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Hers, Theirs, Ours, Others: Women's Stories and the Global Ethnomusicological Moment

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Abstract

Following two streams whose confluence forms global ethnomusicological moments, this essay examines the critical role of women, both as scholars and as exemplary musicians, in the narratives that form the intellectual history of ethnomusicology. The women's stories in the essay begin with the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, at which the first concerted collection of world music was recorded on wax cylinders. The nine recordings of what was called "Turkish music" revealed both diversity of sound and cosmopolitanism in global representation. Similar cosmopolitanism characterizes the recordings of the great women singers dominating the twentieth century with an Eastern Mediterranean sound, the subject of the closing sections, including reflections on the "Turkish music" of Sezen Aksu. If women singers form one stream, women ethnomusicologists are treated here as the second stream, among them the foundational scholars of Indigenous music and the nestor of Eastern Mediterranean ethnomusicology, the Israeli Edith Gerson-Kiwi. The historiographic concept at the center of the essay expands upon the concept of the global moments with which we represent the history of ethnomusicology, a history in which the presence of women is of singular importance.

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Avant propos – Representing Turkey on the Global Ethnomusicological Stage

At the beginning of an essay in intellectual history that asks the reader to hear and listen to women's voices, both globally and in the Eastern Mediterranean, I journey to a specific moment—a global ethnomusicological moment—that forms at the confluence of both historical past and ethnographic present. It is at this moment that we are able to listen to the first-ever recordings of what was called at the time, the end of the nineteenth century, “Turkish music.” A series of nine wax cylinders systematically and ethnographically recorded in 1893 at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, the “Turkish” recordings constituted one group of the 101 wax cylinders that collectively documented world music—in 1893, for the first time, setting the history of modern ethnomusicology in motion. Expanding the global dimensions of the 1893 wax cylinders were three other music cultures assembled for exhibits at the Columbian Exposition: largely Sundanese recordings from the Java Village; Samoan recordings from the “South Sea Islands”; and Canadian First Nation recordings of the Kwakiutl people from British Columbia. Curating the recordings were several of the leading anthropologists of the day, notably Benjamin Ives Gilman and Franz Boas.

The nine recordings from the Turkish set were exemplary cases of early ethnographic approaches afforded by the foundational years of field recording. Several recordings contained the systematic presentation of mode, others of melody types. Different ensemble configurations can be heard, at their core the small group of string and percussion instruments in an Eastern Mediterranean takht. If the availability of only nine cylinders would seem to limit the recording of diverse sound, it was clear that the anthropologists making the recordings attempted to gather as many genres of “Turkish music” as possible. The recordings also afforded the possibility of underlying consistency, a type of stylistic unity that also characterized the official Turkish music at the 1893 world's fair: the Turkish set features women singers, sometimes a solo vocalist, in two instances two, or perhaps more, singers performing together. One of the Turkish women singing on these first-ever Turkish recordings was a vocalist well known at the 1893 world's fair, usually referred to as “Marie,” albeit without further identification of her origins or what additional roles she played in the several exhibits and pavilions associated with the Ottoman presence at the Columbian Exposition.

Upon listening to Marie and her fellow Turkish musicians, there are surely many in the twenty-first century who might question whether it is appropriate to describe it as “Turkish,” as did the anthropologists and sound technicians who classified the recordings for the Harvard University Peabody Museum and the United States Library of Congress (Federal Cylinder Project, 1984). What we know about Marie and what we can discern from this early recording is that she performed from a tradition that might better be described as Levantine, even Lebanese, and urban, a light-classical repertory that would be appropriate in coffee houses and restaurants across the Ottoman Empire, even those that graced the grounds of the Chicago world’s fair (see figure 1, the Elia Souhami Sadullah concession on the Midway Plaisance).



Figure 1: Elia Souhami Sadullah Tea and Coffee House, Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, 1893.

In 2021, I view the performance spaces on which Marie and the Turkish musicians performed from my University of Chicago office window on the former grounds of the fair around which the university has grown. I would prefer to understand “Turkish” in 1893—and also before and after, until the present—as being global and cosmopolitan in an ethnomusicological sense. Marie represents many traditions as Turkish in the waning decades of the Ottoman Empire, particularly what I call throughout this essay, their confluence. It is appropriate to refer to the fairgrounds and growing University of Chicago campus as a confluence because not only did they form along the shoreline of Lake Michigan, with its outlet through the Great Lakes to

the Atlantic Ocean (and eventually the Black Sea), but artificial canals stretched across the fairgrounds, adding yet another cosmopolitan touch, the association with Venice. Such confluence—the temporality and mobility of waterways—runs across this essay as a leitmotif. In 1893, it was that confluence that the anthropologists making the cylinder recordings, notably Gilman and Boas, sought to document as sound.

As a woman performer, the Turkish/Lebanese/Ottoman/world musician known as Marie was not an anomaly at the fair, and further historical documentation of music at the Columbian Exposition takes account of that. One of the most famous musicians at the Chicago fair was “Little Egypt” (figure 2), and in her case graphic evidence of her cosmopolitan presence does survive.



Figure 2: “Little Egypt” performing at the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition, 1893.

Little Egypt did perform at venues along the “Streets of Cairo” and on the stage of its theater at the 1893 fair, but she also appeared in other venues for the Eastern Mediterranean (for photographic evidence from the 1893 fair, see Applebaum, 1980). More common images of her, among those used for publicity and on magazine covers, depict and describe her as a belly dancer performing the “danse des voiles,” which was portrayed variously as exotic and erotic in the local and national press (see, e.g., Sohn, 2021). Photographs of her on stage flanked by a group of male instrumentalists and a small chorus of women, such as that in figure 2, are rare and exceptional, not least because they lead to some speculation that “Marie” and “Little Egypt” were the same singer. Proving such a claim may well be impossible, but the evidence we

can gather—the recordings of Marie and the photographs of a woman singer with the same ensemble configuration as that heard on the recordings—makes a very convincing case for an Eastern Mediterranean sound in the late nineteenth century that is extensively cosmopolitan. Women dancers were similarly representative of world music in 1893 Chicago, for example, in the wayang performances of the gamelan at the Javanese Theater (figure 3). As with the Turkish ensembles, the recordings and photographs do not document an authentically Javanese musical tradition, for the instrumentalists at least, but also probably the dancers, were brought from West Java, where they largely performed from Sundanese repertoires, often the more traditional bamboo instruments of that region.



Figure 3: Women Dancers at the Javanese Theater, Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, 1893. (Source: Bancroft, 1893: 847).

I embark upon my history of ethnomusicological moments in this special journal issue dedicated to women as singers and players of music not so much to claim that Marie and her musician sisters at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition were unique or overlooked or even silenced. Quite the contrary, I suggest in the pages that follow that it is the diverse presence of women making music at the 1893 world's fair rather than any singularity that compels us to write their stories in new ways, opening avenues for rethinking the history and historiography of ethnomusicology as a field. It is in the abundance and complexity of this diverse presence that engenders the ethnomusicological stories that become hers, theirs, ours, others.

Writing Gendered Stories and Histories in the Intellectual History of Ethnomusicology

The intellectual history of ethnomusicology that I trace through this essay follows two different historical streams. The first of these unfolds as a history of women musicians, with an emphasis on the Eastern Mediterranean. The second will focus on the ways in which women have created stories and histories to represent ethnomusicology as a history of ideas. To be as clear as possible here, I mean primarily women scholars whose contributions have been central to the history of the field, but also those women active in other representational fields, among the most important publishing and museum curation.

I approach the two historical streams together not to claim simply that they are parallel, but rather to search for the ways in which they are intersectional. At the rhetorical core of this history, running throughout the essay, is the metaphor of confluence. Confluence, as we witnessed with Turkish music at the Chicago world's fair in 1893, broadens the dimensions of musical meaning and representation. It is when the historical streams gather in confluence that multiple stories—hers, theirs, ours, others—converge as ethnomusicological moments, often with global expanse. Together, these stories should be interpreted as contributions to the common project shared by the contributors to this volume dedicated to women playing and singing the earth: seeking to understand the women's stories that together form the global history of ideas we call ethnomusicology.

The Global Ethnomusicological Moment

The historical confluences I seek in my own research on the history of ethnomusicology over many years (e.g., Bohlman, 2013a) were especially abundant in the examples of women musicians at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition with which this essay began. The larger ethnomusicological moment they represented had many constituent parts: the world's fair itself represented the historical *longue durée* of encounter; music was made audible through the new representational technologies of portable wax-cylinder sound reproduction; the representation of difference—cultural, linguistic, musical, and gender—was extreme; the soundscape of the ethnographic moment was highly gendered.

Gathering the sounding and recording of women's music at the 1893 world's fair and representing it as a confluence of historical moments, I should like briefly to give a bit more theoretical shape to the idea of a global ethnomusicological moment that provides my theoretical core in the present essay. In the model I develop from my current research on the intellectual history of our field the global ethnomusicological moment occupies a central position among five other moments, which proceed chronologically in the following way (cf. Bohlman, 2020):

- 1) The Moment of Encounter
- 2) The Moment of Audibility
- 3) The Moment of Difference
- 4) The Ontological Moment
- 5) The Moment of Revelation

None of these moments is static, but rather each is transformative as it expands our capacity of musical thought to perceive and understand musical experience. The movement afforded by the five processes is one of expansion, a dynamic process of globalization through which the ethnomusicological moment is increasingly and extensively experienced in similar and different ways across the world. The universal qualities we witness in music are, for example, both internally implicit and expansively explicit at the confluence of a global ethnomusicological moment. Song and melody, moving across these moments, might be globally comparable, even similar, not because of their sameness, but rather because of their differences. Gendered differences that form the confluence of the third moment above are normative, not exceptional. Music history, by its very nature, moves from the local to the global as the moments multiply and intersect. Figure 4 provides one way of schematically representing the confluence and intersectionality of the global ethnomusicological moment. In their confluence, these moments afford possibilities for writing the history of ethnomusicology, accounting for the ways theory and practice are shaped by gender, so abundantly evident in the ways women play and sing the earth.

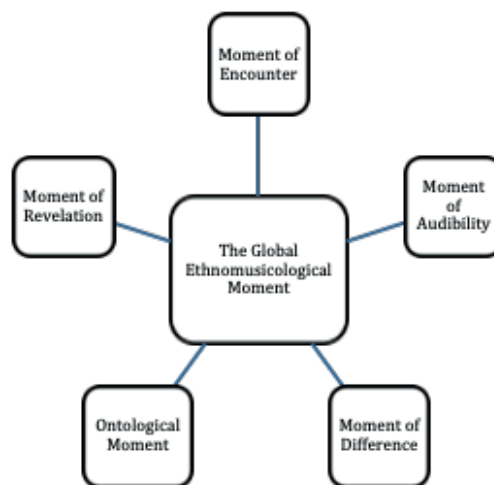


Figure 4: *The Global Ethnomusicological Moment.*

Women in the Formative Years of Ethnomusicology

The remarkable degree to which women have contributed to, indeed, shaped, the history of modern ethnomusicology is well known, if, however, it has not always received the full acknowledgment it deserves. Whether in the history of the field in North America or elsewhere in the world, for example, the Middle East and East Asia, women have been active in professional societies, in some of which they have constituted over 50% of the membership (Society for Ethnomusicology) for many years, and been notable in leadership roles (International Council for Traditional Music). The extraordinary role of women scholars in the recent history of the Ethnomusicology Association of Turkey is well known to the readers of this volume. It would be impossible to write the modern history of ethnomusicology without acknowledging the prominent role played by women. As important as it is, and as manifold its meanings, the story I write here is not one of numbers, but rather of generations and ethnomusicological moments and the paradigm shifts that brought them about. My stories are a bit inclined toward North America, while urging us to think about it as intersectional—as confluence—rather than as a singular history (for a brief history of ethnomusicology in North America, see Bohlman, 2013b).

The first generation of women ethnomusicologists is the one that formed toward the end of the nineteenth century, connected in many ways to the ethnomusicological moment whose confluences were evident at the 1893 Chicago world's fair. It is impossible even to imagine the history of North American ethnomusicology without taking account of these foremothers. Among the best known of the early pioneers were Alice Fletcher (1838–1923) and Frances Densmore (1867–1957). Fletcher and Densmore were foundational figures for the generation of music scholars who sought to approach Indigenous musics and represent them ethnographically with the new ontology and audibility of technological innovation. Both were inveterate fieldworkers, as we see even in the photographs that most frequently accompany their life stories, such as the iconic image of Densmore recording the Blackfoot leader, Mountain Chief, in 1916 (figure 6). Both Fletcher and Densmore collected and translated Native American Indigenous musics to ensure their potential for revelation. Crucial to the nature of the moment of revelation was also a deep commitment to pedagogy, and it is that commitment—the calling of the ethnomusicologist to teach—that arises particularly from their subject positions as women in ethnomusicology.



Figure 5: Frances Densmore recording Mountain Chief, a leader of the Blackfoot People (1916). Harris and Ewing, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Paradigm shift has especially been a quality of women scholars in the history of North American Indigenous music studies. Through the research of Gertrude Kurath (1903–1992), for example, dance found its way into Indigenous music studies. It is impossible to imagine the collective performance of Indigenous peoples without accounting for dance, for instance, in the powwow, the intertribal and intersectional enactment of Native American and First Nation ritual that exemplifies Indigenous global moments. Dance studies by women scholars, moreover, were crucial to the formation of global ethnomusicological moments, for example, the remarkable work of Adrienne Kaeppler (bn. 1935) in Oceania.

Long in need of recognition for their seminal role in the transformations of ethnomusicology after World War II has also been a generation of émigré women scholars in music. Again, it was Indigenous music that provided a foothold for Ida Halpern (1910–1987), who fled anti-Semitism in Vienna to settle in Canada. In the following section I recount a similar life-story for a woman ethnomusicologist in the Eastern Mediterranean when I turn to Edith Gerson-Kiwi.

The larger story that forms the core of this essay, once again, is not primarily designed to fill in the gaps. Instead, my goal is to connect these stories to global ethnomusicological moments and to trace confluence in the history of our field. Briefly and schematically, I should like to take stock of the stories and streams in the history of ethnomusicology that I have been tracing thus far (figure 7).

- 1) Indigeneity—the invention of Indigeneity as an historical contingency
- 2) Ritual, reproduction, and genealogy—song as survival (e.g., lullabies)
- 3) Popular music (e.g., mediation and modernity)

Figure 6: Three Streams in the Intellectual History of Ethnomusicology and Their Confluence in the Work of Women Scholars.

Edith Gerson-Kiwi, Nestor of Eastern Mediterranean Ethnomusicology

I now turn briefly to discuss one of the foundational figures of ethnomusicology in and of the Eastern Mediterranean, Edith Gerson-Kiwi (1908–1992). In her youth and student years, Gerson-Kiwi studied music in the tradition of the German conservatory and university system, focused most intensively on early music, as a harpsichord student of Wanda Landowska and in Ph.D. studies with Heinrich Bessler at the University of Heidelberg, specializing in music of the Italian Renaissance. In 1935, as a Jewish scholar, she was forced to emigrate from Germany, soon thereafter arriving in Jerusalem. In the almost fifty years of her career that followed, Gerson-Kiwi devoted herself entirely to the new field of ethnomusicology in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is for that reason, among others, that she is of considerable interest for the common themes in the present volume.

From the moment she arrived in Jerusalem, at the time a colonial mandate of Palestine in the British Empire, Edith Gerson-Kiwi recognized the potential for an ethnomusicological moment of global proportions. From the beginning, she was actively involved in the transferal of recorded materials from the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, above all those relocated in Jerusalem by her new mentor, Robert Lachmann. Lachmann had served as a foundational figure in the establishment of ethnomusicology's forerunner, comparative musicology—among other things, he had founded and edited the first journal dedicated specifically to ethnomusicology, the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*. In 1932, Lachmann had served as the head of the scientific commission for the Cairo Congress of Arab Music, which even today remains symbolic of the first global ethnomusicological moment in the

Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East. Moving comparative musicology to Jerusalem would not only salvage the field from the rise of fascism in Germany, but it would offer the possibility of breathing new life into an ethnomusicology with far greater regional and global dimensions. In the years after Lachmann's death in 1939, it would be Gerson-Kiwi who carried out this mission (for extensive studies of Lachmann's foundational work at the end of his life in Jerusalem, see Katz, 2003, and Davis, 2013).

In this essay I am able to reflect only briefly on Gerson-Kiwi's role in the context of the larger themes of the present volume and the new ethnomusicology she stewarded in the Eastern Mediterranean, so I turn to two of the most notable of her intellectual achievements. First, she believed the music of the Eastern Mediterranean could only be understood in the contexts of its historical intersectionality. Here she is in 1938, writing about the new "Jerusalem Archive for Oriental Music" in the musicological journal of mandatory Palestine, *Musica Hebraica* (for an evaluation of the first scientific music journal in Israel, see Bohlman, 1992: 158–72).

The main purpose of the institute lies in the collection and scholarly study of the traditional melodies of the Near East... Such scientific knowledge is based essentially on a wealth of comparison, and thus it is necessary to broaden the entire notion of Jewish musical traditions. At the very least, one must include for comparison the music of neighbouring peoples, for example the Christian Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, or the Islamic peoples of North Africa and Asia Minor, that is, the Arab and Turkish peoples (Gerson-Kiwi, 1938: 40).

Second, she asserted that the musical traditions of women were of special significance in understanding the musics of the Eastern Mediterranean. Again, she writes in 1938 about the new Jerusalem research center:

The archive has still another monopoly, namely a collection of twenty years of oriental women's songs. This vocal genre is particularly interesting for research since, because women were strictly secluded from the external world, a musical practice from an extraordinarily early period and one of high purity has been preserved. (Ibid.: 42)

During her long and prolific career as a scholar, Gerson-Kiwi expanded the dimensions of the ethnomusicology of the Eastern Mediterranean by writing on the musics of exile and immigration, Kurdish and Palestinian practices,

even a monograph on the Persian radif (Gerson-Kiwi, 1963). Throughout her body of work, moreover, it is the music of women that runs like a red thread through the oeuvre of this groundbreaking woman scholar. For readers who might want to acquaint themselves with the writings of this remarkable ethnomusicologist of the Eastern Mediterranean, I might suggest they begin with the 1980 collection of many of her most important essays, *Migrations and Mutations of the Music in East and West* (Gerson-Kiwi, 1980).

Great Women Singers and the Eastern Mediterranean Sound

There are many historical paths that lead now to a discussion of the extraordinary presence of women singers in the emergence of a modern Eastern Mediterranean sound. As I gathered reflections on women playing and singing the earth for the symposium that provides the foundation for the present volume, I increasingly began asking myself just when did that presence coalesce around a global ethnomusicological moment. Surely, the opening section of this essay made such a case, though tentatively and with limited recorded and photographic evidence that place Marie, Little Egypt, and their sisters at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, a moment of encounter. In the early decades of the twentieth century, in the years following the eventual end of the Ottoman hegemony in the Eastern Mediterranean, there is growing evidence to make a case for the 1930s as a global ethnomusicological moment arising from women's voices in the region. That evidence fills historical studies of ethnomusicology, as well as providing the basis for the latest museum exhibits devoted to the women singers whose recordings and concerts sounded the intimate and popular culture of the Mediterranean (for an account of the summer 2021 exhibit at the Paris Institut du Monde Arabe, see Nayeri 2021).

The 1932 Cairo Congress of Arabic Music was surely one of the most famous confluences leading to the globalization of a vernacular and classical Arabic sound across North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean (for a contemporary overview of the congress, see *Congress of Cairo, 1932*; for digital versions of selected recordings, see *Congrès du Caire, n.d.*). So, too, were the sonic landscapes imagined by immigrant composers in mandatory Palestine who consciously wrote in the styles of an Eastern Mediterranean School of Israeli music, capturing the vocal sounds of Yemenite singers such as Beracha Zephira (1910–1990). Since it was established at the height of the Cold War in 1956, the annual Eurovision Song Contest, the largest popular-music competition in the world, resonates with a growing number of Eastern Mediterranean influences from twenty-first-century women singers from the region (even if, for me a bit sadly, Turkey has not competed in recent years). Sertab Erener's voice, victorious with "Every Way That I Can" in 2003, is forever a part of the Eurovision's sonic history (Stokes, 2010: 139).

Easily, then, we could write a music history of the Eastern Mediterranean largely focusing on great women singers to give voice to its stories. The question is, Which ones? The question is not even very perplexing, because, if truth be told, one cannot go wrong. The stories their lives might tell form the moments of confluence in so many different and similar ways. The stories are, in fact, similar because of the ways they embody difference. The great women singers of the Eastern Mediterranean enjoyed careers that were cosmopolitan in extreme. Umm Kulthūm (1904?–1975) had a recording contract with the Odeon record company by 1923, was touring North Africa and the Levant by 1932, and was the singer who inaugurated the first broadcast of Radio Cairo in 1934. She worked with many other musicians playing in a remarkable range of styles, and yet we recognize her voice for the ways it captures the nuance of the sacred and secular repertoires she sang from her earliest youth (the most comprehensive study of the life, works, and influence of Umm Kulthūm is Danielson, 1997).

Fairuz (bn. 1934), like Umm Kulthūm, has given voice to an Eastern Mediterranean sound that is cosmopolitan to the extreme. Her vast repertory bears witness to the complex traditions that converge across the Levant. Her career, too, began with the radio and was buoyed by multiple forms of mediation, from recordings to film. It is safe to say that there is no genre in which she has not sung or created. There are few world stages on which she has not performed. In the following section, two of her songs, both expressing the confluence of Eastern Mediterranean history in the city, a Fairuz subgenre, exemplify the extreme cosmopolitan of her musical presence.

For a final case of women singers giving voice to an Eastern Mediterranean sound I turn to two younger singers, Noa (bn. 1969), an Israeli of Yemenite Jewish heritage, and Mira Awad (bn. 1975), a Palestinian-Arab singer from the Galilee in northern Israel. The confluence enunciated by their song, “There Must Be Another Way,” is remarkable as an Eastern Mediterranean sound to an uncanny degree. Noa and Mira Awad performed this song as the Israeli entry in the 2009 Eurovision Song Contest, marking a historical moment in the wake of the Israeli invasion of Gaza earlier that year. The confluence of genre, style, and language forms from a vast sonic landscape, spanning the aesthetic and the political (figure 8).

There must be another
 Must be another way
 Einaich, achot / עיניך אחיח / כל מה שלבי מבקש אומר /
 Kol ma shelibi mevakesh omrot / עברנו עד כה /
 Avarnu ad ko / דרך ארוכה, דרך כה קשה יד ביד /
 Derech aruka, derech ko kasha yad beyad / (Your eyes, sister
 All that my heart asks say
 We have gone so far,
 A long way, such a hard way, hand in hand)
 . . .
 Aynaki bit'ul / عينيك بقول /
 Rakh yiji yom wu'kul ilkhof yizul / راح يوم وكل الخوف يزول /
 Baynaki israr / بعينيك إصرار /
 Inhu ana khayar / أنه عا خيا خيتر /
 N'kamel halmasar / نكمل ها لمسار /
 Mahma tal / مهما طال /
 (Your eyes say
 A day will come, and all fear will disappear.
 In your eyes a determination
 That there is a possibility
 To carry on the way,
 As long as it may take.)

Figure 7: Noa and Mira Awad, “There Must Be Another Way” (Israel’s entry in the 2009 Eurovision Song Contest).

As a genre of song, widely circulating across the Eastern Mediterranean and the Ottoman Ecumene, “There Must Be Another Way” is a *layālī*, drawing upon the metaphor of the eyes and the symbolic connections to the Semitic letter, ‘ayin. Noa and Mira Awad, singing in Hebrew and Arabic, languages they share, assign political work to *layālī* by explicitly gendering the genre as female: “Your eyes, sister”—Einaich achot (Hebrew); “Your eyes say”—Aynaki bit’ul (Arabic). Their performance at the Eurovision Song Contest, moreover, was intimate, an expression of the shared love that women, as sisters, elevate to the sound of the Eastern Mediterranean (the video of the 2009 Eurovision performance is accessible at Noa and Mira Awad, 2009).

The Gendering of the Eastern Mediterranean City

The ethnomusicological moments from which the essays in this volume grow provide new and compelling opportunities to search for the presence and influence of women in the gendering of musical practice in diverse times and places, in the chronotopes we study as ethnomusicologists. In the preceding sections of the present essay, I have taken one of the most widespread and productive approaches to the confluence of women and music, focusing primarily on women themselves as agents. I should now like to search for agency in a slightly different chronotope, in the action of music, especially song, in gendering place, especially in gendering the Eastern Mediterranean city. Ethnomusicologists have been deeply invested in the study of cities for

many years, largely examining them for the ways they envelop histories of difference, above all dramatic and radical change (see, e.g., Klotz, Bohlman, and Koch, 2018). Whereas many metonyms for the city assert forms of masculinity and power—Chicago was famously described by Carl Sandburg as the “city of the big shoulders”—many songs of the modern city reveal deeper historical processes of gendering the city as female.

Important to the gendering agency of such songs are the subjectivities of healing, among the most important of which are the historical tropes of nostalgia. We strikingly encounter such nostalgia and its subjectivity of cosmopolitanism in a Fairuz song about Beirut. If nostalgia retains some measure of hope that the wounds of an Eastern Mediterranean city's past might be healed, it also recognizes the injury rendered by the past, an injury lingering and irreparable in the present. We witness such injury repeatedly in one of the most persistently cosmopolitan cities of the Mediterranean, Beirut. The Lebanese capital's cosmopolitanism is evident in the material foundations of its neighborhoods and its ethnic and religious diversity. Tested by war and violence seemingly without cessation, Beirut's cosmopolitanism yields a musical language steeped in the narratives of survival. The narratives may well gather fragments from a destroyed world, but through song they cohere in dystopian wholeness, announcing themselves as the place that once was and still must be. Narratives of healing exhibit a remarkable density in the lyrics of the Fairuz city song, “Li-Beirut” (To Beirut), itself an historicizing cover of Joaquín Rodrigo's 1939 *Concierto de aranjuez* (figure 9).

Glory from the ashes to Beirut.
My city has turned out her lamp
From the blood of a child carried upon her hand.
She shut her door, and became alone in the sky,
Alone with the night.
You are mine, you are mine.
Ah, embrace me, you are mine.

Figure 8: Fairuz, “Li-Beirut,” verse 1.

In the love song she addresses to her dystopian Beirut, the great Lebanese singer attributes the qualities of human frailty to the city. In Fairuz's Beirut, the life of the city is fragile, flawed by its mixing of metaphors. Beirut is neither utopian nor dystopian, as cities in the Eastern Mediterranean are so often portrayed, but rather it is heterotopian. It is song that can most powerfully effect such heterotopia and the gendering with which we encounter it. Reflecting again on the confluence that produces the global ethnomusicolog-

ical moment, we might consider the heterotopian city as the site of normative difference. Difference—ethnic, religious, political, and musical—generally accompanies discussions of cosmopolitanism. We might extend this argument by suggesting that the formation of heterotopia results in deradicalizing difference.

It is with the rise of heterotopian cosmopolitanism in the Eastern Mediterranean that movement and migration, too, become normative. Heterotopia is by its very nature transient. Cities adopt the attributes of heterotopia only to shed them again, when the conditions that favored them no longer contribute to civic culture. The heterotopian mix endows the city with new forms of self-imagination and self-celebration, but in order to do so, it requires that the city turn outward.

The heterotopian public sphere, however, may also lie between two equally unattainable ideals. Fairuz addresses such unattainability the lyrics that follow, again singing one of her city songs, “Al-Quds al-atika” (Old Jerusalem), in which we move through the gendered spaces of history, at once separating and conjoining those equally unattainable ideals (figure 10).

I passed through the streets,
The streets of Old Jerusalem,
In front of the shops,
The remainder of Palestine.
He told us about the news,
And they gave me a vase.
They said to me this is a gift
From the waiting people.

And I walked the streets,
The streets of Old Jerusalem.
They stood in the doorways.
We become companions,
And their sad eyes of the city’s energy.
Take me and kill me with the torment of estrangement.

It was in a land and in the hands,
 Living under the sun and the wind,
 And it happened in the houses and the windows.
 Boys blossoming with a book in their hands,
 And at night every night
 The rage flowed in the rest of the houses.
 And the black hands unhinged the doors.
 And the houses became ownerless.
 Between them and their houses barbed-wire fence,
 And fire and the black hands

Screaming in the streets,
 The streets of Old Jerusalem.
 Let the songs become rumbling storms.
 O, my voice, continue to stir up a hurricane with these consciences.
 Their news happened to me
 In order to enlighten the conscience.

Figure 9: Fairuz, "Al-Quds al-atika" / "Old Jerusalem" (complete lyrics).

Conclusion – The Confluence of Turkish Women's Stories and The Ethnomusicological Moment

I conclude this essay as I began it, with a woman singing of and for Turkey, an ethnomusicological moment at the confluence of many stories and histories. From Chicago I move to Istanbul, from the shores of Lake Michigan to those of the Bosphorus. When Marie sang for Turkey in 1893, her presence was in so many ways enigmatic. I daresay the same can be said for Sezen Aksu (bn. 1954) singing "Istanbul Memories" (İstanbul Hatırası) in Fatih Akin's 2005 film, *Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul* (Akin, 2005). As we witness so often in the women's voices that fill the pages of this article and the present volume, we hear of nostalgia and loss, of wandering through the city, Istanbul as witnessed as female—and male in Ara Güler's photographs that provide the visual story for the song (for a video, see Aksu, 2005). There is so much confluence in Sezen Aksu's performance, literal and figurative, in visual image and vocal imagination. I conclude this essay by giving Sezen Aksu's lyrics the final story in song at the site and sound of confluence (figure 11), so richly endowed as an ethnomusicological moment gathering her stories and making them ours as we witness women singing and playing across the earth we collectively inhabit.

An old photo on the wall,
 Maybe Beti, maybe Pola,
 Sitting in marquise calmly.
 She is watching the time with dust in her eyes.
 The day is Fall, the season is sepia,
 Drawn with a quill pen, it is waiting,
 As if hoping for another life
 In brownish dreams.
 Oh, what a love this is, what a pain this is,
 How ruined my heart is, with this song.
 Your cheeks turned to red like roses,
 This maidenly, this coy appearance.
 Your mouth is like a line of
 The maiden love songs, never sung, never listened.
 Souvenir photo of Istanbul.
 At one side, gilded date and writing.

Figure 10: Sezen Aksu, "Istanbul Memories" (İstanbul Hatırası) (opening lyrics).

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