

Musical Traditions and Ceremonies of Bukhara

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Abstract: The author considers Bukharian musical traditions as multi-cultural phenomena which demonstrate different types of syntheses – pre-Islamic and Islamic elements, inter-confessional cooperation and mutual influences of ethnic groups and peoples living in the city. Various factors, such as climatic conditions, traditional architecture and the inclination of its citizens towards musical entertainment, have influenced the development of traditional music in Bukhara. The main genres of musical art are considered in the framework of traditions of urban life. The author sees this trait of Bukharian culture and mentality as reflecting a duality: religiousness but also an intense love of secular pleasures in which music will always play an important role.

Keywords: Bukhara, guilds, music, rituals, *sāzanda*, traditions, Tuhfakhon

Introduction

Formed over a long period of time in the framework of one of the most historic provinces of Central Asia, traditional Bukharian musical art belongs to a number of original and celebrated city traditions of the Muslim Orient. Intervals of continuous development have given way to phases of political turmoil and social metamorphoses. As a result, fresh cultural and musical values have been integrated into the stable core of city life and have thus become part of the multi-dimensional Muslim culture of Bukhara.

In Bukhara, as in many other provinces of Central Asia, a synthesis of pre-Islamic and Islamic cultural elements developed as well. Evidence of this fusion can be found in various volumes that detail old musical traditions of the city. In a later stage of Bukhara's historic development, this synthesis was also enriched by inter-confessional cooperation. Points of intersection and cultural exchange were formed between the communities of the Muslims and the Bukharian Jews, between each of these and Iranian Shiites, and, to a lesser degree, with those



of other confessions (Russians, Hindus). On the one hand, such interchanges had an impact on Bukhara's musical art as an integral phenomenon, and, on the other hand, they influenced the development of cultural and musical life within these confessional communities. Their mutual co-existence and use of each other's creations generated interesting results in the musical culture itself, which in many respects demonstrates a lack of divergence of cultural and confessional boundaries.¹

This interaction continued in the framework of secular cultural development during the Soviet era. Seeking to avoid extremes of nationalistic manifestations, the Soviet cultural policy nevertheless created the conditions for small ethnic and confessional groups in Bukhara to realise their creative potential on the basis of new, aesthetic forms of representation. In such a way, the Bukharian musical phenomenon demonstrates a complex and in many respects unique experience of prolonged cultural cooperation and synthesis.

In the present article, the following will be touched upon: (1) the Bukharian musical traditions in connection with cultural and psychological peculiarities of the Bukharian lifestyle and mentality; (2) basic genres and forms of musical art; and (3) modes of existence of musicians' associations in the traditional Bukharian society (guild organisations of musicians and representatives from other arts and creative handicrafts) and their ritualistic system, which is currently kept alive almost fully by women's groups known as *sāzanda*.²

Musical Traditions and Modes of Life in Bukhara

The character of the Bukharian art of music, and its classical tradition in particular, was shaped by both external and internal factors, some of which are briefly mentioned here. Above all, it is necessary to note the influence of climatic conditions and the architectural and planning environment associated with it. In Bukhara, with its dry, hot climate and small number of trees, it was not acceptable – and was even considered indecent (as Bukhara is a 'cupola of Islam') – to enjoy listening to music in *chaikhanas* (teahouses), as is practiced in the Ferghana valley and in Tashkent. Music was performed inside old, cool dwellings with domes that provided corresponding acoustics. Varied architectural domical constructions – *madrasahs* (colleges for Islamic instruction) with their *hudjras* (cells), *caravanserais* (roadside inns), *khānaqās* (Sufi abodes), and even bath-houses (*hammām*) – became the traditional places where music was played in public.

There were gatherings of 'music gourmets', connoisseurs and music lovers, all of whom enjoyed special kinds of singing. In this way, a full style of music developed. Musicians who developed the technique of singing by producing deep abdominal sounds – *āvāzi khānaqāi* (literally, domical voice) – took into consideration the acoustics of the domed buildings, which helped produce excellent resonance and volume.³ The palaces of amirs and nobility and

numerous *mehmānkhānas* (drawing rooms) of Bukhara's intellectual elite and artisans also became centres where music was performed and listened to.

The composition of the city's population was another significant factor that contributed to the formation of the Bukharian musical tradition. As mentioned above, Bukhara, a polyethnic city from ancient times, had become a place of residence and interaction for various peoples with their distinct cultural traditions and artistic styles. The Bukharian art of music appears to be a conglomeration of different ethno-national and confessional traditions and components, including those of the Tadjiks, Uzbeks, Iranians and Bukharian Jews. In addition, the traditions of the Hindus, Turkmen, Kazakhs, Arabs, Gypsies (*djugi*) and a number of other peoples from the Orient are represented here to a varying degree. Influencing each other and intertwining, all of these customs gradually melded into the united Bukharian tradition, into the music of Bukhara, and in so doing, they have had an effect on other city centres and traditions. The 'face of Bukhara music' could be likened to a 'musical Babylon'.⁴ The Bukharian art of music still has a significant impact on various music traditions within present-day Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan. In some spheres (as, for instance, the art of *maqāmat* or age-old classical professional-canonical music), the Bukharian traditions are perceived by musicians as representative ones. In the Soviet period of history, new national versions of Uzbek and Tadjik *shashmaqām* (the Central Asian variety of the art of *maqāmat*) were created on the basis of Bukharian *shashmaqām*.

In the mode of life of Bukharian residents, there is a co-existence between stringent conservative Muslim restrictions and a thoroughly developed and unrestrained cult of enjoyment. Such duality, a kind of 'legal hypocrisy', found confirmation in different spheres of the cultural life of city dwellers. A typical Bukharian proverb, recorded in a number of publications, states: 'Whether



Figure 1: *Shashmaqām* ensemble of the Bukharian State Philharmonic, created in the beginning of the 1990s (photo by Alexander Djumaev).

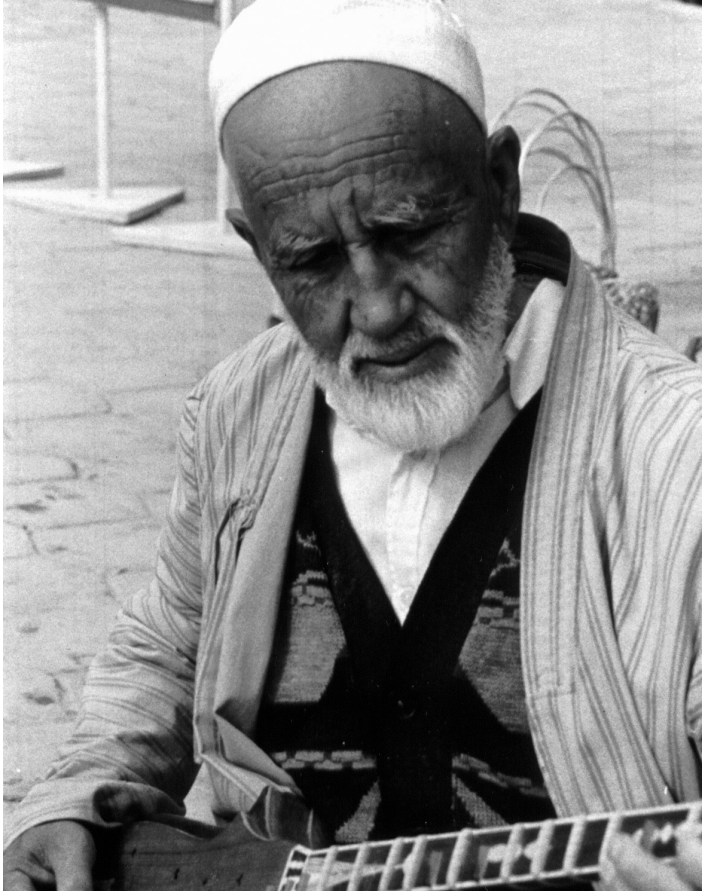


Figure 2: Bukharian musician Niyozjon Gulov playing tanbur (photo by Shavkat Boltaev).

you are with God on the lips or at the feast' ('Gāh hudoyu rasul, gāh naghmayu usul', literally meaning 'Whether with God and His prophet or with the melody and rhythm') (Surush 1999: 24). Olga Sukhareva (1976) describes an inscription expressed in verse and written on the eaves of the wire-frame mosque in Kosagarān, a city block in Bukhara. Possibly of Sufi character, it is very expressive and ambivalent: 'In that place, where there is purity of the heart, the select few live [sit] and enjoy the world, which is transient. To live without any delight is a tombstone' (ibid.: 98). Andreev and Chehovich (1972: 124) note the behaviour of students at a Bukharian *madrasah*:

Three days a week at the studies (*tahsil*), all of the students tiptoed, and everybody was afraid of coughing, which might disturb his neighbour. But as soon as the non-study break – the so-called *ta'til* (*tahtil*, in the popular pronunciation) – had started, the

picture changed completely. *Savtkhāni* – singing, sounds of *dutar*, *tamburs* and other musical instruments – could be heard everywhere. But the tambourine kept silent, because it was too low-pitched and vulgar to sound in the *madrasah*. Dances were not allowed in the open, but sometimes in a tightly closed room, a *hujra* – a folk dance of the *bachas* – took place.⁵

In Bukhara, as soon as the *mu'azzin* stopped playing and *namāz* ended, a *hafiz* (singer) started chanting. These two figures were often combined in one and the same person, and the art of *mu'azzin* could be compared with the singing of a nightingale (Nasafi 1990: 26). Special attention to the production of sound and intonation resulted in remarkable manifestations. In fact, the city was filled with different sounds from one morning until the next.

Forms of Musical Activity

In the sixteenth century, Bukhara became the centre of musical culture, inheriting the traditions of the fifteenth-century Herat scientific and practical school, where musicians who were scholars wrote theoretical treatises on music. The scientific and practical school of *maqāmat* was established here. This school became the basis for Bukharian *shashmaqām*, which was formed later in the eighteenth century. The founder of the Bukharian school of *maqāmat*, Mavlana Nadjm al-Din Kawkabi Bukhari (who died in 1531), was a distinguished musician, poet and scientist and the author of treatises on music. The Bukharian scientific treatises and collections of poems for *shashmaqām* performers (*bayāzes*) greatly influenced the development of music in India, Iran, Khorasan and other countries of the Muslim Orient between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. As a sign of its importance, a large centre of *maqāmat* had been preserved in Bukhara up until the 1930s.

The enthusiasm of Bukharian dwellers for music and entertainment contributed to a great influx of professional musicians, music lovers and performers from other fields who were brought into the sphere of musical 'service' to varying degrees: *maskharabāzes* (comedians), *maddāhs* (storytellers of Muslim religious-ethical tales and poems), *voizes* (Muslim professional preachers and orators) and even the *kals* (the bald) – Bukharian paupers who were street entertainers. The existence of a city block (*zehtābi*) where most of the residents were occupied with the 'processing of sheep's entrails for making *dutar* strings' points to the number of musicians in the city and the increasing scope of people's interest in music (Sukhareva 1976: 240). In their spare time, many craftsmen practised music by taking part in different wedding and revelry rituals and ceremonies. When the number of musicians grew to a high level, the rulers who adhered to strict Islam or who followed the directions of the '*ulamā*' took certain repressive measures against them, as well as against other representatives of 'artistic Bohemia'.

The politics of Muzaffar-khan, the Bukharian amir from 1860–1885, turned out to be more reasonable and economically expedient. He instituted some measures

to regulate the activities of musicians, artists, circus actors (*mutribi*, *maskharagi*) and other representatives of ‘Bohemian art’ in Bukhara. He introduced obligatory registration – a form of licensing – and made it necessary to receive permission for putting on performances after having imposed taxes on these procedures. For this purpose, a special department named *ghālibkhāna* was established (Donish 1960: 93).⁶ This is actually a rare case of the introduction of a state monopoly for executive activity in Central Asian towns (Djumaev 2004a: 281–282, 291).

The variety of genres and forms of music corresponds to the range of the functions of musical art and its spheres of application in Bukhara. Fundamental research by Nizam Nurdjanov (2001), who has examined the theatrical and musical life of Bukhara using an integral and complex approach, is dedicated to its description. In the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, the place of music in Bukharian society was characterised by complicated and hierarchic mutual relations. Separate categories and forms of this art had a parallel development in the folk environment, from which the courtier tradition borrowed the best achievements. Such duality covered both the classical art of *shashmaqām* and other genres such as *sāzanda* (women’s musical and dancing art), dances of the *bachas* (youth), *mavrigikhāns* (art of the Bukharian Iranians) and other kinds of creative work. Although there was great variety within its forms, we can speak about a unified system of the Bukharian art of music and the Bukharian style that is so admired and well-known.

Bukharian *shashmaqām* is a variety of classical art of the Muslim Orient. Performed in the court of the rulers, it was also played in other centres where numerous admirers among Bukharian residents would gather. This type



Figure 3: A group of *maqām* performers in Bukhara with artistic director Ari Babakhanov (second from the right) (photo by Alexander Djumaev).

of music is connected to a lesser degree with utilitarian aims, and its purpose is to provide a refined, intellectual and aesthetic experience, although it also provided the usual enjoyment that Bukharian dwellers sought as well. *Shashmaqām* influenced other forms of professional music, not only of the Tadjiks and Uzbeks but also of other peoples, such as the religious songs of the Bukharian Jews and the art of the *mavrigikhāns*.⁷

The rites and rituals of a life cycle – beginning with a child's birth through all the stages of his or her development (cradling, *sunnat* [Islamic initiation for male children], binding with *salla* [an Islamic head-dress, etc.], progressing to weddings and family life, and ending with funerals – were celebrated with a variety of songs and dances. The special passion of the Bukharian population for musical entertainment resulted in specific folkloric songs and dances that were designated in the Bukharian tradition as *bukhārcha*. Popular poetry, often combined with elements of exquisite sensuality and humour and sometimes presented in dialogue format, is a special aspect of Bukharian folklore.

Guild Organisations and *Sāzanda* Groups

In Bukhara as well as in Turkestan towns, the activities of musicians and representatives of other artistic professions were regulated by collective organisations. Practically all artistic groups, as well as craftsmen, joined special guilds or corporations (see Djumaev 1995; Nurdjanov 2001). Inside guild organisations, certain basic rites and rituals of musicianship (e.g. *arvāh-i pir* [spirit of master or ancestor], *kamarbandān* [tie a belt], etc.) were maintained. The necessity of preserving these rites was brought about by different factors, including artistic, philosophical-ethnic and economic considerations. With the establishment of Soviet power and the collapse of the traditional guild system, the entire ritual aspect of music and crafts started to be forgotten and to disappear. A principal means of preserving traditional rites in the Bukharian artistic environment during the Soviet era involved the women's groups named *sāzanda*. For this reason, let us examine the details of this art form.

As it is known in Bukhara and quite a number of other cities of present-day Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan (e.g. Kermina, Samarkand, Kerki, Shahrisabz, Gijduvan, Kattakurgan), the tradition of women performing art known as *sāzanda* had been preserved for a long time, and it still takes place here and there.⁸ The ancient Persian-Tadjik term *sāzanda* was often used with the term *navāzanda* (musician who can play and sing) or *mutrib* (singer), that is, it formed a pair of interconnected notions: 'a musician – a singer'. Its origin and meaning are connected with the process of professional specialisation – the allocation of playing instruments, musicians-instrumentalists (with *sāz* meaning, literally, 'an instrument' and often also designated as 'music') – from the syncretic whole.

Over the course of time, the term *sāzanda* acquired other, different meanings depending on its usage in this or that local ethno-national or regional

historico-cultural context. The concept of *sāzanda* as women performing art, considered in the present article, is an example of a new, historical 'transformation' of the art form that has restored its original meaning by combining different kinds of artistic activity. A complicated kind of synthetic art that is traditionally associated with Bukhara, it includes to varying degrees the elements of music, dance, theatre, oration, poetry and other kinds of artistic creation. But the main and critical purpose has been the preservation of traditional musical principles. Created and sustained in the women's environment, *sāzanda* was intended to serve ritual and various cultural interests of the female members of traditional society. At present, *sāzanda* art occurs in a modified (reductive and adapted) form as well. There have been changes in this art form over time, such as, for instance, the inclusion of male performers as musicians and singers in modern *sāzanda* ensembles, as can be seen in the present Bukharian folkloric and ethnographic ensemble Mohu Sitara, under the leadership of Oliyakhon Hasanova, which has connections with *sāzanda* tradition (Avezov 2007: 4, 7). Seemingly, the ritual aspect – a special phenomenon of this tradition that other organisations and groups of town musicians lost during the Soviet period – also underwent some changes.

All of the basic traditional rites that require the presence of a group of participants in order to carry out the ceremony have been preserved in *sāzanda* ensembles to one extent or another. In this sense, *sāzanda* art represents a kind of collective creation whereby special meaning is attached to preserving the internal unity of the group. This shared approach is determined by a complex of different reasons – material, artistic, professional, ethical, etc. One of the 'mechanisms' securing the group's stability is a strict adherence to established rites and rituals inside the *sāzanda* collective. In addition, this maintains a hierarchy in the relations between different participants of the ensemble, which in its turn provides the stimulus for further professional development. The leader of the group, who is usually the most knowledgeable about the various rites, acts as the guardian and supervisor of the rituals in the *sāzanda*. Versed in all the details of the solemnised rites, including their order and their correspondence to old traditions, she also has her own understanding of the meaning and sense of these rituals and can explain their function.

One of the last great singers and dancers of *sāzanda* art in Bukhara, Yafo Pinhasova (born in 1928) belongs to a long line of exemplars of ritual and professional studies. She is better known as Tuhfakhon (or Tufakhon, with *tuhfa* meaning a gift). The creation of Tuhfakhon has become a page in the history of Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan and Bukharian Jewish music culture.⁹ For many years it has been the core of traditional musical life of Bukhara and an important component in the life of traditional city society. Over the years, the best and most talented representatives of Bukharian women's art gathered around Tuhfakhon, and this tradition is connected with her name up to the present (her current apprentice is Oliyakhon Hasanova). At the beginning of the 1990s, before Tuhfakhon's emigration to the United States in 1995, I met



Figure 4: Tuhfakhon Pinkhasova with musicians during a ceremony in a Bukharian household (photo by Dmitry Mikhailov).

and conversed with her about some features of the Bukharian *sāzanda* art. Particular attention was drawn to officiating special rites within the circle of her colleagues. Tuhfakhon retained in her memory a large amount of material on *sāzanda* history and practice, various poetic texts and the musical repertoire of this tradition. As a creative person, she had her own opinion on different problems posed by the practice of this art, and in a number of cases this view represented a unique ‘oral theory’ of *sāzanda* creation.¹⁰

Conversation with Tuhfakhon about *Sāzanda* and Its Rites

Among the most important rites in the *sāzanda* repertoire are the following: *arvāh-i pīr*, *kamarbandān*, *Bibi Seshanba* or *āsh-i bibiyān* (literally, ‘grandmothers’ pilaf’) and *mushkilkushād* (or *mushkilkushā* and *Bibi-mushkilkushā*, which means ‘Mother who makes things smooth’). In the past, two of them – *arvāh-i pīr* and *kamarbandān* – were universal rites that were practised in a majority of craftsmen’s guilds located in Central Asian towns, involving musicians and other related professions in particular.¹¹ On this point they functioned as a connecting link between the women’s art of *sāzanda* and the sphere of men’s creations. Two other rites, particularly female, are practised not only in the environment of Bukharian *sāzanda* but everywhere – in the sphere of women’s crafts and creations and in spiritual activities.¹² All of these rites are connected

with music to some extent and feature various forms of intonation and sound style, such as the recitation of sacred texts or the singing of special works of religious and didactic character.

On the topic of *sāzanda* rites, Tuhfakhon explained as follows:

Arvāh-i pir is one thing for us, and *āsh-i Bibi Seshanba* is quite another. *Arvāh-i pir* takes place when a person has a desire or dream to officiate this ritual. It occurs when a person thinks that he must solemnise the ritual if, for instance, some merry event has happened in his family or if he has managed to avoid a misfortune – for example, he hasn't met with an accident. Or, Lord forbid! He would like to prevent an accident. He wishes it, *niyat mekunad*, it is a *niyat*.¹³ A person desires and has a dream to officiate *arvāh-i pir* to gather all his friends and his relatives. It shouldn't be solemnised as a wedding ceremony, but as *arvāh-i pir* when all are gone and their spirits are prayed for. Thus, this is *arvāh-i pir* similar to *khudāi*.

At *arvāh-i pir*, women gather with women. There are only women around, and men are only with men. They [the men] invite *mullā*, and women invite *āyamullā* [female *mullā*]. Both read the Qur'an. All people gather. Meat is not bought at the market; it is carved by a special person. These things must be done. Everything must be clean and accurate. Everybody must read the Qur'an, pray to God for what one needs. If a person has no children, he asks God for a child, and another does so for *kamar* binding if he is going to become a master of his business. Thus, they go on their knees and plead. This donative meal is for *arvāh*, that is, for the spirit to help us and them. We are solemnising *arvāh-i pir* for the spirit to support us and escort us. *Arvāh-i pir* is officiated in such spirits.



Figure 5: The ritual of *sallabandan* in Bukhara (photo by Shavkat Boltaev).

Now be informed about the *āsh-i bibiyān* rite. Let us assume that I have got, as they say, my own music tradition, *sāzanda*, and you have another. You have, as they say, another *avliyā*, *āsh-i bibiyān*, *pirishon inoyatni*,¹⁴ your *pir* is different. Teachers, artists and musicians have different *pirs*. *Bibi Seshanba* is officiated for this *pir*, every rite is solemnised to its Master who has reached us. So it is called *Bibi Seshanba*. It occurs on Tuesdays. It is a way of venerating relatives, your God, your Masters. It is similar to officiating *hudāi*, as they say *hudāi bering*. But there is a difference between these dinners. For example, at *āsh-i bibiyān*, *umoch* and *halvāyitar*¹⁵ are cooked. At *āsh-i bibiyān* a lot of dishes are cooked. At *arvāh-i pir*, *kabāb*, *āsh* and sometimes *kichiri*¹⁶ are prepared. In these days, such dinners are put on the table. The difference between them is great.

Here in our Bukhara we have circumcision both with Jews and Uzbeks. It is almost the same. The Jews circumcise an eight-day-old boy, and our Uzbeks do three-, five- and seven-year-old boys – when his years are odd. This is the difference between our Bukharian Uzbeks and Bukharian Jews. Then the Bukharian Jews go to synagogue, and the Uzbeks go to mosque and *madrasah* to read *namāz*.

Question: Do *sāzanda* musicians play anything during *arvāh-i pir*?

Tuhfakhon: No, music is not played at either *arvāh-i pir* or *āsh-i bibiyān*.

Question: Is there any order in the rite of solemnising? For instance, one Tuesday it is conducted by you, and the next Tuesday by your apprentice?

Tuhfakhon: Yes, there is. They put down the day of rite officiating in advance. It should be conducted once a week. For example, girlfriends and relatives come to an agreement amongst themselves about the order of the rights and where the meetings will take place. In such a way, the arrangements are made in advance.

Question: And the musicians do the same?

Tuhfakhon: Musicians are obliged to conduct these rites. For example, I solemnise *āsh-i bibiyān* once a year or every two years, because I also have such a feeling to live and work in harmony with the blessing of these rituals. As the saying goes with our citizens, 'Arvāh rāzi – khudā rāzi.'¹⁷ At first *arvāh* is pronounced, and then *khudā* is done.

Question: What is the origin of the word *sāzanda*?

Tuhfakhon: The word *sāzanda* originated because she (a woman) created *sāz* herself. There was no music.

Question: You say that you have bound your 12 students with a *kamar*, and thus you have made *kamarbandi*. Do they present you with anything? Is a gift obligatory?

Tuhfakhon: It is obligatory. If I give a student a present, she does the same. It is assumed that at first I will present her with money or a length of fabric for a dress. If I give her fabric, she must make me clothes from toe to crown because I am her mistress. She gives a gold embroidery skullcap, a dress, new footwear. When we bind *kamar*, we bind there a two-meter gauze and two flat cakes. At the waist we bind her *kamar*

with the gauze. I bring her a special belt for dancing, tying it to her and singing ‘Mubāarak bād’.¹⁸

Question: Do you check her mastery? Does she perform anything during the *kamarbandān* ceremony?

Tuhfakhon: No, skills should be checked beforehand. Before becoming a mistress, a student should work for 10 or 20 years. And then *kamar* occurs. There is no examination as well. Until she becomes famous, until people come to love her, she can’t work separately. When people, viewers, relatives or mothers say that she is a mistress, then they offer for her to hold *kamarbandān*.

First of all, in commenting on Tuhfakhon’s explanations, it is necessary to point out the absence of strict differences between *arvāh-i pir* and *āsh-i bibiyān* (or *Bibi Seshanba*). In their content they are similar, as both of them are associated with commemoration and the worship of spirits of the deceased masters. But at the same time, they function differently. One of them (*arvāh-i pir*) is influenced by a person’s desire and is connected with life circumstances occurring spontaneously, while the other (*āsh-i bibiyān*) is an obligatory rite, a kind of a duty to be performed by the believer. That is why *āsh-i bibiyān* must take place once a week. In both cases, these rites are common in the ritual practices of the Muslims and the Bukharian Jews. In the framework of one *sāzanda* group, they are officiated by the common efforts of Muslims and Jews, ‘beneath the same roof’. However, as Tuhfakhon has noted, some go to a synagogue, others to a mosque.

On the whole, the information presented by Tuhfakhon expands on a number of facts that have been published elsewhere, especially in the works of Nizam Nurdjanov. At the same time, it contains some details that have dropped out of the researchers’ focus. The presence of some inner ‘contradictions’ regarding musical performance during *arvāh-i pir* and *āsh-i bibiyān* in Tuhfakhon’s description is interesting. Tuhfakhon vigorously rejected the performance of music during these rites, while Nurdjanov (2001: 210–220) considers several ‘vocal samples’ (*munādjāt*) in the rite of *Bibi Seshanba*, officiated by *āyamullā*, or *oymullā*, according to his transcription. He notes that after *arvāh-i pir* or *āsh-i bibiyān*, rituals that were accompanied by music and dances took place (Nurdjanov 1980: 114). Although modern researchers might relate these rituals to the art of music, it is apparent that Tuhfakhon believes they are not music rituals but instead form part of a religious rite. Therein lies a principal difference in musical understanding between the practitioners of this tradition and the researchers who study it.

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Notes

1. Unfortunately, many scientists in Central Asia and bāeyond are now involved in intensive ‘work’ on delimitation and determining what belongs to ‘us’ and ‘you’. Such studies are usually based on a goal of finding divergences in a common historical space and cultural heritage.
2. Traditional terms and expressions are given in the forms corresponding to the national (Uzbek and Tajik) and local (Bukharian) norms of spelling and pronunciation.
3. See detailed information about various directions in the style of traditional music of Central Asian towns, particularly Bukhara, in Djumaev (2004b). About *āvāzi khānaqāi* and its ties with the musical arts, see Djumaev (2004c).
4. It is indicative that one of the first CDs with Bukharian music samples, which was released in 1991, is titled ‘Bukhara Musical Crossroads of Asia’ (Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings, CD SF 40050). The CD was recorded, compiled and annotated by Ted Levin and Otanazar Matyakubov.
5. It is not by chance that, in later years, the ‘*ulamās*’ established many *fatwās* directed against *mullabachas* (students of *madrasahs*) because of their interest in music and dance. See, in particular, Djuraeva (1985).
6. For information about Bukharian *ghālibs* (supervisors of artistic groups) and *ghālibkhānas* (residences for *ghālibs* and sites for artistic guilds), see research by Nurdjanov (e.g. 2001: 116–117).
7. Observations about the influence of Bukharian *shashmaqām* upon Bukharian and Jewish religious songs have been made by Theodore Levin (1992), an American ethno-musicologist.
8. Much of the literature by Tadjikistan and Uzbekistan musicologists and specialists in theatre study is dedicated to *sāzanda* art. Long-term fieldwork has been conducted by Nurdjanov, a Tadjik researcher who has focused on *sāzanda* and has taken part in several expeditions with the purpose of collecting material in Bukhara and the surrounding regions. Poetical texts, music examples in European staff notation from the *sāzanda* repertoire and a detailed bibliography on the topic are presented in a recent publication (Nurdjanov 2001: 34–114). Among other works by Nurdjanov, an article on the historic character of *sāzanda* contains information about *kamarbandān*, *arvāh-i pīr*, *āsh-i bibiyān* and other rites that are officiated in the *sāzanda* environment (1980: 111–157). A large section on *sāzanda* in Tadjik is presented by Nurdjanov in his research of Tadjik dance (2004: 157–223). For additional information about *sāzanda*, see also Levin (1996: 115–122, 127–130) and During (1998: 50, 58, 64–65, 162).
9. For more on Tuhfakhon’s creation, see especially Nurdjanov (1980, 2001, 2004) and Levin (1996). In 2000, Tuhfakhon published in Israel a book of her memoirs that includes a variety of materials about traditional Bukharian *sāzanda* (see Tuhfakhon 2000).
10. Materials and interviews with Tuhfakhon are kept in my private archive. The interviews were recorded on audiocassette in Bukhara in the presence and with the participation of German musicologist Angelika Jung on 21 September 1992. They have been partially used in my article ‘K izucheniyu ritualov “arvāh-i pīr” i “kamarbandān” v gorodskikh tsehah muzykantov Srednei

- Azii' (Towards the Study of Rituals of 'arvāh-i pir' and 'kamarbandān' in Urban Guilds of Musicians of Central Asia) (Djumaev 1995).
11. *Arvāh-i pir* and *kamarbandān* rites that were officiated in the musicians' guilds (and partially in the *sāzanda* environment) are considered in my article (Djumaev 1995: 163–170), and other problems connected with the activities of these traditional associations are also discussed. Some interesting details on these rituals are mentioned in the published and unpublished works of A. L. Troitskaia, in particular Troitskaia (1975).
 12. *Bibi Seshanba* (*Bibi Seshambe*) and *Mushkilkushād* (*Mushkilkushā*) rites – based on Bukharian materials and their musical and poetic content – are thoroughly described and analysed by Nurdjanov (2001: 210–220) in the section titled 'Music of National Rites'. About the existence of these rituals in different regions of Uzbekistan and in the Uzbek ethnic environment, see, for example, Sattar (1993) and Abdullaev (2005: 181; 2006: 52, 319).
 13. *Niyat* (literally, intention) is a religious and ethical notion in Islam that calls for deliberate and firm inner intentions proceeding one or another action.
 14. *Pirishān ināyatni* (literally, your feast of help) is presented in the mixed Tadjik and Uzbek colloquial form.
 15. *Umāch* is a dish in the form of a soup with small wheat-paste balls. *Halvāyatar* (literally, humid halva) is a floury halva that, as a rule, is made of wheat flour, melted butter and sugar, although there are also other kinds (Vanukevich et al. 1978: 56–58).
 16. *Kichiri* is a traditional dish (a kind of cereal) made of mung beans and rice.
 17. This phrase means, literally, 'Spirit is satisfied, God is satisfied'. Similar statements can be found in various oral practices and texts of shamans, Sufis and other exponents of popular Islam that have been written down by contemporary scholars (e.g. Tajjanov and Ismailov 1986: 128).
 18. 'Mubārak bād', a traditional Bukharian song of congratulatory and stately character, is performed at different wedding ceremonies and other, similar congenial events. As a Bukharian folkloric song, it is denoted by one general word, *bukhārcha* (cf. Safarov et al. 2005).

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