

# BUKHARA

MUSICAL ♦ CROSSROADS ♦ OF ASIA



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### Musical Crossroads of Asia

Recorded, compiled and annotated by Ted Levin and Otanazar Matykubov.

1. **Shod-i Uforash** 1:56
2. **Mavrigi** 5:14
3. **Songs from the Sozanda Repertory**  
13:32
4. **Murghak** 2:50
5. **Mogulcha-i Dugah** 5:16
6. **Ushshaq-i Kalon** 10:22
7. **Azan** 1:49
8. **Na't** 3:18
9. **Yah Ribbon Olam** 1:31
10. **Reading from the Torah** 2:50
11. **Shalom Aleichem and Kiddush** 3:00
12. **Qalandar** 4:05
13. **Zohar** 2:39

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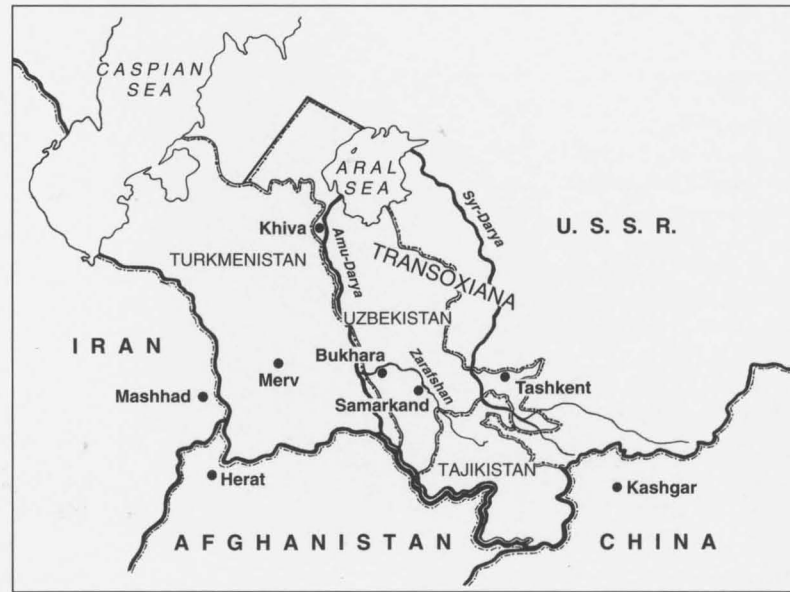
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Map showing location of Bukhara and regions  
mentioned in the notes.

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Smithsonian/Folkways SF 40050

**Bukhara, Musical Crossroads of Asia**  
Recorded, compiled and annotated by Ted Levin and Otanazar Matyukubov. Research sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution's Office of Folklife Programs and the USSR Ministry of Culture.  
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## Bukhara: Musical Crossroads of Asia

*Introduction to the Recordings*  
by Ted Levin and Otanazar Matyukubov

Bukhara is different from any place that you and I know. It has different light, different landscapes of sound and smell, a different terrestrial geometry. The midday sky hangs higher, shadows on a late autumn afternoon fetch farther. In every direction, the pitiless Central Asian steppe falls away to a more distant horizon. Bukhara, it seems, might be at the center of the world.

Rising amidst the steppe near the banks of the slender Zarafshan River, some hundred miles east of the Amu Darya—the River Oxus of antiquity (see map)—Bukhara, at its zenith, was indeed a cultural lodestone for all of Asia. Already an established oasis settlement when Alexander the Great passed through Bactria and Transoxiana on his way to India in 330-329 B.C., Bukhara, like Babylon and Byzantium, was antiquity's version of an urban ethnic melting pot.

At various times, Buddhists, Moslems, Hindus, Zoroastrians, Nestorian Christians, and Oriental Jews kept common company in Bukhara's narrow streets and crowded bazaars. The city has been the meeting ground of countless clans, tribes, and subcultures representing the eclectic mixture of Turko-Mongol and Iranian peoples who comprise a majority of Central Asia's indigenous population. But the achievement of Bukhara has been not only to unite manifold peoples in a great city. Through the centuries, it has forged from the traditions of its cosmopolitan inhabitants an original cultural amalgam distinctively Bukharan.

The purpose of our recording is to present pieces of the traditional sound world of Bukhara as we found it in 1990: to call attention to some of the traditions of music-making that have been cultivated there, and to suggest ways in which these traditions variously reflect a Bukharan aesthetic worldview. In so doing, we will also show how the cultural amalgam of Bukhara is expressed in the sharing of musical genres and styles, languages and texts among various of the city's cultural constituencies.

The richness and diversity of the Bukharan sound world is impossible to represent on any single recording. Here, we have chosen to focus on three traditional areas of Bukharan musical greatness.

The first of these is the art of female musicians known as *sozanda* (Tajik: "musician"), or in earlier times, as *mutrib* (in Iran, *motreb*, both from Arabic: *tarab* "merriment"). The music of the *sozanda* is centered around the cult of the *toi* or "celebration." Bukhara, one might say, has a fetish about celebration and festival. Virtually any event can provide the excuse for a *toi*. The most important of these—a birth, a circumcision, or a marriage—can call forth an enormous gathering of relatives and friends. Lesser occasions—a child's first day at school, a boy's first haircut, or in former times, the first veiling of a girl—are observed in smaller family gatherings.

Whatever the size of the *toi*, two elements are obligatory: *virtuats* and libations, called *dasturkhon* (literally: "tablecloth"), and live music to entertain the guests. The music is provided by an ensemble usually consisting of between three and seven *sozanda*-s. These formerly all-woman ensembles may now include men as well. Tofakhon, whose ensemble is presented on this recording, is arguably the most respected and busiest *sozanda* currently working in Bukhara.

The second of our three musical areas comprises selections from the *shashmaqam*, a canonized repertory of art songs and instrumental suites that flourished in the court of the Mangit Uzbek emirs who ruled the feudal kingdom of Bukhara from the late 18th century until 1920, when the last emir fled (eventually to Afghanistan) to escape a Bolshevik firing squad. As a music whose primary function was to entertain a courtly class, the *shashmaqam* became an aesthetically sophisticated repertory that demanded virtuosity from performers, and a connoisseur's understanding of poetry and music on the part of listeners.

Under the aegis of Soviet cultural policies, the *shashmaqam* was increasingly shunned as a symbol of "feudal" life until the early 1960's, when, in the guise of "national" folk music, it began to experience a comeback. Nowadays, a rising generation of serious young musicians has taken up the *shashmaqam* within the context of the official music education system that includes a department of Oriental Music in the Tashkent State Conservatory.

The third component of the Bukharan sound world illustrated on our recording is liturgical and para-liturgical chant. Moslems have long considered Bukhara a holy city. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were over two hundred mosques and almost two hundred medressehs (religious schools) in Bukhara. The city supported a learned Moslem

religious establishment that included Sunnis, Shi'ites, and a variety of Sufi (mystical) brotherhoods. While Islam has been the dominant spiritual force in Bukhara, Jews who consider themselves to be of Persian and Babylonian origin have lived there since at least the 12th century, and have come to be known as Bukharan Jews.

Seventy years of Soviet rule has shrunk formal religious practice to a shadow of what it once was. Yet, through these years, the chain of religious tradition has not been broken. Moslems and Jews in Bukhara have each maintained their own local practices of liturgical and para-liturgical traditions that, in their essential content and structure, are universal, respectively, to Islam and Judaism.

Within these traditions, one can indeed speak of "Jewish cantillation" or "Islamic chant." However, beyond the walls of synagogue or mosque, Jewish and Moslem musicians have been steadfast partners in Bukharan musical life. For instance, many of the greatest performers of the *shashmaqam* have been Jews, even though the *shashmaqam* is a repertory whose origins are in a musical and poetic world that could be broadly called "Islamic." Moreover, the service of Jewish musicians in the court of the Emir of Bukhara was not an anomaly in the Near East and Central Asia. Jewish musicians served in the musical establishments of the Moslem rulers of Baghdad, Cairo, Teheran, Damascus, and other cities in the "core" Moslem world.

The world of the *sozanda* has also belonged to both Jews and Moslems in Bukhara. For example, Tofakhon (née Yafa Pinchasova; Tofa, a stage name, means "gift"), is a Bukharan Jew, but her ensemble includes both Jews and Moslems and she often entertains at Moslem, as well as Jewish, weddings.

In the context of a holy, and thus strictly regimented, Moslem city, Bukharan Jews were subjected to restrictions that did not apply to Moslems. They were required to live in special quarters of the city, were excluded from certain professions (many were engaged in textile dyeing and in the silk trade, or worked as hairdressers or cobblers), and were permitted to ride donkeys, but not horses, so that they would not sit higher than a Moslem. Notwithstanding forced segregation and distinctions, Bukharan Jews have to a large extent assimilated the cultural identity of the Bukharan melting pot of which they are a part. One of the central features of this identity is bi-lingualism in Tajik and Uzbek.

Tajik is an eastern dialect of Persian that has long been spoken by the settled urban populations of Transoxiana—the region that lies between the Amu Darya (Oxus) and Sir Darya Rivers. Uzbek is a Turkic language that became widely disseminated in Central Asia through the 15th and 16th century conquests of Uzbek-speaking nomadic tribes. Uzbek

dynasties—the Shaybanids and the Mangits—succeeded the Timurids (i.e., descendants of Timurlane), who themselves spread an earlier layer of Turko-Mongol language and culture throughout Central Asia.

Since the early years of Soviet rule in Central Asia, the ethnonyms "Uzbek" and "Tajik" have denoted Soviet-style nationalities. Following the incorporation of the Bukharan Emirate and other Central Asian territories—the Khivan Khanate and Russian Turkestan—into the USSR (1917-1920), Soviet Central Asia was carved into five national republics. Most of the Bukharan Emirate, including the city of Bukhara, became part of the republic of Uzbekistan. Other portions of the Emirate were included in the republic of Tajikistan. (The three remaining Central Asian republics are Kirghizia, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenia.) The creation of these national republics led in turn to the establishment of separate "Uzbek" and "Tajik" national cultures and identities, one of whose consequences has been to distort the essential unity and cohesion of the Uzbek-Tajik cultural synthesis that is so central to the Bukharan character.

What, then, is particularly Bukharan about Bukhara? Our recent visit to the city suggests some answers. Gazing at luminous azur cupolas and iridescent tiled mirabs, one is dazzled by the lapidary brilliance of the colors. Passing one of the ubiquitous carved wooden doors that allow passage into the walled-off courtyards of Bukharan homes, a visitor is struck by the refined clarity of the ornamental design and the intricate filigree of which it is composed. As we worked with Tofa Khon and her ensemble, our eyes became saturated by the wild and whimsical colors of the *chapan-s*—shin-length robes—worn by the musicians.

Many of these same characteristics appear, *mutatis mutandis*, in Bukharan music. The classical *shashmaqam* contains hardly a tone that is not ornamented by subtle melodic turns and carefully modulated vibrato. In contrast, for example, to the liquescent melodic lines of Indian raga performance, the *shashmaqam* has a mosaic quality that clearly defines the space of each melodic pitch.

Certain pieces in the *shashmaqam* are formally structured according to a clearly audible algebra (a+ba+ba+deba...) that is loosely analogous to the principle of repetition and variation in Bukharan decorative arts. Bukharan musical connoisseurs speak admiringly of singers with a "wild voice," and this term seems apt to describe the acoustic intensity and sheer decibel level reached by a singer like Izro Malakhov ("Ushshaq-i Kalon," no. 6). Performers of the *shashmaqam* must not only draw on raw vocal power, but exploit their full vocal range to bring to life the contrasting vocal colors of different parts of a piece, from the sonorous, low tessitura *daramad* to the tensed, ultra-high pitched *audj*, the point of culmination.

A singer with a brilliant voice is an expensive pleasure. It is no accident that the *shashmaqam* arose in Bukhara, a city that offered artists both the dependable patronage of a feudal monarchy and an atmosphere of cultural enlightenment and material well-being that bordered on the hedonistic.

Aesthetic hedonism was not restricted to denizens of the court. It is equally apparent in the abiding Bukharan cult of the *toi*: the devotion to festivity and hospitality. It is apparent in the beautifully sculpted gold and silver jewelry, in the variety of fruits and flowers, spices and sweets that were once widely available in Bukhara, and even in the myriad varieties of the native dish, *plov* (pilaf) that are prepared there. An old Bukharan aphorism advises "work like a slave to relax like a shah." Perhaps this hedonism is to some extent a form of compensation for the religious regimentation that was also a part of Bukharan life.

The Bukhara of 1990 is no longer one city, but two. The first contains the remnants of Bukhara's times of greatness, now increasingly subject to conservation and restoration by a government that finds Bukhara a lucrative tourist attraction.

The second Bukhara is Soviet Bukhara, a city of concrete apartment blocks, smoke industry complexes, and wide boulevards that surgically slice through parts of the old town that still remain. With the cultural and commercial center of Soviet Central Asia now firmly implanted in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, Bukhara has slowly assumed the atmosphere of a dusty, provincial center. But the spirituality and festiveness that was an essential ingredient of Bukhara's greatness has not died. On the contrary, it is now springing back to life as public religious observance becomes acceptable in the USSR.

In the past year, two new mosques have been built and other mosques have been reopened. The mosques and the one synagogue that has remained open are attracting larger, and younger groups of worshippers. In nearby Tashkent, a Bukharan Jewish cultural center has been organized, even as many Jews emigrate to Israel and the United States. Tofakhon and her ensemble have a busy schedule of weddings and *toi-s* in Bukhara and beyond, and special music schools are preparing a future generation of *shashmaqam* players. These are cogent signs that the spirit of Bukhara, the eternal city, is rising again.

### Notes on the Music

#### 1. Shod-i Uforash and Ufor-i Tezash: Dilbarhan Shumo ("You are my dear one")

Tofakhon (Yafa Pinchasova), b. 1928, Bukhara with members of ensemble "Nozanin": Gulmira Rakhimova, Tamara Kandova, Gunchehra Mamedova, Raya Borukhova *doira-s*: Saifullah Abdullaev, Hussein Kasimov

Tofakhon, the well-known Bukharan *sozanda* performs with four singers and two *doira* (frame drum) players drawn from her ensemble, "Nozanin" (Tajik: "beautiful"; "beautiful girl or woman"). One of the singers also plays the *kairak* (castanets).

In Uzbek and Tajik, the word *sozanda* means "musician" in a broad sense. In Bukhara, however, *sozanda* denotes in particular, professional woman entertainers who serve religious and secular rituals, ceremonies, family festivities, holidays, and musical gatherings

related to the life of women. *Sozanda-s* in Bukhara have traditionally been Bukharan Jews.

Female entertainers like the Bukharan *sozanda* are an integral part of Central Asian cultures. Khwarezm, northwest of Bukhara, has its *khalfa* (or *khalsa*). Herat, to the south, has—or had—women's minstrel bands, cogently portrayed in Veronica Doubleday's *Three Women of Herat* (Herat was largely destroyed in the years following the 1980 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan). The roots of these women's art seem related to the erstwhile tradition of the *mutrib* (or in Persia, *motreb*; cf. "Iran II,6," *The New Grove Dictionary*), and to an even earlier antecedent, the *giyan*—singing slaves, courtesans, and cupbearers—of pre-Islamic Arab and Persian lands (cf. Jean During, *Musique et Extase*, pp. 224-225).

In keeping with the heterogeneous spirit of the Bukharan *sozanda*, Tofakhon has brought together in "Nozanin" singers, instrumentalists, dancers, and poets of various ages, ethnic origins (Tajik, Uzbek, Bukharan Jewish, Iranian, Turkmen) and social groups. Mixed male and female ensembles like Tofakhon's are a relatively recent innovation in Bukhara.

The *sozanda's* repertory is designed to provide extended periods of entertainment. Performances may last as long as eight hours, with only occasional breaks. Part of the *sozanda's* skill is in assembling lengthy blocks, or suites, of songs, dances, and instrumental pieces from the components of her repertory. These suites are built on the principle of acceleration from slow tempo to fast, and combine various rhythms, or *usul-s*, played on the *doira*: 6/8, 3/8, 5/8, 5/4. Antiphonal call-and-response between leader and chorus is an integral part of the *sozanda* style. In this performance, the chorus of four voices does not match the vocal power of Tofakhon singing alone. (On the recording, the chorus has slightly less presence than it did in actuality because of the need to mute Tofakhon's loud *doira* playing by placing microphones close to her mouth. NB: Tofakhon's music, overall, is quite loud; for maximum authenticity in listening, playback should be at a high dynamic level.)

The suites are usually introduced by short, meditative songs, frequently unmeasured, called *shod* (Tajik/Uzbek: "joyous"). (The *shod* on this recording is metered and not particularly meditative.) Following the *shod* are dance-like movements generically called *ufor*. These, in turn, give way to faster, concluding sections called *tez ufor*. *Shod*, *ufor*, and *tez ufor* form a mini-suite, a precursor of the longer sequence of songs that will follow.

#### 2. Mavrigi

Mahdi Ibodov, b. 1932, Bukhara

Before Tofakhon continues her performance, Mahdi Ibodov, a member of Tofakhon's ensemble and a well-known singer in his own right, sings a *mavrigi* (literally, "from Merv"). Merv, now called Mari, an oasis city in Soviet Turkmenistan, was once a principal cultural center of Khorasan. It was also one of Central Asia's principal slave markets. In Bukhara, the *mavrigikhon*—performer of a *mavrigi*—is identified with the Irani or Farsi, who trace

their ancestry to slaves captured in Iran by Turkmen tribesmen and brought via Merv to Bukhara.

The *mavrigi*, also known as *gharibi* ("stranger," "wanderer," "homeless") is Bukharan soul music—a lament for a lost homeland. The *mavrigikhon* is in many ways a male analogue to the Bukharan *sozanda*, not least in that both the Jewish *sozanda* and the Irani *mavrigikhon* represent an underclass in Bukharan society. Similarities also exist between the musical repertoires of the two singers. A *mavrigi* is a suite composed of a series of song movements performed to the accompaniment of a *doira*. The first of these, called *shahd* (from Tajik: *shohid*, "witness"), is unmeasured and melismatic, and sung in high register to a rolling tremolo accompaniment on the *doira*. Following the *shahd* are a series of metered songs which may include *charzab*, *sarkhona*, *makalik*, or *garaili*, performed without a break. Each of these songs is divided into sections of contrasting tempo, called *gardon* and *furovard*, analogous to the *ufor* and *tez ufor* of the *sozanda* repertory. The dance-like songs all present rhythmic varieties of a 6/8 meter.

Typically, a *Mavrigi* may last 30-40 minutes or more. Mahdi Ibodov created the present five minute version specially for this recording.

### 3. Songs from the Sozanda Repertory:

*Taralilalalai; Uforash: Guli Bishigufta Bahorom Tuji* ("You are my spring blossom"); *Ufori Tezash: Hoi Gul!* *Hoi Yallalo Yalli: Tuya Jonu, Mana Jonona Guyand* ("You're a soul and I'm in love with that soul")

*Jurajon Jonat Ba Jonam* ("My soul is for your soul")

*Hoi, Hoi, Yallo Ai; (Uforash: Hoi Ai)*

*Soqiyo, Mai Dar Piyoala* ("Oh wine-pourer, the wine is in the cup"); *Uforash: Soqisoqiyon* ("Wine pourer, fill a glass of wine")

Tofakhon, et. al., vocals and *kairak*; Tofakhon, *doira*

Since the usual duration of a single full-length suite performed at a *toi* is between one and two hours, we asked Tofakhon to construct a compact version for this recording that would nonetheless illustrate the flavor and formal principles of a longer performance. The result contains five contrasting "blocks," each with distinct melodic, rhythmic, and poetic contents. Tofakhon's texts are mostly drawn from anonymous, oral poetry based on syllabic prosody (in contrast to the metrical *aruz* system used for classical verse).

Tofakhon is of two minds about her place in the *sozanda* tradition. On the one hand, she aspires to preserve the traditional form of *sozanda* performance, as, for example, on this recording, wherein singers are accompanied only by percussion instruments. In addition to the *doira*, these instruments may include *kairak* (castanets), *zang* (bells worn on the arms and legs by dancers), and plates or tea cups struck by thimble fingers. Normally, the *doira-s* are divided into three



groups; one holds an ostinato pattern; one plays a solo line, and one provides counterpoint to the solo.

At the same time, Tofakhon understands the importance of adapting her art to contemporary conditions. She has added modern songs and modern arrangements to her repertory and includes in her ensemble performers both of traditional Central Asian instruments such as *rebab*, *tar*, and *gijak*, and of European instruments like accordion, clarinet, synthesizer, and guitar. Her public includes varied constituencies with varied tastes, and in part, she preserves her widespread popularity by maintaining flexibility in the membership of her ensemble. For a full-blown *toi*, she will call on as many as fifteen artists to assist her.

#### 4. Murghak (chicklet)

vocals and *doira*; Mahdi Ibdodov with Tofakhon and ensemble

This song is also from the repertory of the *Mavrigikhon*, but is not part of a cycle, or suite. It tells a tale, a kind of chain reaction in the history of a chicken:

Bravo, chicken, poor chicken.  
A farmer dammed up the water.  
Which water did he dam up?  
The water that put out a fire.  
Which fire did it put out?  
The fire that burned a stick.  
Which stick was burned?  
The stick that killed a dog.  
Which dog did it kill?  
The dog that ate a wolf.  
Which wolf did it eat?  
The wolf that ate the chicken.  
Which chicken did it eat?  
On top, it was a red chicken  
It gave two eggs at once.  
The tail was white  
And it had a comb  
My grandfather bought it for  
100,000 dinars  
He bought it for himself.  
Bravo, little chicken,  
Poor chicken, bravo.

**5. Classical Music: Hebrew Religious Poem (Shi'ra) Yom l'Yom** set to melody from the *shashmaqam*, *Mogulcha-i Dugah* Ochil Ibragimov, b. 1955, Bukhara: vocal; Suleiman Takhalov, b. 1935, Bukhara: *kashgar rebab*

Ochil Ibragimov is a gifted young Bukharan Jewish musician who has devoted himself to the study of the musical "great tradition" of Bukhara. At the heart of this tradition is the collection of six vocal and instrumental suites called *shashmaqam*.

The canonical songs of the *shashmaqam* are most frequently set to either Uzbek or Tajik classical verse. In his version of *Mogulcha-i Dugah*, however, Ochil Ibragimov sings a Hebrew poetic text which, like Uzbek and Tajik classical poetry, is set to a metrical *aruz* pattern in the manner customary for the *shashmaqam*.

*shashmaqam* means in Tajik "six *maqam*-s." In Central Asia, *maqam* has two meanings. The first signifies a mode or melody type, i.e. a nucleus of melodic features that may include stereotypic

melodic motifs and intervals, conventionalized initial and final pitches, and a particular registral location within the central part of the pitch ladder that comprises the tone world of the *shashmaqam*. In this sense of "melody type," a *maqam* is melodically more specific than a mere scale, but less specific than a particular tune. *Maqam* also means a suite, or collection of pieces that displays in its contents and sequence certain melodic and rhythmic organizing principles. Thus, *shashmaqam* means both "six collections of pieces" and "six systems of melody types." Each collection is called by the name of the melody type that is featured in the opening piece of its collection of pieces: *buzruk*, *rast*, *nawa*, *dugah*, *segah*, and *iraq*. In addition to these six melody types, other subordinate melody types, called *shu'ba* (Arabic/Persian: "branch") make cameo appearances in the suites.

*Mogulcha-i Dugah* is a piece in melody type *dugah* performed in the usual, or metro-rhythmic genre *mogulcha*, a 5/4 rhythm normally marked on the *doire*, but absent in this performance. Like other pieces in the *shashmaqam*, *Mogulcha-i Dugah* is a fixed composition—albeit originally fixed through oral tradition—and melodic improvisation plays a limited role in performance.

Ochil Ibragimov emigrated from Tashkent to the United States in late 1990 and presently lives in Queens, New York.

Suleiman Takhalov, who is Tofakhon's brother, was Ochil Ibragimov's musical mentor in Tashkent, and on this recording, accompanies him on the *kashgar rebab*. He is Senior Instructor of *tar* and *kashgar rebab* at Tashkent State Conservatory.

#### 6. Classical Music: Ushshaq-i Kalon

Izro Malakhov, b. 1938, Shahrissabz: vocal; Mahmudjan Tojiboev, b. 1957, Kuva: *tanbur*; Zakir Bobotonov, b. 1967, Urgench: *doira*

*Ushshaq-i Kalon* (Tajik: "Great *ushshaq*") is melodically identical to *Ushshaq-i Samarkand*, a popular classical song composed by the 19th-century Samarkand musician Hoji Abdulaziz. The melody of *Ushshaq-i Kalon* derives from the Central Asian melody type *ushshaq* and is sung to a variety of Tajik and Uzbek poetic texts written in the metrical *aruz* style.

While not a part of the canonized *shashmaqam* repertory, *Ushshaq-i Kalon* shares features of style and melody type with songs containing the name *ushshaq* that belong to the *rast* cycle of the *shashmaqam*.

Classical Central Asian songs characteristically begin in a low tessitura, pass briefly through a middle range, and ascend through a series of increasingly higher sections to the *awdi*, or point of musical culmination. Following the *awdi*, the melody descends and finally concludes in the low register from which it began. The extensive melodic diapaen of *Ushshaq-i Kalon* lends itself to virtuoso solo treatment such as that provided here by Izro Malakhov, a popular Bukharan Jewish singer who lives and works in Tashkent.

Izro Malakhov is accompanied by the Uzbek *tanbur* player Mahmudjan Tojiboev, who plays in the style perfected by his teacher, Turgun Alimatov. The *tanbur*, which is considered to be the ancestor of the Indian *sitar*, is a long-necked lute whose strings are plucked with a special plectrum worn on the finger. Brass strings ride relatively loosely over high, movable frets, allowing players to create a variety of fluid, microtonal intervals by depressing the strings more or less firmly behind the frets.

#### Moslem and Jewish Liturgical Music:

##### 7. Azan

Saifullajan Musaev, b. 1955, Bukhara

The *azan* (Arabic: *adhan*) is the Islamic call to prayer. At mosques throughout the Islamic world, a *muezzin* chants the *azan* in Arabic before the five daily prayers, and at the beginning of the Friday service that marks the Moslem sabbath.

The *azan* contains seven textual formulas, of which the sixth is a repetition of the first, as follows:

1. Allah-u akbar ("Allah is most great") [4 times]
2. Ashhadu an la ilah-a illa 'llah ("I testify") [2 times]  
that there is no god besides Allah")
3. Ashhadu anna Muhammedan rasul Allah ("I testify that Mohammed is the apostle of Allah") [2 times]
4. Hayya 'ala 'l-salat ("Come to prayer") [2 times]
5. Hayya 'ala 'l-falah ("Come to salvation") [2 times]
6. Allah-u akbar ("Allah is, most great") [2 times]
7. La ilah-a illa 'llah ("There is no god [1 time]  
besides Allah")

The *azan* is not chanted to any standard melodic formulas or melody types, although in the past several decades, the Egyptian performance style has been adopted in many parts of the Islamic world.

Saifullajan Musaev learned his rendition of the *azan* from his father, a native of Bukhara. The melody reflects the Turco-Arabic melody type (*maqam*) *rast*, commonly the modal basis of the Egyptian performance style. It is not clear how, or when, this performance style found its way to Bukhara.

By the mid-1980's, Moslem religious life had become barely visible in Bukhara. Only four mosques were open for prayer. However, the softening of Soviet ideological opposition to organized religion has resulted by the end of 1990 in the reopening of thirty mosques and the building of two new ones. Eleven more mosques are said to be currently under construction. Religious knowledge and practice that was forced underground for decades has suddenly reemerged in Bukhara, and increasing interest in Islam has created a burgeoning demand for Moslem clerics. Saifullajan Musaev is a first-year student at the Mir Arab Medreshe (religious school), where he is studying to be an imam. However, with his fine voice and his family tradition of Islamic spirituality, he has already been

pressed into service as a muezzin at the Hoja Zainiddin mosque.

##### 8. Na't

Dervish Orif Bobo Hamro Ogli, b. 1907, Bukhara

A *na't* is a poem praising and expressing devotion to the Prophet Mohammed. The *na't* has served as a vessel for classical poetic forms and musical structures, as in the great *na't* of the Ottoman composer Itri, which figures prominently in the whirling ceremony of the Mevlevi Dervishes. The *na't* may also assume a more modest musical and prosodic form in which it serves as a personal devotional prayer, as illustrated in the present recording. Here, the principle of *awdi*—culmination—is less developed than in the virtuoso performances of *shashmaqam*. Still, the melody of the *na't* observes the form characteristic of Bukharan (as well as other Uzbek and Tajik) classical and folk songs: gradual expansion through a series of increasingly higher pitch levels with a descent at the end to the initial pitch.

Orif Bobo Hamra Ogli, eighty-three years old when we met and recorded him, lives alone in a starkly furnished two-room dwelling in the old section of Bukhara. He refers to himself as a dervish, although he does not belong, and has never belonged, to an organized dervish *tariqat*. He amazed us with his wide knowledge of history and Islamic theology, and with the copious quantity of religious poetry that he recited from memory in Uzbek and Tajik with great oratorical style.

**9. Yah Ribbon Olam** (Aramaic: "Lord of this World")  
Rakhamim Yakutellov, b. 1927, Bukhara

*Yah Ribbon Olam*, a prayer for Sabbath eve, according to Idelsohn (*Jewish Liturgy*, p. 153) "is the work of Israel Najara (Safed, 1550 - lived in Damascus and died in Gaza about 1620). Although in Aramaic, this song gained widespread popularity throughout the Jewish world. After relating the wonders of God's creation, the poet concludes with a prayer that God may redeem His people and lead them to His chosen sanctuary where the souls will rejoice with songs and meditations. This song was set to innumerable tunes."

*Yah Ribbon Olam* is widely sung by Bukharan Jews. In this recording, Rakhamim Yakutellov provides the first two stanzas, each in Aramaic, followed by a translation into the Bukharan vernacular, Tajik. An English translation is provided below:

Lord of this world and worlds all to be/Thou art supreme in Thy majesty/Thy mighty work and marvelous ways/Thrill and inspire my soul in Thy praise.

Evening and morn Thy praises I sing/Holy art Thou who made every-thing/All mortal men and angels on high/Beasts in their den and birds of the sky.

(English translation from David de Sola Pool, *The Traditional Prayer Book for Sabbath and Festivals*, New York, 1960, pp.707-708).

As Idelsohn noted, the prayer is set to a variety of tunes that reflect the musical vernacular of particular communities. This setting, while not representing a specific Bukharan *maqam* melody type, displays familiar Bukharan features of scale and melodic progression. The melody expands by step-wise motion through a lower registral area, then skips to an upper registral area where it reaches a point of culmination before descending to a cadence at the initial pitch level.

#### 10. Reading from the Torah

Yakub Meer Ochildiev, b. 1907, Margilan

The Torah reading is from the book of Genesis, Chapter 41: 11-21. The text tells of Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream (see Hebrew text in figure 1):

11] We had dreams the same night, he and I, each of us a dream with a meaning of its own. 12] A Hebrew youth was there with us, a servant of the chief steward; and when we told him our dreams, he interpreted them for us, telling each the meaning of his dream. 13] And as he interpreted for us, so it came to pass: I was restored to my post, and the other was impaled."

14] Thereupon Pharaoh sent for Joseph, and he was rushed from the dungeon. He had his hair cut and changed his clothes, and he appeared before Pharaoh. 15] And Pharaoh said to Joseph, "I have had a dream, but no one can interpret it. Now I have heard it said of you that for you to hear a dream is to tell its meaning." 16] Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, "Not I! God will see to Pharaoh's welfare."

17] Then Pharaoh said to Joseph, "In my dream, I was standing on the bank of the Nile, [8] when out of the Nile came up seven sturdy and well-formed cows and grazed in the reed grass. [9] Presently there followed them seven other cows, scrawny, ill-formed, and emaciated—never had I seen their likes for ugliness in all the land of Egypt! 20] And the seven lean and ugly cows ate up the first seven cows, the sturdy ones; 21] but when they had consumed them, one could not tell that they had consumed them, for they looked just as bad as before. And I awoke.

"אֶלְיָן לֹאמֵר הַשֶּׁמֶץ חִלּוֹם לִפְתָּר אֹתוֹ: וַיֵּץ יוֹסֵף  
אֶת־פָּרְעָה לֹאמֵר בְּלִעְזֵי אֱלֹהִים יִצְנֶה אֶת־שִׁלּוֹם  
פָּרְעָה: וַיְדַבֵּר פָּרְעָה אֶל־יוֹסֵף בְּחִלְמֵי הַנֵּץ עַד  
"עַל־שֵׁשֶׁת הַיָּאֵר: וַהֲנֵה מִדְּהֵי־אֵר עַל־שֵׁבַע פְּרוֹת  
"בְּרִיאוֹת בָּשָׂר וַיִּפֹּת תָּאֵר וַתִּרְעֶנָּה בָּאֹתוֹ: וַהֲנֵה  
שִׁבְעֵפְרוֹת אֲסֻרֹת עֲלֹת אֲסֻרֹת יָדוֹת וַיִּרְעוּ  
תָּאֵר מֵאֵד וַיִּרְקוּ בָשָׂר לֹא־דִאֲרִיתִי בְּהֵנָּה בְּבִלְעָזִין  
כִּי מִצְּהִים לִרְיִ: וַתֹּאמַרְלֵהּ הַפְּרוֹת הַבָּרוֹת הַזֵּרוֹת אֵת  
שֵׁבַע הַפְּרוֹת הָרֵאשִׁית הַבְּרִיאוֹת: וַתִּבְאֶנָּה אֶל־  
קִרְבֵּהָ וְלֹא טָעָה כִּי־בָּאָה אֶל־קִרְבֵּהָ וַיִּסְרְיֹנָה רַע  
כִּי כֹאשֶׁר בַּחֲתֻלָּה נֹאֲכִין: וַיֵּאָרֵא בְּחִלְמֵי הַנֵּץ שֵׁבַע

In contrast to prayers like *Yah Ribbon Olam*, Biblical cantillation is strictly regulated by the presence of *ta'amin*—written markings that are a guide to the grouping and accentuation of words and the contour of melody. In cantillation, clear articulation of the natural cadence and speech rhythms of a text is more important than the display of a "beautiful voice." For as the great Jewish

thinker Franz Rosenzweig reminded us, "The Hebrew Bible is a written record of living speech, not a book for reading."

Yakub Meer Ochildiev is the *hazzan* of one of Tashkent's two functioning Bukharan Jewish synagogues (Ashkenazim in Tashkent worship in a separate synagogue). Now eighty-seven years old, Ochildiev studied Hebrew from early childhood in Margilan, an ancient city in the Ferghana Valley.

Ochildiev's cantillation is accompanied by the intrepid crickets who inhabit the synagogue where we made the recording, and who could not be silenced during our taping session!

#### 11. Shalom Aleichem and Kiddush Ochil Ibragimov (as above)

Shahrisabz, a venerable city southeast of Bukhara with an old Bukharan Jewish community, was home to Chaim ben Eliezer, Ochil Ibragimov's maternal grandfather. From Chaim ben Eliezer, Ochil learned to chant the *Shalom Aleichem*, recited on Sabbath Eve upon return from the synagogue, and the *Kiddush*, recited before the Sabbath meal. The Bukharan *Siddur* (prayer book) reserves one of the key phrases of the *Kiddush* for Festivals: *Kiy banu bakharta v'atanu qidashta mikal-ha'miyim*: "Thou hast chosen us among all peoples to sanctify us." It is omitted in the present rendition of the *Kiddush*, which is for Sabbaths that do not coincide with a Festival.

#### 12. Qalandar

Muhammad Aminjon Nasriddinov, b. 1927, village of Karatak (Tajikistan); from 1937, lived in Bukhara Region

*Qalandar* is a genre of devotional poetry and songs associated with wandering dervishes, also called *qalandars*, who in former times chanted for *baksheesh* (alms) in public places such as bazaars, and at various gatherings and celebrations. Historically, the *qalandars* were connected to a loosely organized ascetic movement whose origin was in Khorasan and Turkestan and which, while

"שֶׁר הָאִסְמִים וַיִּנְחִלְמָה חִלּוֹם בְּלִילָה אֶחָד אֵין וַהֲוֹ  
כִּי אִישׁ בַּחֲתֻרֹן חִלְמָן: וְשֵׁם אֹתוֹ נֶעַר עֲבָרִי  
עָבַד לִשְׁר הַטְּבָחִים וַיִּסְפְּרוּ וַיִּתְּנוּ־לֵהֶם אֶת־  
יִתְלַמְתֵּי אִישׁ בְּחִלְמוֹ פֶּתֶר: וַהֲנֵה כֹאשֶׁר פֶּתֶר־לֵהֶם  
י כֵּן הָיָה אֹתִי הַשִּׁבַּע עֲלֵי־נֵץ וַאֲחֻזִּי יִשְׁלַח  
פָּרְעָה וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־יוֹסֵף וַיִּרְאֶהוּ מִקְדָּבוֹ וַיִּלְחַם  
כִּי מִצְּהִים לִרְיִ: וַתֹּאמַרְלֵהּ הַפְּרוֹת הַבָּרוֹת אֵת  
שֵׁבַע הַפְּרוֹת הָרֵאשִׁית הַבְּרִיאוֹת: וַתִּבְאֶנָּה אֶל־  
קִרְבֵּהָ וְלֹא טָעָה כִּי־בָּאָה אֶל־קִרְבֵּהָ וַיִּסְרְיֹנָה רַע  
כִּי כֹאשֶׁר בַּחֲתֻלָּה נֹאֲכִין: וַיֵּאָרֵא בְּחִלְמֵי הַנֵּץ שֵׁבַע

Islamic, embraced elements of Buddhism and Hinduism.

The legacy of the *qalandars* in Central Asia is the corpus of *qalandar* songs which are chanted to the accompaniment of a soft tapping of fingers on the *doira*. Muhammad Aminjon Nasriddinov remembers the *qalandar* songs from his childhood. Aminjon-aka is a blind singer

with a deep interest in Islam. He told us, "Since childhood, I've been a believer. Although I'm a Communist, I'm also a believer. I was helped by an old man who lived in our neighborhood. His name was Mirza Mukhammadjon. He was ninety-eight years old, but you never would have known it. He taught me about spiritual matters in the old way. I know the Arabic alphabet. He was a great man. All of Bukhara knew him. People would come to him for advice. They'd ask, 'What do I need to do according to the Islamic faith in this situation or that?' And people were happy that they received good answers to their questions."

Here, Aminjon-aka chants a *qalandar* dedicated to the Prophet Muhammad.

#### 13. Excerpt from the Zohar

Issac Kataev, b. 1926, Karmon, Bukhara Region

The *Zohar* ("Book of Splendor") is a kabbalistic text, written in the last quarter of the 13th century and now generally attributed to the Castilian mystic Moses de Leon. It has been best preserved among Sephardic and Oriental Jewish communities. It is popular among Bukharan Jews, who recite from the *Zohar* on a variety of ceremonial occasions, in particular, commemorations of the dead. Traditionally, it is recited by men.

The original language of the *Zohar* is mostly Aramaic, but Isaac Kataev reads here from a translation into Tajik. The recitation style is particular to the *Zohar* and reflects the Central Asian classical song structure described earlier: initial verses sung in a low tessitura, with subsequent verses pitched at registral levels a fifth and an octave higher, descending at the end to the initial pitch level. The flattened second in the melody calls to mind the Central Asian melody type *bayat*.

Isaac Kataev, the son of a rabbi, is an elder statesman among Bukharan Jewish musicians. He is a much respected performer of the classical *shashmaqam*, and has a wide knowledge of Jewish liturgy and para-liturgical texts.

Ted Levin and Otanazar Matyakubov

About the compilers: Ted Levin teaches in the Music Department at Dartmouth College. Otanazar Matyakubov is Chairman of the Department of Oriental Music, Tashkent State Conservatory, Tashkent, Uzbekistan.

Note: Specialists who would like copies of the song texts in their original languages along with complete English translations of all texts should send \$1.50 (for postage and handling) made out to the Smithsonian Institution along with their name and address to: Bukharan Text, Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings, Office of Folklife Programs, 955 L'Enfant Plaza suite 2600, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560, USA.

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Map: Hamza Institute of Art Studies, Tashkent, Uzbekistan

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## BUKHARA

### Musical Crossroads of Asia

1. **Shod-i Uforash** 1:56
2. **Mavrigi** 5:14
3. **Songs from the Sozanda Repertory** 13:32
4. **Murghak** 2:50
5. **Mogulcha-i Dugah** 5:16
6. **Ushshaq-i Kalon** 10:22
7. **Azan** 1:49
8. **Na't** 3:18
9. **Yah Ribbon Olam** 1:31
10. **Reading from the Torah** 2:50
11. **Shalom Aleichem and Kiddush** 3:00
12. **Qalandar** 4:05
13. **Zohar** 2:39

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*In the Bukharan region of the USSR, north of the Afghanistan border, Uzbekistan, Jewish and Muslim musicians today create a unique sound world in an ancient city of rich and diverse cultural traditions. At various times Buddhists, Moslems, Hindus, Zoroastrians, Nestorian Christians and Oriental Jews kept common company in Bukhara's narrow streets and crowded bazaars. These high-quality 1990 digital recordings capture the beauty and substance of instrumental and vocal performances by some of the city's finest musicians. Extensive notes and map include an introduction to Bukharan music and descriptions of each item.*



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