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ABSTRACT

The music of the peoples who inhabit either Central Asia or the Volga-Ural region of Asia is explored in this document, which provides information that can be incorporated into secondary or higher education courses. The Central Asian music cultures of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Turkmens, Karakalpaks, Uighurs, Tajiks, and Uzbeks are described and compared through examinations of: (1) physical environmental factors; (2) cultural patterns; (3) history; (4) music development; and (5) musical instruments. The music of the Volga-Ural peoples, who comprise the USSR nationalities of the Mari (Cheremis), Chuvash, Udmurts (Votyaks), Mordvins, Bashkirs, Tatars, and Kalmucks, is examined, with an emphasis on differences in musical instruments. A 13-item bibliography of Central Asian music and a 17-item Volga-Ural music bibliography are included. An appendix contains examples of musical scores from these regions. (JHP)

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Asian Studies Research Institute

TEACHING AIDS FOR THE STUDY OF INNER ASIA

No. 5

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Wesleyan University

MUSIC OF CENTRAL ASIA AND OF THE VOLGA-URAL PEOPLES

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CENTRAL ASIAN PEOPLES

VOLGA-URAL PEOPLES

APPENDIX

CENTRAL ASIAN PEOPLES

Introduction: Background, General Trends

Central Asia as defined in the present article constitutes the five Soviet Republics of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. In addition to the five principal ethnic groups cited in the Republic names, two smaller peoples, the Karakalpaks and Uighurs, will be briefly discussed. Except the Tajiks, who speak an eastern dialect of Persian, the other peoples are all speakers of Turkic languages and are classed among the Turkic peoples.

The environment and way of life of the Central Asian peoples vary considerably. Kazakhs traditionally practice wide ranging transhumance over vast tracts of steppeland, while Turkmens are similarly mobile over steppe-desert and desert. A minority of seminomadic Uzbeks share the Turkmen environment while most Uzbek agriculturalists inhabit the fertile valleys of the Zerafshan, Amu-Darya (Oxus) and Syr-Darya (Jaxartes) Rivers and their tributaries. Tajiks are divided between plains (valley) and mountain dwellers while Uighurs tend to gather in oases. The Karakalpaks are limited to the Amu-Darya delta area. Some of the world's hottest temperatures and highest mountain peaks can be found in Central Asia, which totals approximately 1,500,000 square miles (1,000,000 in Kazakhstan alone). Total indigenous population amounted to some 20,000,000 in 1970 with Uzbeks accounting

for nearly half that figure.

Historically, the ancestors of the Tajiks were among the earliest settlers, arriving perhaps ca. 1500 B C. as part of the general Indo-European invasion. By 500 A.D. the Turkic peoples had advanced as far as the Amu-Darya, often considered the boundary between the Near East and Central Asia. The following milennium saw a continuous influx of Turco-Mongol peoples, ending with the Uzbek incursions around 1500 A.D. The general cultural drift has been one of nomadic peoples adapting to the Tajik (Iranian) sedentary agricultural village pattern, creating an ever thicker layer of cultural substratum and superstrata.

Musically, our earliest historical evidence stems from pictorial documentation in the form of sculpture and wall paintings. Thus, excavations in the Khwarizm area (northwestern Uzbekistan) uncovered depictions of the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. of two shapes of angled harp (akin to Near Eastern models) while nearby sites of the first two centuries A.D. yielded representations of several styles of spade-shaped long-necked lutes. The art of the succeeding two centuries portrays a round long-necked lute, pear-shaped short-necked lute and another type of angled harp. At Airtam (present Termez, Uzbekistan) near the Amu-Darya, a well-preserved frieze shows three musicians in a row, playing a small 13-stringed angled harp, a pinch-waisted short-necked lute (apparently being struck with a plectrum) and a double-

headed hourglass drum.

Shortly after this pictorial evidence, Chinese sources furnish the first written descriptions of Central Asian music. Beginning perhaps as early as the Han Dynasty (3rd century B.C.-3rd century A.D.) Central Asia became the focal point of Near Eastern-Far Eastern musical commerce across the celebrated Silk Route. Along with other items of trade, musical instruments and styles followed the well-beaten caravan paths through the small oasis kingdoms of Central Asia. These centers, during the 3rd-10th centuries A.D., included Kashgar, Kucha, Khotan and Turfan, all in present Sinkiang (China) and Samarqand and Bukhara in Uzbekistan. The high point of Central Asian contribution to this flow of musical objects and practices was reached during the T'ang Dynasty (614-907 A.D.), when five of the official Ten Kinds of Music (established 640-42) derived from Kucha, Kashgar, Samarqand, Bukhara and Turfan. To what extent indigenous styles were involved as opposed to Near Eastern importation is difficult to determine. However, it seems safe to propose that later Central Asian musical developments in the great oases were founded on the extensive early flourishing reflected in the T'ang sources.

The Islamic period, beginning with Arab incursions and occupation in the late 8th century, brought a fresh wave of Near Eastern influence. Over the succeeding turbulent centuries marked by Seljuq, Mongol and Timurid dominance (11th-

15th centuries) Central Asian classical court styles emerged, reaching perhaps their finest flowering under the last Timurids in Samarqand and Herat. Under such patrons as Shah-rukh (ruled 1405-47) and Husain-i Baiqara (a contemporary of Lorenzo di Medici) and guided by musical-literary luminaries such as the Persian poet Jāmi and the Turco-Persian poet and statesman Navāi, a joint Persian-Turkish performance style evolved which was to be crystallized in later centuries as the maqām system (see below). New elements were added only in the late 19th century under the impact of heavy Russian immigration and political domination, initiating a period of change which continued into the Soviet era.

The music cultures of Central Asia under discussion fall into natural groupings, each with affinities to neighboring regions. In the north and northeast, the Kazakhs and Kirghiz form one such subdivision. The Kirghiz are linked musically to the east to the Altai Turks (Khakass, Tofalars, etc.) while the Kazakhs exhibit evidence of contact with various groups along their broad frontiers, in particular the Tatars and Bashkirs of the Volga-Ural region. The Turkmens show certain ties to the Kirghiz-Kazakh grouping, yet their placement so close to Iran and Turkic Azerbaijan (across the Caspian Sea) has introduced a modicum of Near Eastern elements. The Karakalpaks, wedged between Kazakhs, Turkmens and Uzbeks seem, on the scanty available evidence, to relate to all of their neighbors musically.

The Tajiks, Uzbeks and to some extent the Uighurs form another major grouping, with links to the south to their compatriots in Afghanistan and the Near East, particularly in the classical styles. Of particular importance is the musical symbiosis of Uzbeks and Tajiks, who have lived side by side for nearly 500 years. Just as their languages have tended to converge, in certain regions their music cultures show a strong tendency towards a joint manner of expression. The Uighurs seem closest to the Uzbek-Tajik group in their art music, perhaps heir to the old oasis music culture of T'ang Dynasty days.

In terms of musical instruments, certain broad patterns are evident. Long-necked lutes predominate throughout among chordophones, with fiddles taking second place. The latter are divided into two basic types; those related to the small Near Eastern spike fiddle (Tajik, Turkmen, most Uzbeks) and those with horsehair strings and large half-open belly stemming from the Turco-Mongol tradition (Kazakh, Kirghiz, southern Uzbeks). Flutes divide into open end-blown pastoral types (Turkmen, Kazakh, Kirghiz) related on the one hand to the Tatar and Bashkir kurai and Altai shoor and on the other hand to the Near Eastern nai, transverse flutes (Uzbek, Tajik) and block flutes (largely Tajik). Save for limited borrowings, single and double-reed aerophones are found only among the peoples closer to the Near East (Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmen), while long metal horns seem restricted to Uzbeks and Tajiks.

Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Turkmens rarely use drums, while Uzbeks and Tajiks are mainly limited to Near Eastern-related small kettle drums (naghara, tablak) and tambourines (doira, daf). Idiophones are principally represented by the ubiquitous small metal jew's-harp, one of the few unifying instruments of the entire Central Asian world.

The Kirghiz

Kirghiz music culture is quite close in many respects to that of the neighboring Kazakhs, yet essential differences exist as well. Unlike any of the nearby lutes, the basic Kirghiz variety, the komuz, is both unfretted and three-stringed; also noteworthy are the most common tunings, in which the middle string sounds the highest pitch. Another extraordinary aspect of the komuz is the stress on variety of right-hand strokes. One piece ("Mash botoi") consists of a simple tune to be repeated manifold, each time with a new stroke, as a test of the performer's skill and creativity.

The other two principal Kirghiz instruments are directly related to those of the Kazakhs. These are the kiak, a two-stringed horsehair fiddle akin to the Kazakh qobuz and the choor, a long, open end-blown flute. In addition to the ubiquitous metal jew's-harp (temir komuz) the Kirghiz instrumentarium was formerly expanded by borrowings from the military band of the nearby Uzbek kingdoms, including surnai oboe, sarbasnai transverse flute and doolbas kettledrum.

Music, both vocal and instrumental, plays an important role in Kirghiz life. Early European accounts of the Kirghiz continually refer to the local habit of extemporaneous singing for all occasions. Thus, when two Kirghiz met they exchanged formalized greeting-songs to place each other in terms of clan or family affiliation; such songs are in use even today. While working, or to pass the time while walking, the Kirghiz improvise song-texts to stereotyped melodic motives. This practice is known as kaila, and while it is also found among other Central Asian Turks (notably the Kazakhs), early Western travelers asserted that the Kirghiz had most extensively developed such extemporization.

Further evidence of the importance of oral expression among the Kirghiz is the significance attached to epic recitation. Among none of the Central Asian peoples has the epic collected into so large and syncretic a mass of oral tradition as in the case of the Manas, the central Kirghiz cycle of tales. Particularly revealing are the autobiographies of manaschis (Manas-tellers), many of whom have related being called to their trade by the spirits of the hero Manas and his Forty Companions in dreams. Resistance ventured by the tellers-to-be was met by severity on the part of Manas (threats), and after a period of initiation and a pilgrimage to Manas' shrine the musician became a manaschi for life. Such life-stories are strongly reminiscent of the calling and initiation of shamans across Central Asia and Siberia, underscoring

the supernatural side of epic recitation. Manaschis are particularly highly esteemed musicians, often achieving great pre-eminence; in pre-Soviet times such celebrated reciters could become tribal chieftans.

The Manas is an encyclopaedic epic, including all the major genres of Kirghiz oral expression, though the people themselves clearly separate epic from other types of song and narrative. Performance includes a large component of mime and dramatization. Manaschis can recite the tale almost indefinitely; the modern-day version of 400,000 lines was transcribed from one performer, Sayakbay Karalayev. The Manas consists of three cycles; the first deals with Manas himself while the second and third deal with his son Semetey and grandson Seytek.

Manas performance are built up by combining a variety of reciting styles without instrumental accompaniment. V.S. Vinogradov states that an evening may begin with the shorgo syez manner, marked by a measured pace and gradually evolving melodic line. This pattern may also occur in mid-tale as a relief from the more active sections, the latter built by long recitation of increasing intensity on a single melodic motive such as Ex. 1. At other points, more prosaic narrative styles may predominate. One such technique is the zheldirme (gallop), a type of agitated rapidfire recitation. The manaschi's skill rests in controlling the audience's mood carefully through flexibility in narrative style.

The Kirghiz term zhomok includes both epic and all other narrative genres (zhoo zhomok, fairytale, tamsil, fable, tabishmak, riddle), and is opposed to ir, or song in the sense of poetic form. Given the predilection cited earlier for oral expression, the line between ir and zhomok may be difficult for outsiders to grasp. Obon is the term applied to the melodic aspect of song.

There are numerous major genres of folksong. Among worksongs one should mention the dambir tash, an incantation directed to the spirits governing agriculture and livestock, the zhirildang, or cowboy songs, the bekbekei, a female sheepherder's song and the op maida, a plowing and harvesting song probably related to the Uzbek genre of the same name. Among ritual songs, the zharamazan, sung during the Muslim month of Ramadan, and zhar-zhar wedding songs take precedence along with the koshok, a flexible genre heard both as a funeral lament and as a wedding song. Other named genres include: 1) three types of love songs reflecting different aspects of love (küigön, arman, seketbay); 2) age-grade categories (qizdar iri, kelinder iri and jigitter iri for girls, women and youths respectively) and 3) two important contemporary genres (kolkhoz iri and jashlik iri about collective farms and the youth-movement respectively). Other genres include lullabies (beshik iri) and a wide variety of game songs, such as the selkinchek swinging song.

A whole group of traditional songtypes belongs exclusively

to the domain of the professional minstrel (akin). These include the arnoo, a panegyric song for the singer's patron, the kordoo, a defamatory song against the musician's or patron's enemies, the kuttuktoo, a congratulatory song and the sanat or nasiat didactic songs. These songs often reached their high point of development in traditional singing-contests (aitish), akin to similar competitions among the Kazakhs and Mongols. Rules for the contests stressed excellence in improvisation in stated patterns, such as songs with the specific alliterative patterns on given topics. Instrumental virtuosity might also be the focal point of competition. Performers built reputations on a string of victories.

Instrumental music is consistent with the narrative emphasis of Kirghiz music culture in that nearly every piece contains an implied story line. This jibes as well with Kirghiz decorative art, in which each facet of ornament on a rug or necklace can be read as a symbol, the whole constituting a precise scene or story. The programmatic approach is well illustrated by the following widespread tale backing a komuz piece called "Aksak kulan" ("The Lame Wild Ass"):

> A khan forbade his favorite son to hunt wild asses. Disobeying his father, the youth was killed by a wounded animal while out hunting. Fearing the worst, the khan decreed that anyone bringing bad tidings would have his lips sealed by a dipperful of molten lead. The ruler's favorite minstrel then rose and played an instrumental piece depicting the son's fate, including the ride through the steppe, encounter with wild asses and subsequent tragedy. True to his word, the grim khan fulfilled his promise and silenced the messenger of bad news by

pouring the molten lead into the sound-holes of the minstrel's komuz.

Komuz pieces form the heart of Kirghiz instrumental music. Though they often carry genre names (e.g. kerbez, shingrama, botoi), definition of the genres remains unresolved. A frequent structural approach employed by komuz players is to present a small, tight melodic kernel and then vary it in every musical parameter; tempo, dynamics, rhythm, melodic register, monophonic vs. polyphonic texture up to three parts. Ex. 2 presents the beginning of one such piece.

The career of Toktogul Satylganov (1364-1933) exemplifies the transition of a major Kirghiz artist from pre-Soviet to Soviet times. The son of a professional female singer, Toktogul worked his way to fame from humble beginnings as shepherd for a rich landlord. Exiled for a lengthy period due to political beliefs and subsequently imprisoned after his escape from Siberia, Toktogul became a firm supporter of emerging Soviet Kirghizia after the October Revolution of 1917. He is cited as being the most versatile and outstanding of performers of the transition period, and the roster of celebrated folksingers and instrumentalists of recent decades is studded with the names of Toktogul's students.

The early Soviet years were marked by intensive collecting of traditional Kirghiz folk music, notably the activity of A. Zataevich, whose 1934 anthology (2nd edition 1972) remains the major collection. The 1930s also saw the beginnings

of Kirghiz-Russian musical collaboration in the composition of music in European genres such as operas, symphonies and chamber music. Vocal polyphony was developed initially along the lines of multipart instrumental styles of the komuz and kiak. The latter instruments were remodeled to play in orchestras of folk instruments. Today the Kirghiz Philharmonia presents concerts with a wide range of styles, ranging from traditional storytellers and minstrels through lightly-arranged folksongs to major concertos for komuz, along with westernized pop songs.

The Kazakhs

Unlike the Kirghiz, relatively secluded in highly mountainous terrain, the Kazakhs traditionally ranged widely across steppeland in seasonal nomadic migrations. This brought them closely into contact with many peoples along over 2000 miles of their northern and eastern borders. Acculturation has affected both the Kazakhs and their neighbors. For example, in terms of musical instruments, the nearby Tatars and Bashkirs as well as the more distant Kalmucks, have adopted the Kazakh lute (dömbra), which may even be the forerunner of the Russian balalaika, while the Kazakh chatigan zither is related to similar instruments of the Altai Turks and Mongols. Close ties to the Kirghiz are shown in the shared fiddle, called qobuz by the Kazakhs, which also relates to the Mongol khil-khuur. The Kazakh flute (sibizgi)

is akin both to the Kirghiz-Altai choor (or shoor) and the Tatar-Bashkir kurai. Unlike the Kirghiz, the Kazakhs adopted the accordion from the Russians in the nineteenth century.

The most widespread instrument, the dömbra, displays the Kazakhs' broad distribution through regional variants. The western dömbra is pear-shaped and usually features 14 frets, while the eastern model may have a spade-shaped or triangular body and seven or eight frets. Ex. 3 shows typical scales of both basic dömbra varieties.

Like the Kirghiz, the Kazakhs have long been described by European observers as being well-versed in the art of extemporaneous song. One of the earliest transcriptions of Kazakh music (1880s) is of a coachman's improvised melody, sung while transporting the transcriber (Ex. 4). The words begin as follows:

> Soon a station comes up. There my friend Zhusup lives. Two officials are listening in the carriage to how I pass the time with a song.

Kazakh terminology distinguishes two aspects of folksong. An denotes the musical side of song while oleng implies the textual component. Thus, angshi means a skilled performer of songs whereas an olengshi is a singer who composes his own songs. Along with the Kirghiz, the Kazakhs recognize narration of tales as a special category (zhir, zhirshi). Kazakhs share the term akin with the Kirghiz to mean professional minstrel.

The basis of Kazakh folksong metrics is also held in common with the Kirghiz. This is the seven-syllable verse line divided into 4+3 syllables with lengthened final syllable, as shown in Ex. 5. This fundamental line is often expanded by infixes of vocables ("oi," "a") to build 5+3, 5+4 or longer lines. A standard 3+4+4 eleven-syllable line is also commonly found, with 6+5 and 4+3+4 variants (Ex. 5).

Folksong melodies are quite diverse, partly due to regional variation. V.M. Beliaev has described a southern style (Semirechie, Priaral'ya, Syr-darya regions) marked by simple forms and even rhythms, a western style (Zaural'e, Caspian Sea regions) with greater melodic development and wider use of the terme reciting style (see below) and a central Kazakhstan style with an exceptional diversity of scalar and melodic approaches and complexity of song forms. Similarly, instrumental music can be divided into regional styles, in this case matching the distribution pattern of dömbra types cited above. In the western manner, two-part polyphone is maintained throughout and the melody changes from one string to the other, beginning with the lower string, whereas in eastern Kazakh pieces monophony and polyphone alternate while the melody starts in the upper voice. The eastern style is also marked by greater use of melismatic ornamentation.

Kazakh worksong genres are close to those of the Kirghiz. These include üiqishi eni (cowboy songs) and koishi eni

(shepherd songs). Also common to Kazakhs and Kirghiz (along with Uzbeks and Turkmens) is the wedding genre zhar-zhar (yar-yar among other peoples), named for the refrain text. Typically Kazakh are two other wedding songs, the qiz sinsu (bride's lament) and betashar, sung at the bride's arrival at the groom's house. Another major Kazakh-Kirghiz genre is the joqtau lament. The bedik is sung at a sickbed by young people, who take turns. Somewhat related in function are the songs of the baksi or bakhshi, the shaman, who, like his Kirghiz counterpart, uses the qobuz fiddle as his magical aide rather than the framedrum common among most Siberian peoples and some Altai Turks. A shaman's song transcribed in 1963 displays a variety of highly chromatic (atypically Kazakh) melodic motives rising to a pitch of dynamic stress alternating with sudden soft passages. The text contains a refrain-like passage of vocables interspersed with verses mentioning the various friendly and unfriendly spirits with whom the shaman consorts. Shamanism has markedly decreased in Soviet times, but shamans were formerly much respected by the Kazakhs.

Kazakh folksong melodies frequently begin with a protracted opening cry on a very high pitch. Both descending melodies and an arch-like melodic contour are quite frequently found. The scalar basis of Kazakh folksong is quite varied. Many songs share a basis of diatonicism with Kirghiz folksong while others seem closer to the music of the neighboring

Tatars, Bashkirs and Mongols in displaying markedly pentatonic outlines.

One of the sharpest areas of differentiation between Kirghiz and Kazakh music cultures lies in the realm of epic. Unlike the monolithic Manas cycle of Khirgizia, the Kazakh tradition is nearer to that of Uzbeks and Turkmens and the Near East. Epic recitation is performed to accompaniment of the dömbra (or, more recently, the accordion) and the repertory consists principally of romantic tales of fairly recent origin (15th-19th centuries) such as "Kozi-korpesh and Baian-slu," "Qiz-jibek," and "Aiman and Sholpan." The older component of the epic tradition is represented by the "Alpamish" tale. Specimens of Kazakh epic recitation show considerably melodic variety. Two special narrative techniques stand out; the terme, a measured manner based on seven-syllable lines, and the zheldirme, similar to the Kirghiz style of the same name and based on rapidfire recitation of eleven-syllable lines. At times, sections of tales may be performed in complete song-like segments related to traditional folksong genres such as the joqtau lament, but most musically unified sections are of a irregular length and varied melodic content.

Kazakh instrumental pieces, or küis, can be divided into two large categories according to source; küis adapted from songs and those of specifically instrumental origin. Musically as well, two major groupings can be outlined; pieces with a story line and episodic structure and those of a

purely instrumental nature with clear partite structure. A third category might be programmatic pieces with partite structure. As among the Kirghiz, pieces which tell a story occupy an important position among works for lute, flute and fiddle. The stories may be quite simple or extremely complex, resulting in great fluctuation in length of pieces. Protracted programmatic pieces might contain as many as fifteen or more separate scenes, each depicting a segment of the action, thus approaching the status of short heroic tales.

The transition from traditional to modern Kazakh music culture began with the gradual annexation to Russia, completed by the mid-19th century, accompanied by the emergence of a group of powerful writers with modernizing ideas. Chief among these were Chokan Valikhanov (1835-65) and Abai Kunanbayev (1845-1904). Abai's songs in particular bridge the cultural gap, most notably in his translation of celebrated Russian poems and subsequent popularization in sung form, e.g. Tatyana's letter from Pushkin's "Eugene Onegin." Abai employed both traditional and innovative verse forms in his extensive writings.

Early Russian collecting and harmonization of Kazakh songs (notably that of A. Eichorn, R.A. Pfenning and S.G. Rybakov) led to the more thoroughgoing expeditions of A.V. Zataevich, who collected several thousand specimens of Kazakh music, and to the establishment of Soviet Kazakh music. Outstanding traditional musicians such as the celebrated Jambul

Jabayev (1845-1945) and his student Kenen Azerbayev (b. 1884) smoothed the way for musical change while a group of Russian composers prepared the first Kazakh composers to write in Western forms. 1932 saw the establishment of a musical-theatrical technical school which blossomed into the Alma-Ata Conservatory (1944), still the only Central Asian conservatory outside Tashkent.

Brief mention should be made of two minority ethnic groups in Kazakhstan of radically different origin: the Germans and the Dungans. A czarist decree of 1890 brought a large number of German settlers to Kazakhstan and they have maintained the musical repertory of that era. In addition, they have organized musical groups and actively add to their store of German songs through the efforts of local poets and composers. The new songs include both continuations of older genres and creation of songs on Communist and Soviet themes.

The Dungans represent several waves of Chinese Muslim emigrees of the 19th century. They live principally in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia (in equal numbers). Dungan music culture has scarcely been studied, but seems to have retained a core of Chinese elements. The Dungans are said to sing in unison choruses as well as solo and to have maintained a considerable body of Chinese tales along with some specifically Dungan historical narratives.

The Turkmens

While maintaining a highly distinctive profile, Turkmen

music culture displays ties to two large neighboring areas: the Near East-Turkestani region (Azerbaijan to Uzbekistan) on the one hand and the Kazakh-Kirghiz zone on the other. Traits shared with the former area include: the ghicak spike fiddle, use of Arabo-Persian metric patterns, verse forms and imagery, spread of the Köroglu epic and recent romantic tales, and some microtonal scalar patterns. Related more closely to the Kazakh and Kirghiz region is the traditionally weak development of the dance, paucity of percussion instruments, use of the qobuz horsehair fiddle (now obsolete), existence of singing-contests and stress on instrumental music, particularly the high development of polyphonic lute styles with attendant esteem accorded virtuoso performers. Some features of Turkmen music are common to Central Asia as a whole: the yar-yar wedding song, patterns of Turkic versification and use of a metal jew's-harp (qobiz). Taken as a whole, Turkmen music culture seems analogous in situation to the Turkmen language, seen as transitional between the eastern and western wings of the Turkic language family.

Turkmen folksong is rich in genres reflecting basic work processes. Thus, as among the Mongols, there is a special type of song to quiet camels during milking. Different melodic motives are used to call the various domestic animals. Women's songs relate to work such as grain-grinding and weaving and extend to lullabies. These songs generally feature couplets or quatrains, perhaps with a repeated

tag ending to each line. The stock ending also characterizes the yar-yar wedding song. Girls' songs (lale) form a distinct genre, culminating in the chuval qiz (a "girl in a bag"), the song of girls who have been married but who, under the Turkmen custom of protracted wife avoidance, have not yet taken up wifely duties.

The metric structure and verse forms of folksong are collectively termed barmak as opposed to the formal, literary Arabo-Persian aruz system. Characteristic of barmak is measuring of lines by syllable number, which is equally true of most Central Asian Turkic folk verse and of much Iranian folk poetry as well. The aaba rhyme scheme for quatrains, spread from Crimean Tatars to Kabuli Persian, is frequently found among Turkmens as well. As cited above for the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a seven-syllable line divided 4+3 with prolonged final syllable occurs commonly in Turkmen folk verse. This pattern is melodically set by even note values or by prolongation of either the even-numbered or odd-numbered syllables. A considerable number of melodic settings for quatrains may be found, such as AAAA, ABAB, ABCD, etc., where each new letter indicates a novel melodic motive.

The other main stream of Turkmen poetics and song structure is that of the aruz, which lies mainly in the province of professional musicians. Here three main verse forms are used: the ghazal, organized in couplets with the basic rhyme scheme AA, BA, CA, the murabba, a quatrain of the aaab,

cccb, dddb or bbba, ccca, ddda types and the mukhammas, a five-liner with a rhyme scheme of aaaab, ccccb, ddddb, etc. Many of the meters of Persian classical poetry are adopted, along with considerable use of other conventions such as the takhalos (citing the author's pen name in the penultimate line) and stock imagery (e.g. the rose and the nightingale, the beloved as cypress, etc.).

The musical setting of professional songs is dramatic. After an instrumental prelude (dutar, or dutar and ghichak in unison) which sets the mood and eventually the opening tessitura, the singer enters, frequently on a very high, protracted, intense cry. Often the subsequent projection of text is accomplished in an agitated parlando-rubato style which moves downward in pitch towards the end of the strophe. The stanza is concluded with a passage of distinctively Turkmen vocalise ornamentation. This may take the form of repeated staccato statements of a short, glottal syllable, most commonly "i-ki-ki" or "gu-gu-gu," though humming may also be introduced. Formerly Turkmen musicians distinguished several varieties of this ornamentation through terminology. One highly valued style is the sekterme, consisting of a group of two or three rapid grace notes. Following the dying out of the vocalise passage the instrumentalists take a new melodic turn, preparing for the subsequent strophe, which usually varies little in basic contour from the opening verse.

Turkmen professional singers draw much of their repertory from the works of a handful of great poets. Perhaps the most celebrated of these is Makhtum-qoli (1733-82), whose work is also highly esteemed by Iranian Turkmens. An educated man, he traveled widely in the Near East. Also notable are Kemine (1770-1840) and Mollanepes (1810-62). The latter was himself an outstanding musician and wrote a well-known version of the Near Eastern tale "Tahir and Zuhra."

Turkmen dance was traditionally limited to a few local genres. One such style is the kushtüomi circle dance of the Krasnovodsk area (near the Caspian Sea), featuring a call-response song in which the group dances while chanting the last phrase sung by the leader. Shepherd's dances and a girl's dance-game with nonsense words (e.g. "khma") are also found, along with some female wedding dances.

As indicated above, instrumental music plays a large and honored role in the Turkmen music culture. The application of the honorific term bakhshi, added after a performer's name (e.g. Shuqur-baksi) is of philological interest, since this word, originally from the Chinese, is current among Uzbeks for reciters of epic tales and among Kazakhs and Kirghiz as the term for shaman. Two tales about the origin of the dutar cited by V. Uspenskii introduce supernatural elements and contain insights into the Turkmen's cultural ties. In the first, Plato is credited with inventing the dutar in imitation of the rustling of the phoenix bird's feathers,

while in the second the dutar is created by Baba Kambar, groom to the magical horse of Ali (Muhammad's son-in-law), in conjunction with the devil. The former myth shows old Near Eastern ties in the image of Plato, the mathematician-musician, while the mention of the phoenix bird is reminiscent of that creature's important role in the Chinese legend of music's origin. The second myth is strongly Islamic, containing a component of opprobrium for music; however the protagonist's name suggests ties to the Kirghiz, among whom a certain Kambar is cited as the inventor of the komuz lute.

Turkmen instrumental music can perhaps be divided into three main categories: pastoral tunes and adaptations of folksongs played on the dili-tüidük (a short reed-pipe) and ghichak, variants of professional songs for the tüidük and dutar, and highly developed, purely instrumental works for solo dutar. Dili-tüidük pieces often feature a slow, protracted melody followed by a quicker, dance-like section. Tüidük pieces, on the other hand, tend to more closely follow the strophic structure of professional song, beginning in a high register and descending to tonic level. Also characteristic of tüidük pieces is a short prelude which may be the same for several different song-adaptations.

Dutar pieces form the high-point of the Turkmen instrumental repertory, and dutarchis (dutar players) are most often accorded the title bakhshi. As in the case of the Uzbek dutar and Kazakh dombra, basic left-hand technique on the Turkmen

dutar consists of playing the lower string with the thumb and upper string with the fingers, the thumb thus often maintaining a more stable position against which the fingers work. Right-hand technique includes a variety of strokes, but not so varied as on the Kirghiz komuz. The basic scale of the dutar consists of a chromatic scale with a major second between the top two frets. The structure of dutar pieces is varied. Two fundamental forms are partite structures of the ABA type (with subdivisions in each seciton) and multi-sectional works in which each part begins at a different level above tonic (e.g. fourth, fifth, then octave) and descends to tonic (open-string) level gradually. In the later type of piece, the performer may delay the return considerably, creating suspense. Rhythmically, dutar pieces are quite varied as well, ranging from stable tempo giusto works through works with wavering rhythm to tunes bordering on free rhythm. Melodic diversity is maintained through changing the melody from upper to lower string, playing in parallel intervals (usually fourths) or using either string as a drone against a melody on the other string.

The Turkmen epic (dastan) consists principally of two components; the widespread Köroglu tale of the Near East and Turkestan and a series of literary romances transmitted in written or oral manner (e.g. Shahsonem and Gharib, Asli and Kerem, Khürlükga and Hemra) whose plots usually revolve around a pair of star-crossed lovers. The Turkmen version

of Köroglu is generally considered transitional between the Azerbaijani and Uzbek variants, confirming the crossroads nature of Turkmen culture. The term for epic singer is ozan or uzan, reminiscent of Armenian gusan and Georgian mgosani. The high esteem accorded musicians and epic reciters is summarized in the following proverb: "In good times, bakhshis and ozans come to the people, and in bad times the khans with their dust." Tale performances consist of prosaic narrative interspersed with songs representing monologues or dialogues of characters. Among Central Asian Turks, the Turkmens are known for memorizing rather than improvising tales, a fact perhaps related to the great diffusion of prirted texts in recent times.

Soviet Turkmen music developed rather more slowly than the new musics of neighboring republics, but in recent years an active school of local composers has emerged, including such figures as Kholmahmedov and Nurimov. A new ensemble of folk instruments has been established led by the well-known musician Tashmahmedov. One interesting development has been tne evolution of the electro-dutar, which has enabled the normally gentle sound of the dutar to be combined with the piano.

The Karakalpaks

Located between their fellow-Turks (Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kazakhs) the Karakalpaks seem related musically to their

immediate neighbors. In their instrumentarium are a long-necked lute (dutar) close in construction to the Turkmen dutar, the ghichak spike fiddle of the Turkmens and Uzbeks, the qobuz horsehair fiddle of the Kazakhs and the Uzbek nai transverse flute, doira tambourine, surnai double-reed pipe and balaman single-reed pip. Like Turkmens and Kazakhs, Karakalpaks are said to have had only a modest amount of dance in their traditional music culture.

A certain amount of repertory also shows mixed links, such as dutar pieces with names found among Kazakh dömbra works, while outstanding Karakalpak performers are honored with the sobriquet bakhshi, also a Turkmen custom. Examination of limited data indicates that Karakalpak vocal and instrumental styles are distinctive yet likewise reminiscent of Turkmen and Kazakh music. As among all Central Asian peoples, epic recitation is traditionally important, with the chief Karakalpak tale being Kirk qiz ("Forty Maidens").

The Uighurs

The Uighurs live both in the USSR and in adjacent Chinese Sinkiang. Their music is close in many respects to that of the Uzbeks and Tajiks, most clearly in the case of classical music. This repertory consists of twelve large sets of vocal and instrumental works called, like their Uzbek and Tajik counterparts, maqams. Four of the Uighur maqams bear the same names as four of the six canonical Bukharan maqams:

Chargah, Nava, Segah and Iraq, while the remaining eight suites have titles of Near Eastern origin not found in Bukhara (Rak, Chabiyat, Mushaviraq, Ushaq, Bayat, Ajam, Ozal, Panjigah). The last-named maqam is found among Uzbeks of the Khwarizm area. Taken as a whole, the maqams include over 70 instrumental pieces and 170 songs. Dance is an integral part of maqam performance, with specific pieces alloted for that purpose.

The instruments of the Uighur maqam are largely akin to those of the Uzbeks and Tajiks: dutar, rubab and tembir (Uzbek-Tajik tanbur) lutes, ghichak and sato fiddles, nai transverse flute, surnai oboe, karnai horn naghara, tevelbas (Uzbek-Tajik doolbas) and dap drums and sapai jingle. Chinese ties are apparent in the case of the shanza lute and yenjing hammered dulcimer.

According to the Uighur composer K. Kuzhamyarov, Uighur song is characterized by straightforward melody combined with variable rhythm, and a wealth of melismatic ornamentation and glissandi, the latter involving considerable use of microtonal intervals.

The Tajiks

Tajik music falls into two large divisions: the instruments, repertories and practices of the mountain-dwellers and those of the plains and river-valley Tajiks. The latter group share many components of their music culture with the

neighboring Uzbeks, while the former maintain highly distinctive, at times, archaic traits.

Let us first examine the mountain Tajiks. This group itself can be subdivided into two categories: the inhabitants of the Karategin, Darwaz and Hissar zones, who speak dialects of Tajik (eastern Persian), and the so-called Pamir peoples, small isolated populations near the Panj river (Soviet-Afghan border) who speak Iranian languages deemed highly archaic by linguists. The distinctiveness of the Pamir music cultures rests primarily on one lute-type, often called robab, and on characteristic song-types. The Pamir robab has a bent pegbox, broad fingerboard, thick hide lid-bowl-shaped belly and wide flanges. Its most obvious morphological ties are to the damyan of Nepal, confirming a pattern of cross-mountain relationships between the Pamirs and Himalayas. The robab is played with sharply accented strokes of a thick wooden plectrum and often accompanies songs in a low register and tremulous, hoarse timbre. Women's antiphonal work songs are another Pamir genre. Many Pamir musical traits are shared with neighboring mountain Tajiks (who also live in adjacent Afghan Badakhshan). These include masked and animal-imitation dances and brief folk theatricals generally of a humorous or satirical bent as well as depictions of work processes (textile-making, hunting).

Mountain Tajiks play three principal musical instruments: the tulak, a block flute, the dumbrak (or dambura, dutār-i

maida), a two-stringed fretless lute, and the ghichak, a spike fiddle with a tin-can resonator. The dumbrak is a close relative of the southern Uzbek dombra (or dömbra) and of the Afghan Turkestani dambura. Each of the three instruments just cited among mountain Tajiks has a characteristic repertory unparalleled in the lowlands regions. A general term for some of the styles is felak ("firmament," "fate") or gharibi ("poor man's music"). Typical features include: narrow melodic range, considerable chromaticism, extremely protracted final syllables, free rhythm or frequent use of a seven-count meter, quatrain verse form and parallel fourths on the lute and fiddle. These features also mark the music of Afghan Badakhshan.

The musical instruments of the plains and river-valley Tajiks overlap those of the Uzbeks to a large extent. Shared instruments include the tanbur, dutār, chārtār, panjtār and shashtār long necked lutes, chang hammered dulcimer, ghichak and sato fiddles, surnai oboe, karnai horn, juftnai paired single-reed pipe (Uzbek qoshnai) naghāra and doira drums, qairāq stone castanets and safail jingle. Among instruments not shared with the Uzbeks are the Afghan robab lute, the Dulan robab and the panjtār as a bowed lute.

Uzbek and Tajik musical symbiosis has been a long and complex process, beginning around 1500 A.D. with the Uzbeks' invasions. The Uzbeks adapted to a cultural situation dominated by two periods: that of an Iranian (later-Tajik)

substratum developed before the earliest Turkic incursions (definitive by 500 A.D.) and that which evolved in a milennium of pre-Uzbek Turco-Iranian contact (500-1500 A.D.). Tajik music culture is a product of the same historical conditions, onto which Uzbek influence was drafted as a final offshoot. Perhaps the area of most significant musical cooperation has been that of the classical style of Transoxania, which reached its highest efflorescence in the court music of the Kingdom of Bukhara, the Shashmaqām ("Six maqams").

The Shashmaqām was not codified in present form until the 18th century, though forerunners of the eventual system are present in earlier theoretical works, most notably the treatise of Najmuddin Kaukabi (d. 1576). The six maqāms are (in standard order): Buzruk, Rāst, Navā, Dugāh, Segāh and Irāq. The last five terms are also names of classical Persian avāz (modes), while Buzruk is an archaic variant of Persian bozorg ("large"). All six maqāms have the same basic internal structure, with some variation in detail, and exist in both Uzbek and Tajik versions. Each maqām is divided into a purely instrumental section followed by an extensive set of accompanied songs. The former (mushkilot, "difficulties") is considerably shorter than the latter (nasr, "text"). The mushkilot consists of five named movements: tasnif, tarje, gardun, mukhammas and saqil. Except for the gardun, all movements have a rondo-like structure made up of a recurring phrase (bāzgui) and varied departures (khāna): the

gardun contains only khāna sections; Ex. 6 gives the first two khānas and the bāzgui of the tasnif of maqām Buzruk.

The nasr section of each maqām employs a small chorus of singers performing in unison with a group of instrumentalists who also play in unison with only minor embellishments. The internal structure of the nasr is quite complex. The largest subdivisions are termed shu'ba ("branches"). Among these, the first group of shu'ba is unique in its configuration while the remaining groups (up to three) each follow a standard outline. The first group of shu'ba contains four extended songs: sarakhbār, talqin, nasr and ufār, the last being in a dance rhythm. Between each of these weightier songs is one or more lighter and briefer compositions (up to six) called taroma, which may be based on folk texts and rhythms rather than on the complex metrics of classical Persian verse.

The second and subsequent groups of shu'ba have five songs: sowt, talqincha, kashkarcha, sāqināma and ufār, but no taronas. A new musical principle is introduced; each movement employs the same melody, while varying the rhythmic structure according to the meter of the poem being set. The basic structures are 4+4+4+4=15 (sowt), 7+7=14 (talqincha), 5+5+5+5=20 (kashkarcha), 5+5=10 (sāqināma) and 5+5+5=13 (ufar). Beyond the groups of shu'ba there tend to be accretions of separate movements in each maqām, sometimes bearing the name of an outstanding performer of the past who has

left his mark on the repertory.

Filling out the structural skeleton just outlined is the complex musical material of each major song. Basically there are four key components of the maqām songs, each involving a different parameter of performance. Rhythmically, two factors can be cited: the verse meter, just mentioned as the sole differentiating element in the later groups of shu'ba but important in every movement, and the usul, or drum pattern hammered out by the tambourine unvaryingly throughout the entire song. Recent studies have shown these two rhythmic components to be interrelated. Melodically and structurally there are also two major factors. One is the tendency towards an overall asymmetrical arch contour for each movement, which reaches its peak (auj) nearer the end than the beginning of the song. The pattern is arrived at in a terraced way, with each successive rise or fall of tessitura marked by an instrumental interlude setting the new pitch level. The other important melodic factor is the grand scheme of modal interrelationships obtaining within each maqam and within each momement. Extended melodic patterns (namud) are identified by a modal name and are grafted onto the melodic structure of the given maqam. Often namuds occur as auj culmination sections. Ex. 7 gives Namud-i nava (Uzbek version), which appears definitively in the opening of the sarakhbār movement of Maqām navā and is found in the Nauruz-i sabā group of shu'ba of Maqām rāst, in the sarakhbār,

talqin nasr and ufār of Maqam segāh and in various shu'ba of Maqām navā proper. As a namud such as the one in Ex. 7 appears in various metro-rhythmic contexts (including diverse drum accompaniments) it takes on new characteristics.

It is worth noting that the only indigenous Central Asian system of music notation was developed for the Shashmaqām. This is the so-called Khwarizmian notation, a tablature for the tanbur lute (lead instrument of the maqām ensemble) developed for the Khan of Khiva by Niaz Mirzabashi Kamil (d. 1889). The entire Shashmaqām was transcribed into this system, which relies on a horizontal grid indicating frets, with vertical connecting lines to show melodic motion and dots to represent the number of back and forth strokes (e.g. eighth-note values) for each note. The underlying rhythm is notated by merely stating the usul drum pattern.

We are able to touch on only a few of the salient features of the Shashmaqām. Its relationship to surrounding classical musics, such as that of Iran, Azerbaijan, Turkey and the Arab countries has not yet been established, and links to other neighbors such as the Kashmiri maqām and the North Indian raga need also to be explored.

Soviet Tajik music has had a slow but steady growth, while musicology lags far behind performance developments. As in the case with Turkmen music, only one extensive monograph has appeared in Soviet times, and that in 1932. Tajik instruments underwent a reconstruction process similar to

that described below for Uzbek instruments. The vigorous evolution of Tajik contemporary music is reflected in the progress of popular songs, strongly linked to developments in the Near East.

The Uzbeks

Of all the two dozen Uzbek musical instruments, only two are not shared with the Tajiks: the sibizi, single-reed pipe (Turkmen dilitüidük) and the ghajir nai, a short open-end-blown flute made from the wing-bone of a steppe eagle (ghajir). Close Uzbek-Tajik musical ties have been outlined above; there are also links to the Turkmens and, to a lesser extent, the Kazakhs in areas other than musical instruments. These ties are regionally inflected, so it is best to describe Uzbek music from the point of view of four basic local styles, as proposed by F. Karomatov.

The Surkhandarya-Kashkadarya Region. This is an arid steppe and river-valley zone of southern Uzbekistan which borders on Afghan Turkestan, Turkmeria and Tajikistan. The classical music of the nearby Bukhara-Samarqand region has traditionally had no impact on local music, though recently the radio has changed older habits. Uzbeks of this region were semi-nomadic until fairly recently and have kept many pastoral instruments no longer found in other areas of Uzbekistan: the ghajir nai, qobuz fiddle and dömbra two-stringed fretless lute. The construction of the dömbra is similar to that of the adjacent Afghan Turkestani dambura

and Tajik dumbrak, but the repertory and musical style of the Uzbek lute are unique, involving flexible use of two-part polyphony and a great range of rhythmic patterns. Dömbra pieces are used to accompany pastoral cries of shepherds. Some works are based on story-lines, linking southern Uzbek practice to Kirghiz-Kazakh traditions. Pieces titled "Kinghrat" and "Ioqai" indicate that tribal differentiation of melodies among Uzbeks was formerly a significant fact, as among Turkmens.

Many dömbra pieces are adaptations of excerpts from epic tales, which have a stronghold in this region. The reciter is termed bakhshi and employs a deep guttural voice quality found among other Central Asian and Siberian Turks. The favorite tale is the Uzbek version of the widespread Köroglu epic. It is perhaps this southern Uzbek variant which influenced the evolution of a neighboring mountain Tajik counterpart, Gurughli. The bakhshi accompanies himself on the dömbra and tends to maintain a steady narrative pace based on manifold repetition of a short melodic motive.

The Bukhara-Samarqand Region. This region encompasses the fertile valley of the lower Zerafshan River, now one of the world's major cotton-producing areas and site of very old sedentary agricultural village life. Always a cosmopolitan center, Samarqand's brilliant, eclectic musical life is best summarized by a quotation from the historian Hafez-i Abru about a pageant in the time of Sharukh (ruled 1405-47):

> Golden-tongued singers and sweet-sounding musicians played and sang to motives in Persian style, to Arab melodies according to Turkish practice and with Mongol voices following Chinese laws of singing and Altai meters.

As heirs to this tradition, the Uzbek rulers of the small Turkestani kingdoms patronized court music in the manner of their predecessors, eventually crystallizing in the Shashmaqām, outlined above. Like its Tajik counterpart, the Uzbek version of the Shashmaqām utilizes song-texts from older, classical poets (e.g. Navāi) and contributions from generations of lesser court poets. At times, poets wrote directly for musical performance, which helps account for the tight connection between metrics, melody and rhythm in the maqām tradition.

Less information is available on folksong for the Bukhara-Samarqand region, though it appears there has always been considerable mutual influence between the musics of court and countryside. Throughout the area, Uzbeks and Tajiks maintain a high degree of bilingualism and exchange of musical resources. According to V. Zhirmunsky, the Samarqand area is also renowned as the center of two major 19th-century schools of epic reciters (Bulungur and Nuratin). The former was best known for stress on heroic tales (e.g. Alpamish), while the latter excelled in romantic tales.

The Tashkent-Ferghana Valley region. This rich and fertile area of Uzbekistan has, like the Bukhara-Samarqand region, long been the home of a sizeable sedentary

agricultural population and urbanization. The Tashkent-Ferghana area is musically notable for several reasons. One is the wealth of women's song (ichkari) and the fact that Ferghana Valley women have a long tradition of instrumental play on the dutar, unusual for Uzbek women. The women's dutar is a smaller model than the male version and has a softer tone quality.

Another important aspect of Tashkent-Ferghana music is the high development of certain song forms. These include the terma or chublama, a small song of narrow range, the koshuk, the more standard song of medium length and range, featuring quatrains and seven or eight-syllable lines, the yalla, a dance song with prominent refrain joined in by spectator-guests, and the ashula, an extensive, highly developed strophic song which culminates in the katta ashula variety, a virtuoso genre sung by a unison chorus of male singers with soloists competing in skill in the upper-register, climactic (auj) sections of the song. The homes of well-to-do merchants and officials in old Tashkent were commonly the scene of weekly literary-musical gatherings in which members of the circle undertook line-by-line analysis of classical or original poems or critical listening to musical performances.

An additional distinctive feature of Tashkent-Ferghana music was the evolution of a group of maqām-like suites of songs. The principal modes used are: Dugah-Husaini, Chārgāh,

Bayāt and Gulyār-Shāhnāz. Each suite consists of five movements; these are named only in Gulyār-Shāhnāz (Gulyar-Shāhnāz, Chapandoz, Ushāq, Kashkarcha, Ufār), whereas they are numbered in the other suites (e.g. Bayāt I, II, etc.). Though maintaining some structural similarities to the Shashmaqām of Bukhara, the Tashkent-Ferghana suites, which developed principally at the court of the Khanate of Kokand in the 19th century, contain considerable regional, unique material as well.

The Khwarizm Region. The fourth major stylistic region of Uzbek music is Khwarizm, located along the upper Amu-Darya (Oxus) River. Once the focal point of a considerable empire under the Khwarizmshahs, the area was reduced to ruin by Chingiz Khan in the early 13th century and never recovered. The Khivan Khanate of the 18th and 19th centuries was a pale reflection of Khwarizm's former glory, but the court nevertheless managed to maintain a distinctive tradition of classical music, including the unique contribution of a notation system (see above). The Khwarizmian maqāms differ in many ways from the Bukharan Shashmaqām. One major variation is the addition of a seventh mode (Panjgāh), though only its instrumental section has been preserved. A number of non-Bukharan movements are present in the Khwarizmian canon as well. The peshrav in particular occurs in considerable numbers (e.g. three in Nava, four in Dugah), and the presence of the term ties the Transoxaniar maqām to that of Turkey.

Khwarizmian folk music is also highly distinctive. The bulaman, a double-reed pipe similar to the Iranian-Azerbaijani balaman or duduk, is found among Uzbeks only in Khwarizm. The accordion is also more widely spread than elsewhere in Uzbekistan due to 19th century Russian influence emanating from Orenburg, and the Khwarizmian dutar is somewhat different in timbre and construction than the dutar of other regions.

Uzbek musical modernization formally began with the occupation of Tashkent by the Russians in 1867. European musical societies were formed and the city became one of the liveliest musical centres in the Russian Empire by the turn of the century. A. Eichorn, an Austrian kapellmeister for the czarist military orchestra, undertook the first extensive transcriptions and arrangements of local folksongs in the 1880's, even sending a collection of Uzbek musical instruments to exhibitions in Vienna and St. Petersburg. All of this activity had its effect on Uzbek writers and educators as part of the local modernization movement. Particularly important were the examples of the Crimean Tatars and Azerbaijanis, who had begun writing operas in the early years of the 20th century. The Uzbek poet Furqat (1858-1909) wrote the following lines on hearing a piano recital:

> Even if it takes twenty or thirty years for our grandsons to master the secret of this music
> Furqat will consider himself comforted hundredfold.

Music institutions were rapidly established in Soviet

Uzbekistan, blossoming into such major establishments as the Tashkent Conservatory (1934). Work on the reconstruction of Uzbek musical instruments to facilitate performance of Western music and contemporary Uzbek compositions began in the 1930s and has been continued to the present. Major musicological work has also been continuous, with expeditions starting in the 1920s. The focal point of research is the Music Division of the Institute for Research in the Arts of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, headed by F. Karomatov. An extensive network of musical high schools and amateur ensembles blankets Uzbekistan, which is held up by Soviet writers as a model for musical development for the Third World.

VOLGA-URAL PEOPLES

Introduction

For purposes of the present article, the term Volga-Ural peoples includes seven nationalities of the Soviet Union: the contiguous Mari (Cheremis), Chuvash, Udmurt (Votyak), Mordvin, Tatar and Bashkir peoples, living along the great central bend of the Volga River (Povol'zhe) and nearby Kama and Ural Rivers, and the Kalmucks, who live near the Volga delta some distance south. All seven peoples live in Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics bearing their ethnic names within the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic. Collectively, the Volga-Ural peoples constitute just over 10,000,000 people, with the Tatars accounting for one-half of the total.

Linguistically, the Volga-Ural peoples fall into two groups. The Mari, Udmurt and Mordvin languages belong to the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic family, while the Chuvash, Tatar and Bashkir tongues are Turkic related to Mongol, another branch of the Altaic lanugage family, to which belongs also Kalmuck. This linguistic classification disguises the diversity of ethnic strains and complex historical circumstances which have led to the present-day Soviet nationalities under discussion. The six peoples of the central Volga-Ural area are heirs to a wide variety of peoples, ranging from the Huns and medieval Bulgars through the

Mongols of Chingiz Khan's day, and have lived for centuries with a large East Slavic population in their midst. The Kalmucks are a breakaway group of Oirat Mongols who arrived in their present area only in the 17th century, becoming important supporters of czarist rule by furnishing troops.

Musical Instruments

Musically, the diversity just cited is well reflected in the instrumentarium of the Volga-Ural peoples. Particularly striking here are the Kalmucks, who play lutes associated with the Mongols, the Altai Turkic peoples and the Kazakhs, one zither relating to Siberia and another to eastern Europe and a whole set of religious instruments integral to Buddhist worship which stem from Tibet. The six peoples of the central Volga-Ural region generally divide into two groupings in terms of musical instruments. The Tatars and Bashkirs seem closer to Central Asia in their use of long open end-blown flutes and lutes similar to the Kazakh dömbra, while the Mari, Chuvash, Mordvin and Udmurt peoples lean more towards block flutes, bagpipes and zithers related to East European instruments. Unique to the area are the musical bow (kon-kon) of the Mari and the chipchirgan of the Udmurts, an open pipe played by inhalation only. General for the entire region is the adoption of the various forms of accordion common in Russia, along with local variants.

The Mari (Cheremis)

The importance of music in Mari religion and ritual is well documented. Of particular interest is the significance of three types of short curved horns: the puch (of cow's horn), size-puch (wooden) and surem-puch (bark). These were traditionally used to announce that a house had a marriageable girl, or played during the many intricate ceremonies of animal sacrifice. After use, horns may be hung in trees, buried or broken. Many taboos surround horns, e.g. if played for non-religious purposes during the growing season, a severe winter might result.

Zithers may be used for various religious services as well, particularly among followers of the reformist kugu sorta sect founded in the late 19th century. Bagpipes and fiddles are commonly played for entertainment at ritual-related festivities. One such occasion is the feast held 40 days after a funeral. A guest impersonating the dead man (often a brother or friend) and wearing his clothes takes full part in the entertainment and may be escorted "back" to the cemetery to bagpipe accompaniment. The major spring fertility ceremonies involve considerable music-making, along with games, contests and ritual offerings. Near the same time falls the period for remem' ring ancestors, from the Tuesday before Easter to the following Monday, in which music plays an important part. Continuing the annual cycle, one must note the major time for sacrifices to supernatural

forces, a week to ten days in early summer. Music is also heard in the young people's holiday after the harvest in November and is strikingly featured in the year-end festival, perhaps influenced by East Slavic traditions. References to music abound in the rich stock of omens and proverbs of the Mari, e.g. "If a Russian sings, it will rain," or "If you sing in your dream, you'll cry during the day."

Mari music, like that of the neighboring Chuvash was the object of intense scrutiny on the part of major Hungarian researchers such as Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, who sought to find Central Asian, Finno-Ugric links to what they defined as the oldest layers of Hungarian peasant music. In particular, Kodály was struck by the strong structural resemblance of certain Mari and Chuvash songs to one genre of Hungarian tunes. The distinctive features linking the melodies are: 1) four-part structure; 2) anhemitonic pentatonic scale and 3) division of the melody into two constituent parts of similar contour separated by a fixed intervalic relationship, often a fifth. Below (Ex. 1) is a comparative score of three tunes, one each of the Mari, Chuvash and Hungarians to indicate the strong affinity noted by Kodály. One should also observe the distinctive treatment of the scale, rhythm and melodic turns which lend unique national character to each tune.

It should be noted that transposition of a melody of form components of a song occurs at different intervals

among the people mentioned, e.g. Chuvash tunes with melodic replication up a fourth or a Tatar tune moving down a sixth, and that as a basic melodic technique transposition occurs among many widely scattered peoples.

Like the music cultures of the other Volga-Ural peoples, Mari traditional music has undergone considerable development in Soviet times. State support and training of local composers has resulted in a considerable output of works on Mari themes, and Russian composers have also written compositions based on Mari source material. Musical schools and institutes have been established and folk ensembles abound. The major early shaper of Mari Soviet music was I. Plantai.

The Chuvash

Though linguistically and nominally distinct from the Mari, the Chuvash nevertheless show strong affinities to their immediate northern neighbors in types and diversity of musical instruments. The clear Turkic stamp on the Chuvash metric system, however, links the Chuvash to their linguistic cousins, the Tatars and Bashkirs (or, even farther, to the Kazakhs and Kirghiz) in approach to song texts and genres.

Song is an important facet of traditional Chuvash life, as witnessed by the large number of songs about singing. Thus, in one song, the host chides the guests for their silence:

A good horse doesn't drink water without a whistle:

A good man doesn't drink beer without a song.
Why are you sitting so quietly? What, is our beer bad?
Why have you lowered your heads? Have you become the sons of bad men?

Like the music of many of the neighboring peoples, Chuvash music relies heavily on pentatonic scale structures, though in printed collections of folksongs, non-pentatonic melodies may account for as much as 25% of the total. Within the bounds of pentatonicism, Chuvash melodies display considerable variety of pitch placement, creating four basic pentatonic configurations. They are summarized below with percentage of distribution as given by Maksimov, a leading student of Chuvash music:

Type 1. 12%. c-d-f-g-a
Type 2. 10%. c-d-f-g-b-flat
Type 3. 58%. c-d-f-g-a
Type 4. 20%. c-e-flat*-f-g-b-flat

*e-flat often between e-flat and e-natural in pitch

Chuvash songs seem predominantly syllabic in setting, with rhythm often closely tied to the meter of the song text. On the other hand, singers frequently use the same text to several different melodies in a variety of rhythms and meters. Strophic songs form the majority, often in the four-line structure cited above as common to Mari and old Hungarian folk songs. Somewhat exceptional are certain songs of the takmak genre (also common to Tatars and Bashkirs), in which a moderately slow, legato section is followed by a quick, staccato refrain.

Chuvash Soviet music began early: the first national

chorus performed in Moscow in 1923. A technical musical school was opened in 1929, and the symphony orchestra began in 1932. F. Pavlov was a major musical pioneer, active as composer, organizer, collector of folk songs and theorist.

The Udmurts (Votyaks)

Like their Mari neighbors, the Udmurts traditionally placed great stress on a complex set of religious beliefs and rituals. Communal prayers and sacrifices were organized on a clan basis.

Songs are highly valued by the Udmurts. In czarist times, recruits were expected to leave songs of their own composition behind as souvenirs when they left their village. This custom also held for girls marrying out of the community. During domestic festivities, the hosts were required to fashion songs for the guests, while the latter had to return the obligation by improvising additional songs of their own. Riddles and fairy tales are also favorites, with whole evenings being devoted to those entertainments.

Regionally, Udmurt music tends to fall into northern and southern styles. Northerners prefer epic recitation, while southerners lean more towards love songs in a style close to that of the Tatars and Bashkirs. For the most part, songs are performed without instrumental accompaniment.

Soviet Udmurt music began quite early with the productions of local theatrical organizations. Beginning presentations were based on Udmurt folk music and ceremonial themes,

such as Maiorov's "Udmurt Wedding" of 1918. Of particular importance in the early years was the work of K. Gerd, actor, playwright and collector of folk songs whose anthologies were published in the 1920s.

The Mordvins

A 19th-century Russian traveler reported hearing Mordvins singing when he was five miles away from a village. This account is evidence for the Mordvin's love of song, both on special occasion or simply for passing the time during long winter nights.

Mordvin folk music encompasses a considerable range of scalar structures, number of voices and metro-rhythmic patterns. In the area of monophonic song, one can find slow or moderately-paced pentatonic tunes with extensive narrative texts, sometimes telling an entire tale. These may be in a single meter or be quite heterometric. Two-part and three-part songs often begin with a soloist's introduction in the manner of Russian folksongs. These polyphonic tunes reveal a wide variety of treatment, from lower-voice drone and/or unison with upper voice to relatively free contrapuntal lines. Quite common is the use of parallel thirds and a final cadence on an octave or unison, also reminiscent of Russian folksongs.

Such echoes of the neighboring Russians are not surprising. A document of 1696 describes interested Mordvin spectators watching an outdoor Russian minstrel-theatrical

production, and Russian influence has been steady ever since then. The wide spread of the European violin and accordion also testify to the Russian impact. Whether or not the Mordvin nudi, a paired single-reed pipe, is related directly to the Russian zhaleika is difficult determine, but the nudi marks the eastern limit of such aerophones, which have no Central Asian representative between the Mordvins and the Uzbek goshnai far to the south.

Of particular interest socially is the body of traditional Mordvin wedding songs. As weddings were traditionally seen as a struggle between two opposing clans, songs for the occasion were divided musically between bride's and groom's camps, with each side holding to its own melodic motive. Below is the groom's family's motive, transcribed by the outstanding Mordvin folklorist Evseev ca. 1890 (Ex. 2). The bride was expected to change from a "maiden's voice" (teiter'ks chin yal'gei) to a deeper, coarser "woman's voice" (ure yal'gei) after the wedding. The bride's lament (Ex. 3) was a highly developed genre, being most fully expressed by a long night of solo singing outdoors. At that time, the bride directed individual songs to the four directions, the upper and household gods, the family well, her ancestors, the sunrise and her village in that order.

The early development of Soviet Mordvin music is closely linked to the activities of Evseev and L. Kriukov. An orchestra of Mordvin folk instruments was begun by 1918.

The Bashkirs

Like the Tatars, the Bashkirs distinguish between "long songs" (uzun küi), marked by free rhythm, highly melismatic melody, fragmented text, extremely extended final syllables, and "short songs" (kiska küi) - syllabic songs in fairly quick tempo with more or less even note values. A story line is basic to the long song genre, with singers taking on the mood of the characters being depicted. Within the short song, a newer variety called takmak was developed in the 19th century, apparently connected to the rise of the accordion as an accompanying instrument and related to the Russian chastushki genre.

Other basic song-types include the kubair, or epic recitation, which evidently tapered off in the 19th century, senliau (bride's lament) and teliak (groom's kin greetings to the bride) among wedding songs and the newer bait, a topical song, e.g. a 19th-century tune on the subject of the introduction of tea-drinking among the Bashkirs. One highly distinctive genre not practiced by the other Volga-Ural peoples is the uzliau, a method of guttural singing whereby the performer first produces an extremely deep chest tone and then simultaneously projects a highpitched melody line based on the upper partials of the fundamental, creating two-part music by a single singer. This technique, quite rare even in the 19th century, is paralleled among the Altai Turks, Tuvins and Mongols. Below is an example of uzliau transcribed

in the 1930s (Ex. 4).

As among the neighboring Kazakhs and Kirghiz, Bashkir instrumental music traditionally contained strong elements of story. Thus, players of the long flute (kurai) are able to musically project a specific plot to listeners. Kurai players seem to take on the importance associated with lutenists among the Kazakhs and Kirghiz in terms of participating in contests of skill and receiving high praise as wandering minstrels. The kurai can be performed in a manner analogous to the uzliau song by having the player maintain a strong steady fundamental hum under a lively flute tune. Such a style can be found among widely separated practitioners of open end-blown flutes, such as the Baluch (Iran, Afghanistan) and certain Eastern European players.

Soviet Bashkir music began in 1919 with the establishing of the professional theater and opening of the first music school. The first Bashkir opera was M. Valeev's "Khakmar," produced in 1940.

The Tatars

The Volga Tatars are distinguished from their namesakes of the Crimea, of Astrakhan and of Western Siberia. They are usually subdivided into two large groupings: the Kazan Tatars and Mishar Tatars. Within these subdivisions one must also differentiate between Muslim and Christian Tatars, located as they are at the juncture of Islam and Christianity. Though the Christian Tatars have had closer cultural ties

with nearby co-religionists (Mordvins, Chuvash, Mari and Russians), they have nevertheless preserved a significant portion of the common Tatar heritage.

Amc g the Tatars, as noted above for the Bashkirs, one finds an important division of song types which relates more to practice in the Altai region and Mongolia than to traditions to the west. The two basic genres are the "long song" (özen küi) and the "short song." The former is marked by highly ornamented, melismatic melody, free rhythm, free use of text (including fragmentation of words), extreme drawing-out of final syllables and slow tempo vs. the quick, syllabic, sparse ornamented style of the short song. The style is analogous to that of the Russian protiazhnaia pesnia or the Turkish özun hava. The fully-developed özen küi is less present among the Mishar and Christian Tatars. Ex. 5 gives the opening of an özen küi. As among the Bashkirs, Tatars also sing songs in styles intermediate to the "long" and "short" song, e.g. the takmak, bait and khushavaz.

Though pentatonic scales play an important role in Tatar music, other scalar structures abound. Melodic contour is similarly varied. While the two-part structure of transposing a tune up or down a fixed distance noted for the Cheremis and Chuvash also occurs frequently in Tatar music, one also finds many songs featuring gradual descent to the tonic or arch form. In song texts, a tendency prevalent in Turkic folk poetry to add great numbers of non-text syllables as

infixes occurs often in Tatar folksongs. Here, for example, are two lines of a song text in which the non-text syllables are given in parentheses:

Zhe (ie) ge (e) t cha(ia) klar(i) da (di le)
bar(la)da(la) i (ie) de
Ki (e)ng u(iu)ram(i) nar da be(ie) ege (le) ai
tar i (ie) de

When we were young/Broad streets seemed narrow

Since Kazan has long been a key city for both Tatars and Russians, the Tatars have been in close contact with Russian culture since Ivan the Terrible's conquest of the city in 1552. Russian and European music were introduced early, well before Soviet times. Among the clearest early adoptions from Europe was the accordion which, after being altered to suit local taste, became the chief accompanying instrumen as of the late 19th century. After the Revolution, professional music in the European sense developed among the Tatars, leading to the establishment of the Kazan Conservatory in 1945.

The Kalmucks

The Kalmucks, though separated from their homeland and compatriots for nearly 350 years, have preserved a significant portion of their Mongolian musical heritage despite considerable acculturation to Tatar, Cossack and Russian cultural patterns. Their songs frequently fall into the long-short (ut dun-akhr dun) dichotomy described for the Tatars and Bashkirs. Melodically, one can find two-register songs

featuring melodic transposition as well as songs with great melodic leaps.

Song texts and performance practice reflect a wide range of subject matter, from work songs connected to fishing and pastoral activities through love songs to the epic tales of the hero Jangar. Instrumental music is largely introduced as dance accompaniment, an entertainment widespread among Kalmucks. A solo dancer takes his cues from the dömbra (lute) player, performing a variety of gestures while standing in lace.

Kalmuck association with Russian and European music is quite old. According to one account, a Kalmuck khan used to maintain a household orchestra, which included European instruments, capable of playing Mozart and Rossini overtures. In the late 19th century, the Kalmuck cellist Dorji Manjiev performed in St. Petersburg. These musical ties to Europe have been strengthened and broadened in Soviet times, resulting in the emergence of Kalmuck composers and a modern Kalmuck repertoire (operas, symphonies, etc.).

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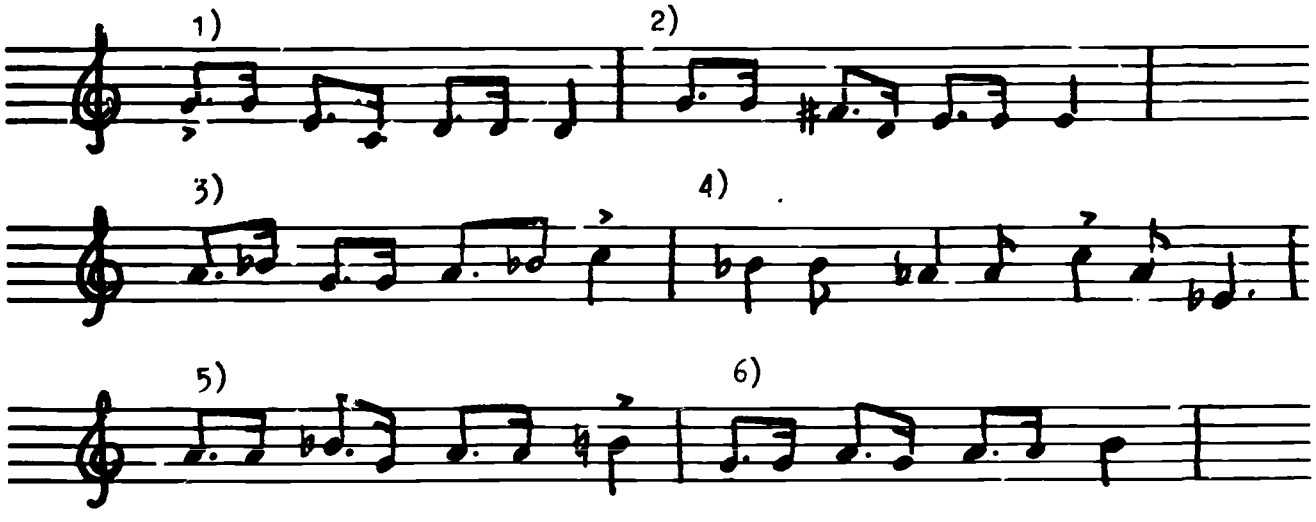
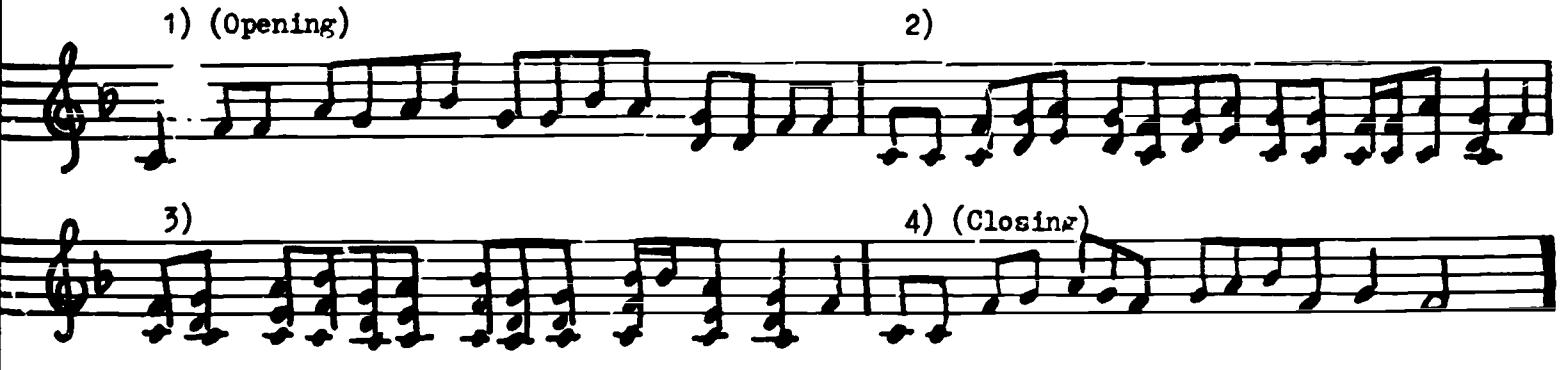
APPENDIX

Examples of Central Asian and Volga-Ural Music

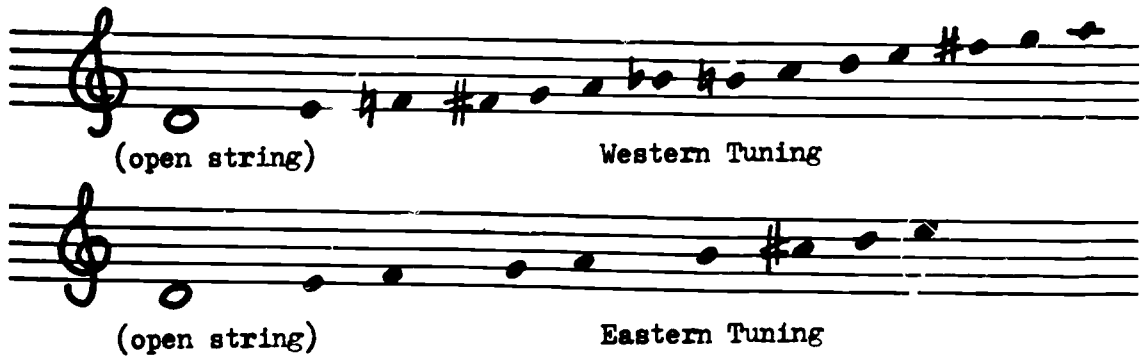
Ex. 1. Melodic motives for reciting the Manas (Kirghiz epic)



Ex. 2. Variational style of Kirghiz komuz pieces. From "Toktogulduu Arman-kuu"

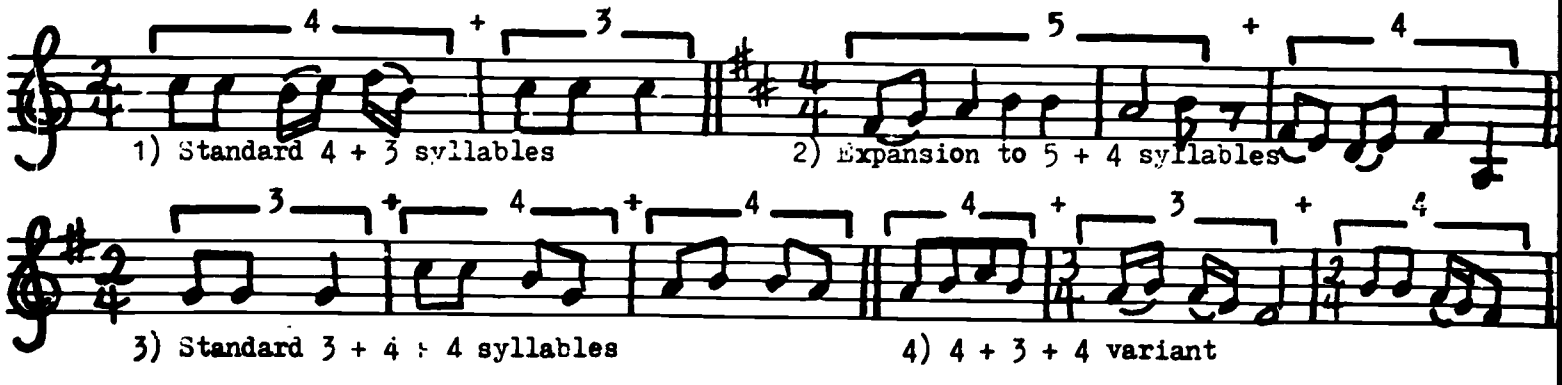


Ex. 3. Regional tunings of the Kazakh dümbra

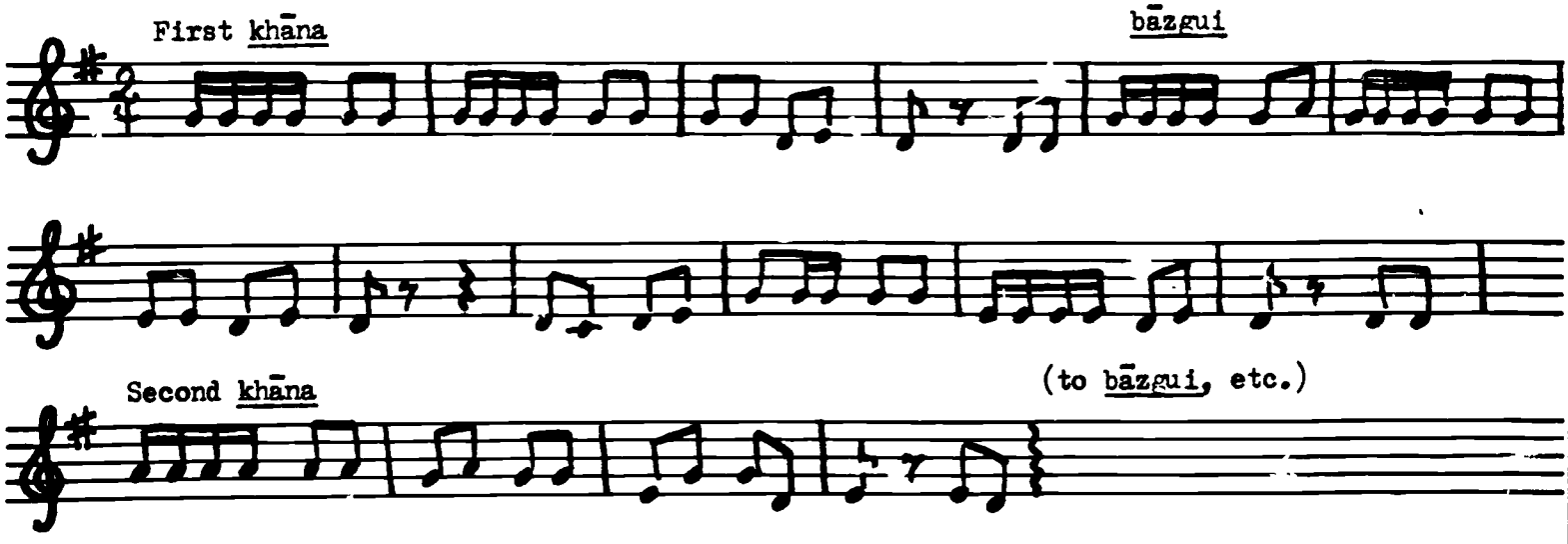


Ex. 4. Kazakh coachman's improvized song, transcribed c. 1880

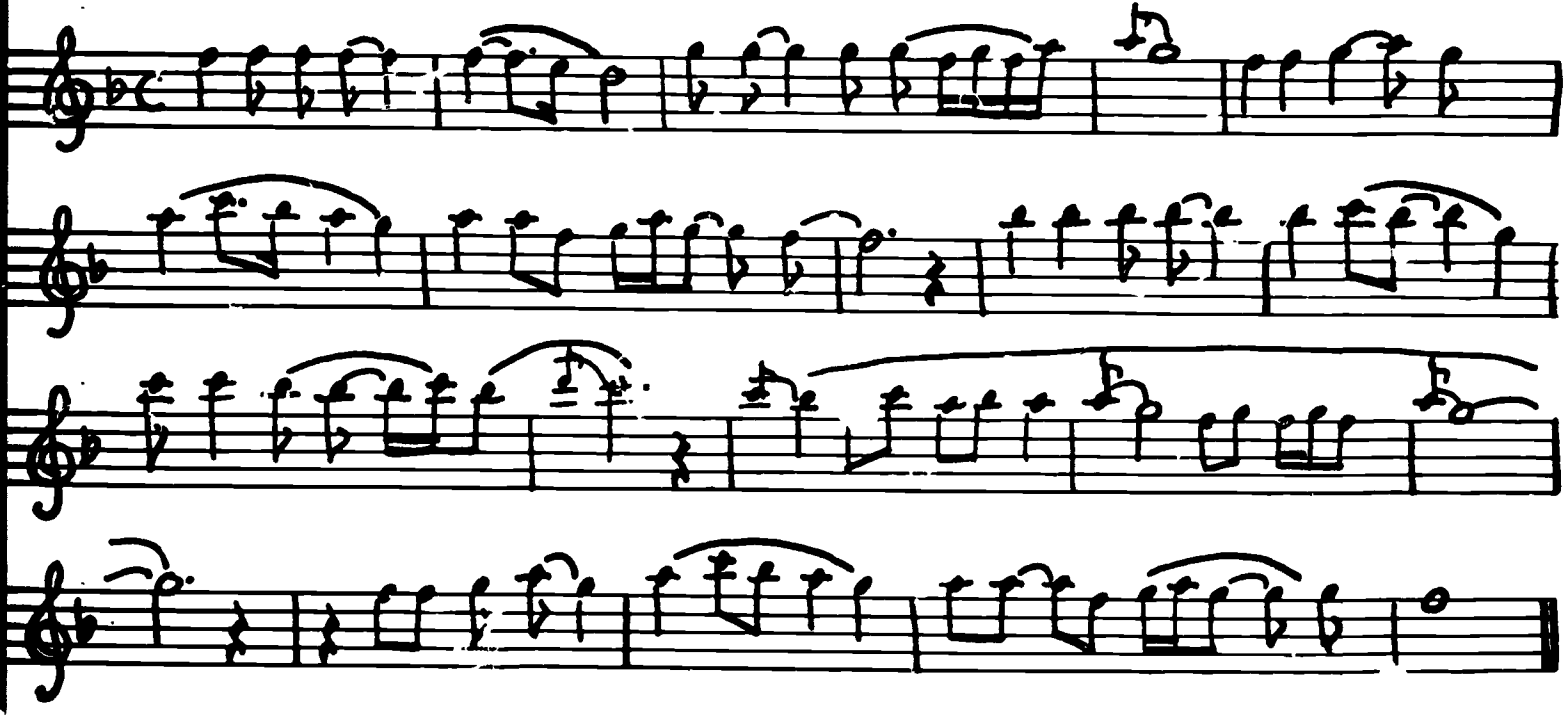
Ex. 5. Kazakh folk prosody



Ex. 6. Excerpts of "Tasnif" from Tajik Maqām Buzruk (instrumental)

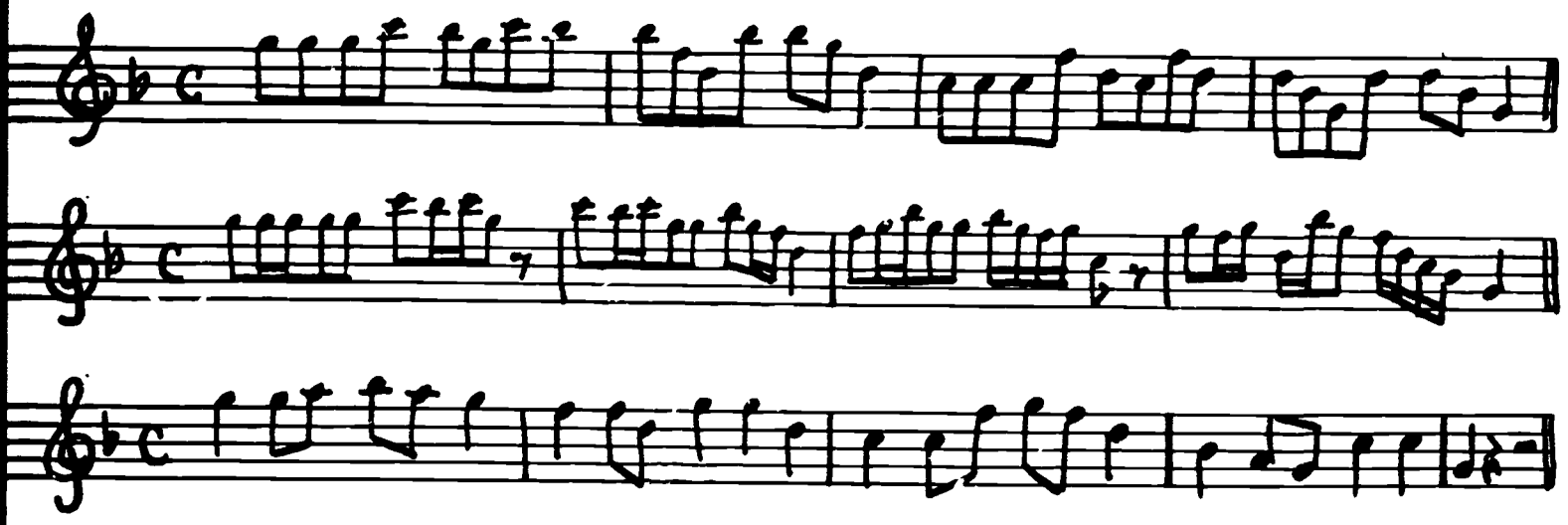


Ex. 7. "Namud-i Nava" from Uzbek Shashmaqām.

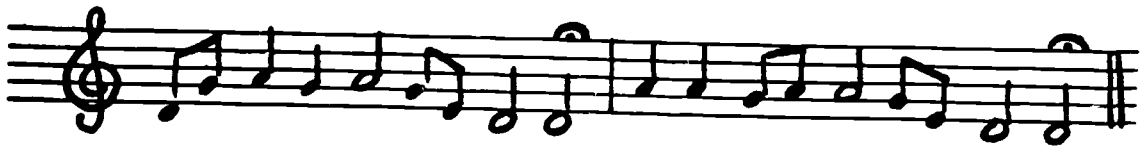


VOLGA-URAL PEOPLES: MUSIC EXAMPLES

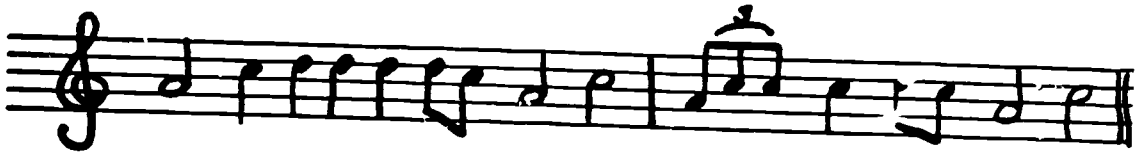
Ex. 1. Comparison of a Mari, Chuvash, and Hungarian folksong melody.



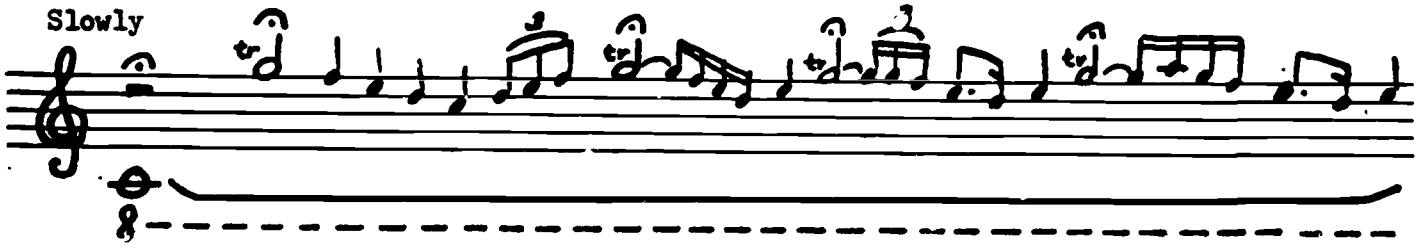
Ex. 2. Mordvin tune for groom's kin.



Ex. 3. Mordvin tune for bride's lament.



Ex. 4. Excerpt from Bashkir uzliau song (one singer).



Ex. 5. Opening of a Tatar özan küi ("long song"), "Urman" ("The Forest").