquer wella ... Lī gūlek hādā 'complications'. ʿAla mā ylaʿabsh wāqaf, ʿala? Khatersh henna, certain moment, l-mʿallem rāh . . . rah yeḍḥak, ylʿab menna, men bʿad mā ʿyabāsh ruḥ-ha [not paying attention], ça y est, yghīb. Ça y est.' [Amīn 'tānī hūwa yedkhol fel transe.'] Houari: 'ahh, yedkhol. yedkhol fel transe. Ça y est. Mā ʿyabāsh [paying attention]... Īlīqlha. . . Īlīq... yghīb besh ykhdem swāleḥ. Ahh, mʿallem yʿarref. Chūffū Mohammed, normale, ykhdem menna, borj men brāj, ytegbeḍ* [seized by something]. *Ayee, ça y est. Bella shaykh rah jemmʿa l-hīh, ebba rah jemmʿa el-hīh, ū tbel hadīk jedba entʿā shaykh el-filānī, u tbel hadīk zghwa entʿā shaykh l-filānī hādī. Gʿā mizāj yʿatīḥ wāhed nefḥa ma yḥess bī ghīr gnāwī pur. Ma ynjemsh yʿarrefa sur scène.*

seems to suggest that maybe they cannot or should not be but this is not clarified in the discussion.

Furthermore, this 'ambiance' that Hūwārī speaks of that produces a yearning—'*gʿa mizāj yʿatih wahed nefḥa'*—is essentially *ḥāl*. *Ḥāl* is often described as an 'attraction,' a pulling or yearning, something that draws on a person. In the way that I read the meta-discourse of these discourses, and that despite the fact that the *mʿallemīn* are talking about actions and protocol of how *dīwān* music should be performed on stage—all the various specifics that we have seen above—the larger anxiety, the meta-discourse here is, I believe, one about *ḥāl*. Given how fundamental *ḥāl* is to the epistemology and ontology of *dīwān* as a whole, we can read the above discussion in understanding that there is a certain incompatibility and tension between the social fields of ritual and festival, between the *ṭaraḥ* and the stage, even as there are attempts to mediate these tensions. Social fields, like *ḥāl* do not have clear boundaries or thresholds; their boundaries or limits are porous and ever shifting. As we have seen, humans have limited ability to control *ḥāl,* something Hūwārī hints at by saying that at a certain moment, when he's not paying attention, the *mʿallem* may be seized by something. That is to say, that spiritual energies can inadvertently 'leak' into the secular and the secular can, in turn, also 'leak' into the sacred, such as the way that inappropriate behavior in ritual risks 'polluting' the atmosphere.

Considering that these *mʿallemīn* are coming first from ritual contexts and attempting to adapt to festival sensibilities, perhaps it is not surprising that the *ḥāl* that they attach to '*dīwān* music', to even the *ginbrī* alone—'that speaks with a supernatural voice' as Raḥmānī said—is difficult to reconcile with festival sensibilities. Their recommendations that *mʿallemīn* sit on stage, play a single *borj* of twenty-five minutes, and that the *mʿallemīn* have their credentials checked, all suggest ways of somehow guarding a certain aspect of ritual 'authenticity' or *ḥāl*—what from the outside is loosely indexed as 'traditional'. And yet the fact that 'you can't do a *dīwān* on stage'—meaning that there are still certain elements, actions, and feelings to ritual that can never be produced on stage—suggests that this domain of *ḥāl* is not entirely compatible with the social field of a festival setting whose goal is to entertain, to put on a show, and, as Lʿamārī Ḥamdānī hopes, to 'protect and preserve *dīwān* tradition'.

C. The Rabbit Incident

On June 12, 2015, the last night of the competition of the ninth edition of the Bechar festival, *firqa* 'Sīdī Blāl Beshār' performed and choreographed two Migzawiyyn *brāj* back to back*, Mikere Gzawa* and Migzu.[179] Three of the eight members dressed up as hunters, donning brightly coloured tunics with stripes and swirls of geometric shapes, feathered headdresses, strands of objects shaped like animal teeth hanging across their fronts, and long spears tied into bundles on their backs. They skipped around the small stage, pumping their spears into the air, enacting a hunt. The other five members continued to sing and drive the swinging rhythm of the two *ṭbola* drums and *qrāqeb*.

Migzu*,* again, is understood broadly to be the primary guardian spirit and chief hunter of the Forest (Ṣīād el-Ghāba), and the group sang the *borj* as such:

Migzu! emsha l-ghāba
(Migzu! went to the forest)
(Migzu! Jeb l-gnīna)
(Migzu! Brought [caught] the rabbit)
Ay nama bani![180]
(Hey, give me the meat!)

Kuyu bungu
em-sha l - gha ba_ jeb l-ga - nī - na_
Rqīza
Mig - zu! Mig - zu! Mig - zu na-ma ba-nī_

Example 35: Migzu phrase

[179] I use the spelling for the town the way it is represented locally in French while when referring to the group's name in Arabic, I use the typical transliateration for 'sh.'
[180] Seemingly Hausa language but disputed. 'Bani' means 'give me' and 'nama' means meat in Hausa.

Shortly after completing this key verse, one of the young men ducked back behind the stage and pulled a live white rabbit from a cage. Carrying him by his ears and dancing with him a moment, he then dropped him in the middle of the circle formed by the other two 'hunters' who went on dancing while the rabbit flopped around, having had his back legs tied together. After a few minutes, the *borj* ended and the *firqa* exited the stage to lukewarm applause.

Speaking with members of the public, many were surprised and some shocked about anyone being so daring to bring a live animal on stage. One journalist standing near me shook his head, 'They do something like this every year!'—indeed, the year before, this same group had brought onto stage their *maḥalla* (sacred trunk) including donning the *abayat* and setting up a large incense burner that fumigated the stage with *bkhūr*—again, an agent that can call the *jnūn*—while one of the members of the *firqa* sat by the *maḥalla,* acting as a *shawsh* and dressing the *'jedebbīn*' with *abayat*, and stoking the *bkhūr,* just as is done in ritual. The act of bringing a *maḥalla* on stage generated controversy for many months after the festival—I especially heard much critique from *ūlād dīwān* and *muḥebbīn* but also from journalists who thought a sacred boundary had been crossed. Following this up with the act of bringing a live rabbit on stage, then, was alarming. For those *ūlād dīwān* 'in the know', during *dīwān* ritual, a rabbit is sacrificed for Migzu after which some *jedebbīn,* deep in trance, might drink the fresh blood from its slit neck. The production of a live rabbit in that moment was, therefore, quite concerning—along with the suspense as to what the troupe was going to do with it. Even for those who did not make the sacrificial connection—journalists and others who I found myself explaining the connection to—the presence of a live animal was itself inappropriately crossing an unspoken barrier. It was understood by many as a 'taking it too far'—*'bazzeff!'*

Immediately following their performance, I trotted after several, buzzing journalists who raced to interview the group, forming a circle around one member, Dabu Hamū Drīss. Nadīr Hammū of Algeria Press Service (APS) took charge of posing the questions while the rest of us crowded in and pushed our microphones forward. Prefacing his question by mentioning the previous year's performance with the *maḥalla* on stage and then seeing this year's rabbit, Nadīr asked if the *firqa* believed that they could bring *any*

ritual object on stage without a problem. Did they not have a problem with this? Drīss answered, 'We have no problem [with it]. It's work. We just employ ['work'] the ritual things. And when there's no festival, in the last days of Shabān [the month before Ramaḍān], we close the *maḥalla*. . . . It's not forbidden. It's normal, normal.'[181]

Perhaps even more interesting is that, later on that evening, as I was circulating among *ūlād dīwān* backstage, I walked up on a conversation between a journalist and a *mʿallem*, the latter who was explaining that the *firqa* Sīdī Blāl Beshār had to rush off because their home had just caught on fire—this fire, he indicated, was considered a 'consequence' for their having brought the rabbit on stage. As he said this, the journalist made the *msellmīn-mketfīn* gesture—the gesture of humility and deference that is customary after hearing of supernatural, miraculous, or ominous events. The discussions that ensued throughout the night over the rabbit incident and the house fire revealed much anxiety around the breach and the porosity of certain crucial ritual/festival (or ritual/'folklore') boundaries. While these boundaries are not explicit, like common sense, the broader *dīwān* community of practicants, musicians, connoisseurs, and fans treats them as if they should be obvious.

The discourse around the fire as a punishment from the spirits (or some other being) for bringing a rabbit on stage—possibly seen as 'mocking' the spirits or tempting them, as local discourse would typically assert—is also a prime example of the epistemology of shared agency, of outside agency—specifically nonhuman agency—that even in a national festival that presents 'just the music' and that is understood to be 'secular' and 'folkloric', there is always a risk of agency slippage. As I mentioned as well with regard to insiders and outsiders, we can see that no matter to what degree humans assert these boundaries—as we see attempts to do this here in the Bechar festival as well—the supernatural, nonhuman world may intervene at will and have the last word. Just as I explained in the opening of this section around the supernatural dangers of breached boundaries of insiders and outsiders, we saw here that the perceived disrespecting young people—by bringing a live rabbit on stage—were seen to be later punished by the *jnūn*

[181] *'Ma ʿandnāsh problème… lā, lā henna, dert had el-muḥaseb entʿā festival… bghīt… hādī khedma. bsīf ʿalina ma bʿaylu ṭuqūs .. ghīr khedemmūhum. U kān ma jāsh festival, maḥalla mbellʿu hākda fī had el-yemat Shabane.,,normale, ʿādī'* Closing the *maḥalla* means to not use it for the entire month of Ramaḍān, to keep it tucked away safely, while the *jnūn* are in lockdown.

by setting their house alight. In the end, the supernatural finds its way into the natural, leaking into the most explicit attempt to transmit '*dīwān* music' in a 'secular' context.

Concluding Thoughts on the Festival

In the exchanges I have recounted above, it is hopefully clear that there are certainly territorial battles being waged here through the performance of *dīwān* music—discursive battles around insiders and outsiders, about who has the right to transmit *dīwān*, to present it to the public, and how one should go about presenting '*dīwān'* to the public, given its connection to the supernatural. Despite anxieties around *ḥāl* or what Hūwārī implies is a 'higher' discussion around the spiritual world, one cannot deny also the very basic sense of turf wars going on here. I have presented these exchanges above because they are quite typical of the discourses that fill the week of the Bechar festival and these discourses are some of the most legible examples in the world that surrounds *dīwān* of an explicit grab for agency over transmission: '*the public is going to think that they're watching Moroccans*'; *'the young people bring the festival down'*, for example. These exchanges above also show very decided, intentional, strategic, and competitive ways of seizing control or of wanting to even while all of these *mʿallemīn* struggle to articulate what it is that they are trying to control, wherever that line is between ritual and festival, between *ṭaraḥ* and stage. This all poses the crucial question—one that never seemed to be asked—who is the festival really produced *for?* At least at first glance, it's for a small public in Bechar who do not (apparently) know much about *dīwān.* But from what can be gathered by the discourse and debates surrounding it, it is as much for the young musicians and experienced ritual experts, both with very different approaches to what should happen.

Although the ambivalence of these *mʿallemīn* around the tension of 'tradition' and 'modernity' is never stated outright or commented on, as such, in the discussion, it is hopefully apparent. While these ritually-trained 'purists' want the exclusive right to present *dīwān* on stage as they see fit—sitting down, having one's credentials checked, playing only a single *borj* in twenty-five minutes in order to prove that one can really work a *borj,* all protocol that actually come from *dīwān ritual*—regardless of having

mixed ideas on what '*dīwān'* might mean on stage (do you allow the ritual materials to be used on stage, too, like *abayat* and spears?), they insist that ritual feeling isn't possible on stage. Hūwārī suggests that a *mʿallem* of the stage and *mʿallem* of the ritual are two separate categories—a *mʿallem* of the stage could never play a ritual—he says here, 'Impossible!'

Nevertheless, the three *mʿallemīn,* over the course of this discussion, have repeatedly suggested that a ritual *mʿallem* would always give a better performance on stage. They also suggest that even on stage supernatural things could happen—this is the reason Hūwārī gives for being so strict about who should be on stage and how they should play on stage (sitting down, for one), even while he says that ritual ambience is not possible except for in ritual—'All that ambiance, it gives you a certain yearning [desire], you [. . .] can't experience that on stage'. Nailing down the solution, then, as the journalists have found out, is nearly impossible. I would argue that none of the *mʿallemīn* know quite where the line should be between the perceived separate worlds of 'ritual' and 'festival'—perhaps they recognise that there is no firm 'line' because the worlds are porous, even though this is only hinted at despite their continuing attempts to limit and separate the social spaces as well. Whatever the situation is, they want to be the ones with the control to determine it.

The Bechar festival provides a meeting point of exchange, dialogue, and debates for dozens of *dīwān* troupes from around the country, as well as *dīwān* connoisseurs, journalists, and scholars. In this way, it acts as a vessel of transmission where ideas, songs, and repertoires are shared. It also, however, galvanises insider-outsider rivalries and disputes, exacerbated by the competitive and monetary elements of the festival. Lastly, in what is seemingly an entirely human-controlled, non-sacred context—a state funded, national festival with an interest only in the music and choreography of *dīwān*—we also saw that, even here, the supernatural world has the last word so that, as I indicated from the beginning of this thesis, human agency is always slippery.

* * *

In this third section of the thesis, from secrets to family lineages to the Bechar festival, the overarching theme has been to illustrate *how ūlād dīwān* negotiate crises of transmission between the so-called 'traditional' and 'modern', and to demonstrate what counts as knowledge here. Now, perhaps the most impending question is, '*Why*? What is at stake?'

In the eyes of *ūlād dīwān,* on the grand scale, what's at stake is the survival of the *dīwān* ritual and its constituents: integrity of the *brāj* order, the ritual acts, the song texts, the secrets behind those actions and texts, and the art of a well-played *borj* that can launch the *dīwān,* last twenty minutes, and still be engaging. These matters are said to be threatened by 'modernity' and the inattentiveness of younger generations who are seen to fail to learn properly or not have the focus to do so—particularly at the festival this generational dynamic is apparent.[182] Part of the larger issue at hand here is the ability for *dīwān* generations to be together in the same way: where younger *genēdīz* sit patiently at the sides of older *shyūkh* and learn the histories that can only be learned over a long period of time with plenty of patience, and when nobody has anywhere else to be.

Also at risk, as I illustrated above, is supernatural retribution exacted against *ūlād dīwān* if certain 'traditional' codes of transmission are not maintained. In other words, safety is at stake. This oftentimes happens when an 'outsider' makes a mistake in a ritual context although we saw it happen in the festival, too (the rabbit incident)—that warrants punishment from the nonhuman world. This potential risk also explains part of the anxiety around transmission and who has what knowledge.

At stake is a competition for cultural capital and financial resources when *dīwān* 'culture' or practice is not particularly celebrated or broadly recognised in Algeria. For example, I found that, outside of *dīwān* worlds, few Algerians know much about *dīwān* and I often had to reference my research by way of mentioning the *ṭbel* and *qrāqeb* groups that play for weddings—usually called *'qarqābū*—or who, in former times (and rarely today), paraded through the streets for alms; the latter is the 'folkloric' face of *dīwān* known within *dīwān* as *'kerma'* but that is more popularly known to outsiders as

[182] On this note, during the 2013 festival, I heard a young, Algerois *muḥeb* plead with a *mʿallem*, 'But I really *want* to learn the old ways, the tradition, but no elders will *help* me or share anything'—to which the *mʿallem* responded, 'It's a test. It takes time.'

‘Būsʿadiyya’ or ‘Bābā Sālem’.[183] The short supply of resources also includes access to physical spaces in which to hold rituals—most are held in homes these days as there are fewer and fewer *zāwīyat* available and funds to maintain them are hard to come by.

Resources also include what modest attention from the press and media *dīwān* practice sometimes attracts as well as modest funding from the Minister of Culture or from local city governments in order to hold events. For example, Nūreddīn negotiated for months to get partial funding from the House of Culture, Dār Thaqāfa, in Mostaganem to put on his two-day *mʿārūf.* The enormous, annual *wʿāda* in Saida is mostly privately funded with the costs shared between individuals who are fortunate enough to have funds to spare or who have the ability to raise funds in the community. Because resources symbolise the ability to transmit and continue the practice, thereby representing mobility and prosperity, it is understandable that there is a sense of ‘not enough to go around’ for a community who has never been on the side of power, recognition, and influence in Algerian society but who, these days, might feel they are more entitled to it.

On a personal scale, what’s at stake with the challenges of transmission are the survival of family lines of knowledge and therefore, authority, prestige, and power. What kinds of power? To begin with, I mean to address the power to guard and protect ritual information that so few have, or should have access to, meaning that *dīwān* knowledge remains special and important. Inside discourse amongst *ūlād dīwān,* there is an unspoken sense in the air that the more people who practice or know the details of *dīwān* ritual, the less power it has—very much like the case with a ‘secret’ as Simmel (1906) points out—especially if these ‘other people’ learning it do so from outside ritual contexts and are young men with no *shaykh* to guide them. Since power is a means to control one’s circumstances in the world, loss of power over knowledge can be experienced as the lack of an ability to survive oneself. And given that *ūlād dīwān* have not historically ever had power, influence, and prestige on their side, loss of ritual knowledge may be experienced as the loss of the only real power *ūlād dīwān have* held and that has been solely theirs, linking them to their ancestors.

---

[183] The term 'Būsʿadīyya’ is known much more widely in Tunisian *sṭambēlī* but in *dīwān* tends to emerge more often in the East. See Jankowsky 2010 for a full explanation of the history of the term in Tunisia.

In this chapter, while familiar festivalisation themes rumbled in the background, such as how 'sacred' music should be consumed and by whom for what purposes, I featured the specific anxieties that experts articulated around festival assumptions and protocol as these experts were pressed by journalists to contextualise their ambivalence. Especially because the festival claims to be trying to 'protect' and 'promote' *dīwān* 'music' (whatever that may or may not include), there is a sense of struggle over who has the right to take on such a task. Given that the state-sponsored festival is a manifestation of nationalist ideologies of cultural heritage and that it involves the gaze of national media whose discourse is largely out of the control of the participants, the festival project is sometimes perceived by *ūlād dīwān* as a threat to ownership and representation.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

This thesis has, first, ventured to document and analyse *dīwān* ritual in unprecedented ways, particularly as the first ethnomusicological study of the practice. By 'ethnomusicological' I mean treating the totality of *dīwān* ritual worlds—ritual objects, actions, aesthetics, discourse, songs, trance events—with an anthropological methodology that accounts for music as a social practice. This has meant illustrating not only what is musically meaningful to the community and how the music does what it does, but it also means providing specifics on how songs are constructed and how they are classified into repertoires (Chapter Two and the appendices). To contextualise the material, I established a functional history in Chapter One of how *dīwān* emerged historically as well as the intellectual legacies and historical processes that I needed to grapple with as a researcher, from colonialism to Western academic approaches to the Maghrib and treatments of trance.

With previous *dīwān* sources in mind, particularly Dermenghem and Pâques, I set out to fill in the gaps in knowledge, specifically regarding my concern about researcher and theoretical distance in those sources. I, therefore, aimed to treat *dīwān* with a more intimate approach by featuring specific ritual experts, their ideas, and our conversations, by focusing on taxonomies of feeling within sensory/affective worlds, and by providing multiple ethnographic examples of ritual events, acts, and their discourses. From the beginning of my fieldwork, in order to understand the goals of *dīwān,* I made a point to get as close to trance experience as possible while focusing on the critical role of musical labour in producing the experience of trance.

My proposition of an affective epistemology in Chapter Three emerged because, in the rituals I witnessed and in the conversations I had with experts, everything boiled down to *ḥāl*: the ambience had to *feel* right before anything meaningful—especially trance—could happen. In order to translate my understanding of this affective epistemology and its lifeworld for a presumed Western reader, I was obliged to detail the quotidian, Algerian cultural understandings that set the stage for the phenomena of *ḥāl* and trance. Therefore, in Chapter Three, I detailed how *dīwān* epistemology connected to Algerian lifeworlds in order to adequately argue for this particular *affective* approach

on my part, as opposed to taking some other framework of analysis. I concluded the chapter by illustrating the primary way that the affective epistemology of *dīwān* manifests in practice: through systems of affective labour. In Chapter Four, I then proceeded to get into the textures and taxonomies of trance and its critical bodily-affective manifestations.

As part of the broader theme of Chapters Five, Six, and Seven in Part Three on dynamics of *dīwān* transmission, and in order to address internal anxieties that transmission is in a state of crisis, I gave three case studies of domains of knowledge transmission that I regularly encountered in my fieldwork: modes of secret knowledge, family lineages, and the festivalisation of *dīwān*. I ended by featuring the dynamics of the Diwan Festival of Bechar because I was interested in the kinds of present tensions around authority over transmission that the festival reveals. This final chapter perhaps leaves the reader wondering, then, 'what does the future look like for *dīwān*?' To attend to this question, I want to reflect here on *dīwān* transmission across the *longue durée* since surviving structures of transmission—particularly ritual practice—have not only made it possible for me to experience, study, and write about *dīwān* worlds but these structures will also largely affect the *future* of *dīwān* worlds—something I want to take stock of with the conclusion of this thesis.

In 2017, there is still a vibrant and active ritual world with multiple rituals happening all year round and nearly every weekend in summer time—particularly before and after Ramaḍān. During the most active months, it would be possible to spend more days at *dīwanat* than away from them. In other words, rituals are persevering and with them, the knowledge embedded in them, however transparent or secret it may be. As well as ritual performances, transmission has endured through some *shaykh-gendūz* relationships, despite how tenuous they might have been, and through resilient family lineages who not only guarded their ritual practice, but also possess audio recordings, videos, and photographs.

Because rituals are organised by and constituted of these family lineages and related or friendly kin groups, interaction *between* these groups, from marriages to reciprocal invitations to historic relationships between family groups has also assured transmission. Ritual protocol, ways of playing, and song repertoires can also be shared between

groups especially in large settings like *wʿādat* where many *maḥallat* are present with varying repertoire orders.[184] In addition, such large, usually open-air, publicly accessible rituals where anyone can wander in are also important to transmission as the primary way that 'outsiders' can witness and often record *dīwanat* as opposed to the more common invite-only and small, private *dīwanat.*

Transmission happens through oral stories that circulate both within and outside of *dīwān* worlds. Like the music, all *dīwān* history 'on the inside' is orally transmitted; I am not aware of any *weld dīwān*, meaning a *ritual* insider, who has attempted any kind of written history. As noted, the primary occurrence of oral history in my fieldwork was that of secrets and mysterious happenings and these kinds of stories meticulously established the insiders from the outsiders—something that, of course, is fundamental to transmission because what gets shared follows these lines.

Outside these 'traditional' and ritually-based structures, contemporary transmission has involved the circulation of amateur ritual and festival recordings and videos that can be shared with thumb drives or online (YouTube) between friends; I witnessed a great deal of this transmission between *muḥebbīn* in the cities. Furthermore, the Bechar festival has also played a part in transmission not just for those participating or in attendance but also for wider publics when the troupe performances end up on national television and musicians later make radio appearances. At the same time, young, stage-savvy *dīwān* troupes and *dīwān*-inspired fusion projects are cropping up amongst young men, especially in the cities and particularly in Algiers. With this youthful enthusiasm comes increasing concert performances (small scale '*spectacles'*), visibility, and media coverage, and even a radio station—Jil FM—with regular '*gnāwa*' centered broadcasts.[185] This thesis, too, is hopefully one contribution toward an understanding and transmission of today's *dīwān* worlds. In brief, there are plenty of reasons to be hopeful for *dīwān's* future.

Despite all of the above, it is important to attend to the discouraging *experience* of *dīwān* transmission for many older *ūlād dīwān* for what it might suggest—beyond an

---

[184] Compromises are made or one group might assert its *ṭreq* over the others.

[185] In these programs, *gnāwa, dīwān,* and *sṭambēlī* tracks are often played in the same show and not always demarcated as separate traditions. In fact, the term *gnāwa* is much more widely known than the other two so that it often functions as a broad, referential category, glossing all three traditions together.

analysis of cynicism or nostalgia—about how *dīwān's* shifting place in Algerian society is remembered today. Like we saw with Moqedm Jallūl, the primary reason given to me by multiple informants about the ongoing transmission crisis in *dīwān* was the death of elders who have not passed on their knowledge to the younger generations—perhaps because of changing times during which priorities had shifted, perhaps because of fear of the shifting politics where occult practices were increasingly seen with suspicion.

It is difficult to construct alternative possibilities and viewpoints about the remembered past and present of *dīwān* transmission because, in my fieldwork experience, historical information on *dīwān* emergence, practice, and transmission was already particularly elusive. There was a distinct absence of discourse about *how* information has actually been passed down, such as how ritual elders were selected for their roles and what was involved in initiations, or if there was any kind of formal training. Most insisted that ritual knowledge was transmitted by observation, talent, and divine blessing (*baraka*). Despite numerous trips back and forth to Algeria over four years, it was difficult to capture the vicissitudes of *dīwān* transmission in present day memory except basic information on the local *grāba* or *villages nègres* and testimony that rituals *did* persevere, even through times of great political crisis such as the War of Independence and the Civil War.

As for these larger, destablising historical processes and their affects on *dīwān* transmission, Algerian independence was identified as a key problem period by many. While independence certainly caused communities to shift dramatically and while, over time, society grew, modernised, and changed, I collected very little specific information about when and *how* exactly these *dīwān* communities broke apart or stayed together, and how modalities of transmission have changed over time.[186] The only relevant long-term history openly referenced was the claim by older *ūlād dīwān* that the *brāj* were, themselves, stories about Islamic history as far back as the life of the Prophet. While the actual *brāj* texts almost never supported this claim, I often saw Islamic and trans-Saharan history in the gestures, ritual activities, and ritual objects, such as the *borj* for Sīdī ʿAlī with the enactment of a warrior on his horse in battle or in the portrayal of

[186] While such detailed information proved to be out of the scope of this thesis, it warrants future attention.

Tuareg hunters in the *borj,* Sergu, who simulate hunting—historically, their 'prey' would have included slaves.

This brings me to the most glaring absence of discourse around longterm *dīwān* transmission: the topic of ongoing conditions of slavery and racial segregation that had everything to do with the emergence, practice, and transmission of *dīwān*. In my fieldwork, discourse about slavery was rare in the communities I frequented; it occasionally came up when I began asking for individuals' perspectives on the history of *dīwān* and its emergence. When it did come up, the tendency was to claim that *dīwān* had no relationship to slavery—except in the 'south' such as Ghardaia, Timimoun, and Ouargla where discussion about slavery was dramatically more explicit.[187] In the North, the most memorable mention was by Nūreddīn Sarjī who commented that certain texts about slavery had been 'removed' from songs over time (ostensibly by *ūlād dīwān* elders) because they reminded people of this trauma.[188]

Like my own challenges around the dearth of oral history testimony, the scantness of *dīwān* oral histories in all of the *dīwān* sources is not off-set by the textual or 'official' histories of *dīwān* either. However, I would propose that a cumulative assemblage of ethnohistory (Harkin 2003, 2010) is emergent between the various forms of transmission practices across time and emerging today: performative transmission (rituals and festivals), discursive transmission (oral history as mysterious happenings, secrets), and technological transmission (audio, video, television, radio).

Reflecting on the kinds of histories I *was* able to collect as well as the silent gaps, Harkin's (2003) attention to the relationship between ethnohistory and traumatic events may shed some light on the ways that collective memory or forgetting of slavery and its conditions has been transmitted—or not—through ritual practice: possibly, for example, through the Hausa and Migzawa *brāj* suites that are the most apparent legacy of forced *sūdānī* displacement. In terms of ritual practice, I also wondered about senses of forgetting or repressing—senses, literally, such as how a traumatic, affective load might be transferred, pixellated, or erased across time through the sensorial schemata of trance.

[187] Musicians were willing to talk about their relatives being slaves, even as recently as grandfathers.

[188] He said, 'People used to sing, "They brought us from sub-Saharan Africa [*jēbūnā men es-sūdān*]"; but they have eliminated these words because they remind people of slavery.' Personal communication, 2015. Other political traumas are not typically discussed either, such as the Black Decade of the Civil War and how *dīwān* survived in some places and disappeared in others, such as Tlemcen.

Nevertheless, I did not assume that the predominant silence around histories of slavery necessarily indicated forgetting. Alternatively, I wondered about the possibility that trance—the need to publicly and physically imbibe a loss of agency to some 'other'—might also be a way of precipitating and confronting collective, affective legacies from such a past.[189] Harkin argues, 'events are experienced and remembered with emotion' (2003: 262) and the fact that the trance I witnessed and spoke about with my interlocutors was *always* an affective—and often explicitly emotional—experience within a cultivated affective schemata only reinforced to me the need for this thesis to attend to emotions/affects, subjectivity, agencies, and the phenomenology of experience.

In the simplest of terms, I have wanted to 'take emotion seriously as a mode of experience and category of analysis' (ibid: 262). In order to do so, I demonstrated throughout this thesis the importance of how things *feel,* the prioritisation of affectivity, and the plays of human and nonhuman agency throughout this affectivity. If there is one idea that I want to leave with the reader, it is that *dīwān* ritual dynamics offer ways of understanding the nexus of music, trance, and ritual as an affective epistemology.

[189] On this note, see Kapchan 2007 on other interpretations of the experience of 'being possessed' in ritual, such as a metaphor of being possessed by slave masters.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Notes on the companion website

Audio recordings of the musical examples in the thesis text can be found on the companion website/blog: http://algeriandiwan.blogspot.co.uk/

Each musical example in the text will have a URL link placed in a footnote. Additional information about each musical example can be found at the linked URL, such as date of event, musicians, and any other performance notes.

In addition to these musical examples, feel free to explore the site for additional photographs, videos, and recordings of my interloctuors.

The site will be regularly updated to include blog entries and updates on musicians or additional media.

Appendix 2: List of Figures, Tables, and Musical Examples

Musical Examples:

1. Mūsa 2, *baladī* style 87

2. Mūsa 2, *shergī* style 87

3. Hausa *sūg* in Bilāl and Jamangaru 90

4. Hausa *sūg* in other *brāj* 90

5. *Rās el-borj*, Ḥammū 1 92

6. ʿAbdāqa, *rās el-borj*, Ḥammū 1 100

7. Qwīder, *rās el-borj* Ḥammū 1 100

8. Benʿūda, *rās el-borj*, Ḥammū 1 101

9. Qada, *rās el-borj* Ḥammū 1 101

10. Ḥammitū, *rās el-borj* Ḥammū 1 101

11. First call/response, Ḥammū 1 103

12. Second call/response, Ḥammū 1 104

13. Second *gaṭṭʿa*, Ḥammū 1 105

14. ʿAbdāqa, *sūg* motifs 106

15. Benʿūda, *sūg* motifs 107

16. Qwīder, *sūg* motifs 107

17. Ḥammitū, *sūg* motifs 108

18. Qada, *sūg* motifs 108

19. ʿAbdāqa, *rās el-borj*, Ḥammū 2 110

20: First 8-bar C/R, Ḥammū 2 111

21. Longer C/R section, Ḥammū 2 112

22. Exit phrase, Ḥammū 2 113

23. Final L/R phrase, Ḥammū 2 113

24. Ginbrī cue for *kuyu bungu* to enter, Ḥammū 2 115

25. 3rd *gaṭṭʿa*, Ḥammū 2 115

26. Sergū, *rās el-borj* 132

27. Jangare Mama, *rās el-borj* 135

28. G*aṭṭʿa* #1, Jangare Mama 137

29. G*aṭṭʿa* #2, Jangare Mama 137

30. G*aṭṭʿa* #3, Jangare Mama 138

31. Preparation for knife work motif, Jangare Mama 138

32. Knife work motif, Jangare Mama 139

33. Migzu, *rās el-borj* 212

34. Majdūb hemiola 228

35. Migzu, *kuyu bungu* and *rqīza* 264

Figures:

1. Photograph of the *village nègre*, Perrigaux 60

2. Nūreddīn Sarjī and ʿAmmī Daḥū Ḥarār 66

3. An Algerian *ginbrī* 71

4. *Qrāqeb* pair 75

5. *Ṭbola* and *qrāqeb* 76

6. Pentatonic mode with major 6th 77

7. Pentatonic mode with minor 7th 77

8. Isochronous and non-isochronous beat organisation 79

9. *Quatre-quatre* metric mode, binary triple; binary duple 79

10. Fuson's adaptation of Baldassare 80

11. Off-set *quatre-quatre* in *dīwān* 81

12. Triple groove into *quatre-quatre* 81

13. Fuson's three-stroke 82

14. Evenly spaced *six-huit* 82

15. Fuson's three-stroke, binary feel 83

16. Jankowsky's three-stroke compression 84

17. Jankowsky's three-stroke compression, graph 84

18. Photograph: Aḥmed preparing *bkhūr* in Jangare Mama 141

19. Photograph: Trance state 183

20. Types of *bkhūr* and *jāwī* collected in Algeria 210

21. Uses of minmor 3rd/minor 6th modal degree 235

22. Photograph: photo board in the Saida *zāwīya* 243

22. Saida *zāwīya* during a *dīwān* 244

Tables:

1. Structure of a *borj* 94

2. Five performances of the *borj* Ḥammū 1 compared 109

3. Five performances of the *borj* Ḥammū 2 compared 117

Appendix 3:Ṭreq Comparisons

The following tables compare the five *maḥallat* about whom I collected the most complete information regarding *ṭreq tartīb,* meaning the *maḥallat* whom I observed play *dīwanat* most often and with whom I could spend some time discussing the *brāj*.[190] *Tartīb* can vary even between groups who play together, such as between the two main *maḥallat* of the city of Mascara with whom I spent time (Belʿ Arabī and Zendēr) and even between members of the same *maḥalla.* Using data both collected in my own observations of rituals as well as what *ūlād dīwān* listed off to me upon my asking, I have represented these *ṭuruq* to the best of my knowledge. It is not unusual that the order given to me by *ūlād dīwān* often did not concur with what I observed in ritual. Here, I have separated out these kinds of data with asterisks (see below). As I stated previously, the entire repertoire is never played in one single *dīwān*; there was not a single *dīwān* or *wʿada* I observed that did not skip at least one or two *brāj,* usually in the interests of time or for being less popular. I have also tried to adapt to this situation by providing brackets when I did not witness a *borj* in ritual but that I suspect would likely be played in ideal circumstances: enough time to perform every *borj*. Even after several years of coming and going, observing and asking about these *ṭuruq* with ritual experts, new and differing information about the *brāj* continued to emerge; therefore, these tables should be taken as an estimate and guide.

Brāj can be classified in two overlapping levels of smaller and larger groups: suites and families. Suites contain groupings of two or three *brāj,* such as Srāga, Mūsa, Sīdī Ḥsen, and Ḥammū while families, larger groupings that include suites within them, include Baḥriyya, Hausawiyyn, Insa'wiyyn, or Ṣoḥāba, etcetera. I have mainly indicated in these tables below the order and makeup of the families because these are the groupings that tend to vary the most. The larger family groups are in all-caps and bold

[190] The one exception to this is the *ṭreq* of Ghardaia (technically the Mzab town of Lʿatef, *maḥalla* of Ḥammitū Samāwī but known most commonly as broadly 'Ghardaia'). This is because Ḥammitū's *ṭreq* begins with quite a number of *brāj* particular to the Mzab region [number?] which would off-set the comparison chart by too much. Secondly, for reasons of space I have not been able to adequately contextualise the unique and rich tradition of *dīwān* practice in the Mzab, not to mention the more commonly known musical practice of *dūndūn*, utilising that while being part of the Bilāliyya *ṭreq,* uses strictly *ṭbel* and *qrāqeb* with call and response singing and elabourate circle and line group dances involving elegant turning.

type while suites, if they are named as such, are in all-caps but regular type. I have colour coded the levels of categorization so that yellow is a *brāj* family, green is a suite, and blue is a cooling *borj.*

There is a fair bit of unclarity about how much the Baḥriyya *brāj* family extends. In Mascara, as the table shows, according to my interlocutors, it extends from Mūsa One until Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad, the end of the first main section of the *dīwān.* I occasionally heard this same categorisation in Oran, too. My educated guess is that there are, in fact, other families and groups but that perhaps ideas of these groups are much less codified so that 'unknowns' might get slotted into the category.

I have also noted when some *maḥallat* include or exclude particular *brāj* in families, such as that I never heard the Maḥarrar *maḥalla* of Perrigaux play Ḥammū Two (Bania) although one of the *mʿallemīn* listed it in a conversation about their *tartīb.*

Other comments, exceptions, etcetera:

- Ṣalat en-Nabī: prayers for the Prophet
- I have marked the entry to the ritual proper with the *borj* Lafū, this is where the sacred is envoked with *bkhūr.* One might argue that this is where the *jnūn* are called as they would not be called during the *brāj* for the Prophet—that would be seen as blasphemous.
- Baḥriyya: *brāj* of the water, sea
- Insa'wiyyn is a family group for the 'women', for female *jnūn* (*jinniyat)* or female supernatural entities that is noticeable by the names of the *brāj*: usually mostly female names like Malika, ʿAisha, etcetera.
- *Buḥaira* in the Saida category in Table 1, starting with *borj* five, was the name given by Muḥammad Amīn Canon, referencing 'lakes' or fields, or otherwise agricultural areas of which Saida is one.
- *Sema'wiyyn* references the sky, *Soḥaba* references the companions of the Prophet and in Oran, these are often used interchangeably.
- *Bambara* refers to *brāj* that are believed to be of Bambara/Bamana (Mande) origin. In some places Bambara *brāj* were also a kind of water category; people sometimes referred to them as Baḥāra, also referencing the sea.

- Tafilalet, Filali: from the Tafilalet region in Morocco, patron spirit of Sīdī Mīmoun; not commonly heard, primarily only in Saida or extremely western regions near the border. According to local discourse, Bechar purportedly once had the Filali repertoire but it has since been lost. One chart I encountered in Algeria, made by some *muḥebbīn* in Adrar, Ūlād Sīdī Laḥçsen, listed Tafilalet as part of their *ṭreq;* upon asking later, the list was, I was told, primarily copied from the Mascara *ṭreq*. Musicians would most certainly know the *brāj* whether or not they are performed. This is because of the great amount of contact between *maḥallat.*
- As previously mentioned, there various thoughts about how one splits apart Hausawiyyn/Migzawiyyn/Khela'wiyyn so I have aimed to stay true to regional classifications

ORAN: average of observed and dictated *ṭuruq* of *dīwanat* and *wʿadat*, primarily *maḥalla* of Qwīder Ben ʿArūbī
MASCARA: City of Mascara, average of observed and dictated *ṭuruq* of *dīwanat* and *wʿadat* of *maḥalla* Ūlād Meriem and the partnership between Azzeddīn Benūghef and Benʿūmar Zendēr
PRGX Z = Perrigaux *maḥalla* BelʿAbbess Zerwāli; average of observed and dictated *ṭuruq* of *dīwanat* and *wʿadat*,
PRGX M = Perrigaux, *maḥalla* Dīden Maḥarrar; average of observed and dictated *ṭuruq* of *dīwanat* and *wʿadat*
SAIDA: average of observed and dictated *ṭuruq* of *dīwanat* and *wʿadat* of *maḥalla* kin group Moṭam-Canon-Farajī-Būterfās.

1	ORAN		MASCARA		PRGX Z		PRGX M		SAIDA
	ṢALAT EN-NABĪ		**ṢALAT EN-NABĪ**		**ṢALAT EN-NABĪ**		**ṢALAT EN-NABĪ**		**ṢALAT EN-NABĪ**
1	Ṣalū Nabīna 1	1	Ṣalū Nabīna 1	1	Ṣalū Nabīna 1	1	Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad	1	Ṣalū Nabīna 1
2	Nabī Muḥammad *('gnāwa zuru')*	2	Bania	2	Nabī Muḥammad *('g. zuru')*			2	Bania
3	Sīd El-Yūm	3	Sīdī Yūm	3	Bania **	2	Sīd El-Yay**	3	Nabī Muḥammad
		4	Nabī Muḥammad	4	Jamberika				
			Jamberika						
	intro ritual proper		intro ritual proper		intro ritual proper		intro ritual proper		intro ritual proper
4	Lafū	5	Lafū	5	Lafū	3	Lafū	4	Lafū
	BAḤRIYYA		**BAḤRIYYA**						**BUḤAIRA**
	MŪSAWIYYN		MŪSAWIYYN		MŪSAWIYYN		MŪSAWIYYN		MŪSAWIYYN
5	Musa 1	6	Musa 1	6	Musa 1	4	Jamberika	5	Musa 1 -> (non-stop)
6	Jamberika	7	Musa 2	7	Musa 2	5	Musa 2	6	Jamberika
7	Musa 2	8	Musa 3	8	Musa 3	6	Musa 1	7	Musa 2
8	Musa 3	9	Dabu	9	Dabu	7	Musa 3	8	Musa 3
9	Dabu					8	Dabu	9	Dabu
10	*Nabīna*	10	*Nabīna*	10	Nabina**	9	*Nabīna*	10	*Nabīna*

* = listed by elder but never observed in ritual
** = observed in ritual but not listed by elder
[ ] = although not listed or observed, likely to be there
NC = was not able to classify

2	ORAN		MASCARA		PERG Z		PERG M		SAIDA
	ḤAMMŪ		ḤAMMŪ		ḤAMMŪ		ḤAMMŪ		ḤAMMŪ
11	Ḥammū 1	11	Ḥammū 1	10	Ḥammū 1	10	Ḥammū 1	11	Ḥammū 1
12	Ḥammū 2	12	Ḥammū 2	11	Ḥammū 2	11	Ḥammū *	12	Ḥammū 2
								13	Ḥammūda*
13	*Ḥabībī Raṣūl Allah*	13	*Ḥabībī Raṣūl Allah*	12	*Ḥabībī Raṣūl Allah*	12	*Ḥabībī Raṣūl Allah*	14	*Ḥabībī Raṣūl Allah*
	SRAGA		SRAGA		SRAGA		SRAGA		SRAGA
14	Sergu 1	14	Sergu 1	13	Sergu 1	13	Sergu 1	15	Sergu 1
15	Sergu 2	15	Sergu 2	14	Sergu 2	14	Sergu 2	16	Sergu 2 (Sergu Billahjay)
16	Sergu 3	16	Sergu 3	15	Sergu 3	15	Sergu 3	17	Sergu 3
	SĪDĪ ḤSEN		SĪDĪ ḤSEN		SĪDĪ ḤSEN		SĪDĪ ḤSEN		SĪDĪ ḤSEN
17	Jangare Mama	17	Jangare Mama	16	Jangare Mama	16	Jangare Mama	18	Jangare Mama
18	Baba Inwa / Safī Baba Inwa	18	Baba Inwa/ Safī Baba Inwa	17	Baba Inwa	17	Baba Inwa	19	Baba Inwa
19	Bania Zerga Sema	19	Bania Zerga Sema	18	Bania Zerga Sema	18	Bania Zerga Sema	20	Bania Zerga Sema

3	ORAN		MASCARA		PERG Z		PERG M		SAIDA
	SEMA'WIYYN		(BAḪRIYYA) continued						BUḤAIRA
20	Dawi	20	Dawi	19	Dawi	19	Dawi	21	Dawi
21	ʿAbd El-Qādr Jilānī ('Shaykh')	21	ʿAbd El-Qādr Jilānī	20	Brahīm	20	ʿAbd El-Qādr Jilānī -->	22	ʿAbd El-Qādr Jilānī
22	Merzūg	22	Merzūg	21	ʿAbd El-Qādr Jilānī	21	Merzūg	23	Merzūg
23	Gourma-Jayba	23	Bū Derbāla	22	Merzūg	22	Bū Derbāla	24	Bū Derbāla
24	Brahīm	24	Jamangaru	23	Bū Derbāla	23	Jamangaru	25	Jamangaru
25	Bū Derbāla	25	Lillia (separate)	24	Jamangaru	24	Brahīm	26	ʿAlī
	(Brahīm again)	26	Tigirama -> Brahīm	25	ʿAlī	25	ʿAlī	27	Gourma--> Jayba
26	Jamangaru -->	27	Bubakar 1	26	Gourma --> Jayba	26	Gourma--> Jayba	28	Brahīm
27	Lillia	28	Bubakar 2	27	Naria	27	Brahim **	29	Naria Nariyay -->
28	ʿAlī	29	ʿAlī	28	Marou	28	Nariyay	30	Marou 1
			[some play Brahim here instead]**			29	Marou	31	Marou 2
29	ʿAbdellah	30	Gourma-Jayba			30	Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad		
30	Buya Madani							32	Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad 1
		31	Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad 1	29	Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad 1			33	Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad 2
31	Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad	32	Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad 2	30	Ṣalū Nabī, Nabī Muḥammad			34	Yay Bi Lafu Moulana

4	ORAN		MASCARA		PERG Z		PERG M		SAIDA
	SEMA'WIYYN, SOḤĀBA		**INSA'WIYYN**				**SOḤĀBA**		**SEMA'WIYYN, SOḤĀBA**
32	Marou	33	Naria Nariyay	31	Bubakar	31	Bubakar	35	Souleyman
33	Bubakar ('dayf Allah')	34	Marou	32	Soulemaniya (Souleyman)	31	Nariyay (6/8)	36	Bubakar (dayf Allah)
34	Souleyman	35	'Abdellah	33	Madanī	33	'Abdellah *zuru* Nabīna	37	'Abdellah (*zuru Nabīna*)
35	Ṣalū Nabī Muḥammad -->	36	Salamiga	34	'Abdellah	34	Buya Madani	38	Ṣalu Nabī Muḥammad
36	Janari Yum Yum	37	Souleyman	35	Janari	35	'Abdellah (opttional)		FILĀLI, TAFILALET
		38	Mimoun	36	Ṣalu Nabī Muḥammad	36	Ṣalu Nabī Muḥammad	39	Sīdī Mimoun le-Ghumami

5	**INSA'WIYYN**	39	Boushama		**INSA'WIYYN**		**INSA'WIYYN**	40	Sīdī Mimoun 2
37	Naria Nariyay	40	Mimouna	37	Lalla Malika	37	Lalla Malika	41	Mimoun *le-gnāwī*
38	Hawayay	41	Hawayay	38	'Aisha	38	Lalla Mariamo	42	Kubaini Kuba
39	Malika	42	Billma	39	Hawayay	39	Lalla Aisha	43	Raṣūl Allah (3rd)
40	Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad?	43	Sayou	40	Mimouna	40	Hawayay		BAMBARA
41	Hammouda (NC)	44	Bel Hamar	41	Jarahyay	41	Lalla Mimouna	44	Billma
42	Nana Mariamo	45	Gefla	42	Billma	*42*	Baḥāra	45	Sayou
43	Lalla Mimouna -->	46	Jarahyay	43	Salamiga	*43*	Jarahyay	46	Jarahyay
44	Sidi Mimoun	47	Toufou Jeleba	44	Sawanday	44	Sayou*	47	Buya Madani
45	Boushama	48	Raṣūl Allah	45	Sayou	45	Billma*	48	Salamiga
46	Salamiga				TAFILALET?	46	Sawanday*	49	Sawanday
47	Jarahyay					47	Salamiga*	50	Gadaka daka*
48	B Shakur Ruba					48	Bushama*		

6									**INSA'WIYYN**
								51	Lalla Aisha
	BAMBARA							52	Hawayay
49	Sayou							53	Ina Mariamo
50	Billma							54	Lalla Malika
51	Sawanday							55	Lalla Mimouna
	HAUSAWIYYN		**HAUSAWIYYN**		**HAUSAWIYYN**		**HAUSAWIYYN**		**HAUSAWIYYN**

	ORAN		MASCARA		PERG Z		PERG M		SAIDA
	Hausawiyyn		**Hausawiyyn**		**Hausawiyyn**		**Hausawiyyn**		**Hausawiyyn**
1	Boulal	1	Boulal	1	Boulal	1	Boulal	1	Boulal
2	Rima 1	2	Rima	2	Rima	2	Rima	2	Rima 1
3	Rima Obana	3	Rima Nesskubana	3	Rima Kobana	3	Sayou**		Rima Obana*
4	Jangerima	4	Jangerima	4	Jangerima	4	Rima Obana	3	Jangerima -->
5	Yurah yay	5	Yurah Yay	5	Yarah yay	5	Jangerima	4	Yurah yay
6	Jangare Ruba	6	Bawshki	6	Ya Choro (Ya Joro)	6	Yurah yay	5	Makanjane
7	Bawshki	7	Bakatcheni (Makanjane)	7	Makanjane	7	Makanjane	6	Ya Juru -->
8	Baysama	8	Habibiyay Herkawa	8	Bawa	8	Kobana Diki Diki	7	Bawshki
9	Bubakar	9	Charabia Bouriliama (Maysama, Baysama)	9	Baysama	9	Baka Bawa Bawshki	8	Jangare Kuba
10	Makanjane	10	Ina Mariamo	10	Bubakar	10	Rima Kobana/Dangari Ruba	9	Maysama
	Kobana Diki Diki	11	Massediri (Natigiri)	11	Rima Kobana	11	Kobana Diki Diki	10	Kobana Diki Diki
12	Ya Joro	12	Natchero Nanata (Ya Joro)	12	Kobana Diki Diki	12	Mani Magani		
13	Bori Bangabo*	13	Namanduki Kedadi	13	Mani Magani				
		14	Dekori Madendaki (Kobana Diki Diki)						
		15	Keri Keri Nachendadi						
		16	Matikoyo Tchentecheni						
		17	Babag Dji Dembarki						
		18	Salem Salem						
		19	Maalem Koungona						
		20	Kabra Bouka Maalem Kabra						
		21	Ya Sidi Sil el Madani						
		22	Elora Elora						
		23	Djouli Ya Djouli						
		24	Youp Youp Aminiame						
		25	Negri Tcahto (Jato)						
		26	Dai dai Yedai Kelani Kenkebu						
		27	Dendenek Bounia						Do Allah Do Anabi
		28	Kelikoulma Djibergerba (jib el ma or Kiri Kiri)						Ya Moulana, Lafou
		29	Yena Harbaoua (Ina or Yinna Herbawa)						Rijal Allah, prayer song

	ORAN		MASCARA		PERG Z		SAIDA GINBRI		SAIDA ṬBEL
	Migzawiyyn		**Migzawiyyn**		**'Khelawiyyn'**		**Migzawiyyn**		**Migzawiyyn**
	Dayday		Kirem Mdawa	1	Mikere Obana				Mikere Gzawa
	Mikere Gzawa		Aroro Makendawa (maybe w/ Dayshakay)	2	Mikere 6/8		check mascara diwan 2016		Gay Gay (Dayday)
	Mikere Kubananay (Obana nay)		Jaroro Mawakatchi (Jaroro Bawakati)	3	Boubounia				Boubounia
	Mikere 6/8		Mikere	4	Jororo Mawakashay				Mikere Kobana Nay
	Boubounia		Migzu	5	Jamarkay				Mikere Obana Nay 2
			Bani Shawara Dogomah (Dogowah)	6	Gar jari migzawa				Migzu
			Mani Magani	7	Rororo Makedawa				Jambarkay
			Rabi Lafu Ya Moulana	8	Migzu				Jato
				9	Ya Juli				Jaroro Bawa Katchi
				10	Gring Jato				Migzu Makanay
				11	Mʿallem Kugana				Ya Juli
				12	Ya kabra mʿallem				Nini Buka
									Oba Obana Digiwah
									Bani Magani
									Do Allah Do Anabi
									Sudani Qaima
									[Jarahyay]
					Bi Lafū, Ṣalat u slam (prayer)				[Sayou]

Appendix 4: Ritual Action (Nashaṭ) Table

The following table is an attempt at the most thorough representation of what happens in an average *dīwān* ritual, particularly what kinds of ritual actions are required during certain *brāj,* to show the dominance of the *quatre-quatre* metric mode, and to show consistency and variation in colour scheme for the *brāj.*[191] In the table *tartīb* I have more or less followed an Oranais *ṭreq* but with adapttions to Hausawiyyn from Saida.

Migzawiyyn is particularly interesting because it is rarely heard in *dīwān* ritual (with *ginbrī*) but almost exclusively turns up in large *wʿadat.* With the exception of the Arzew *wʿāda* and/or if Ūlād Meriem of Mascara are playing with Moqedm Hūsīn Daījaī in charge—in which case the *brāj* will be played with *ginbrī,* being a family of *brāj* he is fond of—it is more common to hear them for processions or at festive (folklore, Cultural Center) events, using only *ṭbel, qrāqeb,* and with call and response singing only.

X = no information, not classifiable; never observed in ritual nor spoken of by interlocutors.

Tables are split by where there are categorical breaks or common pauses in the repertoire

[191] There does not seem to be a great deal of strictness about colour usage in the *dīwān* ritual, certainly compared to my experience in *gnāwa lilat* where I found enforced protocol on 'correct' colours for songs. In *dīwān,* it is not unusual to see several colours on the ṭaraḥ at the same time .Green and red are the most commonly variable (i.e.: Ḥammū in Saida is green but red just about everywhere else).

BORJ	CATEGORIE(S)	METRIC MODE	COLOUR	RITUAL ACTION, PROPS
Bania	*kuyu*, no official, named category. Might come before Ṣalū Nabīna in some *w'adat*	6/8	none	Just *qrāqeb* and *ṭbel*, call and response singing and circular, group *kuyu* dancing with fancy footwork. Men only.
Ṣalū Nabīna	Ṣalat en-Nabī	6/8	none	Group *kuyu* dancing with *qrāqeb* in hand by members of the *rqīza*. A rotating circle dance that then breaks into two lines facing each other—or sometimes facing the same direction with one person up front like in prayer—with musically cued bowing to the four directions. Three bows to each direction before the lines rotate together to the next direction. Rotating circle reforms, more coordinated dancing followed finally by semi-codified individual footwork solos up and down the *ṭaraḥ* with *m'allem* giving musical cues for 'approach' and 'retreat'. Men only.
Sīd el-Yūm aka Sīd el-Māl or Sīdī Yay	*kuyu*/ Ṣalat en-Nabī although this is the one that doesn't fit	6/8	none	Group, circle *kuyu* dancing, rotating circles with hops and special footwork. Circle can later break apart into solos with the *ginbrī*. Men only.
Lafū	none	4/4*	green	*Bkhūr* is brought out along with *ṭbag* of ritual offerings. The *maḥalla* is fumigated with *bkhūr*. These actions transition into the sacred ritual proper so this is where the first trance can happen, now can be men or women.
Mūsa 1	Mūsawiyyn suite; Baḥriyya family	4/4	usually green. blue @Perrigaux and Relizane	regular *jedba*, no special action required
Jamberika	Baḥriyya family, often on its own	4/4	green (also blue like above)*	*jedba* with multicolored flags seen in one *dīwān* in Mostaganem
Mūsa 2	Mūsawiyyn suite; Baḥriyya family	4/4	green*	regular *jedba*, no special action required
Mūsa 3	Mūsawiyyn suite; Baḥriyya family	6/8	green*	Sometimes small green flags held in both hands of the *jedebbīn*, waved while dancing
Dabū	Baḥriyya family	4/4	green*	*Jedebbīn* take two natural fiber whips, *būlalat*, which they hold behind their backs and *tejdeb* with for most of the *borj's gatt'at* until the *ginbrī* and *kuyu bungu* signal a particular *gatt'a* to begin whipping themselves: holding one whip in each hand and alternating R/L whipping each over the shoulder in time with the pulse. Some *jedebbīn* might whip in a rotating circle or between two or four *jedebbīn* before individuals approach the *m'allem* to be 'worked'.
Nabīna	*Borj* for the Prophet, a cooling *borj*	6/8	green or no colour	regular *jedba*, no special action required

BORJ	CATEGORIE(S)	METRIC MODE	COLOUR	RITUAL ACTION, PROPS
Ḥammū 1	Ḥammū suite	4/4	Usually red. Green in Saida, Perrigaux	Making *rwīna* here if not in the next *borj*, but often made here in order that it is distributed in the second *borj*. All ingredients and the containers for water and the basin are fumigated with bkhūr. When the small balls are put on the plates, one must do so with crossed hands, the *msellmīn-mketfīn* gesture. Rwina is distributed to m'allem and kuyu bungu first, then men, then women. Traditionally it was made by women but today usually made by men except for in Saida and the occasional w'ada where plenty of elderly, respected women turn up. In Saida, *jedebbīn* also *tejdeb* with green flags
Ḥammū 2	Ḥammū suite	4/4	red*	Someone feeding *rwīna* to highest ranking musicians, *ūlād dīwān*, and *muḥebbīn*
(Ḥammūda)	Ḥammū suite	6/8	red*	x
Habībī Raṣūl Allah	Prophet, cooling *borj*			regular *jedba*, no special action required
Sergu 1	Srāga	4/4	black	Typical line up on *ṭaraḥ*; *jedebbīn* take two long, black spears to *tejdeb* with. As tempo increases and *borj* develops, there is group, rotating circle dance where *jedebbīn* thrust long spears into their abdomen (see trance event).
Sergu 2	Srāga	4/4	black	same as above
Sergu 3	Srāga	6/8	black	no circle dances, most spears put away, mostly individual *Jedba*
Jangare Mama	Sīdī Ḥsen	4/4	red. *Jedebbīn who use knives must wear red belt-wrap at waist*	*Jedebbīn* take two butcher knives, one in each hand. *Jedba* until music accelerates. Rotating circle is formed. Musical cues to get ready, begin, and stop actions of each *jedēb(a)* making alternating stabbing motions at the abdomen. See trance story. Finishes with solo *jedba*.
Baba Inwa / Safī Baba Inwa	Sīdī Ḥsen	4/4	red, same as above	*Jedba* with knives continues
Bania Zerga Sema	Sīdī Ḥsen	6/8	red	*jedba* with small green, blue, or mixed colored flags (depending on *maḥalla*) held in the hands of *jedebbīn* who wave them in time with dance/music

BORJ	CATEGORIE(S)	METRIC MODE	COLOUR	RITUAL ACTION, PROPS
Dawi	indefinite, Soḥāba	4/4	red	Occasionally knives with similar motion to Jangare Mama but not in groups. Those who don't want to use knives occasionally use *bulalat* but this is critiqued as breaking tradition.
`Abd El-Qādr Jilānī aka 'Shaykh' because he is known as the King of Saints, Sulṭān el-Awlīya	Soḥāba, Sema'wiyyn. There is a sense of `Abd El-Qādr Jilānī, Merzūg, and Bū Derbāla being a suite of three but with no title	4/4	white	Typically one or two *jedebbīn* put on a white cloak, take a wooden staff in one hand, and in the other hand, hold a long chain of prayer beads or a rosary (*sebḥa*) or a candle, taking on the personage of the saint, moving slowly, a bit hunched over like an old man.
Merzūg	Soḥāba	6/8	black	Not discussed widely in NW Algeria but I believe to be Merzūg, the saint from SE Algeria, near Biskra
Bū Derbāla	Soḥāba; Another name for and additional personage of `Abd El-Qādr Jilānī	4/4	white	Sheep skins (*lebṭāna* or *haydūra*) are placed on the backs of jedebbīn who hold them on with their hands. Some have strings attached so a *jedēb(a)* can *tejdeb* hands-free
Gourma-Jayba	Baḥriyya, sometimes considered part of Soḥāba	4/4	possibly blue, x	Gourma: Circle dance around a large metal basin filled with a small amount of water (gas'a el-ma) around which *jedebbīn* dance, each holding a long stick acting as an oar. Moving in a circle around the basin, they make rowing motions with the sticks, with small hops, occasionally turning to go the other direction. Eventually, someone moved to do so, gets down on the ground, on hands and knees, holding the basin at the sides, trancing over it (moving the head and torso) then eventually picks up the basin, may fling out some of the water on the audience as a blessing, and then dumps the rest of the basic over their head. Jayba has no particular action.
Brahīm	Ṣoḥāba	4/4	red, usually.	Traditionally, razors were used to mimic blood-letting at the ankles. This might be done in jest now, with light tapping on the ankles with the razor blades, no real cuts being made. Not commonly seen anymore.

BORJ	CATEGORIE(S)	METRIC MODE	COLOUR	RITUAL ACTION, PROPS
Jamangaru -->	mixed	4/4	green;	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Lillia		4/4	x	regular *jedba,* no special action required
ʿAlī	possibly Baḥiryya (the green), Sema'wiyyn (the light blue)	4/4	green, red, or light blue depending on *maḥalla*	One or two people dance with a sword, swishing is high in the air, mimicking slow motion battle moves while dance steps mimic that of a horse trotting.
ʿAbdellah		6/8	x	Someone acting as ʿAbdellah sits in a chair, acting as if they're at a desk pontificating and writing with a quill while at least one person stands by to fan the writer/scholar.
Buya Madani	mixed, sometimes Insa'wiyyn, Soḥāba	6/8	sometimes white: Oran	Hard-boiled eggs are given out to the public
Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad	Prophet, cooling *borj*	4/4	white	Large satin white tapestry, sometimes inscribed with the words Raṣūl Allah Muḥammad, is held up at the corners and sides by 4-8 men who sometimes also hold candles in the free hand. Under the tapestry is typically an older man or someone who is being blessed by this action, also might be holding a candle. Eventually, as the *borj* progresses the tapestry is draped over the man in the center. He might sit down. On one occasion this was done for a newborn held in the center man's arms.

BORJ	CATEGORIE(S)	METRIC MODE	COLOUR	RITUAL ACTION, PROPS
Marou	sometimes Insa'wiyyn	6/8	black	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Bubakar ('dayf Allah')	Soḥāba	4/4	x	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Souleyman (Solomon)	Soḥāba	6/8	x	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Ṣalū Nabī Muḥammad ->	Prophet	4/4	x	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Janari Yum Yum	unclear	4/4	x	According to my interlocutors, in former times, inhabited *jedebbīn* would grab raw meat with their teeth and rip into it. That this *borj* immediately follows one for the prophet, enchainé, is often stated as problematic.
Naria Nariyay	Insa'wiyyn	6/8	x	none observed
Hawayay	Insa'wiyyn	6/8	x	large baskets full of hard candies, sugar cubes, and peanuts are carried by a weld dīwān, usually a woman, who distributes handfuls to the public. The basket remains covered with a cloth until the time of distributing the sweets.
Malika	Insa'wiyyn	4/4	x	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Nana Mariamo	Insa'wiyyn		x	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Lalla Mimouna -->	Tafilalet or Insa'wiyyn	6/8	x	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Sidi Mimoun le-ghumāmī	Tafilalet (mostly only played by Saida)	4/4	yellow	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Sidi Mimoun 2	Tafilalet	6/8	yellow	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Mimoun *le-gnāwī*	Tafilalet	6/8	yellow	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Boushama ('ya wali')	Insa'wiyyn	4/4	x	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Salamiga	Insa'wiyyn	4/4	x	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Jarahyay	Bambara	4/4	green for some	regular *jedba,* no special action required
B Shakur Ruba	unknown	4/4	x	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Sayou	Bambara	4/4	x	regular *jedba,* no special action required
Billma	Bambara	4/4	x	A gentleman feigns being inebriated, drinking from a pretend or empty bottle and stumbling around playfully. Although I never heard an explanation for this ritual action, I believe it is connected to the town of Bilma in Niger that became known for its supply of fermented drinks.
Sawanday	Bambara	6/8	x	regular *jedba,* no special action required

BORJ	CATEGORIE(S)	METRIC MODE	COLOUR	RITUAL ACTION, PROPS
Boulal	Hausawiyyn	4/4	none	trance but no particular action observed/noted
Rima 1	Hausawiyyn	4/4	none	trance but no particular action observed/noted
Rima Obana	Hausawiyyn	4/4	none	trance but no particular action observed/noted
Jangerima	Hausawiyyn	4/4	none	trance but no particular action observed/noted
Yurah yay	Hausawiyyn	4/4	none	trance but no particular action observed/noted
Makanjane	Hausawiyyn	4/4	none	trance but no particular action observed/noted
Ya Juru	Hausawiyyn	4/4	none	An expert *jedēb* takes two small knives and drives them into the tops of his thighs in time with the music pulse. The only *borj* in Hausawiyyn with a seeming regular ritual action.
Bawshki	Hausawiyyn	4/4	x	trance but no particular action observed/noted
Jangare Kuba	Hausawiyyn	4/4	x	trance but no particular action observed/noted
Maysama	Hausawiyyn	4/4	x	trance but no particular action observed/noted
Kobana Diki Diki	Hausawiyyn	4/4	x	trance but no particular action observed/noted

BORJ	CATEGORIE(S)	METRIC MODE	COLOUR	RITUAL ACTION, PROPS
Mikere Gzawa	Migzawiyyn	4/4	x	x
Gay Gay (Dayday)	Migzawiyyn	6/8	x	Azzedīn Benūghef of Mascara told me that this *borj* has to do with flies biting so sometimes *jedebbīn* would inact swatting imaginary flies. I never observed any ritual action myself.
Boubounia	Migzawiyyn	6/8	x	Punching fists in the air, enacting a fight.
Mikere Kobana Nay	Migzawiyyn	4/4	x	x
Mikere Obana Nay 2	Migzawiyyn	6/8	x	x
Migzu	Migzawiyyn	4/4	x	A wild, white rabbit it set loose and an inhabited *jedēb(a)* will catch and kill the rabbit. In former times, I'm told that the *jedēb(a)* would kill the rabbit by biting into its neck and sucking its blood. The only time I saw this happen in Mascara, it was an inhabited girl. The rabbit's throat was cut by someone with a knife after which she took the rabbit, sucked at its throat and tore its body in two. In this state, is is understood that Migzu is acting through her.
Jambarkay	Migzawiyyn	6/8	x	x
Jato	Migzawiyyn	6/8	x	Pâques reports that her interlocutors told her that inhabited *jedebbīn* would go to the toilet and then smear feces on walls, etcetera. I attempted to confirm this; my interlocutors confirmed that it was a 'bad spirit who did bad things.'
Jaroro Bawa Katchi	Migzawiyyn	6/8	x	x
Migzu Makanay	Migzawiyyn	6/8	x	never heard in ritual, only in Saida *w'āda* with ṭbel and qrāqeb, call/response singing only.
Ya Juli	Migzawiyyn	6/8	x	none observed
Nini Buka	Migzawiyyn	4/4	x	never heard in ritual, only in Saida *wāda*
Oba Obana Digiwah	Migzawiyyn	6/8	x	never heard in ritual, only in Saida *wāda*
Bani Magani	Migzawiyyn	4/4	x	x
Do Allah Do Anabi	Migzawiyyn	4/4	x	x
Sudani Qaima	Migzawiyyn	6/8	x	x

Appendix 5: Glossary of commonly used terms

Singular (masculine, feminine)/plural where used:
abāya, abayat: coloured, hooded, usually satin cloaks used as ritual props
ʿarifa, ʿarifat: female aid to the *moqedm*, attends to trancing women in ritual
bkhūr: special incense used in ritual
borj, brāj: song/s
bulāla, bulalat: animal hide or natural fiber whips of Hausa origin
chenchēna: a flat, metal plate pierced with metal rings around the edges, inserted into the end of the *ginbrī* neck, with the purpose of jingling and vibrating with each string stroke
gaṭṭʿa, gaṭṭʿat: 'cut/s', usually refers to the cutting of musical mottoes into smaller pieces
gendūz(a), genēdīz: disciples, referring to the musical 'disciples' who play *qrāqeb*/ sing
ginbrī, gnāber: three-stringed, fully transpierced lute, main instrument of *dīwān* ritual
gurbī, grāba: a shantytown or all black village and often housing a zāwīya or ritual space for the local *dīwān* community. Also called *villages nègres*
ḥāl, aḥwal: both a trance state but used more commonly as overall 'ambience' in *dīwān*
istikhbār: long, unmetered introduction
jāwi: benzoin, burned sometimes in *dīwān* ritual
jedba: a 'state' of trance, possibly translated as 'divine attraction', 'emotional trance'
jedēb(a), jeddebīn: trancers, those who trance
jinn, jnun: order of supernatural being, make of smokeless fire, non-human
kumania: a sacred room or large closet where ritual materials are kept when not in use
Kuria: a sub-Saharan, composite language that black slaves are said to have spoken in Algeria and that still makes up some texts of *dīwān brāj*
kuyu: acrobatic, playful dancing done by male members of the *rqīza* or public before the ritual proper begins (before *bkhūr* is brought out)
kuyu bungu, kuyu bungu-s: lead singer who initiates the 'call' of call/response singing
maḥalla, maḥallat: can refer to the musical troupe and the trunk of ritual materials
mʿallem(a), mʿallemīn: 'masters', usually means one who plays the *ginbrī*, always male
moqedm(a), moqedmīn: a kind of spiritual leader, oversees the ritual ambience
msellmīn-mketfīn: crossing gesture made with hands to indicate respect and surrender
muḥeb(a), muḥebbīn: 'lovers of', connoisseur(s), tends to reference ritual public of 'regulars', those who turn up regularly
nūba, nūbat: 'turn', refers to someone's turn on the ritual space in front of musicians
qarqābu, qrāqeb: double-headed metal castanets that accompany the *ginbrī*
rās el-borj: 'head' of the *borj*, or the main and usually first theme of a song
rqīza: response group of singers, also sometimes called the 'chorus' or chorale
ruḥ, arwaḥ: order of supernatural entity, typically thought to be soul of a deceased human. Often translated as 'spirit'
rwīna: doughy, uncooked balls of grilled wheat, water, and sugar served during certain songs
shawsh: aid to the moqedm, helps referee the ritual space, delivers ritual props to trancers
silsila, silsilat: 'chain', here meaning human chain of transmission
sūg: to 'drive', the last section of most brāj where the *ginbrī* 'drives' a riff
tejdeb: most common use of the verb, 'to trance'
taḥwissa: long, unmetered introduction
ṭaraḥ: the oval-shaped ritual space created by the semi-circle of musicians and public at sides
tartīb: order of songs
ṭbag: flat basket where ritual offerings are placed
ṭreq, ṭuruq: ritual path, usually meaning the song repertoire order
ūlād dīwān: children or 'sons' of *dīwān,* meaning those born in the tradition or 'insiders'
zāwīya, zāwayat: lodge or Sufi locale; in *dīwān* context, a building dedicated for *dīwānat*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abu Nasr, Jamil N. 1965. *The Tijaniyya, a Sufi Order in the Modern World*. London: Oxford University Press.

Ahmed, Sara. 2004. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ali, Mukhtar H. n.d. "The Station of Love in Khwāja ʿAbdallah Al-Anṣārī's Manāzil Al-Sāʾirīn." *Unpublished Paper on Academia.edu*.

Amster, Ellen J. 2013. *Medicine and the Saints: Science, Islam, and the Colonial Encounter in Morocco, 1877-1956.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Andrews, John Bruyn. 1903. *Les Fontaines Des Génies (Sebʾa Aioun): Croyances Soudanaises À Alger*. Alger: Adolphe Jourdan.

Aucapitaine, and Federman. 1867. "Sur L'Histoire et L'Aministration Du Beylik de Titteri; Seconde Partie." *Revue Africaine* 11.

Baldassare, Antonio. 1999. "Musique et Danse Des Gnawa: La Lila/Derdeba Comme Hypertexte." In *L'univers Des Gnawa*, edited by Abdelhafid Chlyeh, 87–103. Casablanca: La Pensée sauvage/Le Fennec.

Bargery, George. *A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary*. London: Oxford University Press.

Bargès, Jean Joseph Léandre. 1853. *Mémoire Sur Les Relations Commerciales de Tlemcen Avec Le Soudan Sous Le Règne Les Beni Zeyan*. Paris: Bureau de la Revue de L'Orient, de L'Algérie et des colonies.

Basra, Khalid, and Richard Widdess. 1989. "Dhrupad in Pakistan: The Talwandi Gharana." *Dhrupad Annual* 4: 1–10.

Batran, Aziz A. 2001. *The Qadiryya Brotherhood in West Africa and the Western Sahara: The Life and Times of Shaykh Al-Mukhtar Al-Kunti,(1729-1811)*. Publications de l'Institut des études africaines.

Baude, Jean Jacques. 1841. *L'Algérie*. 3 vols. Arthus Bertrand, Librairie.

Beal, E. Anne. 1995. "Reflections on Ethnography in Morocco: A Critical Reading of Three Seminal Texts." *Critique of Anthropology* 15 (3): 289–304.

Becker, Judith. 2004. *Deep Listeners: Music, Emotion, and Trancing*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Berliner, Paul. 1981. *The Soul of Mbira: Music and Traditions of the Shona People of Zimbabwe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Besmer, Fremont. 1983. *Horses, Musicians, and Gods: The Hausa Cult of Possession-Trance*. Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey.

Blacking, John. 1974. *How Musical Is Man?* University of Washington Press.

Blackman, Lisa. 2010. "Embodying Affect: Voice-Hearing, Telepathy, Suggestion and Modelling the Non-Conscious." *Body & Society* 16 (1): 183–92.

———. 2012. *Immaterial Bodies: Affect, Embodiment, Mediation*. Sage.

Boddy, Janice. 1989. *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men, and the Zār Cult in Northern Sudan*. University of Wisconsin Press.

Box, George E. P. 1976. "Science and Statistics." *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 71 (356): 791–99.

Brennan, Teresa. 2004. *The Transmission of Affect*. Cornell University Press.

Brown, Carl L. 1997. "Maghrib Historiography: The Unit of Analysis Problem." In *The*

Maghrib in Question: Essays in History & Historiography, 4–16. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Champault, Francine Dominique. 1969. *Une Oasis Du Sahara Nord-Occidental: Tabelbala*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
Charry, Eric. 2000. *Mande Music: Traditional and Modern Music of the Maninka and Mandinka of Western Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Chlyeh, A. 1999. *Les Gnaoua Du Maroc: Itinéraires Initiatiques, Transe et Possession*. Pensée sauvage.
Clancy-Smith, Julia A. 1994. *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encouters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Crapanzano, Vincent. 1973. *The Ḥamadsha: A Study in Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
———. 1985. *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan*. University of Chicago Press.
Cromby, John. 2012. "Beyond Belief." *Journal of Health Psychology* 17 (7): 943–57.
Csordas, Thomas J. 1993. "Somatic Modes of Attention." *Cultural Anthropology* 8 (2): 135–56.
———. 1994. *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
———. 1999. "Embodiment and Cultural Phenomenology." In *Perspectives on Embodiment: The Intersections of Nature and Culture*, Weiss, Gail; Haber, Honi Fern:143–64. New York: Routledge.
Dāśaśarmā, Amala. 1993. *Musicians of India: Past and Present: Gharanas of Hindustani Music and Genealogies*. Naya Prokash.
Dermenghem, Émile.1954. *Le culte des saints dans l'islam maghrébin*. 2e éd. [Paris]: Gallimard.
Desjarlais, Robert R. 1997. *Shelter Blues: Sanity and Selfhood Among the Homeless*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
Durkheim, E., and K. E. Fields. 1995. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Free Pr.
Dwyer, Kevin, and Mohammed Faqir. 1982. *Moroccan Dialogues: Anthropology in Question*. Johns Hopkins University Press,.
Emoff, Ron. 2002. *Recollecting From the Past: Musical Practice and Spirit Possession on the East Coast of Madagascar*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
Evans, Martin, and John Phillips. 2007. *Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Featherstone, Mike. n.d. "Body, Image and Affect in Consumer Culture." *Body & Society* 16 (1): 193–221.
Federmann, Henri, and B Aucapitaine. 1867. "Sur L'Histoire Et L'Administration Du Beylik De Titteri." *Revue Africain* 11: 113–21.
Fey, Henri-Léon. 1858. *Histoire d'Oran: Avant, Pendant, et Après La Domination Espangnole*. Paris: Adolphe Perrier.
Friedson, Steven M. 1996. *Dancing Prophets: Musical Experience in Tumbuka Healing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
———. 2009. *Remains of Ritual: Northern Gods in a Southern Land*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Frishkopf, Michael. 2009. "Globalizing the Soundworld: Islam and Sufi Music in the

West." In *Sufis in Western Society: Global Networking and Locality*, 46–76. London and New York: Routledge.

Fuson, Timothy Dale. 2009. "Musicking Moves and Ritual Grooves Across the Moroccan Gnawa Night." PhD dissertation. University of California Berkeley.

Gill, Rosalind, and Andy Pratt. 2008. "Precarity and Cultural Work In the Social Factory? Immaterial Labour, Precariousness and Cultural Work." *Theory, Culture, & Society* 25 (7–8): 1–30.

Goichon, A.-M. 1931. *La Vie Féminine Au Mzab: Étude de Sociologie Musulmane*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

Goichon, Amélie M. 1927. *La Vie Féminine Au Mzab: Étude de Sociologie Musulmane*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

Gray, Lisa Ellen. 2013. *Fado Resounding: Affective Politics and Urban Life*. Duke University Press.

Gregg, Melissa, and Gregory J. Seigworth, eds. 2010. *The Affect Theory Reader*. Duke University Press.

Hagedorn, Katherine. 2001. *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Harkin, Michael E. 2003. "Feeling and Thinking in Memory and Forgetting: Toward an Ethnohistory of the Emotions." *Ethnohistory* 50 (2): 261–84.

———. 2010. "Ethnohistory's Ethnohistory." *Social Science History* 34 (2): 113–28.

Hell, Bertrand. 1999. *Possession et Chamanisme: Les Maîtres Du Désordre*. Paris: Flammarion.

Henriques, Julian. 2010. "The Vibrations of Affect and Their Propogation on a Night Out on Kingston's Dancehall Scene." *Body & Society* 16 (1): 57–89.

Hunwick, John. 2004. "The Religious Practices of Black Slaves in the Mediterranean Islamic World." In *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam*, edited by Paul Lovejoy. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.

Jankowsky, Richard C. 2007. "Music, Spirit Possession, and the In-Between: Ethnomusicological Inquiry and the Challenge of Trance." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 16 (2): 185–288.

———. 2010. *Stambeli: Music, Trance, and Alterity in Tunisia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kapchan, Deborah. 2007. *Traveling Spirit Masters: Moroccan Gnawa Trance and Music in the Global Marketplace*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.

———. 2008. "The Promise of Sonic Translation: Performing the Festive Sacred in Morocco." *American Anthropologist* 110 (4): 467–83.

Khiat, Salim. 2006. "Diwan Sidi Bllel: Une Mémoire Chantée." Algiers: unpublished thesis.

Kirkegaard, Annemette. 2012. "Music and Transcendence: Sufi Popular Performances in East Africa." *Temenos* 48 (1).

Langlois, Tony. 1998. "The Gnawa of Oujda: Music at the Margins in Morocco." *World of Music* 40 (1): 135–56.

Lapassade, Georges. 1975. "Transe et Possession Au Maroc." *Quel Corps* 2: 27–30.

———. 1982. *Gens de l'Ombre*. Paris: Meridiens/Anthropos.

Last, Murray. *Hausa Possession Songs*. 1971. CDs. 1CDR0005733 to 1CDR0005737 vols. AV King Collection, British Library Sound Archive.

Lazzarato, Maurizio. 2007. "Machines to Crystallize Time: Bergson." *Theory, Culture, & Society* 24 (6): 93–122.

Le Gall, Michel, and Kenneth Perkins, eds. 1997. *The Maghrib in Question: Essays in History & Historiography*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Lecomte, Henri. *The Gnawa of Mostaganem: Rituels de La Layla et Du Moussem*. 2000. Vol. liner notes. Iris Music.

Lespès, René. 1930. *Alger: Étude de Géographie et d'Histoire Urbaines*. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan.

———. 1938. *Oran: Étude de Géographie et D'histoire Urbaines.* Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan MCMXXXVIII.

Lewis, I. M. 1971. *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism*. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.

Leys, Ruth. 2011. "The Turn to Affect: A Critique." *Critical Inquiry* 37 (3): 434–72.

Locke, D. 1992. *Kpegisu: A War Drum of the Ewe*. White Cliffs Media Co.

Locke, David, and Lunna Abubakari Alhaji. 2007. "Dagomba Dance-Drumming."

Lovejoy, E. Paul, Ed. 2004. *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.

Lutz, Catherine A., and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds. 1990. *Language and the Politics of Emotion*. Cambridge University Press.

Lydon, Ghislaine. 2009. *On Trans-Saharan Trails; Islamic Law, Trade Networks, and Cross-Cultural Exchange in Nineteenth Century Western Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

Mahjoubi, Ammar. 1997. "Reflections on the Historiography of the Ancient Maghrib." In *The Maghrib in Question: Essays in History & Historiography*, 17–34. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Manning, Erin. n.d. "Always More than One: The Collectivity of a Life." *Body & Society* 16 (1): 117–27.

Massumi, Brian. 1995. "Autonomy of Affect." *University of Minnesota Press* 31 (Cultural Critique): 83–109.

———. 2002. *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Duke University Press.

McDougall, James, and Robert P. Parks. 2012. "Locating Social Analysis in the Maghrib." *Journal of North African Studies* 18 (5): 631–38.

McDougall, James, and Judith Scheele. 2012. *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa*. Indiana University Press.

Miliani, Hadj. 2005. *Societaires de L'Emotion; Etudes Sur Les Musiques Et Les Chants D'Algerie D'Hier et D'Aujourd'hui*. Oran: Dar El Gharb.

Nadir, Ahmad. 1972. "Les Ordres Religieux et La Conquête Française." *Revue Algérienne Des Sciences Juridiques* 9 (4): 819–72.

Neher, Andrew. 1962. "A Physiological Explanation of Unusual Behavior in Ceremonies Involving Drums." *Human Biology* 4: 151–60.

Neilson, Brett, and Ned Rossiter. 2005. "From Precarity to Precariousness and Back Again: Labour, Life and Unstable Networks." *The Fibreculture Journal* 5 (FCJ-022).

Neuman, Daniel M. 1990. *The Life of Music in North India: The Organization of an Artistic Tradition*. University of Chicago Press.

Norton, Barley. 2009. *Songs for the Spirits: Music and Mediums in Modern Vietnam*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Obeyesekere, Gananath. 1990. *The Work of Culture: Symbolic Transformation in Psychoanalysis and Anthropology*. Vol. 1982. University of Chicago Press.
Papoulias, Constantina, and Felicity Callard. 2010. "Biology's Gift: Interrogating the Turn to Affect." *Body & Society* 16 (1): 29–56.
Pâques, Viviana. 1964. *L'Arbe Cosmique Dans La Pensée Populaire et Dans La Vie Quotidienne Du Nord-Ouest Africain*. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie.
———. 1991. *La Religion Des Esclaves: Recherches Sur La Confrérie Marocaine Des Gnawa*. Bergamo: Moretti & Vitali editori.
Pinto, Sarah. 2011. "The Dance: Medicine and the Idea of Movement." *Somatosphere: Science, Medicine, and Anthropology*. October 7. somatosphere.net.
———. 2013. "Movement in Time: Choreographies of Confinement in an Inpatient Ward." In *Senses and Citizenships: Embodying Political Life*, edited by Susanna Trnka, Christine Dureau, and Julie Park. New York: Routledge.
Poché, Christian. *Algerie: The Diwan of Biskra*. 1996. Vol. liner notes. Ocora.
Polak, Rainer. 2010. "Rhythmic Feel as Meter: Non-Isochronous Beat Subdivision in Jembe Music from Mali." *Music Theory Online* 16 (4). http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.10.16.4/mto.10.16.4.polak.html.
Rabinow, Paul. 1977. *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Racy, A.J. 2003. *Making Music in the Arab World: The Culture and Artistry of Ṭarab*. Cambridge University Press.
Rinn, Louis. 1884. *Marabouts et Khouan: Étude Sur L'Islam En Algérie*. Algiers: Jourdan.
———. 2005. *Le Royaume d'Alger Sous Le Dernier Dey*. Alger: Grands-Alger Livres.
Rollman, Wilford J. 1997. "Some Reflections on Recent Trends in the Study of Modern North African History." In *The Maghrib in Question: Essays in History & Historiography*, 62–79. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Roseman, Marina. 1993. *Healing Sounds From the Malaysian Rainforest: Temiar Music and Medicine*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Rouch, Jean. 1987. *La Religion et La Magie Songhay*. Bruxelles: Université de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie, Anthropologie Sociale.
Rouget, Gilbert. 1985. *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations between Music and Possession. Translation from the French Revised by B.Biebuyck in Collaboration with the Author*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Rozet, Claude-Antoine. 1833. *Voyage Dans La Régence d'Alger Ou Description Du Pays Occupé Par L'Armée Française En Afrique*. 3 vols. Paris: Arthus Bertrand.
Scarry, Elaine. 1985. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. Oxford University Press.
Schuyler, Philip D. 1981. "Music and Meaning Among the Gnawa Religious Brotherhood of Morocco." *The World of Music* 23 (1).
Seremetakis, C. Nadia. 1996. *The Senses Still*. University of Chicago Press.
Shannon, Jonathan. 2003. "Sultans of Spin: Syrian Sacred Music on the World Stage." *American Anthropologist* 105 (2): 266–77.
Sheets-Johnstone, Maxine. 1999. *The Primacy of Movement:* Amsterdam: John

Benjamins.
Shouse, Eric. 2005. "Feeling, Emotion, Affect." *M/C Journal* 8 (6). http://journal.media-culture.org.au/0512/03-shouse.php.
Simmel, Georg. 1906. "The Sociology of Secrecy and of Secret Societies." *American Journal of Sociology* 11 (4): 441–98.
Smith, Albert C. 1978. "North African Historiography and the Westerner: The Maghrib as Seen by David Gordon." *History in Africa* 5: 187–200.
Souag, Lamine. 2013. "Sub-Saharan Lexical Influence in North African Arabic and Berber." In *African Arabic: Approaches to Dialectology*, edited by Mena Lafkioui, 211–36. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Spencer, William. 1976. *Algiers in the Age of the Corsairs*. University of Oklahoma Press.
Stoller, Paul. 1984. "Sound in Songhay Cultural Experience." *American Ethnologist* 11 (3): 559–70. doi:10.1525/ae.1984.11.3.02a00090.
———. 1989. *Fusion of the Worlds: An Ethnography of Possession Among the Songhay of Niger*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
———. 1995. *Embodying Colonial Memories: Spirit Possession, Power, and the Hauka in West Africa*. New York: Routledge.
———. 1996. "Sounds and Things: Pulsations of Power in Songhay." In *The Performance of Healing*, edited by Carol Laderman and Marina Roseman, 165–84. New York: Routledge.
Toscano, Alberto. 2007. "Vital Strategies Maurizio Lazzarato and the Metaphysics of Contemporary Capitalism." *Theory, Culture & Society* 24 (6): 71–91.
Touati, Houari. 1997. "Algerian Historiography in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: From Chronicle to History." In *The Maghrib in Question: Essays in History & Historiography*, 84–94. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Tremearne, Arthur John Newman. 1914. *The Ban of the Bori: Demons and Demon Dancing in West Africa*. London: Heath, Cranton and Ouseley.
Trimingham, John Spencer. 1971. *The Sufi Orders in Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Venn, Couze. 2010. "Individuation, Relationality, Affect: Rethinking the Human in Relation to the Living." *Body & Society* 16 (1): 129–61.