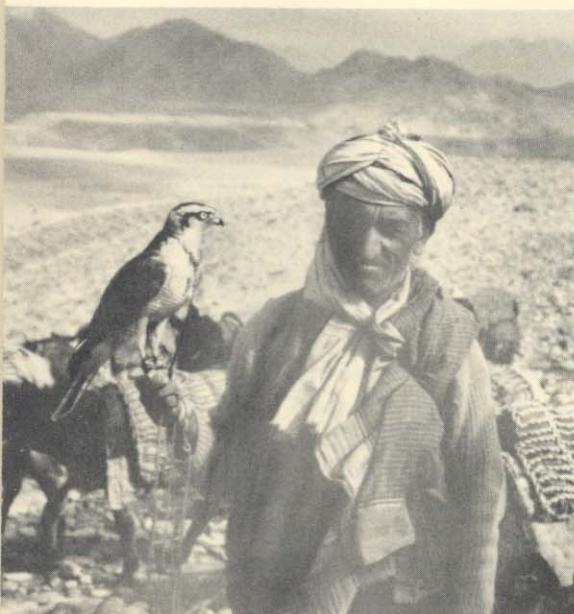
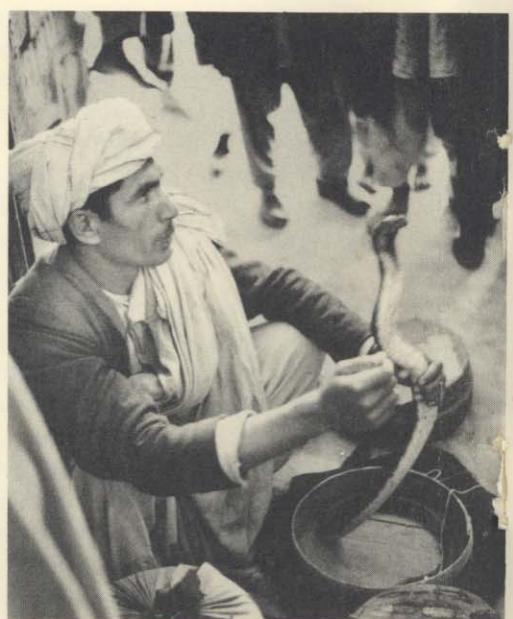




*Fig. 1.1. A šowqi activity: partridge fighting in Tašqurğan*



*Fig. 1.2. A šowqi activity: hunting with falcons in the Lağman region*



*Fig. 1.3. A šowqi activity: snake handling in Xanabad*

# The Shared Music Culture

## THE OCCURRENCE OF MUSIC

In delineating the shared music culture of northern Afghanistan, it will be useful first to determine what niche music occupies in the general cultural pattern of the area. We shall examine music as part of a broad range of activities defined by northerners as belonging to a single set, and then move on to outline the particular characteristics of musical activity within that larger category.

The most common term associated with musical activity is *šowq*, or *šowqi*, a Persian word. Steingass's definition of *šowq* (1970:766) is worth quoting in full, as it conveys some of the nuances implied in the term:

Filling with desire; desire, yearning, love; affection, inclination, predilection; fancy, pleasure; curiosity; sympathy.

And for *šowqi* he gives "Loving, amorous; cheerful" (1970:766). In Afghanistan as a whole, *šowqi* is used by Persian speakers to describe a great many activities practiced by individuals for their own pleasure, and it implies the state of mind that leads a person to involve himself in those pursuits. In Afghanistan the adjectival noun form *šowqi* is used for this state, and it may also be applied to musicians as part of a professional name, e.g., Karim Šowqi. Different Afghans may provide varying lists of activities that can be included under the rubric of *šowqi*, but there is underlying agreement as to the general scope and connotations of the term. Let us look at a partial list of *šowqi* pursuits gathered from a number of Afghans:

- Gambling of all sorts (dice, cards, casting sheep bones)
- Collecting any sort of object, but particularly such things as weapons
- Raising, training, and fighting various animals (quails, partridges, roosters, dogs, camels)
- Collecting snakes, lizards, and scorpions
- Admiration and raising of flowers
- Kite flying, wrestling, and other sports
- Decorating objects lavishly (radios, musical instruments, cars, trucks, horsecarts, etc.)
- Patronizing favorite dancing boys or female entertainers
- Playing a musical instrument as an amateur

The thread running through these diverse activities is the inner state that leads the individual to indulge in them. This state is hard to define precisely but involves several of the terms listed by Steingass: pleasure, affection, and predilection seem nearest the mark. Afghans describe *šowqi* as a condition of the *dil*, or heart, and by and large give the term a positive value. If a person is *šowqi* for something, “*dilaš zende ast*” (“his heart is lively”), although, as we shall see, an excess of *šowqi* can be harmful.

To compare the phenomenon with its counterpart in, say, American culture, *šowqi* embraces the range of pursuits we might classify as pastime, hobby, or avocation, though these terms are a bit weaker than the affective field of *šowqi*. One can perhaps think of a *šowqi* person as falling somewhere between the American “buff” and “nut” (as in “rifle buff” or “car nut”); the former term seems a bit mild for *šowqi*, while the latter falls into the overzealous range. Thus, *šowqi* lies somewhere in the zone between a hobby and an obsession and can perhaps best be described as a preoccupation with certain objects or activities, but one that does not constitute the individual’s principal job or determine his station in life. In the broadest sense, *šowqi* can be used as a general epithet to sum up someone’s character, generally in an admiring way: “*U besiār šowqist*” (“He’s very *šowqi*”). The evident implication is that an individual who shows signs of life — of yearning, fancy, and desire — is on the right track. We shall discuss in detail below the ramifications of the term *šowqi* as applied to the musician; for now it will suffice to understand *šowqi* as a broad category that includes music.

Music, then, is one of the activities that enlivens life. Yet if this pursuit is carried too far, the bounds of *šowqi* are overstepped and music becomes a potential source of social danger. Perhaps the clearest reflection of this attitude toward music lies in terms applied to certain musicians or used by them to describe their own situation. To call a man a *diwāna* (“madman”), for example, clearly rules him beyond the pale of normal social behavior; yet this term may be used for particular musicians, even as a form of address. *Majnun*, the name of the love-mad hero of the old Arabo-Persian tale of Leili and Majnun, is almost a synonym for *diwana*. Further, a musician may be said to be *mast* (“drunk”) while playing, and the activity itself might be termed *masti kardan* (“whooping it up”), implying drunkenness. Even the relatively less loaded term *āšeq* (also used traditionally in Iran and Azerbaijan for minstrel) literally means “lover” and comes close to *majnun* in core meaning. All of these epithets connote *šowqi* beyond normal limits.

A further terminological reference to the musician's special state relates to the warmth or heat generated by his performance. The musician himself takes this as a natural part of his life. For example, during a private recording session with Axmad-baxši, an outstanding Turkmen performer, I asked for a certain song; he declined, saying that the song "takes a great deal of strength," and must come after several more relaxed selections. Midway through the session I offered him some melon to effect a break for interviewing. Axmad-baxši refused, saying, "Dil-i man garm šud" ("My heart [soul] has become hot"); melon, locally classified as a cool food, would have been unsuitable for him at the moment. Pointing to a friend seated next to him, the musician said that *he* could have some; the friend, himself a musician, had no objection to melon as long as he was not performing. Similarly, a lively performance may be termed *porjuš* ("boiling over"). Such a conception of the internal heat of performers strikes a familiar cultural bell when one recalls terms such as "hot" jazz and "fiery" rendition. For the layman in Afghanistan, as in the West, this special ardor of the musician carries vaguely dangerous overtones.

In Afghanistan, as elsewhere, the peril lies in disruption of the social balance through loosening of public morals. To understand this possibility fully, we must step back and examine the place of music in Islam, since religion is usually cited as the principal support of morality in Afghanistan. It is generally agreed that while the Qur'an takes no explicit stand against music, the *hadith* (traditions) surrounding Mohammad's life contain numerous examples of antimusical bias — e.g., calling musical instruments "the devil's muezzin, serving to call men to his worship" (Hitti 1963:274). As Farmer has noted, these *hadith* "were used with considerable effect by the legists (*fuqaha*) to forbid any kind of music save that which was known to have been tolerated by the Prophet" (1957:427). However, there was some disagreement among Muslim theorists: "Most Moslem legists and theologians frowned on music; some condemned it in all its aspects; a few looked upon it as religiously unpraiseworthy (*makruh*), though not actually sinful (*haram*) . . ." (Hitti 1963:274). Farmer notes that while "the four great legal schools of Islam . . . decided, more or less, against 'listening to music,' a most interesting controversial literature on its permissibility or otherwise grew up" (1957:427). Thus it is difficult to generalize about Islamic attitudes towards music; the individual time and locale must be considered, and even then conflicting views might be unearthed. Even the practitioners of Sufi mysticism in Afghanistan differ in their stands on the usefulness or harmfulness of

music as a means toward enlightenment. While it is possible to ascertain for a certain group of Afghans, for example, the Hazaras of central Afghanistan, that they "have come to feel that music in all aspects is religiously unpraiseworthy" (Sakata 1968:20), it is necessary to try to get at the roots of this blanket disapproval so often expressed by the general public.

From the religious point of view, the most censurable aspect of music is perhaps its guilt by association with activities that are clearly offensive to public Islamic morals — specifically, loose sexual behavior, linked to music through the medium of the dance, itself viewed with ambivalence. To see how this one sector of musical performance has cast its shadow over all entertainment, we must turn to the various types of music and dance performance, noting which are considered innocent and which dangerous.

The basic term for music throughout Afghanistan is *sāz*, which Steingass (1970:640) defines as "a musical instrument; arms, apparatus. . ." There is thus implied a close connection between the general phenomenon of music and the specific material object, or apparatus, of the musical instrument. This link is not accidental to the Afghan conception of music. Time and again it becomes clear through interviews that the layman, whose only word for music is *saz* (the learned term *musiqi* has highly specialized connotations and is not in general use), defines as music only those performances that include use of a musical instrument. The singing of the lone nomad in the steppe, or the unaccompanied woman crooning a lullaby, and of the religious balladeer of the streets is rarely if ever counted as *saz* by the man in the street. Similarly, the principal term for musician is *sāzanda*, by definition a player of musical instruments. *Xunanda*, "singer," may be used for musicians who are not also instrumentalists, but such performers usually refuse to sing without instrumental accompaniment. Furthermore, in the North the terms *diwana*, *majnun*, and *mast*, cited above as special epithets for musicians, are usually applied to instrumentalists rather than to singers.

This narrow definition of music excludes most of the "innocent" manifestations, such as those cited above, and tends to focus on the sphere in which music plays a potentially dangerous role — for music with instruments occurs principally at public or private festivities, where dance is also likely to appear or to be implied by the type of music performed. Dance is almost universally recognized as an activity that oversteps the bounds of *šowqi* and leads to vice. If a boy dances in public, it is felt that he is liable to be tempted to enter a career as a *bačabāzingar*, a dancing boy of dubious morals. Similarly, a woman

who dances outside the most immediate family circle will find her social position suspect. The institution of the *zirxāna*, a cellar room in which handsome abducted boys were trained as dancers, is well documented for the North through 1939 (Jarring). According to residents of Andxoi, the town Jarring describes, the *zirxana* has only recently declined, because of police pressure.

Dance can, however, be innocent, as when the female members of the family dance for a wedding, or boys dance within the domestic circle for recreation. It is only the presence of outsiders that the family solidarity and reputation become threatened through dance, which is then seen as slightly wanton if not downright lascivious. It can be argued that this dark side of music and dance reflects a fear of crumbling social barriers as much as the sanctions of religion.

Anxiety about losing social status is the other primary factor militating against freedom in performance of music and dance. As we shall see in detail when discussing the musician's role, performers are divided into two basic types, the *šowqi* amateur and the *kespi*, or hereditary-professional, musician. Since the latter are recruited from the lowest ranks of society (principally from the barbers), it is not surprising that members of the middle and upper levels of the population shrink from engaging in an activity so clearly associated with inferior social standing. Even *šowqi* performers known in the community for their love of singing will hesitate to perform in a public or semipublic place for fear of being thought of as lowly barber-musicians.

To summarize the animus against music, it is hard to separate the religious and moral concept of music as dangerous because of its implications of sexual looseness from the notion of music as a degrading activity because of its identification with lower-class status. Since in Afghanistan religion often serves both as guardian of public morality and as preserver of the social hierarchy, it is not begging the question to state that a supposedly religious bias against music is in fact an affirmation of the status quo.

Let us return to the brighter side of music. Farmer notes for the classical Islamic period that ". . . between the cradle and the grave, music was ever present in Islam," and that "the truth was that in spite of all the condemnations of music by the puritans, ways and means were found, sometimes with the most delightful casuistry, to escape censure" (1957:434, 435). The reference to music in connection with important moments in life (cradle and grave) is not accidental; music in the sense of *saz* is primarily an occasional phenomenon. The interrelationship between the music and the occasion is often straightforward, but it may also be rather subtle. An example of the former tendency

would be the music played in the *samowad* (teahouse) for market-day shoppers in a town; here the occasion creates the audience and the music serves to heighten the eventfulness of the day for the listeners. However, the relationship is less clear in the case of a village *meila* (a sort of picnic) during the harvest season. Here the occasion is less specific, and one almost imagines the music to be the excuse for the gathering. G. S. Taymuree, a native of the Gorband region of central Afghanistan, just south of our main region of focus, says that he clearly felt that many ostensibly ceremonial occasions in his village were in fact pretexts for recreation and music making. In other words, music may create the occasion as much as the occasion necessitates the presence of music. According to Taymuree, music served as a means of protest on the part of women and teen-age boys (who were allowed to mix with women) against the domination of older males, who absented themselves from any music making they deemed unseemly. Thus, it may be possible to add the feature of age- and sex-linked disapproval of music to the factors of religious-moral stricture and consciousness of social status adduced earlier as components of the antimusical bias so often voiced by informants. It is of course no accident that most informants, as well as religious and community leaders and vocal members of the middle and upper classes, are likely to be mature males, who thus present a united front to the outside world on the subject of music.

The possibility that a hunger for music existed among large segments of the population seems borne out by the rapid rise in music consumption since the rise of Radio Afghanistan in the late 1950s. We shall examine in detail below the impact of the radio on the role and life-style of musicians; here we need only point out the dramatic and universal acceptance of radio music by the entire population of the North, and indeed by all Afghans. Whether in the plush westernized homes of the urban elite or under the trees in a village clearing, Afghans at dinner have to raise their voices to be heard over the omnipresent radio. It is the music, rather than the spoken programming, to which most attention is paid, and we shall see later how important this factor has been to maintenance and change of musical repertoires, instruments, and personnel. What is important for the present argument is that regardless of earlier misgivings about music in live performance, and particularly when it involved dancing, the anonymity and disembodied nature of radio broadcasting have allowed the repressed enthusiasm for music free rein without disturbing the status quo. It is an important reason for the success of the radio in Afghanistan. It is only since the 1960s that the guardians of public morality have begun to realize that the radio, detached as it is from local life, nevertheless

has its impact on local mores relating to the role of music, and that it is too late to turn back the clock.

## THE MUSICIAN: STATUS AND ACTIVITIES

For purposes of discussion we shall define musician as anyone in the culture who at some time engages in music making.

It may be useful to begin by dividing all music makers into two large groups: those whose musical status and activities are fairly well defined by tradition from birth ("ascribed" musicians), and those who attain musician's status through individual effort ("achieved" musicians). Here is the result in outline form:

- I. ascribed musicians
  - A. most women
  - B. Gypsy musicians
  - C. barber-musicians (*kespi*)
  - D. *ustāds* (masters) of court and radio music
  - E. *šowqi* (amateur) families with musical proclivity
- II. achieved musicians
  - A. most types of amateurs (*šowqi*)
    - 1. nomad and peasant musicians
    - 2. bourgeois and urban amateurs
    - 3. student amateurs
    - 4. *šowqis* of Uzbek classical music
  - B. professional musicians (except those under IB, IC, ID)
    - 1. *šowqi* master musicians (full-time)
    - 2. *garibi-šowqi* musicians (part-time)
    - 3. radio musicians
  - C. military, police, and municipal band musicians
  - D. religious singers
    - 1. *šowqi* amateurs
    - 2. itinerant professionals (*madā*)

### IA. Most Women

Women's musical roles are quite clearly defined. Except for women in category IIB, women are expected to restrict musical activity to the female sections of the house, which are still rigidly demarcated in the North. To this spatial compression is added considerable temporal limitation: women perform principally at domestic festivities, mainly weddings and circumcisions. A final stricture is that women are generally allowed only two instruments: the *doira*, a type of tambourine, and the *čang* (Persian) or *čangko'uz* (Uzbek and Turkmen; sometimes merely *ko'uz*), a small metal jew's harp. Both are of local manufacture.

The reasons for this general limitation of female musical activity, touched upon briefly above, relate to the inherent danger in careless indulgence in music. Especially in the case of women, the connection between music and dance is quite strong, and as we have noted, dance is seen as closely tied to the possibility of moral laxity. Afghans have told me that they have been excluded from seeing even close female relatives dance at home. While such restrictiveness in male-female contact may well stem from male interest in guarding the womenfolk, it is possible that women may take the initiative in closing off their recreation from men's eyes. Although it has not been feasible for me to interview women extensively on such intimate topics, I have a strong feeling (intensified by talks with men) that women make the most of their few occasions to legitimately indulge in music and dance and that they deliberately exclude males to make the time and space their own. Even at weddings of the urban bourgeoisie one senses the discomfiture of the men, who wander about feeling like supernumeraries at an event inspired and dominated by women. Various covert women's practices, such as consulting quasi-medical healers and engaging in collective spirit-possession rites, confirm the existence of a sector of female activities designed to circumvent male dominance, specifically in areas disapproved of by the male guardians of public morality (see Lewis 1971:100-113).

In this light, the proliferation of ceremony surrounding weddings and occasions such as the birth of a son can perhaps be seen as female pretexts for recreation. For example, in Taymuree's village in Gorband, mentioned above, there are separate festivities on the third, sixth, tenth, and fortieth days after the birth of a son. Most of these are geared to the woman's role, rather than to celebration of the child's appearance. The *šab-i šaš* ("sixth evening") turns on congratulating the mother on her successful convalescence after childbirth, the *hamām-i dah* ("bath of the tenth") focuses on the mother's first postnatal bath, and the *čelagurei* ("fortieth day") festivities involve the mother's visiting the homes of various relatives. All of these ceremonials include singing and dancing by females alone. Thus women stretch the ground rules of their ascribed musical role by maximizing their opportunities in socially acceptable ways.

## **IB. Gypsy Musicians**

In Afghanistan the activity of Gypsy musicians is far more limited than in such regions as Turkey and the Balkans. It is not quite clear to me why this should be so, since a traditional reason advanced for the prevalence of Gypsy musicians in the areas just mentioned is the

distaste of Muslims for musical performance and the resulting assignment of musical roles to the outcaste Gypsies. The same reasoning ought to hold for so strongly Muslim a land as Afghanistan, yet such is not the case. Gypsies are, however, sometimes hired as performers for weddings, or they may perform in teahouses, particularly in the Saripul-Sangčerak area (Tappers 1969:p.c.). It is the sedentary *jat* Gypsies rather than the nomadic *juḡi* Gypsies who are involved.

One major musical role of Gypsies is to make the doira tambourine that serves as women's principal accompaniment to song and dance. I have seen doiras made by Gypsies in such widely removed areas as Aqča in Turkestan, Xanabad in Katağan, and Istalif in Kohistan (just north of Kabul). As performers, Gypsies also seem to be drawn to the women's side of the house. A wealthy Uzbek merchant of Saripul (south-central Turkestan) gleefully produced a tape recording he had surreptitiously made of a Gypsy woman entertaining his wives in the women's quarters. Hoping to find some bits of rare musical repertoire, I copied the entire tape, only to discover that it consisted mainly of renditions of popular Radio Afghanistan songs. We shall take up below, as a special case, the possibility of a far-reaching involvement of Gypsies in Afghan music culture in their roles as master-singers of Radio Afghanistan.

### IC. Barber-Musicians

Barber-musicians are a major category of ascribed musicians in the North and one that will be central to our eventual understanding of the musician's status. Barbering tends to be a hereditary craft and is generally looked down upon. Pierre Centlivres has concisely summarized the particular postion of the barber in northern communities:

Agent indispensable de l'opération de la circoncision, craint pour le pouvoir magique que lui confère la détention d'ongles et de cheveux, méprisé à cause de sa manipulation de déchets humains, le barbier occupe une position particulière, liée à l'ambivalence même du sacré. Assimilé aux musiciens et aux cuisiniers avec lesquels il a du reste souvent des relations professionnelles ou parentales, il exerce l'un des métiers les plus déconsidérés du bazar. (1970:90)

The somewhat feared, shadowy, magical power of the barber indicated by Centlivres definitely rubs off on his musical activities and tinges all of music with the vaguely evil nuance we noted earlier. It seems that the ability of music to enliven men and provoke sexual license accords well with the barber's somewhat nefarious capacities as expressed in his censured surgical practices which, as Centlivres says, "s'exercent à l'abri du silence et de la complicité de la clientèle . . ."

(1970:90). The linking of barbing and musicianship is so organically rooted in the North that I have found it difficult to obtain reasons from northerners for the conjunction of the two crafts in a single artisan — it is so natural in their eyes as to be beyond question. Those with an intellectual bent see both barbing and music as service professions and feel that any personal service rendered by an artisan lowers him in the eyes of his customers. This sort of ascriptive linking might perhaps explain why one can also find such combinations as musician-bathhouse operator (for example, Sekundar in Mazar-i Šarif). Such a generally negative attitude towards purveyors of services (including drivers of horsecarts and pullers of transport carts) is confirmed by the investigations of Centlivres:

Les métiers qui entrent dans notre catégorie des services ont quelque chose d'équivoque, de peu considéré . . . c'est la nature même de service qui est en question, à laquelle s'attachent les préjugés touchant aux intermédiaires, à ceux dont le gagne-pain est de s'occuper du corps des autres. . . . (1970:91)

Barber-musicians must be considered as part of a shared music culture in the North, since barbing itself is distributed among various ethnic groups. Each community tends to have barbers of a certain ethnic affiliation, but it varies widely from town to town. Thus in Mazar-i Šarif they tend to be Paštuns, while in Kunduz they are Tajiks. It is of course possible for barbers to stem from more than one ethnic group in any given town.

With barbers, we arrive at the central question of defining musicians, which revolves around a pair of dichotomous terms: *kespi* and *šowqi*. We have already discussed the concept of *šowqi* as a phenomenon related to personal taste and involvement in leisure-time activities. Here we must examine the usage of these terms in the more concrete sense of amateur vs. professional and ascribed vs. achieved, two dichotomies that overlap only marginally. It is worthwhile beginning with the word *kespi* as it applies most generally to a category of employment in the bazaar; here is the careful definition given by Centlivres:

Le terme général employé pour le travail est *kar*, qui signifie également métier, emploi, par exemple: *kar-e bafandagi*, tissage. Plus précisément on utilise *kesp* pour métier, surtout métier manuel (*kespet či ast*: quel est ton métier?) . . . L'artisan se dit *kaseb/kespi*, au pluriel *kespia*. . . . L'artisanat *kesp* se dit aussi *kar-e dasti*, travail manuel. (1970:41–42)

Thus *kespi* signifies manual labor of any sort; for this reason barbers automatically qualify as *kespi*, and the categorization extends

to their musical activities, even though the practice of music per se does not qualify as manual labor. However, when music is involved, there seem to be at least two other ramifications to the term *kespi*: (1) *kespi* as paid musician vs. unpaid *šowqi* amateur; (2) *kespi* as hereditary or guild/craft (ascribed) musician vs. (achieved) *šowqi* performer. These are quite different concepts since the former involves the dichotomy paid-unpaid while the latter introduces that of ascribed-achieved status. As we shall see below in refining the term *šowqi*, the two dichotomies are neither totally overlapping nor mutually exclusive. Once one departs from the universally accepted meaning of *kespi* as occupational category, one encounters considerable ambiguity on the part of Afghans as to whether the ascribed or the paid aspects of the vocation serve as the root definition of *kespi* musicianship. Some will go so far as to say that paid achieved musicians are automatically *kespi*, while others feel that remuneration is an insignificant factor as compared to the *kespi* performer's hereditary proclivity for music.

My own feeling is that the factor of low status is the decisive element in defining *kespi*. The inherited bent for manual/musical labor, particularly in the case of barbers, is bound to be potent in categorizing a man as being *kespi* for music. On the other hand, an achieved musician, no matter how free his family has been from music in past generations, is tainted by association with *kespi* musicians. Once a musician has become established as a paid professional, the fine line between *šowqi* and *kespi* is sufficiently blurred for some observers to put the performer in the latter category; the man has joined the lower ranks of society.

#### ID. Ustads (Masters) of Court and Radio Music

Steingass gives the following glosses for the word *ustād*:

A master, teacher, tutor; an artificer, manufacturer, artisan; a barber; ingenious, excellent, celebrated, famed for any art or work of ingenuity; enters into the composition of proper names, as *ustad rahman*, Ostad Rahman, etc. (1970:49)

and for *ustādi*: "An art, trade, craft; workmanship; excellence, skill in any art or profession" (1970:49). Steingass's definitions pinpoint the ambivalence of the term, which can apply to any artisan whatsoever, specifically including barbers, as well as to those who are excellent, celebrated, and famed for art and ingenuity. This ambiguity carries over into the use of *ustad* (or *ustā*) in Afghan Persian (Dari). Truck-drivers are sometimes called *usta*, but the term is also used for the singers of Indian or quasi-Indian art music of Kabul. Master performers

of any repertoire may be termed *ustad*; thus Bābā Qerān, the venerable player of the *dambura* (a widespread folk lute), is often referred to as the *ustad* of the *dambura*, and the term here could be roughly translated as “doyen.” In Turkmen, the term *baxši* for master performer has none of the ambivalence of the Persian *ustad* whereas the Persian speaker automatically injects a note of denigration even while using a term expressing considerable praise.

The ambivalence of the term *ustad* is not a matter of mere philosophical bandying. Let us look more closely at the men to whom the epithet is most often applied: the specialized art singers of Kabul. We are not straying far from the North when we shift our attention to the capital, for the voices and influence of the Kabul *ustads* reach a considerable nationwide audience over the radio. Furthermore, the *ustads* appear personally in the North from time to time when invited by wealthy patrons to make guest appearances for festivities (principally in Katağan). To understand the position of the *ustads* we must backtrack into the history of Afghan urban music. According to Abdul Wahab Madadi, performer and archivist of Radio Afghanistan, the groundwork for the present system of *ustadi* was laid during the reign of Amir Sher Ali Kahn (1869–79). At that time the principal urban and court singers were of Persian origin, though longstanding artistic contacts with India must certainly have been evident as well. Sher Ali chose to import some half-dozen leading singers from India to introduce a new variety of court music. They were named *ustads*. He settled them and their families in a district of Kabul that was later termed the *xarābat* (from *xarab*, “ruined, debauched, indecent”; Steingass 1970:451). The *xarabat* became the center both of lower-class musicians’ dwellings and of Sufi (mystic) gathering places, a situation that prevails today. Madadi estimates the number of musicians’ homes in the *xarabat* at more than one hundred.

At some point in the development of the *xarabat* a number of Gypsy families is supposed to have attained musical prominence. Under King Amanullah (1919–29) court music reached a new flowering, and the *ustad* families grew in fame. With the rise of the radio in the late 1950s, these court musicians became the pillars of a new musical establishment. Today the busts of Ustad Qāsem and Ustad Čolam Husain stand in the front lobby of the Radio Afghanistan building. The children of that generation of *ustads*, Ustad Sarahang, Ustad Rahimbaxš, and Ustad Mohamad Omar, have become major figures in the musical world of Kabul and of Radio Afghanistan, and the debut of Ustad Sarahang’s son, singing in Indian *thumri* style with his father, forecasts the continued flourishing of this musical dynasty.

The ustads are highly spoken of and are treated with deference; they command large fees for private performances. Yet their low origin has not been forgotten, nor has the hereditary nature of their trade. One radio singer who does not sing for private parties has told me that his demurral is due to familial pressure: he is not supposed to indulge in the same activities as "those sons of Jats [Gypsies], the ustads." Whether or not any of the ustads are actually Gypsy in origin, such remarks place them in an inferior social category.

Thus the ustads provide us with an interesting juncture of several aspects of ascribed musicianship discussed above. The possibility that at least putative Gypsies may rise to considerable artistic heights is demonstrated; hereditary musicians are shown to have a viable occupation outside the domain of barbering and other service trades; and high financial rewards for both groups turn out to be possible as well. Yet the social stigma remains, if only in muted form, and the ustads are fated to be considered kespi after all. Šarif, himself a professional musician of Mazar-i Šarif, has a rather extreme view of the ustads' position as kespi performers. He says, "Only the ustads of Kabul are really kespi," since barbers, though hereditary musicians, may only be part-time performers, while the ustads live wholly by their hereditary talent.

#### IE. Šowqi (Amateur) Families with Musical Proclivity

Certain šowqi families form a limited, marginal category, which I include to show how fine the distinction can be between ascribed and achieved musicianship. It appears to me that in various parts of Afghanistan there are "musical families" in the Western sense—that is, they tend to produce more than an average number of musically inclined individuals. Theirs is, of course, a far cry from the "hereditary" musicianship of the barbers, Gypsies, and ustads. Whether they actually become musicians or on what level they might function as performers is more related to general societal pressure than to family tendencies. I imagine the number of such families to be rather small, but some outstanding musicians have come from them. The most prominent one I know of is Bangeča Tašqurğani, one of the foremost musicians of the North. Bangeča has told me with pride that his father, brother, and uncle are all *damburačis* (dambura-players): "Everyone knows my *qaum* [here the term means extended family] are all *damburačis*." Yet Bangeča insists on the title šowqi and would be offended if referred to as a kespi musician: after all, he is no barber. Šarif, the musician quoted above, concurs with this viewpoint; despite Bangeča's family proclivity toward music, he cannot be considered kespi. Such delicate

intricacies of status lead us to an examination of our second large grouping of musicians, those who have achieved their position through individual effort rather than assigned societal role.

## IIA. Most Types of Amateurs (*Šowqi*)

Under this category I include those amateur musicians in the Western sense (unpaid lovers of the art) who are termed *šowqi* in the local classification, and I have divided them into four rather different groups, all of whom are casual musicians operating without remuneration. The first type, nomad and peasant amateurs, is quite a large body of music makers, spread across most of Afghanistan. A great many nomads and peasants take pleasure in unsophisticated and open performance of folk music. Whether out in the steppe in the traditional pose of watching the flocks, in the encampment at night, or during communal gatherings, nomads (virtually all of whom are Paštuns) enjoy singing and flute playing. Peasants likewise find occasions to make music, most often as a means of *sā'at-tiri* (passing the hours) during the winter slack agricultural season. When this pastime (in the literal sense of the word) becomes an increasing preoccupation of an individual, he will, as we have seen, be labeled *šowqi* by his fellows. This status may put him on the rocky road to becoming a professional musician, for it is from among this group of casual nomad and peasant performers (some 90 to 95 percent of the population) that the bulk of the professional musicians stem. Theoretically, the nascent musician undergoes the stages in acquiring and mastering the folk music tradition described by Lord (1960) for the Yugoslav epic singer: years of listening, followed by a period of quiet, almost surreptitious experimentation, culminating in an experimental performance before a highly critical audience. Under this scheme, the changeover to professional would occur on the day that the performer first received wages for his work.

Unfortunately, the development of an amateur into a professional has not as yet been studied, so one must rely on descriptions of a performer's early years. As far as I can gather, there is indeed almost a total lack of formal training involved in becoming a musician—the trade is picked up by ear. Vital to the continuing progress of a fledgling *šowqi* is positive reinforcement from the local audience, and thus I doubt that the line between sub-rosa experimentation and full-fledged performance is as neat, at least for Afghanistan, as Lord describes. A good deal of interplay between the musician and his listeners takes place for two principal, connected reasons: the performer must find out whether he is at home in the role of musician, and the audience needs to check the budding musician's credentials, prod-

ding him to expand his repertoire, improve his skills, and mold his image as performer. The hereditary musicians, for whom this process is not quite so crucial, form a minority of the practicing performers of the North. The bulk of the musicians are almost literally recruited by local audiences from among the broad mass of peasants and nomads, and this process is vital to supplying the large body of listeners with enough musicians to fill the local musical needs. (It would be very useful to have a total survey of the North, subregion by subregion, that would give accurate statistical grounds for determining the number of musicians needed to produce the requisite number of performances per locale per year; unfortunately, such data will not be available for some time to come.)

To summarize the position of the nomad and peasant amateurs, the two key points are: (1) the number of music makers included is large, and (2) they form an active pool of talent from which the ranks of professional musicians are largely filled.

Two other categories of amateurs, the urban bourgeois and the student amateurs, differ considerably in numbers, goals, and repertoire from those just considered. The most obvious difference lies in the basically urban provenience of the bourgeois and student musicians. This fact alone helps explain the other key differences, which stem largely from the urban preference for radio (hence Kabul-related) music over the local folk music of the area. The typical bourgeois amateur is like the shopkeeper of Mazar-i Sharif who invited me to an upstairs room to hear him sing a poem of his own invention in Kabul style, set to a tune markedly similar to that of some radio songs, and accompanied on the *tanbur* (a Kabul-based instrument). On the other hand, students' musical imaginations tend to be fueled by the output of the radio's amateur hour, a program in which Kabul's high school and university students vie for preeminence in a style combining elements of Afghan, Iranian and Western pop music. Students are likely to try their hand on the *armoniā* (harmonium), the ubiquitous accompanying instrument of Indian origin. The piano has taken over this role in the Radio Afghanistan studio, but virtually no pianos exist in Afghanistan outside of Kabul. Occasionally students in the farther provincial towns will employ local folk instruments, but generally in an attempt to produce the radio style.

Unlike the nomad and peasant amateurs, the bourgeois and student dilettantes rarely if ever go on to become professional musicians, unless they should happen to move to Kabul and gain radio stardom. Thus these urban musicians tend to form pockets of Kabul style amid the surrounding mass of nascent and active folk musicians; bridging the

two groups are the šowqi professionals, whose repertoire encompasses all available styles.

Before turning to these master musicians we must take up one additional type of urban šowqi, consisting of the small band of lovers of what might be termed Buxaran classical music. The instruments and repertoire of this music have only a small foothold in Afghanistan, but the presence of the art must be taken seriously because of its strong appeal to Uzbeks. Performers of this genre include men of a variety of professions and backgrounds. In the town of Andxoi, the center of the art, three of the finest musicians — Ğafur Xan, Ğafur-i Wafā, and Šoqol Sufi — are a shoemaker, a son of a large landowner, and a shopkeeper, respectively. Some of these šowqis come from families long settled in Afghanistan, while others belong to mohajerin (refugee) families who left Soviet Central Asia in the period ca. 1917–40. Of particular interest for our present inquiry is the fact that these men, and others like them in towns such as Kunduz and Kabul, maintain the old Uzbek tradition of the gentleman-musician who plays for the love of the art and spurns recompense. Though they may be patronized by wealthy merchants and landowners in the sense of being feted at private parties, it is the respect of the listeners they seek rather than a fee for performance. They all avoid outside public appearances and prefer to play for a select circle.

This attitude toward art music is deep-seated in bourgeois Uzbek families. Badruddin Sarafi, a connoisseur of the Buxaran style, has described to me his family life when he was a child. One feature of the household was regular, frequent evenings of poetry readings, mainly of classical Persian and Uzbek verse. One member of the party would have prepared a poem for analysis, and the verses would be read line by line, with pauses for discussion and analysis by all the members of the men's literary circle. Men would also bring their own poetry to the meetings for critical comment. In such an atmosphere, a talented singer of the poetry was greatly appreciated (see Beliaev 1975 for Transoxanian parallels). It is worth noting that after the introduction of Uzbek programming on Radio Afghanistan in 1972, the two Uzbek singers chosen by listener poll were both performers on the Transoxanian *dutar* lute, rather than on the Afghan *dambura*. One of them, Ğafur-i Wafa, was mentioned above as a leading šowqi of Buxaran classical music; presumably the pittance he receives for performance does not lower his status as a "pure" musician. The Turkestani and Kabul circles of Buxaran-style connoisseurs overlap to a certain extent, thanks to the radio broadcasts and the travels of performers and connoisseurs.

## IIB. Professional Musicians (except those under IB, IC, ID)

Here we have reached the domain of the šowqi professionals. It should be apparent by now that there is no contradiction in linking "šowqi" and "professional," especially if we apply the following definition of "professional" from the Oxford English Dictionary: "One who makes a profession or business of what is ordinarily followed as a pastime." This is a particularly apt definition of the šowqi's professional sphere of activity, for it indicates a commonality of experience for amateur and professional. There are three types of šowqi professionals: the master musicians, often itinerant; the ġaribi-šowqi, who are part-time musicians of lesser standing; and those radio musicians (the majority) who are not in the ustād category.

### IIB1. ŠOWQI MASTER MUSICIANS (FULL-TIME)

The master musicians of the North (not to be confused with the ustād "masters" of the radio) are all šowqi; that is, they have arrived at their positions through the kind of informal training and encouragement described above under category IIA, and they cling to the šowqi title tenaciously to avoid identification with the kespi musicians. For example, one of the best-known singers of Badaxšan introduced himself to me as Karim Šowqi Darwazi, giving his status (šowqi) before his place of origin (the Darwaz region of Badaxšan); others in the North referred to him as Karim Darwazi, whereas at Radio Afghanistan he was called simply Karim Badaxši ("from Badaxšan"), a name giving only his broadest point of origin.

Musicians insist on the šowqi label for another reason as well. The state of liveliness implied by the term is a necessary adjunct of their fulfilling of the musician's role. The leading musician of Aqča, Aq Pišak, uses a sobriquet meaning "white cat," apparently an allusion to his abilities as a *masxarabāz*, or comedian, in which role he makes humorous animal noises (examples are recorded on Anthology AST 4001) and generally plays the clown. Such talents can be useful for musicians, though by no means all performers can or do indulge in these professional tricks. It is, however, such indications of liveliness that lead listeners to say appreciatively, "U besiār šowqist" ("He's very šowqi").

Master musicians of this category tend to be itinerant, though there are notable exceptions such as Aq Pišak. Once firmly entrenched in the role of professional, they make their living following the samowad route from town to town, staying in a community as long as there are enough teahouse contracts and party jobs to play. We shall discuss later the ethnic origin and distribution of these musicians and the



*Fig. 1.4 Improvised outdoor teahouse under Tašqurğan River bridge during 1972 drought*

development of their repertoire; important to note here are their extensive travels and the eclectic nature of the music they play, which embraces the major ethnic and regional musical strains. The widest-ranging tour I know of was that of Bāz Gul Badaxšī in 1968; his home town is Keşm, westernmost city of Badaxšān, and I had accounts of him from as far away as Saripul in south-central Turkestan, seven bus or truck stops removed from Keşm. These wandering minstrels cross-pollinate the musical environment, keeping whole species of music alive, and are thus an integral component of the shared music culture of the North.

The work tends to be seasonal, and high points occur at various times of the year. The *Nowruz* (New Year's) season, which begins at the vernal equinox around March 21 brings forty days of celebrations, and music and dance occur much more openly in towns during this festival than at any other time of year, save for the *Ješen* holiday, a week-long festival in late August, commemorating Afghanistan's independence from British influence in 1919. Harvest time is another peak season for musicians. In his calendar of activities for the Tašqurğan region, Centlivres (1970: Plate XLIIb) gives the months of *Sombola*, *Mizan*, and *Aqrab* (August 23 to November 21) as the "saison des affaires, saison des mariages." On the other hand, the summer is definitely a slack season, for temperatures often rise to the 110°F

mark in Turkestan and Katağan, and energy is conserved. Winter may be intermittently good to musicians if the rich landowners (*bāis*) decide to sponsor parties to accompany matches of *buzkaši*, the famed horsemanship contest of Turkestan. Thus by painstakingly following the course of party and teahouse, the itinerant musician can eke out a living, saving money from the fat seasons for the lean months. Financially, a musician can do at least as well as the ordinary worker in the North, and probably a good deal better, since in the course of two nights' work he can earn as much as a casual laborer does in a month: about 600 *afghanis*, or \$7.50. The attitude of the *šowqi* professional is best summed up in the story surrounding Baba Qerān's adoption of his sobriquet. Baba Qeran, who was approximately eighty years old in 1968, is considered the dean of the *šowqis*. While Baba simply is an honorific applied to old men, *qerān* is a unit of currency ( $\frac{1}{2}$  afghani, small change). According to some, in his youth the future Baba Qeran was quite popular as an amateur performer, but soon turned into a professional: when asked to perform at parties, he always said, "If there's a *qerān* in it, I'll go." Here the transformation from dilettante to paid *šowqi* is most concisely illustrated.

It is not easy to uncover the basic criteria for a master musician's success, but some guidelines can be advanced. The performer is expected to display three basic skills: eclecticism in repertoire, a certain level of instrumental virtuosity, and a good memory. It is on these points that he is judged, rather than on his startling innovations or his elegant style. Let us consider the three items singly.

Eclecticism means familiarity with the three basic sources of northern music: nonurban folk styles, traditional urban music, and outside music. The last category breaks down into two main groupings: the music of Radio Afghanistan and that of Indian films. (The music of the West has as yet had virtually no influence on the styles of northern Afghanistan — or, for that matter, on any Afghan taste beyond that of a tiny fraction of upper-class Kabulis.) The musician is free to blend these three wellsprings of creativity in any order and proportion he chooses. Specific mixtures of styles will be discussed later in this chapter.

The level of instrumental virtuosity required is hard to define. It does not generally involve a great display of technical prowess; there is, as we shall see, little attempt by instrumentalists to think up and execute prodigious feats of virtuosity on their instruments. Of course, people in northern Afghanistan, like listeners everywhere, are impressed by unusually difficult technical feats, but they do not seem to expect it or stress it as an important feature of good performance.

What is required, however, is the ability to hold a steady beat and to project effectively, qualities definitely related to the use of music as accompaniment to dance. Perhaps important reasons for the acknowledged mastery of Baba Qeran's performance are his rock-steady beat and his clear, strong articulation of musical phrasing. Other qualities that strike the Western observer and that are included in the analyses below, such as variation in musical material, seem to be of no particular importance to the audience.

Finally, a good memory is a vital criterion of a performer's success. He may receive requests, like an American band-leader at a wedding, for rarely heard pieces, and he is rated highly if he can produce tune after tune. One comment always made about Baba Qeran is that he knows an unbelievable number of melodies. Aq Pišak, for example, when pressed as to how many purely instrumental pieces he himself knew, estimated the number at perhaps twenty or twenty-five. As for Baba Qeran, Aq Pišak said that he must know at least a hundred tunes. Both figures are considerably lower than the truth, but the attitude is what is of importance here.

Like other factors under consideration, the relationship between playing and singing is somewhat vague. On the one hand, a musician who can both play and sing, like Bangeča Tašqurğani or Baz Gul Badaxši, is at an advantage, as he can impress an audience with both his instrumental and his vocal skills, and he doesn't need to hire helpers. On the other hand, the two other most famous musicians of the region, Baba Qeran and Aq Pišak, never sing at all and have achieved celebrity status through their instrumental exploits (and personality) alone. The ability to play more than one instrument is not particularly valued, and most performers prefer to be known as specialists.

### IIB2. ĞARIBI-ŞOWQI MUSICIANS (PART-TIME)

The *ğaribi-şowqi* form a very large class of musicians. In origin and activities they fall between the amateur *şowqi* and the full-time professional *şowqi* performers just described. To get at the concept, we must once again turn to the root meanings of the word employed, *ğaribi*, and its adjective form, *ğarib*. Steingass (1970:886) is a useful source:

- *ğarib*: uncommon, strange, outlandish, foreign; . . . a foreigner, stranger; poor, needy, humble. . . .
- *ğaribi*: foreignness, strangeness, indigence. . . .
- *ğaribi kardan*: to travel, become a stranger.

Thus, the notion of poverty is linked to that of traveling, wandering, becoming a stranger. The two ideas are clearly linked by the fact of itinerant labor, making a man at once poor and a wayfarer. The technical term for casual labor is *mardikāri*, however, and ġaribi is used with additional nuance in Afghan Persian. ġaribi definitely means "poor man's work" of any sort; in an essentially poor and unemployed work force (a generous estimate would have one man in five employed), almost any job opportunity outside of the stable, well-paid occupations (as artisan, merchant, official) is referred to as ġaribi. By extension, even those with fortunate employment will self-deprecatingly refer to their work as ġaribi, although both you and he know that the compensation is more than adequate. (The American analogue would be a wealthy shopkeeper modestly indicating his department store with a shrug of the shoulders and the phrase, "Well, it's a living.") That ġaribi also implies travel is shown by the fact that a man can be said to have left town, or even to have gone abroad, for ġaribi.

With this broad definition of ġaribi in mind, it is easy to see how music can also be included. Any poor šowqi, regardless of his main occupation—if he is employed—will not turn down a chance to pick up extra money by displaying his talent. He may be asked to play while at a party, or may pick up the dambura hanging on the teahouse wall, and will be gratified by any recompense. Perhaps his talent is insufficient for him to support himself as a full-time musician, or maybe his personality is not appealing enough to the audience for him to become master šowqi—no matter: if he is a few afghanis ahead in the struggle for survival he has done well enough. For the economy of the North is basically still closed, and the concept of the limited good (Foster 1967) seems relevant to the region. In an area in which a man will walk an extra day to save two cents a pound on the price of sweets he will serve with tea at his samowad, any cash earned is to be taken seriously. Music as ġaribi is thus an important aspect of the art, in that it can keep someone's head above water for another day or month. This was particularly noticeable in the hard times of 1972, following two years of drought and a severe winter that destroyed the bulk of the livestock upon which Turkestan (indeed Afghanistan) depends so heavily. Amid the wreckage of the agriculture and stock-breeding, in a sea of unemployment, those who could purvey music to the still prosperous had a slight edge over those without such skills.

Cementing ġaribi-šowqis' position of importance in the shared music culture is the breadth of its ethnic and occupational base. Virtually

all low-paid occupations are represented: I have known ġaribi-šowqis who were butchers, former teahouse owners, nomads, shopkeepers, and truckdrivers, and they stemmed from a great variety of ethnic groups, including Paštuns, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Arabs, Turkmens, and such splinter groups as Ortoblāqi. A great many, of course, have no trade at all.

### IIB3. MOST RADIO MUSICIANS

All radio singers who perform regularly, except for the ustads cited earlier, are paid achieved musicians. Within this general class, however, there is considerable individual variation in earnings. According to radio sources, there were only two singers in the early 1970s who earned their living solely through singing: Žila and Kamar Gul (both female). These two ladies sing frequently on the radio but earn the bulk of their income through private appearances. The rest of the radio singers either have independent incomes or are supported by their husbands. The radio pays very little per song (sometimes as little as one dollar) and gives no royalties for repeated broadcasting of songs.

One special category of radio musicians includes the official musicians, a group of veteran performer-composers who hold full-time, salaried positions in the radio organization (as archivist, assistant music director, etc.) and who occasionally appear as performers themselves. Another class of radio regulars consists of the members of the studio orchestra, who receive fairly small salaries but who make an excellent income by accompanying the ustads at their lucrative private appearances. A third group of performers is the newer body of enthusiastic young amateurs, for whom the nominal radio pay is of little importance; these are mainly the successful student amateurs mentioned earlier, whose ranks are swelling and who include members of the highest strata of Afghan society — for example, the son of Dr. Abdul Zaher, who was Prime Minister in 1975. The existence and activities of this corps of musicians is crucial to the future of music in Afghanistan as a whole.

The radio musicians, then, can all be considered professionals in the sense that they accept at least a nominal payment for their services, but they represent a variety of slots in the increasingly complex spectrum of musicians in contemporary Afghanistan.

### IIC. Military, Police, and Municipal Band Musicians

The class of band musicians is rather odd and sui generis. Its roots lie back in the time of the Amir Abdurrahman (1880-1901), the first modernizing ruler of Afghanistan, who introduced the rudi-



Fig. 1.5. Maimana municipal band

ments of European-style music and even developed a notation system for national anthems and patriotic songs. It was, however, not until the days of King Amanullah (1919-29) that serious attempts were made to regularize official music. A musician named Farux Effendi was brought from Atatürk's Turkey to help develop court music; he remained, teaching Western notation to many students over the years, and is still active in Kabul. From this musical ferment a military music training program gradually emerged, spawning brass bands and a curious repertoire of half-Afghan, half-Western music under the general term *bājaxāna* ("hour-house," referring to the positioning of a band on the fortress gates to mark the time of day, a custom practiced with local instruments in the Kingdom of Buxara; see Beliaev 1975).

The national army band of Kabul, which plays for occasions such as the King's departure for state visits abroad, has in turn spun off a series of regional police bands recruited from ex-army-band personnel and permanently stationed in the provinces. These may, like their parent ensemble, be called *bajaxana* (as in Tašqurğan), or sometimes simply *muzik* (as in Maimana), one of the rare usages of the Western term for music. The Maimana band is perhaps typical. It has now become a municipal institution under the mayor's office. The mayor himself ordered the instruments from England, a fact of which he is quite proud. The *muzik* plays for municipal occasions but also provides party music for private festivities. The repertoire of the nine-piece Maimana *muzik* includes items for every taste: an "Uzbek" piece of unknown origin, a Paštun *attan* (round dance), arrangements of radio

tunes, and so on. The players all appear to be Paštuns, which would conform to the disproportionate representation of that ethnic group in the armed forces in general.

Police and municipal bands are a remarkable adaptation of Western music (which appear in glamorous military array) to local taste. What is extraordinary is that the bajaxana represents the only concession to Western influence apparent in the entire music culture of the North. Somewhat ironic is the fact that the Western military band itself originally derived from a Near Eastern model: the Ottoman Turkish janissary band, which terrified the armies of Europe in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and whose sounds Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven incorporated in their compositions.

In terms of the present discussion, the interest of the bajaxana or muzik lies in the anomalous situation of its musicians, who are professionals in the sense that they are paid for regular work as musicians, but who function normally in an entirely different capacity as law enforcement officers. They are neither true professionals nor true ġaribi-šowqi, yet they encroach on the natural domains of both of these categories. Is one to term such a development "musical modernization"? It would be easy to do so, yet neither the repertoire nor the personnel of the police bands is in any sense modern (they play entirely in unison with no application of Western harmonic principles). Indeed, the institution of the quasi-military band of the city is quite old in the Near East and Central Asia, as noted above for the bajaxana of Buxara. It is only the instruments, imported from the West, that are new on the scene and, as noted, the Western ensemble is quite old, actually being Near Eastern in origin. Thus, the bajaxana of brass, while certainly new, hardly qualifies as "modern" in the sense beloved by political scientists and economists.

### **IID. Religious Singers**

The special category of religious singers, like most of the others we have dealt with, includes both amateurs and professionals, but the two groups sing very different types of music. The genre sung mainly by amateurs is called *na't*, or *na'tiya* (Steingass 1970:1411: "The praise of the prophet following the praises of God at the beginning of books; a kind of invocation"). The texts of *na't* songs are usually in a literary, rather than folk, style, and the melodies seem to stem more from stylized religious recitation — e.g., Qur'anic cantillation — than from folk music sources.

The amateur singers (for whom *šowqi* is again the appropriate term) fall into two groups. One subgroup, which affects the North

only marginally, consists of amateurs of high standing who are šowqi for religious music and who are broadcast over Radio Afghanistan. Holidays such as Muhammad's birthday are the primary occasions for the appearance of these performers, who share the honors with professional radio ustads. The more widespread type of na't singing found in the North is performed by local šowqis. They may sing on request at people's homes for religious occasions or at special gathering places of Sufis called *xānaqā* (the same term that is used in southern Tajikistan for a village religious gathering house; Nemenova 1953:63). Mazar-i Šarif in particular used to boast quite an extensive xānaqa because of the prominence of the shrine of Ali (Muhammad's son-in-law and the major local saint), site of the most important pilgrimage of Afghanistan at Nowruz time (Sultan Ali, Kabul, 1972:p.c.). Xanaqas are scattered at other key points throughout Afghanistan, though the institution is said to be in decline. In addition to na't singing, xanaqas have fostered the performance of Sufi *zīkr* rituals, in which repeated, hours-long chanting of short religious formulas leads to ecstasy of the participants.

While na't singing is generally the province of šowqis, is performed only on special occasions and in private (except for the rare radio broadcasts), and is generally accorded respect, the other main type of religious singing is quite different. It is called *mada* and is sung on the street by lower-class itinerant musicians, at any time, and for pay (audience contributions). In both text and melody mada is often closer to local folk music than is na't singing, and in contrast to the more bookish na't texts, mada texts are probably improvised, at least in part, by the performers.

Mada is not relegated to the *kespi* category, since its practitioners are not ascribed to the role of mendicant singers; however, it is clear that mada singers do not have as much status as either na't singers or the better run of šowqi secular musicians. I would probably rank mada singers in the *garibi-šowqi* category — certainly they belong there economically, for they never seem to get large contributions and depend on the mercy of pious folk for their support. Often mada singers are blind, and perhaps their roles approaches ascription in the sense that the options open to blind people are quite limited.

Mada is generally practiced in the bazaar. The singer stations himself strategically near a teahouse, where there is likely to be a large audience, and proceeds to sing. At times the singer may have an assistant, who chimes in with a stock refrain to the verses; this assistant seems most useful in the case of the blind singers, since he can help collect money and guide the singer through the streets, but he may be found accompanying sighted performers as well. Onlookers generally

appear rather uninterested in the performance and speak somewhat cynically of mada. When asked how mada is to be considered, they may merely shrug and say, "Garibist" ("It's a living").

### **Music as a Source of Income**

At this stage in our analysis of the musician's role, it might be useful to turn from the ascribed-achieved dichotomy and to regroup the categories of performers differently, on the basis of music as a source of income. This approach is perhaps more familiar to the Western point of view, since we tend to make a rather sharp distinction between amateur and professional in all areas of activity. That such lines are hard to maintain becomes evident when definitions become increasingly arbitrary, as in the controversy over deciding who should be called an amateur athlete.

Here is the list of musicians rearranged on the basis of musical earnings; indicated in parentheses is the position of each category in the ascribed-achieved outline on page 29.

- I. Music the sole source of income
  - A. full-time šowqis (IIB1)
  - B. some radio singers and instrumentalists, including ustads (IIB3, ID)
  - C. religious street singers (mada) (IID1)
- II. Music a partial source of income
  - A. barber-musicians (kespi) (IC)
  - B. ġaribi-šowqi (IIB2)
  - C. most radio singers (IIB3)
  - D. police and municipal bandsmen (IIC)
  - E. Gypsies (IB)
- III. Music not a source of income
  - A. nomad and peasant amateurs (IIA1)
  - B. true šowqi of Uzbek classical music (IIA4)
  - C. most village and town women (IA)
  - D. šowqi religious singers (IID2)
  - E. bourgeois and student amateurs (IIA2, IIA3)

Looking at the music culture from this point of view, we find rather unexpected bedfellows in each category: radio stars with barbers and Gypsies, street singers with ustads, and so on. It is obvious that musicians may be included in the same category for radically different reasons, and that the use of one apparently clear criterion, such as money earned, tells little about the underlying motivations and statuses of the individuals involved. Particularly interesting from this point of view is group III, for whom music is not a source of income. There are actually two subcategories in this grouping: those for whom music happens not to be lucrative, but who would appreciate payment if

offered (A, B), and those for whom music is not supposed to be connected with money for reasons of status (C, D, E). The nomad and peasant amateurs and the bourgeois and student amateurs form, as we have seen, a pool of potential paid musicians. On the other hand, women, šowqi religious singers, and the true šowqis of Uzbek classical music (like their Kabul counterparts who are devoted to Indian classical music) must spurn any suggestion of payment in order to maintain their social position. For women it is a much more serious matter than for the religious or Uzbek šowqis, since a woman paid for singing or dancing is likely to be considered a prostitute, whereas a šowqi may merely lose prestige, or sink to a lower category of musician. A man who takes it upon himself to raise his image by singing the praises of the prophet in na't songs would probably not like to be confused with the lowly mada street singer. Similarly, in the appreciative amateur circle of lovers of Buxaran music, a respected performer would never bring up the question of money, since it would be tantamount to joining the league of "vulgar" teahouse singers.

Like group III, group II consists of individuals who are in the same category for differing reasons. Whereas the barbers, Gypsies, and police do not expect music to provide more than a partial income, most of the ġaribi-šowqis and the radio singers would probably not mind increasing their earnings from music if they could. Group I is similarly fragmented. For full-time šowqis and for the ustadhs and their accompanists, having music as their sole source of income represents a considerable degree of professional success. On the other hand, the lowly mada singer, particularly if blind, cannot take comfort from having attained this sort of success; for him music is a scant sole income, and it is one of the few options open to him at all. I have not interviewed mada singers, but it seems likely that some of them have the compensation of religious devotion to their calling, which the other full-time professionals lack.

Finally, to round out our perspective on the musician's status and activities, we must take into account yet another factor: the contrast between older and newer attitudes towards the musicians and his craft. These fall into two clear zones of pre-radio and post-radio attitudes and practices. Musicians in the pre-radio area, as we have seen, were received with a highly ambivalent public attitude. On the one hand, they were clearly recognized as basic to the celebration of all festivities, public and private. Talented members of the general community were selected and encouraged to become part-time or full-time practitioners, with some ideal number of musicians fixed in the collective mind. In some spheres of musical activity (na't singing, Uzbek art

music, etc.), music was looked upon as a praiseworthy activity. Women, who were highly restricted in their range of possible musical performance, pushed for maximal participation under the stringent rules.

On the other hand, the religious leaders (*mullahs*) of the community occasionally fulminated against music as being the road to moral ruin. Police at times cracked down on the more flagrant examples of laxity, such as the abduction and training of young boys for "wanton" dancing. Respectable pillars of society kept their love of music a guarded secret lest they be accused of harboring lower-class tastes or, at worst, identified with the barber or Gypsy category.

All of these manifestations of the older, ambivalent approach to music still hold for contemporary Afghanistan. The authorities in Kunduz still forbid any sort of music in teahouses. Šowqis still fight to keep that title and avoid any identification with the *kespi* musicians. And there are still mullahs across the land to raise voices against any sort of recreation, indeed against nearly all the šowqi activities: gambling, animal fighting, drinking, games, and music. Likewise, the widespread love of music and unabated participation of šowqis continue. However, superimposed on this traditional, if contradictory, set of values is the new ethic of the Radio Age, which has tipped the scales in favor of the promusic tendencies.

The change brought about by the rise of radio is mirrored in the biography of one of its products, whom I shall call Gunješq. He is a beloved singer of the airwaves and an official of Radio Afghanistan, and he comes from a major city that has been a seat of sophisticated urban music for centuries. He came to Kabul in the mid-1950s to enter the Afghan Institute of Technology (AIT), an American aid project. His arrival during that particular period was crucial to his eventual career, for AIT was then in a process of rapid expansion, fueled by the return of the first group of American-educated teachers. Gunješq's talents as a singer of Herati songs evoked conflicting responses at AIT. While the principal of the school, an older man, violently opposed music on campus and upbraided Gunješq for his efforts, the technological Young Turks at the school supported student recreation and fostered fledgling talent. It is not at all accidental that this situation should have arisen within the most educationally advanced and most technologically oriented sector of Afghanistan: AIT was a major beneficiary of cold-war economic aid, which opened Afghanistan to modernization for the first time since the futile attempts of King Amanullah in the 1920s, and which allowed the first large-scale influx of foreigners and outflow of Afghan students abroad. A final integral component in the changing social situation change was Radio Afghani-

istan, which had started in the 1930s under limited German aid, and finally came into its own as a national institution during the 1950s. The juncture of these culturally explosive developments has had a major impact on Afghanistan in many spheres of activity, and in none more than in music.

Gunješq was sufficiently encouraged by the atmosphere at AIT to audition at the radio. He proved acceptable, and began to sing regularly. Shortly thereafter, his mother wrote that she had disowned him — "you are no longer my son." This strong action damped Gunješq's enthusiasm for a radio career, but he eventually returned to active singing. When he looked for a wife during this period he found that even his own relatives were not eager to give a girl to a musician, especially one who was willing to take on the performer's role before a nationwide public. In those days, says Gunješq, children mocked musicians on the street, and even an ustad invited to sing at a private party was treated in about the same way as black musicians in the United States in the recent past. Set apart from the guests and forbidden to eat with them, the singer had to perform exactly what was requested, not daring to venture beyond his host's musical preferences. He was paid poorly, was not allowed to speak with the guests, and was addressed curtly, like a servant.

By the early 1960s attitudes began to change, and by now there has been almost a total reversal of the negative aura surrounding radio singers. "When I used to visit my home town," Gunješq says, "my own uncle would not admit he knew me. Now I have a hundred uncles there. I was able to marry the girl I wanted [rather than being given someone expendable], and if I wanted another wife a thousand women would write and ask for my hand." Gunješq is now invited to parties not to sing, but merely for his presence, and guests — even women — are brought to him for conversation. In short, the near-pariah has become something of a social lion. Gunješq is saluted rather than mocked on the streets and receives a large quantity of fan mail. His picture appears in the newspapers, along with laudatory articles and interviews. Not surprisingly, Gunješq is gratified by this change in status.

However, the glory accorded radio stars of Afghanistan is still far from that given the top singers even of neighboring Iran — not to mention the adulation given Arab superstars such as Um Kalthum of Egypt or Fairuz of Lebanon. While there is no question that the radio has helped satisfy a great musical hunger of people across Afghanistan by providing nearly nonstop entertainment in every nook and cranny, it is unclear how this situation has affected the lot of the average musician in the North. For northerners, the impact of the radio falls

into two phases. The first occupied most of the history of broadcasting in the region since its beginning in the 1950s, while the second only began with the adoption of programming in Uzbek and Turkmen in 1972. During the earlier phase, the master šowqis of course adopted the radio music into their wide-ranging repertoire, just as they absorb the songs of Hindi films, the other glamorous component of the shared music culture. Yet teahouse musicians have not been accorded the respect Gunješq now enjoys, nor does it seem that the rich merchants of Aqča would be eager to give their daughters even to a well-known master šowqi such as Aq Pišak, let alone to a barber-musician. Just as the radio, for all its impact, had virtually no connection with the overall socioeconomic structure of Afghanistan in its first contact phase, it has not touched that corner of the status quo occupied by the local musician.

The silver lining in this cloud may be the new Uzbek and Turkmen programming. Now, for the first time, northerners can hear their very own favorite šowqis over the air from Kabul (and nearly all of them have been taped for the radio archives). It has already become clear that Uzbek and Turkmen listeners turn off the Soviet stations broadcasting in their language (from Tashkent and Ashkhabad) for Radio Kabul at least one hour a day, when the new show comes on at 6:00 P.M. The director of regional programming (*program-i mahali*), Faizullah Aimaq, has shown great sensitivity to the vast quantity of fan mail reaching him from all corners of the North and is doing his best to give northerners the performers and material they have been craving. While it is too early to assess the impact of this new programming on the status of local musicians, it would seem that their position in the social scale can only rise as a result. Certainly the repertoire is being fairly well maintained and restored, and perhaps bourgeois and student amateurs will soon follow suit and take up their own traditional instruments rather than the armonia and *tabla* of Kabul. According to Allah Berdi Surxi, director of Turkmen programming for Radio Afghanistan, the Turkmens have already felt a stirring of renewed interest in the dutar and the Turkmen flutes. Thus, while the radio is still impotent in the crucial questions of national change, in such areas as music and the maintenance of local and ethnic traditions it can play a vital role. In the long run, the sense of participation that groups such as the Uzbeks and Turkmens (as well as the Pušai and Baluch, also represented in the new programming) feel in their own Afghan cultural institutions is bound to bring out some change in attitude. To the extent that these peoples identify with a social order comprising their neighbors in Afghanistan and centered in Kabul, instead of with

their fellow ethnics across the Soviet (or Iranian or Pakistani) border, Afghan national consciousness will have been deepened and a step forward in nation building will have taken place.

## MUSICAL SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

Details of specific musical repertoires and instruments will be given in both Chapters 2 and 3; our task here is to briefly characterize those bodies of music and musical instruments that tend to be shared by several ethnic groups in the North. These can be grouped into five major complexes: women's music, Kabul music, religious and ritual music, certain secular tales, and samowad (teahouse) music.

### Women's Music

Across the North two instruments are the principal available sound producers for women. These are the tambourine (*doira*) and the jew's harp (*čang*). As far as I know, among none of the ethnic groups in the region is it customary for women to play any of the numerous varieties of plucked and bowed lutes (fiddles). On the other hand, men are widely allowed to play both the tambourine and jew's harp. The jew's harp is also played by children; most northerners are likely to respond "women and children" when asked, "Who plays the *čang*?" It is only when pressed that they will admit that men can also perform on the jew's harp. This attitude was documented early in the 1950s by J. C. Lubtschansky. In his recordings of that period he includes a fine specimen of Uzbek jew's harp play, performed by a man, and he notes: "The man playing it on our request felt very much ashamed, for, said he, 'Only women and children play the *chang*'" (1969:2). Nevertheless, Lubtschansky's Uzbek displayed a high degree of skill on the *čang*, indicating that men do indeed practice the instrument. The nominal restriction of the jew's harp to women and youths is found in Soviet Central Asia among Tajiks, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz (Vertkov 1963:129, 131, 133).

The *doira* is less a matter of special northern development than is the *čang*, since tambourines of varying size and description are played by women all across the Near East, often under the name *doira* or *daf* (the latter is a term also found in Afghanistan, principally in Badaxšan). A particular local feature uniting the North's use of the *doira*, however, is the manufacture of the instrument by Gypsy artisans. Tambourines are made by Gypsies in locales as far apart as Aqča (Turkestan), Xanabad (Katağan), and the Koh-i Daman (just north of Kabul).

The lesson learned from separate examination of the two women's instruments — tambourine and jew's harp — is that one of two major

factors can be at work in determining the place of any shared cultural or musical trait within the general matrix of the North: either the trait emerges as a result of local ethnic accommodation, sometimes on a microgeographic scale, as in the case of the adoption of the jew's harp by groups surrounding the Tajiks, or the trait may be part of an extensive Near Eastern-Islamic network in which northern Afghanistan figures only as a peripheral zone.

The women's repertoire is far less of a shared item than the instrumentarium. Although data for women of various ethnic groups is extremely limited at present, it seems that by and large each group commands its own repertoire of women's songs, with certain exceptions to be discussed presently. This is bound to be the case, because of the high degree of women's isolation within the household walls among the sedentary population. For example, Sakata's writing on Hazaras of Central Afghanistan (1968:35) contrasts men's familiarity with standard Afghan Persian (Dari) with women's reliance on the Hazara dialect (Hazaragi): "In most cases, Hazara men know and use Dari as well as Hazaragi, thus many of their songs are in Dari. . . . The women's songs, on the other hand, are more strictly in Hazaragi, since they are less exposed to other peoples and cultures." It seems likely that research in the North would reveal a similar pattern. The principal exceptions to the pattern are professional women singers, who must cater to more than one ethnic group. Thus Zulaixā and Gulandām of Andxoi sing wedding songs with quatrains in both Uzbek and Persian (examples recorded on Anthology AST 4001); they also sing songs that are purely in Uzbek (their native language) and related to Transoxanian Uzbek repertoires (Lyricord LIST 7231).

However, despite the differences preserved through women's isolation, common features mark women's songs across the North. One factor influencing commonality is, once again, the radio. The women's wedding song "Astā bero" (analyzed under "Women's Music" in Chapter 3), probably stemming originally from a Kabul Paštun-Tajik milieu, has been popularized by the radio in many different versions — even in an arrangement by male amateurs with Western instruments. The radio has played only a minor role in promoting a joint musical storehouse for women, however. More potent as a unifier is the traditional assignment of two basic musical roles to women: singing lullabies and singing songs at domestic festivities, principally weddings. Unfortunately, scarcely any lullabies have been recorded in the North, so assessment of the nature and scope of the repertoire must await further research. Sakata's (1968) findings among the Hazaras of Central Afghanistan indicates that lullabies form an interesting and extensive body of

women's songs. As noted earlier, celebrations such as weddings serve as important outlets for women and may be prolonged for their enjoyment; thus wedding songs form a large part of women's total musical activity. According to Surxi, Turkmen women sing only at weddings. The Uzbek repertoire seems particularly rich in wedding songs, and Tajiks and sedentary Paštuns sing a series of songs for different segments of the wedding ceremony. Beyond the basic unity of lullabies and wedding songs, the ethnic groups once again break into separate traditions for women, to be taken up in Chapter 2.

### The Music of Kabul and the Mašreqi

One of the important components of the shared music culture is the body of repertoire and instruments stemming from the area of Kabul and eastern Afghanistan (Mašreqi). In its broadest geographical sense, this region could be considered the concentrated arena of Paštun urban music, which has strong folk song roots. The language and materials drawn upon cover nearly the whole of Paštun country, from Kandahar to Peshawar (Pakistan), but the results are distilled in a roughly triangular region embracing the Logar Valley south of Kabul, Kabul itself, and Lağman and Jalalabad in the east. This rich store-house of Paštun rural (village and nomadic) and urban poetry and music has been little studied save in Hoerburger's (1969) brief survey and in the periodic collections of Paštun folk poetry issued by the Pašto Tolana (Pašto Academy) of Kabul. Even the dense musical life of Kabul has scarcely been discussed, and the data from Radio Afghanistan offered in the present study are hardly typical. Thus it is impossible to give a well-rounded picture of the fertile Paštun musical soil, whose abundant fruit is one of the principal cultural exports of the Kabul-Mašreqi area to the North.

Let us begin with the musical instruments, about which we are fairly well informed, though we are still far from having a definitive statement of their origin, use, and diffusion. Four instruments stand out as exports from Kabul-Mašreqi: two lute types (the tanbur and *robab*), a drum (the tabla), and the harmonium. The latter two are direct imports from India. The tabla is the standard North Indian set of two drums, and all the tablas in Afghanistan are of Indian origin. Likewise, the harmonium is never locally made. This diminutive relative of the organ was brought to India long ago by European missionaries and used as a tool in spreading Christianity. Once in India, it was soon adopted as a handy accompaniment for native art music, and it was in this guise that the harmonium reached Afghanistan, where it was termed *armonia*. Its use has spread as a result of the radio broadcasts, since it

serves as accompaniment to the music of the ustads. Confined until recently to the Kabul-Mašreqi area, the armonia has diffused rapidly through the countryside and is prized among provincial aficionados of radio music. The great advantage of the armonia is that nearly anyone can pick out a tune on its keyboard, or at least hold down a couple of drone pitches and fake an accompaniment to a song. The ease of performance contrasts markedly to the skill needed to play any of the lute or fiddle types alternately available to amateurs.

The importance of the skill necessary for passable play is clear in the case of the tabla, which is by no means as widespread as the harmonium. The complicated drumming technique limits the use of the tabla to a handful of trained performers, and it is played in the North only in touring bands from the Kabul-Mašreqi area and in the ensembles of local musicians who have received special training from Kabul-Mašreqi performers. The tabla seems most indispensable in the Logar Valley style of dance music, the staple accompaniment to the performance of dancing boys. Although on most other occasions the goblet-shaped *zirbağali*, or any large tin can, may substitute for the recondite tabla. I have never seen it used for this *bačabāzi* dancing. It should be noted that few if any Afghan tabla players are so advanced in technical mastery as to be capable of the virtuoso performances offered by North Indian drummers. The tabla is generally used only for basic rhythmic patterns typical of zirbağali drumming, with the possible exception of certain gliding rolls easily played on the tabla; even in the latter case, however, one can find virtuoso zirbağali players (Malang Nejraui, for example) who can match or better Afghan tabla performance. Thus, in the case of the tabla it is the basic sound quality and the repertoire that cause its appearance outside of its basic area rather than the actual musical possibilities of the instrument, which remain largely unexploited by its players.

The case of the tanbur and robab lutes is quite different in most respects, principally in offering musical qualities unavailable in the North. The two lute types are distinctive in construction, playing style, and timbre, and both appear to be among the tiny group of instruments that can probably be said to have originated in Afghanistan. Let us take the tanbur first. None of the lute types of North India, Transoxania, or Iran is constructed precisely like the tanbur (see Figures 4.16–4.19). A tantalizingly similar instrument, called *setar*, is found among the Tajiks of Tajikistan, but the differences between the setar and tanbur are basic enough to preclude a direct connection. The earliest attested date for the existence of the tanbur is the year 1300 of the Persian calendar (A.D. 1821), the date carved on an old tanbur brought to me

by Baba Naim of Kabul for inspection. The maker's name was also inscribed clearly and appeared antique, and I have no reason to doubt the instrument's authenticity. Thus it is clear that the tanbur is not a recent invention, and there is substantiation for the statements of older musicians that as far back as they could recall there had always been a tanbur in Afghanistan. Furthermore, the 1821 instrument is almost exactly the size and shape of the tanbur of Figures 4.16–4.19. (For more detail on construction and playing style, see Chapter 3.)

The national focus of tanbur construction and performance is the Kabul-Mašreqi area, but inquiries among Kabul tanbur makers yielded no positive results in pinning down the lute's origin any further. In the North, Mazar-i Šarif is the center of tanbur making and playing. Since both performers and instrument makers state that "whatever Kabul had, Mazar always had," it is reasonable to assume that the tanbur came north along with many other goods from Kabul. Outside of Mazar, this long-necked lute rarely appears, though its spread seems to have increased in the past few years. Confirming the theory of a spread from Kabul is the content of the tanbur repertoire in the North, which consists largely of Kabul-Mašreqi popular music. There is little, if any, purely instrumental music for the tanbur; it is almost always used as accompaniment for song. It may also be used for dance, in which case it is possible that local instrumental (dambura) dance tunes will be used. Here too, though, the repertoire often consists of songs arranged for instrumental use with little alteration or ornamentation. The chief attraction of the tanbur's sound is its metallic twang, produced by using a metal plectrum on the instrument's multitude of melodic and sympathetic wire strings. This sound quality is markedly different from the basic timbre of the dambura, the favorite local lute type, which features finger plucking and strumming on nylon strings combined with knocks on the lid.

The Kabul-Mašreqi robab also offers a special sound. This distinctively shaped instrument is the only Afghan short-necked lute, and save for the rare Pamir robab, it is the only lute type played with a wooden (or bone) plectrum. It is unique in appearance and timbre, as well as in its playing style, which features rapid repeated-note strokes and sharp breaks in sound that contrast sharply with the continuous sound of the dambura and *gičak*. In the North, the tanbur and robab do not merely represent the appearance of a different music subculture, as does the tabla, but they also contribute a very real acoustic presence whose sound values differ sharply from those of the local music.

The repertoire of all the instruments just discussed consists primarily of Kabul-Mašreqi urban music, with some bending towards the

regional northern style if audience demand warrants. The presence of at least the tanbur in pre-radio days in the North testifies to old musical links between that region and the Kabul-Mašreqi area. However, the recent widespread appearance of the harmonium again indicates the explosive nature of the radio impact, which diffused the use of an instrument new to the North within a comparatively short time.

The incursion of Kabul-Mašreqi music goes beyond its association with the instruments just discussed. Perhaps the farthest-reaching impact of the style has been in its adoption by the traditional šowqi performers who use the indigenous instruments of the North (dambura and ğičak). In this case, it is almost entirely the music broadcast by Radio Afghanistan that is involved rather than folk music or non-broadcast repertoires of the Kabul-Mašreqi area. Radio music has become one of the prime components of the shared culture in the heart of the public music arena, teahouse performance, as well as in the private amateur playing of nonprofessionals or ğaribi-šowqis across the North. In this eclectic, improvised style, the teahouse dambura player pulls in any and all types of music he knows, varying the length and content of the performance to his own and the audience's taste. Radio songs have become one of the assumed and integral parts of such pieces. Also of interest is the predominance of radio songs among people who sing in the street. Careful listening in any northern town will reveal that very few men sing while working or passing the time of day, and that of those who do, the majority are singing radio music; most important, in nearly all cases of children singing to themselves, radio music is being sung. For the younger generation the radio plays the main role in forming musical taste and repertoire; clearly the future belongs to the radio.

The radio style penetrates to the women's quarters as well. Eagerly taping wedding entertainment in Faizabad, to the consternation of the women performers (though egged on by male spectators), I found that I was recording merely a local variant of a standard radio favorite, "Anār, anār."

### **Religious and Ritual Music**

Of all the little-studied areas of Afghan music, religious and ritual music has been perhaps the most neglected. We know very little about the genres and styles of this important segment of the music culture; indeed, save for Hoerburger's (1969) brief foray into Qur'anic cantillation, there is no literature on the topic whatsoever. Yet no aspect of Afghan music could be more shared than the ceremonial call of the muezzin or the chanting of street mendicants. As mentioned earlier,

these varieties of singing are generally not classed as "music" by Afghans themselves, and this seems to be the case across much of the Islamic world. It is primarily outside investigators who take the category "religious music" for granted, basing it on the traditional European dichotomization of sacred and secular music, and thus we take some liberties in applying such categories to Afghan musical life. We can only state our investigative interest in considering all organized manifestations of song as part of the local music culture, while taking careful note of the Afghans' reluctance to include anything other than the genres of secular public male and domestic female songs and dances (and now radio performances, of course) within the domain of "music."

On the subject of Islamic music, we can say little here beyond referring back to the discussion of mada street singing and šowqi na't singing offered earlier as categories of shared public music making. We simply do not have enough available repertoire to make a thorough presentation of the styles and their implications for the joint music culture. It should be mentioned, however, that Persian seems universally preferred for mada street music, thus offering the ethnically mixed spectators-contributors a text in the lingua franca. In sharp contrast are the ethnically distinct religious repertoires (e.g., Uzbek). The mada style focuses on tales easily understood by a broad public, and the tales usually concern Ali, important to both Shi'a and Sunni factions of the audience. Thus mada seems to be a category of music involving catholicity both in its performers, who may be drawn from a variety of ethnic groups, and in its repertoire, which appeals to the broadest segment of the urban male listeners.

Let us turn to a consideration of ritual music. Here we are on more solid ground when it comes to the infrequent, localized, yet highly indicative phenomenon of shamanist practices in the North. Since two coauthors and I have published an extensive report of these data (Centlivres and Slobin 1971), here I shall only summarize the major findings for the town of K. in Afghan Turkestan. Briefly, we uncovered two strikingly different occurrences of shamanism in the town, one for males and the other for females. The male shaman, in approach, local terminology, and musical instrument, can clearly be related to Central Asian shamans, particularly those of the Kirghiz and Kazakhs. The female healer-diviner, on the other hand, seemed the center of a cult similar to those described for various segments of the Near East and neighboring areas (e.g., the Zar cult of Ethiopia). The occurrence of northern shamanism is significant for the present discussion in three ways: (1) it confirms the basic description of the region's cultural traits, which clearly show the intersecting of widespread Islamic and

Near Eastern characteristics with elements of localized Central Asian phenomena; (2) it substantiates our earlier conclusion regarding the use of ceremonial and musical events by women as important expressions of their independence; (3) the fact that the clienteles of both male and female shamans, as well as the shamans themselves, derive from a variety of groups in the multiethnic town of K. gives further support to our hypothesis of a shared music culture in the North. Judging by the available data, we can regard these manifestations of shamanism as being quite anachronistic, even archaic, in the milieu of a present-day Afghan town; indeed, the male variety of shamanism, at least, seems clearly on the decline. The presence of such an old pattern of inter-ethnic ritual participation strengthens our belief in the existence of extensive ethnic accommodation in Afghan Turkestan extending back into earlier times.

Barth has noted that

Stable inter-ethnic relations presuppose . . . a set of prescriptions governing situations of contact, and allowing for articulation in some sectors or domains of activity, and a set of proscriptions on social situations preventing inter-ethnic interaction in other sectors. . . . (1969:16)

It is revealing that so important an area of belief as shamanism should be one of the "prescribed" items in the area of joint activity.

### **Secular Tales**

Once again we are in a little-researched domain when we come to the interethnic distribution of a corpus of secular tales. Preliminary evidence seems to indicate the existence of a shared body of narratives (as distinct from the large number of tales with currency only among a given ethnic group, to be discussed in Chapter 2 under their respective subcultures).

One such tale is the story of *Buniyāt-i Palewān*, or Buniyat the Wrestler. Wrestling is one of the main arenas of direct interethnic competition in the North, the only other major sport being the *buzkaši* horsemanship event. Thus a tale about a wrestler is of some ethnic interest, and it calls for a brief description of the sport itself. Wrestling is common all across the North, and may be daily recreational fare in the spring. In Kunduz in May and June, two to three hundred men and boys gather on the *čamān* (the same meadow used for *buzkaši* in the winter) every afternoon between five and six o'clock for informal wrestling matches (*palewāni*). The mood on the occasions I have witnessed was quite relaxed, with numerous food vendors pushing carts and boys selling cigarettes; the whole event has a casual after-work air,

with considerably more good humor and quiet enjoyment than accompanies such exciting and tense sporting events as partridge or dog fights. No money is exchanged at Kunduz. The crowd slowly forms a neat circle, and it is some time before contestants are separated from observers. The wrestlers strip off their work shirts and put on special jackets made of dense cotton, not unlike judo jackets. As in judo, a belt is tied carefully. The competitors circle round the ring a few times, then kneel and make a brief prayer. Unlike such celebrated occasions as the Turkish greased wrestling matches, northern Afghan wrestling features no musical accompaniment whatsoever. The match begins with one wrestler tugging the other's belt; a stance, again similar to that of judo, is taken, with each contestant grasping the other's lapels, and the struggle to down one's opponent begins. The back touching the ground signals the end of the match. At no time is special force applied for the purpose of inflicting pain. Once I saw a wrestler fall headlong on his nose, producing general consternation and putting a stop to the match until it was clear that no injury had been sustained.

Though contestants stem from any of the many local ethnic groups (I saw Paštun, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkmen, and Loqai contestants) and their identity is well known to the audience, who spot the "regulars," there seemed to be no tension involved in the victory or defeat of a given group's representative. This contrasts with Snesarev's description of Uzbek wrestling, which he sees as "ironically sacred" and as "a struggle of two groups" implicit in the competition between individuals (1971:269). The absence of such tension in Kunduz perhaps underscores the relatively tranquil interethnic relations prevalent in the North.

Turning now to "Buňiyat-i Palewan," the tale, like Kunduz wrestling, seems multiethnic in distribution and ambiguous in ethnic content. Basically it seems to reflect an earlier period of greater ethnic confrontation. I have three versions of the tale, one taped in Kunduz from an apparent Uzbek, one taped in a village near Aqča from an apparent Turkmen, and one taped in Sangčerak (by the Tappers) from a Gypsy performer. All three versions are in Persian. Only one of them (the Kunduz version) is lengthy enough and clear enough to present a complete story. Here is a translation of the text as sung by Almas.

### BUNIYAT-I PALEWAN

There's a big town called Andijan  
Below is a Turkmen tribe with big turbans  
From among them came Qader Khan  
When he strikes a cypress it trembles

In the royal garden he wrestled much  
 And he sat there talking  
 Buniyat came from down there  
 When he saw Buniyat he trembled  
 Both come to the square like roaring lions  
 And they play with their paws like winter wolves  
 Buniyat has the habit of throwing his opponent over his shoulder  
 "Ya haidar," he says, and grasps his opponent by the waist  
 He calls on The Forty  
 The Farwan blows the trumpet to celebrate  
 He gives a hundred afghanis in silver to each as a prize  
 He takes the money to the faqirs around Ali's tomb  
 He sees three *korons* [small units of money] in the bottom of his pocket  
 He takes tea and bread and takes it to the Farwan  
 Before he finishes the tea and bread a decree came  
 "O please read my decree"  
 Take this decree to the head clerk  
 The head clerk read it and saw the name of Amir Mahmud Khan  
 Take Buniyat to Kabul; it takes thirteen days to Kabul  
 On a given Wednesday they cleared a large square  
 On Thursday they were talking about something  
 Amir Mahmud Khan himself has twenty-four wrestlers  
 Four together pulled him down like a goat to slaughter  
 He ordered the cannoneer to tie him to the cannon  
 "Please dear sir don't tie me to the cannon"  
 They bared his back and there were the five fingers of Ali  
 So Amir Mahmud Khan gave him many prizes  
 All the high-ranking officials gave him robes  
 And gave him to the police to convey him safely across the borders  
 When he came to the border there were twelve guards; four Turkmens  
 and eight Afghans  
 "How are you coming, young man?  
 How did you come from the land of Saxijan [Turkestan]?  
 Say your last prayers because we are going to shoot you."  
 He puts his hand to the sheath but the knife doesn't come out  
 They killed Buniyat the hero on the eve of *Eid-i Qurban* ["Festival of  
 the sacrifice," a major religious holiday]  
 Because of the blessing of Saxy [Ali] may you always be as rich and  
 fertile as you are, Turkestan  
 And may the throne of the king of Afghanistan be secure  
 We send you greetings Nadir Khan!

A good deal of ambiguity is present in the tale, which no one has been able to clarify thus far. Let us look at some of the unclear points. First, Andijan is a city in the Ferghana Valley, and it is far removed from "the Land of Saxijan," i.e., Afghan Turkestan, where we must assume the rest of the action takes place if we accept the presence of Turkmens. Some Afghans have suggested that there might be a village in Afghan Turkestan named Andijan, and this could well

explain the discrepancy since many place names are duplicated on both sides of the present Afghan-Soviet border.

Equally ambiguous and more important to our understanding of the tale is the ethnic identity of Buniyat himself. His name is Persian, if we interpret it as *buniyād*, meaning "a foundation, basis," as in "*bunyad afghandan*, to found, to build up" (Steingass 1970:204). It seems more a mythic than an actual name—I have never heard of a live Buniyat. Furthermore, a Persian name, like the Persian text, adds to the lingua franca aspect of the tale. The version of the tale given above leaves the hero's ethnic affiliation open; all we know is that he can vanquish both his local Turkmen and his royal Kabul opponents. While Buniyat himself is aboveboard in action, his enemies clearly have it in for him; the King, apparently a poor loser, wants to have him executed and is only stopped by divine intervention in the form of the fingerprints of Ali. At the end, the monarch gets his way by having the border guards do Buniyat in. Why the assassins are identified as Turkmens and Paštuns is also unclear. The interesting part of informants' responses to the tale is that they seem unable to clear up the uncertainties, or if they do give explanations, they vary considerably from person to person, leaving the observer with the impression that the tale is meant to be ambiguous in imagery, to fit local situations. The only usable fact in Almas's performance of "Buniyat-i Palewan" is found not in the tale itself but in the tag ending, which mentions Nadir Khan at the very end. Nadir Khan (later Nadir Shah; reigned 1929–33) was the father of the recent king, Zahir Shah, and mention of his name at least dates the tale in some way. The troubled times of 1928–29 (the successful uprising against Amanullah, followed by Nadir Shah's overthrow of the usurper Bača Saqow), were steeped in ethnic unrest. Particularly in the North there was deep division during those years of the uprising and Nadir Shah's reign, and people no longer choose to speak of them. It was the last period of such deep interethnic conflict and as such is well remembered, so it is perhaps not accidental that "Buniyat-i Palewan" relates to those times, that it refers to interethnic strife, and that it is still recounted, if somewhat unclearly by now.

In addition to "Buniyat-i Palewan" there are apparently other tales common to more than one ethnic group that circulate in the North; further research is needed to identify the repertoire and its ethnic meaning. The tale is important for the present discussion because it represents a category of folklore that can be described as part of a shared repertoire and that must be included with other manifestations of the joint music culture under review here. We shall see in Chapter 2

that tales specific to only one ethnic group are a good deal more precise in origin, content, and distribution; it therefore seems likely that tales of the "Buniyat" type represent a special cross-ethnic case.

Interethnic sharing of tales has yet another aspect. One can find the same tale spread among various groups with each version in the basic language of its tellers. The prime example of this trend in northern Afghanistan is the occurrence of the Köroğlu tale. Stories about the outlaw-hero Köroğlu abound from Turkey out into Central Asia (see Chadwick and Zhirmunsky 1969, Karryev 1969), so it is not surprising to find ethnic variants in the Afghan North. There Turkmens, Uzbeks, and Tajiks each preserve their own versions of the same epic subject (Anthology AST includes a recording of an Uzbek version).

### **Teahouse Music**

The music of the teahouse (samowad) is among the most prominent features of the shared music culture. However, the distribution of samowad music is regionally inflected. The stronghold of live teahouse music is Turkestan, where local market towns feature live music on at least one of the two bazaar days each week. In Katağan the picture is somewhat more spotty. At times there has been employment of local musicians in teahouses, but in recent years the custom has faded, largely because of governmental interference. It seems that the guardians of public morals have clamped down on public entertainment more heavily in Katağan than in Turkestan, at least in the larger towns. Farther east in Badaxšan there may be live music at teahouses, but the samowad is not the focal point of musical activity that it is in Turkestan. Instead, sporadic private and public performances are held, often in the form of picnic-like gatherings. Despite this rather erratic spread of the Turkestani samowad complex, the instruments, repertoire, and performance manner typical of the genre have had widespread impact across the North and beyond, to Central and East Afghanistan.

Five basic instruments are employed: the *dambura*, a two-stringed fretless lute; the *gičak*, a two-stringed fiddle; the *zirbağali*, a pottery or (infrequently) wooden goblet-shaped drum; a pair of small finger cymbals (Persian *zang* or *tal*, Uzbek *tüsak*); and a small set of jingles on a string wrapped around the *dambura* player's right hand (*zang-i kaftar*). These instruments are not all of northern origin and are not equally distributed throughout the neighboring zones. For instance, the *zirbağali* is nearly universal in Afghanistan, save for some Paštun zones (Hoerburger 1969), where the two-headed *dhol* drum is favored. On the other hand, the *tüsak* and *zang-i kaftar* are largely limited to



*Fig. 1.6  
Teahouse in  
Samangan*

the North and more particularly to Turkestan and Katağan. It is principally the two stringed instruments, the *dambura* and *gičak*, that symbolize in material terms the spread of the northern teahouse style; we shall return later in this chapter to the ethnic significance of the instruments.

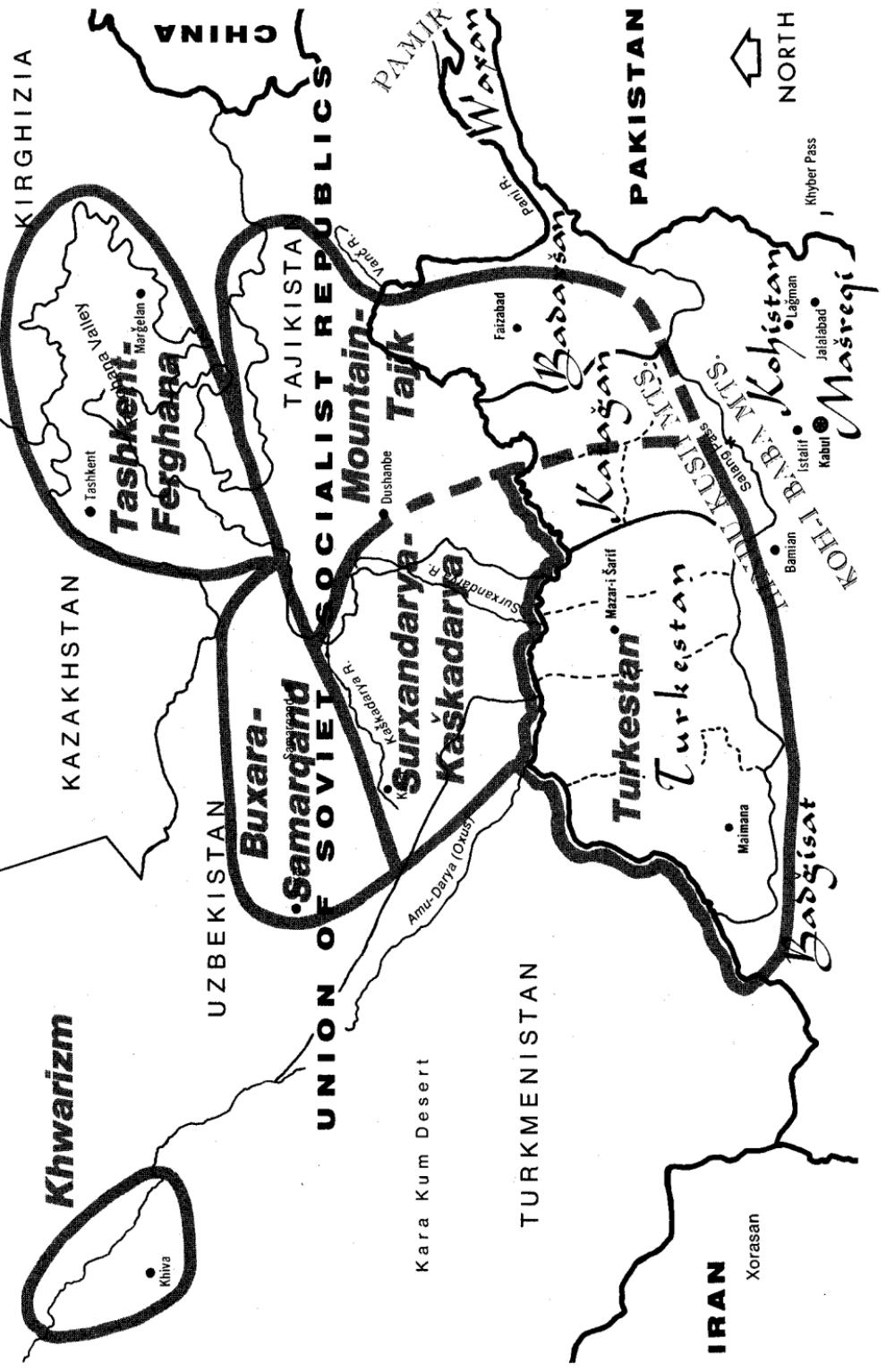
The teahouse repertoire, like the instruments, breaks down into purely local components and those of wider currency. Among the latter is the use of improvised, semi-improvised, and stock quatrains as the main verse form for songs. This genre can be found not only in other areas of Afghanistan, but also across the Persian-speaking world in Azerbaijan and out into Turkic Central Asia. The more recent element in this category is the radio music. Local contributions include regional or subregional melodies, clearly identifiable as such, and used for both songs and instrumental (primarily dance) tunes. Certain characteristics of rhythm may also be localized.

Samowad music is shared by virtually all the ethnic groups in Turkestan, with the possible exception of the tiny Kazakh community, whose members claim to spurn all music save their own Transoxanian

style. Performers and audience may be drawn from the major ethnic groups (Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmens, Paštuns, Hazaras) and from the smaller groups as well (Arabs, Moğols, Ortoblaqi, etc.). In each case the participants shed their particular ethnic music subculture (if any) to join as full-fledged members of the shared music culture. In so doing, they are of course affirming their interest in a more widespread cultural pattern of which music is only a part: the old, sedentary iranized culture of northern Afghanistan connected at one end to the general Iranian plateau culture and at the other to the history and development of Transoxania. While it is not possible at present to expound a general ethnography of the North, we shall try to get at the roots of the ethnic blend through examining the heart of the musical situation: cultural accommodation between the Uzbeks and the Tajiks, which sets a pattern that has spread to the remaining peoples of the area. It is only in the light of the relationship between these two major groups of the North that one can characterize the milieu in which the newcomer groups (Turkmens, Paštuns) and minority groups (Aimaq, Arabs, etc.) have adjusted.

### PATTERNS OF UZBEK-TAJIK CONTACT

To examine the Uzbek-Tajik relationship we must take a broad overview of their patterns of contact over the entire area in which they are immediate neighbors. The map of putative Uzbek-Tajik musical zones (Map 1.1) shows this area. Its outside boundaries (the Khwarizm enclave apart) include all the Tajiks of the USSR and all the northern Tajiks of Afghanistan. The boundaries also include nearly all the Afghan Uzbeks (save for those in the Kabul area), but not all those Persian speakers who are at times called Tajiks (this fact is discussed in the Introduction). We shall first characterize the general historical situation that produced the contemporary patterns of contact, and then review the zones of Map 1.1, adding ethnographic data to clarify the musical situation. The major hurdle in such an enterprise is that for some regions the ethnographic data are almost totally lacking while the musical data are rich (the Afghan North), whereas for other regions the anthropological evidence is much more complete than the musical information (most of Transoxania). The following argument, then, should be seen as a first step in exploring Uzbek-Tajik relations, based on the limited available data, very little of which are directly concerned with the question at hand: how has the fact of living side by side over the course of nearly five centuries worked toward creating a highly symbiotic cultural pattern among Uzbeks and Tajiks? It is hoped that eventually a systematic exploration of this topic will be



carried out, for it would yield valuable insights into the basic nature of southern Central Asian culture.

In her study of ethnic groups of southern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, B. Kh. Karmysheva summarizes the factors affecting the ethnography of the area:

The basic ethnocultural process that took place in the broad area studied was the same as in a series of other regions of Central Asia: mutual cultural influence, convergence, and at times fusion of the settled (primarily Iranian-speaking) and nomadic (primarily Turkic-speaking) populations. This process encompassed all sides of the culture: economic, material and spiritual. (1964:100)

To briefly review the historical development of this process, we can perhaps reduce it to three basic stages. The terminology and concept of a three-layered development are derived from *Sprachbund* linguistic theory.

1. *Substratum*: ?1500 B.C.–A.D. 500. This is the period of Iranian predominance from the time of the initial Indo-European invasion of the region under discussion to the time of the major infiltration of Turkic peoples. It was during this period that the cultural pattern of the region was established on the basis of a still earlier underlay: the evolution of agriculture, the creation of village life-styles, and, of course, the spread of Iranian languages.

2. *Superstratum*: ca. A.D. 500–1500. This period saw the large-scale invasions of numerous Turko-Mongol peoples, from the Oghuz confederation of the sixth century through the Seljuq, Mongol, and Timurid upheavals. The heavy Turkic overlay of languages and customs has remained basic to the region, but it seems clear from the available evidence that the history of the period in Transoxania and northern Afghanistan equally involve Turkic adjustment to the substratum culture: Iranian peasant life.

3. *Adstratum*: A.D. 1550–ca. 1940. This period opened with the last Turkic invasion and the appearance of the Uzbeks in the region. It closed with the effective sovietization of the northern part of the area (Transoxania) and the sealing of the border with Afghanistan; both factors ended the traditional patterns of contact between Uzbeks and Tajiks and began a new chapter in the relationship of the two peoples.

In the following zone-by-zone analysis of Uzbek-Tajik contact, the situation must be seen in terms of a continuum of lesser to greater mutual influence. The considerable geographic expanse involved and, more important, the great diversity of the ecology and related life-styles have led to a rather complex articulation of the basic interrelationship of the two peoples. Because of the historically convoluted succession

of invasions and assimilations, it is difficult to date any phenomena other than the most basic cultural realities. Thus, while it is obvious that before the advent of the Uzbeks the presence of a large mass of Uzbek words in Tajik Persian would have been unlikely, even linguistic specialists in matters Turco-Iranian (Doerffer 1967:72-79) find themselves hard pressed to determine whether a given word was part of the older superstratum period of contact or represents a clear Uzbek addition to Persian in recent times. To give an idea of the complexity, here is Doerffer's four-part categorization of Uzbek loan words in Tajik (1967:72-79):

1. pre-Uzbek, Čağataí layer
2. old dialectic Uzbek layer
3. Kipčak Uzbek layer (Kazakh-related)
4. Uzbek layer stemming from Mongol

The fact that Uzbek itself changed markedly over the centuries before and after 1500 compounds the complexity. Nevertheless, the overall outline is sufficiently clear for us to delineate fundamental patterns.

In terms of language, a major variable, Lazard can confidently note ". . . une convergence remarquable entre cette langue [Tajik] et l'uzbek" (1956:186), while Doerffer (1967:72-79) goes so far as to see some Tajik dialects as "eine Türksprache in statu nascendi," and to remark that an Altaicist of 2100 would find as much similarity between northern Tajik and the Turkic languages as between Turkic and Mongolian languages. Important for the argument being advanced is the opinion of Menges: ". . . the Uzbek dialects clearly exhibit the different degrees of Iranization mirroring their transition from a nomadic to a sedentary way of life . . ." (1967:41). It is on "the different degrees" that we shall rest our attention in order to point out some of the subregional variations of the overall Uzbek-Tajik contact pattern.

It should be noted that the musical zones of Map 1.1 represent the situation at the end of the adstratum (1500-ca. 1940) period—that is, the results of the last four and one-half centuries of cultural accommodation between Uzbeks and Tajiks. We shall have occasion to mention some carry-overs from earlier times that affect the limits of the adstratum period. It is difficult to penetrate the past very deeply in terms of the music culture alone, since our documentation, never plentiful at best even for the immediate past, becomes all too conjectural before classical Islamic times. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a considerable substratum of performing arts traditions in the region, just as many other, better documented cultural traits can be

clearly seen to extend back to quite early times. As data for the existence of such elements one can introduce convergence of phenomena at widely separated points within the area under discussion. For example, Nurjanov notes that highly similar masks were traditionally used for folk dramas among isolated mountain Tajiks and in Khwarizm, near the shores of the Aral Sea, and he states that in general, Khwarizmian comedians' activities paralleled those of the mountain Tajiks. At the same time, he notes that the work of the Tajik masxarabaz comedians was similar to that of Uzbek folk comics (*qiziqči*), and that there was continuous contact among Tajik comedians out of the Pamirs; he concludes that "the activity of the masxarabazes of the plains did not differ from that of . . . the mountain regions" (Nurjanov 1956:164, 121, 124, 116). In the face of such a similarity of phenomena one can either assume recent diffusion or parallel evolution from a common, older source. The wide spread of the comedian is particularly striking, for there is very, very little carry-over from the Pamirs to Khwarizm in any other aspect of music and entertainment. Since the figure of the comedian is not limited to the immediate Uzbek-Tajik area, nor is a feature such as masked characters in village entertainments (they exist in Rumania, for example), I would tend to identify the element as part of a very old pattern of development. Looking at the situation from another angle, one can find in a given isolated community clear evidence of early substratum contact. A. L. Troitskaia's investigation of secluded Tajik villages of the upper Zerafšan valley showed "an intersection of Turkic and Iranian shamanistic elements," a phenomenon she feels "can be explained only through ancient Turco-Soghdian interrelations" (1971:255); this statement refers to a large area of which the zone under discussion is only one part, just as the Iranian-Turkic linguistic border is a constant across a great many miles and a variety of cultural situations.

We are now ready to turn to the specifics of the adstratum pattern of musical acculturation in the Uzbek-Tajik contact zone. In the case of each zone I shall introduce related ethnographic and linguistic data to indicate that the musical relationships described do in fact bear some connection to more general patterns of acculturation. However, I must stress once again that comparative ethnography of the area is still in its infancy, and that there are whole zones for which both the musical and other cultural data are so sparse as to make any discussion highly conjectural.

The musical zones of Map 1.1. have been substantiated by the findings published by F. Karomatov, director of musicology in the Institute for the Study of the Arts of the Uzbek Academy of Sci-

ences. For the Uzbeks, Karomatov describes "four basic local styles: . . . Surkhandarya-Kashkadarya, Bukhara-Samarqand, Khwarizm and Ferghana-Tashkent" (1972a:49); I have used his terminology on my map, adding the Mountain Tajik zone and Afghan Turkestan. The borders of each zone, to be discussed below, are mine; Karomatov has not described precise geographic limits for his zones. Karomatov does not directly state that his definition of stylistic regions depends to any great extent on the degree and quality of Uzbek-Tajik contact, though he does speak of the "shared way of life within various regions," and points out the "great popularity of Tajik songs" (1972a:49) whenever such explanations seem relevant. What I hope to accomplish through presentation of the musical zones is (1) to elaborate on Karomatov's insights for the Soviet side, extending his remarks to indicate Uzbek-Tajik contact as an important consideration; and (2) to use my field observations from the Afghan side in order to depict a larger ethnic contact situation.

### Buxara-Samarqand Zone

Let us begin at the heart of the longest-established region of shared music culture, in the ancient urban centers of Buxara and Samarqand. This area was long settled by Iranian peoples before the first possible Turks, the Hun-related Hephthalites, appeared in the fourth century A.D. (see Bivar 1969:54 for discussion of the Turkic nature of the Hephthalites). When Alexander the Great encountered the city of Maracanda — the forerunner of Samarqand — in 329 B.C., it was a major stopping point along the celebrated Silk Route to China. The high degree of urbanization and development of crafts in the area during T'ang Dynasty times (614-907) is well documented in Chinese sources, especially in the long lists of luxury items imported from the various Central Asian city-states (see Schaefer 1964). For a detailed account of the ethnic history of Buxara and Samarqand, the reader may turn to sources such as Bartol'd (1958) and Frye (1965). The important point here is to understand the situation as it crystallized after the settlement of the Uzbeks and the establishment of the Buxaran state in the sixteenth century, and for this it is best to quote from O. Sukhareva, who has studied Buxara in depth historically and personally through extensive interviews over many years. There seems to be no question that by the nineteenth century the majority of Turkic peoples (mainly various pre-Uzbek and Uzbek tribal groupings) had assimilated to the Tajik-speaking, well-established pattern of urban life, creating a special Buxaran ethnic group:

The local type of the Buxaran was formed in the conditions of long-standing, close neighboring of Tajiks and Uzbeks in Buxara, including those Uzbeks who had gone over to the Tajik language through continuous inter-mixing by means of marriage. (Sukhareva 1966:142)

That this pattern was particularly Buxaran is indicated clearly by Sukhareva:

In this respect the fate of Buxara was sharply differentiated from that of other cities such as Marghelan [in the Ferghana Valley], whose population in recent centuries lost the Tajik language and went over to Uzbek. (1966:149)

On the other hand, the Buxaran Tajiks are themselves of mixed provenience and cannot be said to constitute a "pure" Tajik population:

In general one can scarcely find "pure" Tajiks in Buxara. In every family one can still observe that either in the man's or woman's lineage some ancestor or other was a non-Tajik. (1966:132)

Uzbek-Tajik ethnic boundaries remain undefined in Buxara, though the incorporation of the area into the Uzbek SSR in Soviet times fostered a growth of at least nominal Uzbek consciousness among all sectors of the population. Sukhareva has even recently been able to find Buxarans who formally call themselves Uzbeks but continue to use Tajik as a home language (1966:128). Significantly, this ethnic fusion carries over into the countryside around Buxara and Samarcand; Sukhareva mentions Tajik villages in the Samarcand region whose inhabitants use Tajik as their standard language but who maintain their identities as members of various Uzbek tribes, even claiming kinship and intermarrying with neighboring Uzbek villages (1966:129). I have drawn the line of Buxara-Samarcand to include the steppe area to the south, with its center in the Karši oasis, since that part of the lower Kaškadaryā River seems similar to the rest of the area under discussion (Kisliakov 1960).

Outside of the high incidence of bilingualism cited by many writers, one must also note the heavy influence of each language on the other in this clear Sprachbund situation. Rastorgueva, the chief investigator of Tajik dialectology, particularly for Buxara and Samarcand, notes that "the long-standing neighborship with the Uzbeks and massive bilingualism has not passed without traces on Tajik dialects. They have undergone strong influence from Uzbek" (1964:13). As noted above, Doerffer (1967:57) goes even farther, describing northern Tajik dialects as appearing to be "eine Türksprache in statu nascendi." Going beyond language into folklore, there is abundant evidence of Turkic impact in the northern Tajik areas. Tilavov, who has studied Tajik proverbs, notes that in those regions the influence of Uzbek folklore on Tajik

sayings can easily be seen; it involves outright adoption of Uzbek proverbs as well as creation of Tajik proverbs on Uzbek models (1967:33).

Uzbek has been similarly influenced. Menges notes that "no other Turkic language, with perhaps the sole exception of the literary language of the Qarayim, strongly influenced by Hebrew and Slavic, has undergone a comparably powerful extraneous penetration." The effects have been particularly strong in the cities, where "Iranized dialects" have their strongholds (1967: 69, 70).

Let us now turn to a brief survey of the musical ramifications of the Uzbek-Tajik shared culture in the Buxara-Samarqand zone. We have a fine description of highly cosmopolitan, ethnically mixed music in Samarqand from the time of Šarux. Tamerlane's son, written by the historian Hafez Abru (as quoted in Veksler 1965:101):

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

Thus there was fertile ground for the development of Uzbek-Tajik music in urban Transoxania by the time of the Uzbek invasions. Already under the Timurids in the late fifteenth century, court Turks in Samarqand and Herat had developed Čağataí, a Turco-Persian literary language; it was fostered particularly by Mir Alisher Navoi and became the basis of Uzbek literature in succeeding centuries. There is every reason to imagine that when Babur, the first Moghul emperor, described Navoi as a composer of music (Beliaev: in press), the pieces involved reflected a joint Turco-Iranian classical music culture of the sophisticated Timurid courts.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this tendency toward fusion was heightened and crystallized in a canonized set of extensive Buxaran musical-poetic suites called *maqams*, a term clearly pointing to links with Near Eastern classical musics. There are two ways of looking at the provenience of the Buxaran maqams and their development. My own feeling is that when the Safavid dynasty was established in Iran, cutting off Buxaran Sunnis from their Near Eastern cosectarians, the succeeding period of isolated cultural development provided ample occasion for the evolution of a local dialect of Near Eastern classical forms. As Hambly has noted,

It was the course of the sixteenth century and under Shaybanid rule that Mawarannah [Transoxania] became finally isolated from the rest of the Islamic world as a direct result of the relentless Sunni-Shi'ite conflict between Shaybanids and Safavids which made it difficult for contacts to be maintained with the Sunni states beyond Iran. (1969:168)

On the other hand, Laurence Picken (1969:p.c.) has pointed out that the maqams may well be cultural continuations of the age-old Central Asian musical traditions that heavily influenced Chinese music in T'ang times. He feels that Uighur sources at his disposal support the argument for steady maintenance of those traditions in Central Asia apart from Near Eastern Islamic influence, and with that I have no quarrel. Picken's argument and my own theory of the development of Buxaran classical music do not seem to be mutually exclusive: both old Transoxanian and newer Arabo-Persian styles may have fused in creating the unique maqam style.

Debates as to provenience aside, the main point about the maqams for the present discussion is the fact that they are of joint Uzbek-Tajik origin (which is to say Buxaran, in this case), and that they exist in two different forms in the languages of their creators. Pieces with the same title, enshrined within larger musical structures of the same name, and using identical rhythmic formulas based on similar poetic meters exist in both Uzbek and Tajik to this day. These classical compositions have both influenced and been influenced by local folk musics of the Buxara-Samarqand area down to Karši, as substantiated by Karomatov (1972:p.c.). This distribution is the basis for the line I have drawn around the Buxara-Samarqand zone. The western edge of the zone is determined by the heavy impact of Turkmens upon Uzbeks and the falling-off of Uzbek population, while the eastern border is based primarily on increased mountain Tajik representation. As for the boundary with the Kaškadarya-Surxandarya zone, it is mainly set by the topography of that area and the location of the rivers in question.

In the Buxara-Samarqand zone the majority of instruments, particularly those used in maqam performance, are clearly of Near Eastern origin, being variants of Persian types. For example, the local type of hammered dulcimer (called "čang," the name used for the jew's harp in Afghanistan) is directly related to the Persian *santur*. The local tanbur, unlike the Afghan lute of the same name, is also obviously Persian, as is the setar. The main fiddle is the *gičak*, similar in name to the Afghan tin-can-bodied fiddle but quite different in appearance, being a form of the Persian-Turkish *kamanča* spike fiddle. Most clearly Uzbek in origin is the ubiquitous dutar, apparently the favorite instrument of the area. This handsome lute seems to be a cross between long-necked lutes of other Central Asian Turks (particularly Kazakhs and Turkmens) and Persian models; both influences have apparently been at work in the case of nearly all the long-necked lutes of northern Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia.

### Tashkent-Ferghana Valley Zone

In the Tashkent-Ferghana Valley area Tajiks drop to a much more modest component of the population, and the tendency towards strong acculturation, even assimilation, seems to be reversed, with the Tajiks becoming Uzbekized. V. I. Masal'ski noted this in 1918 when he told how Tajiks in the Tashkent area were being called *qul* ("slave") by Uzbeks and were glad to lose such a title and become Turkic (presumably Uzbek) speakers; this Turkicization occurred mainly in the cities (1908:405-6). Menges notes that the Ferghana Uzbek dialects are only "semi-iranized" (1967:71), and Sukhareva has already been cited to the effect that in Marghelan Tajiks tended towards Uzbekization. Rastorgueva (1964:152) describes the Tajik language of various districts of this area as being more heavily influenced by Uzbek than it is in Buxara and Samarcand. Nevertheless, although ethnically the shoe may be on the other foot in Tashkent-Ferghana, a considerable degree of mixture and acculturation has been reported by observers. Menges (1967:69) describes the dissatisfaction of some nationalist Uzbeks in the 1920s when the Tashkent dialect was chosen as the basis for modern literary Uzbek; they felt it was too iranized, as opposed to "the Uzbek dialects of the nomadic population . . . almost free of Iranian influences." It is worth noting that a considerable proportion of the still nomadic, noniranized Uzbek population lived in the Tashkent-Ferghana area in the 1920s, though they have now fused with the majority Uzbek population (Babushkin 1967:73). One must also take into account the impact of neighboring Kazakhs and Kirghiz, a substantial linguistic if not cultural influence in the Tashkent-Ferghana area, and a strong counterbalance to the Tajik presence. Schuyler, among other nineteenth-century observers, clearly indicated that the Tajik population was smaller and of lower status in Tashkent-Ferghana than in Buxara, but he noted as well that "intermarriages . . . are not uncommon," and, in summary, that "the Uzbeks look upon the Tajiks with contempt, but at the same time they are dependent upon them; the Tajiks treat the Uzbeks as fools and children of nature, and smilingly say that they have them entirely in their power" (Schuyler 1877:108). Regardless of how one is to interpret these subjective ethnographic remarks, it is evident that considerable mutual acculturation was at work in the area.

Musically, the Tashkent-Ferghana area shows two distinct characteristics that tally with the brief ethnographic summary above. On the one hand, it has a wealth of diverse and broadly used genres of vocal

and instrumental music that are purely Uzbek. Such song types as the *katta ašula*, *čublama*, and *yalla* are local in origin and relate only to an Uzbek world, which in some ways seems quite Central Asian-Turkic in character. For example, in the men's genre of the *katta ašula*, a striking aspect is the nature of the singing, in which soloists compete at top range and full voice for the climactic sections of the song. It is hard not to see in this a connection with the well-established Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Mongol practice of singing contests.

On the other hand, as Karomatov notes, "the exception to this pattern was the cultural center of the Ferghana Valley, Kokand, where the maqams and other varieties of Uzbek professional music were introduced from Bukhara" (Karomatov 1972a:51). This observation reveals the prestigiousness of Buxaran culture, which was used as a cultural prop for the weak Kokand Khanate, most tenuous of the Uzbek kingdoms. Here we find vocal variants of the Buxaran maqams, involving different modes, structures, and arrangements of the classical storehouse. Tashkent-Ferghana, then, was an intermediate zone for Uzbek-Tajik musical contact, much as Menges (1967:71) has indicated for language by labeling the local dialects "transitional."

It is appropriate here to mention another Uzbek zone, Khwarizm (near the mouth of the Amu-Darya), home of major kingdoms and populations since Achaemenid times. Its relevance for our discussion is in providing a further example of the trend outlined above for the Tashkent-Ferghana area: Uzbekization of the Tajiks and the development of a strong regional Uzbek culture with only limited reference to Tajik models. Vambery (1970:400) observed the zone in its heyday, when it was the center of the Khivan Khanate. Of the Tajiks he wrote, "Their number here is small. They have, by degrees, exchanged their Persian language for the Turkish . . . (they are) no great favorite with the Özberg, and in spite of the Sart [Tajiks] and Özbek having lived five centuries together, very few mixed marriages have taken place between them." The situation was clearly far removed from that of Buxara.

To briefly survey the musical scene, Karomatov says of the Buxaran *Shashmaqam* (six maqams) canon: "It is typical that in Khwarizm the Shashmaqam contains so many sharp local traits that it is no longer common to two peoples, but must be considered a purely Khwarizm Uzbek phenomenon. . . ." Of the whole music culture of Khwarizm, he says, "Though many traits are shared by the music of Bukhara and Khwarizm and the level of performance is equal, the Khwarizmian style stands out due to distinctive local color" (1972a:50). Thus for Khwarizm, distance, demographic predominance of Uzbeks, and strong

local tradition have neutralized the heavy impact of Tajik culture more effectively than in Tashkent and Ferghana.

### Surxandaryā-Kaškadarya Zone

Surxandaryā-Kaškadarya is the last of the wholly Transoxanian musical zones. It is almost the most difficult to summarize briefly, since the ethnic background is so complex and the groups interrelate in so dense a network of associations that generalization is difficult. Nevertheless, the possible extrapolations provide interesting matter for comparison with other regions.

We are fortunate to have the results of the careful ethnographic research of B. Kh. Karmysheva for this area of southern Uzbekistan. Basically we are concerned here with the region of several tributaries to the Amu-Darya (the Surxandaryā, the Sherabaddarya, the Kafirnigan), in which there is a complex ethnic mix dominated by Uzbeks (75 percent according to Babushkin 1967:225). Historically, it is the old Tokharistan. Topographically it is a mixture of desert, steppe, steep river valleys, and, in the east, highlands linking up to the Hissar and other ridges of Tajikistan. Therefore it is not surprising to find a variety of ecological and ethnic solutions involving considerable accommodation. According to Karmysheva (1964:98-99) this accommodation took the form of topographical stratification, with a pre-Uzbek Turkic group named Türk occupying most of the higher ground, topped only by mountain Tajiks, with the somewhat mysterious Čagatais (in two varieties, Uzbek and Tajik) below, and Uzbeks in the bottoms of the river valleys. It appears that acculturation has proceeded unevenly. According to Karmysheva, while the Turks have fairly well assimilated to mountain Tajiks, the latter know very little Uzbek, and by no means all of the Uzbek-Čagatais and seminomadic Uzbeks have "mastered the Tajik language" (1964:101).

In the north of the zone under discussion we find yet another ethnic group, the Tagowi (from the word *tagow*, "narrow river valley"), in the direction of the upper Zerafšan valley; they are Uzbek speakers. The urban centers to the northwest (basically above Karši) I have previously assigned to the Buxara-Samarqand region, since the population seems to belong to the highly Tajikized Uzbeks mentioned earlier; as Karmysheva notes,

All the true urban and village population is called Tajik, regardless what language its representatives speak — Tajik or Uzbek. (1960:52)

Musically we find the same ambiguities of ethnic contact expressed

in the ethnographic literature. On the one hand there is strong evidence for purely Uzbek styles and even instruments of a particularly Surxandaryā-Kaškadarya type, with a suggestion of considerable Turkmen contact on the western side (Karomatov 1962; 1972:p.c.). On the other hand, the same authority cites such a high degree of musical similarity among ethnic groups in the region that he says "separating the music into corresponding groups is not possible" (Karomatov 1972:p.c.). Let us look at the evidence for both sides. For an example on the fusion side, Karomatov says, "In the Surxandarya region the Tajiks basically play on the Uzbek *dombra*, though the [Tajik] *dumbrak* is also in use there. At the same time the Uzbeks also play the *dumbrak*" (1972:p.c.). As for the particular local Uzbek music culture, it is quite rich and unique. Most noteworthy is the preeminence of the Uzbek *dombra*, little used in the rest of Uzbekistan. The appearance of the *qobuz*, a horsehair fiddle more common among the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, is also quite suggestive, as is the fact that epic recitation, so strong among the peoples just mentioned, is quite well developed in the Surxandaryā area. Other instruments used, such as the jew's harp (*čangkobuz*) and shepherd's flutes (*čupon nai*, *ğajir nai*) are rarely found in urban areas. Conversely, "it is characteristic that the art of Bukhara . . . was not able to significantly affect the nomadic population of Surkhandarya" (Karomatov 1972a:50); as in northern Afghanistan, the local Uzbeks were not at all involved in the classical tradition of the great urban cultural centers. All of the above suggests a strongly archaic strain in the music culture of the Surxandaryā-Kaškadarya region. In that it relates more closely to the northern Turkic nomads (Kirghiz, Kazakhs) than to sedentary Uzbeks, it seems to reflect a common Turkic past more than it does an Uzbek-Tajik present. These data jibe with the assortment of pre-Uzbek and seminomadic Uzbek components of the population cited by Karmysheva. Unfortunately, I do not know of any extensive studies of villages in the region that would give more complete information on specific ethnographic details. Clear enough, for our purposes, is the picture of an Uzbek-Tajik contact zone of distinctive character.

### **Mountain Tajik Zone**

With the mountain Tajik zone we enter an area that straddles the present Afghan-Soviet border, which was fixed only in 1895. Kisliakov and Pisarchik (1966:213) have interviewed old-timers in the southern part of the Soviet side (Darwaz) who have affirmed that the area was an unbroken region up to that date. This confirms the observations of Burnes (1835:179) and other nineteenth-century travelers that Darwaz

was under the rule of independent Tajik chieftains, though much of Badaxšan, to the south, was devastated by the conquests of Murad Beg just after Burnes's time. Today the Soviet side of the region outlined in Map 1.1 is the ethnic inverse of the Surxandaryā-Kaškadarya zone in that it is at least two-thirds Tajik to one-third Uzbek, at a conservative estimate (Karmysheva 1964:96); the proportion of Tajiks goes much higher once Afghan Badaxšan is taken into account, though there are some Turks (Uzbeks, Türk, Loqai) on the Afghan side as well (Karmysheva 1964:6; Kuškeki 1926).

Delineating this zone either ethnographically or musically is perhaps more difficult than for any of the other zones presented here, and I hold no brief for the compromise reflected in Map 1.1. The entire eastern flank represents a borderline with the Pamirs. This line is based on a combination of Schultz's map of the Pamir peoples (Schultz 1914) and Kisliakov's delineation of the adjacent mountain Tajik zones, Karategin and Darwaz, since I feel those sources along with others (e.g., Rastorgueva 1964) give adequate data for the Pamirs. The southern edge of mountain Tajik country is the most difficult; as I pointed out in the Introduction, the literature is less than clear on the possible cultural differences between various types between the Bamian area and Badaxšan. Robert Canfield (1968:p.c.) has pointed out that the Doši area just north of the Salang Pass is a religious dividing line among Tajiks (between Sunnis and Ismailis), but this is only one of several possible criteria; thus I have used a noncommittal dotted line for that intra-Tajik demarcation.

The northeastern edge of the zone is dictated solely by the distribution of Tajiks, who give way to Kirghiz there. The northwestern edge reflects the distinction between mountain and plains Tajiks, the latter in this case being those of the Ferghana Valley. This is a differentiation commonly made in Soviet research and seems justified by dialectic and cultural differences among Transoxanian Tajiks. The western border is nearly as unclear as the southern edge shown by the dotted line; it is almost an arbitrary distinction based largely on general population distribution (Tajiks fade out to the west) and data such as Karmysheva's citing of differences between mountain and plains Tajiks in the Kaškadarya area (Karmysheva 1960:52). Finally, at the southwestern edge, the mountain Tajik musical complex spills over from Badaxšan into Katağan, hence the location of the boundary between the Mountain Tajik and Afghan Turkestan zones in Katağan.

While there are negative bounds on the region (presence or absence of Tajiks, Pamir peoples, and Uzbeks), I feel there is also a strong cultural identity to the zone, which emerges clearly in research

such as the dialectological investigations of Kisliakov and Pisarchik (e.g., 1966) and Rastorgueva. The latter, for example, speaks of bilingualism as being heavy only north of the Turkestan Ridge and west towards Buxara and Samarqand (1964:13). Kisliakov and Pisarchik minimize the intrusion of outside cultures in the mountain fastnesses of Karategin and Darwaz and cite the physical rarity of outsiders: for example, in Garm, the only major bazaar town of the area, the main "foreigners" were an Armenian tinsmith, a Samarqand Tajik and a Jew, both bootmakers, and a Buxaran Jewish barber (Kisliakov and Pisarchik 1966:196). Similarly, on the Afghan side, in Badaxšan, one is struck by the unity of appearance and custom among mountain Tajiks. The use of the term *Galča* for the mountain Tajiks in pre-Revolutionary times indicates that they were accepted as a distinct ethnic entity in those days. One trait noticed by Kisliakov and Pisarchik (1966:51) that indicates the greater isolation of the mountain Tajiks is their less orthodox variety of Islam, as compared to that of plains Tajiks.

Within the large zone indicated in Map 1.1, of course, there is significant variation in the extent of Uzbek impact. Karategin, the northernmost sector, seems to have been more greatly affected because of its proximity to the Ferghana Valley. Kisliakov and Pisarchik (1966:63) describe systematic outmigration for seasonal labor from Karategin towards Ferghana and Tashkent, which led to some Tajiks settling and establishing families in those areas or returning to their home region with Uzbek (and sometimes even Turkmen) wives.

Musically, this pattern is carried out in both instruments and repertoires, as far as the scanty data will allow us to generalize. For Karategin and Darwaz, Kisliakov and Pisarchik note a significant number of instruments related to the plains culture (*dutar*, *robab*, *setar*). Dansker, in the only extensive study of music Karategin and Darwaz, notes that the former region calls the lute related to the Badaxšani *dambura dutar-i maida* (small *dutar*), a term that links it to the plains instrument, while the term *dumbrak* is more common in Darwaz. Similarly, the plains čang (dulcimer) is most widespread in northern areas (Dansker 1965:247, 257).

Dansker's study is most valuable in linking Karategin and Darwaz musically to Afghan Badaxšan in many vital respects. Chief among these in terms of instruments is the appearance of the *dumbrak* (called *dambura* on the Afghan side), meaning here the version of that instrument in the specific shape identified with mountain Tajiks, as distinct from the *dombra* of the Surxandarya region and its Afghan relative, the Turkestani *dambura*. Dansker flatly states that the *dumbrak-dambura* is the most widespread and popular instrument in his zone

(1965:249), and the same holds for Badaxšan. The popularity of the tin-can *gičak* on both sides is another important instrumental link. Methods of ornamentation of these instruments are identical (1965:263). The sexual ascription of instruments also tallies with Afghan practice: tambourines and jew's harps but no lutes for women; mountain Tajiks even believe "that a dutar will lose its resonance if a woman plays on it" (1965:247) — in clear contrast with the widespread custom of women's dutar playing among the Ferghana Valley Uzbeks (Romanovskaia 1959:66).

In terms of repertoire, the existence of a widespread genre titled *felak* (see Chapter 3) links the Soviet and Afghan sides of the zone, as does the common practice of playing felaks on pastoral flutes (Dansker 1965:225). Sung felaks, called *Raġi* in Darwaz (Dansker 1965:203), seem to have characteristics identical to those of Afghan songs, and the connection between a genre prevalent in Soviet Darwaz and the Afghan town of Rāğ (near Faizabad) is indicative of the overall relationship presented here. One can even find song texts with nearly identical words on both sides and instrumental tunes of remarkable similarity.

I am not aware of data relating to Uzbeks in the Mountain Tajik zone, either ethnographically or musically, other than the remarks in Karmysheva (1964), so it is difficult to assess the nature of Tajik influence on the Uzbek population. What emerges for our purposes from the available data is the picture of a strong mountain Tajik culture, influenced moderately by plains Tajik-Uzbek elements in the northern areas of the region.

### Afghan Turkestan

After this long digression to set the stage, we are now in a position to properly evaluate the nature of Uzbek-Tajik contact in Afghan Turkestan and its role in developing a basic music culture to which minority groups in the area respond. It is clear from the above discussion that Badaxšan must be discounted as an area of shared music culture from this particular point of view, though we have had and will continue to have occasion to indicate that musical values, instruments, and repertoires of the area both reflect concerns shared by other groups and have in fact influenced the activity of those groups.

In the Introduction I have already indicated the terms on which Uzbeks and Tajiks coexist in Turkestan, namely an original accommodation by Uzbeks to a preexisting Tajik sedentary agricultural village model. We can now add supportive data, such as linguistic interchange. Like Buxara, Afghan Turkestan offers a picture of a well-integrated

Sprachbund, in which both the degree of bilingualism and of mutual linguistic influence has been and remains high. Again, data are scanty, but Jarring 1939: iii), for example, states that Andxoi Uzbek is an iranized dialect; on the other hand, investigators such as C. Kieffer (1971:p.c.) feel strongly that Turkestani Persian dialects are heavily influenced by Turkic influxes — a factor plain to anyone used to Kabul Persian who travels to the North. Place names and lexical items in northern Persian abound in Turkic loan words, and the two elements are often simply strung together, as in *Qarabāğ*, where Turkic *qara* ("black") combines with Persian *bāğ*, ("garden"), or in the name of a major musician, *Aq* (Turkic "white") *Pišak* (Persian "cat"). In terms of social category and self-declared ethnic identity, Centlivres (1968: p.c.) has noted the tendency of aspiring urban middle-class Uzbeks in Taşqurğan to designate themselves as Tajiks; I have observed this in the case of Bangeča Taşqurğani, a musician whose father was Uzbek but who declares himself a Tajik. Like most Uzbeks and Tajiks in Turkestan, Bangeča is bilingual.

Song texts are valuable sources of evidence for linguistic interchange. One finds both alternate verses in Uzbek and Persian (an example is recorded on Anthology AST 4001, side 1, track 1), and mixed lines, as in the following excerpt from a widely known stock song of Turkestan, named "Kelingayār" from its Uzbek refrain, "kelingayar uinang" ("come dance with me, my dear"). The performance was by Šarif, a Taşqurğani Tajik.

Samawārga āb-i juš	Boiling water in the samovar
Biš afḡani čainak gušt.	Five afghanis for a teapot of meat
Čurtingni xarāb qelma	Don't worry;
Xoda uzi parda puš	God keeps our secrets

In line 1, the ending on *samawarga* is Uzbek, though the word is Russian (i.e., international), while *āb-i juš* is pure Persian. In line 2, *biš* ("five") is Uzbek, while *čainak gušt* is Persian. Line 3 is similarly mixed, with *čurtingni* and *qelma* being Uzbek and *xarāb* Persian, while in line 4 *xoda* and *parda puš* are Persian and *uzi* is Uzbek. Such song texts mirror the linguistic blurring in Turkestan. It is to be hoped that linguistic researchers will take up this fascinating Sprachbund situation on a rigorous basis, and that ethnographers will supply more extensive data on the nature and extent of Uzbek-Tajik interplay in the region. Even preliminary reports (Centlivres 1972: p.c.) on kinship terminology in Turkestan show a Turco-Iranian mixture both in the terms and in the kinship systems themselves.

Turkestani teahouse songs not only are bilingual and bicultural in content, but they indicate significant formal interchange as well. Quatrains (*rubāī*, or commonly in Afghanistan, *čārbaiti*) are an old and quite widespread verse form among Persian speakers (see Slobin 1970), one that continues to be practiced in Xorasan to the west, out in Badaxšan beyond Uzbek influence, and down in Kabul; they are also an essential verse form among Central Asian Turks and they appear to be deeply rooted among both peoples. For example, they are the form used for Uzbek agricultural work songs in widely scattered areas of southern Uzbekistan (Karmysheva 1960) and for incantations to protect livestock against the evil eye among isolated mountain Tajiks (Rakhimov 1960). In both these usages *a a b a* rhyme schemes are prevalent. A major difference seems to be that Tajiks adhere less carefully to six- and seven-syllable lines and favor longer counts. It is hardly accidental, then, that the chosen idiom of interethnic performers of Turkestan should be the quatrain, a favored genre of both Uzbeks and Tajiks.

In the performance of quatrains, one can notice preferences in presentation that perhaps reflect a divergence of Uzbek and Tajik taste. Most Tajik musicians sing their verses solo and are proud of their ability to compose endless quatrains on demand, even relating them to the immediate occasion. Uzbek singers, equally confident of their abilities, like to show off their talent in a competitive framework. In an Aqča teahouse two Uzbek singers will sit face-to-face, singing alternate quatrains to the deadpan accompaniment of a *dambura* player, while marking off the beats with the small finger cymbals (Uzbek *tüsak*), which are rarely employed by Tajik singers. This competition seems to show the same echo of old Central Asian Turkic singing contests that I suggested for Tashkent *katta ašula* performance. Thus, within the shared framework of instruments and genres just outlined, there is always enough difference in usage to indicate that just below the joint music culture can be found extensive music subcultures, to which we shall turn our attention in Chapter 2.

Let us now examine the material-culture aspect of musical sharing in Turkestan, the *dambura* lute type, as it represents in microcosm the problems of disentangling the strands of the Uzbek-Tajik cultural knot.

The *dambura* of Turkestan bears a definite relationship to similar instruments found among mountain Tajiks and southern Uzbeks, and these three *dambura* types stand out as highly distinctive in the complex set of long-necked lutes of the Afghan-Transoxanian world: they are the only fretless lutes of the entire area save for the remote and very different Kirghiz *komuz*, with which no link is apparent.

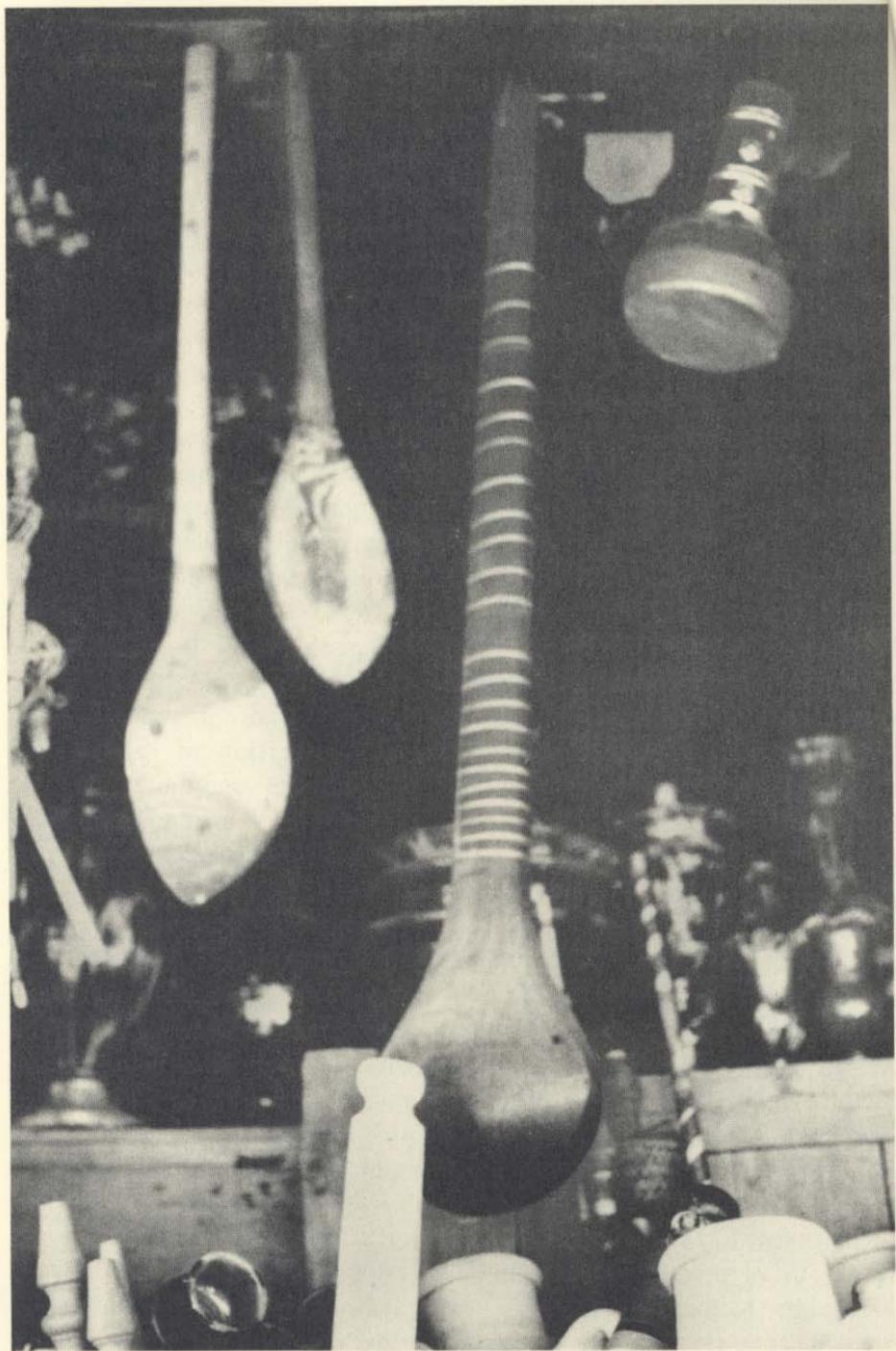
Such a coincidence of construction calls attention to itself. Within the dambura world, many small features of playing style link or separate the three lute types in various ways. For example, Turkestani and Badaxšani dambura players share a technique for playing on both strings at once (one finger on both strings, in contrast to the thumb and opposed fingers used by Uzbek and Turkmen dutarists). However, only the mountain Tajik lute players use a special right-hand stroke involving four fingers together on the down stroke and two or three fingers separately on the upstroke for individual notes. Many more examples of such small variations could be adduced to indicate independent lines of instrumental development among the various Uzbek and Tajik groupings of the three zones mentioned. What should be borne in mind is that (1) the adjacent Surxandarya-Kaškadarya, Mountain Tajik, and Afghan Turkestan zones are linked through their very similar lute types, each of which is the most widespread instrument in its own area, and (2) the complex interrelationship among the basically similar damburas mirrors the dense web of associations between Uzbeks and Tajiks in the area.

Let us examine the manner of construction, one material way to approach the issue. Turning first to Afghan Turkestan, we have considerable information from Jurai Qul, an old Tajik dambura maker of Darā-i Zendān (near Samangan), the center of Turkestani dambura construction. Jurai Qul feels that an Uzbek and a Tajik type can be distinguished within the category "Turkestani dambura." He points to the juncture of neck and belly as the critical spot. The Uzbek type features a pointed region at the back of the neck and a flat area where the neck joins the belly, whereas the Tajik model is flat at the back of the neck and peaked where the neck joins the belly. My own dambura was identified by Jurai Qul as being of Uzbek origin, perhaps from the Rustāq area. Mention of Rustaq is noteworthy, since Uzbeks of that region, which is included in Badaxšan by some observers (e.g., Kushkekei 1926), are somewhat cut off from the main body of Afghan Uzbeks, and since the area is also a site of pre-Uzbek Turkic population (Karmysheva 1960:6). Though I have not had the opportunity of examining Surxandarya dombras, I am tempted to associate the Rustaq specimen with that variety of lute. First field reports from P. and M. Centlivres (1972:p.c.) support Rustaq's intermediate position. Apparently the Türk group and a considerable number of Qarluqs (also pre-Uzbek Turks) live in the area. In such a situation one would expect a mixture of dambura types, and the early findings of the Centlivres indicate that two types are indeed in use: one they term "typically badaxši, about 75 centimeters long," which tallies with normal

Badaxšani measurements, while the other is shorter (about two-thirds as long). Unfortunately, none of the standard descriptions of the Uzbek dombra (Karomatov 1962, 1972; Vertkov 1963) gives its dimensions, but in pictures it appears rather small, certainly smaller than the Turkestani dambura. It can perhaps be assumed that the instrument the Centlivres say is of the Surxandarya (southern Uzbek) types; at any rate, the diversity and complexity of damburas is well illustrated by this information from Rustaq. The possibility of such microevolution of instrument types within a small ecological zone and within a framework of shared instrument types underscores the fragmentation of cultural traits and the instability of ethnic boundaries across the North.

Returning to the dambura question, Jurai Qul gave additional valuable information regarding the Turkestani type. When asked about the appearance of damburas he made fifty years ago, he responded that he made a type that was considerably narrower, shorter, and lighter than the damburas he and his son make today. Such a dambura would have been much closer in appearance to the Surxandarya and particularly to the mountain Tajik damburas. The existence of this type of instrument in the recent past considerably blurs the picture of divergence noted in present-day damburas. If the Turkestani dambura of two generations back leaned towards the current version of its northern and eastern neighbors, the implication is that at one time all three lutes looked even more alike than they do now. Interesting, Karomatov feels that distinguishing Uzbek and Tajik lutes in the Surxandarya area is not useful: "In general, I have not distinguished the dombra into Uzbek and Tajik. In folk practice there is no such division" (Karomatov 1972:p.c.); this goes along with his statement that Uzbeks and Tajiks exchange instruments in the area.

It is possible that in Jurai Qul's youth such a situation prevailed for northern Afghanistan, but today there is a considerable distinction made by players between Turkestani and Badaxšani types, with each one said to belong only to its area of provenience. The juncture, not surprisingly, is in Katağan. In Xanabad I found both types of dambura hanging in one shop for sale; the shopkeeper said he had them ready for customers with differing musical tastes. In fact, the recent trend toward elephantine Turkestani damburas would require a customer to think twice before buying if he was used to the Badaxšani version. The sharp physical difference now observable between Turkestani and Badaxšani damburas underscores the regional distinctiveness of the two zones and the extent to which northern Afghan Tajiks must be considered as consisting of two large groups — mountain and



*Fig. 1.7. Musical instruments in a shop in Xanabad,  
a crossroads region (left to right: Turkestanian dambura,  
Badaxšani dambura, tanbur, zirbağali)*

plains — just as the Transoxanian Tajiks have been distinguished for many years both by themselves and by observers. Again, data simply are not now available to approach such a typology on a serious basis. I merely bring up the subject as an important topic for future investigation. At the heart of the matter once more is our lack of information concerning not only the past of the so-called Tajiks (their provenience and diffusion), but even their present interrelationships as members of a geographically continuous but apparently culturally discontinuous ethnic group.

To summarize the *dambura* question, we find a distinctive lute named *dombra* (also, locally, *dumbura*) in a heavily Uzbek area (Surxandarya-Kaškadarya), where it is used interchangeably among Uzbeks and Tajiks with a lute called *dumbrak* or *dambura*, which is of similar construction and is based in a heavily Tajik area (Karategin-Darwaz-Badaxšan). Finally, in an area where Uzbeks and Tajiks are fairly equally mixed (the Samangan area of Afghan Turkestan), we find an intermediate lute type, the *dambura*, which is made by Tajiks and used by both ethnic groups, and which a prominent maker tells us was less distinctive in construction fifty years ago than it is today. We cannot by now state which group provided the stimulus for the first two-stringed fretless lute of the region, nor can we say when it appeared, since as a folk instrument it was not recorded by court theorists or historians. Whether there was a *dambura* when the area was called Bactria in classic times or whether it only evolved in the Kingdom of Buxara is simply unknowable at present. We do know, however, that it gives evidence of a fairly long-term convergence of Uzbek and Tajik approaches to instrumental music. Why in Turkestan this convergence — and the craft of *dambura* making — should have centered in the Samangan area is not clear. Perhaps it reflects that region's earlier importance as a center of north-south trade, or maybe it was only a fairly balanced Uzbek-Tajik population distribution that allowed the craft to prosper. What is clear is that the evolution in Samangan of a lute type which is not exactly like either the Uzbek *dombra* or the mountain Tajik *dumbrak-dambura* and which is played by both groups in northern Afghanistan is symbolic of a considerable degree of Uzbek-Tajik cultural accommodation. That this accommodation then carries a strong charge becomes clear when we examine the spread of the Turkestani *dambura* beyond its area of origin. It has become the basic lute of the Hazarajat (Sakata 1968) and can be found among Paštuns down to the Urozgan area (Hoerburger 1969) and as far east as the Lağman area (my own observation), having displaced many other available types of long-necked lutes.

The strength of northern music culture is also displayed in the appearance of the ġičak. According to Baba Naim and others, the ġičak originated in Badaxšan, perhaps specifically in the Šuğnan area. Soviet data (Dansker 1965; Vertkov 1963) clearly tie this tin-can fiddle to the mountain rather than the plains Tajiks. Baba Naim cites a genealogy of ġičak masters and their students to explain the spread of the fiddle in recent times (perhaps during the 1930s) from its home in Badaxšan to Katağan (Xanabad) — where Lola Akbar, the reigning virtuoso, confirmed Baba Naim's story. Old Hakim of Mazar, a venerable musician, also verified the account of the spread of the ġičak by a handful of traveling Badaxšani musicians in the 1930s. Today the manufacture of the wooden body piece that forms the basis of the ġičak (Figure 4.23) is restricted entirely to Taşqurğan. This crossroads town par excellence can be seen as the diffusion point for many regional items. From Taşqurğan the Tajik ġičak became interethnic, spreading throughout Turkestan, down to the Harazajat, and out into Paštun country, paralleling the diffusion of the Turkestani dambura, which perhaps occurred earlier, and displaying the same ability of the dambura to displace local instruments of the same type. Once again, an Uzbek-Tajik accommodation can be seen at work in the musical instruments of the North.