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*About Journal*

As the peer-reviewed scientific journal ***Ethnomusicology Journal (Turkey)*** published by ***Association of Ethnomusicology*** which is a non-profit organization in Turkey. Journal aims to publish advanced researches in the ethnomusicology field. Its articles represent current theoretical perspectives and research in ethnomusicology and related fields.

Ethnomusicology Journal has been published two times a year. The publication language of the journal is Turkish and English. The journal can include ethnomusicology and in other branches of musicology are articles on the basis of original research-based or theoretical articles, articles from postgraduate theses, interviews, reviews about published books and music recordings. Translations of previously published articles are not considered. Contributors do not have to be members of the association. Articles and interviews should be in accordance with the previously announced theme of the journal. Writings to be submitted to the journal must comply with the following writing rules. Writings sent to the journal will be examined with double-blind peer-reviewing system. The editorial order of the manuscripts is as follows: Editor in Chief and editorial board (general), technical editor (writing rules), referees (content), Editor in Chief and editorial board (final decision). Any manuscript that does not comply with the writing rules can be sent to the author for correction after a technical editor review. Written articles that are found to be corrected can be re-evaluated. The copyright of the texts published in the journal belongs to the Association of Ethnomusicology. The authors are deemed to have accepted it when they sent their writings.

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# From The Editor

One of the 2021 events of the Women Play/Sing the Earth organization, which started its activities in 2018, was the International Music and Women Symposium held by Association of Ethnomusicology/Turkey. The symposium touched upon the subject with many sub-titles with a multidisciplinary approach. As a result, it hosted the most striking presentation examples throughout the symposium. The date range announced for three days has been extended to 4 days due to the large number of applications. Watching the presentations of researchers, who are one of the most important names in their fields, on each of these days was a historical moment. Another reason for being historical moments was that the symposium took place online due to the pandemic conditions that changed the habits of the whole world. On the other hand, these new experiences brought researchers and colleagues of the world together. It was possible to listen and watch the researches who are veterans of their fields, which are difficult to bring together in a physical symposium and who have articles in this journal, and even watch it over and over again on the Association Ethnomusicology Youtube page also. (https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCDt-PzrTDXGdQYXjrdyVEzg/videos)

After the symposium, the special issue of the ethnomusicology journal consisted of the articles that our keynotes and invited speaker have written separately for the journal. Theoretical studies related to music, which comes to mind almost at the end of the social sciences when women's studies are mentioned, create a wide literature within the discipline of ethnomusicology, especially since the 70s. Numerous studies around the world on women and the multiple genders have come one after another. Thus, the visibility of invisible and hidden women's lives has been ensured through the increase of fieldworks and the face of world culture has changed.

If we look at the content of our special issue journal, we see that Ruth Stone, who is well known by the ethnomusicology community through her writings. She has written about Liberians from West African societies, among whom she was almost throughout her life; states that for the past four decades, music has been used in Liberia and the United States to combat post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which has often emerged in Liberian communities after the civil war and the pandemic. In line with the observations

she has made, she states that the music and dance performances that women use skillfully and creatively, help the community away from pain and lead a healthier and happier life. The article emphasizing that music is an important tool at this point is featured in a special issue with the title West African Women: Performing as Agents of Change in War and Pandemic.

Arzu Öztürkmen, as both a historian and a folklorist, explores how women remember their bodily ways of knowing and their sense of movement in Tirebolu, a town in the Eastern Black Sea region of Turkey under the title Bodily Responses to Everyday Life in Tirebolu: A Historical Ethnography of Women's Ways of Moving. Also she propose that explore the domains of both movement and the body as situated in everyday life, the field of ethnochoreology offers us important insights to better understand and analyze meanings assigned to them.

With the title of Why Women Sing: Female Performers in Traditional Societies by Razia Sultanova, she asked about female performers from another continent, Central Asia; What are the features of traditional societies in the past and present? Why is being a female performer is very difficult in those societies? Why do women-performers become the center of social key problems?. She finds the answers to her questions through professional female artists who have become popular in the aforementioned geography.

Karin Bindu, in line with the fieldwork she started in 1996. She find answers with the title Layne Redmond's Legacy: Digital Handprints of Female Frame Drummers that questios are; Are female drummers basically focused on music, on healing methods, empowerment of women, on spiritual concepts or on other aspects of drumming? What kind of identity could they create in society? Which role models are they creating and representing for future generations?

The last article of the special issue was written by Philip V. Bohlman, with his work titled Hers, Theirs, Ours, Others:Women's Stories and the Global Ethnomusicological Moment, takes a look at the history of gender studies, and hence the history of ethnomusicology research, through women's performances. In his article, in which he expertly wrote about the reflections of global movements on women's stories, the example given from Turkey are quite compelling.

I would like to thank the authors of the special issue of the Ethnomusicology Journal one of the most valuable productions of the Women Play/Sing the Earth formation, and I hope it will contribute to the readers in their studies. We wish health and happiness to all our readers, writers and referees in these days as we prepare to enter the year 2022.

Prof.Dr. Özlem DOĞUŞ VARLI
Editor

**Etnomüzikoloji Dergisi**
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# West African Women: Performing as Agents of Change in War and Pandemic

Ruth M. STONE*

**Abstract**
For the last forty years, communities of women performers in Liberia and the United States have endured both an extended civil war and the Ebola pandemic. Drawing on those difficult events, I consider the ways in which these women have made music key to living through the situation in strength and to creating change. I bring themes that have emerged in the war and pandemic periods of Liberia into juxtaposition.

- Liberian women have sung, danced, and performed to center themselves and their audiences during both pandemic and war.
- Performance has informed and educated people during crises.
- Music has become a medium for truth telling when speech was not possible.
- Music making has been deployed as a critical tool of persuasion.
- Music has been engaged to combat post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) that frequently manifests within Liberian communities following war and pandemic.

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Of these five themes, the first demonstrates how music simply helps participants return to a state of calm or the status quo. The subsequent themes progress to the fifth and final theme that accomplishes a healing of deepseated pain produced by war and pandemic. Performance proves to be a potent and powerful force that women deploy deftly and creatively. Music achieves a special purpose as these women move their audiences away from the tortuous pain that the calamities have created and help them to achieve healthier and happier lives.

***Keywords:*** Music and war, Music and pandemic, Music as persuasion, Music and PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder), Liberia, Kpelle people, Diaspora community, Refugee camp

For the last forty years, beginning in the late 1980s and extending to the present, Liberian women performers, located in Liberia and the United States, have endured both an extended civil war and the Ebola pandemic. I have been privileged to conduct ethnographic field research in Liberia, West Africa, particularly among the Kpelle people in Bong and Montserrado as well as in the diaspora community of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in the United States. Drawing on those difficult events, women performers, in particular, have sung, played instruments such as the gourd rattle, and performed powerfully in order to move and change the horrific scenes in which they have repeatedly found themselves and their larger community. Whether they have been confronted by civil war or by a frightening health contagion like Ebola, they have made music key to living through the situation in strength and to creating change. The Liberian civil war, which began in 1989 and continued until 2003, as well as the Ebola epidemic, which lasted from 2014-2016 proved to be times of extreme stress and tension. These resilient singers engaged music as a weapon, and they deployed music during this war and the pandemic that followed a few years later. Their experience is worthy of our introspection as ethnomusicologists. There are lessons to be learned as we continue to explore performance in its rich and varied dimensions. And there are certainly parallels to the difficult circumstances that women around the world have endured from the Eastern Mediterranean to Africa and beyond.

I would like to consider five themes that have emerged from the war and pandemic in Liberia.

**Liberian women have sung, danced, and performed to themselves and their audiences during both pandemic and war.**

When communities have been excited by the birth of a child, relieved by the return of a family member from overseas, or burdened by the death of a family member, musicians and their extended communities have searched for a to an inner peace through making music together. The emotions that are stirred by life's various events, can be calmed with performance. This idea was particularly well echoed by Ge-weli-wula, a blacksmith and ritual specialist who expressed the importance of performance in this way:

> *Menii nga golong e pilang wule mai,*
> What I know about song,
>
> *e kula lii-soli su.*
> it came from sadness.
>
> *...A nee i wolo, i meni kelee ke,*
> ...Even if you cry, you do everything,
>
> *fee no i pele-ke.*
> you must perform.
>
> *...Ilii a soli, ifa see tong ngono,*
> ...If your heart hurts, you can't sit quietly again,
>
> *Kelee, bifoo ba see tong, fee no i wule too.*
> But before you sit quietly, you must sing (Stone, 2010: 82).

When the Liberian civil war broke out, Zaye Tete (Tete 2021), a renowned singer from the Liberian National Cultural Troupe, who now lives in Philadelphia, fled to a refugee camp in neighboring Cote d'Ivôire with her family. Despite the difficult living conditions in the camp and the horrifying reports of war from home, she organized some young girls around her, and began to teach them songs and the dances that fit with the songs. Daily she rehearsed with the girls, and together they helped to bring some semblance of stability to their emotional lives. In fact, after a while the United Nations agency that was working with refugees provided some funding so that she was able to make a video of the performing girls, and to distribute that video beyond the camp. Wherever in the world that Liberians found themselves,

they invariably and instinctively turned to music making to center and stabilize themselves as they searched for peace and wellbeing. Performing together proved essential for their calm and mental health, and they shared the power it brought to them and to their community.

A decade after the long civil war concluded, the Ebola epidemic broke out. When I went to Liberia just as the epidemic was concluding in 2016, I met with the Kpelle choir members at St. Peter's Lutheran Church in Monrovia (Photos 1 and 2). They recounted to me how critical singing had been for them during the epidemic. Though they couldn't physically touch one another at the time, their singing was safe, and if they sat appropriately spaced, they could connect with one another and bring a sense of serenity to themselves at this challenging time. (Stone, 2017; Stone, 2019). (It is important to note here that Ebola was spread primarily by bodily fluids, and not by airborne droplets as is the case with Corona virus-19. Thus, the paths of contagion were slightly different so that singing would not be as safe a form of connection during the Covid-19 pandemic.)

Music served several other roles that move beyond calming and centering communities.

**Performance has informed and educated people during crises.**

Musicians like Julie Endee composed and performed songs to provide important details about the Ebola disease. These details were presented in appealing songs that helped to counter misinformation that circulated via rumors on social media. Julie Endee worked with the Liberian Ministry of Health and outside non-governmental agencies to travel to areas around Liberia to perform these songs as well as to distribute the songs via compact discs (CDs) and other media. Perhaps the most famous of her songs was "Ebola is Real," which was composed in English in a 1980s style of popular music (Endee, 2016).

My people, Ebola is in Liberia.
Ebola is real.
Ebola can kill.
Let's protect ourselves, oh.
Chorus:
Ebola is real.
Let's protect ourselves and our family.
Ebola can kill.
It has no cure, but it can be prevented.
Ebola, Ebola.
Let's fight it together.

Let's fight it together.
Ebola, Ebola.
Let's protect ourselves, our family, and our nation.
Always wash your hands with soap and water.
Always cook your food very well.
Go to the health facility anytime you have headache, fever, pinkeye,
Diarrhea, red eyes, vomiting (Stone, 2017:86).

Musician Endee educated with graphic and specific details as she spelled out the symptoms of Ebola and the steps that the audience should take to prevent the disease.

The third theme that is critical to consider is the following:

**Music has become a medium for truth telling when speech was possible**

When I arrived in Liberia to begin a Fulbright research fellowship in 1988, the country was on the edge of war. Checkpoints had been set up all along the major roads, and commodities such as gasoline were difficult to obtain. The scene differed sharply from my memories of growing up in Liberia where I had lived as a child from the age of three until twelve. During those years, I had spent carefree hours playing with my Liberian counterparts and visiting nearby farms or creeks to experience daily life around the cooking fires. But now in the late 1980s, the singers from the St. Peter's Lutheran Kpelle Choir came to visit me and spoke in whispered tones about their family members who had been seized by the dictator Samuel Doe and placed in prison. They often arrived directly from visiting an incarcerated relative and reported on the increasingly tense situation in the prison and in Monrovia, the capital city.

One day, I attended a funeral for a beloved expatriate, James Y. Gbarbea, who had died in exile in the United States. His body was brought back to Liberia, and the Kpelle choir, led by Feme Neni-Kole, sang in closely timed precision as they marked this death of a former government minister who Samuel Doe considered to be a dangerous member of the opposition to his rule. Somewhat astonishingly, Feme, the vocal soloist of the choir, sang words such as "Doe must go," and "Jesus is the big, big zoo (ritual priest)." In these phrases she was challenging the power of the dictator and expressing that not only would he be removed from power, but that Jesus, a Christian deity, was a more powerful warrior than the mortal human Doe and would ultimately triumph. She was singing what no person could have spoken without risking imprisonment. But by well accepted convention in Liberia at the time, Feme could sing the truth as she understood it, but which could not otherwise be

voiced. In this instance, women employed music as a form of truth telling and a way to publicize the widely shared views of the Liberian citizens. These musicians knew they had license for expression, but they, nevertheless, took risks to express their views about what was right and what needed to change in this conflict situation. They did not simply sit by as victims, but rather weaponized music to engage with a dictator.

It is vital to note that music has been employed in analogous ways in other political struggles around the world over the centuries. We need only think of the spirituals that African American slaves sang where their texts were disguised messages to one another. We can also recall the long years of struggle in Somalia when poets sang compositions that sometimes served to depose rulers when audiences heard these songs broadcast on the radio.

Feme Neni-Kole, composed her songs at James Gbarbea's funeral in 1988, and sang them boldly with the rest of the choir responding around her. The large crowd of attendees marveled at her audacity to tell the truth both simply and directly, if they but listened carefully. Feme had been to the local prisons to visit family members that Samuel Doe had locked up for alleged offenses, and she now fought back with her voice with the backing of the rest of the women in the choir. She knew that what they sang about would spread far beyond the walls of the church. She was telling the truth as she understood it in a powerful way and pushing back against the injustice that she perceived had been inflicted on her community.

Feme sang the truth as she knew it at a particular funeral in the period leading up to the outbreak of the Liberian civil war. Some women carried music making even further as they persistently and repeatedly worked to bend their opponents to their will.

This leads us to the fourth theme to ponder:
**Music making has been deployed as a critical tool of persuasion.**

*Singing for a Ceasefire*

While Feme and other singers expressed key ideas about the political situation leading up to the outbreak of the Liberian civil war as they perceived it, other women singers moved beyond truth telling to persistently perform in order to persuade the warring sides at the end of the war to sign a durable peace treaty as the Liberian civil war had ground on over the years for more than a decade. An interfaith, interethnic group of women, led by Leymah Gbowee, co-winner of the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize, began to fast and pray and sing along the main highway leading into the capitol city of Monrovia. They repeated this act daily and without ceasing as they urged the various leaders to stop the fighting and killing. Leaders of the women's coalition

traveled to Accra, Ghana to demonstrate at the entrance to the peace negotiations where representatives from several countries from around the world were gathered. Their efforts have been documented in the film Pray the Devil back to Hell, which vividly portrays their efforts. In this case, the women had brought together multiple colleagues from different backgrounds who were much more numerous than the small choir that Feme had led when she started her truth telling just before the war broke out. Now the women were dispirited and worn out from years of death and destruction. They banded together in a bold move that ultimately influenced the peace that was shortly signed on August 18, 2003 and ultimately endured (Reticker and Disney, 2008).

*Singing to Disarm Former Soldiers*

As Liberians began to rebuild their country and to reconnect with one another, many ex-soldiers retained their weapons. People feared that these ex-combatants might take up their arms and resume conflict. Marie Nyanbo and Tokay Tomah worked along with the United Nations peacekeepers who were stationed in Liberia. They traveled throughout Liberia, singing to these former warriors, and risked their lives in the process. And though this was dangerous work, both women were quite successful in convincing young men with their singing and in helping them decide to disarm. While the Liberian interfaith group of women sang to bring about the peace treaty, they employed persuasion through a large ensemble performance. But after the war, Marie and Tokay performed on a very small scale even as they continued essential tasks of retrieving weapons through musical messages. And Marie composed a song, "Tua" (War) that she sang to persuade communities that they should welcome their children back home—children who in many cases had been forced by the war lords to fight and commit horrible atrocities during the fighting (Shapiro-Phim, 2019:48). There were a range of tasks to be accomplished after the war, and musicians formed an essential core of the workers that set about to perform these tasks of peace and reconciliation.

The effects of war and pandemic have had a long-lasting reach beyond the cease fire period, and the Women's Chorus in the Liberian community of Philadelphia has been employing music for yet another reason:

**Music is engaged to combat post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) that frequently manifest within Liberian communities following war and pandemic.**

Based on ethnographic research that several of the Liberian women musicians, supported by the Philadelphia Folklore Project, undertook in the Philadelphia area, they discovered high levels and many kinds of abuse taking place. Spousal abuse, elder abuse, and child abuse topped the list of what

community members cited as they tried to return to normal living following war and their travail in refugee camps. Long after active fighting no longer threatened them and their community, an array of aggression within the diaspora in Philadelphia plagued their lives. They also suffered from discrimination against immigrants in the larger urban area where they had settled.

Out of concern for this PTSD (post traumatic stress disorder) that the women had uncovered, five Liberian singers from Philadelphia formed the Liberian Women's Chorus for Change in 2013. And this chorus has composed and performed music even as they have curated critical conversations with their audiences to help effect change. "We want our families and community members to have access to information and resources that will allow them the chance to flourish, with dignity, in their adopted home," says chorus artistic director Fatu Gayflor. Stories evoked publicly, through song, have become the starting point for conversations leading to propositions of imaginative and, it is hoped, realistic paths to addressing pressing concerns (Philadelphia Folklore Project, 2016).

Fatu Gayflor has drawn from a song of her youth to work through the stress that she and members of her community feel. She has molded and transformed "Kweyenge" to connect her past in the women's secret society with the current dilemma which she is facing. As she begins her solo, she is calling the name of her child who she lost in the war, a child she had left with relatives but who disappeared as they were forced to quickly pick up and flee their homes when fighting broke out. "Kweyenge" wells up as a cry for her lost son, that the chorus echoes and reflects to her. As she repeats the call, her vocal timbre resembles breathless sobbing with her voice breaking. What originated as a song in which parents lamented when their children went off into seclusion for education into the secret society, had now morphed into Fatu's personal story of loss (Stone, 2014: 13). Sung in Kpelle by Fatu with the LWCC backing her, this lament became emblematic for the deep loss that Fatu experiences up to today. As she scans audiences to see if anyone looks like someone who might be her now adult son, Fatu prepares the audience for her bone chilling lament with the story of how she had to travel and left her son with relatives. When she could not locate her son upon her return, she experienced the gut-wrenching pain of a mother losing her child, a pain that continues to today. The story and "Kweyenge" become emblematic and iconic for the trauma that so many in her audience—Liberian and African American, and others—have also known in their lives. The lament of "Kweyenge" reminds Fatu of her loss, but it also begins the slow process of healing as she gradually works to come to a place of peace about what happened during the war. The performance also shares her deep-seated grief with others, and in that sharing helps to begin to address their trauma as well.

## Conclusion

I want to bring the five themes that have emerged in the war and pandemic periods of Liberia into closer juxtaposition and consider them in relation to one another. Doing so helps us to see more clearly how Liberian women have acted as agents of social change in these times of war and pandemic duress whether they have lived in their home country or abroad.

**Liberian women have sung, danced, and performed to center themselves and their audiences during both pandemic and war.**

Music has provided a place to return to, and a way of moving back to a calm and centered existence. Over time, women have learned how to employ music effectively in this way no matter what the disruptions to their lives.

**Performance has informed and educated people during crises.**

Music has been crucial to moving people to learn and to become knowledgeable in a crisis. It is not enough to simply return to a centering point. Women have sung creatively to accomplish this education in delightful and playful ways.

**Music has become a medium for truth telling when speech was not possible.**

Liberian women have deployed music to mount hard-driving and sometimes dangerous campaigns to express what is right and ethical as they perceive it. In this way, music is so much more than entertainment or pleasant escape. Now music seeks to accomplish critical goals that speaking cannot bring about.

**Music making has been deployed as a critical tool of persuasion.**

Coupled with the third theme, once people are aware of the truth as musicians have helped to convey it, now music is also deployed by these Liberian women to persuade people to do things such as make peace. These singers urge people to do more than simply know the truth, but they seek in their creative performance to persuade them to quit fighting or to give up their weapons for a just reason.

**Music is engaged to combat post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) that frequently manifest within Liberian communities following war and pandemic.**

These periods of war and pandemic have the effect of producing deep trauma and stress in Liberian communities, whether in West Africa or America or elsewhere. And music in the final analysis helps to alleviate the trauma

that is deep seated in a community. Liberian women performers work over the years following these episodes of stress to counteract the damage that has been wrought.

In considering these five themes, we began where music simply helped us to return to a state of calm in the first theme and progressed to the fifth and final theme, which worked to accomplish a healing of deep seated pain that results from the war and pandemic. In complex ways these women performed to move their audiences from the status quo as they found it to a more perfect state that they imagined possible to attain. During ordinary times the singers may find the audience simply elated or sad. In that case, their task was simply to bring them back to a centered and calm demeanor. But during war as well as pandemic, the situation became quite a bit more complex. In those times of extreme duress, music can then be deployed to move a whole segment of the nation to demand peace. Or music can guide a wounded community to recover from highly traumatic events that have scarred their minds and bodies. Performance proved to be a potent and powerful force in the hands of these women who have mastered its nuances and potential to heal individuals and change far flung groups who identify together as a community.

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***Photo 1:*** *St. Peter's Lutheran Kpelle Choir, Monrovia, Liberia. Verlon L. Stone, 2016.*

***Photo 2:*** *St. Peter's Lutheran Kpelle Choir, Monrovia, Liberia. Verlon L. Stone, 2016.*

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# Bodily Responses to Everyday Life in Tirebolu: A Historical Ethnography of Women's Ways of Moving

Arzu ÖZTÜRKMEN*

**Abstract**
This research explores how women remember their bodily ways of knowing and their sense of movement in Tirebolu, a town in the Eastern Black Sea region of Turkey.

***Keywords:*** Women, Body movement, Bodily memory, Tirebolu, dance

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In their analysis of semiotics of performance, Richard Bauman and Beverly Stoeltje express how "cultural performances" project the social and cultural norms in which they develop. Often situated within the context of musical performance, dance practices are also "public enactments in which a culture is encapsulated, enacted, placed on display for itself and for outsiders."[1] In Turkey, for example, how folk dances were collected and staged since the 1930s, manifests the importance that the Republican regime gave to the concept of "order" in public representations. The history of folk-dance practices during the Republican era shows that folk dances gained their public acknowledgment as much as they conformed to the modernization reforms of the new regime. The folk-dance practice that one calls today "folklor oynamak", emerged as a meta-genre, which encapsulated new aspirations of "orderly and refined staging" during the early Republican era. This modernization process regulated the time span of the local dances and reorganized their floor patterning, therefore transforming them into an urban social dance form. They were included in state ceremonies as much as they conformed to these new regulations, that is, as performed in a much shorter time than in their village, including more women in the performances, and displaying a faultless harmony as a group.[2]

Research on dance history, however, has long been a neglected academic domain. In her study on the history of folk dance research, Lee Ellen Friedland calls attention to the discrepancy between folk dance and folk music research, and shows how the study of folk dancing has long remained in the shadow of musical studies.[3] Although glimpses of dance research can be found since the turn of the 19th century, academic interest in the study of dance grew stronger during the 1960s.[4] The terms of "dance ethnology", "dance anthropology" and "ethnochoreology" were then being used interchangeably, and they mostly tried to decode symbolism in dance movements and comment on the communal meanings assigned to dances. Early research on dance movement benefited greatly from these works to examine meanings assigned to ethnic or national dance genres and events in the ethnographic

*1 Stoeltje, Beverly and Richard Bauman. 1988. 'The Semiotics of Cultural Performance.' In T.A. Sebeok and*
*J. Umiker-Sebeok (eds.). The Semiotic Web. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 585-599.*
*2 Personal interview with Şerif Baykurt on July 25, 1992, in Ankara. For a review of the canonization of `Turkish Folk Dances', see Arzu Öztürkmen (1993) Folklore and Nationalism in Turkey, PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, pp.294-305. For a firsthand review of folk dance performance in Ankara, see Muzaffer Sözen (1941)" Halk Rakslarından Halaylar", Ülkü, 17/98:111-119.*
*3 See Lee Ellen Friedland (1998) "Folk Dance: History and Study," International Encyclopedia of Dance Perspectives, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, Oxford: Oxford University Press.*
*4 Scholars like Emil Rath (1873-1943) in the US, and Selim Sırrı Tarcan (1874-1957) in the late Ottoman era underscored the use of folk dance in physical education. See Emil Rath (1939) The folk dance in education. Minneapolis: Burgess Pub. Co.; Selim Sırrı Tarcan (1948) Halk Dansları ve Tarcan Zeybeği. Istanbul: Ülkü Basımevi.*

context in which they were performed and collected.[5]

The study of dance movements developed also in parallel with some other sociological research concerned with everyday life behavior and expressive movement. Erving Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* appeared in 1956, offering a framework of studying symbolic interaction through dramaturgical analysis. In his footsteps, Ray Birdwhistell's 1970 book *Kinesics and Context* explored body motion as communication, calling attention to facial expressions, gestures, posture and expressive arm and body movements. One should also remind that these years were also the decade where important changes happened within a new realm of folklore research. The "new perspectives in folklore" movement proposed a new defining, where the focus moved from national canonization towards the context of the artistic communication within a given community.[6] This new approach allowed a new understanding of historical and local performative processes as well as the textual analysis of archived folklore genres. One should also add the impact of feminist studies on the study of bodies and their performativity. Judith Butler's approach to gender constitution stressed how the repetition of performative acts mattered, and showed how gendered performativity stood at the heart of everyday life behavior.[7]

Research on ethnochoreology grew stronger in this context during the 1980s, when nationalism studies also expanded.[8] National genres like "national/folk dances" began to be deconstructed, shifting from the "national" towards the "communal". In the last decades, the study of movement further expanded to other genres than dance, including sports or rituals, but most importantly gestures and other body language expressions in the performance of everyday life. One should underline at this point the contribution of the "Study Group of Ethnochoreology," which was established in 1962 under ICTM, the International Council for Traditional Music. Originally founded as a working group led by Eastern European ethnologists, the group was joined by other scholars from around the world, bringing a new perspective

*5 For an early approach to the field, see Gertrude Prokosch Kurath (1960) "Panorama of Dance Ethnology", Current Anthropology, 1/3: 233–254. For a critical look at the ethnic and national dance approach, see Irene Loutzaki (Ed. 1994). 17th Symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology, 1992 Proceedings: Dance and its socio-political aspects & Dance and costume. Nafplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation; and Theresa Jill Buckland (2007) Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities. University of Wisconsin Press. For a general review of the history of dance studies, see Selma Jeanne Cohen (Ed., 1998). The International Encyclopedia of Dance. Oxford University Press.*
*6 See The book "Toward new perspectives in Folklore" was published in 1972, where Dan Ben Amos defined folklore as "artistic communication in small groups." See Americo Paredes & Richard Bauman (Eds.) 1972. Toward new perspectives in Folklore, University of Texas Press.*
*7 Judith Butler (1988) "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory", Theatre Journal, 40/4: 519-531.*
*8 See the works of Eric Hobsbawm, Ernest Gellner, Anthony Smith, and Benedict Anderson who laid the foundation for nationalism studies.*

to the study of dance. A most important debate centered upon the discussion of structural analysis, where American anthropologist Adrienne Kaeppler proposed the term "structured movement systems" instead of "dance", to offer an analytical methodology to study all kinds of movement genres in their own morphological and semantic system.[9] Approaching movement-related performative genres as "structured movement systems" expanded the research boundaries of ethnochoreology. One should also underline the pioneering work of Drid Williams who approached dance and movement from a semiotic point of view. Williams' work, *Anthropology and the Dance: Ten Lectures on Theories of the Dance* appeared in 1991, providing its readers with a historical examination of the theories of dance and human movement including the dance, sign language, martial arts, and rituals.

In the context of the late Ottoman and early Republican era, the study of dance and music were part of a broader interest in the study of "Turkish folklore". Interest in Turkish folklore had begun in the dissolving context of the Ottoman Empire.[10] These organizations focused mostly on language research. The pioneering scholarship on folk dance research emerged among Young Turk intellectuals like Rıza Tevfik, Selim Sırrı Tarcan and Mehmet Fetgeri Şuenu, who were interested in physical education as a leading aspect of modernization. Rıza Tevfik and Selim Sırrı particularly saw the importance of folk dances as "national representation" as well.

Interest in folk dance research continued during the Republican era. Türk Halk Bilgisi Derneği (Turkish Folklore Association) founded in 1928 published *Halk Bilgisi Toplayıcılarına Rehber,* a guide for fieldworkers, inspired by the works of Arnold Van Gennep, Achille Millien and Hofmann Krayer. The guide was a significant contribution, offering an impressive list of genres available in the realm of Turkish folklore. The list covered a range of folklore topics ranging from verbal genres to material culture, which included among many others everyday life habits, body language, folk dance and music. A large variety of folklore genres have been collected and archived during the Republican era, first under the People's Houses and later in the National Folklore departments of the Ministry of Culture.[11] Along with the oral genres

*9 Dance Structures: Perspectives on the Analysis of Human Movement, eds. Adrienne L. Kaeppler & Elsie Ivanchic Dunin. Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 17th Symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology: 1992 Proceedings. Nafplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, pp.83-86.*

*10 Among those institutions, which clearly pursued Turkist goals, Türk Ocakları (Turkish Hearths) were the most effective, along with other Turkist organizations, like Türk Derneği or Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti. See François Georgeon (1980) Aux origines du nationalisme turc: Yusuf Akçura, 1876-1935, Paris: ADPF; Günay Göksu Özdoğan (2002) "Turan"dan "Bozkurt"a: tek parti döneminde Türkçülük, 1931-1946, Istanbul: Iletişim; Jacob M. Landau (1995) Pan-Turkism: from irredentism to cooperation, London: Hurst & Company; Füsun Üstel (1997) İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları, 1912-1931, Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları.*

*11 See Pertev Naili Boratav. 1982. Folklor ve edebiyat, Vol.I & II. İstanbul: Adam Yayınları; Pertev Naili Boratav (1942) Halk edebiyatı dersleri Ankara: Uzluk Basımevi; Arzu Öztürkmen (1998) Tür-*

such as folktales, epics or proverbs, folklore studies have included both dance and music in the construction of a national cultural repertoire.[12] Since the early years of the Republican era, ethnomusicologists had conducted important fieldwork and had been involved in international associations.[13] Adnan Saygun, for instance, served as an elected member of the International Folk Music Council (IFMC, later ICTM) executive board during 1947-1962.[14]

### Tirebolu Women's Experience on "Becoming Brides"

My initial interest in Tirebolu was rooted in the social history of Tirebolu. As my mother's native town, Tirebolu has been a place where I had a strong sense of belonging since my childhood. With my sisters, we passed most of our summer times in the town, listening to stories regarding the glamorous past of the town, where women painted the walls of their houses or played piano and violin, and attended garden parties organized in the Republican Park. Most of these conversations, however, both in Tirebolu and in the Tirebolite communities of Istanbul and Ankara, would voice out a strong sense of loss of that lifestyle. In the 1990s, as women's studies were developing rapidly in Turkey, I began to listen more carefully to these stories. My research process began by recording some spontaneous family and friend conversations from 1994 onwards. These were life stories that mostly revealed how women perceived the gradual local change in their town. Women's accounts of their domestic and local experiences included many stories about Tirebolu's old populations, especially the Greek and Armenian communities. They formed the beginning of my upcoming multi-sited historical-ethnography research, which I had the opportunity to publish over the years.[15] This essay will

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*kiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik. İletişim Yayınları.*

*12 See Arzu Öztürkmen. 2014 "Entre éthnologie européenne et approche américaine du folklore: Les repositionnements de la recherche sur le Folklore en Turquie", Folklores et politique, eds. Jean-Sébastien Noël, Antoine Nivière, Didier Francfort & Stanislaw Fiszer. Éditions Le Manuscrit; Arzu Öztürkmen. 2012 "Dancing around Folklore: Constructing a National Culture in Turkey", A Companion to Folklore Studies, Regina Bendix & Galit Hasan Rokem (Eds.). Blackwell Wiley, pp.305-324; Arzu Öztürkmen. 2010 "Folklorla Oynamak:" Yerellik, Milliyetçilik ve Ötekilerimiz", Sözde Masum Milliyetçilik (Ed.) Herkül Millas. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınları, pp.251-286.*

*13 See Kubilay Kolukırık (2014) "Osmanlı Devleti'nde İlk Resmî Konservatuvar Olan Dârülelhanda Derleme ve Yayım Faaliyetleri," Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi 1/35: 479-798; İbrahim Yavuz Yükselsin (2011) "Etnomüzikoloji Açısından Ahmed Adnan Saygun", Bilig Dergisi, (57), 247-277; Arzu Öztürkmen. 2002 "I Dance Folklore," Fragments of Culture: The Everyday Life of Turkey, eds. Deniz Kandiyoti & Ayşe Saktanber. London & New York: I.B.Taurus, pp.128-146; Berna Kurt (2017) Ulus'un Dansı: 'Türk halk oyunları' geleneğinin icadı. Pan Yayıncılık.*

*14 For a brief review of Turkish scholars' involvement with ICTM, see http://ictmturkey.org/about. Accessed on 19 September, 2021.*

*15 See Öztürkmen, Arzu. 2003. "Remembering through the Material Culture: Local Knowledge of Past Communities in a Turkish Black Sea Town," Middle Eastern Studies, vol.39, no.2, pp.179-193; Öztürkmen, Arzu. 2005. "Local Responses to Regional Change: Memory of a Social and Economic Transformation in a Turkish Black Sea Town," East European Quarterly, 39/1, pp. 47-62; Öztürkmen, Arzu. 2006. "Remembering conflicts in a Black Sea town: A multi-sited ethnography of me-*

particularly focus on how Tirebolu women expressed their past experiences on their bodies along with their movement patterns within their household and the public space in Tirebolu.

When I began collecting women's life stories during the mid 1990s and early 2000s, many of these narratives were centered on the themes of "personal misfortune", "family pride" or an "overwhelmingly busy daily life." They all referred to the social and material change that the town had seen over the years. One thing that caught my attention was how women chose to verbalize their sense of belonging to their domestic and public spaces through their bodily experiences and an adventurous mobility between marked spaces. In many women's narratives, characterizations such as "beautiful", "frivolous" and "being a highland girl" were associated with the perilous zone of the female body and the necessity of being locked up within the house. As one narrator put it, "Beauty was a trouble, as it would create fancy for the girl." At an age when young girls were about to start attracting attention, keeping them at home was also a strategy to keep them away from formal requests for the girl's hand. Still, early marriage was inevitable in Tirebolu, and an existential struggle was underway for every bride who found herself in a new household at a very young age.

Since women in Tirebolu got married almost as a teenage girl, their story repertoire in their old age would usually consist of those they heard from their in-laws, rather than from their own family. I had the opportunity to meet many of them in those houses, where they once came as brides and now they have taken over. In many cases, women built their narratives around the stories focusing on the material life-taking place in these houses, where they experienced the transition from adolescence to femininity. One of them expressed her experience as "I came as a bride to a household of twenty people!" While the term 'twenty people' is a symbolic number, it sums up the family order in which many other brides had also found themselves. Between the mother-in-law, father-in-law, sisters and brothers-in-law along with their husbands and wives, the new brides were involved in a choreography called the 'settled order', in which everyone had a predetermined role. In many cases for brides to learn this choreography, marriages were scheduled just before the newly wed husband would go to do his obligatory military service. This way, brides would undergo a 'training' of the everyday life performance in their new house, while their spouses were away for more than a year. In other words, each bride would take both a spatial and physical training, where their relation to space defined the scope of their movement patterns, while their relation to their own body structured "how to behave."

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*mory." New Perspectives on Turkey, Spring 2006.*

### The Movement Patters of Tirebolu Women

In the early years of marriage, Tirebolu brides were under the strict control of their in-laws. It was entirely up to their mother-in-law to manage when and whom they could visit. Even if they had a warm relationship, and such visiting days would already be pre-set in a certain order, many women underscored how the moment of asking permission to visit their own families was a distressing experience. One narrator remembered the delicacy of asking the permission "at the right time, in the right place." She recalled how she herself went up and down the stairs to catch the best moment to ask to leave. Another remembered that even going to a mevlüd, the most legitimate religious reunion, often organized by neighbors or relatives, would be a problem.

Here, one should remind that the social status of the brides determined how they would position themselves in relation to the space surrounding them. Most middle-class women expressed that they were constantly warned not to look out from the window nor open the door when they were alone at home. A woman narrator, who was the bride of a wealthy household, remembered how her husband always stipulated that servants open the door. He was mainly afraid that his wife would come face-to-face with a maraba, a local farm worker. The sight of the women's body was refrained even from a gaze, as such experience would transform into a descriptive narrative, thus into a "gossip". However, such encounters could be different for women from lower-income families, who freely used their windows, even the open outdoors, as a natural extension of their domestic space. Tirebolu was a hilly town with long stairs, which would function like streets. After housework, many women would sit in front of their houses, using that space as a public chatting area among neighbors. However, for upper-class women, the doors and the windows set the boundaries of their privacy.

The indoor mobility was indeed as complex as the outdoor. Where and how women could move was the staging of a "choreographic training" of the "established order" within the house. Every bride in Tirebolu had to learn quickly her place and mission of her new home. The kitchen and the pantry would be kept locked and mostly controlled by the mother-in-law. For example, in the memory of a narrator, the entrenched image of her mother-in-law was still shaped as "a woman swinging a noisy keychain around her waist." Since the pantries were often locked, it was the case that nursing brides starved in their own homes. A 100-year-old narrator ironically listened to such a story from her own mother-in-law:

> *We were two brides who had just given birth. And we would watch out the pantry's door with eyes open. Once we found it open, we would sneak in to take one or two cookies. We would*

> *wait until our mother-in-law fell asleep. We would also steal from the daily milk a bit, and mix them all and eat.*

The mother-in-law was the central axe of this everyday life performance. First, they had complete control of the cooking activities. Many women described how the kitchen work was heavy. The term "kitchen work," also pointed to a "skillful performance." For many Tirebolu men who were obsessed with taste, food was also a knowledge that men also interfered. Husbands were the masters of the marketplace. They would choose the "best" meat, the "freshest" vegetables, fruits, herbs, and eggs. Some men also developed certain rules of their own, ranging from how to cut the lemon or how long the pot would be left on fire. The so-called "skillful performance," required all of these rules to be learned and practiced by the brides. To be diligent (hamarat) and resourceful (becerikli) were key to a successful performance. The success was often measured if the bride envisioned what, when and how to wash, chop, serve. The most important point was to do all of these without being told. One could very well describe the overall performance a "dance with the kitchen", often accompanied with a humming.

In fact, the narratives transcended the domain of the kitchen, referring to a wider concept of "service" in everyday life. An embodied alertness was the key to "service performance." Serving the husband, the father-in-law, and the guests, and doing all the necessary errands, could be compared to the improvising dancers or sprinting athletes. This included preparing slippers in advance, holding cologne to the visitor, bringing water without being asked, harnessing the stove, and sitting in a temporary place to wait for the next move.

In this context, all Tirebolu houses could also be considered as a large stage. Their interior layout was designed to the finest detail, and the rooms were carefully arranged so that each item had its own place. The newly-weds would be given a room within the household, and that room would be the bride's only private space to take refuge. One narrator referred to the concept of "patience" as the only rule of living a harmonious and peaceful life in such narrow domestic space. In her own words, "no one wanted to add tension to the already boredom of everyday life, so showing respect and patience was compulsory." There were also narratives that accounted for conflicts emerging from sharing common objects, like carpets, chairs, or kitchenware.

Brides were also expected to "perform silence", a process where the female body functioned as a place of self-retreat. If there was nowhere else to go, most women were "staying silent" and taking refuge in their own bodies. In fact, in the first week after marriage, some women performed a ritual called "gelinlik tutmak", as a display of bridehood. This post-nuptial ritual called

the bride to keep muted, avoiding any speech until she was invited to speak by her mother-in-law. This could take months, and the newlywed bride hardly said a word during visits to the neighbors. It appeared that the female body, which was seen as a threating area during premarital stage, had become a site for the personal retreat in the bride's new house.

The presence in the house was also like a game of hide-and-seek for new brides. Certain times and places were coded with particular meanings, and one needed to chase the right moment to move in between the rooms. For example, taking a bath had a direct reference to sexual intercourse, as a religious obligation. One narrator referred to this experience as 'bath fear' or a 'secret bath', which she associated with her inner voice "Ahh! They heard the noise; ahh, they saw my hair wet!" Another narrator remembered that she was once caught by her father-in-law, who had to go to the toilette at a rather late hour, passing through the bathroom where she was taking a bath. Not to be caught, she immediately locked the door from the inside, and did not respond to the old man's calls. As the father continued to bang on the door, the mother-in-law, who finally understood the situation, called him back. Realizing that the bride was hiding herself, she gave her a few minutes to escape to her room.

Some Tirebolu women remember with a certain anger today the periods when they were doing intensive housework. I heard from a narrator who resented how she missed part of her youth:

> *I was engaged at fifteen, I found myself at thirty-five with children and all the other work. I suddenly got old... Our youth passed by through endless housework: no washing machines, no dishwashers, no electricity! We would open our eyes at daylight to the housework. We had people who served us as well, but we never relied entirely on them. Every morning, a pile of diapers, loads of laundry! And we were so good at housework. I say this because we would also find time for entertainment. We would do the housework and play cards at the same time. We used to manage them both. But I also remember how much we would be exhausted.*

Many women also remembered a deep concern to protect their bodies during their adolescence and young age. The most important reason for this was the "kız çekme" tradition, a practice of kidnapping the girl. Narratives of being kidnapped made an important part of the repertoire of girls' conversations. They also had another function. The telling of these stories created a "horror movie effect" for the young girls, so that they would be alert and

take responsibility of their own faith. Kidnapping stories often referred to the female body as a "fortress" that needed to be constantly defended. They all pointed out to the full responsibility loaded on the shoulders of young girls until they were married. In this regard, it was necessary not to trust anyone. Capturing girls could also occur as a collaboration between the kidnapper and one of the girl's cousins. There were also cases where even fiancées kidnapped their bride-to-be in order to escape wedding costs.

The kidnapper did not even have to go too far. To tightly wrap the girl around her waist and neutralize her would be enough to be "dishonored". Being touched was perceived as if the girl lost a tag game. Even being "seen" by a man without knowing it would be considered as a disgrace. In one narrative, the narrator sadly recounted being caught by her own fiancée, while she was chatting with friends at dusk. Accordingly, as the girls were sitting together in front of their house, they noticed a projector light coming from a boat and illuminating them. Terrified that they could be identified and therefore became a gossip material, they all escaped in fear.

Our body language and physical expressions have changed significantly since the early years of the Republic. One can clearly observe this change by looking at the film footages from the earlier decades of modern Turkey, or by observing the body language of our elderly. Undoubtedly, this change was closely related to how women's social roles and clothing have changed in public domain over the years. Since the 1990s, for example, a major discussion has developed around the phenomenon of 'veiling', inquiring whether women opened themselves up more in the public sphere, by being covered. New and different forms of gestures also emerge. Today's kafa tokuşturma, head-banging salute is another small example. In this sense, different movement systems and body languages point to important breaking points on our new socialization habits. How we move in everyday life reveals therefore new meanings we assign to these movements, as much as in dance and in other structured movement systems.

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***Photo 1:*** *Tirebolu, Early 20th Century*

***Photo 2:*** *A young bride, with her first child. Courtesy of Nakipoğlu family.*

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# Why Women Sing: Female Performers in Traditional Societies

Razia SULTANOVA*

**Özet**

Female performance in traditional societies has always been a phenomenon that presented a real challenge for women-singers. It is common for famous female performers to have had a difficult but remarkable destiny. In Central Asia, the female role in society is mostly associated with the fulfillment of family duties and childbearing commitments. However, we can find a number of cases of famous women-singers, who on their path to success, recognition and fame, each had to overcome the limitations imposed by traditional societies in profound ways. Four prominent Central Asian female singers of the 20th and 21st century form the focus of my presentation: Berta Davydova (1922-2007, Uzbekistan), Munojan Yulchieva (b.1960 in Uzbekistan), Jamala (b. 1983 in Kyrgyzstan) and Manizha (b.1991 in Tajikistan). Bringing attention to performers of both classical and popular genres of music, I am going to demonstrate that any genre featuring female performances has its particular challenges and demands and that in order to achieve a successful career, women-singers have always needed to take a risk. All four women had entered the hall of fame in the

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history of music with their outstanding destinies as celebrated musical performers. Their background - always controversial - was the reason for developing their singing career. All four have achieved fame thanks to their determination and dedication to singing and hard work, but they have had to overcome many difficulties arising from their national conservative surroundings. Therefore, their popularity and victories are to be recognised as heavily contextual. Whether by their own will or by force, those women had entered music history as heralds of changing societies, entering the strictly gender-biased area of performance, that had previously belonged to male singers. The 21st century has proven that Central Asian women-performers can go even further, shedding light upon and exposing current social conflicts and prejudices through their musical performance, as is seen in this day and age, in the Eurovision song contest, which as a globalised product of modern media, has become an arena for Central Asian young female pop singers Jamala and Manizha. These women form their authentic image by contributing to the broader social and political history of their nations.

What are the features of traditional societies in the past and present? Why is being a female performer is very difficult in those societies? Why do women-performers become the centre of social key problems? In this presentation, I will exemplify those questions and their effect on world cultures.

***Keywords:*** Female performers, traditional socieeties, Central Asia, music, social problems

## Introduction

Female performance in traditional societies has always been a phenomenon that presented a real challenge for women singers. It is common for famous female performers to have had a difficult but remarkable destiny. In Central Asia, the female role in society is mostly associated with fulfillment of family duties and childbearing commitments. However, we can find a number of cases of famous women singers, who on their path to success, recognition and fame, had to overcome the limitations imposed by traditional societies in profound ways.

Four prominent Central Asian female singers of the 20th and 21st centuries form the focus of my presentation: Berta Davydova (1922-2007, Uzbekistan), Munojat Yulchieva (b.1960 in Uzbekistan), Jamala (b. 1983 in Kyrgyzstan) and Manizha (b.1991 in Tajikistan). Bringing attention to performers of both classical and popular genres of music, I am going to demonstrate that any genre featuring female performances has its particular challenges and demands and that in order to achieve a successful career, women singers have always needed to take a risk. All four women had entered an unofficial hall of fame in the history of music with their outstanding destinies as celebrated musical performers. Their background - each controversial - was the reason for developing their singing career. All four have achieved fame thanks to their determination and dedication to singing and hard work, while they have had to overcome many difficulties arising from their national conservative surroundings. Therefore, their popularity and victories are to be recognized as heavily contextual. Whether by their own will or by force, these women have entered Central Asian music history as heralds of changing societies, and a strictly gender-biased area of performance that had previously belonged to male singers.

The 21st century has proven that Central Asian women performers can go even further, shedding light upon and exposing current social conflicts and prejudices through their music performance, as is seen presently in the Eurovision song contest. This event has become an arena for Central Asian young female pop singers Jamala and Manizha. These women form their authentic image by contributing to the broader social and political history of their nations, and we are going to talk about it later in this article. What are the historical and present-day features of Central Asian traditional societies? Why is being a female performer difficult in this region? Why do women performers become the Centre of social key problems?

This is based on my ethnographic experience of women struggling to succeed as performers in Soviet and post-Soviet Central Asian societies due to societal adversities. The examples provided are a mixture of primary and secondary interviews proposing a common thread or trend with Central Asian female performers. Further analysis will inform a broader theory, specifying the particular political, traditional and ideological forces which create a common obstacle to these women in performance.

Again, my article will introduce the four different singers from Central Asia – Berta Davydova, Munojat Yulchieva, Jamala and Manizha— and touch upon the issues of traditional societies and nationalism in the former USSR and contemporary Russia.

**Traditional Societies**

In sociology, traditional society refers to a society characterised by an orientation to the past, not the future, with a predominant role for custom and habit.[1] Traditional societies have been seen as characterised by powerful collective memories sanctioned by ritual and with social guardians ensuring continuity of communal practices. In regard to women, Kitty Warnock argues that there is a certain biased opinion about female roles in the Middle East, as "Northern Europeans tended, for reasons of historical rivalry, to think of Middle Eastern (RS: and Central Asia including) , as polarities, essentially different... European Travellers may have been most struck by those elements in Middle Eastern society that confirmed their image of 'the exotic orient'. The subordinate position of women, which Europeans have sometimes thought of as particularly Islamic, is in fact imposed by the institution of the patriarchal family and is equally characteristic of many other cultures, including that of Europe... as "the life of those women who are growing up within a framework of ideals and restrictions which, although relaxed since their mothers' and grandmothers' days, has not fundamentally changed, has not conceptualized ... primarily as individuals but as parts of a family group. Those women collectively had lower status than men, and it is women's particular relationship of dependence within the group that concerns us here.[2]

Of the four Central Asian women I will focus on, some of the singers are living currently in Russia or Ukraine, where they still face criticism on social media or social networking services for numerous reasons that I will cover later.

**Berta Davydova (1922- 2007)**

Millennia-old Bukhara, found at the very heart of the Great Silk Road, has long been a center of trade, scholarship and Islamic culture. Bukhara is also a city famous for its Bukharan Jews, who live there continuing the practice of Sephardic Judaism. It was Bukharan Jewish musicians who have historically contributed to the performance of Uzbek-Tajik classical music Shashmaqam. Their presence has played a crucial role in the preservation of the musical heritage of Shashmaqam, since female performance, officially prohibited in Muslim Central Asian palace culture and in aristocratic circles, had instead found its home in the repertoire of female Bukharan Jewish musicians. As one of the outstanding Bukharan Jewish female singers, Berta Davydova (1922-2008) confessed in several interviews I had with her in Tashkent: "I

*1 Langlois, S. 2001. "Traditions: Social". International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences. International Encyclopaedia of the Social. pp. 15829–15833. doi:10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/02028-3. ISBN 9780080430768)*

*2 Kitty Warnock, 1990, p 20. Women's positions in traditional society", https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-349-20817-3_2*

was the first woman who sang Shashmaqam", defying that ban by dedicating her singing career, alongside many like her, to help preserve this unique music phenomenon. The musical genre of Shashmaqam (six Maqams, stemming from Arabic 'Maqam' which means a station, place, or location) was established in Bukhara several centuries ago. Its exclusive beauty, length of melody and rhythm, along with complicated structure, have resulted with numerous schools of performance. Therefore, thanks to female Maqam singers, Shashmaqam has escaped extinction by crossing religious, ethnic and gender boundaries. Female Maqam performers became more common during Soviet times. Berta (Balur) Davydova (b. 1922 in Margelan, Ferghana Valley, d. 2007 in Tashkent), was one of the leading performers of Shashmaqam. She was born to a rich Bukharan Jewish family and loved to sing from her early childhood. In 1938 her family moved to Tashkent. After finishing school she graduated from medical college and worked as a nurse in a local health centre. Berta liked to sing, and sometimes performed at evening concerts for the local hospital crowded with wounded soldiers from the WW2 front. Once, on a big occasion, local Uzbek musicians came to perform for all the wounded soldiers, and one of the young soldiers on crutches suddenly shouted in the middle of the concert, "We also have a singer here!" People called for Berta Davydova, who feeling embarrassed as she was in her nurse's white medical gown, went on stage where she sang a few songs.

Berta recounts, "After the concert the Uzbek People's artist Imamjon Ikramov came to the hospital's director and said that I had a special voice and he would like to invite me to work for the radio. The head of the health centre said that very soon, on reaching eighteen years of age, I would have to go to the front line to fight the Germans in World War 2. To avoid that, it would be better if they took me to sing."

Berta continues, "My mother didn't want me to become a singer. So, I asked my colleagues to help me and the Uzbek People's artist Imamjon Ikramov went to talk to my mother to explain to her that it was the only way to avoid me being sent to war. After that my mother didn't mind me singing for live broadcasts. I remember I sang at that time 'Munojat,' which was the first classical song I learned with Imamjon Ikramov. With this song I became Berta Davydova".[3]

Describing her singing style features, as Berta states: "If you sing Maqam in the right way you never get tired! In the 1960s, I often went on holiday to Andijon, I was sometimes singing samples of all six Maqams at once during the same public concert. On one occasion I was taken by helicopter to Jalalabad (a city 100 km away in Tajikistan) where an instant public concert

*3 Sultanova. Razia. 2011. From Shamanism to Sufism: Women, Islam and Culture in Central Asia, IB Tauris, London -New York,pp: 79*

was arranged for me to perform. After the concert, returning to Andijan, I was told that again another concert was to follow on that very evening as the kolhozchilar (farmers) had asked for another performance. And I was the only singer in those long non-stop concerts! I have had many students who I taught Shashmaqam performance: Nasiba Sattarova (People's artist of Uzbekistan), Maryam Sattarova (People's artist of Uzbekistan) are the most famous among them, then Mahbuaba Sarymsakova, and many others.[4]

***Photo 1:*** *Berta Davydova*

**Munojat Yulchieva - a mega-star performer of Shashmaqam**

Munojat Yulchieva (born in 1960) is indeed the brightest star among performers of the classical Uzbek music in recent decades. Even her name, "Munojat", means "ascent to God", which represents the true meaning of Sufism. One of the common traditions of Sufism is the continuity of a spiritual chain or silsilah.[5] In those terms, Munojat has inherited her musical knowledge from her spiritual and musical Pir or, in Sufi terms, murshid (teacher, master) Professor Shavkat Mirzaev (1942-2021). Professor Mirzaev in his turn inherited this knowledge from his father-musician Muhammajan Mirzaev, to whom the knowledge was passed by the famous Ferghana Valley Sufi musicians Fahriddin Sadykov and Djurahan Sultanov. So the beginning of this chain melts away in the mists of past centuries. Despite the Soviet politi-

*4 From my personal interviews with Berta Davydova in 1997, 1999, 2007 in Tashkent; From Shamanism to Sufism, IBtauris, 2011, p 176*

*5 Sultanova.R. From Shamanism to Sufism: Women, Islam and Culture in Central Asia, IB Tauris,, 2014, p 83*

cal and cultural pressure on the content of the Central Asian classical music performance, when most of the poems have been transformed into the lyrics praising Communist leaders, the classical Maqam music in Central Asia continues in the same traditional way thanks to the Uzbek great musicians Shavkat Mirzaev and Munojat Yulchieva.[6]

The focus on Sufi music on Munojat's repertoire was crucially important for the Uzbek audience in the 1970-1980s as an attempt to reconstruct the image of elite court culture within the Uzbek -soviet country. This was the brave new step taken by her Ustad Professor Shavkat Mirzaev. Unfortunately there are no scholarly works dedicated to this area of research, though such an approach would reveal many interesting facts about this cultural phenomenon. In general, Sufi music was and is a little known subject area in the heritage of Asian classical music. As Regula Qureshi observed about a neighbouring region, "Unlike Sufi poetry, Sufi music has not been recorded in writing... from the point of the body of traditional knowledge".[7]

The most remarkable fact is that during her singing Munojat Yulchieva has received the same kind of Ustad-Shogird training from her teacher Professor Shavkat Mirzaev as any of the pre-Soviet times Sufi singers would have had. Despite the Soviet's cultural policy neglect of classical Uzbek heritage, Munojat was taught in the traditional way when the oral traditional method of learning singing was built on long hours of individual sessions. Shavkat Mirzayev's new "restorative" method was based on the exclusive choice of Sufi poetry, which replaced the popular modern Uzbek poetry flattering the Soviet ideology.

Born in 1960, in the village of Sherman Bulak (in the Ferghana Valley), Munojat studied music at Tashkent State Conservatoire from 1978 to 1985 under the guidance of Professor Shavkat Mirzaev. She studied and was well trained by her famous teacher, concentrating on the proper repertoire of Uzbek classical music. After one of her performances was shown on TV, a concert in 1978 when she was 18th years old, she became an overnight success. Since that time, Munojat has won first prizes in many regional and international festivals and competitions (including in 1997 the "Golden Nightingale" at the Samarkand International Festival Sharq Taronalari). Since 1989, she has toured many countries, including the USA, and European, Asian, and Latin American countries. She received the awards "Honoured Artist of Uzbekistan" (1991) and "People's Artist of Uzbekistan" (1994) as well as being decorated with the order "Respect and Order of the People" (1998).

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*6 Ibid, p:83*

*7 Qureshi Regula Bukhardt. Sufi music and the historicity of Oral Tradition. in :Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History: Festschrift for Bruno Nettl, ed. S Blum and P Bohlman, Urbana, III 1990, p. 106*

I have known Munojat since she was a student, as we both studied at the Tashkent State Conservatory. The most remarkable fact is that Munojat Yulchieva received the same Usto-Shogrid Sufi training from her teacher, Professor Shavkat Mirzaev, as other Sufi singers in pre-Soviet times. In spite of the Soviet cultural policy to sideline classical heritage, she was brought up in the Uzbek traditional way of the old singing school.

Professor Mirzaev took a certain risk in training Munojat during her long association (nearly thirty years) with her Ustad. Building such master–apprentice relations during the Soviet times, when conservatory classes were full of students practising in groups to sing opera repertoire on a five-years course, was both a challenge and an outstanding achievement. As a result of his devotion, Munojat Yulchieva and Shavkat Mirzayeva have become famous all over the world. In Munojat's repertoire today there are songs of Sufi poetry and maqam pieces. In fact, Munojat has become a symbol of yesterday's authentic Sufi culture, singing classical poetry, using classical idioms and performing the classical music of local places that vanished under Soviet rule.


***Photo 2:*** *Munojat Yulchieva/ CD Cover photo, "Uzbekistan: Echo of Vanished Courts. 2014. UNESCO-Smithsinian, Folkways, Washington DC. Recordings and Liner notes by Razia Sultanova*

In order that Munojat's voice could be trained in the solo Sufi singing style, Professor Mirzaev invented new techniques, which included both the famous Uzbek voice techniques called guligi (throat singing) and binigi (nose singing); he added to these the famous technique of the Italian belcanto singing style based on deep chest breathing. His training was, therefore, based on the symbiosis of the old Uzbek local styles of solo singing through the throat and nose, and the best of the European opera singing style. As a result,

Professor Mirzaev has established a completely new technique of Sufi singing that is rooted on the use of the head, nose and throat but with the additional deep chest sound.[8] That Sufi singing technique helped Munojat to conquer the world.

Today, Munojat's repertoire consists of the best examples of Uzbek Sufi and Maqam music together with Bastakor-composers' songs created in a classical style. Thanks to her unique voice (mezzo-soprano, extending to 2.5 octaves) and owing to Professor Shavkat Mirzaev's training, Munojat not only revived female songs well- known from the history of Uzbek music, but performed for the first time many male songs with both difficult composition and dynamic development. Her repertoire includes Uzbek Sufi music and the poetry of Alisher Navoiy (15th century), Fisuli (16th century), Mashrab (died 1711) and Huvaido (18th century) among others. Finally, all famous Sufi songs were included in her collection! Munojat's dream of becoming a star came true, thanks to her extreme good fortune in meeting Professor Shavkat Mirzaev, who in a way was her own "Professor Higgins" transforming a village girl into the world famous lady Munajat, like in Bernard Shaw's show "Pygmalion".[9]

**Jamala- The Crimean Tatar Singer**

Crimeans (Crimean Tatars) are an Eastern European Turkic ethnic group and nation, who are an indigenous people of the Crimean Peninsula. Crimean Tatars constituted the majority of Crimea's population from the time of its beginning until the mid-19th century, and they were the largest ethnic population group until the end of the 19th century. Almost immediately after the retaking of Crimea from Axis forces in May 1944, the USSR State Defense Committee ordered the deportation of all of the Crimean Tatars from Crimea, including the families of Crimean Tatars serving in the Soviet Army. The deportees were transported in trains and boxcars to Central Asia, primarily to Uzbekistan. The Crimean Tatars, according to various estimates, lost up to 46 percent of their population as a result of the deportation to Central Asia. Starting in 1967, a few were allowed to return and in 1989 the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union condemned the removal of Crimean Tatars from their motherland as inhuman and lawless, but only a tiny percentage had been able to return before the full right of return established in 1989.

Jamala -Susana Alimovna Dzhamaladinova (born in 1983), better known by her stage name Jamala - is a Ukrainian singer, actress and songwriter. She

*8 Sultanova, Razia. (2009). Sacred Knowledge: Schools or revelation? Master-Apprentice System of Oral Transmission in the music of the Turkic Speaking world". Germany: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing. p: 47.*

*9 Sultanova, Razia. (2014). From Shamanism to Sufism: Women, Islam and Culture in Central Asia, IB:Tauris, p .87*

represented Ukraine in the Eurovision Song Contest 2016 in Stockholm, Sweden, and won the first prize with her song "1944". Today Jamala is a UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador. Jamal was born in Osh, Kyrgyz Republic, to a Crimean Tatar father and an Armenian mother. Her Crimean Tatar ancestors were forcibly resettled form Crimea to Central Asian republics under Joseph Stalin's rule during WW2, although her relatives had fought on the Soviet side. Jamala speaks Russian as her mother tongue, thought she had written some songs in Crimean Tatar language. She is also fluent in Ukrainian and English, which she learned as an adolescent. Jamala has been fond of music since early childhood. She made her first professional recording at the age of nine, singing twelve Crimean Tatar songs. She entered the Simferopol Music College and later graduated from the Tchaikovsky National Music Academy of Ukraine as an opera singer, but choose to pursue a career in pop music.

The lyrics for "1944" relate to the deportation of the Crimean Tatars in 1944 because of their alleged collaboration with the Nazis. Jamalas was particularly inspired by the story of her great-grandmother Nazylkhan, who was in her mid-20s when she, along with her five children, was deported to Central Asia. The song was released amid renewed repression of Crimean Tatars following the relatively recent Russian annexation of Crimea, since most Crimean Tatars refuse to accept the annexation. The English lyrics were written by the poet Art Antonyan. The song's chorus, in the Crimean language, is made up of words from a Crimean Tatar folk song called "Ey Guzel Qirim" that Jamalas had heard from her great-grandmother. The song laments the loss of her youth, which could no longer be spent in her homeland. The song features the Duduk (the traditional double reed woodwind instrument made of apricot wood) and the use of the Mugham vocal style. As the Eurovision rules prohibit songs with lyrics that could be interpreted as having "political content", with the 2014 Russian annexation of Crimea Jamala could not claim that "the Crimean Tatars are on occupied territory" in the song lyrics, and did not address this annexation in the song as she would go on to do later in her interview with in The Guardian.[10]

Jamala's "1944" song lyrics are describing the cultural genocide drama which moved the Crimean nation from the Black Sea shore to several thousand miles away in Central Asia:

*10 Veselova, Viktoria; Melnykova, Oleksandra,"Crimean singer in line to represent Ukraine at Eurovision", theguardian.com. The Guardian. 11. 02. 2016*

Yaşlığıma toyalmadım,
Men bu yerde yaşalmadım,
Yaşlığıma toyalmadım,
Men bu yerde yasalmadı

*When strangers are coming,*
*They come to your house.*
*They kill all of you and say:*
*We're not guilty not guilty!*
*Where is your mind?*
*Humanity cries...*

***Photo 3:*** *JAMALA, the Crimean Tatar singer*

So, Jamala's "1944" song is a striking example of the female performance on the "silenced" in the USSR subject of Crimean Tatar deportation. Having grown up in Andijan, in the midst of Ferghana Valle in Uzbekistan, I had witnessed in my childhood their decades long struggle, protests and insurrections. Every year in May, the Crimean human rights fighters would attempt to start an uprising, and as a result every street corner in our city Andijan was marked by the presence of a soldier with his Kalashnikov rifle on standby. We had witnessed this as children, although we failed to understand the meaning of those "silent" political issues at the time. So, the emotionally charged, angry song by young Jamala has opened up the otherwise silenced subject to the global community, announcing the tragedy of a small, long-suffering Crimean Tatar nation.

**Manizha- "the Russian" singer of Tajik origin**

Manizha Dalerovna Sangin (born in 1991, in Dushanbe, Tajikistan), known professionally as simply Manizha, is a Russian-Tajik singer and son-

gwriter. Beginning her career in 2003 as a child singer, Manizha went on to perform with the music groups Ru.Kola, Assai, and Krip De Shin, before later pursuing a solo career. Manizha's parents were divorced: her father did not want Manizha to begin a singing career due to believing it was not a suitable career choice for a Muslim woman. In 1994, when Manizha was 3 years old, her family fled Tajikistan due to the Tajikistani Civil War, subsequently settling in Moscow. Manizha began studying piano at a Moscow music school, and later singing with private vocal coaches, although she studied psychology at Russian State University for the Humanities. Today, Manizha is a DIY artist and Instagram star, music writer and performer of songs. Over the past few years, Manizha has been collaborating with the best musicians and producers in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and London and has recorded more than 100 compositions in Russian and English.

Recently in March 2021 Manizha, after winning the Russian competition to sing at the Eurovision 2021 song contest representing Russia, became an instant sensation: she faced a storm of chauvinism and xenophobia from Russian audiences. Humiliating criticism and abusing comments on Twitter and Instagram were about her non-Russian Tajik-ethnic origin, or "insufficient" for her song called "Russian Woman", saying that since she was ethnically non-Russian she should not touch upon such a "sacred image".

What is specific about her song?

In "Russian Woman" Manizha is playing on the Russian woman famous expression by Nikolay Nekrasov (1821-1878) from the poem "Jack Frost" (1864), where the Russian woman was described as being able "to stop a horse in full stride and walk into a burning house".

Few lines from the song are:

> "Fields, fields, fields, I'm so small,
> How do you cross a field through the fire?
> How do you cross the field when you're alone?
> .....
> *Every Russian woman needs to know*
> *You strong enough to break the wall!*
> *Don't be afraid! Don't be afraid!*
> .....

In the song, Manizha seems to be mocking herself about her age, her body weight, her search for a prince-style boyfriend, etc. Her Eurovision stage performance was visually stunning with her matryoshka style costume, and a powerful chorus performance alternating with her solo singing. Musically and theatrically, "Russian Woman" is a very dynamic and impressive show

song. Manisha's dancing at the end of the song becomes similar to the Shamanic healing rituals body movements spread all over Siberia. Another excellent artistic trick is certainly at the culmination of the song, when Manizha turns round to the screen with the computer graphically designed images of nearly hundred women (including famous Russian actresses and celebrities), chorally together with Manizha singing the concluding lines: " Struggling, struggling, but not praying!". The panorama of that multiple Russian women images on the screen behind Manizha's back shows and proves how many ethnically different looking women claim to be Russian citizens. It was a very good way using the high technology design to manifest the diversity of Russian race- ethnicity.

Her background stage decorations showed images of instant fire splashes, which made Manizha look like an army leader who won a battle. Indeed, Russians are famous for their long history of wars and victories. According to some French writers, "Russians are the nations of warriors".[11] Also, the history of Russia shows many women ruling the country ( i.e. Catherine the 1st, Elizabeth- Empress of Russia, Catherine the Great) and obviously Manizha reconstructs those pages through her style of performance and choice of the song. As Alla Pugacheva - the iconic Russian pop singer, the people artist of the USSR, - said about Manizha's choice of the song to perform at the Eurovision-2021 contest,"just for Eurovision!"[12]

So, why did the singer face hostile and threatening comments on Instagram in Russia after being chosen for representing Russia at the Eurovision Song Contest? The singer's fight against social unfairness /injustice has led to a torrent of abuse – some from very powerful people.[13] Although many foreign listeners called Manizha's song legendary and millions of Youtube users supported this opinion, in Russia feelings of hatred and humiliation described the main sentiment of the audience. The publicist Yegor Kholmogorov, evaluating Manizha's performance at the Eurovision-2021 song contest, said that he could not have deliberately come up with a better metaphor for de-Russification: "If she had deliberately invented a metaphor for de-Russification, a way out of Russianness, and disintegration," then she "could not have done better".[14] However some famous Russian media figures have fully supported Manizha's career and her choice of the song.

A famous Georgian born Russian media manager, TV presenter and producer Tina Kandelaki said, "11 millions views of the view for the song "Rus-

*11 Anne-Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein, Dix Années d'Exil, Paris, 1818, p 210*
*12 https://yandex.kz/news/instory/Pugacheva_ocenila_pesnyu_Manizhi_dlyaEvrovideniya--c34bd192256d37f67dd3d26e769ea8ec*
*13 https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2021/apr/09/russia-eurovision-candidate-manizha-takes-on-the-haters*
*14 https://vz.ru/news/2021/5/19/1099930.html*

sian Woman" in the Eurovision Songs Contest account in two months, FIVE Million views of the semi-final performance... I can confidently say now, the RUSSIAN -the singer Manizha obviously breaks a standing ovation in the European arena".[15]

Why did this happen, you might ask. With Manizha living in Moscow, why is she being questioned as a Russian or a non-Russian woman? Why has such a heated discussion taken place? Despite her Tajik origin, Manizha spent her childhood in Moscow, completing her school studies and getting her University degree. Therefore, she should be recognized as a "Russian" by her nationality! Why is she not being accepted as a Russian woman by the Russian critical audience? Although the subject of Russian nationality is beyond the scope of this paper, let's try to see the few reasons for Manizha to feel the Russian woman in her attempt to perform the song as a manifest of RUSSIANNESS.

***Photo 4:*** *Manizha, the Russian singer*

**Nationalism and Ethnicity in the former USSR and contemporary Russia**

It is well known that the Soviet Union (1917-1991) was one of the world's most ethnically diverse countries, with hundreds of distinct national ethnicities living within. Today's Russia is still a multinational state with over 190 ethnic groups designated as nationalities within its borders. However, there are Russian social and cultural images/reasons dominating the common understanding of what Russianness is.

One can ask are Russians a biological unity? However, "Russians" cannot really be described in a physical anthropological sense. There is no such thing as "the Russian race" ("russkaia rasa"). The Russian historian Pavel Miliukov

*15 https://russian.rt.com/opinion/863769-kandelaki-manizha-rossiya-evrovidenie*

(1859-1943) argued that: "to speak about the 'racial' differences of nationalities in our time would be an impermissible anachronism revealing inadequate knowledge of current scientific knowledge."[16] As the proverb runs: "Scratch a Russian and you'll find a Tatar" - "and the reverse," as Lev Gumilev (1912-1992) sensibly adds. Indeed, "The Russians" simply do not exist as a coherent biological or genetic entity as there is no blood test or genetic diagnostic for "Russianness."[17]

Another view on the importance of being a Russian in Russia is related to the "Russian nationalism" which is famous for its ultra-national movement and developments. For example, a famous slogan "Russia for Russians" is a xenophobic political slogan and nationalist doctrine, encapsulating the range of ideas from bestowing the ethnic Russians with exclusive rights in the Russian state to expelling all ethnically non-Russians from the country. Originated in the Russian Empire in the19th century, the slogan has become increasingly popular in modern Russia, challenging the dominant discourse of multiculturalism within the country.Russian President Vladimir Putin was also involved in the discussion of the subject saying: "Russia for Russians!", - so say stupids or provocateurs! Russia is a multinational country".[18] Nationality, then, shows a person's relationship with the state. As the Eurovision 2021 song contest results were announced on May the 23d, Manizha was on the 9th place entering the top ten, proving to her Russian critical compatriots that she is a real RUSSIAN woman-singer!

**Conclusion**

Therefore, today, in the 21st century these women-singers - Manizha and Jamala - are commanding a worldwide arena of the Eurovision song contest, breaking the limits of traditional societies and offering new images of history related to their countries.

Throughout the 20th century, Uzbek-women-singers were able to overcome the gender, religious and ethnic issues, just like Berta Davydova, or the challenges of the Soviet ideological cultural restrictions, as Munojat Yulchieva. Now in the 21st century, female pop singers Jamala and Manizha have become world-known by their brave undertaking to share from the stage of the Eurovision song contest their stories: the Crimean ethnic cleansing in Jamala's case, or testing the image of the "Russianness", and the nationalism in the modern Russian society in Manizha's case. Therefore, the song's performance made these four outstanding women the heralds of the new culture and music art rewriting their countries' history.

*16 Miliukov P N. 1905. "Russia and its crisis". Chicago: University of Chicago Press*
*17 http://www.panorama.ru/works/patr/ir/13.html*
*18 President Vladimir Putin, 18.12. 2003. https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/4693917*

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# Layne Redmond's Legacy: Digital Handprints of Female Frame Drummers

Karin BINDU*

**Abstract**
Layne Redmond, a devoted female master drummer, dedicated her life to research about the history and mythology of frame drums in relation to the female spiritual power until her death in 2013. By collecting images, which show statues, carvings, and paintings of drumming women in museums, books and historical sites in Southern Europe and the Middle East, she reconstructed the history of drumming women. Beside various activities for the welfare of their communities, their roles had been related to the devotion of the great mother goddess as symbol of life, as source of nature, transcendence, knowledge, and procreation. Thousands of years women had acted as priestesses, prophetesses and agents of communication between humans and spiritual forces. Around the 3rd century A.D., the Great Mother, worshipped as Kybele in Phrygia, Greece, and Italy, lost her spiritual power. Christianity and male dominated social systems moved towards oppressing female powers including ritual drumming. Among other functional changes the drums have been misused for male activities in the context of war.
Inspired by the ancient history Layne Redmond created her own circles of drumming women ("the mob of

* *Dr., Percussionist and cultural and socialanthropologist*

angels"), who re-enacted the power of female drumming in the context of new specific public and private rituals. As master drummer and creator of a revitalized female consciousness she remained an idol for many people following her path. Some of her followers founded digital communities to share and promote their experiences. The Facebook groups "Layne Redmond's Global Friends and fans", and "When the Drummers Are Women" are among those.

Within these groups I undertook a first attempt to expose categories of contemporary female frame drummer's intentions based on Redmond's book "When the Drummers Are Women" and on my own experiences as a female drummer.

Are female drummers basically focused on music, on healing methods, empowerment of women, on spiritual concepts or on other aspects of drumming? What kind of identity could they create in society? Which role models are they creating and representing for future generations? Considering various dilemmas of digital ethnography described by Magdalena Góralska (2020) and Deborah Lupton (2020), this will nevertheless be one of the first glimpses into my new research project about drumming women. Methodically I combined Art Based Research, Qualitative Social Research, Digital Ethnography and Ethnomusicology. Digital Ethnography is introduced here in historical and methodological perspective including recommended instructions for digital field research.

***Keywords:*** Frame Drums, female empowerment, percussion, Ethnomusicology, digital research, Art based Research, gender, female drummers

## Introduction

Frame drums came into my life quite late – I am teaching and playing them for ten years beside other percussion instruments (Djembe, Congas), which I am teaching for more than 20 years. At the time, when Layne Redmons´s book (1999) got popular, my focus had been directed to practise South Indian drums as well as Djembe and Conga drums complementary to my research focus on Shamanism, Trance, and healing as Social and Cultural Anthropologist. I had started to create female music and performance groups in 1996

for the empowerment of female drummers in opposition to male dominated music making spheres. At that period, many women loved to attend West African Djembe drumming workshops, but only few of them were ready to go on stage. So, we felt a bit revolutionary about our music and performance activity as female music group based on drumming. Beside empowerment we felt magic, divine, healing, and mythic vibrations in our play, as if we would have woken up hidden parts of spiritual consciousness.

Besides, I was always fascinated by the relation of drumming with gods and goddesses, and possessed by the complexity of Indian rhythms – that is why I decided to research in South India about Tālas (metric cycles) in the Kūṭiyāṭṭam, an ancient Sanskrit Drama Performing Art. Those field trips to Kerala between 2004 and 2012 (Bindu, 2013) have shown me, that drumming traditions in spiritual performances were still common and taught in traditional and modern Indian institutions. I was initiated as pupil of K. Eswaranunni to study the main percussion Instrument in the Kūṭiyāṭṭam – the copper drum miḻāvu. Ritual drumming has been documented in many other parts of the non-European world. Only in Europe sacred drumming traditions seemed to be extinguished except in profane folklore and contemporary music styles. Many of the reasons about this extinction happened already hundreds of years ago, as Layne Redmond (1999:210-212, 248) explained.

In her legendary book "When The Drummers Were Women," she described the history of forgotten and hidden aspects of women´s spiritual heritage (1999:12). Having been a frame drummer herself she dedicated her life to frame drums. She followed traces of their ritual use, visible as drawings in caves of ancient Europe and numerous statues of women with frame drums in the middle east, up to the mystery cults of the Roman empire. Her research showed parallels between the ban of the drum in religious life and the loss of power for women in the west and middle east. Christianity and male dominated social systems oppressed female powers including ritual drumming. The drums were taken over by men and misused in the context of war. Pagan rites were forbidden by emperor Theodosius in 392 A.D., the use of the tamburin in the 6th century by the Pope Johannes III. The inquisition of the middle age in the 13th century destroyed many old traditions, millions of people got killed for the victory of Christianity (Redmond 1999:206).

Layne Redmond was teaching and performing with frame drums until her death in 2013. She explained the excitement of the audience and her pupils caused by drumming and listening to the drums by the fact, that framed drums satisfied the cultural need for the recovery of our rhythmic connection with nature and with each other. With her group called "The Mob of Angels" she created new rituals and re-enacted old traditions for women´s ceremonies from the middle east. Far away from copying them, her aim was to create

a modern kind of non-traditional music in the rhythmic pulse of an archaic language, and to free female energies by music and consciousness about the presence of the eternal divine feminine (Redmond 1999:241-242).

In one of her interviews (Goldenseedmusic, 2012) she talked about her fascination of playing drums since her youth. Her career as a drummer started later after she had met the great frame drummer Glen Velez, who became her teacher and colleague. Glen Velez had collected more than 200 slides from frame drummers of the ancient worlds. From 5600 B.C. until 400 A.D., statues and mural carvings have been found. They most notably showed female frame drummers including well known goddesses such as Hathor from Egypt and Kybele from Anatolia. Additionally, the frame drum turned out to be universally used in all cultures of the world until today. It represents a kind of archetype among the drums of the world. While the frame drums of healing Shamans were and still are played with a stick, the frame drums for goddesses were played by hand. According to Layne Redmond (1999:34) their purpose was similar: they both served as technique to connect with nature, other beings and to change mental consciousness.

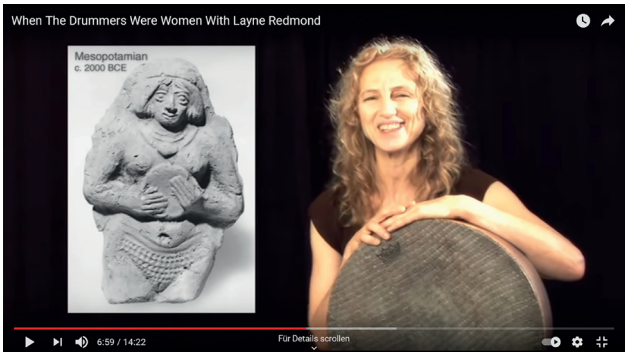


***Photo 1:*** *Layne Redmond, YouTube Interview in Goldenseed 2012, Screenshot 2021*

## Research About Female Drummers

In her book Layne Redmond (1999:13) pointed out, that the revival of the drum and female drumming in our modern world has rarely been a topic among sciences. Few references to her book are found in Lucia Mennel's work about Fe/male drums in Havanna (Cuba). She mentioned, how the frame drum was introduced by Layne Redmond as attribute of the goddess Kybele, as instrument of the earth goddess Rhea und later as Instrument of the Dionysos´s Satyres (Mennel 2005:14). Mennel also referred to the work of Fernando Ortiz,[1] who stated, that even in modern times hand drums such as Panderetas and Small Percussion Instruments in South European Areas still

*1 Ortiz, F. (1991). Estudios ethnosociológicos. La Habana: Editorial de ciencias sociales*

were primarily in women´s hands. All other insights of Mennel´s research were dedicated to female aspects of drums and drumming in Afro-Cuban rituals, where initiated drummers for the deities only could be male according to the temporary "impurity of menstruating women."

Paz (2007) undertook a study considering gender-related contexts of drumming in Iron Age II in Israel (1000-586 B.C.) based on archaeological, ethnographic, iconographic, historiographic, archaeomusicological and biblical data. Fertility cults as well as the accompaniment of "victory songs" had been related to drumming by females, while the drummers of the Canaanite Orchestra had been exclusively males. Gender roles and their activities influenced archaeological material findings. Paz described reciprocal influences: "Certain objects reflect gender ideology and are influenced by it, while influencing it in return, and contributing to the formation of gender identification." (Paz 2007:6).

According to Paz, numerous studies on material culture and gender in archaeological perspective have been done since the 1990s, others focused on figurines and gender in different cultures, such as Elizabeth Brumfiel´s work on Aztec figurines in 1996.

Drum-related artefacts from Eretz-Israel and ceramic figures, as well as other findings connected to music were described and analysed by the author in great detail concerning context, dates, manufacture of figurines, and regional distribution. The only material, which has not been found in Israel was a drum itself. That is why she integrated descriptions of drums from studies in other cultural areas into her research. The Old Testament was used as written source, other sources were writings from Mesopotamia and Egypt (Paz, 2007:7-8). The following quote describes names and times of origin of the frame drum:

> *The word "drum" (top in Hebrew) occurs several times in the Old Testament. In each instance the context indicates the small hand drum. It is the only biblical word designating a membraphone, and it is related to the instrument's name in Sumerian (dup/tup), and in several Semitic languages: tuppu in Akkadian, tuppa in Aramaic, and duff in Arabic. The drum also appears by its biblical name (tp) in an Ugaritic text citing several instruments (Mitchell 1992: 132). The name also appears in Greek as typanon, later tympanon, and in Latin as tympanum (Meyers 1991: 21). The drum apparently originated in the 3rd millennium BCE in Mesopotamia, whence it spread to Egypt and other regions in the ancient Near East (Paz, 2007:11).*

While Layne Redmond built numerous mythological and symbolical material around the images of goddesses and drumming women, as found on the slides of Glen Velez and researched in museums, Paz categorized and described catalogues of archaeological material in all details. She found parallels in archaeological findings relating to drumming from the ancient Near East including artefacts, musical, instruments, wall paintings and figurines from Egypt, scenes painted on vessels and figurines from Cyprus, figurines from Phoenicia and Mesopotamia, seals, and stamps from Syria, among others. The female drummers' roles were not only linked to fertility rites in the domestic sphere, but also to public occasions, where they followed official orders. Apart from that they were means of resistance to uphold old traditions, threatened by extinction or replacement by new patriarch systems (Paz, 2007:125).

> *The diverse functions these figurines performed stress and perpetuate in clay the significance of drumming – the tension between the official and popular ideologies, and the resistance of the subject classes, especially of women, to the élite's attempt to impose upon them new ideas and regulations. The extensive use of the figurines in the household cult was a form of compensation for the loss of the goddesses on the public level, and the concentration of women on private observance answered their needs after have been excluded from the public cult (Paz, 2007: 126).*

The expression of those daily tensions was central due to Paz` interpretations about women in Iron Age Israel.


**Figure 3.2.** Two pairs of identical figurines produced in the same mould, and discovered in different sites: 1. A.27 from Rehov (Hebrew University) and 2. A.2 from Beth Shean (IAA); 3. A.26 from Rehov (Hebrew University) and 4. A.45 from Tell el-Far'ah (N) (Chambon 1984: pl. 63: 2).

***Photo 2:*** *Identical figurines with frame drums, discovered in Israel (Paz 2007:58)*

Other studies about drumming women in a profane context contain biographical surveys of famous female Jazz, Pop, Punk and Rock drummers on drum sets, who nowadays are gaining more and more presence and significance by their exposure in digital platforms. This would be another huge research topic to follow. Let´s not break the mould of that article but jump right into the world of digital research methods, which influenced my research project presented in this article.

**Digital Research**

Ardévol & Gómez-Cruz (2014:4-5) placed the birth of the term "cyberculture" into the 1990s, derived from the notion of cyberspace taken from the novelist William Gibson in 1984. Since then, the term "cyberspace" or "virtual space" was used as synonym for the Internet itself. New kinds of social activities were discovered by first social studies in connection with the side effects of the medium such as virtuality, disembodiment, and disintegration, among others. The term "virtual community" was created in 1994 by Howard Rheingold based on his personal experiences by a long-term participation in virtual forums.

Virtual communities develop shared systems of norms, values, beliefs, and habits.

> *Cyberspace worked as a unifying ethnographic field site to describe all kinds of social life occurring on the Internet, aligning different artifacts, uses, and practises. The metaphor of cyberspace has also contributed to the idea of the Internet as a unified object of study with inherent characteristics and properties (Ardévol & Gómez-Cruz, 2014:5).*

The authors mentioned that ethnographic methods have been used since the early beginning of the Internet as a research strategy with reference to network relationships, social studies, moral orders, and conditions of media consumption, reception, and production. Ethnographic methods originate in the works of Bronislaw Malinowski.[2] It´s way to observe by participation got adapted to Internet research and was categorized into terms like "Netnography," "Digital Ethnography," "Virtual Ethnography" among others. The Internet maintained a double function: it was regarded as field and object at the same time.

According to Christine Hine (2000)[3] the Internet, as an object of study

*2 Malinowski, B. (1922). Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea. London: Routledge & Sons*
*3 Hine, C. (2000). Virtual ethnography. London: Sage*

for the social sciences, could be seen as cultural form or as a cultural practice. Digital cultural forms contain online values, norms, ways of behaviour, use of emoticons, among others. They are practised by virtual players, bloggers, webcam users and other people socializing into groups dominated by digital media. As a cultural practice the Internet represents a "cultural artifact", as Hine pointed out. Practises such as video making for YouTube, sharing photos on digital services, and others, which are not only specifically attached to the Internet, but use online possibilities are counted as cultural practices.

Ardévol & Gómez-Cruz (2014:3) differentiate three methodological approaches for "Digital Ethnography:" Virtual Ethnography, having started in the 1990s, Connective Ethnographies (online/offline) until 2005, and Ethnographies of Internet in daily life ("Media Ethnography") until today. In the first aera of studies about virtual communities, online communication was regarded as socially weak, virtual worlds were studied as "subcultures". In the early 21st century peoples Internet activities were integrated in daily life, so ethnographic studies focused more on fieldwork "inside and also outside the screen", using the term online/offline research. This period comprised the second approach (Ardévol & Gómez-Cruz, 2014:7).

Due to a developing new media landscape, ways of production, consumption and circulation and advertisement changed a lot. It strongly effected relationships between audiences and production in the cultural sector. The audience was getting more productive, clear limits between the just mentioned spheres began to decline. The third approach called "Media Ethnography" provided "a methodological tool to understand people´s motivations and engagements with media. Moreover, media ethnography involves studying media practices beyond the parameters set down by theoretical assumptions of cultural production, based on the circulation of media products." (Ardévol & Gómez-Cruz, 2014:8-9).

> *Media practices may be understood as a wider set of practices most of them with, around, and through digital technologies relating to creative processes carried out by individuals, collectives, governments, transnational corporations, and other social agents with different goals and purposes (Ardévol & Gómez-Cruz, 2014:9).*

Postil & Pink (2012:124) suggested two main methods to treat social media as research site: web content analysis of large data sets and social network analysis. Whereas large data sets provide more statistical material, social network analysis refers to social media as social, flexible, and experimental fieldwork environment. The authors term "internet-related ethnography"

describes "ethnography that engages with internet practices and content directly, but not exclusively" (Postil & Pink, 2012:125). They also emphasize the fact, that the same media is used as subject and as research tool.

Postill and Pink (2012:128) described five routines as social media researcher: "catching up, sharing, exploring, interacting and archiving." Postill primarily used Twitter as "human-mediated RSS feed" by following less than 120 Twitter users and their "retweets" as filtered updates from others over the researched topic. The authors emphasized the sharing skills of the researcher, which will increase the chance to get content shared by "adding value to a shared link".

> *Social media ethnography therefore does not mean doing fieldwork in or about one particular social media platform – such as Facebook, Twitter or YouTube. While the latter is possible, it is complicated by the fact that most internet users constantly criss-cross a range of platforms through aggregators, search engines, hyperlinks and other devices. Moreover, the movement of the digital ethnographer involves traversing interrelated digital and copresent contexts (Postill and Pink, 2012:131).*

Ardévol & Gómez-Cruz mentioned important requirements for digital fieldwork (2014:10-14,19) as follows:

- definition of the empirical research site
- being clear about the access to settings and research subjects
- consideration of ethical dilemmas
- topic of interest should be chosen before defining the field
- definition of modes of communications, locations
- carefully considered initial self-presentation to the research subjects
- following of subjects online/offline across different ethnographic contexts and settings
- participant observation and interviews
- development of researcher´s technological skills (web design, online communication, instant messaging on mobile phones, use of emoticons, among others).
- digital media to generate data by using digital visual and sound recorders, computers, laptops for the documentation of field works, collection of data with the same devices.
- creation of a blog for personal exposure, social media profiles (Flickr, Facebook, Twitter, among others) linked to the blog
- online interviews using chats, messengers, email, video conference tools (Skype, Zoom), textual interviews, anonymous surveys

- methodology to create knowledge by being aware, that technological shifts influence theories.

After digital fieldwork digital Data must get analysed and described in an ethnographic way. For this process Ardévol & Gómez-Cruz (2014:15-16) suggested the use of field diaries, audio and video records, screen shots, social bookmarkings, Wikis and blogs used as fieldwork diaries. They advised to differentiate clearly between private notes (fieldnotes) and public notes (blogs, postings, websites) and to use qualitative Data software (ATLAS.ti, NVivo). The Ethnographic description should contain analyses, distinguish analytical categories of the theoretical framework from those coming from the field (etic and emic perspectives). Emic perspectives should be treated with respect, a collaborative aim should be added:

> *What is important to note is that, in any case, the people who participate in the ethnographic research not only are familiar with the ethnographer but also contribute to the configuration of the object of study and to the ethnographer's knowledge of the empirical situations. They are more than passive subjects of study, but active respondents and, somehow, coparticipants of the research process with the ethnographer (Ardévol & Gómez-Cruz, 2014:17).*

Postill and Pink (2012:129) additionally suggested cloud platforms and social media for archiving, such as Drop Box and Google Docs. They had collected bookmarks on the bookmarking site Delicious.com (now unavailable), tagged web content and attached keywords to bookmarked content. In comparison to classic forms of coding field notes, tagged material is characterized by its "public nature." The authors adviced: "Social media fieldworkers must find a balance between tagging and diary keeping." (Postill and Pink, 2012:129).

New forms of coding led to the existence of the "hashtag sociality" due to the circumstance, that hashtags not only index conversations in Twitter, but also are used as mode of self -expression:

> *The hashtag can therefore be thought of as integral to the nature of Twitter as a social medium. As such, it produces the experience of being 'in the digital crowd'. Being a mobile social media ethnographer does not only involve following the (digital) action, but also getting caught up in it, being carried along the trail and becoming entangled with others as the ethnographers' tweets*

> *become interlinked with those of others and they move forward together (Postill and Pink, 2012:131).*

Góralska Magdalena (2020:49-50) reminded us of ethical considerations during digital research, and provided further advice fitting for pandemic times:

- patience, lots of interviews online might get refused
- carefully reading of ethics for participant observation online
- handle the overwhelming by the shower of data material generated by online research and learn how to catalogue data in high numbers
- controll your own mental and physical health, specially during lockdown, take regular breaks
- check out healthy work-life balance, go offline
- set clear fieldwork boundaries – less is more
- add digital components to your offline fieldwork
- rethink research strategies ("go back to school").

The author expressed her concerns about the development of ethnography during and after the global pandemic situation, in which the concept of physical field research represents the most affected aspect:

> *With every week that has passed by since the pandemic outbreak, ethnographers have been jumping back onto the fieldwork wagon, trying to put things back together or enquire into novel corona-related social and cultural phenomena. In both cases, due to the present circumstances, they are usually turning towards the only accessible way of collecting ethnographic material, which comprises the variety of digital technologies that make up the digital places we go to and the ways we communicate with others. One can only hope that the multiplicity of coronavirus/lockdown/quarantine ethnographies will not turn out to be an overabundance of ad hoc interpretations (Góralska Magdalena, 2020:50).*

Another collection of methods and ideas for doing fieldwork in a pandemic situation was recently revised by Dora Lupton (2021). She emphasized, that not online approaches are documented in that crowd-sourced document, but also useful recommendations for situations, where digital access is not available for researchers and participants likewise. Her new YouTube webinar series "Breaking Methods" introduce numerous innovative research methods.

**Layne Redmond´s digital followers**

Based on the method of social network analyses (Postil & Pink, 2012:124), digital field research recommendations from Ardévol & Gómez-Cruz, and qualitative content analyses (Mayring, 2007:59-63), I analysed two Facebook Groups in May 2021. Opposed to the complexities of digital research methods mentioned above, this study can only be regarded as "first glimpse" into a slowly growing research project of larger dimensions. I would not see myself as "digital native", but I am using the Internet for 20 years, I am cultivating a Facebook profile for ten years and I set up my own homepage[4] two years ago. As a member of both groups, I follow its postings whenever I find time to do so, and sometimes I am posting announcements for concerts with my female music groups.

The first group I want to introduce – „Layne Redmond´s Global Friends and fans" – is directly following Layne Redmond´s spirit in many ways. Consisting of 714 members (May 2021), the group´s description says: „This space is dedicated to Layne Redmond. Here friends, fans, students, and global hives can continue to meet, network, share memories, stories, photos, videos, inspirations."[5] My "catching up" (Postill and Pink, 2012:128) through a post about the planned article was not successful at all. At least one member was suggesting posting the article into the group once it will be finished. I had also asked in vain if somebody was ready for an online interview. Ethical concerns as described by Góralska (2020) are another reason why my research glimpse stayed anonymously. Basically, I went through the short profile descriptions of 235 members, mostly female by scrolling down through the member profiles and selecting few members for a deeper insight. By generalization, reduction, paraphrasing and abstracting, I found nine basic categories of activities in connection with women´s frame drumming as described in Layne Redmond´s book: goddesses, mystery, healing, musicians, shamanism, drum circles, creativity, research, and shops. Each category is linked to aspects of the other categories, they are not regarded as enclosed topics.

| Goddesses | Mystery | Healing | Musicians | Shamanism | Drum circles | Creativity | Research | Shops |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5,9 % | 14 % | 22,12 % | 31,48 % | 2,13 % | 11,49 % | 4,68 % | 4,68 % | 2,55 % |

***Chart 1:*** *Activity categories of 235 members of the FB group „Layne Redmond´s Global Friends and fans"*

*4 https://www.rhythmuse.at*

*5 https://www.facebook.com/groups/128228924183611/ retrieved July 2021*

The first category "Goddesses" meant "drumming for Goddesses" is related to Layne Redmond´s descriptions about numerous goddesses, who had been praised by drumming. One of the last ones, who even was worshiped in Europe was the ancient mother goddess Kybele (10th century B.C.). Prophecies of oracle priestesses had been consulted by queens, kings, pharaohs, and common people before decisions were made. One of the most famous temples for Kybele was built in Ephesos, where pilgrims came to participate into festivals, such as the spring festival "Ephesia". Rituals with ecstatic dances and frame drums for the deity were common. Music and dance served as medium for states of trance, in which prophecies were vocalized (Redmond 1999, 164-165). Within the Facebook group fourteen people among 235 offered workshops, rituals, seminars for the worship of Kybele and other female deities, including drumming.

According to Kremser (2001:265-266) rituals including music presume the existence of supernatural beings, who offer their "answers" to initiated people. Rituals symbolise and regulate the transfer of spiritual and material elements between the earth and supernatural spheres. As specialist for ethnological religion and consciousness research, Kremser saw parallels between new virtual realities and old spiritual worlds (2001:29). Research should try to correlate both spheres of consciousness with each other. Both are immaterial, platonic, magic, and ethereal. They are based on the principle of communication between the individual and "bearers of infinite knowledge." Both relate back to earth, where humans, animals, stones, plants, and deities communicate, melt into each other, and separate to recreate in a permanent process (Kremser, 2001:23). Sound invocates supernatural entities and provokes the communication between present and past times, between earth and supernatural worlds. As synthesis, created by two kinds of elements (for example human and drum) sound forms a dynamic third element. That is one of the reasons, why the number "three" is associated with movement – the third element transforms the pendular movement, which only remains between two poles, into the infinite dimension and dynamics of space (Kremser, 2001:265).

In my analysis the second category "Mystery" describes offers (new) of rituals for self-discovery of female power. This category relates to Redmond´s descriptions, how she realized the effect of her drumming in the heart and consciousness of listening and participating women: some people used to have visions, others felt "coming home", others felt connections to unknown old times, memories to their existence as babies in the womb of their mothers, among others. Redmond herself felt to get dragged down into the fire of the earth while playing and connected herself to the primal ground of female energy (Redmond 1999:238-240). With her female music and performance

group "The Mob of Angels" she revitalized and recreated drumming of old Mediterranean traditions for female ceremonies, hereby regaining control over the elements: drums strokes themselves relate to the elements of earth, fire, air, and water. 35 people among the analysed group members offered workshops and seminars to discover wisdom beyond mystery.

Most group members are represented in the categories "Healing" and "Musicians". Offers for healing do not only refer to the healing of people, but to healing of the earth itself. Healing is offered in form of retreats in combination with dancing, drumming, and performing rituals, but also numerous ways of massage, music therapy, herbal treatments, essentials, and mental therapies are offered by those 52 members. 74 members use the platform to announce and advertise their drumming classes, concerts, performances. Although most of them relate to other categories as well, they focus on production of music and teaching. According to the pandemic situation offers for online classes increased in 2020, 2021. Besides, workshops in beautiful natural settings – on the beach, at historical places, in appealing decorated and balanced seminar houses – are advertised.

Only five people of "Layne Redmonds Global friends and fans" could be counted into the category "Shamanism". Layne Redmond (1999:236) mentioned the meagre acknowledgement of Shamanism in western cultures, although the frame drum is used by Shamans worldwide as medium for mental healing journeys in extraordinary states of consciousness since prehistoric times. Since the growing significance of music therapy and scientific studies measuring the activity of brain waves, breath and heart beats, people have started again to believe into the healing and heart connecting capacities of drumming. These studies follow an intense period of research and publications about altered states of consciousness related to Shamanism as well as trance states in Afro-American religions.

Angelina Pollak-Eltz (1995:18) wrote about the use of rhythmic music, dance, fasting, hyperventilation, and hallucinogenic drugs for altered states of consciousness. In the 1970s numerous studies about these states in trance and incorporations during religious settings of Afro American religions, led by Erika Bourguignon,[6] have been undertaken in Ohio.

The next category "Drum circles" comprises offers for community experiences related to certain festival seasons: spring and autumn equinox, summer solstice and others. Huge groups of people would gather to celebrate occasions with drumming. Redmond (1999:244-245) described equinox celebrations in a cave in the state New York with 700 people, who were happy to connect with nature and other people during the ritual. 27 people of

*6 Bourguignon, E. (1973). Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change. Ohio: Ohio State University Press*

Redmond's followers offer drum circles related to transformation, new rituals, renovation, and reconnecting with others. Related to audience participation, multiculturality, but also generally to music performances, Leavy (2009: 114,116) offers interesting insights into the creation of a "third space": the participation of the audience in performances opens common spaces, where coalitions are built, consciousness gets expanded, and social movements find their preconditions for a common ground. The relationship between music and multiculturalism forms music as space for hybridity – different elements and musical aspects from various cultures are mixed for new creations. This so called "third space" (Leavy 2009:105) has increased due to globalization and cultural exchanges.

Third spaces are also created by the next category of group members: further eleven people are working in various fields of "Creativity" – be it media, painting, acting, arts and crafts, different hand made products. All show connections one or more of the other mentioned categories. Another eleven people focus on "Research" about drums and drumming – mostly male members –, and six members are running "Shops" for drums and drumming supplies.

All categories fit into the three principles of the "cyberculture", as it was called twenty years before: the connection between all people, the formation of virtual communities and the creation of a collective intelligence (Kremser, 2001:336).

Additional to the Facebook Group "Layne Redmond´s Global Friends and fans", I analysed a smaller number of group members "When The Drummers Are Women." This group, who had taken the name of Layne Redmond´s English book title, consists of 2500 members. It was founded in April 2014 by Ubaka Hill, and promises to be "The place to Network, Learn, Share Knowledge, Information and Everything about the Lineage and the Legacy of Women Drummers of All Drums, All Nations, All Cultures, All Traditions. Unity Builds Community".[7]

Although the group description implicates a wider spectrum of activists, I have attached the analysed 175 members into the same nine categories. All categories can be regarded as "hybrids", as suggested by Patricia Leavy. They are connecting old traditions and new rituals with individual concerns and consciousnesses of the group members themselves.

*7 https://www.facebook.com/groups/WhenTheDrummerAreWomen/ retrieved July 2021*

In comparison with the group of Layne Redmond followers there are a lot more musicians and creative people from various artistic branches. Drummers in this group integrate all kinds of drummers: Drum set players, Djembe players, Conga players, among others. While drumming activities related to goddesses and mystic experiences are much less represented than in Redmond´s followers' group, the percentage of people among the category "Healing" is comparable high. This fact would lead to the presumption, that connections between drumming and healing are strongly manifested in the consciousness of female drummers.

When I remember my previous and present female music groups, I can confirm that fact: drumming is provoking the consciousness of healing by the creation of a hearts connecting "flow" among people and by awakening oppressed energies. This "flow" acts like a mirror. It makes blockages in body and mind visible, which are getting less by drumming. Among my co-musicians there have been healers, performers, teachers, actresses, dancers, and artists. My new group "Rhythm Sistas Unlocked" only survived the mental hardships of all lockdowns of the past year by regularly drumming.

***Photo 3:*** *Rhythm Sistas Unlocked, "Auf Achse", Vienna 2021 (Foto: Gustav Glück)*

| Goddesses | Mystery | Healing | Musicians | Shamanism | Drum circles | Creativity | Research | Shops |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1,71 % | 5,71% | 21,14 % | 39,43 % | 1,71 % | 9,14 % | 14,28 % | 1,71 % | 5,14 % |

***Chart 2:*** *Activity categories of 175 members of the FB group "When the Drummers Are Women"*

**Summary**

Layne Redmond can be characterized as "legend." Her lifelong dedication to rediscover forgotten female spiritual powers by researching and drumming inspires thousands of today's frame drummers. She designed the history of frame drumming by analysing cave drawings, statues and figurines of women holding frame drums, pottery paintings and other artefacts in ancient Europe and the Middle East. Archaeomusicological studies about drums and goddessed in Israels Iron Age II by Sarit Paz dated the origin of the frame drum in the 3rd millennium B.C. It spread from Mesopotamia to Egypt and other regions in the ancient near east. Even today frame drums with different names are played all over the world.

Both authors described that frame drums had been played by women in ritual contexts. Drumming was used to accompany rituals for female ceremonies, fertility rites, for the worship of deities, for prophecies in public and private areas. From 1000 B.C. onwards drumming in public spheres was taken over by men. While Paz interpreted and contrasted the tensed role of female domestic drumming or drumming according to public orders to the role of the male Canaanite Orchestra in Israel, Redmond described parallels between the ban of the drum and the loss of power for women in the West and Middle East. Christianity and male dominated social system oppressed ritual drumming by females until pagan rites were forbidden for the first time in 392 A.D. In the 6th century A.D., the use of the tamburin was forbidden by Pope Johannes III and during the middle age in the 13th century many old traditions were destroyed. The Phrygianum – main temple of the mother goddess Kybele in Rome – was replaced by the Vatican.

Redmond characterized the loss of rhythm as "lapse". During her recreated rituals, where lots of people came together to drum, dance, listen to drums and take part into rituals, she felt an urgent common need for resonance with the cycles of earth. The distance of modern people to nature is causing numerous kinds of illnesses, feelings of disintegration, disorientation, disembodiment, and others. To reconnect with the context of nature, with its rhythm, could be one way for healing, regaining the respect for beings, reawakening of divine power, and serving as role model for further generations. By drumming, by experiences, sharing and research, by creating online and offline networks with drumming women worldwide, we continue to correlate the spheres of consciousness of digital realities with old spiritual worlds, as Kremser suggested twenty years ago.

Members of the Facebook groups "Layne Redmond's Global Friends and fans", and "When the Drummers Are Women" are constructing and deconstructing their identities online and offline likewise. As drummers, healers, devotees, musicians, teachers, artists, researchers, and businesspeople we

leave digital hybrid handprints in the "third space." Female drummers of all nations must move forward into fast developing digital technologies and digital research methods, if they want to be seen and heard. Werner (2019:8) characterized the role of digital media technology as "co-creator" for various meanings about gender, race, and other aspects of diversity. New modes of production, reception, and technological infrastructure led to new forms of gendering music, but often reproduced old stereotypes about masculinity and femininity. She pointed out, that feminist studies on sound, performance and lyrics are preferably based on music known by the masses, while studies of gender and music production focus on alternative music realms, mostly in the categories of rock music, Djs, and electronic music. Studies on female drumming are still rare, but should be increased to rediscover, recreate, re-enact, reconnect with our ancestors. Let´s reclaim female spiritual power – to heal, share knowledge, and make peace.

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**Etnomüzikoloji Dergisi**
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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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***Keywords:*** Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Eastern Mediterranean sound, gendered stories, global ethnomusicological moment, intellectual history of ethnomusicology, women's stories

## 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 repertories, 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.

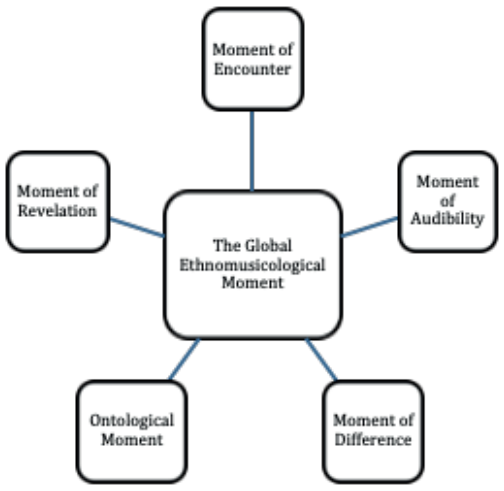


***Figure 4:*** *The Global Ethnomusicological Moment.*

**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 Besseler 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 repertories 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, אחות
Kol ma shelibi mevakesh omrot / כל מה שלבי מבקש אומרות
Avarnu ad ko / עברנו עד כה
Derech aruka, derech ko kasha yad beyad / דרך ארוכה, דרך כה קשה יד ביד
(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 بتقول
Rakh yiji yom wu'kul ilkhof yizul / راح يوم وكل الخوف يزول
B'aynaki israr / بعينيك إصرار
Inhu ana khayar / أنه عنا خيار
N'kamel halmasar / نكمل هالمسار
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, ʻayin. 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 Joaquin 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 Bosporus. 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 Akın's 2005 film, Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul (Akın, 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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