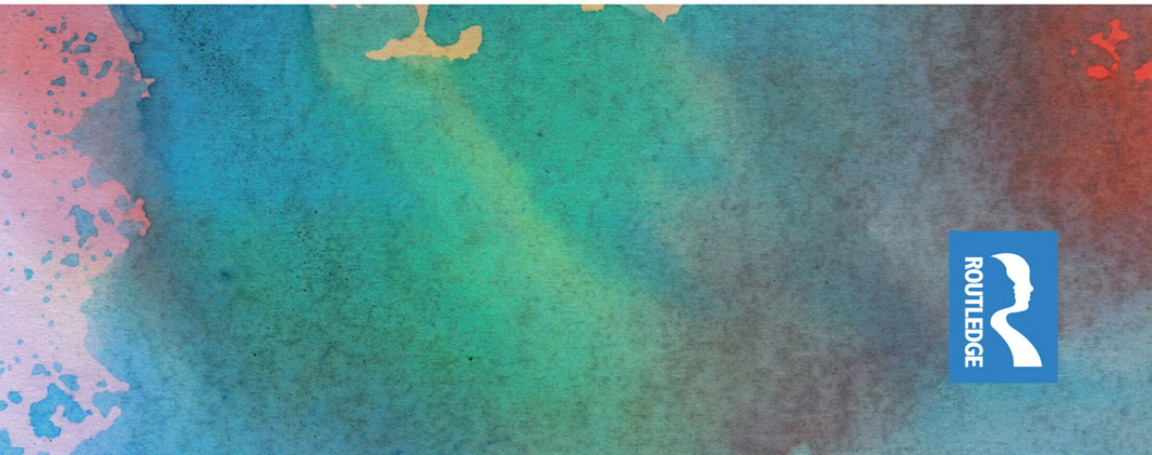
MUSIC AND ENCOUNTER AT THE MEDITERRANEAN CROSSROADS

A SEA OF VOICES

Edited by
Ruth F. Davis and Brian Oberlander



"This brilliant collection of essays gives voice to the Mediterranean and the histories of encounter that converge across its past, present, and future. The voices gathered here sound the lives of individuals no less than the complex narratives of religion and nation, of the struggle to sound the historical *longue durée* in the lived-in worlds of today's Mediterranean."

Philip V. Bohlman, Ludwig Rosenberger Distinguished Service Professor in Jewish History, University of Chicago, and author of *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe (Routledge)*

"This far-ranging and timely collection of essays explores the musical cultures of the Mediterranean as a "sea of voices" resounding with the many contradictions of this contested geopolitical and cultural space. Richly illustrated with analyses of historical and contemporary case studies, this volume invites the reader to think not so much in as with the Mediterranean as a space for reconceptualizing not only Mediterranean musical encounters, but the study of music itself."

Jonathan H. Shannon, Associate Dean for Academic Operations and External Relations and Visiting Professor of Anthropology, New York University Abu Dhabi

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Music and Encounter at the Mediterranean Crossroads

Music and Encounter at the Mediterranean Crossroads: A Sea of Voices explores the musical practices that circulate the Mediterranean Sea. Collectively, the authors relate this musical flow to broader transnational flows of people and power that generate complex encounters, bringing the diverse cultures of Europe, Africa, and the Middle East into new and challenging forms of contact. Individually, the chapters offer detailed ethnographic and historiographic studies of music's multifaceted roles in such interactions. From collaborations between Moroccan migrant and Spanish Muslim convert musicians in Granada to the incorporation of West African sonorities and Hasidic melodies in the musical liturgy of Abu Ghosh Abbey, Jerusalem, these communities sing, play, dance, listen, and record their diverse experiences of encounter at the Mediterranean crossroads.

Ruth F. Davis is a Life Fellow and former Director of Studies in Music at Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge, where she is Emeritus Reader in Ethnomusicology. She also chairs the International Council for Traditional Music Study Group on Mediterranean Music Studies.

Brian Oberlander holds a PhD in Musicology from Northwestern University.

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Music and Encounter at the Mediterranean Crossroads

A Sea of Voices

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Preface

The idea for this volume emerged during the symposium of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) study group on Mediterranean Music, held in Essaouira, Morocco, in June 2018. The symposium, on the theme "Music and Sound at the Mediterranean Crossroads," was hosted by the Association Essaouira-Mogador in its headquarters, Dar Souiri, an exquisite riad near the entrance to the Medina. Founded in 1992 by André Azoulay, himself a native of Essaouira, the Association is dedicated to the conservation and revitalization of Essaouira's diverse cultural heritage, drawing on the region's long history of Berber, Arab, and Jewish co-habitation. Among the Association's outstanding projects, nearing completion at the time of our symposium, was the restoration of the former Simon Attius synagogue and its reconception as Bayt Dakira (House of Memory)—a museum and research center dedicated to the memory of Moroccan Jewry and of coexistence between Jews and Muslims.

It was in this setting that colleagues from North America, Europe, the Maghreb, the Middle East, and beyond gathered to participate in an intensive program of research papers and recitals, including more than 60 presentations on topics relating to "Music and Sound at the Mediterranean Crossroads." Of these, we selected eight (by Fulvia Caruso, Michael Figueroa, Jonathan Glasser, Ian Goldstein, Gabrielle Messeder, Brian Oberlander, Miriam Olsen, and Olivier Tourny), whose topics adopted distinctive approaches to the theme of encounter. In each case, the original research has been extensively developed in this volume to incorporate new material, a change of focus, or, in the case of Brian Oberlander, a change of subject. In addition, four chapters (Jann Pasler, Dafni Tragaki, Anis Fariji, Ruth F. Davis) were invited especially for this volume. Each contribution is distinguished by the originality of its topic or approach and by its incorporation of material that is new or otherwise under-represented in the scholarly literature.

Our volume has traveled a long way since its conception in Essaouira. Yet the spark that ignited its conception—the spark of Essaouira—continues to sustain it. For igniting that spark, we offer our heartfelt thanks, first of all, to André Azoulay: For welcoming us to Dar Souiri and Essaouira

and making the resources of the Association Essaouira-Mogador freely available; for his enthusiasm, support, and personal involvement, including finding the time in his onerous schedule as Senior Councillor to King Mohammed VI of Morocco to participate in many of the panels; and above all, for constantly reminding us of the wider significance of our project, beyond the purely academic, we owe him special gratitude. We are grateful to Alessandra Ciucci (Columbia University) for her imaginative and insightful contributions to the drafting of the proposal for this book. Our thanks also to Inna Naroditskaya (Northwestern University) for the initial impetus that she gave to getting our book project off the ground and for her energetic contributions to early drafts of our proposal.

We could not have anticipated the extraordinary conditions in which this volume was written as, in early 2020, cities, then entire countries, went into lockdown and we found ourselves retreating to the confines of our homes. For many this meant adapting to makeshift working arrangements—typically, kitchen tables. Some found their research time compromised by childcare, home schooling, or caring for vulnerable family members. Anxiety and uncertainty affected all of us. We are grateful to all our contributors for their perseverance and unwavering commitment to our project throughout this difficult time, and for continuing to share their valuable research and insights. We thank Martin Ash for his timely and meticulous copyediting and Elizabeth Csicsery-Ronay for her assistance in the translation of Anis Fariji's chapter, originally submitted in French. We are indebted to the ICTM and to the Ethnomusicology Center and the Global Humanities Initiative at Columbia University for their generous financial support. Finally, we thank Constance Ditzel, Senior Editor at Routledge, and her teams at Routledge and Deanta for their advice, support, and care in bringing our project to completion.

Ruth F. Davis
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Introduction

A Sea of Voices

Ruth F. Davis and Brian Oberlander

> The Mediterranean speaks with many voices; it is a sum of individual histories. If these histories assume in the course of research different values, different meanings, their sum must perforce change too.
>
> Fernand Braudel, 1972

Composing the Multiple, Many-Voiced Mediterranean

To frame the Mediterranean as a sea of voices is to affirm a heterophonous continuity with thinking past and present. In the preface to the first English edition of Fernand Braudel's iconic two-volume tome on Mediterranean history (Braudel 1972), the conceit of "many voices" conveyed multiplicity—and indeed, mutability—at both historical and historiographical levels. There was a sense in which the "total history" to which Braudel aspired consisted of innumerable facets that were liable to shift relative to one another according to the scope and perspective of inquiry—historical and geographical; social, economic, and political; even cultural and psychological—exhausting, it would seem, his own tripartite division of historical time: "But the worst of it is that there are not merely two or three measures of time, there are dozens, each of them attached to a particular history" (Braudel 1973, 1238).[1]

In his conclusion to the second volume of *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Braudel once again presented the metaphor of heteroglossia (or in this case, heterophony), reflecting more pointedly on the historiographical puzzle that his many-voiced conception of history entails:

> My favourite vision of history is as a song for many voices—but it has the obvious disadvantage that some will drown others: reality will not always adapt conveniently into a harmonized setting for solo and chorus. How then can we consider even one single moment in time and perceive simultaneously, as though in transparent layers, all the different histories that coexist in reality?
>
> (Braudel 1973, 1238)

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Braudel's musical metaphor continues to resonate: We envision the study of music and the Mediterranean as indeed a song for many voices, and as a song that we ourselves must compose—not once and for all, but continuously: As Yasser Elhariry and Edwige Tamalet Talbayev have it, invoking another musical metaphor, our work must be "gradual and contrapuntal" (Elhariry and Talbayev 2018, 9). It is in this spirit that we gather multiple musical histories into dialogue as we continue the process of collectively (re)composing the Mediterranean. We describe the Mediterranean as a sea of voices in order to recognize it as a crowded, often contested space resounding with multitudinous claims, interests, and histories that variously coexist, overlap, and intersect; a space shaped by the voices not only of musicians and other practitioners, but also of states, institutions, markets, and more; and a space for dialogue among ourselves, insofar as "an imagined Mediterranean space also allows us to gather as scholars and performers, and have conversations that would not otherwise be possible" (Stokes 2005, viii). Listening to our interlocutors and listening to each other in the composition of reflexive, processual soundings of music and the Mediterranean, we have the opportunity not only to conceive but truly to hear the Mediterranean as a sea of voices.

In its vastness and diversity, encompassing several thousand miles around the littoral and millennia of documented interaction among complex civilizations, the Mediterranean has inspired an immense variety of theories and methodologies. In the context of modern Western scholarship, John Davis (1977) described early anthropological work on the Mediterranean by the likes of Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), J.G. Frazer (1854–1941), and Henry Maine (1822–1888) as "a museum of research strategies […] in which important ideas and techniques were worked out" (1977, 2–4). In recent decades, research conducted within Mediterranean frameworks has proliferated against the background of yet additional perspectives and paradigms, ranging from postcolonial studies to comparative world history.[2] In this light, Michela Ardizzoni and Valerio Ferme (2015) confirm that the Mediterranean is "irreducible to grand, totalizing visions, to essentialist reductions, to minimalist attempts to fit its complexity into neat and delimited categories" (Ardizzoni and Ferme 2015, 2).

There are ethical and political dimensions to this research: Braudel's reference to voices drowned in the Mediterranean has, since the work's publication some 50 years ago, acquired all too literal connotations—entangling his measured methodological reflections with recent discussions of the Mediterranean as a site of clandestine migration, repressive border controls, and their dire repercussions across what Hakim Abderrezak (2009) has depicted as a burning sea.[3] Moreover, Braudel's attempt to configure the Mediterranean's many structures, conjunctures, and events into a total history would seem to intersect uneasily with postcolonial critiques of the Mediterranean's circumscription within totalizing narratives of Western modernity: There it is argued that alternative configurations of Mediterranean history, including those of migrants, refugees, and subaltern

subjects generally, are suppressed in favor of northern European interests and institutions.

Several recent studies have reinterpreted Braudel's musical metaphors along the axis of postcolonial and related critiques in which the Mediterranean is composed as a source of challenges to Western modernity. In these readings, the mutable, many-voiced sea, replete with histories of multiplicity and alterity, is not waiting to be arranged into a total history and is rather seething with subversive potential: "the polyphonic challenge of a multiple modernity and polycentric Mediterranean" (Chambers 2008, 12). Taken collectively, this is a line of inquiry that "adopts as its main ordering principle the prevalent state of crisis [...] that has engulfed the Mediterranean in the time-space of modernity" (Elhariry and Talbayev 2018, 4); the modern Mediterranean, in particular, is thus conceived as emerging in "a privileged moment particularly ripe for critical inquiry, especially from the divergent, often fractal perspectives of the arts" (Elhariry and Talbayev 2018, 11).[4]

While this way of composing the Mediterranean is timely, as a living line of inquiry it raises difficult questions of theory and methodology. How might we integrate our various Mediterranean frameworks not only with our own critical and political investments, but also with the lived experience of our interlocutors in the field, where subversion is not always the watchword and where multiplicity does not fully account for musical practice? The contributions to this volume provide answers, each in its way, by turning to the materials and methods of ethnography and historiography. In that sense, we heed the words of Martin Stokes:

> Music scholarship in Europe and North America has gained a significant critical edge in recent decades, but at the (perhaps necessary) expense of a certain uniformity of style and method. These create new blind spots: places, times, experiences, practices that escape the critical eye, or things that we think we know but have actually ceased to think about critically.
>
> (Stokes 2005, viii)

With this in mind, we gather essays into dialogue around the theme of encounters, which allows us to reengage with enduring theoretical and methodological problems from fresh perspectives: Many of the contributions return to questions of space, place, and geography, building on critiques of the same not in order to circumvent the problems posed, but rather to outline provisional solutions. In fact, the encounters theme has sustained historical, anthropological, and ethnomusicological research on the Mediterranean for decades, often elaborated precisely in geographical terms. In the following section, we briefly trace the development of this theme from classic works of history and anthropology through to more recent literature in ethnomusicology.

Geographies of Musical Encounter

In some of Braudel's earliest published research (Braudel 1928), he describes the Strait of Gibraltar as that "insufficient frontier" in the sea's far western reaches where the Mediterranean "is no longer […] anything more than an inlet, a strait, a 'Channel' easily traversed and which cannot play the role of an obstacle." He then goes on to discuss points of social, commercial, and political contact between Spain and North Africa in the early modern era (Braudel 1928).[5] Vastly elaborated in his classic text of the mid-twentieth century (1949), Braudel's argument that the Mediterranean's distinctive geographical features have shaped a millennial history of encounters appears revised in the work of John Davis (1977), where it validates the Mediterranean as a topic of anthropological inquiry:

> Make no strong claims: admit that the people who live here are of markedly different kinds—Muslims, Christians, Jews; shepherds, farmers, factory workers and bankers; corporatists, communists, Arab socialists and parliamentary democrats. But then recognise that they have been trading and talking, conquering and converting, marrying and migrating for six or seven thousand years—is it then unreasonable to assume that some anthropological meaning can be given to the term "mediterranean"?
>
> (Davis 1977, 13)

This is where the study of music and the Mediterranean finds perhaps its most promising rationale, as Tullia Magrini (1999; 2003) proposed in a foundational ethnomusicological project that effectively created a forum for studying the "human and social aspects" of Mediterranean musical practices (whereas the "philological and documentaristic" concerns of folklore studies had previously prevailed).[6] Magrini also proposed restoring "the issue of time" to ethnomusicological research, echoing Davis's call (1977) for greater attention to the sheer plenitude of Mediterranean historical sources and the diachronic perspectives that they offered to scholars (1999, 174; 2003, 19).[7] In particular, Magrini cited histories of Mediterranean encounter:

> When we study musical realities whose multiple facets demonstrate that this sea has been the instrument of an intense cultural interaction between countries of Europe, of Asia Minor and of Northern Africa, and that it has been the instrument for the circulation of ideas and values that cross the boundaries of nations and continents, then it can be agreed that, rather than to speak, for instance, of Italian, Tunisian or Turkish music, it is actually appropriate to use the term "Mediterranean." In this case we have the advantage of being able to allude with only one word to that collection of historical and cultural relations that has produced

> complex musical phenomena, phenomena that it would not be possible to analyse if not in the light of such relations.
>
> (Magrini 1999, 180)

There are fundamental questions implicit in such a framework, which all of the essays in this volume address through detailed historical inquiry and ethnographic case studies. To begin with: How do we delimit the field in which Mediterranean musical encounters play out? Magrini suggests that the sea—central to those "near-permanent" realities at the heart of Braudel's geographically and ecologically defined Mediterranean—has been the instrument of cultural interaction, the latter coalescing into a "collection of historical and cultural relations" that ultimately produces musical practice in turn.[8] Where do practitioners fit into this picture? How should we conceive the relationships entailed by the concept of encounter, interpreting questions of agency, subjectivity, and lived experience in the process? What are the terms and implications of musical encounter as studied within a Mediterranean framework, whether social, aesthetic, economic, political, or otherwise? Magrini herself emphasized the remarkable range of interactions that a musical practice might encode, citing "the ways in which diversities may coexist, mix, become familiar with one another, preserve the long historical memory of their relationships, or simply ignore one another" (Magrini 2003, 19).[9] Still, these fundamental questions about the field and about our interlocutors warrant ongoing conversations which this volume is meant to reinvigorate. In the process, we build on rich theoretical and methodological precedents that strategically detach experiences of Mediterranean space and place from normative constructions of geography.

Goffredo Plastino (2005) has offered a striking example of a musical practice that operates under the rubric of the Mediterranean, which nevertheless resists the Mediterranean's geographical delimitation—even one defined by histories of social and stylistic encounter. The "post-World Music" band Dounia, in Plastino's reading, evokes the Mediterranean while operating on a principle of "dislocation," reflexively avoiding stylistic or discursive references to discrete Mediterranean localities (Plastino 2005, 180). For Plastino, Magrini's framework thus "seems to nudge the music of the Palestinian-Sicilian band in the direction of irrelevance," as Dounia's music is not, strictly speaking, one of "those musical phenomena which cross the sea, which have in their DNA a genetic patrimony that unites elements of different cultures, and which carry the historical memory of contacts within the Mediterranean" (Magrini 1999, 175).

On the one hand, Magrini defers the question of geographical delimitation in favor of gradual, open-ended dialogue inspired by comparative case studies, suggesting that a "definition of the boundaries might perhaps emerge as a final result of our work and might even bring about a reconsideration of the traditional classifications" (Magrini 1999, 175).

On the other, she frames musical practice as primarily a record of historical interactions that derive, to some extent, from the Mediterranean's geographical and ecological features: The sonorous archives of "a place where countless diversities converge" (Magrini 2003, 19). Taken at face value, the aim of musical ethnography within this framework is to discover "traces of contacts or historical references that might expand the local importance of the repertoires to a properly Mediterranean dimension" (Magrini 1999, 175).

Ultimately, Magrini envisioned a dynamic and flexible study of music and the Mediterranean, characterized not only by historical contact but also by contemporary socio-musical interactions that continually revise the meanings of Mediterranean history. Indeed, she emphasized in the updated Foreword to her innovative online journal, *Music and Anthropology*, that the Mediterranean is "not merely a geographical and historical region, but also a metaphorical entity with constructed and contested boundaries, cultures, and identities" (Magrini 2004). Yet a certain recourse to Mediterranean geography, or to the sea as an instrument of cultural interactions that produce musical practice, is nevertheless at the core of the conceptual disconnect between Magrini's framework and Plastino's reading of Dounia, once again raising vital problems in the delimitation of the field. In fact, this keys us into longstanding debates over the Mediterranean's treatment as a coherent region of the world.

At the heart of these debates, which first played out in anthropological discussions of the 1980s, was the prospect of conducting ethnographic research within a "Mediterraneanist" framework: That is, using a definition of the Mediterranean that posited traits, symbols, practices, even socio-psychological complexes (e.g., "honor and shame") across the region, so that some scholars were weighing their observations against expectations defined *a priori* and making comparisons between localities—sometimes quite distant—primarily because they fell within the boundaries of the geographically delimited Mediterranean. For Michael Herzfeld, this effectively "subverted the dialectic between particularistic ethnography and comparative analysis" (Herzfeld 1984, 443; cf. Piña-Cabral 1989).

In the Introduction to his volume on music and the Mediterranean, Plastino (2003) presents a methodological imperative that deftly circumvents the problem:

> These forms of music must not be redefined or reduced to a model (of whatever sort): they already exist, they are performed, they can be heard, they are disseminated by the media. The task of ethnomusicology, as I see it, is to understand their history and their characteristics, to verify and analyze the ways in which they acquire and give meaning to communities of musicians and listeners, to explain how and in what

> direction they change, to see how they are labeled and diffused around and outside the *Middle Sea*.
>
> (Plastino 2003)

Eschewing models and calling for a return to the "task of ethnomusicology," Plastino builds a framework peerlessly suited to the popular musics and global perspectives thematized in his Introduction and resonating with the abstracted, dislocated Mediterraneanness of Dounia: Here, the Mediterranean is primarily a rhetorical and discursive configuration—"a cultural construct that has been fostered by intellectuals for centuries" (Plastino 2003, quoting Jonas Frykman)—which nevertheless impacts musicians and musical practices on the ground, being no less significant for signifying beyond the bounds of geography. Rather than taking the Mediterranean's discursive construction as a platform for dismissing the notion of Mediterranean music or for deconstructing the music into a platform for political critique, Plastino's framework takes musical evocations of the Mediterranean as constituting, in their own right, a multiple, ever-shifting field: "Not one Mediterranean, then, but a variety of 'Mediterraneans' propose themselves and are proposed, and demand to be included" (Plastino 2003).

Plastino thus ushers ethnomusicologists into the field to study music that *signifies* the Mediterranean, against the backdrop of a "mosaic" of cultural constructs and cultural identifications without any fixed, structural connection to Mediterranean geography. Citing Miriam Cooke's (1999) subtle cybernetic conception of the Mediterranean as a network of potential contacts, connections, and communications,[10] Plastino outlines a decentered conception of the Mediterranean as a field of musical practice and music research: "The concepts of center and margin are undermined in a manner analogous to the supposed indivisibility of identity, language and culture—and also musical forms" (Plastino 2005, 189).

In a recent collaborative project, Marta Cariello and Iain Chambers enjoin us to "think *with* the Mediterranean," formulating our interpretations in response to "the world, rather than the West" (2020, 2; emphasis in original). Specifically, they urge us to "seek connections that [...] re-situate [the Mediterranean] in the multiple souths of the world" (2020, 3). Where musical practice fits into this picture is a question we propose to answer, gradually and continuously, through multiple modes of listening: To listen with the Mediterranean in acts of deconstruction that recover repressed (or hidden) histories and subaltern subjectivities, is to listen with renewed attention to our interlocutors and to each other—holding conversations that privilege the lived experience of musical practice and music research. Deeply immersed in this dialogue, we may, as Cariello and Chambers have proposed, "remove thinking from the calculus of Occidental objectivity and relocate it in the intersecting currents that compose a historical density,

cultural complexity and epistemological challenge irreducible to a single language or point of view, no matter how universal its claims" (Cariello and Chambers 2020, 2). Such is the heterophonous sea of voices that we explore in this volume.

A Sea of Voices

Our story begins with a journey to the Mediterranean by migrants from various countries in francophone West Africa. Having survived their precarious crossings by land and sea, some 15 to 20 young men, aged between 18 and 31, arrive in Italy where they are placed in an overflow, or "extraordinary," reception center (*Centro di Accoglienza Straordinario*) near Vigolzone, Piacenza. There, they begin a period of indefinite waiting for decisions to be made on their status and eventual relocation. Separated from their families and communities, with little interaction between them, they enter a state of uninterrupted limbo, of feeling "out of time and out of place." Until, that is, they are invited to join a musical workshop run by a group of ethnomusicology students led by their professor, Fulvia Caruso. Conceived as an applied research project, its aim was to explore, through the lens of participatory listening and collaborative composition, the role that music could play in creating new forms of transnational cultural identity among migrants.

None of the participants had prior musical training, few understood French (the official *lingua franca* of the Center) or shared the same native language, yet all were functional in several local languages. In her step-by-step account of the project's unfolding, Caruso describes how this quality of multilingualism, which characterizes much African popular music and which serves as an "urban survival strategy" in the migrants' countries of origin, emerged as a critical feature of their listening experience and their approach to musical composition. Identifying their strategy as "metrolingualism"—a more fluid and performative use of language than multilingualism—she describes how, in a process replete with symbolism, the migrants collectively chose four words (denoting "job," "cultural exchanges," "family," and "courage") representing each one of their native languages, and the single Italian word *rispetto* ("respect"), to serve as both the lyrics and the sonic building blocks of their composition. "Ultimately," Caruso concludes, "they reconfigured the fragmentation and uprootedness of asylum into a creative form of belonging and musical citizenship."

The two chapters that follow offer contrasting perspectives on musical collaborations across the Gibraltar Strait: That narrow strip of water dividing Spain from Morocco where the Atlantic and the Mediterranean meet. In Spanish Granada, the locus of Brian Oberlander's chapter, Moroccan migrant musicians are not so much voicing new belongings as reconnecting with old ones. Claiming descent from the Moriscos—Muslims forcibly

converted to Christianity only to be expelled *en masse* at the beginning of the seventeenth century—the migrants frame their presence in Granada as a return from exile. Their narrative is adapted in that of the Spanish and Northern European Muslim convert musicians who have gravitated to the city to participate in a project of contemporary Islamic renewal along the lines of the fabled *convivencia*—the religious "tolerance" and multiculturalism associated with al-Andalus.

Drawing on in-depth interviews with two convert musicians, followed by an analysis of a music video made in Granada by converts collaborating with Moroccan migrants, Oberlander unpacks the complex intersubjective relationship that has developed between the two groups and the intersecting narratives of attachment to Granada's medieval Islamic past that underlie it.

The music video is based on a devotional poem in Aljamiado (Spanish in Arabic orthography) whose manuscript was discovered hidden within the walls of an erstwhile Morisco home. Fusing iconic sounds and imagery, past and present, the video bears testimony to the continuity and tenacity of Arabic–Islamic culture, practiced in secrecy by the remaining Moriscos long after their official expulsion, and to its renewed vitality in present-day Granada.

Narratives of exile and return are conspicuously absent from Jalal Chekara's Seville-based Flamenco-Andalusi "fusion" project, which forms the subject of Ian Goldstein's chapter. Rather, the collaborative efforts of the seven musicians from Morocco, Spain, and the Netherlands, led by the Flamenco-Andalusi violinist from Tetouan, are informed by considerations of musical aesthetics and technique, social networks and marketing, pragmatic factors such as relative costs of studio hire, and conceptual models inherited from mentors and family predecessors.

Taking as a case study Chekara's 2014 album *Tan Cerca, Tan Lejos* ("So Close, So Far Away")—an apt metaphor for the social and musical realities of Moroccan–Spanish geography—Goldstein explores "the cognition of fusion," or "how such intercultural collaborations work in practice." He proposes a threefold analytical model (potentially also applicable to other fusion genres) which takes into account the musical systems involved; the musicians' varying conceptions of these; and, crucially, the musicians' "multimusicality" or competences in the different styles or genres. Drawing from his fieldwork data and detailed musical analyses, Goldstein demonstrates that Chekara's approach to fusion, which is premised on the Flamenco and Andalusi genres sharing a (more-or-less) common rhythmic and modal framework, inevitably requires compromise as each side sacrifices a particular richness or subtlety to bridge the divide. The musicians experience this loss most acutely with respect to rhythm, as nuances of micro-timing, accentuation, and phrasing, intrinsic to each genre's identity, are passed over, and complex rhythmic divisions are simplified. In studying fusion, Goldstein concludes, "attending to the gaps, the spaces between, is as important as recognizing and celebrating the points of common ground."

"Attending to the spaces between" aptly characterizes Gabrielle Messeder's treatment of the distinctive Lebanese *bossa nova* style pioneered by Ziad Rahbani (scion of the iconic Rahbani Brothers-Fairouz trio) in late 1970s Beirut. Evoking an idealized pre-civil war "golden age," this style would become an enduring feature of the Lebanese popular musical soundscape. Drawing from her interviews with key players at the time, Messeder traces its origins to the formative relationships that developed between certain Lebanese musicians and members of the visiting Brazilian bands that animated Beirut's glittering night scene in the 1960s and early 1970s. Ironically, Ziad's adaptations emerged just at the point when the outbreak of civil war forced the departure of the Brazilian bands, making any continuing collaboration impossible.

Messeder's analysis focuses on Ziad's 1978 play *Bil Nisbe li Bukra Shou?* (What about Tomorrow?) which, with its multilingual script and eclectic mix of musical genres, celebrates the cultural diversity of the pre-civil war era while exposing its deep-seated social divisions. Using a juxtaposition technique reminiscent of that favored by Jalal Chekara for his Flamenco-Andalusi fusions (see Chapter 3), Ziad juxtaposes Lebanese *bossa nova* with classic Middle Eastern and American popular genres in what would become his signature style. His *bossa nova* themes are adapted from iconic recordings, and his score retains the instrumental timbres, techniques, and harmonies associated with the genre; yet, as with Chekara's Flamenco-Andalusi, it is the rhythmic dimension that is compromised: Subtleties intrinsic to the genre's rhythmic identity are glossed over; there is a simplification or "de-exoticisation" of the Afro-Brazilian rhythms. Yet, as Messeder demonstrates, it was precisely the liberation of *bossa nova* from its Brazilian context and its adaptation and integration into the Lebanese popular musical sound world that enabled it to take on specifically local functions and meanings which have endured to the present day.

Dafni Tragaki tells how, from around the mid-1960s through the 1970s, a genre of Greek popular song based on adaptations of Hindi film songs taken from Bollywood movies screened in Greece, as well as adaptations of Turkish and Arabic popular songs, thrived among the postwar urban poor. Taking as her starting point Tim Ingold's concept of "wayfaring," Tragaki considers these adaptations, known locally as Indoprepi or Aravoindika, in terms of "a tangled mesh of interwoven and complexly knotted song paths" and as "mutable sonic object[s] entangled within histories of encounter." Among the numerous such "song paths" she traces is that of *Eisai I Zoi Mou* ("You're my Life"), which creatively reworks a fragment of a Hindi film tune from *Awaara* ("The Vagabond," dir. Raj Kapoor, 1951), screened in Thessaloniki in 1957, into the sound world of a 1960s Greek popular song. Yet this Bollywood fragment is itself adapted from the boatman's song *Ala Baladi al Mahboub* ("To the Beloved Country") from *Widad* (1936), the debut film of the Egyptian diva Umm Kulthum, which she herself sings on the 78 rpm recording of the song.