# **Analysis of Selected Musical Styles**

#### INTRODUCTION

In this chapter some musical examples from the shared music culture will be presented with transcription and analysis, followed by examples from representative music subcultures. Of the subcultures, only the Kazakhs have been omitted, because (1) their musical style is so highly restricted in distribution, and (2) there has been apparently no Afghan input for Kazakh style, the music resting solely on repertoire remembered from the émigrés' home region of Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan. For like reasons Uzbek classical music of the Buxaran style is not discussed here. In presenting shared musics, I have chosen examples that clearly show heterogeneous origin rather than music of single-ethnic origin that is purveyed to a multiethnic audience. I have tried to balance vocal and instrumental music for purposes of illustration, but it should be remembered that vocal music greatly predominates over instrumental throughout the region under discussion. At times instrumental music will be stressed, both because that was my original area of investigation in the North and because instrumental music, particularly dance tunes, most clearly exemplifies basic structural aspects of musical style. In the discussion below, the songs presented will emphasize the importance of textual questions in the matter of musical ethnicity. In terms of balance, there will be considerable diversity of emphasis among the shared musics and subcultures, which reflects both a bias towards the larger or more distinctive groups and relative lack of information about the others.

Before proceeding to examples of individual styles, it is worth looking at the music of northern Afghanistan as a unit in its regional context. As is the case of musical instruments (see Chapter 4), styles relate to patterns extending well beyond the borders of Afghanistan to the north, east, and west. To take one example, the playing of polyphonic music on lutes and fiddles occurs in an extremely wide, unbroken band from central Siberia (among the Tuvins) to Anatolia and beyond, into Macedonia (among the Pontic Greeks) and up into the Transcaucasus (among the Georgians) (see Slobin 1969 for a survey); thus in

this case northern Afghanistan is a central way station for an extensive musical practice, and northern Afghan polyphonic instrumental music must be seen in light of data from surrounding areas. Similarly, even subtypes of instrumental polyphony (parallel intervals only, upper-string melody vs. lower-string drone, etc.) occur at various points in the greater region just outlined as well as in the Afghan North.

Unfortunately, ethnomusicology has not reached a point of systematization precise enough to quickly compare intra- and interregional data. The only extensive attempt to arrive at cross-cultural classification has been that of Alan Lomax's cantometrics project. According to Lomax's findings (1966:96ff.), Northern Afghanistan would fit into a vast area labeled "Old High Culture" (Mediterranean Europe, North Africa, the Near East, Central Asia, and East and Southeast Asia plus Australia), which is characterized in the following way:

Probably the most important theme is "exclusive and elaborated dominance" where a solo performer, accompanied by an orchestra (frequently playing in heterophony), sings a precisely enunciated, long, and complex text. The length, wordiness, and precision of the text is combined with a complex, multiphrased melodic structure, extreme ornamentation, frequent use of rubato and a constricted vocal style, all of which effectively prevent participation by others. Such, apparently, has been the style long employed by plowmen in harvest songs, and by priests and bards for the praise of gods, great beauties, and princes. Within this stylistic framework, great virtuosos and aestheticians developed scales and musical systems, poetic forms and refinements of instrumental structure and technique. . . . The songs of Old High Culture are frequently grave and serious in tone, an effect produced by the combined use of intervals of a second or less, slow tempo, and embellishments, melismas, glissandos and glottal tremolo.

It is not my purpose here to examine the totality of Lomax's theories, which deal with the interrelationship of song style (in all its aspects) and social structure, using Murdock's system of organizing cultures. I would only like to indicate the extent to which Lomax's generalizations about world style areas are relevant for the region under discussion. Only a few of the traits Lomax finds for Old High Culture musical styles fit the northern Afghan situation, or indeed that of Afghanistan as a whole. In the North there are no soloists accompanied by an orchestra either frequently or infrequently playing in heterophony. Song texts tend to be short and uncomplicated rather than long and complex, and enunciated sloppily as often as clearly. Melodic structure (as we shall see below) tends to be fairly simple, all in all. Except in the case of the Turkmens, ornamentation is modest rather than "extreme," and outside of some Badaxšani and Turkmen examples,

rubato is rarely used. No great virtuosos or aestheticians are present, though the influence of those in the past in nearby regions (particularly in Persia) is not to be discounted. Slow tempos are rare rather than common.

The principal features of northern practice that jibe with Lomax's description are the almost total predominance of solo rather than group song and the constricted vocal style, which is extremely common. It should be noted in Lomax's favor that those two characteristics are basic to the correlations he finds between song style and social structure and not merely incidental or unimportant features of the musical system of the North. Thus Lomax's generalization, while hopelessly general for the vast geographic and cultural framework he sets up, nevertheless rings true for criteria important to his way of looking at music in culture.

So far I have only mentioned rather gross features of northern musical styles in relationship in those of neighboring areas: the presence of certain types of polyphony played on certain types of instruments, and the tendency toward solo rather than group vocal performance and toward constricted voice quality. The plain truth that must be restated is that ethnomusicology does not offer meaningful ways of categorizing the spread of elements other than such macrofeatures of styles. For example, we shall observe below that northern dance tunes often proceed from a slower to a faster tempo, and that they therefore have two easily definable components. Such a feature can be found in the music of Renaissance Europe, and among the Bashkirs in the Urals (Lebedinskii 1964); however, we have no methodology for making meaningful statements either about possible diffusion of such elements of music making (rather unlikely in the case just cited) or about relationships of such structural devices of social structure, aesthetic evaluation, economic organization, or any other possible pertinent cultural phenomena. Thus, connections between northern Afghan music and that of adjacent regions are still best defined in terms of material culture - i.e., musical instruments - though even in the case of artifacts the usual problems of origin, evolution, and diffusion cloud the hasic issues.

In the transcriptions to be presented, it should be noted that for instrumental pieces, only basic sections (A, B, etc.) are presented, and for songs, only one stanza of melody. These are sufficient because of the basically strophic nature of the music, again excepting only certain Turkmen and Badaxšani genres. In terms of notation, all dambura, žičak, and dutar parts sound an octave lower than written. Figure 3.1 gives the notational symbols used in the musical examples. Additional symbols for specific technical features (e.g., dambura accen-

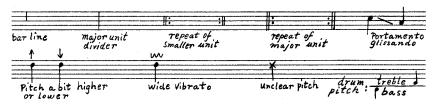


Fig. 3.1. Symbols used in the musical examples

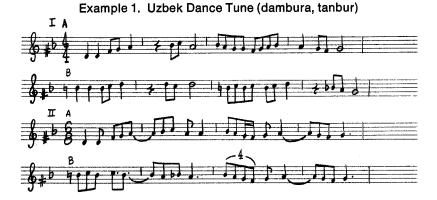
tuation) are given in the examples themselves. Throughout, transcriptions are "skeletal" so as to focus easily on the basic structural principles discussed. In the text, a single prime indicates the octave ascending from middle c, and double and triple primes indicate the succeeding octaves.

#### THE SHARED MUSIC CULTURE

#### Teahouse Music

In examining the Uzbek-Tajik urban style discussed at length in Chapter 1, we shall look at three instrumental and two vocal selections. The purpose of Examples 1 and 2 is to introduce the reader to the basic components of Turkestani musical style. Example 4, representing a mixture of Turkestani and outside musics, leads to the discussion of two songs (Examples 5 and 6) that exemplify interethnic characteristics.

Example 1 (recorded on Anthology AST 4001) is typical of many Uzbek dance tunes of simple structure. It was performed strophically and in unison by Bangeča Tašqurǧani (dambura) and Abdul Mazari (tanbur) in Mazar-i Šarif. The piece is divided into two sections by the rhythm, but there is no melodic difference between parts I and II. The only change is a shift from a duple (here 4/4) to triple (6/8)



division of the beat. This basic rhythmic variation is probably related to the needs of the dance, which, as we shall see, are responsible for many of the facets of musical structure in instrumental works. Here, the triple-meter section serves merely as an accelerando for the dancer, who speeds up his motions accordingly.

Let us examine the musical material of Example 1 in detail. First, the ending of both sections A and B on the same note, g', provides strong tonal orientation. Next, it can be noted that sections A and B occupy two almost mutually exclusive melodic ranges: A covers the interval of a fifth from d' to a', except for minor deviations, while B takes a higher-pitched fifth, g'-d", for its tessitura. Aside from this difference, the two sections are remarkably similar: each occupies four measures of 4/4 time, which can be subdivided into two two-measure phrases. In addition, both sections present the upper notes of their basic interval span (a' and d'' respectively) in half-note value at the end of measure 2, and reach g', the strongest pitch, again given as a half-note, at the end of measure 4. The rhythmic figuration of each measure of both sections is remarkably close as well. Note, for example, the matching rests in the second measures of A and B in section I and the matching ties in measures 1-2 and 3-4 of section II.

Example 1 gives an unusually lucid illustration of binary structure on the simplest level of dambura music. Particularly interesting is the one feature that differentiates the two sections, besides the factor of range already cited: the tonal switch from the bb' of A to the bb' of B, which turns back to bb' at the close of B as bb' as bb' at the home base, nears. As we shall see, both range and varied shading of a single pitch are key factors throughout Turkestani instrumental music and provide basic materials for distinguishing sections of a piece.

Before leaving Example 1, let us further examine the tonal structure. Several striking features come to view. One is the lack of the pitch e' in the piece and the very weak presence of its neighbor, f', which gives the impression of a rather empty fourth (d'-g') in the bottom region of the scale. This feature is typical of much Turkestani music, and it points to a general emphasis on fourths and fifths as basic structural intervals that provide the skeletal outline of the music. To a certain extent, the constant tuning of the dambura's two strings to the interval of a fourth can be introduced as an explanation for this scalar phenomenon. In this feature of melodic structure, we can perhaps find a link between the music of the dambura and that of other Central Asian lutes. In particular, one is reminded of the great prevalence of empty fourths between the lower and upper open-string pitches in the literature of the Kirghiz komuz.

This gap of a fourth, attended by a lack of stress on the lower open-string pitch d', confers upon g' the role of tonic (of this, more below). Thus, we can look at scalar structure from two points of view: in terms of total range we find the breakdown into overlapping fifths (d'-a') and g'-d'' cited above as characteristic of binary structure, while we can also look at the intervallic relationships holding between g', the tonic, and the pitches above it as constituting the other principal tonal dimension of the piece. From the latter point of view, we find that section A gives us the alternation of a' and g' as strong pitches, while section B outlines a chain of conjunct thirds (b'-d'') and b [alias bb']-g') as the tonal skeleton. We shall see that both alternation between two strong pitches and emphasis on thirds as a basic melodic interval characterize Turkestani instrumental music.

Music of the dambura and ğičak always seems to move on two planes, because of the construction and favorite tuning of the instrument. In Example 1, as in many other pieces, the first plane, that of the lower string, is of minor importance. A tune may begin at the bottom (as does Example 1) and soon leave it for the upper range of the top string, where most of the melodic activity takes place. The continual return to g' at the end of each phrase and the stress on g' created by such melodic factors as the cadential formula a'-g'-f\pm'-g' clearly mark the upper open-string pitch as tonic, and this case is typical of a great many tunes. The presence of the lower open-string pitch, and use of the lower string in brief turns of phrase (as in the descent to f#' in measure 3), indicate that instrumentalists continually think of the parallel planes provided by the tessituras of the two strings of their lutes. When we term an upper-string pitch "tonic," then, we are recognizing the durational and melodic importance of that pitch, but we must not forget that the lower open-string tone carries a potent charge of stability as well.

Thus, in the two-voiced (here termed polyphonic) pieces to be discussed below, in which the lower open-string pitch takes on the role of drone, the simultaneous sounding of the upper and lower open-string notes as a chord is the most stable possible musical structure, and the drone tone continuously provides "home-base" support for the upper-string melodic activity. Nevertheless, we shall continue to reserve the term "tonic" for the focus of the higher tessitura, which is often the open upper-string pitch, located one fourth above the drone. Occasionally, when the lower-string pitch emerges as a melodic focus for some time, the term "lower tonic" may be used to describe its role.

By examining a simple two-part dance tune (Example 1), we have been able to outline all of the basic factors underlying the more complex

manifestations of Turkestani instrumental style. Only one more factor needs to be introduced to complete the picture. This is the relative weight given to each section in terms of overall duration (time) and number of repetitions (stress). In this small piece, which lasts only 137 seconds in the performance being examined, section A occurs 19 times, for a total of 81 seconds, while B appears 12 times in 56 seconds (counting both parts I and II). The resulting proportion, A:B = 3:2(roughly), in both number of statements and total duration, is common to many binary dambura pieces, and shows the clear prevalence of the A section. Baba Naim, a northern musician familiar with the styles of all regions of the North, once told me that all music is divided into raft ("going") and āmad ("coming"), and that the amad is the more stable and important of the two. Section A, which stresses the openstring pitches (d' and g'), can be viewed as the amad in this and other like tunes. We shall find the terms raft and amad useful in analyzing other types of pieces as well.

Example 2, a solo dambura tune, is a dance melody invariably termed "Uzbek" by performers and audience, yet extensively played by musicians of every ethnic group. Because it is one of the most widespread stock items of the shared musical repertoire, I have dubbed it "The Uzbek Rag." In order to get at the essence of variability and stability in musical style, twelve versions by ten different performers are presented. It should be pointed out that I have sharply delimited the discussion by providing the piece in cut-and-dried form, namely by presenting its division into three components as an a priori assumption and by giving only a single one of the manifold microvariations of the tune that unfolded in each live performance. The resulting comparative score, though obviously arbitrary, becomes a revealing indicator of musical style.

In analyzing the performances, we can take version 1 as the standard because of the age and status of the performer, Baba Qeran, universally recognized as the doyen of damburačis. Let us examine parts A and B, referring to the analysis of Example 1 arrived at earlier for two-part structures. We find that A, as in the A section of Example 1, covers the basic interval of a fifth (here e'-b'). The main difference between the A section of Example 1 and that of the Uzbek Rag is that the latter proceeds stepwise up the fifth, thus avoiding the empty interval that characterized the earlier example. We notice also the stress on the third beat of each measure, a favored place for playing an important pitch, which was typical of Example 1 as well. Here the lower open-string pitch fills in the fourth beat of the measure as a kind of drone note. That this filler is not necessary to the melody can be seen in version 3 of Example 2, where quarter-note rests take up

the weak beat and e', in its sole appearance, is relegated to the minor task of beginning a stepwise approach to the tonic b'. Another salient feature is the distance of a (minor) third between b' and d'', corroborating my earlier conclusion as to the importance of thirds in the melodic skeleton above the tonic.

Moving to the B section of the Uzbek Rag, we find that the

Example 2. "The Uzbek Rag" (dambura)

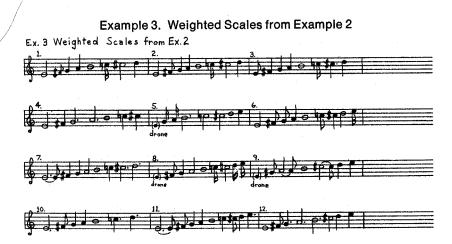


- 1. Bābā Qerān (Balx)
- 2. Bābā Qerān (Tašgurģan)
- 3. Hakim Mazari (Mazar-i Šarif)
- 4. Ğulam Nabi (Malmana)
- 5. Selim Diwāna (Samangan)
- 6. Abdul Nazar (Tašgurčan)
- 7. Abdur Rahman (Saripul)
- 8. Bangeča Tašqurğani (Kabul)
- 9. Bangeča Tašqurgani (Mazar-i Šarif)
- 10. Rahmatullah (Andxoi)
- 11. Naimullah (Sangčerak)
- 12. Šer Mohmad (Maimana)

feature of pitch alteration cited in Example 1 holds equally true for Example 2: after the  $c \not | ''$  of section A in most versions,  $c \not | ''$  is heard for the first time, making the new section distinctive. Another aspect of structure common to Examples 1 and 2 is the ending of both the A and B sections on the tonic (b' in Example 2).

What then is the function of the C section, a new component, since Example 1 was basically binary in structure? C merely provides an elaboration of principles already defined. First, it returns to the c\(\psi''\) of section A, rounding out the tonal material. Second, it swoops down to f\(\psi''\) and g', reintroducing the range below the tonic. Third, by setting up the interval g'-b' the third b'-d'' (introduced in section A) is given new importance as part of a chain of thirds, which is now seen to be possible both above and below the tonic. C stands as a completing section, creating the amad, or return, after the raft, or departure, of section B. It is only in such microelements of structure as the presence or absence of c\(\psi''\) or of the pitches above or below b' that one can differentiate basic structural elements of the Uzbek Rag; this is typical of much Turkestani instrumental music, which avoids large or dramatic breaks in the musical line and strives to keep the music on an even keel, most probably in response to the needs of the dance.

With this basic analysis, largely founded on version 1 of Example 2 to work with, let us turn to a comparative discussion of the twelve versions at hand. What is most striking is the amount of their similarity, despite the fact that they were recorded by so many different performers at different places and times. This similarity becomes apparent if we examine the weighted scales extracted from the twelve Uzbek Rag performances (Example 3). Looking at the scale pitch by pitch, we



arrive at a fairly definite role for each tone. E' is always of great importance (except, oddly enough, in version 1), showing the strength of the lower open-string pitch.  $F\sharp'$  and g' are weak in all the variants, thus vindicating the principle of the empty lower fourth temporarily discarded above.

A' is our first ambiguous pitch, being strong in five versions (4, 7, 8, 10, 12) and weak in the other seven. The reason for this vague status of a' can be found at the very roots of tonal thinking. A' as the upper open-string pitch, and as the note lying a fourth above the fundamental of the instrument, is bound to carry a certain weight; we noted in connection with Example 1 that the upper open-string pitch is often the tonic of dambura pieces. In addition, a' lies next to b', the tonic of Example 2. Pitting a' against b' as a rival center of tonal significance provides a certain degree of dynamism in the music by creating an inherent instability that must eventually be resolved. This is the tactic employed by Bangeča, for example (version 9), who closes both the A and B sections of the tune with a' (albeit on the weak beat), resolving the ambiguity only in C, where b' alone is heard at the end, set off by a rest. Here is confirmation of the principle of alternation of pitches as an important tonal concept, as stated in the analysis of Example 1. We can even go so far as to say that such alternation provides a keystone of musical structure in the North.

Turning now to the pitch b' in our survey of tones, we find almost unanimous agreement as to the importance of b' for the Uzbek Rag. The only exceptions are versions 5 and 12. In the complete performance of version 5, the player uses C as a brief passing phrase leading to the return of an oft-repeated A section, strengthening the suspense of the return to tonic. The deviation from b' at the close of version 12, found also in version 4, may well be a regional variant of the tune, since both performances are from Maimana. Also noteworthy is the reversion to the common practice of making the open upper-string pitch (here a') a key tone of the melody, which is atypical in the case of the Uzbek Rag.

Moving on to ch", it appears that this pitch is always weakly expressed. Its main role is restricted to being the alter ego of ch", and thus it need not be strongly emphasized. On ch" falls the burden of innovation, and it is necessary to have heard ch" only briefly to be aware that a new contrasting pitch has been introduced. Indeed, when we look at ch" we find that it is a strong pitch in nearly all twelve variants. An interesting modification of this outline occurs in version 11, in which the performer, Naimullah of Sangčerak, chooses to move up to e" as an important pitch, creating a chain of thirds, a' #"-e",

which is an effective counterweight to the tonal material of sections A and C.

D" and e", the final elements in the scalar resources, are both weak pitches. When d" does appear more frequently, as in version 6, it is as an alternating tone to c\pm\$", which only serves to highlight c\pm\$" the more. We have already noted the creative use of e" by Naimullah (version 11), an outstanding exception to the general weakness of the pitch. Indeed, half of the variants do not even include e" at all. The fact that only 50 percent of the versions reach a full octave range is significant, in that it indicates a basically narrow compass of instrumental music in the North. A span of a sixth or seventh is frequently found, and tunes are heard as exceptional if they range as widely as a tenth or twelfth.

Thus far we have concentrated on the features that make performances of the Uzbek Rag fairly similar. Let us now turn to the disparities, which occur in the parameters of tempo, overall distribution of time among the sections, and total duration. Tempo is indeed variable, ranging from MM 106 to MM 240 for the quarter-note value. This seems to be a function of individual taste, as both Baba Qeran and Bangeča, the most experienced damburačis, stick to exactly the same beat for both of their performances (MM 186 and 216 respectively) recorded months apart; this is strong testimony for the stability of individual style.

Variation in overall duration is more problematic than differences in tempo, since public musical performance depends to a great extent on outside stimuli. Yet the wide variability expressed in Example 2 is certainly indicative of artistic freedom in determining duration. Performances of the Uzbek Rag range from a mere 51 seconds (version 3) to 7 minutes, 6 seconds (version 4), creating a proportion of 8:1 for longest to shortest. However, two-thirds of the versions fall between 1 and 2 minutes, which can perhaps be taken as the average length of performance.

In examining the proportions holding between sections of the tune, there are three possible patterns of duration for a complete performance of the Uzbek Rag, all of which occur in Example 2. In the first, section A receives the most weight, B somewhat less, and C the least. This pattern occurs only once (version 1). The second possibility is for C to be the most important section in terms of time, and this also occurs only once (version 8). The third structuring, under which B is the principal section, occurs in the other ten versions and is thus the standard approach. The proportions run from A:B:C = 6.5:14:1, the highest predominance of B over the other sections, to A:B:C = 2.5:3:1, the lowest. It is interesting that there is so much agreement among

performers on the need to stress section B. There is probably a simple answer to this finding: A and C are both amad (return), or tonic-based sections, and together they form an equal counterweight to B, which must by itself provide all of the tonal interest of the Uzbek Rag.

One more factor of variability must be taken into account. This is the presence or absence of an e' (open lower string) drone among the variants. This element may appear unimportant at first glance, but it provides the first glimpse of a factor that will prove to be of considerable interest in later discussion. It should be noted that Baba Qeran's versions differ: the first features only one-string play, while the second introduces the drone style, indicating that both approaches are equally "legitimate" for the piece. The large majority of performances in Example 2 (eight of twelve) are monophonic, and informants expressed the view that this was the authentic mode of presentation. What is notable about the application of the drone pitch in Example 2 is that it is often an all-or-nothing technique — that is, either with the drone used throughout or with no drone at all - and the drone is rarely added as an artistic device for variety of tone color. We shall see later, in the case of Aq Pišak, that within the Uzbek tradition polyphony (as expressed by a drone) can indeed become an important structural factor.

For the next example of teahouse music we turn to a genre of greater scope than Examples 1 and 2. This is a multisectional piece that consists of units such as Example 1 or Example 2 strung together in a kind of suite. I have termed this form a quodlibet, a term adopted from Western music history; Apel partially defines it in the Harvard Dictionary of Music (1961:621-2) as "a . . . type of music characterized by the quotation of well-known melodies. . . ," and he speaks particularly of "the successive quodlibet . . . in which various melodies are quoted in succession, much in the manner of a potpourri." It is to this latter type of quodlibet that certain Turkestani instrumental pieces belong. They consist of a series of popular songs, or nagmas, strung together without a break, played by a solo dambura or a combination of dambura and ğičak. These quodlibets have no special name and, indeed, it is often hard even to identify the component parts of the piece. When the content can be established, it turns out to be composed of the most variegated possible sources open to a Turkestani musician. Local nagmas, local songs, songs from other regions of the North, Kabuli songs, and Indian film music may all be drawn in to provide source material for a quodlibet, the instrumental piece par excellence of the shared music culture.

The performer of Example 4 (recorded on Anthology AST 4007) is Baba Qeran of Tašqurğan. The piece is in three parts, with each

section deriving from a different repertoire. Section I will not surprise the reader, since it is the Uzbek Rag and served as version 2 in the comparative score; in Example 4 are seen a few variant phrases not included in the abbreviated score of Example 2. Section II is taken from quite a different source: the music of Radio Afghanistan. Here we can see how Baba Qeran dresses up a simple song with a bit of instrumental elaboration. The first part of the actual song can be found



here in the A section in only slightly altered fashion. The second part of the radio song is a four-measure standard "reply" phrase, completely bypassed in section B of this instrumental version, which is a pure Qeranian invention. Part II of the quodlibet moves to part III without a break, indicating the alternative solution to the one used between parts I and II, where a subtle modulatory passage was inserted to connect the pieces.

Section III turns to teahouse songs for source material. The tune is "Alpaqadar tular," which we shall examine below in its vocal version (Example 5). It is a particular favorite of Uzbek singers and features some attractive scalar features, notably the alternation of the ch" and ct" of its part A, which changes to a steady ct" at the beginning of section B and reverts to ch" as a transition to part  $a_1$ . The division of part A into two unequal sections is also interesting and points up the vocal origin of the tune: in the song, part B is the refrain, with the division of A made to accommodate an entire quatrain of text before the refrain.

Example 4 combines traditional Turkestani instrumental music, the new style of Radio Afghanistan, and a typical teahouse song as source material, all blended with ease by Baba Qeran. This art of composing the potpourri is a basic prerequisite to becoming an accomplished professional musician, and it sharply differentiates him from the majority of bumbling amateurs, who at best can play through one simple nağma at a time. We return here to one of the basic criteria of excellence mentioned earlier: breadth of memory, which is often associated with Baba Qeran's name.

Turning to vocal styles, let us first look at "Alpaqadar tular" in its sung version (Example 5). Immediately it is clear that folk songs of the North show little of Lomax's "extreme ornamentation" and "frequent use of vibrato." Instead, they present a crisp, syllabic text setting with only the last syllable of the lines briefly extended (of which more below). The song is divided into two basic sections that may be called verse and refrain, since the text of the final two lines of the latter remains unchanged in each stanza. Like the sections of Examples 1 and 2, the verse and refrain of Example 5 are set off by an obvious pitch distinction, in this case between the d\(\psi\) and d\(\psi\); the return to d\(\psi\) at the end of the refrain is quite similar to the confirmation of original pitch in section C of Example 2. The overall range (a major sixth) is narrower than the octave of Examples 1 and 2, and is typical of numerous Turkestani songs, contrasting with the even narrower range of many Badaxšani songs on the one hand and the wider compass of Turkmen melodies on the other.

Text is distributed across the melody in a fairly intricate pattern.

In the verse section, the first two lines of text each take up four beats; then a two-beat infix ("bulbul jan") is added before and after the recurrence of the second line. In the refrain, however, a full quatrain (čarbaiti) is stated (with a rest after each line to mark it off) before a closing couplet, and "bulbul jan" again appears before and after the last line. This structure gives the singer considerable latitude in building quatrains, which are partially or completely improvised.

Of particular interest is the nature of the song text in this version of "Alpagadar tular." Here we find a mixture of Uzbek and Persian, reflecting the dual ethnic origin and diffusion of the style. In the section covered by the transcription, the entire verse is in Persian, whereas the refrain is evenly divided between Persian and Uzbek. Here are the first verse and some later quatrains of the performance (Persian lines and words are italicized):

1. (Verse) Sištim sare namāzi čand gap zadim žalati (bulbul jan). just chatting. (Refrain) Alpaqadar tular sairidi bulbular awar barmu mendik mesāle kauki zar tu asti čučai pari (bulbul jan) dilaike man meibari (bulbul jan).

We sat in the afternoon

Multicolored clothes the singing of the nightingales is there another so lost as I like a golden partridge you are a fairy's child you take my heart away.





2.
Cand čekepow xāna xāna keldi yuroka xāna uše zamin bi hāsel bir mailar tanhā banā.

3. Ulder gani kelding mu kuider gani kelding mu učkan čerāğ laremni yander ğani kelding mu.

Some dice with holes [my love] has made holes in my heart on fallow ground don't pay taxes.

Did you come to kill me or to see me the lamp which was put out you came to light it.

In these verses considerable fluctuation of Persian content can be seen, ranging from very high to very low. What is important to note is that the quatrains are structured so that both languages fit the verse lines comfortably. It seems from the evidence that the basic pattern is an Uzbek one, for the following reasons: (1) a seven-syllable line (particularly with lengthening of the final syllable) is highly characteristic of Turkic folk poetry from the Crimean Tatars (Samoilovich 1914) to Azerbaijan (Mamedbekov 1954:4), to the Kirghiz (Vinogradov 1958), and up to the Čuvaš of the Volga region (Maksimov 1964); (2) neighboring Tajik folk quatrains performed in similar situations in Badaxšan display a wide variety of syllable distributions, with no fixed number per line (see Slobin 1970 for a discussion).

Of particular interest is the structure of the quatrains, which break into two two-liners, often with apparently unrelated meanings. This again is a widespread Turkic phenomenon. D. Mamedbekov (1965:4) has noted for Azerbaijani folk verse that the first two lines of a quatrain are arbitrary in content but set up the rhythm and meter, whereas the second two lines convey the basic meaning and unify the entire stanza. Similar views are expressed by northern Afghan Uzbek informants, who state that the opening two-liner is often there to set the stage for a loosely connected yet definitive second half of the quatrain. Without specific information regarding a certain verse, it is often difficult for an outsider to sense the inner link, though at times the connection is clear enough — as in quatrain 3 above, where the overall meaning seems continuous. In quatrain 2, the first half and second half are linked by a common topic (unrequited love); in this case, the explicit vs. implicit approach of the two-liners allows the singer to cast differing lights on a single topic in the course of a quatrain.

Of course, expediency often dictates the content of quatrains. This became very clear when I asked Bangeča Tašqurǧani to extemporize quatrains for me. In doing so, he used stock lines and common Persian word endings at a quick rate to produce standard quatrains such as the following:

Āmadim ruye maidān guš konad xurd o kalān misterā beguyam Āmadam be Tašqurǧān Az tu porsān meikonam čand waxt asti Tašqurğan bexeir kodom sui miri asli mikonam porsān. Āmadam ruye maidān ina dambura Samangān in zulfirā mibini in aslan az Badaxšān. Unā xarbuza piše rui če xub kardi, nuše jān in še'ra az jur karda Bangeča az Tašqurǧān.

We came to the square
Let big and little listen
I tell the Mister
I came to Tašquršan.
I ask you
How long will you be in Tašquršan
Which way are you heading
I ask you.
I came to the square
Here's a dambura from Samangan
See this chain lock?
It's really from Badaxšan.
There's a melon in front
well done, bon appetit!
this poem was put together

by Bangeča from Tašqurğan.

These completely impromptu quatrains are clearly roughhewn. Gramatically, they are elliptic at times (e.g., dambura Samangan instead of dambura-i Samangan) and stay at the most colloquial level of local speech instead of breaking into the semipoetic style that characterizes more deliberately composed folk verses. In quatrain 1 Bangeča establishes the standard a a b a rhyme scheme of a carbaiti, and he manages to keep to it in quatrain 3. In the other two quatrains he uses an a b c b rhyme, which is less typical but nonetheless maintains the rhyming of second and fourth lines that is basic in čarbaitis. Note that all the rhymes depend on the -an ending of Persian, a common last syllable of many words and place names (Tašquržān, Samangān, Badaxšān); this is quite typical of even the most polished of Persian čarbaitis. All the lines of Bangeča's extemporaneous poetry are seven or eight syllables long, again a stereotype pattern for the style. The hurriedness of construction is responsible for the obvious repetitions of words ( $\bar{A}$  madam in verse 1, porsān in verse 2).

Most interesting is the content. All the verses revolve around my arrival in Tašqurǧan on a brief visit (in 1971). Both Bangeča himself and I (the "Mister" of verse 1) are mentioned, and details from the immediate environment (the melon, the chain lock on the hotel room door) are brought in. References to place names of nearby regions (Samangan and Badaxšan) appear along with three citations of Tašqurǧan itself. This penchant for immediacy is a key feature of the čarbaiti and relates intimately to its function of providing general entertainment in the teahouse setting. As two singers alternate verses in the full ensemble situation, each picks up topics from the audience, singling out one man as a butt of humor or discussing the local situation, and a competition in satire may result. Here one can see most clearly the similarity to Central Asian singing contests (which may be a genetic

relationship in this case) and to such competitive and satirical musical commentary in various parts of the world. Music here conveys a social message, one that deserves deeper investigation in a given community, where local circumstances and song texts may shed light on one another; at present there are not enough data to undertake such an analysis.

## Women's Music

Wedding songs form the core of women's music, so it is appropriate to take perhaps the most widespread song of that genre. "Astā bero" ("Go slowly") as our example for female music making. The first version (Example 6) is in Kabul style, as sung by the women of a Paštun family of high status temporarily resident in Šiberǧan, where the man in the family was an official. Here the women are singing for their own amusement. The second version of "Asta bero" (Example 7) stems from quite a different source — two professional Uzbek singers of Andxoi, Zulaixā and Gulandām. These performers were mentioned in Chapter 1 as typifying low-status families engaged in music making for money. They may or may not be prostitutes, but they are at the least considered so.

Here is a translation of the excerpts from the two "Astā bero" variants:

- Example 6: I sit, sit, until you come from the road. Walk slowly, my moon, walk slowly.
- Example 7: My darling, your figure is like a flower. Walk slowly, my moon, walk slowly.

The lesson to be gained from examination of Examples 6 and 7 is that despite the extreme difference in ethnic and social background, the two sets of singers perform "Asta bero" in a remarkably similar manner. Most important, both versions are completely in Persian. The two refrains are textually identical and musically nearly so, and both occur after a short one-line verse. In both versions the verse line is made up of twelve syllables divided 5 + 7, with a melodic range of a fourth, and both feature markedly rhythmic drum accompaniments and the same tempo level. In addition, the verse line in each case follows roughly the same pattern, indicating the generic connection between the two versions. The differences, however, illustrate the sharp ethnic and regional distinctions that can separate performances of a single song. Among these, the most obvious is the text; there is no overlap in verse lines in the two versions of "Asta bero" under discussion. Also of particular interest is the sharp difference in word accentuation: the Kabul version is close to normal speech, as in the accenting of the last syllable of xiābān and in the iambic pattern of astā. On the other hand, the Andxoi "Astā bero" often strongly contradicts speech rhythm, as in the protracting of the middle, normally unaccented, syllable of mimonad instead of the initial syllable. These differences may be due to the Andxoi singers' lack of native status as Persian speakers, in contrast to the Paštun family's Kabuli familiarity with the language. The somewhat more complex rhythmic relationship of drum pattern to melody in the Kabuli version is less easily explained; it probably relates to the component of individual variation inherent in every performance of a song, for the drum pattern is not definitively ethnic or regional in outline in either version.

It is interesting that "Astā bero" is the wedding song found most widespread, since unlike many wedding songs, which are sung only at a certain moment in the course of the long evening of ceremony-cumentertainment, "Astā bero" may be sung (at least in Kabul) at various points in the proceedings: by the family when the group assembles to decorate the bride's and groom's hands with henna, or when the bride leaves for the groom's home, or by a professional singer as part of the general entertainment. It is also significant that "Astā bero" has been taken up as a radio song by a leading male performer (Hamāhang), who may sing it in the course of more modern weddings held at restaurants or hotels as well as on the air at any random point in programming. There is even a recent version with a rather European-





sounding arrangement on the radio amateur hour. In this case a specifically feminine and ceremonial song has been transmuted into a generalized sentimental "asexual" component of the mass media, highlighting and continuing the process of interethnic sharing that first brought the song to prominence. The concept of marketing a sentimental song to a primarily female audience is beginning to spread over the radio, a notable example being Rahimbaxs's song about mothers, which is on the order of European or American flowery tributes to Mom. In one family a woman lonely for her mother (who lived in a distant town) chose to sing me this mother-song. Here again the radio has responded to a cultural pattern of expressing feminine emotions in music.

## Religious Music

Rounding out our survey of shared musics, let us briefly examine a bit of religious street-singing, or mada. The example comes from Sibergan and was performed by a door-to-door sadhu, or holy man, on the occasion of the tenth and last day of Muharam, the commemoration of the slaying of Husein (Ali's son and Muhammad's grandson) at Kerbala in Iraq. Muharam is a major religious occasion in Shi'ite Iran, where ta'zia passion play is performed and groups throng the streets for mass self-flagellation. In Kabul, Shi'a Afghans congregate in their gathering house (tekexāna) for extensive services. In the heavily Sunni North, however, I did not observe any special public marking of Muharam. Nevertheless, the itinerant sadhu found it an occasion to make the rounds of the courtyards of affluent families to chant and collect alms. Unfortunately, I was not able to ascertain whether he himself was Sunni or Shi'a, but the significant point is that he did not care to which sect the households he visited belonged, and his attitude underscores the cross-sectarian and interethnic nature of mada singing. The chant itself (Example 8) is marked by extreme narrowness of

The chant itself (Example 8) is marked by extreme narrowness of range (basically a minor third with a rare excursion another whole step up), considerable instability of pitch, and a high degree of melisma. None of these qualities is common by itself, and they are certainly not found in combination in any of the local musics of Sibergan. The musical style seems more related to Qur'anic chanting and other types of religious vocal expression than to any one secular music of the North. Important, however, is the fact that mada singing is almost always entirely in Persian, rather than in the Arabic of the Qur'anic cantillation or call to prayer (azan). Once again Persian is selected as the lingua franca of the multiethnic North, insuring maximum intelligibility to a mixed audience.



The text of Example 8 is as follows:

O Imam, O Husein, today is the day of battle. The soul is exalted today. Husein the oppressed is alone at Kerbala today.

# THE MUSIC SUBCULTURES

## The Pastuns

To illustrate Paštun music of the North, let us return to an example, cited in Chapter 2, by Baba Naim, a Paštun of Faizabad. Though he has lived in various parts of Afghanistan, and has been so far from Paštun roots as to find it hard to remember songs of his childhood, the Paštun poet Saduddin Shpoon and I were able to coax the old performer into singing landai poems, accompanying himself on the ğičak, the northern fiddle. I have chosen a Badaxšani Paštun for two reasons: (1) the musical style of less isolated Paštuns is probably less distinctive from the Paštuns' own point of view, and (2) Paštuns in the steppe country have probably tended to adopt the local non-Paštun style to a greater extent. Both of these assumptions are rather speculative at this point.

One of Baba Naim's performances is given in Example 9. Here is the text, with an unpolished translation by Shpoon:

## Landai text:

Māde asmān spina spuğmaike

čede janā paqi dar tul nalarena

Make me the white moon of the sky So that I always stand at my love's ford

## Framing line:

Sabādei šemāle gigi wine pāne

It's morning and the breeze is blowing

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Shpoon found Baba Naim's presentation of the poem, a string of landais known to Paštuns all over Afghanistan. unorthodox. To what extent this represents an original amalgam of musical styles by Baba Naim, a strongly individualistic performer, and to what extent it is typically Badaxšani Paštun I cannot say; the musical evidence points in both directions. The treatment of the text, whereby one line of the landai is stated, and followed by a framing, non-landai line, recalls a structure we have noted for certain northern songs, in which a refrain breaks up basic units of the text stanza. In Baba Naim's landais this feature becomes quite marked. In later verses (not given in the transcription) the second line of the couplet may appear in place of the second half of the framing line in the refrain. This may be a personal touch on Baba Naim's part; at any rate Shpoon did not find it in accordance with general Pastun practice. In landais I have heard sung, there is generally a straightforward statement of both lines of the verse, after which the singer moves on to another landai. Occasionally the framing-line technique appears in radio versions of landai songs, but not to the extent that Baba Naim applies it.

The melody in Example 9 is particularly non-Badaxšani. The slow descending curve of the first two song phrases (A and B), followed by a final stabilizing section, simply does not occur in any Badaxšani music with which I am familiar. Neither does it seem



typically non-Badaxšani Paštun. The use of the žičak, on the other hand, is in itself northern (particularly Badaxšani), though the music allotted to the fiddle, which consists of two variants of the melody of the vocal section, is, like the entire song, ambiguous. The free-rhythm introduction is not unusual for a Badaxšani song with žičak; the use of a vamp (the repeated fourths) at the opening and again before the voice begins is typical. However, the accompaniment (not notated) during the song, which is restricted to straight melodic duplication of main pitches, is not very common in Badaxšani pieces I have heard; it is a feature I associate more strongly with Turkestan (a region in which Baba Naim has also lived for about ten years).

All in all, Baba Naim's landai songs perhaps represent an interethnic and also individualized musical style strongly Paštun in association, since the text is considered the focal point of landai songs. Considerably more research among northern Paštuns is needed to determine whether such an eclectic style can be found among other gifted Paštun musicians of the North.

## The Uzbeks

We shall look at two examples of the Afghan Uzbek "exclusive" repertoire, or at least musical styles that are clearly identified by everyone as purely Uzbek in origin. The first of these is an instrumental piece, a dance tune for solo dambura (Example 10), while the second is an excerpt from a secular tale (Example 11).

Example 10 cames from the repertoire of Aq Pišak of Aqča, one of the finest damburačis of Afghanistan and a leading exponent of traditional instrument music. A large part of Aq Pišak's repertoire consists of "Aqčais," pieces named for his home town. Over a long period of time I gathered ten such tunes. All of them feature almost identical melodic material. We shall dissect one performance and present the overall findings of seven of the ten versions comparatively in Table 3.1 below. In this way we can approach individual variability and continuity of tradition in a way complementary to the collective scrutiny of twelve performers offered in Example 2.

To fully understand the working of the Aqcais, we must introduce a brief discussion of the Uzbek dance. Unfortunately for the outside observer, dance (as noted in Chapter 1) is considered a shameful act, to be performed only under private circumstances. Not only do the tenets of the strongly religious Northerners militate against public dance, but the government has issued administrative decrees against as it as well. Whereas Pastun dancing boys are allowed to travel freely across the countryside, making stops in towns for general entertainment, Uzbek

dancing has in the past been severely censured and was at times even considered a punishable offense.

Nevertheless, I was able to witness some dance performances by special arrangement. Through these brief glimpses and by means of discussion with musicians, I have pieced together the salient features of Uzbek dance, especially as they relate to instrumental performance. The main factor to be remembered is that the music determines the steps of the dancer, rather than the routine of the dance deciding what the instrumentalist must play. The whim of the damburači is the soul of the dance. If he plays in a leisurely manner, the dance proceeds slowly, and when he speeds up, the pace quickens. Beyond this basic control, the damburači has additional means of guidance at hand. For example, certain strokes tell the dancer to kneel and perform gestures in a semisitting position, and a counterstroke compels him to rise again. The basic repertoire of dance activity consists of innumerable well-defined gestures of the hands and arms, combined with quite restricted foot and leg motion. The gestures are usually presented two or three times over the length of two or three musical phrases, and are then changed. Thus succession of novel motions is formed, and it is easy for the dancer to vary his routine according to the music: he has only to introduce more and more items of his basic stock of gestures for as long as the damburači feels like playing (gestures can, of course, be repeated as well).

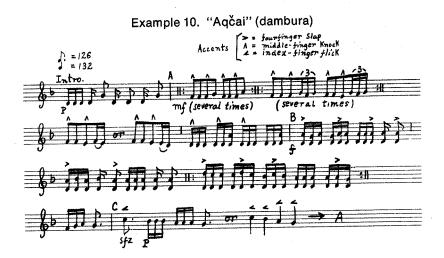
It is thus the interest in creating a lively and interesting dance that motivates the damburači in performing his instrumental tunes. Even where there is no dancer present (as was usually the case at recording sessions), it seems that the artist keeps a dance routine in mind while varying his phrases. In the case of a fine performer like Aq Pišak, this means that, for example, seven performances of a basic Aqčai will come out markedly different as he stretches or curtails sections to fit his fancy.

Let us now turn to Aq Pišak's Aqčai (Example 10, and nağma 2 in Table 3.1 below). Only the basic sections are given, in their simplest forms, for purposes of analysis. Preceding section A is a brief introduction, which is worthy of mention because of its extreme simplicity: it merely outlines the basic fourth (d'-g') of the open strings, which is the tonic sound of the entire piece. Section A initially presents the pitch f', thus stressing the third between d' and f', and adds, in turn, g' and a' as additional pitches; with the introduction of a', a new third (f'-a') is established. The subsequent measures of section A represent a stepwise descent to the lower tonic, d', returning the nağma to its opening state. A is thus a self-enclosed segment, in which a modest degree of

departure and return is suggested through the stress on f' (and its upper auxiliary a'). Of particular interest is the type of stroke in section A. This is a careful strum using only the index finger for plucking the string, while the middle finger regularly taps on the resonant lid of the dambura to produce a distinctive accentuation pattern and timbre. Also important is the fact that section A is played without any lower-string drone.

B provides as much contrast as possible in the world of the dambura. First to strike the ear are the changes in texture and accentuation: the lower-string pitch now becomes a drone, and a new type of stress is introduced. This is the full-bodied accent (marked >), which is the simultaneous striking of three or four fingers on the lid in a kind of scraping follow-through of the whole-hand stroke. The dambura is thus being used at maximum volume to define the new section. Another integral part of B is the shift in register we have come by now to expect of new segments of the nağma. First to be heard is the pitch a', only briefly referred to before, but now stressed for two full measures. Next, the entire span of a'-d'' is suddenly introduced in a descending sequence that finally brings us down to g', the upper tonic. The rhythmic figuration of B is also novel: triplet sixteenths take the place of even eighths as the basic time unit.

Aq Pišak now needs a way to get back to section A. Thinking back to the dance situation, we note that he has shifted from a steady-paced, quiet section to one that is more agitated and louder; translated into dance steps, this implies slower to faster motion. The damburači must now supply a bridge to bring the dancer back to the original pace of the nağma, or risk an uncoordinated shift of steps.



Section C provides the needed transition. It introduces no new pitches, but achieves tonal distinctiveness by stressing the range of a fourth between c" and g', a hitherto neglected tessitura. In addition, the feature of accent again appears as a major structural determinant, as Aq Pišak comes up with yet another stroke — the third basic available coloring. The stroke, called kār-i naxun, consists of a flick with the index finger against the uppermost part of the dambura lid, near the neck. A hard, dry, dead sound results, which is almost pitchless and highly distinctive. It may, of course, be possible analytically to link section C with B and explain it as a bridge phrase, usually quite brief, with no independent status. However, on a theoretical basis, the pitch content and accent type of section C seem to qualify it for special labeling. In addition, we shall see in Table 3.1 that section C can live a life of its own in some of the versions of the Aqčai nagma.

Table 3.1 gives the findings of a comparison of seven Aqčai nagmas by Aq Pišak. It may be added that these "seven pieces" (in effect only one nagma played seven ways) constitute perhaps up to one-third of Aq Pišak's total repertoire of purely instrumental compositions, according to his tally.

To supplement the table, it should be noted that the length of versions ranges from 4 minutes, 1 second to 8 minutes, 10 seconds, making the longest Aqčai roughly twice as extensive as the shortest variant. Tempo remains fairly constant, with MM 116 to the quarternote about average.

Table 3.1 provides both a norm for performance and grounds for evidence of significant variability. The norm can be seen in versions 1-4, with some deviation in version 2: the number of statements is quite close for all three sections, and the average time per statement runs in the order A,B,C, — from longest to shortest. Finally, the percentage of section A in the total time is remarkably constant in the first four Aqčais (58 percent for the first three, 60 percent for the fourth), as is the proportion holding between sections B and C. Thus a considerable degree of uniformity is present.

Turning to versions 5-7, however, we find that a marked degree of variability can also occur. This falls into two main categories: one, represented by versions 5 and 7, exhibits an increased emphasis on section A, which now takes up roughly three-quarters of the total time and lasts up to 42 seconds per statement. C remains constant at its lowest level, at 6 percent of the total time and about 3 seconds per statement. The other area of variation is reflected in version 6, in which "the worm turns," as C comes quite close to the figures for A, leaving B a poor third. Translated into musical terms, these figures

TABLE 3.1 Comparison of Seven "Aqčai" Nağmas by Aq Pišak

Nagma	Section	Number of Statements	Average Time per Statement (In Secs.)	Percentage of Total Time	Order of Sections
1	A B C	8 8 8	17 9 4	58 30 12	:ABC: (8x)
2	A B C	8 4 7	17 4 6	58 24 18	:ABCAC: ABCA (4x)
3	A B C	8 7 7	22 14 3	58 31 11	:ABC: A (7x)
4	A B C	8 8 7	26 12 5.5	60 27 13	:ABC: AB
5	A B C	7 6 6	27 19 2.5	72 22 6	:ABC: A (6x)
6	A B C	12 6 11	15 10 13	46 15 39	AC :ABCAC: (4x)
7	A B C	9 9 9	42 9 3	77 17 6	BCABC : ABC: A (7x)

indicate Aq Pišak's interest in making his bridge section, C, an interesting and highly elaborated part of the piece, rather than just a few perfunctory flicks of the finger to warn the dancer.

In another area of structural interest (shown in the column marked "Order of Sections"), the existence both of a standard method of performance and of significant variation is also manifested. Here the standard seems to be strong reliance on the straightforward sequential presentation of sections A, B, and C (in versions 1, 3, 4, 5, 7). Variability takes two main forms. One is in the choice of sections to precede or follow the repetitions of the ABC ordering: thus, whereas versions 3, 4, and 5 merely add on an extra A or AB at the end, version 7 begins the whole structure with the chain BCABC, and version 1 keeps to just the ABC alone. The other type of variability is the substitution of

a different basic unit, ABCAC, for the simpler ABC (versions 2, 6). Even this scheme is not uniformly carried out, for in version 2 Aq Pišak adds an ABCA grouping to the basic unit, while in version 6 he begins the unit with an AC statement.

Such a creative approach to structure is rare among damburačis; even among Aq Pišak's variants there is a standard approach. When a break with the usual is effected, however, as in the lengthening of the C section in version 6, it is always appreciated by the members of the audience, who nod their heads and utter laudatory interjections. One wonders whether it is merely the recent increase in outside musical influence that has so restricted the flexibility of the dambura repertoire, or whether it has always been the case that a very few musicians have been able to make the nağma a plastic, individualized means of expression.

Turning to the secular tale "Zibajan," we shall only comment briefly on the musical setting of the excerpt that was discussed fully from the textual point of view in Chapter 2. Example 11 shows a pattern of text distribution and melody that we have not seen heretofore. Four lines of text form the basic strophic unit, but unlike the Uzbek quatrain setting we examined earlier (Example 4), it has no refrain; the story moves ahead at a steady pace. In addition, the a a b b rhyme scheme of the tale, unlike that of the teahouse čarbaiti, seems to lend itself to two-line groupings in melodic terms. Thus, the four lines are organized 2 + 2 with a melodic AA' pattern in which the main difference between the two halves of the strophe consists of the ending. It is rather more like the Western concept of "question and answer" phrases than like the verse-refrain structure of the čarbaiti or the melodic-differentiation principle of binary instrumental tunes (Example 1). The very steady 2/4 drum beat combined with the very nearly syllabic text adds to the narrative quality of the setting. Taken as a



whole, this setting of "Zibajan" by Xodaiqul Sirintagowi seems musically distinctive within the Turkestani context and can perhaps be labeled "Uzbek" in conception.

### The Turkmens

For reasons of balance, the following presentation of Turkmen music is far from complete, though thorough discussion of Turkmen music (whether of Iranian, Afghan, or Soviet Turkmens) is practically nonexistent outside a single seminal book (Beliaev and Uspenskii 1928). The range of Turkmen vocal and instrumental music and its structural complexity render the task of condensed presentation difficult, but I shall attempt to summarize the key points in the exposition below. For a more comprehensive survey of instrumental music the reader is referred to Slobin 1969.

To focus on the considerable difference between Turkmen music and that of various other subcultures, it is useful to begin with the heart of the instrumental tradition; the repertoire of the dutar, the principal lute used by Turkmens and the single lute common only to Turkmens.

Turkmen music differs sharply from most of Uzbek-Tajik music of Turkestan, Katağan, and Badaxšan in three main areas: (1) the basic structural approaches (outlined below), (2) the existence of modes (defined below) as a foundation for tonal orientation instead of the focus on single tonic and alternating pitches found in Uzbek-Tajik music, and (3) the frequent appearance of wavering or free rhythms instead of a fixed musical-metrical pattern. Individual pieces will serve as examples of all three points.

Our first specimen is the nağma called "Nawai" (Example 12). Though it does not have a wavering or free rhythm, it furnishes fine examples of basic structural and modal characteristics, which are the main facets of Turkmen music to be discussed.

The basis of "Nawai," a typical dutar piece, is a series of returns to the tonic. Each section (marked A-D in Example 12) is distinguished by its point of departure, i.e., distance from the tonic; hence segments can be lined up by their endings, rather than by their beginnings, as would be the case with Uzbek-Tajik music. Figure 3.2 represents schematically the structural difference between hypothetical dutar and dambura pieces. In the "converging-line" structure of a dutar piece, the successive sections each start at a different point above the plane of the tonic, only to descend gradually, with the frequent use of melodic sequence, to the basic pitch level. In our hypothetical dambura piece, on the other hand, sections A and B follow parallel, rather than converging, lines, with each firmly entrenched in its own particular ambit.

Example 12. "Nawai"



Example 12. "Nawai" (continued)



Let us turn to the concrete example at hand, "Nawai." Example 13 reduces this nağma to a schematic score, which shows the key pitches of each section in terms of frequency of repetition. The score shows that while sections A and D represent a small ambitus, ranging as far as a fifth from the tonic (a'), parts B and D range much farther, reaching up to the octave (a") before sinking back down to home base. "Nawai" has a rather simple structural outline; we shall see below that its divi-

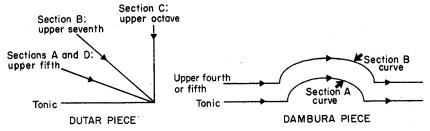


Fig. 3.2. Diagram of hypothetical dutar and dambura tunes

sion into merely four sections, in such a clear pattern as A = D, B = C, is somewhat atypical in its low degree of complexity.

We have defined the tonic as the pitch a'; yet the piece begins with a short introduction that has as its object the stressing of the pitch g', in the chord d'-g' (the open-string sound), and the work closes with a clear return to d'-g' as cadential sound. Does this not point to a clear affinity to dambura music, as described above, instead of to a distinctive modal system? The answer is yes and no. While it is true that the simultaneous sounding of the two open-string pitches forms the most "stable" or "tonic-like" tonal grouping of all dutar pieces, the data show that throughout the greater part of a piece the player may ignore this chord as tonal basis, preferring another pitch, which I call the provisional tonic.

In "Nawai" this provisional tonic is the note a', the second degree of the scale employed; in other pieces it may be the third, or another degree. Such reliance on pitches other than the lowest as the basis of tonal orientation is characteristic of many "modes" of the Near East, and it allows us to consider classifying the Turkmen way of tonal thinking as a modal approach. Axmad-baxši told me that each piece has a particular beginning, resting spot, and ending point. As it happens, seven of the thirteen pieces he played use the lowest pitches both as beginning and ending tonic and as provisional resting point. While this indicates the strength of the open-string notes, the presence of as many as six out of thirteen pieces that do not rely on the lowest melodic pitch confirms the existence of a modal way of tonal thinking. Among these

# Example 13. Outline of Example 12 ("Nawai")



six works, two rely on the second degree, three on the third degree, and one of the second plus the fifth degree as the provisional tonic.

If we look again at the division of "Nawai" into four sections, we find that Axmad-baxši has provided an extensive codetta for each section, which emphasizes dramatically the return to the tonic. It comes in the form of a series of triplet figures that stand out sharply against the primarily duple time maintained in the earlier segments of each major section. These codettas merely serve to stress the tonic pitch. Another feature setting off the parts of each section is the use of the lower-string drone. At the opening of major units, the open-string drone is maintained; then, as the descent to the tonic, or further elaboration of the upper tessitura, begins, the lower-string pitch shifts, at times attaining considerable mobility. This flexible approach to the lower string sets off the music of the Turkmens sharply from that of their Uzbek and Tajik neighbors. It also links the style of the Turkmen dutar to that of most other Central Asian lute types, including the Uzbek dutar, Kazakh dümbra, and Kirghiz komuz (but excepting the dambura). The Turkmen use of the lower string is largely a matter of establishing temporary drone pitches, rather than maintaining a chain of parallel intervals (fourths and fifths), though the latter technique is also open to the dutarist.

Looking at the overall melodic skeleton of "Nawai" given in Example 13, it becomes apparent that fourths and fifths provide the basic tonal outline, as is the case of all Central Asian lute music. Of particular interest tonally is the alteration between d" and e" in all four sections; this changing off of the fourth and fifth above the tonic is a feature previously noted in dambura music, and applies as well to other neighboring lute styles. The basic compass of an octave is also a familiar aspect of instrumental play.

Finally, the melodic arch formed by the overall design of "Nawai" should not be overlooked. As a basic contour of instrumental music, the arch typifies nine out of the thirteen pieces played by Axmad-baxši, and once again links Turkmen lute music to other regional styles, notably those of the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, and to the basic form of "classical" Uzbekistani music, in which the principle of a major rise at the middle of the piece is given a special name (auj). The arched contour of "Nawai" is emphasized by the great amount of time spent on sections B and C, in which the upper tessitura is presented: together, they occupy 2 minutes, 16 seconds of the total 3 minutes, 20 seconds of "Nawai." In this respect, "Nawai" is somewhat atypical of Turkmen dutar style.

"Nawai" has provided us with the basic outlines of the dutar tradition. Clearly, that tradition is based on a more complex musical germ than is the repertoire of the Turkestani dambura. Here, instead of the standard tonic-centered strophic forms of the Uzbek-Tajik style, we find a well-expressed modal approach, coupled with what could be called a twofold formal design. One facet of this structure calls for a series of near- and far-ranging departures from the tonic, with well-marked returns, while the other specifies an overall pattern which, in "Nawai," takes the shape of an arched contour.

Thanks to the cooperation of the Union of Composers of the Turkmen SSR, "Nawai" provides material for a comparison of the music of contemporary Soviet Turkmens with that of Axmad-baxši. Officials of the Union were kind enough to present some live music for me during a brief visit to Ashkhabad in December, 1968, and I prevailed upon the doyen of Turkmen dutarists, Chari Tashmahmedov, to play a version of "Nawai" for me.

It was gratifyingly to find that Tashmahmedov's performance of "Nawai" is remarkably similar to Axmad-baxši's. Both feature the same mode, based on the second degree of the scale, and the same skeletal outline of tonal orientation, although the Ashkhabad virtuoso rises to the climatic topmost pitches only once in the course of performance rather than twice, as in Example 12. This high concurrence of basic structural elements confirms the importance of overall contour and tonal orientation of sections as the defining traits of a given Turkmen piece, particularly since in every other detail (rhythmic figuration, length of sections, treatment of polyphony, etc.) the two versions of "Nawai" differ widely. Thus, despite these personal (or tribal?) differences of style, Turkmen music can be seen as basically similar on both sides of the Afghan-Soviet border today. This is not the case for music of the Uzbeks and Tajiks of Afghan Turkestan, whose styles find no obvious parallels in Transoxania. The situation of the Turkmens is closer to that of the Badaxšanis in respect to transborder similarities, as we shall see below.

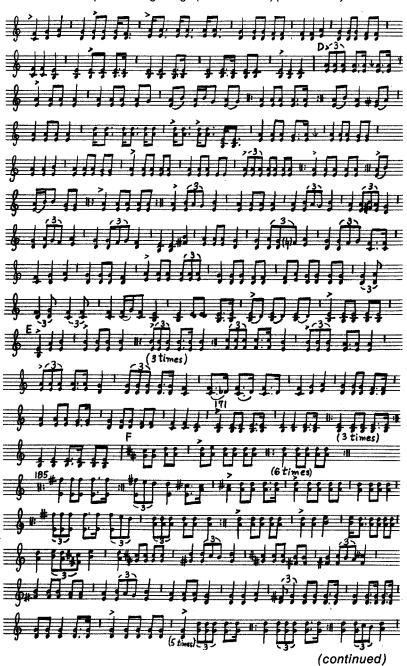
Before leaving "Nawai," it is worthwhile mentioning the tradition connected with the piece cited by Axmad-baxši. According to him, if "Nawai" is played a thousand times, a *peri* (fairy) will appear. It is necessary to play another piece, "Baiqara," to send the peri back to fairyland.

Let us turn to a second example of dutar style for comparison and contrast. This is the piece "Uğulbeg" (Example 14), a favorite tune of all Turkmens, derived from the song of the same name. A. Rejepov

Example 14. "Uğulbeg" (dutar version) a tempo 3

(continued)

Example 14. "Uğulbeg" (dutar version) (continued)



Example 14. "Uğulbeg" (dutar version) (continued)



(1966:5) notes that "every Turkmen knows the song 'Ogul-beg' to the words of Kemine, composed by the baxši Kior-Kojali." A song of the same name is included in Beliaev and Uspenskii's *Turkmenskaia muzyka* (1928). Axmad-baxši showed particular respect for "Uğulbeg."

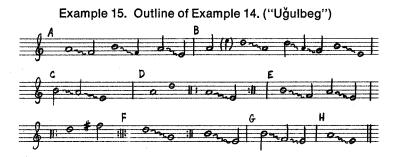
In contrast to "Nawai," "Ugulbeg" is firmly based on the lowest melodic pitch (e') as tonic. Also quite different from Example 13 is the structural scheme of "Uğulbeg," which is presented in Example 15. Here, instead of a clear-cut four-part design, we find an eight-part, somewhat more ambiguous patterning of musical elements. Unequivocal is the descent of each section to the tonic in the converging-line method noted above as typical of dutar style. Though "Uğulbeg" lasts con-

siderably longer than "Nawai" (4 minutes, 5 seconds vs. 3 minutes, 20 seconds), there is no dominant lengthy section, but rather a succession of episodes of varying lengths, ranging from 12 to 53 seconds in duration.

Looking more closely at the structure, it becomes apparent that certain similarities link specific sections. Parts A, C, E, G, and H are near-ranging, while B, D and F are far-ranging. The former segments are the shortest in length of the piece, while the latter are considerably longer on the average. Statistically, this is reflected in the fact that the three sections B, D, and F outweigh the remaining segments in total time (133 seconds vs. 102 seconds) and in average length (44 seconds vs. 20 seconds) by a considerable margin. Hence, though the stability of the lower, more tonic-affirming range is assured by more repetitions (five sections vs. three), the far-ranging, less tonic-centered sections carry greater overall weight in terms of duration.

Of the far-ranging sections, F is the most important, both in duration and in structural significance, since it reaches the highest pitch of the piece (f#") and takes the longest time getting back down to the tonic. If, then, we visualize the overall structure as being one of alternation of near- and far-ranging sections, we can also notice a certain tendency toward a slight arch in the rise of F to greatest heights and its stress of the upper register. Structurally, "Uğulbeg" is thus rather close to "Nawai" in general design.

In terms of scalar patterning, "Uğulbeg" furnishes material for several conclusions. These refer to the type of interval considered basic in dutar playing. Looking over Example 14, it can be seen that the tonic (e') can be approached two ways: from the upper fourth (a') and from the upped fifth (b'). Of these possibilities, the first is used five times and the second three times, clearly pointing up the importance of the interval between the lower and upper open-string pitches, noted earlier as a key factor in dambura music and as a unifying element



among various Central Asian lute styles. We have also noted that alternation between the upper fourth and fifth constitutes a standard tonal tendency.

A further look at Example 14 shows some other possible foci of tonal orientation. One of these is the fourth (a'-d") above that just cited (e'-a'), which presents a logical extension, in a higher range, of a tonal relationship set up at the level of the tonic. A second auxiliary interval is the topmost extension of the scale, in the form of the third d"-f#". This expression of the second degree of the scale (f) in a raised form in the upper octave is typical not only for Turkmen music, but for several Central Asian styles (Uzbek dutar music, some dambura pieces, etc.). It must be considered a particular tonal habit among the peoples concerned. D" is also the upper tone of a fifth g'-d" in the latter half of section F. Thus, a profile of key pitches describes, for the most part, a chain of thirds running e'-g'-b'-d"-f#", with the only notable exception being the important note a', whose role in the tonicupper-fourth axis was just discussed. Such a tendency to create a chain of thirds links the tradition of the Turkmen dutar once more to that of the Turkestani dambura and the Kirghiz komuz.

Turning from this structural and scalar analysis to other aspects of "Uğulbeg," we find that Axmad-baxši has once again employed a simple marked rhythm, here given as 3/4, with a regular accent on beat one of each measure. The performer's penchant for introducing triplet figurations is again noticeable, though here it serves to break up the steady quarter-note pulse instead of to define a codetta section, as in "Nawai."

An important trait of dutar style exhibited in "Nawai" and in "Uğulbeg" is the ample length of time spent in establishing key melodic pitches, a characteristic that makes it possible to construct skeletal outlines such as those of Examples 13 and 15. In "Uğulbeg" note, for example, the repetitive stressing of the important e'-a' chord at the outset of the piece (measures 8-17) before the tune turns toward greater mobility. The same is true of the appearance of nearly every main pitch of the piece, e.g., the nearly twelve measures spent in emphasizing d" as the main note of the first part of section B (measures 48-59) or the six important measures (171-176) devoted to hammering out the tonic before the onset of section F, the segment with the farthest departure from home base. Hanging the tune on such strong nails gives dutar music its unmistakable structure, against which the continual motion of the melody away from and back toward the tonic stands out in clear relief.

The pitch content of "Uğulbeg" describes a scale that is basically

Phrygian. Phrygian scales characterize nine out of the thirteen pieces played by Axmad-baxši, with the rest split between major-like and minor-like patterns. Considering e' as the tonic of Example 14, we have a fourth below and a tenth above; such a wide overall range characterizes most of Turkmen music, in sharp contrast to Uzbek-Tajik tradition, particularly that of Badaxšan. The f#', g#', and c#' found in "Uğulbeg" do not upset the Phrygian orientation of the scale, since they occur almost exlusively to create perfect fourths with other pitches, and do not have a major autonomous role in the melody. This changing of tones to fit vertical tonal needs points up the importance of polyphony in the lute styles of Central Asia. The c#" and f#" of section F, on the other hand, do not stem from requirements of polyphony. These pitches serve to mark off F as a section of special interest and could perhaps be interpreted as a scalar modulation; unfortunately, there are not enough examples of such shifts in the available repertoire to enable us to draw conclusions about this aspect of tonal thinking.

Looking more closely at the polyphony introduced in "Uğulbeg," several principles become apparent. Most obvious is the strong predilection for parallel fourths, which occur to a much higher degree than in "Nawai." Another principle, however, is also in use: the establishment of temporary drone pitches to create islands of stability in the flux of the melody. Thus, for example, the main melodic phrase of "Uğulbeg," as given in measures 14–27 for the first time, consists of a stepwise descent of drone pitches (e'-d'-c') over which the melodic figuration runs.

In addition to providing this smoothly flowing sequence of parallel fourths and shifting drone-tones, polyphony can also serve to produce sudden stress. A good example of this approach occurs at measure 185, where Axmad-baxši reaches out for the highest pitch of the piece (f#") and simultaneously lets the drone fall a whole fourth, cutting the musical ground away to emphasize the high point.

We can examine Turkmen song in the light of instrumental music by comparing vocal and instrumental versions of the same piece. Example 16 is the song we just looked at in dutar arrangement, "Uğulbeg." It should first be noted that the dutar takes up an average of 27 percent of the total time in an accompanied song (this figure is based on a sample of six key songs of Axmad-baxši); dutar activity consists of a prelude, a postlude, and numerous interludes, some of which can be seen in Example 16. These instrumental sections are considered by performers to be essential components of a song. Though instrumental interpositions occur in various repertoires of the North,

nowhere are they as systematic nor do they occupy as much time as in Turkmen music.

Vocal versions of a given piece tend to be much longer than purely instrumental renditions (20-40 percent longer) and to rely on a quite different structural principle from the intricate multisectional arrangement of dutar performances: all songs are strophic, and thus squarely in the mainstream of northern music. The distinguishing



marks of Turkmen songs are: (1) the great length of the strophe, which is much larger in scale than any stanzas of Uzbek or Tajik songs, and (2) the sharply defined profile of the strophe, which consists of a melodic, dynamic, and expressive fall from an initial peak of register and intensity to a section of highly stylized vocalise ornamentation at the end of each verse. Generally under such conditions of protracted strophic development a song cannot contain more than two or three verses.

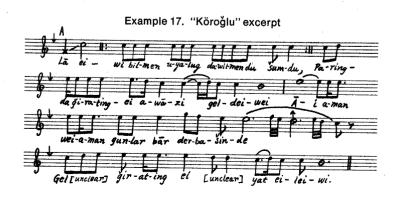
Looking at Example 16, one can easily spot the intense opening cry on a single long pitch; this is followed by a brief dutar interlude setting the tessitura, which is maintained for one more line of text, then the vocal line proceeds to unwind its long melismatic descent, stopping at key pitches highlighted by instrumental underscoring and ending in a brief hummed passage at the lowest, tonic level before the arduous declamatory process begins again as the second strophe. Humming is a rather modest form of verse-closing ornamentation (gul, "flower"); performers stock a variety of short repeated cries on single syllables ("i, i, i," "ei, ei, ei," etc.). A brief discussion of Turkmen forms of verse was included in Chapter 2; below is the full text of "Uğulbeg." Interestingly, Axmad-baxši's performance seems to combine the characteristics of both xalqi (shared) and uzuridan (private) verse styles, since according to Turkmen sources the first ten lines are standard while the last five are weaker, personal additions to the text.

Asmāning gunisan zemining ai Gulum rošan tofar gurdigum sai Dunyāning zinati san yārim ai Gara ğarai guzler bilan Guzleš masek bāl mağali Sirin šakaria suzler bilen Suzleš masek bāl mağali Tarxi xinali quallar menam Tutu masa bāl mağali Dunyāning zinati Uğulbeg. Salaranda sačbāğ laring seseda Qiğirinda qišgularni yazada Basqadam dida ustundan yar Jup basan ayaq lerindan Qoyun sagmana čekupsen.

You are the sun, the moon and the earth When I see you my eyes brighten My love is the beauty of the world If we don't look at each other's black eyes There can be nothing If we don't speak with sweet tongues
There can be nothing
If we don't take each other by henna'd hands
There can be nothing
Uğulbeg is the beauty of the world
The hanging braids are rustling
When you call me winter turns to spring
Put your foot on my eyes
Put both feet together
You went milking sheep.

Let us round out this brief survey of Turkmen vocal styles with an example of epic recitation (unaccompanied). Here we shall look at an excerpt from the widespread "Köroğlu" tale, (Example 17) as performed by Said Murad of Qizilayaq.

Example 17 indicates that Said Murad's approach to epic recitation contains elements found in various local narrative traditions: narrowness of range and paucity of melodic elements, creating a parlandorubato style that highlights the clear projection of text. It might be useful to compare the "Köroğlu" excerpt with the sample of an Uzbek tale given earlier (Example 11). Both are based on two fundamental melodic lines that alternate, but the differences within this approach are significant. The Uzbek lines differ at the end, making a complete unit through a cadential formula after the second line. The Turkmen lines, on the other hand, have the same cadence but are basically different at their beginnings, spaced a neutral third apart (c'-low e"). The Turkmen approach seems to correspond to the formal concept underlying the dutar pieces we have examined, with their sections marked by varied beginnings and identical cadences; perhaps the stylistic overlap in two Turkmen genres indicates a general approach to musical structure. Below is the text of Said Murad's excerpt from "Köroğlu," as translated by Karim Jigar of Kabul. (Said Murad's dialect has been standardized.)



Bilmen uyaluq dawil men dušunda Parangda ğirating awazi geldi\* Aman gunlar bar der mening bāšinda Gel Guroğlu ğiratangni yat eila Gira sis barma dāğlara seila Parišan qesmatim yazuldi seila Aqlayuq ğirating awāzi geldi Ğiratim bar unuč untort yāšinda Dila tila jigasi barder bāšinda Yezid maskan tutar unin dāšinda Indi man nadayin dunyā wa genji Ber awāzi geldi yiğlap narenji.

I do not know if I am asleep or awake
The voice of Girat [Guroğlu's horse] came from the mountain
Woe, a bad day has befallen me
Come, Guroğlu, remember your horse
Do not go into the mountain without your horse
My fate, afflicted, has been written this way
I hear the weeping voice of Ğirat.
I have one Ğirat, thirteen-fourteen years old
The horse has a golden topknot
The troops of my enemy surround my horse
Of what use are jewels and the world without my horse?
I hear a horse's weeping voice.

Before leaving Turkmen music, let us look at two short examples representing the flute and pipe traditions. Turning first to the repertoire of the tüidük (long open end-blown flute), we shall investigate a brief piece, "Wāğelbeg" (Example 18), to delineate the basic structural elements.

Like all Tüidük pieces, "Wağelbeg" opens with a short introduction on one breath and moves through a sequence of additional single-breath phrases, each about 5 seconds in length. Groups of phrases make up distinct sections of the piece, definable in the same terms as the sections of a dutar nağma, i.e., by departure and return relative to a tonic pitch, and sections are differentiated by the tessitura they take as a launching point for the inevitable return to home base.

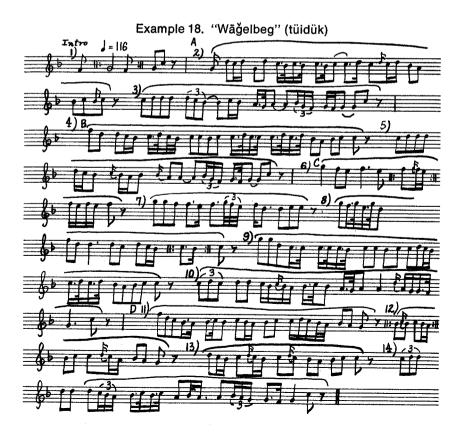
"Wağelbeg" contains four basic sections. A and B consist of two breaths and are near-ranging, while C takes up five breath-phrases and is clearly the climactic section of the piece. The concluding section D, four phrases long, consists of a somewhat less steep descent than in C and stresses the tonic (g') briefly (end of phrase 12) before descending for the last time.

In terms of basic structure there is little or no difference between a tüidük piece and a dutar piece. There is, however, a certain necessary degree of variation in the approach to the form. The tüidük must do

<sup>\*</sup>This line sometimes repeated between lines, and appears at last line of complete text.

without the polyphonic resources of the dutar and thus relies completely on melodic emphasis for stress of key notes. This is accomplished by introducing carefully placed melismatic turns around the important pitches, and by spending entire breath-phrases on the stressing of these notes. For example, phrase 4 consists merely of an ornamented c", and phrase 6, which carries the burden of introducing the new tessitura of section C, does nothing more than underline the main pitch, f". In all, six of the fourteen phrases of "Wağelbeg" exist primarily to emphasize a single pitch.

The extreme brevity of "Wağelbeg," which is shared by most tüidük tunes, forces the player to come to a cadence fairly often in order to accommodate four sections in such a short time. Thus, four of the fourteen phrases are devoted merely to the cadential drop of a fifth from d" to the tonic, g'. If the six pitch-affirming phrases mentioned above are then added to the four cadential phases, only four breaths remain in which the player can introduce tonal variety. These must



perforce serve as bridges between pitches. For example, phrase 8 takes the listener down from the heights of the pitch f", stressed for two consecutive previous phrases, and leads the ear to c", the subject of the following pitch-affirming phrase (9). It can readily be seen that tüidük pieces are a good testing ground for theories of scalar outline in Turkmen music. Looking over the basic intervals, we find no surprises. The fourth and fifth above the tonic (c" and d" respectively) are the main centers of tonal orientation, and the two notes are presented in alternation. Perhaps the great stress laid on f", a fourth above the fourth above the tonic (an interval totaling a minor seventh), is not quite so familiar from the pieces analyzed previously. Emphasis on the seventh above the tonic seems to typify tüidük tunes more than dutar nağmas, but it is found in a variety of musical styles of the North, and in other Central Asian musical styles as well. For example, a chain of two, or even three, fourths is a basic structure in Kirghiz instrumental music.

That Soviet Turkmen music is similar to styles analyzed here is indicated by Beliaev's description of tüidük pieces (1975):

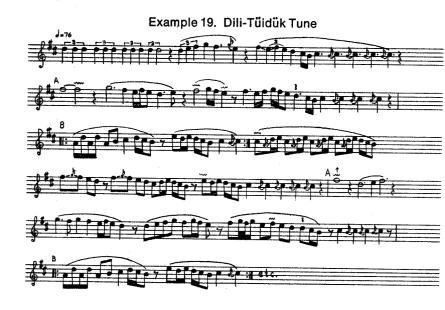
Tüidük pieces are built like professional vocal compositions, with descending melodic contour. They are often instrumental versions of these songs . . . broad descending melodies, beginning in the upper register, are often cast in recitative vein and end with refrain-like turns of phrase.

"Wagelbeg" could as easily be approached from Beliaev's description as from the analysis given above; this would be particularly fruitful if the song from which the piece is taken were available.

As for the reed pipe (dili-tüidük), Beliaev states that it "is originally a pastoral instrument, and it is mostly pastoral tunes and folk songs that are played on it." Indeed, dili-tüidük tunes seem freer and more dance-like in character, a trait confirmed by Surxi's description of the use of the reed pipe as occasional accompaniment to dance. Example 19 is a dili-tüidük tune by Ana Durdi of Quizilayaq, who is so accomplished a pipe player as to merit the sobriquet of "baxši," rarely accorded dili-tüidük players.

Ana Durdi's tune seems divided between a drawn-out phrase (A), typical of vocal or perhaps tüidük music, and a rhythmic repeated phrase of differing character (B); the two alternate with some variation at each statement. The opening line, akin to A in material, has an introductory character that is common to many beginning phrases of tüidük pieces.

Summarizing Turkmen music after so cursory an investigation is not easy. The point germane to the general argument of the present



study is that while certain elements of Turkmen music relate to surrounding music cultures (e.g., the long-necked lute polyphony per se is related to styles ranging from Anatolia to Kirghizia), there is a remarkably solid core of distinctive musical thought. Turkmen music remains one of the most distinctive of the subcultures in the North, just as the entire Turkmen way of life continues to be fairly remote from the mainstream of an emerging national Afghan consciousness.

### Pamir Peoples and Mountain Tajiks

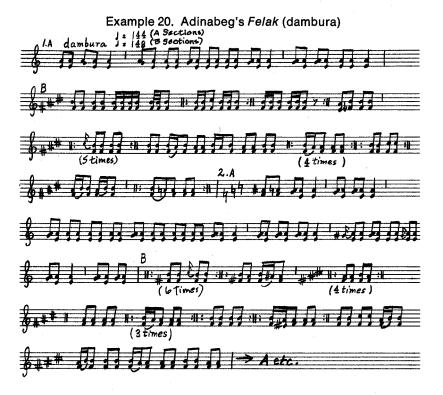
I do not wish at this point to present a case for a distinctive Pamir music subculture, for three reasons: (1) I have not myself collected purely Pamir music, and would rather not introduce extensive examples from the Soviet side (save for counterpart materials) in a study devoted to Afghanistan; (2) available data do not yield a clear picture of what a Pamir music might include, beyond special tunes on the local lute (the Pamir robab); and (3) a good deal of the Badaxšani music presented below is also shared by Pamir peoples.

For Badaxšan I shall first present an instrumental tune, to introduce the basic stylistic characteristics, followed by a song by the same performer, and then take a short look at the Badaxšani flute repertoire with a complementary Soviet selection. The first performer is Adinabeg, an amateur dambura player from Darwaz, the northernmost region of Badaxšan. As noted in Chapter 2, the most uniquely Badaxšani of

forms is the felak, a genre that embraces sung quatrains and instrumental variants thereof.

Example 20 is a fine example of up-country instrumental style. The A section is the true Badaxšani vamp, consisting of the alternation of two chords: one is merely the strumming of the open strings (e' and a'), while the other g'-a') is the most prominent major second of all northern Afghanistan. This fourth-second refrain is a hallmark of Badaxšani style. Also highly characteristic of the A section is the fluctuating rhythmic pattern of the phrases. Each phrase ends with a quarter-note e'-a' chord, yet the length of the statements varies from three beats to nine in strophe 1 and from two beats to sixteen in strophe 3. Section A is the true amad cited by Baba Naim in his analysis of Badaxšani music. It provides basic stability for the piece, and gives the performer some time to think between strophes; this latter function is particularly important for the vocal felak (see Example 21), in which the player must think up the next verse of the song.

The B section of Adinabeg's felak differs most markedly from its A segment in tonal materials. A principal distinction is made in



scalar terms by the introduction of a drone pitch (f#') above the lower open-string tonic (e') stressed by A, and by the opening up of three new pitches (a#', b', and c#") previously unheard. Tonally, a workable amount of variety has been achieved by the use of remarkably few tones and a very narrow melodic range. The total supradrone compass comprises only the major third from a' to c#". This extraordinary economy of ambit is quite typical of Badaxšani music and is one of its outstanding characteristics. Against this meager setting, even the fifth and sixth of Turkestani tunes seem wide-ranging.

Turning to other aspects of Example 20, we note that B hardly diverges from A in rhythmic patterning. The brief outburst of short note values heard in strophe 1 can be seen as exceptional, and the bulk of B moves in the same eighth-note pairs that characterize most of A. The uneven phrase lengths of B also match those of A. Another noticeable trait is the extreme austerity of phrasing, which allows for practically no ornamentation of basic pitches. The single grace note heard in section B stands out sharply in relief against the progression of plain notes. The main interest of B, as noted above, is tonal; the slight melodic turn provided by the downward half-step b'-a#', which is reciprocated by the upward turn b'-c#', is heard as a striking departure in the tune.

In terms of durational stress, section B occupies 56 percent of the total time, and section A only 44 percent; the average statement of B takes 21 seconds, while that of A lasts only 13 seconds. Though the amad provided by A gives great stability to the felak, it is the divergence from the vamp that takes up most of the time in the piece. This is another feature linking Adinabeg's felak to general Badaxšani practice.

Adinabeg's felak, this time in song form (Example 21), can be used to indicate the relationship between vocal and instrumental styles in the case of a single performer. Here is the text and translation:

Zardalui zard (ei) (ke) jigar buryānam (ei) Dar mulke musāferi ajab heirānam (ei) Yak panjai xat (ei) namiyād az suye watan (ei) Yak yāre aziz guftam o faryād kunam (ei)

My fried liver is like a yellow apricot I am at a loss in a strange place I don't get any letters from home I say "dear friend" and cry.

The text is characteristic of a great many čarbaiti, or quatrains, used for the felak. The content is the usual desolation, here in the form of the loneliness of the traveler, a common theme. The a a b a rhyme scheme is standard, as are the interjections (in parentheses) at the

middle and at the end of lines. The reference to "fried liver" is not culinary; Persian poetry and colloquial speech refers to the liver much as English uses the heart as the bodily center of emotions, and "fried" indicates a state of extreme grief.

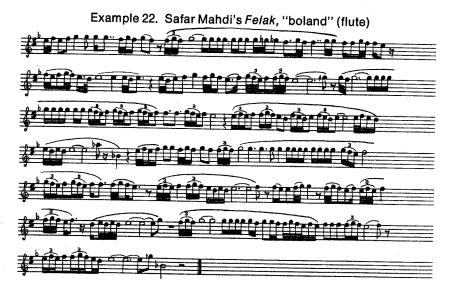
Turning to musical analysis, we see that the text is preceded and succeeded by the very vamp that characterizes the instrumental felak

Example 21. Adinabeg's Felak Song (with dambura)

(alternation of e'-a' and g'-a' chords). The quatrain is divided into two parts by an instrumental interlude; the first and second pairs of lines are divided by an extremely long held note on the interjectory syllable "ei." The same interjection marks the halfway point of lines 1 and 3, thus giving the entire verse a highly symmetrical setting based on binary subdivisions. Such a construction recalls the two-part structure of most instrumental pieces. The main break in this pattern occurs at the beginning of line 4, where a considerable rest in the vocal part (six measures) follows the first half of the line of text. This breaking of the line is commonly heard in vocal felaks; perhaps it is intended as a stress of the final line, the "punch" line of the quatrain.

The melodic content of the song is slight, and is close to Adinabeg's solo dambura version (Example 20) in its extreme narrowness of range. The principal melodic activity consists only of an alternation of the two pitches a' and bb', only a minor second apart.

The activity of the instrumental accompaniment, beyond the vamp already noted, consists of a continuous rhythmic figure of two eighth notes, pitched only on the two basic tones of the melody. How close, then, in Adinabeg's instrumental felak to his vocal version, if just the instrumental accompaniment of the latter is considered? The narrow range, the rhythmic figure, the content of the two sections (vamp and



melody) — all point to a remarkable similarity, which leads to the obvious conclusion that the instrumental version is merely meant as a "song without words," i.e., a straight adaptation of the vocal felak. Indeed, this is what performers often express when speaking of the felak. When one listens to the instrumental version alone, it is hard to imagine a vocal counterpart, but it is easy to see the relationship of the two when one discovers that it is the vocal part that provides the only legato element of the music.

Let us round out the survey of the felak by looking into music for the Badaxšani tula, a recorder-like flute. Example 22 is a brief felak performed by Safar Mahdi, from the Šužnan area; he named it boland ("high"). Such highly melismatic felaks are among the most ornamented music in all of northern Afghanistan. Basically, they present us with nothing new in the concept of the felak, showing the same narrow range and emphasis on alternation of two adjacent pitches noted earlier.

Safar Mahdi's tune opens the way to comparing the Badaxšani music of Afghanistan with that of Soviet Tajikstan, just across the border. Nizam Nurjanov, head of the arts section of the Institute of History of the Tajik Academy of Sciences, and himself an expert on folk drama and dance, was kind enough to furnish me with examples of Badaxšani music taped by the Academy's expedition of 1967. Among the pieces included in this sampling were some specimens of flute music, including a tune specifically labeled *felak*. Through the good offices of Mr. Nurjanov, it is possible for the first time to make an exact comparison of pieces of the same repertoire on opposite banks of the River Panj, which forms the Afghan-Soviet border. The felak of Example 23, performed by Baba Ilbam, was taped in the village of Iemts in the Rošan region, which is adjacent to the Suğnan area, Safar Mahdi's home; it thus provides a perfect counterpart to Example 22.

home; it thus provides a perfect counterpart to Example 22.

Even a cursory glance at Example 23 shows the very close affinity between the Tajikistani felak and Safar Mahdi's tune. We find a similar melismatic treatment, the same resting on key pitches, and a like insistence on a very narrow range, through Example 23 has a somewhat greater compass than Example 22. This great similarity is welcome confirmation of the unity of style that persists on both sides of the Afghan-Soviet Badaxšani border. Such unity is only to be expected, since it was as recently as the 1890s that the present border on the Panj was fully established.

The following comparison of Badaxšani and Uzbek-Tajik styles will help to summarize this account.

# DIVERGENCE OF BADAXŠANI AND UZBEK-TAJIK TURKESTANI STYLES

#### Badaxšan

Consistent texture, usually polyphonic (drone, organum)

Binary structure nearly universal

Narrow melodic range frequent Minor and augmented seconds common

Seven-beat meter frequent Some free-rhythm styles

### Turkestan

If consistent texture, usually monophonic; mixed texture also common

Binary structure common, but threeand multi-part forms also in use Range moderate, may be wide Minor and augmented seconds rare

Seven-beat meter rare No free-rhythm styles

## CONVERGENCE OF BADAXSANI AND UZBEK-TAJIK TURKESTANI STYLES

Vocal music based on folk quatrain verse Close connection between vocal and instrumental styles Use of instrumental music in three ways:

(1) as accompaniment to song

(2) in performance of songs without words

(3) as accompaniment to dance

Concept of raft and amad, or departure and return to a very stable tonic, as defined by the sounding of the open strings in lute music or of the fundamental pitch in flute music

It can be seen that while the two styles diverge in terms of the working out of basic principles, those principles hold equally for both regional musics. The isolation of Turkmen music in the North thus stands out even more sharply in view of the underlying unity of the principal northern styles, Badaxšani and Uzbek-Tajik Turkestani. Perhaps the cultural affinities of Uzbeks and Tajiks cited in Chapter 1 have gained musical corroboration in our account, while at the same time the distinctiveness of the mountain Tajiks from those of the steppe country has been upheld.

Example 23. Flute Felak from Tajikistan

