

Prelude: Power and the Play of Music

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Introduction

The apparatus is thus always inscribed in a play of power, but it is also always linked to certain coordinates of knowledge ... This is what the apparatus consists in: strategies of relations of forces supporting, and supported by, types of knowledge. (Foucault 1980:196)

All music, any organization of sounds is then a tool for the creation or consolidation of a community ... noise is inscribed from the start within the panoply of power ... And since noise is the source of power, power has always listened to it with fascination ... (Attali 1985:6)

whoever comes their way. Whoever draws too close,
off guard, and catches the Sirens' voices in the air –
no sailing home for him, no wife raising to meet him
no happy children beaming up at their father's face.
The high, thrilling song of the Sirens will transfix him
(Homer, *The Odyssey* [trans. Fagles 1996:50])

The power of music to inspire, touch, influence, uplift, heal and transform has long been a source of wonder for human beings. In particular, music's close connection with the supernatural and the magical has for thousands of years invoked associations of power. Ethnomusicologists have, of course, long recognised and documented such power, and even sought to explain it. However, whilst questions of power were implicit in the work of many early ethnomusicologists, prior to the 1980s relatively few engaged directly with such questions, or sought a theoretical framework for their understanding. The emergence of Poststructuralism in the 1960s, followed by Cultural Studies, Critical Theory and Postcolonial Studies in the 1970s and '80s, were immensely important in bringing issues of power to the fore of academic discourse; yet, whilst writers such as Jacques Derrida, Roland Barthes, Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Edward Said and Jean Baudrillard were reshaping the scholarly landscape of the humanities and social sciences, only a handful of ethnomusicologists – most notably those working on Latin America and the Caribbean – were attending to the profound inscribing of power in every aspect of music production, dissemination, representation and reception. By the early 1990s, however, issues of power could no longer be

sidelined, particularly with the emergence of the ‘New Musicology’ in the United States (and Critical Musicology in the UK) and the opening up of new arenas of music study, most notably in relation to gender and popular music. Moreover, the writings of scholars such as Kofi Agawu (1992), Martin Stokes (1992) and Philip Bohlman, particularly the latter’s watershed article ‘Musicology as a Political Act’ (1993), required that we reflect not just on the power relations ‘out there’, but on our own scholarly entanglement in such relations.¹ Things have certainly come a long way since the early 1990s and ethnomusicologists today bring to their work a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which power is thoroughly implicated in the social practices of music as it ‘comes to bear on every process of cultural creation and interpretation’ (Averill 1997:3). At the same time, ‘power’ remains a relatively under-theorised concept in the ethnomusicological literature, including questions concerning the nature of power and our culturally-constructed understandings of it.

This volume explores various dimensions of power in music and music in power in the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia, a region stretching from Morocco in the west to China in the east. Notwithstanding the divisions of geography and (post-)colonial mappings, this area shares a great deal in historical, religious and cultural terms, providing for interesting comparative perspectives. The idea for the volume emerged following the 2001 Annual Conference of the British Forum for Ethnomusicology, which I convened at Brunel University and for which the main theme was ‘Music and Power’.² The richness of the topic and the direct relevance of so many of the issues to the musics of the region led to this volume, the first to focus on what I term the ‘music-power nexus’ in the context of the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia. In this introduction, I explore a number of theoretical issues relating to music and power, and highlight some of the themes which run through the volume and which connect the chapters in

¹ The reflexive turn out of which this work emerged dates back at least to the 1970s, as seen in the writings of Stephen Blum (1975) and Kenneth Gourlay (1978), both of whom sought to examine the role of the ethnomusicologist as a thoroughly socially-situated agent, and further to look at the ways in which ‘all ethnomusicologists operate within the constraints of the “ideology” which influences concepts held about the aims and methods of the discipline’ (Gourlay 1978:2). Also relevant here is the work of Joseph Kerman (1985), one of the first musicologists to explore the ideological underpinnings of the discipline; and also that of Richard Middleton who implicates the terminologies, methodologies and ideologies of musicology in the exclusion (up until the time of writing in the late 1980s) of popular music from mainstream music studies (1990:103–26). For a specific and particularly stark example of the scholarly entanglement with issues of power and ideology, see Potter’s (1998) illuminating study of musicology in Germany between 1918 and 1945, in which she explores ‘the relationship musicology cultivated with the state, the party, and the German people’ (xv) and how musicological work served to validate the ideologies and institutions of National Socialism.

² This conference resulted in another volume on the same theme, edited by Annie J. Randall (2005).

various ways, before moving on to discuss each chapter in turn. As will become clear, the discourses of power in the region centre on some of the most contested social issues, particularly in relation to questions of nationhood, identity, gender and religion, all of which impact directly on music and its social meanings. The contributions to this volume explore the ways in which music serves as a medium for the negotiation of power; how music becomes a space for promoting – or conversely, resisting or subverting – particular ideologies or positions of authority; how music accrues symbolic power in ways which are very particular, perhaps unique; how music becomes a site of social control or, alternatively, a vehicle for agency and empowerment, at times overt at others highly subtle. What is it about music that facilitates, and sometimes disrupts, the exercise and flows of power? And who controls such flows, how and for what purposes?

What makes this region such an interesting focus for a volume such as this is that music itself represents a highly contested area. The long-standing and well-documented debate over music's permissibility, particularly within Islamic orthodoxy, provides an important backdrop to much of the discussion, and is explicitly foregrounded in a number of chapters. Above all, music is often taken to have an excess of emotional power that requires control for the well-being of society. As Hirschkind observes, the debate over music's theological-legal status has been partly 'Feuled by a concern with the ability of music to bypass the faculty of rational judgement and directly affect the senses of the listener' (2004:134). Moreover, across much of the region under discussion, social anxieties over music (and dance) are paralleled with anxieties concerning gender, particularly in relation to women. Thus, women and music both represent problematic areas and often share a positioning as discursive 'Other': in the case of women, in relation to the normative male domain; in the case of music, in relation to the rational, controlled domain of the spoken and written word. Thus, social controls on women often provide a touchstone for controls on music-making, and *vice versa*. Where the two coincide – women as musicians and dancers – one often finds the most contentious and tightly controlled arenas of social activity, at least in the public domain. Paradoxically, of course, some of the greatest singers in this region have been women, and indeed the volume begins with a chapter on arguably the greatest of them all, Umm Kulthūm. **What ostensibly began as religious doctrine** has in many cases become politicised, particularly in countries where theocratic rule has merged religion and politics or where the clergy is particularly powerful. Thus, control over both music and women become important symbols of social and political control and what is argued in the name of religious doctrine is, more often than not, a means of exercising political power.³

Questions of power have figured prominently in the social science and cultural analysis literature on the region, particularly in relation to the legacy of colonialism

³ McClary documents an interesting parallel situation in seventeenth-century France where the banning of Italian music for political reasons was justified through questions of aesthetics, thus cloaking the ideological nature of the ban (1985:155).

and post-colonialism, orientalism, geo-politics, and so on. Particular mention should be made of Lila Abu-Lughod (1983, 1989, 2004), Timothy Mitchell (1988, 2002), Walter Armbrust (1996, 2000) and Charles Hirschkind (2004, 2006), whose writings on issues such as orientalism and representation, modernity, nationhood, media technologies, globalisation and the place of Islam in social and political life resonate strongly with many of the central themes of this volume. Hirschkind's work is of especial relevance, specifically his writings on 'the politics of listening' which examine the impact of the nationalist-modernist project in Egypt on the organisation of sensory experience, including listening, particularly in terms of listener agency. He traces the emergence in the 1950s and '60s of a new collective 'modern national auditory practice that connected traditions of ethical listening with emerging media practices of political discourse and musical entertainment' (2004:145), experienced particularly through the weekly radio speeches of President Nasser and the broadcast concerts of Umm Kulthūm. Whilst Abu-Lughod (1983, 2004) deals primarily with Egyptian television drama serials and the ways in which these engage with the national imaginary, her work addresses many of the same issues discussed in the first three chapters of this volume (Lohman, Stokes, Frishkopf), particularly the relationship between the Egyptian state, media communications and Islam, and how relations of power and ideology are played out in the space offered by mediating technologies.

In terms of the delineation of the region, as Armbrust observes, the Middle East has become 'a lightning rod for anxieties about the reality of conceptual boundaries ... For some, the Middle East as a cultural entity is a prime example – perhaps *the* prime example – of how European discourse created the definitively non-Western and thereby defined the Western by distinguishing it from an opposite created by political and social convention' (2000:1). Clearly, the now-naturalised concept of the 'Middle East' as a geographical and cultural entity has moved well beyond its origins as a Western construct and forms an important focus for local notions of belonging and identity. At the same time, the historical, cultural and religious connections with the countries of North Africa (often, as in this volume, included in the category of Middle East) and much of Central Asia highlights the constructed and porous nature of its boundaries.

Theories of Power

Seeking to understand the nature of power has exercised the minds of philosophers and others for millennia. In his novel *Utopia* (1515), for instance, English statesman and lawyer Thomas More grappled with questions of power within his vision of the ideal state, a vision heavily influenced by the writings of Plato. In the nineteenth century, historians, political economists, philosophers and sociologists such as Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche and Max Weber concerned themselves centrally with questions of power, and power has continued to provide a focus of interest for writers from a wide range of disciplinary backgrounds through to

the present day. One of the central problematics in discussing power is the term itself, ostensibly singular and monolithic but which belies a plural, fluid and multi-faceted phenomenon. Is power a ‘thing’? a force? an idea? a quality? And what are the relationships between different kinds of power, whether political, ideological, social, economic, semiotic, psychological and so on? Political scientists often distinguish five forms of power: ‘force, persuasion, authority, coercion and manipulation’ (Allison 1996:398) and definitions such as those offered by the Oxford Dictionary – ‘the ability to do or act’, ‘a particular faculty of body and mind’, ‘political or social ascendancy or control’, ‘authorization; delegated authority’, ‘an influential person, group or organisation’, ‘military strength’, and so on (Hawkins and Allen 1991:1135) – tend to focus on public manifestations of power generally associated with the political, ‘the strategies and tactics for gaining, maintaining and increasing power, especially (but not exclusively) in its more formal and public dimensions’ (Averill 1997:1).

Central to any discussion of power is the concept of ideology, defined as ‘Any comprehensive or mutually consistent set of ideas by which a social group makes sense of the world’ (Jones 1996:233). Not only does the exercise of power almost invariably include an ideological dimension, but ideology in turn serves to ‘legitimate a system of authority’ (Ricoeur 1986:17), and from a Marxist perspective to mask the real state of power relations. In his *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*, Paul Ricoeur traces the changing discourses around the concept of ideology, from ‘ideology as distortion’ (Marx) to ‘ideology as legitimation’ (Weber) and finally to ‘ideology as integration’ (Geertz) (1986:254). In contrast to the somewhat pejorative Marxian connotations of ideology, both Weber and later the anthropologist Clifford Geertz have argued that ideology is not inexorably determined by economic and material factors, nor should it be viewed solely as a distortion of reality, but as an integral, indeed necessary, aspect of the social fabric through which human beings attach meanings to practice in order ‘to render otherwise incomprehensible social situations meaningful’ (Geertz 1973b:220),

Whatever else ideologies may be – projections of unacknowledged fears, disguises for ulterior motives, phatic expressions of group solidarity – they are, most distinctively, maps of problematic social reality and matrices for the creation of collective conscience. (ibid.)

Ricoeur also revisits the relationship between ideology and utopia first expounded upon by sociologist Karl Mannheim in his influential text *Ideology and Utopia* (1936), and discusses the implications for our understanding of power: ‘the turning point of both is in fact at the same place, that is to say, in the problem of authority. If every ideology tends finally to legitimate a system of authority, does not every utopia, the moment of the other, attempt to come to grips with the problem of power itself?’ (1986:17). Attempts to theorise ideology have inevitably had to grapple with the philosophical conundrum identified by Mannheim – and dubbed

‘Mannheim’s Paradox’ by Geertz (1973b:194) – that there is no ideologically-neutral space within which such theorising might take place.⁴

Such dimensions of the power ‘complex’ are clearly relevant to music. A great deal has been written on the overtly political uses of music, particularly in relation to strategies for ‘gaining, maintaining and increasing power’ and also as a medium for conveying political messages whose verbal expression is otherwise proscribed. At the same time, considerations of power and music extend far beyond this to encompass the subtle and often less visible workings of power as played out in the musical domain, a domain which clearly transcends ‘music as sound’ to encompass the many non-sounded dimensions of music. These include the physical and gestural, both within music and dance performance, as well as the ways in which music is conceptualised and imagined, the discursive formations within which music is embedded and which saturate the spaces around it, tying it to the social fabric; and of course the social fabric itself – the specific social, political, economic and institutional structures through which music is shaped.⁵ As Bohlman observes, ‘Music is always far more than sound, for it ceaselessly strives to be more than itself. It is because music pushes beyond the bounds of the sonic that the aesthetic and the political accrue to it, affording it the multiple conditions of power’ (2007). And this brings us to a central problematic at the heart of this book: the intersection of the aesthetic with the ideological, political and social. The aesthetic dimension is particularly tricky, since any discussion of music and power has to take account of the fact that experiencing music is above all (usually) a pleasurable experience, which can in itself serve a naturalising agenda by which the aesthetic camouflages the ideological or political by deflecting attention from intended meanings.⁶ And yet, even where such meanings are hidden, music’s very presence can be a sign of agency. In this volume, this can be seen in the somewhat extreme case of Afghanistan, as discussed by John Baily, whether in relation to clandestine music-making during the Taliban period or – albeit briefly – in the immediate post-Taliban period when music’s very presence came to symbolise

⁴ See also Ricoeur (1986:159–60).

⁵ Whilst contemporary Euro-American concepts of music tend to privilege sound, there is of course a long tradition of European thought to which non-sounded dimensions of music are central, most obviously the Platonic concept of the ‘music of the spheres’, the ‘unheard music produced by the revolutions of the planets’ (Grout and Palisca 2001:6; see also Stokes 1992:220). This concept has proved highly influential and was expounded upon in later writings, including the work of the sixth-century Roman scholar Boethius, whose three-fold division of music comprised *musica mundana* (cosmic music), *musica humana* and *musica instrumentalis*. It was only the latter, the lowliest form of music, that encompassed music as sound (Grout and Palisca 2001:27–9).

⁶ In the words of Sullivan, ‘music’s ability to point to all things and, in that very gesture, distract the hearer and thus escape being called into question, may be the outcome of a spell it casts on listeners or a false consciousness that it conjures in order to distract from its true intentions and lull into silence’ (1997b:8–9). See also Born and Hesmondhalgh (2000:45).

freedom; and to a lesser extent the case of women musicians in Iran as discussed by Wendy DeBano. If music's presence is an indicator of agency, then its absence is often taken to represent the opposite. But, as a number of commentators have observed, such absences are rarely absolute and, as will be discussed further below, one needs to be attuned to what James C. Scott terms the 'hidden transcripts' (1990) which are often absent from the public realm.

The subtle workings of power bring us to a scholar whose work has contributed significantly to our understanding of the nature of power (and as reflected in the title of this volume): Michel Foucault. Foucault's ideas are useful in a number of ways, most obviously his insistence on the all-permeating nature of power,

Power relations permeate all levels of social existence and are therefore to be found operating at every site of social life – in the private spheres of the family and sexuality as much as in the public spheres of politics, the economy and the law ... Foucault shifts our attention away from the grand, overall strategies of power, towards the many, localized circuits, tactics, mechanisms and effects through which power circulates – what Foucault calls the 'meticulous rituals' or the 'microphysics' of power. These power relations 'go right down to the depth of society' (Foucault 1977a, p.27). (Hall 1997b:50)

According to Foucault, power is not merely something that individuals, groups or classes exercise, though of course it can be this. Foucault argues that discursive formations are networks of power within which we are all enmeshed ... power is everywhere and everything ... can be positive as well as negative. (Apperley 1996:187)

This infusing of power in every social relationship and every social action provides a useful framework for understanding how music (in the broadest sense) is embedded in relations of power which impact directly on its social meanings. Many of the chapters in this volume are informed, more or less explicitly, by a Foucauldian perspective, central to which is a deconstruction of binary oppositions between the 'powerful' and 'powerless', between action and reaction, domination and resistance. As will become clear, the operations of power are much more ambiguous and slippery than this, as Averill observes: 'Power is far from being the property of the powerful; it is a pervasive quality that adheres to every action and interaction. It is sought, undermined, despised, ignored, resisted, and negotiated' (1997:1). Moreover, Foucault disengages power from concepts of directionality, suggesting instead what Stuart Hall describes as the 'circularity of power' (1997a:261) or, in Averill's conceptualisation, 'a spatial, radial vision of the distribution of power in society' (1997:9).

Other aspects of Foucault's work which are of relevance to the current discussion include the ways in which discursive formations are implicated in power relations, the interlocking of knowledge and power, and questions of power and representation, ideas which were also deeply influential on the work

of Edward Said.⁷ In the context of the current volume, we need to ask whose voices are privileged in the discourses around music and, conversely, who is denied a voice. Also significant is Foucault's focus on the body as a site of social and political control, which is especially pertinent to music in its performative dimension, particularly in relation to dance. As already mentioned, in the geo-cultural region under consideration, this can be seen most starkly in the ways in which social anxieties over gender, music and dance become projected onto the female body and translate into controls on women's music-making and dancing.

Whilst critiques of Foucault have focused on his somewhat totalising and reductionist view of power,⁸ his theories would seem to have great applicability to music and the subtle, often hidden, agendas it can be used to serve. Moreover, from a reverse perspective, as an important 'medium for the negotiation and communication of power' (Averill 1997:210), music can itself perhaps contribute to a greater understanding of the nature of power. Since power is always relational and all social relations involve power, and since music serves as an important forum for playing out social relations, music may be 'crucial in helping us to understand and interpret how power is enforced as well as how it is challenged' (Shelemay 2001:283).

Another writer whose work has been influential, particularly on scholars of popular music and culture, is Antonio Gramsci. Among the chapters in this volume, Federico Spinetti draws most directly on Gramsci's work. To some extent, Gramsci's focus on class relations is of limited relevance to the case studies discussed here in which other 'axes of difference' take on greater significance, although class issues are often subsumed within these. Nevertheless, concepts of cultural and ideological hegemony and consent are absolutely central to some of the discussions around post-colonial nation formation and cultural ownership. Such hegemonies are persistent and become incorporated into new power structures which often endure long after the demise of the hegemonic regime. In the case of Tajikistan, Spinetti discusses the ways in which hierarchical regional and 'ethnic' power structures established under Soviet rule, and which continued in the post-Soviet period and partly led to the civil war of the 1990s, could only endure because they gained wide consent among people. Similarly, the enduring attraction of the cosmopolitan West to young Iranians is often portrayed as simply a manifestation of the continuing global hegemony of Western culture. However, as a number of scholars have pointed out, binaries of hegemony and resistance offer only a crude tool to understanding the complexities of real lives,⁹ and I argue in my chapter that

⁷ For one of the most thorough and far-reaching applications of Foucault's ideas on power to the Middle East (specifically, Egypt), see the work of Timothy Mitchell (1988, 2002).

⁸ See in particular the 'debate' between Foucault and the German philosopher and sociologist Habermas, in which the latter questioned the philosophical basis of Foucault's thinking on the relationship between power and critique (see Kelly 1994).

⁹ See in particular Scott's critique of Gramsci (1990). Scott's view of resistance has been criticised for being as totalising as Gramsci's view of hegemony.

the aspiration to (Western) cosmopolitanism amongst certain social groups in Iran has as much to do with new notions of belonging and identification as it does with Western cultural hegemony. To dismiss such aspirations as wholly hegemonic is to deny agency to the musicians and others involved in shaping new identities and new visions of the future.

The Music-Power Nexus

Within ethnomusicological literature the concept of power was for many years invoked primarily in relation to music's affective power, including its role in religious and other ritual contexts, but also in contexts of (post-/neo-)colonialism, as well as the more or less overtly political uses of music.¹⁰ In the latter case, discussion was often framed in starkly dualistic terms of hegemony and resistance. However, as already noted, questions of power were often implicit in the writings of ethnomusicologists, even where the concept itself was not invoked. To take one example, the negative discourses around jazz in the United States between c.1920 and 1940 – as reported by Alan Merriam in *The Anthropology of Music* in a chapter exploring semiotics and questions of musical meaning – depended on an understanding of music's power, in this case allegedly to corrupt and bring about social and personal decline (1964:241–4). Among the examples cited, one of the most striking is the *New York Times* article of 4 February 1926 which reported that,

the Salvation Army in Cincinnati became exercised over the fact that a theatre in which jazz was played had been located near a maternity hospital, for '... we are loathe to believe that babies born in the maternity hospital are to be legally subjected to the implanting of jazz emotions by such enforced propinquity to a theatre and jazz palace'. (ibid.:242)

Such views remind one strongly of the ancient Greek philosophy of *ethos*, the belief 'that music possessed moral qualities and could affect character and behaviour' (Grout and Palisca 2001:6), and also resonate indirectly with the long-standing debate within Islamic jurisprudence over the moral standing of music.¹¹

¹⁰ See, amongst many others, Sullivan (1997a) and Ralls-MacLeod and Harvey (2000) for discussion of music in religious contexts; and Berliner (1977), Erlmann (1985), Waters (1985), Kaemmer (1989:37–9), Glick-Schiller and Fournon (1990), Waterman (1990), Garofalo (1992), Lipsitz (1994) and Taylor (1997), for examples of music as direct political action and/or anti-authoritarian resistance or subversion.

¹¹ Both Plato and his student Aristotle wrote about the role of music in shaping character (see Grout and Palisca 2001:7; also Strunk 1952:3–24 and Tame 1984:19). Plato's views on music's place in education were immensely influential on medieval and Renaissance writers (see Tomlinson 1994). According to Greek mythology, the positive power of music was embodied in the figure of Orpheus – musician, augur, healer, religious

Whilst Merriam's 1960s scholarly toolkit did not offer a link between music as symbol and questions of power, such a link is nevertheless implicit. The examples which Merriam cites constitute a Foucauldian discursive formation through which jazz's symbolic social meanings are shaped through relationships of power, in this case strongly tied to racial discourses of the time.¹²

The literature abounds with examples such as this, where the music-power nexus forms a taken-for-granted backdrop, rarely discussed explicitly. From the mid-1980s, however, issues of power started to come to the fore, most notably in writings on Latin America and the Caribbean, but also in the growing literature on urban and popular musics which increasingly required an engagement with issues of class, 'race' and ethnicity. In part, such writings represented a reaction against the functionalist and insular models of cultural analysis prevalent among some anthropologists and ethnomusicologists in the preceding decades. Significant at this time was the work of Thomas Turino (1983, 1984), John A. Kaemmer (1989), Gage Averill (1989¹³), Christopher Waterman (1990), Veit Erlmann (1991) and Martin Stokes (1992).¹⁴ Turino, in particular, was one of the first to introduce

figure and practitioner of magical arts – in contrast to the potentially destructive power of music symbolised by the bird-like creatures known as sirens who, through their beautiful voices, lured sailors to their deaths. For an interesting exploration of the sirens from an ethno-/musicological perspective, see Austern and Naroditskaya (2006). In some cultures, the symbolic power/danger of the sirens has, over the centuries, been fused with the figure of the mermaid (thus, in a number of European languages the term for mermaid is *sirena*, *sirènes* and so on); see Turino (1983) for discussion of beliefs concerning the musical, magical, seductive and destructive powers of the *sirena* in southern Peru. Interestingly, the Renaissance scholar and physician, Masilio Ficino (1433–99), who attributed magical powers to music (see Tomlinson 1994), drew on ideas from the writings of the ninth-century Arab writer al-Kindi, and was in turn influential on the work of Foucault.

¹² Mention should also be made of Merriam's contemporary, cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz, whose interpretive anthropology drew attention to the role of the symbolic in creating systems of meaning through culture. Geertz was, of course, also interested in questions of ideology (see above) and indeed viewed ideology as a 'cultural symbol-system' (1973b:218).

¹³ This article developed from a paper presented at a landmark conference held at Cornell University in April 1988, and organised by Deborah Pacini Hernandez, Martha Uloa and Mary Jo Dudley on the subject of class and 'race' in Latin American music. Other speakers included Thomas Turino, Chris Waterman and Charles Keil. I am grateful to Gage Averill for bringing this conference to my attention.

¹⁴ See also Coplan (1985) and Peña (1985). Within dance scholarship, Jane Cowan's study of gender relations and power in Greek dance (1990) was an important contribution to the literature in this area. A parallel trend was of course also emergent within musicology at this time, for example see the work of William Weber (1975, 1992), L.B. Meyer, who was particularly interested in the relationship between cultural and political ideology and music style change, first discussed in 1967 (128–330) and explored at length in 1989 in relation to the ideology of Romanticism (see pages 161–352), the various chapters in Leppert and McClary's edited volume (1987), and Walser (1993). Mention should also be made of the

the concept of hegemony into ethnomusicology and to explore the relationship between the aesthetic and the political, as well as the interplay between what he terms the ‘hegemonic factor’ and the ‘identity factor’. In discussing the impact of socio-economic-political factors on the *mestizo* tradition in southern Peru, Turino considers how shifting relationships in the hierarchy of social power between the urban-*mestizo* middle class and the ruling *criollo* elite on the one hand and the indigenous *campesino* peasants on the other, have effected changes in musical style, performance contexts, instrument structure (his discussion focuses on the *charango*) and choice of genre. As Turino observes, *mestizos* are caught between the ‘need for a regional identity and the persistent force of dominant class values ...’ (1984:258), and whilst they ‘seek to differentiate themselves from the *criollo* by the ideological and symbolic identification with *campesino* culture [identity factor], they nevertheless remain greatly influenced by the cultural and aesthetic values of the dominant group [hegemonic factor]’ (266). Each of these factors offer the potential for empowerment, whether through the use of indigenous elements as a form of identity politics or, on the other hand, by drawing on the cultural capital associated with dominant *criollo* aesthetics. Kaemmer similarly examines the ways in which changing configurations of social power impact on musical style and on music’s symbolic meanings, focusing on the case of Zimbabwe from the pre-colonial period through to independence in 1980. Placing power at the centre of his arguments, he concludes,

Instead of considering music as frosting on a cake, music would be better seen as one of the important ways in which humans manipulate each other and the world about them ... music as a form of symbol is often used either to consolidate power or to adapt to situations of powerlessness. The theoretical problems of music and society might well be more aptly considered as problems of music and power. (1989:42, 44)

significant contribution in this area of a number of popular music scholars and sociologists of popular music, including John Shepherd, Simon Frith, Richard Middleton and Peter Wicke, whose work was strongly informed both by Cultural Studies and by Marxist theory (particularly via Raymond Williams and E.P. Thompson) and which engages directly with issues of class and ideology (see Shepherd et al. 1977, Shepherd 1991, 1993, Frith 1978, 1983, 1988, 1989, Middleton 1990, Wicke 1990). Shepherd, in particular, highlighted the relevance of Cultural Studies to musicology and advocated a dialogue between the two disciplines. His work is interesting for its exploration of how ideologies and relationships of social power become manifest within the codes and structures of music itself (see 1977, 1987; see also in this regard the work of Susan McClary, specifically in relation to gender ideologies [McClary 1991]). Also of relevance here is the work of cultural theorists and sociologists Dick Hebdige, Paul Gilroy and Lawrence Grossberg, all of whom studied under Stuart Hall at the University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies and whose writings on youth culture, class and ‘race’ engage centrally with music (see Hebdige 1979, Gilroy 1987, 1993, Grossberg 1991).

Waterman's now classic text on identity and power in Nigerian *jùjú* music (1990) was the first extended ethnographic study to examine questions of power in musical performance. Against the backdrop of complex class and colonial relationships in Nigeria (and extending beyond the national to global networks), Waterman explores the relationship between music and social order in Nigeria and the ways in which popular music, specifically *jùjú*, mediates these relationships. Waterman is particularly interested in how *jùjú* presents an image of a cohesive social order in the context of apparent opportunities for all, but at the same time subtly perpetuates traditional social divisions, hierarchies and hegemonies. These arguments are elucidated most openly in the final chapter, 'Jùjú Music and Inequality in Modern Yoruba Society' (213–28). Above all, Waterman prompts us to 'rethink the role of performance in the construction, expression, and legitimization of power relationships in the modern world' (Erlmann 1996:21).

Such writings paved the way for a radical shift in the 1990s as ethnomusicologists developed a more nuanced and theoretically-grounded understanding of the complex and pervasive workings of power, and started to explore concepts of power and their culturally-constructed nature.¹⁵ Particular mention should be made of Gage Averill (a student of Waterman's), whose work on popular music in Haiti examines 'music's role in enacting and negotiating authority, domination, co-optation, subordination, hegemony, and resistance ... Popular music, as a discursive terrain, is a site at which power is enacted, acknowledged, accommodated, signified, contested, and resisted' (1997:xv, xi). Whilst Averill documents a situation in which music is, generally speaking, more openly politicised and where the central discourses of power revolve around 'race' and class to a much greater extent than the musics discussed in this volume, still much of what he has to say about music and power is of immense relevance. Averill suggests that music's close link to memory, nostalgia and collective social experience are important factors in its entanglement with power, 'The powerful appeal of music – its engagement with human emotions – is the reason it serves effectively as an instrument of politics and a medium of power' (1997:19). Among other things (and following the work of Waterman), he points to music's *status-quo*-affirming function, 'one enacted through myriad musical rituals of alliance and obeisance' (ibid.:9), something which can also be seen through many centuries of European music in the church and court,

¹⁵ In considering some of the earliest ethnomusicological writings to engage directly with questions of power and ideology, it has not been my intention to go beyond the early 1990s, after which such questions became much more central to ethnomusicological thinking. However, for an interesting volume which explores the impact of Marxist thought on ethno/musicology, see Qureshi (2002).

It is a general fact of musical life that the rank of a ruler is measured in part by the music he can command. For several centuries, rival European courts were involved in intense competition to attract the best composers and performers (Hogwood 1977). (Baily, this volume)¹⁶

Indeed, many earlier writers, including John Blacking (see Baily, this volume), noted the link between political power and music, pointing to the role of music in official displays which serve to legitimate those in positions of authority, their institutions and their discourses. Such displays ‘openly affirm and perpetuate an existing power structure’ (Shelemay 2001:283) through ‘public transcripts’ (after Scott, 1990); in this way, power and authority are literally ‘performed’.¹⁷ At the same time, there are the ‘hidden transcripts’ in which ‘musical performances and repertoires ... embed messages through metaphorical or coded terms’ (Shelemay 2001:283), often comprising indirect and subtle ‘everyday forms of resistance’ (Scott 1990:290; see also Erlmann 1996:xxii, 231). As Scott points out, both the ‘powerful’ and the ‘powerless’ have such hidden transcripts such that a ‘dominant ideology can be encoded within ordinary objects of everyday life’ (Lipsitz 1994:110), an idea explored further by Shelemay in this volume.

Other dimensions of power which have been of interest to ethnomusicologists in recent years include the intersection between music, power and place (see, for example, Lipsitz 1994, Stokes 1994a), particularly in relation to concepts of ‘globality’ and the growing economic power of transnational capital. The debate surrounding the global ‘world music’ industry is particularly interesting for the ways in which it brings together questions of representation, appropriation and the politics of ‘hybridity’.¹⁸ Whether the world music industry serves to empower musicians locally or simply perpetuates Western hegemony, it certainly bears the heavy imprint of well-established power relations, many of which date back to the colonial period, and which raise complex issues for ethnomusicologists regarding their own involvement in the industry. More broadly, global interconnectedness and the collapsing of time and space facilitated primarily by electronic communications is impacting on notions of belonging, of ‘self’ and ‘other’, all of which have far-reaching implications for power relations.¹⁹ Increasingly, as ‘shared cultural space no longer depends upon shared geographical place ... New discursive spaces

¹⁶ See also Attali (1985:47–51). Pointing to the need of those in authority to control sound – including music – Attali quotes from the music master in Molière’s *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (Act I, Scene II), ‘Without music no State could survive’ (49).

¹⁷ See also Kaemmer (1989:33). In terms of the possible origins of music, Nettle even suggests that the display of ‘power by musicking (or pre-musicking) together – shout, sing, yodel, growl, beat drums and rattles – to scare neighbouring bands or enemy hordes, that would be a plausible beginning of music’ (2005:264–5).

¹⁸ There is of course a substantial literature on these issues; see in particular Feld (1994a, 1994b), Taylor (1997, 2007), Erlmann (1999) and Stokes (2003b, 2004).

¹⁹ See, for instance, Bohlman (2002).

allow for recognition of new networks and affiliations' (Lipsitz 1994:6) and the emergence of new communities of identity. In relation to the nation state as a unit of identification, many commentators have pointed to the growing importance of other units, both smaller and larger, and even predicted the nation state's eventual demise.²⁰ This can be seen clearly in the various religious (Frishkopf, Harris), regional (Langlois, Spinetti) and transnational (Lohman, Nooshin) identities and affiliations – some long-standing, others more recent – discussed in the chapters of this volume. Whilst the discussions are rooted in quite specific local contexts, all touch in some way on the broader issues of the region as well as the increasingly global 'social imaginary' as articulated by anthropologist and cultural theorist Arjun Appadurai. Appadurai's ideas are pertinent here, most particularly the shift from thinking in terms of 'landscapes' towards what he proposes as the constituent elements of contemporary global flows: ethnoscapescapes, mediascapescapes, technoscapescapes, finanscapescapes and ideoscapescapes, 'the dynamic movement of ethnic groups, images, technology, capital, and ideologies allows us all to inhabit many different "places" at once' (Lipsitz 1994:5). In relation to the current volume, each of these 'scapes' facilitates the circulation of musical sounds, ideas and products, whether through the channel of diasporic networks or cosmopolitan social formations, through mass mediation and the internet, through the commodity economy including the world music industry, and so on.

Like much ethnomusicological writing, questions of power have been implicit in the work of those researching the musics of the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia, whether in relation to musical aesthetics and the affective power of music – for instance within ecstatic practices such as *sama* and *tarab* (for example, see Lewisohn 1997 and Racy 2003) or the close connection between music and healing in the Medieval Islamic world (see Shiloah 1995:49–53) – or in relation to theological debates on music (see al-Faruqi 1985, Nasr 1997) or broader socio-cultural issues including gender, discourses of nationhood, emerging modernities, and so on (see Danielson 1997). However, since power does not constitute a central focus of such writings, most depend on an assumed understanding of power and few scholars attempt to interrogate the concept. Among those who have focused more directly on power, mention should be made of Castelo-Branco's writings on various aspects of Egyptian music in the mid-twentieth century including government policies towards music, the institutionalisation of music, Western music in Egypt and the relationship between modernity and tradition (see, for instance, 1980, 1984). Also significant is Martin Stokes' work on the Turkish urban popular genre *arabesk* (1992) in which he addresses a wide range of issues including the competing discourses within which *arabesk* operates (both official and unofficial, and including complex discourses of power and powerlessness), as

²⁰ See, for instance, Steger (2003:61–8). At the same time, as the chapters in this volume testify, the nation state concept has proved a particularly powerful and tenacious one; thus, most of the discussion presented here deals with discourses in which the nation state is an unquestioned given; few problematise the concept itself.

well as such issues as migrancy, urbanisation, peripherality, emotionality, gender, nationhood, the role of technology and the media, and the interplay between secular and religious domains, all within the broad context of state cultural policies in Turkey. Many of the same topics are discussed by Marc Schade-Poulsen (1999) in the context of Algerian *rai*, but with a particular focus on gender, the latter also being central to Veronica Doubleday's writing on musical instruments and power (1999, 2008).²¹

Music, Power and Meaning

So what is it about music that lends itself to the expression, negotiation and circulation of power? Opinion certainly seems divided as to whether power can ever be a quality of music itself or whether it is more a question of the uses to which music is put. On the one hand, there is the view expressed by Randall in the introduction to her edited volume: 'None of the authors makes a claim for the power of music *itself* to persuade, coerce, resist or suppress; rather they address the uses to which music is put, the controls placed on it, and discursive treatments of it' (2005:1). This view accords well with an understanding of power which is fluid and relational, rather than an inherent quality 'possessed' by music. On the other hand, conventional wisdom as expressed widely in both academic and lay discourses across the centuries and in many societies unquestioningly accords agency to music. Indeed, sound itself is often accorded elemental power and a number of creation stories invoke the power of sound, and particularly music (Sullivan 1997b:7). Where these two views intersect, one might suggest, if one cannot claim for music that it *possesses* power, that it possesses qualities which make it a particularly suitable channel for power. As noted above, the intensity and immediacy with which music evokes emotion and memory are no doubt important factors, but these in themselves depend on something else. Whether power is something that music is born with, achieves or has thrust upon it, the music-power relationship can only be understood in relation to a third, crucial, element: meaning. Much of the discussion in this volume revolves around questions of music's social meanings and how such meanings are shaped by – and in turn shape – power relations. But there is a paradox. Whilst writers such as Randall argue that power only accrues to music because of particular associative meanings, music's power arguably lies in its multiple layers of meaning and the often *ambiguous* nature of its messages, as well as its apparent ability to accrue meaning whilst simultaneously denying that it means anything other than itself.²² This partly

²¹ Somewhat tangentially, but also of interest, is Stokes' critique of orientalist musicology with specific reference to scholars of Middle Eastern musics (2002).

²² There is of course an extensive musicological literature on questions of musical meaning, discussion of which lies outside the scope of this introduction. It should be stressed that the primary focus of the current discussion is on music's *social* meanings, for

explains why, although music is so thoroughly implicated in the exercise of power, we often fail to recognise its operations. As suggested above, music perhaps serves as the ultimate naturalising mechanism; and power is nowhere more insidious and pervasive than when it becomes accepted as ‘the way things are’.²³ Whilst the naturalising tendencies of music may support a conservative agenda, its semantic fluidity also allows it to be used in ways which challenge the *status quo* and which are often hard to control. As Stokes observes, ‘Whilst metaphors of power transfer easily into brick or stone ... sound is more difficult stuff to handle’ (1994c:32). Not only does music’s semantic ambiguity allow it to simultaneously convey different meanings, to the extent that ‘texts and musical messages [can] themselves contain inner voices, contradicting or subverting the overt messages’ (Stokes 1992:14), but such meanings often arise from, and come to represent, competing positions of power, particularly in relation to the control of social space. One sees this, for instance, in the various social meanings which became attached to Iranian popular music during the 1980s and early 1990s (see Nooshin 2005a and this volume) at a time when government discourses, which sought to represent this music as a form of Western cultural imperialism, competed with unofficial discourses, particularly among young people for whom the music had quite different meanings.

Like power, meaning is always relational. And as with spoken language, musical meaning operates through structural difference, often at the level of musical style, as discussed by Michael Frishkopf in relation to Egyptian *tilawa* (Qur’anic recitation). As Frishkopf argues, the connection between sound and meaning is often arbitrary; but meaning depends on *difference*. Similarly, Langlois explores the ways in which the social meanings of musical genres in North Africa are largely defined through practices of differentiation, specifically in relation to social categories. On the one hand, differentiation is essential for musical meaning; on the other, such differentiation is rarely neutral, particularly when binary concepts are involved. Difference inevitably invokes dichotomy; and dichotomy invokes hierarchy. As Solie observes in the introduction to *Musicology and Difference*, ‘Politically, then, difference is about power’ (1993:6), and Bohlman goes further, ‘alterity was not just created but enforced through the exercise of power’ (2002:35). Significantly, it was mainly through gender studies of music in the late 1980s and early 1990s (including publications such as Solie’s) that ethnomusicologists, and indeed musicologists, first became attentive to the ideological implications of difference and ‘otherness’.²⁴ That ethnomusicologists should have come to this

the understanding of which the work of Timothy Rice offers a particularly useful framework (see 2001). In the same volume, Clayton (2001) explores some of the connections between the physical and physiological powers of organised sound and questions of meaning.

²³ For discussion of the ways in which naturalising mechanisms, most notably as found within semiotic systems of representation, can serve to obscure relationships of power, see the writings of Roland Barthes (particularly 1972).

²⁴ The work of Koskoff (1987) was seminal in this; see also the chapter by Robertson (1987) in the same volume.

through gender rather than through ‘race’ or ethnicity is telling. Whilst it would seem obvious enough that ‘ethnomusicology is founded on difference’ (Agawu 2003:152), for many decades scholars depended on essentialised notions of difference which served to obscure their constructed nature. Agawu has written at length about the constructed nature of difference in ethnomusicology and how this relates to issues of power (2003).

Any discussion of musical meaning clearly needs to position the agent(s) responsible for the creation of meaning. In relation to this, Averill usefully maps Nattiez’s tripartite model of ‘poesis’, ‘trace’ and ‘aesthesis’ onto (a) the processes of musical creation, (b) the musical product itself and (c) reception/consumption, and considers these in relation to questions of power (1997:2–3). The separation of ‘composerly intention from readerly interpretation’ (ibid.:2) allows for a more nuanced understanding of how meanings are created in specific historical, social and economic contexts and how they may compete with one another. A number of the chapters presented here engage directly with the ‘creative space of interpretive difference’ (ibid.:3) arising from the dialectic between production and consumption, a space into which power easily slides. Note that in this tripartite model, only stages (a) and (c) involve direct human agency.²⁵ A number of the chapters focus on these two stages as sites of ‘meaning creation’ and deal with the complex interplay and tensions between meanings created by different actors (musicians, audiences, governments and so on) for different purposes, ideological or otherwise. Laura Lohman, for example, explores the ways in which Umm Kulthūm **struggled to contain the potential meanings of her fundraising concerts** at home (in Egypt) and concert tours abroad in the aftermath of the June 1967 war with Israel, when such meanings continually threatened to escape her control. Similarly, Spinetti discusses how prominent Tajik musician Dawlatmand Kholov has sought to create new meanings for the (originally) rural music traditions of southern Tajikistan by deploying discourses of ‘authenticity’ and ‘classicising’ the music both as a means of raising the prestige of south Tajik music, and specifically to challenge the historical authority of the northern *Shashmaqom* art music, strongly promoted during the period of Soviet rule as a ‘national’ music. Kholov thus invokes existing discourses and attendant power structures to accord to southern Tajik music the kind of cultural capital traditionally associated with that of the north. One can see, therefore, how musical sounds and styles (the music ‘itself’) come to embody or represent power relations – something which also features in the chapters on Egyptian *tilawa* and Iranian pop music – or even prefigure power relations yet to unfold.²⁶

²⁵ I use the term ‘stage’ as a convenience; in fact, the model implies a circular rather than linear trajectory.

²⁶ In the words of Hebdige, ‘The struggle between different discourses, different definitions and meanings within ideology is therefore always, at the same time, a struggle within signification: a struggle for possession of the sign which extends to even the most mundane areas of everyday life’ (1979:17).

Whilst the tripartite model is useful in shifting the focus away from dominant musicological discourses which privilege stages (a) and (b) in the creation of meaning, there are some obvious lacunae. Where, for instance, would one position the state apparatus involved in shaping the social meanings of a particular music style? Such an apparatus may not necessarily be directly involved either in producing the music itself or consuming it; yet state policies and discourses often play a significant role in determining musical meanings. And how does the tripartite model account for the non-sounded meanings of music?

Axes of Difference: Gender, Religion, Nationhood

Difference is a central concept in this volume since much of the mapping of social power discussed lies along particular 'axes of difference', seen most obviously in a trinity of key, and often intersecting, areas: gender, religion and nationhood. Moreover, music provides an important means for the expression and negotiation of difference. Perhaps the most naturalised, and hence arguably the most powerful, of all social divisions is gender, which provides a particularly interesting area of focus because of the parallels with music mentioned above and the fact that both music and gender are heavily freighted ideologically in the Middle East. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that gender has emerged, somewhat unintentionally, as a sub-theme in the book. Where issues of power are invoked, it seems, gender relations are almost always implicated in some way, and this can be seen in many of the chapters presented here. Whether as a central focus of the chapter (DeBano and Shelemay on Iranian and Jewish musics respectively), one theme among several (Harris, Davis, Langlois) or more tangentially (Stokes, Lohman), gender clearly represents a highly significant site of power in the region. DeBano's discussion of the state-sponsored Jasmine Festival, a festival of women's music, clearly illustrates the ways in which gender intersects with the other main axes of difference, since the festival promotes a particular vision of the relationship between gender, religion and nationhood using the central figure of Fatemeh (daughter of the Prophet Mohammad and wife of the first *Shi'eh* Imam, Ali) to project an idealised image of womanhood and to reinforce gender norms and expectations within a religious-nationalist framework. In this context, Fatemeh iconically comes to embody the three central discourses of power in the region and serves as a 'gendered symbol of nation'.

Religion is another important locus of power where practices and discourses often depend on notions of difference, for example the relationship between sacred and secular (often mapped directly onto the tradition-modernity dualism) or differing interpretations or branches of Islam or Judaism (Frishkopf), as well as the relationship between 'centres' of religious power and the more peripheral and heterodox practices, including the Sufi and Maraboutic rituals discussed by Harris and Langlois respectively, and domestic religious rituals, particularly those pertaining to life-cycle celebrations as discussed by Shelemay for the Syrian

Jewish tradition. The prominent presence of women in the peripheral and the heterodox is noteworthy.

The themes of nationhood and broader issues of identity and belonging are central to several chapters. Such concepts are, of course, heavily reliant on discourses of difference and, as an important boundary marker and an emotive signifier of 'place', music regularly provides an arena for negotiating and playing out local, national, regional and even global identities. Considering the national, the chapters by Lohman and Stokes both document the role of music (and in the latter, film) in unifying the Egyptian nation. In the case of Umm Kulthūm, her music and persona served both to bring together a nation suffering the trauma of the 1967 defeat and to re-establish Egypt's pride and regional prestige. But Lohman also takes us beyond the national to consider Umm Kulthūm's music in the context of the larger Arab 'nation' which her concert tours allowed her to speak to, providing a 'performance of Arab unity'. Whilst Stokes focuses on mediating technologies, particularly the microphone, there are many parallels in his discussion of how such technologies were used both to unify the Egyptian nation and to promote a broader sense of Arab unity, but always emphasising the long-standing centrality of Egyptian culture within that. The tension between concepts of Arab unity on the one hand and national/local identities on the other is central to Frishkopf's discussion of recent challenges to Egyptian centrality with the increasing prominence in Egypt of Saudi-inflected Islamic practices and *tilawa* styles (as well as an orientation towards Saudi modes of public morality), in contrast with traditional Egyptian Sufi-inflected Islam. Here, contestation between national identities (Egyptian vs Saudi) and local interpretations of Islam (*Salafi* vs Sufi) are symbolically acted out through attempts to dominate public space through sound.

As Bohlman observes, music often acquires heightened power at moments of encounter (2002:14), both as a means of preserving existing boundaries and in the creation of new identities. In this context, changing discourses of national identity impact directly on music, for instance in determining which musical styles become claimed as the national patrimony and legitimised as symbols of nation; in this context, the need of newly independent nations to identify particular musical genres as 'national' is interesting. The question of what represents the nation engages so directly with issues of power that it often constitutes a site of, sometimes very intense, public contestation. Davis, for example, discusses changing discourses of nationalism in Tunisia from the 1930s to the present day. For many decades, the promotion of a nationalist agenda by the government served to elevate the art music of the *ma'lūf* to the status of a 'national' music, particularly through the work of the Rashidiyya Institute, and in contrast to more heterogeneous popular styles, including the *ughniyya* which was closely associated with Jewish musicians. Much of the discussion at this time revolved around notions of Tunisian vs non-Tunisian and many popular musicians were denigrated by the establishment for abandoning their 'own' music and adopting Egyptian and other musical styles. The fact that the *ma'lūf* also drew on Egyptian musical elements and used Egyptian and

European instruments did not prevent it from being presented as wholly Tunisian, in contrast to ‘foreign’ and ‘corrupt’ popular styles. Since the 1987 coup, the advent of more inclusive notions of Tunisian identity has prompted a return to and renewed interest in previously marginalised traditions such as the *ughniyya* which have gained more centrality within the national imaginary. Similarly, as Langlois discusses for Morocco, the art music *andalus* repertoire is widely accepted as a ‘national treasure’, partly because of its strong class associations and in spite of its minority listenership.

Clearly, notions of nationhood are forged in the context of a dialectic which is simultaneously inward-looking and outward-facing: a nation defines itself in terms of what it includes and what it excludes. This self–other dynamic looms large in several chapters, particularly in relation to the neo-/post-colonial encounter. Certainly, for many of the countries discussed here, discourses of nationhood have been strongly shaped by the experience of post-colonial nation building and the imperative to develop post-colonial national identities. The question of how nations deal with the colonial inheritance is not straightforward and one often finds an ambiguous, even conflicted, relationship with that inheritance, particularly since many of the cultural consequences of the colonial encounter remain deeply embedded locally. In Iran, for instance, discourses of national identity since the 1979 revolution have been shaped both by Islamic (*Shi’eh*) nationalism and by the strong historical consciousness of the pre-Islamic heritage, as well Iran’s long-standing quasi-colonial relationship with the West (primarily Britain and the United States). The reaction against that relationship after 1979 was symptomatic of a country seeking to separate itself and establish an identity independent of its former colonial power. Despite this, many of the discourses and patterns of musical prestige established before 1979 continue to hold. As I discuss in my chapter, many young Iranians are today forging new identities which are increasingly outward-looking and cosmopolitan, thereby subtly challenging official discourses of national identity; and music offers a public forum for such challenges quite unlike any other. Similarly, for Tajikistan, developing a post-Soviet, post-civil war national identity has meant addressing both the country’s relationship with its former colonial power and the internal dynamics of ethnic division.

The inherent tensions between belonging and affinity on the one hand, and demarcating the national from what doesn’t belong on the other are expressed time and time again through dualistic pairings such as local–global, tradition–modernity, ‘pure’/‘authentic’–hybrid, and so on. Like all dualisms, these ‘create long chains of associations, virtuosic in their ready applicability, that exercise a strong and virtually subliminal influence on the ways we position and interpret groups of people, their behaviour, and their works’ (Solie 1993:11), and are always deeply rooted in relations of power. Nation state politics in the region have tended to privilege and even naturalise ‘mono-culturalism’, often masking earlier pluralities. Thus, one regularly finds the first of each pairing above (local, tradition, ‘pure’, ‘authentic’) invoked in the name of nationhood and placed in direct contrast to the

second of each pair. As a result, musics which self-consciously index modernity, hybridity and globality have often proved problematic for governments. Ironically, increasing global interconnectedness and the emergence of new transnational cultures leads to more plural identities which are arguably rooted in much older forms of identification than contemporary nation state discourses would concede. Thus, for instance, the more inclusive notions of national identity in Tunisia since 1987, discussed by Davis, are reflected in the revival of previously denigrated musical styles which, she argues, are in fact more 'authentic' in their eclecticism. Spinetti reports on the efforts to find ways of dealing with plurality in post-Soviet, post-civil war Tajikistan, a region which had a long history of cultural and linguistic diversity prior to the Soviet creation of the Central Asian republics. In the case of Tajikistan, one can see clearly how music is at times mobilised in the service of marking difference, and at others to negotiate and perhaps erase (or at least reduce) difference, as in the current period of national reconciliation; such a possibility is also mooted by Baily for Afghanistan.

Other axes of social difference which figure in the discussion include class (Langlois, DeBano), racial or ethnic alterity (Spinetti, Harris, Langlois), and notions of space, both physical – as in the urban–rural divide (Langlois) and the relationship between private and public domains (Langlois, DeBano) so culturally and religiously significant in this region – and metaphorical, as in concepts of centre and periphery. Another significant axis concerns religious and/or state policies in relation to the boundaries between legal and illegal cultural activities. In the case of music, such controls are strongly informed by the ambiguity of religious doctrine in this area, with the result that local religious and/or state authorities often take on the role of deciding on the legality of particular musical activities, or prohibiting music altogether (see Baily).

So much for the intersection of power and social difference; what about power and *musical* difference? This touches on a number of well-used binaries, including the amateur–professional divide (Davis, DeBano), in which the former traditionally marked a higher social status, but this is starting to change; mediated versus unmediated musics (Stokes, Frishkopf); controlled versus 'uncontrolled' emotional expression (Stokes, Langlois); choice of lyrical language, particularly in relation to discourses of linguistic purity, for instance in the use of 'standard' versus colloquial Arabic (Davis, Langlois); as well as musical categorisations which often place art music on one side and other styles (folk, popular and so on) on the other. The question of categories is particularly pertinent to the earlier discussion of nationhood because of the ways in which certain styles and genres become promoted as emblems of nation, and a number of examples have already been cited. In Tajikistan, from the 1920s, and in order to promote social cohesion in the newly formed Soviet states, the central authorities created emblems of national musical heritage. In the case of Tajikistan this was the *Shashmaqom* (which was historically a repertoire shared with the Uzbek-speaking populations of the region prior to Sovietisation). Significantly, as in the case of Tunisia and Morocco, it was a form of art music which was promoted as a symbol of national culture.

Clearly, classifications of any kind embody relative value and the cultural weight accorded to ‘classicism’ by Soviet ideology and the Tunisian cultural elite illustrate the clear connections between the relative status of musical styles and cultural capital, prestige and power. In Tajikistan, it is interesting to note that such classificatory hierarchies have persisted in post-Soviet discourses deployed in the creation of a new national culture. Thus, rather than challenge discourses which present art music as being of greater ‘value’ than other genres, Dawlatmand Kholov engages the same discourses and attempts to raise the prestige of *falak* by presenting it as a form of art music. Harris describes a similar situation in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China, where government policies led to the canonisation of the Twelve Muqam repertoire as the national ‘folk classical’ (*khalīq kilassik*) music of the Uyghur people, and which is now ‘commonly held up as the jewel in the crown of Uyghur national culture’ and as a ‘symbol of a long and civilised Uyghur culture’.

The Chapters in this Volume

Each of the eleven chapters in this volume presents a case study around a particular musician, issue or tradition. The individual contributions represent a range of scholarly and methodological approaches from the strongly ethnographic and contemporary to the more historical. The book is arranged loosely according to geography, starting in the geographical centre of the region with a trio of chapters on Egypt, after which the focus shifts to Central Asia. From there, we travel to the western end of the region for two chapters on North Africa before ending with two chapters on Iran and one on Jewish music.

The first two chapters, by Laura Lohman and Martin Stokes, focus on two of the most popular singers of Egyptian music in the twentieth century, the great Umm Kulthūm (1904–75) and film star and crooner ‘Abd al-Halim Hafiz (1929–77), whose lives both spanned the central section of the century. In “‘The Artist of the People in the Battle’: Umm Kulthūm’s Concerts for Egypt in Political Context”, Lohman discusses Umm Kulthūm’s **fundraising concert campaign** following Egypt’s defeat in the June 1967 Six Day War, examining the ways in which Umm Kulthūm **was obliged to make ‘fundamental decisions about** how to present herself as she sought to engage in and unite artistic and political endeavours after the war’, particularly as the concert tours extended from a domestic to an international arena. Lohman examines the complex relationship between Umm Kulthūm’s **artistic work and her political message, particularly** given her grass-roots appeal and her high profile non-musical activist work. Central to this was Umm Kulthūm’s **often ambiguous presentation of self, which** fed into the media portrayal of her. Whilst she often insisted that she was ‘just an artist’ and sought to downplay suggestions that her music invoked direct political messages, her later, more politicised, concerts in Libya tell a different story. As Lohman documents, Umm Kulthūm’s **fundraising concerts played a pivotal role**

in projecting an image of unified Arab support for Egypt to the rest of the world, as well as offering the Egyptian people a collective public outlet through which to ameliorate the psychological trauma of the war and its aftermath. In other words, music served as a space in which listeners could become personally and symbolically empowered, a theme which emerges again and again in different contexts in the chapters of this volume.

With Martin Stokes' chapter, "Abd al-Halim's Microphone", we remain in mid-twentieth-century Egypt but turn to a very different musical style, as Stokes explores the intersection of public expressions of emotion, nostalgia, excess and sentimentalism – something far removed from the musical world of Umm Kulthūm – **and the role of the microphone in this. Specifically, Stokes explores the ways in which newly-amplified voices from the 1950s onwards created a 'techno-political complex [which] possessed unprecedented powers to control the social and political imagination, powers that appealed to the heart and the ear in new ways'.** Stokes marks a contrast with (earlier) singers such as Umm Kulthūm and Mohammed 'Abd al-Wahhab who were much less intimately associated with the microphone and with technology in general. With the advent of such technology, the network of discourse around music's power to move is rendered highly complex: music's power should be used judiciously by musicians; to use music's power over listeners in the manner of emotional sentimentality is to exert a control over the audience and to somehow take music beyond the realm of artistry and *tarab*, in its relatively egalitarian listener–musician relationship. The discussion of emotional expression has a strong gender dimension, as Stokes discusses, particularly the fact that 'Abd al-Halim's amplified voice generated anxieties of a gendered nature, of emotionality out of control and in contrast to the predominantly male-gendered and more private environment of the *tarab* setting. A central question was how to control music's power of excess, particularly when unleashed, via the microphone, to a vulnerable female audience. Stokes prompts a long-overdue re-evaluation of the role of technology in the public expression of emotion. Quoting from Paul Théberge, he notes that microphones and amplification have become so naturalised in our musical culture that we often fail to interrogate the socio-political impact of such technologies. Stokes explores the complex ambivalence over 'Abd al-Halim's music, his use of technology and his sentimentalism, and how all of this relates to questions of power in the public domain.

The question of mediation and technology is also central to Chapter 3, 'Mediated Qur'anic Recitation and the Contestation of Islam in Contemporary Egypt', in which Michael Frishkopf explores the ways in which musical styles acquire meaning through difference, focusing specifically on the recent rise of a new form of Saudi-inflected Islam in Egypt and how this has impacted on styles of *tilawa*. Traditionally, there were two main *tilawa* styles in Egypt, known as *mujawwad* and *murattal*, but since the recent arrival in Egypt of cassettes of Saudi *tilawa* and also the adoption of Saudi style chanting by local Imams, there has been a discernable shift in the musical 'style sign' of local *tilawa* chant in order to maintain the semiotic distinction between styles. Whilst such style shifts are

ostensibly linked to aesthetic preferences, Frishkopf illustrates through detailed analysis how particular musical styles, and the differences between them, have become freighted with ideological associations, particularly through processes of mediation and dissemination. In this, he draws heavily on ideas from structural linguistics and semiotics, particularly the work of Saussure and Peirce. Such shifts are also seen in the graphics accompanying commercial recordings. Moreover, style changes are playing a central role in local contestation over the control of Egyptian public space between ‘traditional’ Sufi-inflected Islam on the one hand and Saudi-style *Salafi* or New Islam, on the other, such that ‘The individual decision to play a particular cassette tape in a public place, or to distribute copies, thus constitutes a social act of communication’, often an ideological one promoting a particular view. As Frishkopf argues, the fact that music operates non-discursively renders it potentially more powerful a medium than the discursive, for conveying, promoting and negotiating changes in ideology. Music’s non-discursiveness allows it to operate at a partially subliminal level and to present itself as part of the naturalised order of things, ‘to fly “beneath the radar” of critical thinking’, in the words of Frishkopf, and to contest without appearing to do so.

With Chapter 4, we travel to Central Asia for the first of three chapters on countries where musical practices and meanings have been significantly impacted by communist ideologies. In ‘Music, Politics and Nation Building in Post-Soviet Tajikistan’, Federico Spinetti explores the issues and debates surrounding the cultural representation of the Tajik nation, focusing on how official state policies have sought to define ‘national’ culture in an ethnically diverse country, from the early Soviet period through the political vacuum which followed the demise of the Soviet Union and the subsequent civil war (1991–97), and into the current period of national reconciliation. The ethnic tensions which led to the civil war were partly the result of earlier Soviet policies which had privileged certain ethnic-linguistic groups, primarily in the north of the country. In terms of cultural policy, this included promoting the repertoire of the *Shashmaqom* art music, closely associated with northern Tajik and Uzbek culture, to the status of a national music. Following the end of the civil war, there have been attempts to rebalance the hierarchies of power established during the Soviet period and to promote southern Tajik culture, including its music. Exploring the close connection between music and identity construction, Spinetti discusses the work of Dawlatmand Kholov, one of the best known musicians in Tajikistan, who has devoted himself to raising the prestige of southern Tajik music, partly by questioning the legitimacy of the *Shashmaqom*, to the extent of suggesting that it isn’t really Tajik at all, but Uzbek, and by ‘classicising’ southern Tajik music styles. Spinetti thus shows how attempts to formulate a national music culture often involve intense contestation over which musics to include (and which to exclude), as well as the relative prestige of each. In the case of Tajikistan, such contestation revolves around discursive binaries of geography (north–south), cultural identity (Uzbek–Tajik) and musical style (classical–folk, ‘learned’–popular).

Moving to neighbouring Afghanistan, John Baily's chapter also deals with an ethnically diverse country which experienced many years of communist rule and civil war, but where conflict was rooted primarily in differences of ideology and religion rather than in regional and ethnic allegiances. Starting in the 1970s, Baily charts the attempts by successive regimes to control musicians and music-making through various forms of censorship and prohibition, from the Daud Presidency (1973–78), the period of communist rule (1978–92) and the coalition period (1992–96) through to the Taliban (1996–2001) and post-Taliban periods. Islamic proscriptions on music-making have had a significant impact, seen in its most extreme form in the attempt by the Taliban to ban music entirely. Baily considers the doctrinal basis for such proscriptions, particularly as found in the Qur'an and the *hadith*. As Baily observes, 'Islamic cultures which are tolerant towards music are likely to be liberal in other respects ... music is a sensitive indicator of a whole set of other values and attitudes'. In the immediate post-Taliban period, the presence of music came to symbolise the end of Taliban rule, but restrictions on music were quickly reinstated, partly because of the strength of traditional social mores and also because of the fragmented nature of governance where decisions made by one official body were often overruled by another. Baily cites the example of the state radio and television organisation which broadcast historical footage of two female singers on television, but which was subsequently condemned by Afghanistan's Supreme Court. As in other parts of the region, music in Afghanistan has become a medium for exercising social and political control, particularly in relation to gender behaviour. Such control is in part a response to, and an acknowledgement of, music's power. In the words of Baily, 'One ponders the mystery of what it is about music that makes it so powerful, and how that power might be harnessed for performances of reconciliation instead of conflict.'

In the third Central Asian chapter, 'National Traditions and Illegal Religious Activities amongst the Uyghurs', Rachel Harris discusses the intersection of political, spiritual and musical power among the Uyghur people of western China, focusing on a range of popular Islamic religious practices including shrine festivals, *sama* rituals held both at festivals and in (male) Sufi lodges, and the often very private gatherings of female *büwi* ritualists. Such heterodox practices occupy an ambiguous space, caught between government recognition of Islam as one of China's five 'systematised religions' on the one hand, and attempts to control 'illegal' religious activities on the other. The various practices described by Harris have generally been regarded with suspicion by local and central government, both because of their perceived 'disorderly' and 'backward' nature and, more recently, because of government concerns over potential links between such expressions of local identity and demands for Uyghur separatism, as well as the rise of Saudi-style Wahhabi fundamentalism in the region. The latter concern is somewhat ironic given the opposition of Wahhabism itself to Sufism and other heterodox practices. In fact, Sufi practices have faced opposition on two fronts: from the communist ideology of the government and also more locally from Uyghur nationalist intellectuals.

As well as addressing the tension between local religious power and central political power, the chapter also deals with questions of difference along a number of axes, including between local Uyghur 'ethnic' identity and the central Chinese state, between orthodox and heterodox Islamic practices, and (within the latter) between the relatively influential male Sufi lodges and the female *būwi* ritualists. The *būwi* find themselves doubly marginalised: first, on account of their exclusion from traditional male religious power structures, and second because their activities are regarded as lying somewhere between the categories of (illegal) 'feudal superstition' and the less problematic 'folk customs'. Harris' discussion pinpoints an interesting problematic: the relationship between local religious practices and the central communist state in a country where the sacred and secular are traditionally inseparable. And since music serves as a potent link between sacred and secular, it is perhaps not surprising that this problematic has been played out through the 'classical' repertoire of the Twelve Muqam, promoted by the Chinese authorities as a symbol of Uyghur culture, but which is also the repertoire of local Sufi music. As Harris documents, the process of creating a 'national' music out of the Twelve Muqam involved modifying certain aspects of it, particularly the poetry, in order to reduce the influence of religious elements.

With Chapters 7 and 8 we return to North Africa. In 'Jews, Women and the Power to be Heard: Charting the Early Tunisian *Ughniyya* to the Present Day', Ruth Davis traces changes in the social status of the Tunisian *ughniyya* in the context of changing discourses of nationalism. As discussed earlier, from the 1930s, in an attempt to forge a national music culture in the context of a strongly nationalist ideology, the art music repertoire of the *ma'lūf* was promoted, particularly by the newly-established Rashidiyya Institute, whilst popular musical styles such as the *ughniyya*, in which Jewish and female performers played a prominent role, were denigrated and marginalised. After independence in 1956, the *ma'lūf* officially gained the status of a national music and became an emblem of Tunisian musical identity. As Davis discusses, post-independence discourses presented the 1920s and '30s as a period of decline and decadence. However, the situation has changed significantly since 1987 as the emergence of more inclusive notions of Tunisian identity has been accompanied by a renewed interest in and revival of older musical styles whose eclecticism (in musical style, lyrical language and instruments), Davis argues, is in fact highly 'traditional', in contrast to the claims of 'purist' discourses. Davis discusses the work of El 'Azifet, an all-female amateur ensemble formed in 1992 by Amina Srarfi, which has played a leading role in the post-1987 revival of popular musical styles from the 1920s and '30s, but which also includes in its diverse repertoire music from the *ma'lūf*, now presented on the same stage as *ughniyya* and on an equal basis. Through their high-profile public performances, El 'Azifet position previously marginalised musical genres and performers (women) at the centre of Tunisian cultural space.

In Chapter 8, Tony Langlois explores the connection between musical genre, social position and expressive behaviour in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, focusing on three musical genres: the high art *andalus* repertoire found across North Africa,

g'nâwa maraboutic rituals from Morocco, and Algerian *rai*. Langlois discusses the ways in which these genres map onto the fairly rigid social boundaries of gender, 'race' and class in the region. The high prestige *andalus* art music has traditionally been associated with the urban elite and benefited from state support in all three countries. In Morocco, *andalus* is presented as an inclusive symbol of national identity and many acknowledge it to be a 'national treasure', yet its strong class associations and popular perceptions of it as dull and antiquated mean that the music has a limited audience in comparison with more eclectic (and arguably socially inclusive) popular styles such as *rai*. Like other non-commercial art music genres, *andalus* has depended heavily on state support and in Algeria the questioning of *andalus*'s privileged status following the Islamic political 'turn' of the early 1990s led to a severe reduction in state funding and a decline in activity. Moving on to issues of gender and 'race', Langlois reports on his observations of *g'nâwa* rituals in Oujda, Morocco, arguing that such rituals serve to essentialise both physical and emotional difference and to reinforce racial and gender stereotypes, thereby perpetuating the marginalisation of the (generally low status) women who participate in them and the 'black' *g'nâwa* musicians who provide the music. Langlois contrasts the 'uncontrolled' physical and emotional expression in *g'nâwa* gatherings with the very controlled behavioural norms found at *andalus* performances. The third case example, *rai*, presents another traditionally marginalised genre with strong local associations, which in entering the 'world music' market has shed its peripherality, at least outside Algeria. Layered onto its earlier 'immoral' associations, the new associations of modernity, plurality and hybridity have continued to render *rai* problematic in the eyes of political Islam at home, provoking at times violent reactions. But with *rai*'s increasing popularity abroad, government attempts to control the music, and even prohibit it, during the 1990s proved unsuccessful. In contrast to *g'nâwa* and *andalus*, then, *rai* has managed to evade categorisation – and thereby control – which links it strongly to particular social groups. Langlois also considers the political implications of technological developments, particularly sound recording, which have enabled genres such as *rai* to transcend the traditionally strong boundaries separating public and private spheres and to enter spaces from which they would traditionally have been absent.

Chapters 9 and 10 focus on Iran. In 'Singing against Silence: Celebrating Women and Music at the Fourth Jasmine Festival', Wendy DeBano explores various aspects of women's musical performance in Iran, focusing on the annual Jasmine Festival and drawing on ethnographic work undertaken during the 2002 festival. A state-sponsored women-only event which began in 1999 and which is held annually on the birthday of Hazrat Fatemeh, the Jasmine Festival provides an interesting prism through which to explore issues of gender and music in Iran. The chapter begins by discussing the changing social position of both women and music since the 1979 Revolution, and the ways in which both have in various ways been 'peripherised' by official discourses. One of the central paradoxes of the post-1979 period is that despite attempts to restrict women's activities by certain

government factions, women have become more socially active than ever. DeBano discusses various aspects of the Jasmine Festival, including the process by which musicians are invited to participate and how those selected have to tailor their image to meet the requirements of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, as well as how the different ‘actors’ (musicians, organisers, audiences and so on) use the festival for their own purposes. As an all-female event, one of the most heated areas of debate centres on whether the festival represents a form of imposed gender segregation or a means of female empowerment. DeBano explores a range of views, from those who choose not to participate, either because of segregation or because the festival is sponsored by the state, to those who welcome the all-female nature of the festival and the opportunity to perform in a high-profile venue. As DeBano shows, the festival represents a site of intense struggle between the organisers and their attempts to reinforce state-defined gender norms and the musicians who seek to maintain control over their self-representation and to make their voices heard.

Staying in post-1997 Iran, my chapter focuses on the pop band Arian and specifically the ways in which the band’s musical and lyrical discourses have been shaped by, and resonate with, the ideas of President Khatami’s reform period (1997–2005). Emerging as a grassroots band on the wave of post-1997 liberalism, Arian has achieved phenomenal success in part because of its down-to-earth image and because its music touches on a wide range of contemporary issues with which many Iranians identify. I start by assessing the political and socio-cultural environment of the late 1990s, particularly the emergent youth culture and the growing civil society infrastructure in Iran. Among the reforms which impacted most directly on music, the legalisation of pop music after almost 20 years of prohibition was perhaps the most far-reaching, and in particular the shift from periphery to centre which transformed pop music from a symbol of Western cultural imperialism to an icon of post-1997 changes. Moving on to discuss Arian, I explore some of the reasons for the band’s immense popularity, and how its music reflects some of the same concerns as the reform movement, including ‘building a diverse civil space, responding to a growing youth culture and rethinking notions of national belonging in an increasingly global environment’, seen for instance in the band’s collective working methods, its musical eclecticism and the involvement of women musicians. The final section of the chapter focuses on two songs, ‘*Iran*’ and ‘*Fardā*’ (‘Tomorrow’) to illustrate some of the ways in which Arian explores, and at times subtly contests, a range of dominant discourses using the centuries-old technique of veiled comment. In the case of ‘*Iran*’, the melding of a cosmopolitan consciousness with a strong sense of the local becomes a platform for presenting alternative visions of nationhood; ‘*Fardā*’ offers a statement of youth enfranchisement. In this way, music facilitates the expression of ideas which are still formulating in the public consciousness, or which can’t be expressed elsewhere.

In the final chapter, ‘The Power of Silent Voices: Women in the Syrian Jewish Musical Tradition’, Kay Kaufman Shelemay discusses the hidden but often crucial

role of women in traditions from which they are ostensibly absent, focusing on the case of the paraliturgical Jewish-Syrian *pizmon*, sung in Syrian Jewish communities worldwide. As Shelemay argues, the traditional ethnomusicological focus on performance events, often in the public domain, has tended to reinforce male-centric perspectives on music-making, obscuring the myriad ways in which, whilst they may be silent as performers, women participate ‘behind the scenes’ as teachers and transmitters of traditions; as organisers of life-cycle rituals and domestic events through which traditions are perpetuated, including the preparation of food without which such events could not happen; as repositories of musical memory and of oral histories of music; and so on. Through analysis of song texts and interviews with Syrian Jewish women, Shelemay uncovers the extent of women’s ‘muted presence’ in the *pizmon* tradition, a repertoire strongly associated with men and performed for instance at circumcision ceremonies. The three *pizmon* texts which Shelemay discusses include both overt and more hidden references to women, generally in the context of their roles as wives and mothers and reaffirming existing gender behavioural norms. Shelemay considers the impact of religious ideology on women’s music-making, particularly through the dictate known as *kol isha* which defines the female voice as sexually arousing and a distraction to men, and through traditional concepts of female modesty (*tsniut*). Whilst the impact of cultural and religious expectations are variously implemented within different communities, in general women’s musical participation has been limited, particularly in the public domain. However, as Shelemay points out, women’s absence from active participation does not necessarily mean that they are not involved in other ways. In the case of *pizmon*, Shelemay found many of her interviewees had a good knowledge of the songs, both from having accompanied their fathers to synagogue as young girls (prior to puberty) and because the melodies are largely derived from Arabic secular song, representing a centuries-long shared Judeo-Arabic tradition with which many women are familiar from their secular listening experiences. Elsewhere in this introduction, I have noted the close connection between music, memory and power; Shelemay highlights the important role which women play as repositories of musical memory, both of repertoire and of the stories which comprise the lifeblood of music’s oral history. As noted, the scholarly focus on music in performance has tended to sideline the importance of understanding music as it lives in the memory and imagination.

An important issue raised by Shelemay concerns the position of the scholar *vis-à-vis* apparent asymmetries of power in the societies and musical traditions studied, in this case asymmetries of gender power. As Shelemay observes, it is all too easy for scholars to apply binary concepts of domination–submission or compliance–resistance, often using a Western liberalist yardstick. But is the ‘unmasking’ of what appear to be naturalised inequalities a scholarly conceit? Whilst Shelemay cites her own discomfort and that of other scholars with certain power structures within the Jewish tradition, she also recognises that the lived realities of her informants often transcend such binaries; for most, the acceptance of male and female domains as different but complementary is deep-rooted.

Notwithstanding the position of some Jewish feminists who have argued for change, few within the tradition studied by Shelemay have sought to challenge gender positioning. Above all, Shelemay enjoins us to question the assumption that active participation indexes power, and conversely that silence equates with exclusion and oppression, and to acknowledge the power of silence and quietness. As she observes, 'In some *public* contexts, the *absence* of musical activity appears to mark a woman's special power'; for other women, the choice of silence is a means of exercising power.

Silence, Voice and Agency

I'd like to draw this introduction to a close by pursuing a little further some of the issues raised concerning agency. As the chapters of this book testify, music is quixotic in its ability to serve both dominant power positions and ideologies and at the same time give voice to those disempowered by them. In the latter case, music's very presence can become a signifier of agency, something encountered repeatedly in the pages of this volume, whether in post-Taliban Afghanistan (Baily), in the 'resistance' songs of El 'Azifet (Davis), the performances of women musicians in Iran (DeBano), or the expressive outlet which *g'nâwa* rituals offer women in rural Morocco (Langlois). We know that music gives voice when nothing else can. Given that music's presence is so often taken to be an indicator of agency, it seems hardly surprising that its absence often comes to indicate the reverse. Many of the chapters presented here chart attempts by political, religious and other authorities to manipulate, control and even silence music. Indeed, perhaps the strongest statement and acknowledgement of music's power is that it invokes such intense reactions. And yet, whilst the ultimate curb on music's power is to silence it, such silences are rarely absolute. Significantly, in a volume about music, power and ideology, silence is a theme that emerges again and again and also appears (or is implied) in a number of chapter titles, particularly in relation to gender. Given that the semantic domain of music within which ethnomusicologists usually operate extends well beyond sound, the relationship between music and 'silence' is complex. Silence is not music's opposite, nor its absence; indeed, we know that silence is part of the very fabric of music. In a lecture series entitled *The Silence of Music* (2007), Bohlman points to the ways in which we experience 'musical meaning beyond sound' and how 'silence itself allows for a proliferation of meaning'. Considering the aesthetic dimensions of silence, Bohlman argues that making silence can be as much an act and a statement of agency as making music. Such ideas resonate strongly with the work of anthropologist Michael Herzfeld, who has written about (linguistic) silence as an active strategy rather than a passive imposition among women in rural Crete. Through what Herzfeld terms the 'poetics of silence', women claim agency by using silence discursively. Thus, 'Domestic behaviour can invert public appearances' (1991:90) and 'What appears to the outside's eye as an uncritical acceptance of hegemony becomes,

from an internal perspective, the expression of defiance' (93). Like Shelemay, then, Herzfeld challenges the assumption that silence equals disempowerment, an assumption which he suggests can be attributed to the fact that 'Absences are harder to interpret than presences' (1991:81). Herzfeld describes the 'muted' ideologies (83) of female discourses, using terminology derived from Ardener (1975) and strongly recalling the 'muted presence' of the women described by Shelemay in a musical tradition which appears to exclude the female voice (both metaphorically and physically), but which turns out on closer inspection to be saturated by the presence of women. The fact that such presences have previously remained largely unremarked upon is significant and should alert us to the need to look beyond the well-worn binaries of domination and resistance, victimiser and victimised, voice and silence, which are simply too unwieldy to engage with the complexity of lived musical experiences where sound and silence co-exist and intertwine with one another. As Herzfeld observes, 'Absence and presence represent two kinds of power that cannot exist independently of each other, but of which, in a verbocentric world where all is presence, absence takes on the outwardly lower symbolic value' (1991:84–5). Like music, 'Silence both expresses and represses' (92), and as with music we need to understand what silence means in specific contexts. In the performance-centric world of ethnomusicology, silence as a discursive strategy and as a form of power has all but been ignored.

In conclusion, it is my hope that the case studies presented here will contribute to a greater understanding of the complex play of music in power and power in music in the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia; and ultimately, to an understanding of what it is about music that enables it to permeate every area of human life, weaving together the social, political and aesthetic in ways which are at times overt, at others so subtle that nothing can match its power.