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ERRATA

Read 'whether' for every instance of 'weather'

Read 'descendants' for every instance of 'decedents'

p 15, line 5: read 'army' instead of 'armay'

p 20, line 14: read 'right' instead of 'left'

p 22, line 12: read 'Gandhāra' instead of 'Gandhāran'

p 26, line 3: read 'India' instead of 'Indian'

p 130, line 4: read 'remains' instead of 'reminds'

A Survey of the History of Music in Afghanistan, from Ancient Times to 2000 A. D., with Special Reference to Art Music from *c.* 1006 A.D.

Ahmad Naser Sarmast
B. A. (Gnisinikh Music College, Moscow)
M.A. (Moscow State Conservatorium)

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requirement for the degree of
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School of Music – Conservatorium

Monash University

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Abstract

At the beginning of this survey early evidence is found in music archaeology and iconography. This evidence consists of a figurine and representations in sculpture showing a variety of musical instruments and music in a processional context. This data documents the presence of Greek music as well as the musical instruments attributed to local traditions.

Written texts dating from the 10th century A.D. onward are important sources for later eras, as are miniature paintings. These texts consist of several musical treatises and the mention of musical activities in numerous poems and historical works. Miniature paintings from the Timurid era, the Mughal era, and the Safavid period are useful as well. The texts give evidence for the names of musical instruments, and for some details of music theory. Another value of the texts consists of the references they contain for the context of music and dance performances. Miniature paintings are also valuable for the information they contain about musical instruments, the organisation of musical and dance ensembles, and the context of performance.

Observations from international travellers and scholars in recent centuries add valuable evidence for this survey of music in Afghanistan. Early travellers arrived in Afghanistan primarily as members of political delegations and advisors from outside, mainly from British India. The scholars consist of several writers from Afghanistan as well as three well-known researchers from the West. The observations of writers from Afghanistan help to determine the influx of Indian musicians and dancers and their role at the courts of the Pashtūn rulers. Recent scholarship has assisted in bringing to light important features of music in different regions of Afghanistan, and therefore this thesis focuses on the art music of Afghanistan.

The oral history of Afghan musicians provides much new data for the 19th and 20th centuries. This oral history brings to light data for the last two hundred years and emphasises the role of Afghan musicians and dancers of Indian descent in the recent history of music in

Afghanistan. The significant role of Pashtūn musicians and musicians from Herat and the earlier Khurāsānian tradition are also discussed, as is the introduction of influences from Western music and music ensembles. Developments in traditional Afghan music genres and their influence on Afghan urban music and music derived from the Western orchestral tradition are also investigated.

This study reveals a complex interplay of musical traditions from four sources—ancient and medieval Central Asia, indigenous Pashtūn culture, India, and recently from Western music. The resulting mosaic shows a very rich and vibrant musical culture that has lasted in a healthy condition until the last three decades.

Acknowledgements

Over years of completing this thesis many people have provided me with an incalculable amount of encouragement, support, advice, assistance, and suggestions. The help of these people in various ways contributed in the formation and completion of this investigation. Firstly, I remain very grateful to many Afghan musicians for their invaluable help and for sharing their historical and musical knowledge for this thesis.

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Additionally, I remain indebted to many Afghan intellectual and cultural figures for their support and encouragement. Especially, for their comments about the term *Musiqi Khurāsāni*, I would like to express my gratefulness to Dr Rawan-e Farhadi, Abdul Wahab Madadi, and Dr Asadullah Shu'ūr, and to the Afghan painter Aslam Akram for the loan of miniature painting albums from his private library.

My heartfelt thanks go to my brother Mohammad Nasir Sarmast, the head of the recording and copying directorate of Radio Afghanistan, for providing me with needed recordings and facilitating my being in touch with Afghan musicians within Afghanistan during the repressive years of the Tālibān regime. Up to date he remains one of the main sources of my information about music and musicians, and the status of music and musicians in Afghanistan after the fall of the Tālibān.

I am greatly obliged to the works of Mark Slobin, Lorraine Sakata, and John Baily, three Western scholars who pioneered the study of music in Afghanistan. I had the blessing and support of these three scholars from the beginning of my research. These three authorities, whose writings about music in Afghanistan enormously contributed into my inspiration, generously shared with me their knowledge about music in Afghanistan and provided me with a lot of data.

The kind assistance, encouragement, support, suggestions, and expertise of my supervisor, Dr Reis Flora, strongly added into my knowledge and greatly helped to lead this research to an academic completion. His critical comments on successive drafts, correction and improvement of the English text, and the loan of needed sources from his private library, were significantly important in completing this thesis. I will always remain grateful to this scholar for his academic guidance and friendship. My thanks also go to all the staff of the School of Music-Conservatorium of Monash University for their encouragement and support over the years of my study there.

I am also thankful to the Monash Research Graduate School and the Monash Asia Institute for funding my fieldwork. Without the generous financial support of both, it would have been impossible to complete the interviewing of Afghan musicians worldwide. Specially, I am grateful to the Monash Research Graduate School for understanding my hardship in the last stage of writing this thesis, when I had to attend to recovery of my sick mother after a debilitating stroke, which continues with her subsequent illnesses. During all this time I had the kind support and the thoughts of all the staff of the Monash Research Graduate School with me.

I also wish to thank Tamim Nasir for helping me in editing of musical examples and creating the CDs accompanying this thesis. Additionally, my thanks are due to Christie Widiarto for excellent computing assistance and advise.

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Declaration

Though the chart in figure 1 by Farhadi appeared in my minor thesis when I was a student at Moscow State Conservatorium in 1993, here it is subjected to a revised and completely new analysis and discussion based on new scholarship. With the exception of figure 1, which clearly reflects the point of view of Afghan scholars and intellectuals about the history of music in Afghanistan, this thesis does not contain material, which has been submitted for any other degree of diploma at any university. To the best of my knowledge this dissertation contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made.

Ahamd Naser Sarmast

29th September 2004

Introduction

This thesis discusses and considers the history of the art or classical music of the historical region known today as Afghanistan, and examines the continuous role played by the people of this country in the formation and development of a style of art music and a musical system within a larger cultural region; namely, Greater Khurāsān. This study is due mainly to a strong desire to bring to the field of international musicology the point of view presented by Afghan intellectuals and scholars about the history of their art music, and to re-evaluate this point of view in light of Western scholarship.

It is generally thought by Western musicologists that Afghanistan does not have an indigenous system of art music equivalent to the contemporary musical system of Iran and North India, a conception that almost led to a total neglect of and ignorance of this aspect of music in Afghanistan by musicologists. Additionally, when Western musicologists speak about the type or style of art music in Afghanistan prior to the introduction of North Indian classical music, they use the term 'Persian music', a term that clearly considers the art music of Afghanistan as a subordinate musical culture, rather than as an independent tradition, or at least a significant and inseparable part of so-called 'Persian music', the enrichment and development of which was based on the contributions of many people of Central Asia.

By comparison, Afghan intellectuals and scholars, in considering the history of their culture in general and their art music in particular, are of the opinion that modern Afghanistan, as an early centre of Āryan civilisation and culture, played a significant role in the formation and development of music in the Indian sub-continent and in the Dari/Persian-speaking world of Persia and Central Asia, not only in ancient times, but also in the pre-Islamic and Islamic Middle Ages. Additionally, these scholars indicate that in the pre-Islamic era and the Islamic Middle Ages, a well-developed type of art music was in use in Afghanistan, identified in

modern local writings as *Musiqi Khurāsāni*. This term is also used in this thesis to identify the art music of Afghanistan up to the 19th century.

Such a consideration is linked with the historical realities of Afghanistan, which was historically known by other names, such as Āryana (*c.* 2000 B.C.-*c.* 250 A.D) and Khurāsān (5th-19th centuries). The term Afghanistan was imposed on this region about 150 years ago. Thus, to present a comprehensive history of the art or classical music of Afghanistan through so many centuries, and to reflect properly the Afghan point of view, it is necessary and useful to discuss music history in the region in the context of the historical names of Afghanistan, and also within the context of a larger cultural region, rather than within the current boundaries of Afghanistan.

Therefore, the term Afghan, which is the name of a particular ethnic group that has been used to name the country and the people of this multi-ethnic entity, is first replaced in this thesis by the term Āryan, and then by the adjective Khurāsānian. These two words, as we shall see in this thesis, historically were used for naming the people of this region and their culture. The word Afghan music is used exclusively in this thesis for characterising the art and professional music of Afghanistan since the late 19th century, rather than for identifying the folk music of a single group of Afghan people; namely, the Afghans, who are also known as Pashtūns or Pakhtūns. The term Pashtūn, combined with the word music, is used in this thesis for referring to the folk and urban music of this group. The folk music of other ethnic groups living in Afghanistan is identified with appropriate adjectives, such as Uzbeki, Tajiki, Turkmeni, Hazaragi and others.

Additionally, the critical situation of art music in Afghanistan today, which is the result of recent socio-political and military upheavals, which had a deadly impact on all aspects of Afghan music and its classical music in particular, contributed to my decision to dedicate this thesis to the history of art music in Afghanistan. Furthermore, the deaths of great masters of

Afghan classical music in the last three decades, the total destruction of the musicians' quarter known as Kharābāt during the civil war in 1992-1993, the mass emigration of the best musicians as a result of internecine strife and because of the ban imposed on music by the Islamic militia students, the Tālibān, in 1996, are among other significant factors that have led to the current state of art music in Afghanistan. These factors also contributed to my decision to embark on this study.

Having introduced the topic of this dissertation and the reasons inspiring the author of this investigation, it is important to acknowledge the contribution made by Mark Slobin, Lorraine Sakata, and John Baily to the study of musical culture in Afghanistan. Lorraine Sakata researched in three Dari/Persian speaking areas, in Hazarajat, Herat, and Badakhshan. Her investigation basically concentrates on musical ethnosemantics. Mark Slobin carried out his work in northern Afghanistan. His research covers the musical culture of the Tajiks, Turkmens, Pashtūns, Uzbeks, Pamiris and Kazakhs living in northern Afghanistan.

The third scholar, John Baily, carried out his research in a single area, in the city of Herat. Lorraine Sakata researched there before him. However, unlike Sakata's work, which only briefly considered the urban professional musicians in the city of Herat, John Baily's analysis, and his generalisations, are mainly based on his contact with a larger group of Herati urban professional musicians. John Baily's research up to now remains the only investigation familiar to me that has surveyed some aspect of the art or classical music of Afghanistan. Though his research primarily considers different aspects of contemporary art music of Afghanistan in a single city, his investigation to a certain extent corroborates my own study.

Though the author of this dissertation does not share all the points of view and findings presented by Baily in his various works, nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that his invaluable contribution to the study of art music in modern Afghanistan has made the task of the current researcher easier. Additionally, I also wish to acknowledge that the works of the

other two scholars—Mark Slobin and Lorraine Sakata—were of great help in researching this thesis.

This study discusses the history of the art or classical music of Afghanistan and begins to reconstruct its development in history. Additionally, this thesis makes an inventory of the forms and genres whenever musicians of this multi-ethnic entity used them. Further, this thesis considers the aesthetic and theoretical concepts used by musicians in different periods of history in Afghanistan, and also examines the role of individual musicians in the formation and development of the contemporary music of Afghanistan. Furthermore, this thesis looks into the role and contribution of classical music in Afghanistan today with respect to other aspects of music in this country. Finally, this thesis considers the history of the arrival of Western musical instruments and staff notation in Afghanistan, and examines the effects of these innovations on the music of the country.

The findings, generalisations, and conclusions contributing to this thesis are based on several sources and include a systematic study of the cultural context of Afghanistan through the study of archaeological and iconographic evidence, historical and art-historical writings in Dari/Persian and Pashto, Dari/Persian poetry, Dari/Persian musical treatises, documented talks with musicians, recordings of radio interviews with Afghan masters of the classical tradition in Afghanistan, aural analysis of collected recordings, and contemporary writings about music in Afghanistan by authors of this country. These materials, which are re-evaluated in the context of Western scholarship and the recent studies of well-known ancient traditions, have led to the structural composition of this investigation, as presented below.

Chapter 1 discusses and attempts to reconstruct the type of music and the role of music in the life of the ancient people of Afghanistan in light of recent studies of well-known ancient musical traditions, such as the singing of sacred words associated with the Āryan tradition of

Vedic-Avestan rituals and ceremonies. Additionally, this chapter considers the influence of ancient Greek culture and Buddhism on the music of ancient Afghanistan.

Chapter 2 examines the history of the development of the art and professional music of Afghanistan in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic eras. This discussion begins with the introduction of a local term, Khurāsānian, which is used in local writings today for characterising the art music of Afghanistan in these two periods and also in the succeeding period of its history, and attempts to indicate the role played by Khurāsānian musicians and their music in the formation of a pan-Islamic music culture.

Chapter 3 follows the formation and development of art music in Khurāsān after the establishment of Islam, during the Ghaznavids. This chapter also examines the state of art music, the status of musicians, and the modal system used by musicians in this period of the history of Afghanistan. Additionally, this chapter considers the musical genres used by court musicians and draws attention to an early presence of outdoor ensembles in Khurāsān.

Chapter 4, in manner similar to chapter 3, examines the type of Khurāsānian music about two and a half centuries later, after the collapse of the Ghaznavids in this region. Different aspects of this music at that time are discussed in this chapter in light of at least three types of data compiled from the Timurid time, which are (1) sources that have general information about the music and dance of that time, (2) technical sources that directly consider the theoretical and practical aspects of that music, and (3) iconographic sources.

The next stage of the history of music in Afghanistan is linked with the establishment of modern Afghanistan in 1747 by a Pashtūn chieftain from the Durrani confederation of the Pashtūn tribes. Before considering the music played at Durrani courts and the support offered to music and musicians by the Pashtūn rulers of Afghanistan in subsequent chapters, Chapter 5 attempts to establish the significance of music in the minds of the Pashtūns, and discusses their music and their attitudes towards music and musicians. This discussion is based on a written

source from the 16th century, and on a Pashto essay on music from the 17th century. These two sources are the *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma* respectively. Chapter 6 discusses data for music and dance during the rule of the first two Durrani kings.

Chapter 7 traces the history of the arrival of Hindustani musicians to Afghanistan, the primary function of these musicians, and the style of their performance. Furthermore, in this chapter the art of Hindustani female entertainers, known as *kanchanis* in Afghanistan, is briefly discussed. Until now their sad story has not been told. Additionally, this chapter considers the music of two other groups of court musicians, whose role in the musical life of the courts of Afghanistan after the arrival of Hindustani musicians and dancers has been overlooked or greatly neglected. These two other groups are the Khūrāsāniān and Pashtūn musicians. This chapter also reports on the outdoor music of Afghanistan in the 19th century and the early 20th century.

Chapter 8 of this thesis describes and discusses the vocal and instrumental genres used by musicians of Afghanistan of classical tendency, and considers the history and structure of *tarz*, the only vocal genre of contemporary Afghan popular music. The theoretical aspects of the contemporary art music of Afghanistan are discussed in chapter 9.

Finally, the history of the arrival of Western musical instruments, staff notation, the establishment of the first orchestra in Afghanistan with Western musical instruments, and the contribution of the first musicians of Afghanistan who were trained in Western music to the development of the contemporary music of Afghanistan are discussed in chapter 10. A summary and the conclusion to the whole dissertation are presented in chapter 11.

Chapter 1

Music in Ancient Āryana, *c.* 2000 B.C.-*c.* 250 A.D.

Afghan intellectuals, in considering the history of the music of Afghanistan, begin by citing the earliest periods of the region's history. They link music in the earliest times with the Āryans and their religious rituals as reflected in the *Vedas* and the *Avesta*. Furthermore, they also link the early history of Afghan music to Greek rule in the region, and additionally with Buddhism and the music of the Sassanids. It is a very complicated and hard task to write about the musical culture of Afghanistan in pre-historic and ancient times, since the traditions named just above do not exist any more in Afghanistan.

To trace and draw a sufficiently clear picture of Afghan music history through so many centuries, it is necessary to deal with two types of data, which are significantly important for writing a 'virgin territory' music history such as the history of music in Afghanistan. The first type of data, which is identified by Kartomi (1997:219) as 'historia', includes accounts of the past, based on an appeal to ancient and modern authorities, including myths and legends. The second type of data, which is identified by Kartomi (*ibid.*) as 'history', consists of the accounts of the past, based primarily on a critical examination and analysis of historical source materials, including musical sound sources themselves.

In order to give a short and clear presentation of this multi-layered process of reconstructing history, at this point it is useful to introduce a historical sketch of Afghan musical development suggested and prepared by an outstanding Afghan linguist and diplomat, the current permanent representative of Afghanistan in the United Nations, Dr Rawan-e Farhadi. He created the sketch more than twenty years ago, and gave it in manuscript form to my father, the late Ūstād Mohammad Salim Sarmast, a well-known Afghan musician and composer, so that my father could develop it and supplement it on the basis of his own knowledge and experience.

Since my late father is no longer among the cultural leaders of Afghanistan, it is my privilege as his son to research and write this thesis, using as a starting point the sketch of Farhadi, which came into my possession from my father, as the beginning source of information for this historical survey. The sketch appears in this thesis in its original form in figure 1, as well as in an English version based on my own translation, reading, and understanding of this chart (Fig. 2). It should be noted that the English translation includes some revisions based on my own research during the last seven years. Thus, the germane and highly inspirational chart of Farhadi is supplemented with the following commentary in this chapter and in subsequent chapters.

It is an enormous task to describe and discuss all the points noted and included in Farhadi's chart. In an attempt to understand what the music of the earlier times may have been, this thesis will consider and highlight only those points of Farhadi's chart that are directly linked with the history of music in Afghanistan, especially those points, which may be described and discussed in the light of relatively recent studies of well-known ancient cultural traditions. These sources are used in this chapter as indirect sources for the suggested reconstruction of musical practices in the earliest periods of Afghan music history. Farhadi, similar to other Afghan intellectuals and historians, begins with the music of Āryana, an early homeland of the Āryans before their migration to India and Iran.

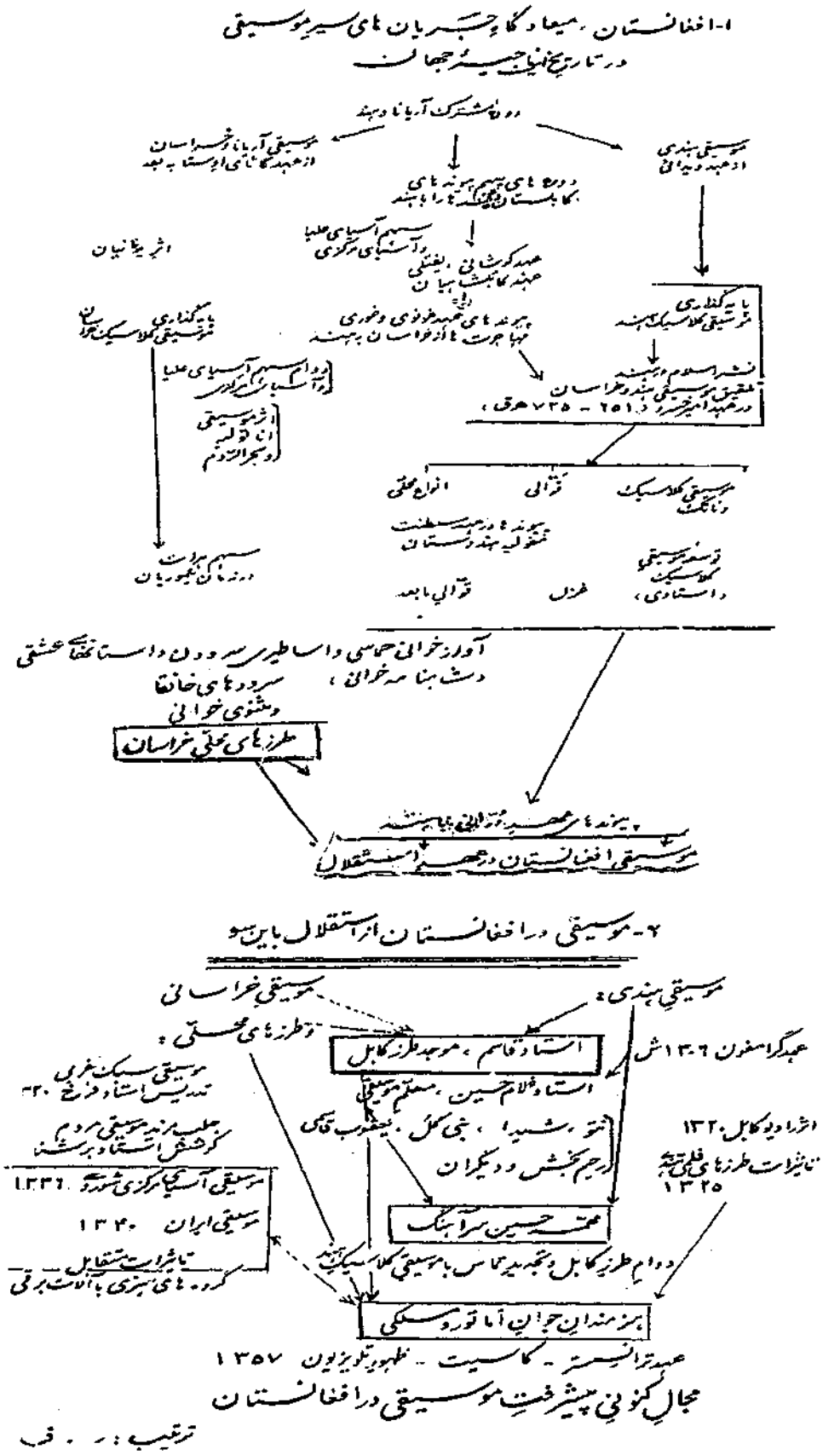


Fig. 1. A historical chart of Afghan musical development compiled by Farhadi.

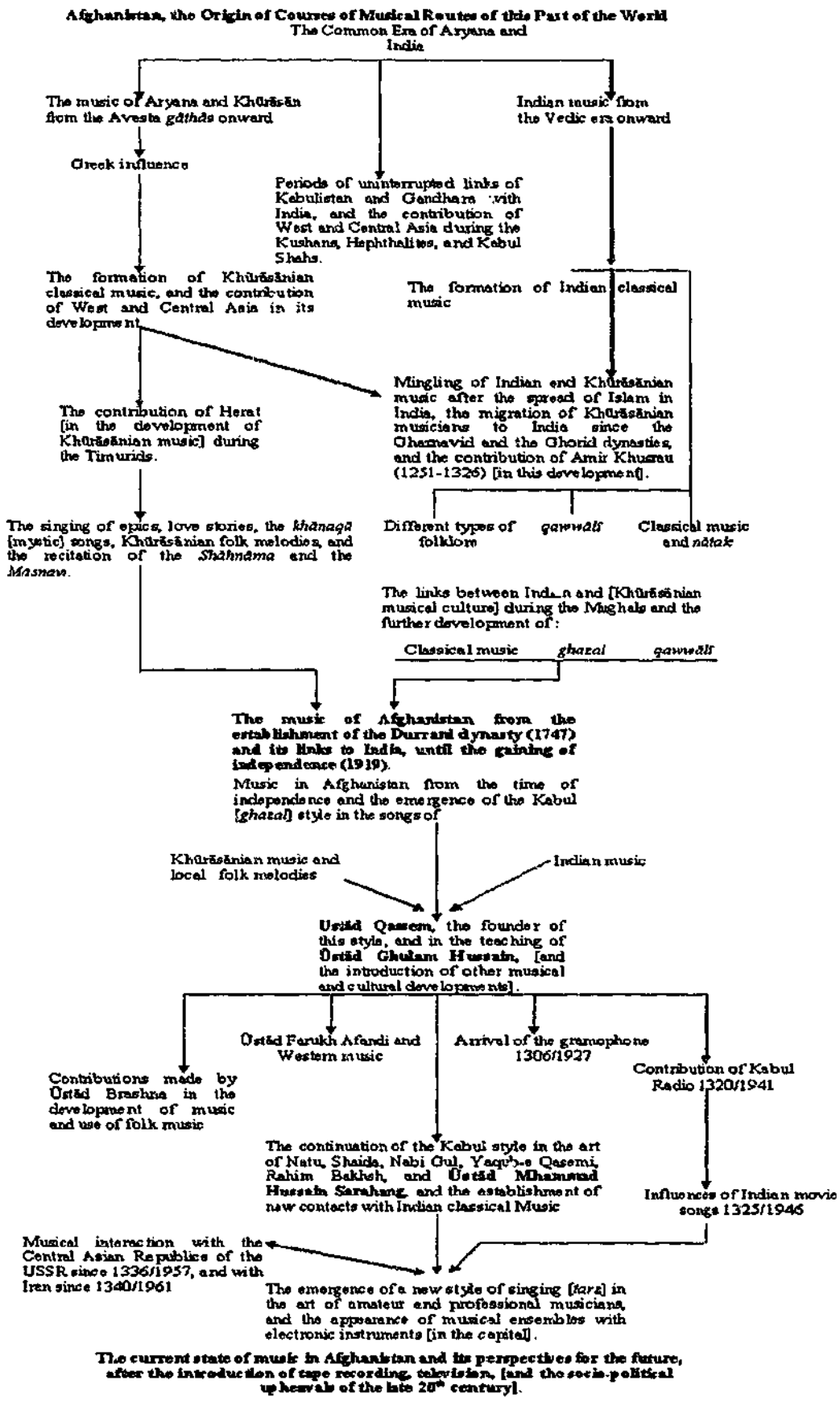


Fig. 2. An English translation of the historical chart of Afghan musical development suggested by Farhadi.

A systematic description of the history of Afghanistan indicates that the patrimonial memories of the country preserved very early recollections, recording that about 2,000 B.C. Afghanistan was inhabited by nomadic tribes, who called themselves *Āryas*, and their land Āryana. Afghan historians believe that the term Āryana, signifying the 'land of the Āryans', was one of the earliest names, which from *c.* 1,000 B.C. until about the 5th century A.D. was used for naming the area known today as Afghanistan (Ghubar 1967:9, 37; 1989:1; Kakar 1979:xv, Farhang 1992:17). According to these sources, in the 5th century the name Khurāsān, signifying the 'land of rising sun', replaced Āryana and continued to be used for identifying Afghanistan until the 19th century.

In the beginning of the earliest known and documented period of Afghan history, in the territory under consideration, we observe the land of the Āryans, the very people who founded the history and thought of many Eurasian peoples. It is not our intention to discuss here the problem of the origin of the Āryans and their role in the history of world civilisations.[1]

A matter of interest is the fact that the Āryans penetrated from the northern regions of Afghanistan through the Hindu Kush to pass on into India. Thus, some scholars view this phenomenon as the great commencement of Indian culture (Burrow 1975:20). First of all, the importance of this event is linked with the introduction of the singing of sacred words associated with two great religious traditions that have been very significant for the culture of Āryana and South Asia.

The four books of the *Vedas* comprised the beginnings of the first of these two great religious traditions. The *Vedas* became the property of the Indian spiritual world. Later the *Avesta*, which reflects the learning of Zoroaster or Zarathustra, became the basic religious source for Iranian culture. According to data collected by historians and art historians,

[1] For data on this topic see *The Aryans* (Childe [1926]/1970), *The Wonder that was India* (Basham 1967), 'The Early Āryans' (Burrow 1975), *Rig Veda: Velikoe Nachalo Indiiskoy Literaturi i Kulturi* (Elizarenkova 1989), and *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia* (Erdosy 1995).

musical activities in ancient Afghanistan were basically connected with the Vedic-Avestan rituals and ceremonies, embodied in the Vedic-Avestan hymns, prayers, songs of praise, and gift songs.

For the aims of this investigation, the exact location of the people or the authors of the *Vedas* does not have enormous significance, the more so as all the traditional sources point to a divine origin for these four texts. However, it is important to note that Vedic culture, before its arrival into India, had already existed as a fully formed system of man's interrelation with the universe, as a complex of sufficiently strict recorded regulations, according to which the Āryans had to live.

Burrow has pointed out that the common culture and religion reflected in the earliest texts of the Iranians and Indo-Āryans was developed in the Central Asian homeland of the Āryans, prior to their Indian migration (Burrow 1975:21-22). Furthermore, Burrow reports that the culture which we find in the *Rgveda* was not developed in India, but, in most essentials, imported, already formed, from outside (1975:24).

The basic idea of the *Vedas*, *i.e.* the Āryan attitude to the sounding word as one of the most important means of appeal to celestial beings, became the cornerstone of the ancient Indian outlook. It greatly influenced the essential parameters of its philosophy, ethics, art, and especially its music. For the subsequent formation and development of classical music in India and Afghanistan, the *Vedas* and the Vedic hymns of the *Rgveda* are identified in Indian culture as of very significant importance, as an early serious base for the search and affirmation of the principles of a tonal system on which the complex theory of the *rāgas* later developed.[2]

The texts of the earliest *Veda*, the *Rgveda* (1500-900 B.C.), are Āryan hymns, which were recited at sacrifices with three different pitches. It is important to note the distribution

[2] For a discussion about the Vedic roots of Indian classical music see *The Musical Heritage of India* (Gautam 1980) and *The Music of India* (Veer 1986).

and function of the three tones, which is a characteristic feature in the tonal system of Vedic recitation. These tones are the *udātta* (reciting tone), *anudātta* (lower tone), and *svarita* (higher tone). The intervals of these three pitches vary form Vedic school to Vedic school, as in the following example.[3]

The Vedic Recitation of Three Pitches

svarita	2♭	3	3
udātta	1	1	1
anudātta	7♭	4	6

Vedic scholars and musicologists provide an interesting comparison of three versions of the same hymn from the *Rgveda*, preformed by the priests belonging to three different Vedic schools. In all three cases, in spite of the differences in melodic interpretation, one may observe the strict maintenance of the tonal correlation of pitches appointed in the text.[4]

In the manuscripts of the *Rgveda*, the *anudātta* is marked with a horizontal line below, the *udātta* is unmarked, and the *svarita* is marked by a vertical line above. This principle found its realisation much later in the notation of contemporary Hindustani music, in which a horizontal line below and a vertical line above notes are used for the alteration of notes. The hymn that is cited below, according to the Vedic principle will be marked and transcribed in Western notation as in figure 3. This hymn in its original form and in Western notation is reproduced in this thesis from *Veda Recitation in Vārānasi* (Howard 1986:34).

[3] For further details about the tonal correlation of pitches in the Vedic tradition see *The Four Vedas* (Staal 1968), 'Music' (Jairazbhoy 1975:212-215), and *Veda Recitation in Vārānasi* (Howard 1986).

[4] A detailed description of such a comparison is available in *Veda Recitation in Vārānasi* (Howard 1986). Also, in this study and in *Sāmavedic Chant*, Howard (1977) thoroughly describes the stylistic and tonal interpretation of these three pitches as performed by three different Vedic schools of chanting.

The *Sāmaveda*, or chanting of the *Rgveda*, which was performed in a fixed order corresponding to the order of the Vedic rituals and ceremonies, consists of more extensive notated melodic formulas (*sāmans*), with 3, 4, 5, 6, or 7 tones, which may contain the oldest notated melodies in the world. A study of the notated chants of the *Sāmaveda* demonstrates that the Āryan priest chanters were familiar with a certain theory of music. The notated chants of the *Sāmaveda* indicate the existence of a tonal system comprised of a descending scale with seven tones, each of which had their own name. It is well-known that tones of the *Sāmaveda* have been correlated with the secular tones (*svaras*), as well as with the Vedic reciting tones of the *Rgveda*.[5]

om agnim ile purohitam yajnasya devam rtvijam /

hotaram ratnadhatamam //

I invoke Agni as the domestic priest, god of the sacrifice, ministrant, invoker, best bestrew of treasure.

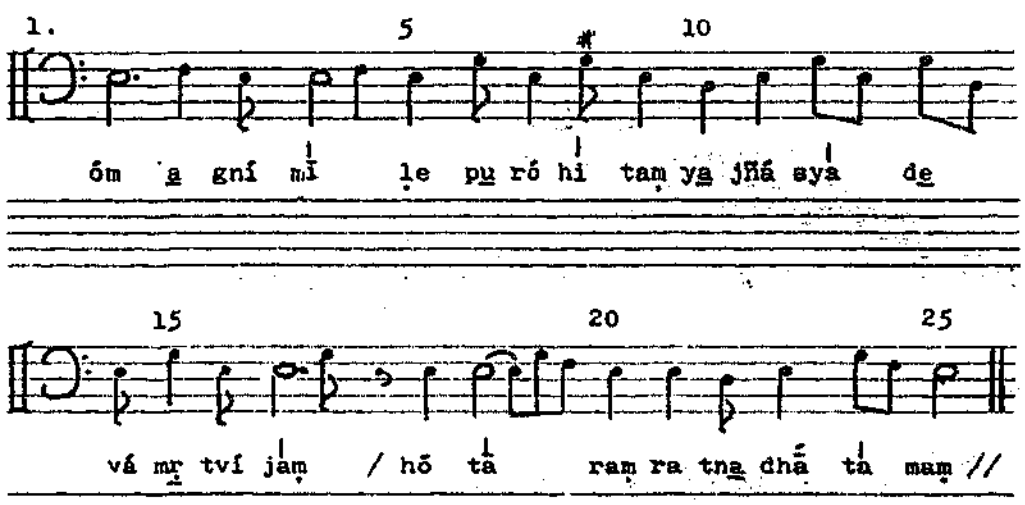


Fig. 3. A transcription of a Vedic hymn.

[5] For a comprehensive discussion about the tonal system of the *Sāmaveda* see *Sāmavedic Chant* (Howard 1977) and *The Four Vedas* (Staal 1968).

The holy text of the Zoroastrians, the *Avesta*, originally consisted of 21 books. Only one of these, the *Videvdat,* has survived completely. The *Avesta* is another source that reflects the attitude of the Āryans about the singing of sacred words. Though the *Avesta* has not yet been studied from the musical point of view,[6] it is highly probable that it was recited and chanted as a collection of hymns during religious ceremonies and rites. This possibility is evident in the word *Gāthās*, the name of the basic book of the *Avesta*, which is believed to have been composed by Zarathushtra himself. In almost all sources, a *gāthā* is identified as a song, chant, hymn, and psalm, and is similar in meaning to the word *gīta* in Sanskrit (Malandra 1983:16, Boyce 1992:37). The identification of the word *gāthā* by several scholars points to the very reasonable interpretation that the *gāthās* were recited and chanted.

> He [Zarathushtra] refers to himself as a *mathran*, 'one who composes or recites sacred utterances' (*mathra,* Ved. *mantra*). Some of the *mathras* that he produced, the *gāthās* or songs, display a traditional Indo-European style of sacred composition, the mastery of which required much training (Malandra 1983:17).

In the above statement Malandra, apart of indicating Zarathushtra's profession, suggests that the *gāthās* were recited or chanted. The second sentence of this citation, which may be interpreted to suggest an allusion to the literary style of the *gāthās*, as an Indo-European phenomenon, can be cited to support an hypothesis about the musical style of the *gāthās* as well.

This citation, together with the fact that the Āryans developed and shared a common culture, which is reflected in the linguistic, religious, and literary closeness of the *Avesta* and the *Rgveda* before the two separate migrations of the Āryans respectively into Iran and India, as well as the sound similarities found between the Zoroastrian and the Vedic hymns (Varadarajan 1963:50), enable one to suggest that the Zoroastrian priest chanters of the

[6] The study of the *Avesta* hymns, the *gāthās*, currently chanted by the Zoroastrian communities in India and Iran, might help to fill in this gap in the study of ancient Āryan musical culture.

gāthās and the other Avestan hymns were familiar with a common musical theory that was most probably very similar to the Vedic accentuated tonal system found in the *Rgveda,* 'the mastery of which required much training'.

Basham, in reporting about the love of the Āryans for music and musical activities, has noted references to dancing and dancing girls in Vedic sources and has generally identified their musical instruments as the lute, harp, flute, drums, and cymbals (1975:37). Deva identifies three groups of musical instruments used by the Āryans to accompany their songs; namely, chordophones, percussion instruments, and aerophones.

The first group consisted of the following stringed instruments: *vīnā, bana vīnā, karkarī, kāndavīnā, apaghatila* and *godha*. It is suggested that these instruments were harps or dulcimers (Deva 1978:19). The percussion instruments mentioned in Vedic literature cited by Deva are the *dundubhi*, the *bhūmi, adambara, lambara,* and *vanaspati* (1978:19-20). Flora, in tracing the history of the double-reed aerophones in India, identifies a few wind instruments used by the Āryans. Flora is of the opinion that the wind instruments of the Āryans, the *vāna, bakura, vānī, nādī,* and *tūnava*, probably included flutes, trumpet-type instruments, and possibly reed instruments as well (1983:22).

The music of Āryana after the arrival of the Greeks, *c.* 330-150 B.C.

The invasion of Āryana by the Greeks had important consequences for all aspects of Āryan culture, and music culture was not an exception. In northern Afghanistan—a region historically known as Bactria, which was an important area of Āryana, covering some districts of modern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and the northern part of modern Afghanistan between the Amu-darya (Oxus) and Hindu-Kush—ruins of a large Greco-Bactrian city known as Ai Khanum[7] have been discovered. Pichikian has reported that the ruins of this

[7] Ai Khanum is the Turkish name of a nearby village, signifying 'lady Moon'. The ancient name of this archaeological cite is unknown.

city, located near the meeting point of the Amu-darya (Oxus) and the Kokcha rivers, show every indication of a standard ancient Greek way of life, including a huge theatre with six thousand seats, in which spectators gathered during festivals, very probably from all over the province (1991:227).

Presumably, the city dates from the end of the fourth century to the first century B.C. The amphitheatre here suggests that the local inhabitants had an irrepressible taste for theatrical shows and presentations, such as classical Greek tragedies and the Menander comedies, which were supported by the Greek rulers (Pichikian 1991:228). This hypothesis might be supported further by the depiction of a scene from Euripides's ancient Greek tragedy, which adores a silver cup found in ancient Bactria.[8]

During the passage of time these tragedies and comedies probably were adapted into local tradition. In their local adaptation, the genres mentioned above very probably brought about new nuances of musical thinking, adding a previously unknown dramatic character derived from Greek culture to what may assumed to have been the dominant epic-hymnist style of the local Āryan music, connected as it was with the religious singing and rituals of the Āryans.

Archaeological findings also suggest a noticeable influence from Greek orgiastic Bacchic revels and erotic games, which are linked with the orgiastic cult of Dionysus and his companions, such as the Silenus Marsyas, and Cybele. A metal figurine found in Takhti Sangin, which dates from the first half of the second century B.C., depicts a naked, fat, bald, and bearded old man playing on a divergent double pipe, who is identified by Pichikian (1991:160-163) as Marsyas (Illus. 1), a Phrygian demon and master performer on the double pipes. A reproduction of this figurine from Pichikian (1991, Fig. 28) is depicted just below.

[8] For the illustration of this cup, which is in the possession of the Russian State Museum, the Hermitage, see *Iskustvo Baktrii Epokhi Kushan* (Pugachenkova 1979:118, Fig. 136).

In ancient Greek myths and legends, this companion of Dionysus is identified as a satyr who challenged Apollo, the god of music and art, to a musical contest, with the Muses as judges. Marsyas is attributed with the invention of the double pipes known in ancient Greece as the *aulos* (Kartomi 1990:113).[9] In ancient Greek society this type of instrument was associated with the cult of the god of passion and wine, Dionysus (Kartomi 1990:110-111). Margaret Kartomi has pointed to percussion instruments, such as the frame drum, cymbals and castanets, also being associated with the cult of Dionysus. Thus, the *aulos* and associated percussion instruments were seen as being distracting and exciting, and therefore not morally beneficial.

Illus.1. A statue of Marsyas the Silenus, with his double pipe, found in ancient Bactria.

This particular association of wind and percussion instruments to Dionysus and his satyrs is reflected in general terms in the contemporary attitude of some Afghans concerning a specific wind instrument and musical ensemble. Lorraine Sakata has reported that evil and disreputable tendencies are attributed to the performers of the *dohl* (a double-headed drum of various sizes) and the *sūrnā* or *sūrnāy* (a shawm), and to their instruments (1983:79).

[9] A legend telling the story of the invention of the double pipe and the musical contest between Marsyas and Apollo is retold by Carlos Parada (1997).

According to Sakata, these tendencies are supported and sustained by stories and notions of the evil and satanic origin of these two instruments, the *dohl* and *sūrnā*. It has been reported that the *sūrnā* is considered by some to be the 'penis of Satan', and that the first maker, performer, and teacher of this instrument was the Devil himself (Sakata 1983:79).

Though the inclinations noted just above are not direct references to Dionysus and his master pipe player Marsyas, the association of the *sūrnā* with Satan, and with minor devils, who might be equated in this instance with Dionysus and Marsyas, resembles the Hellenic association of pipes and percussion instruments to disreputable cults and their followers.

Some scholars are of the opinion that even today some elements of ancient Greek music are well preserved in Afghan folk music. Professor Pressl is of the opinion that 80 percent of Afghan folk music is based on Greek music.[10] Danielou, in also proposing such a connection between Afghan folk music and ancient Greek modes, tried to demonstrate vestiges of ancient Greek music in Afghan folk music through the comparison of scales of some instrumental as well as vocal pieces of Afghan folk music, which he recorded. In ten out of fifteen Afghan folk songs, he unearthed what he argued were ancient Greek modes.[11]

It is impossible to discuss Pressl's hypothesis here unless all his works on the music of Afghanistan are critically read and analysed, and that is outside the scope of this thesis. Such a research project calls for an extensive study in its own right. Zamani writes that Pressl is the author of a notated book on the folk music of Afghanistan, in three volumes (1996:59), about which, up to date, no further information has been located.

Concerning Danielou's study and his approach, one should not consider modes and scales as synonymous.[12] Secondly, even if the scales and modes of two regions resemble

[10] The Austrian musicologist and composer Professor Hermann Pressl, who researched and collected Afghan folk music for five years in Afghanistan, provided this point of view in an interview with A. G. Zamani, 'Musiqi-i Chand Sadai Dar Nuristan [Multi-phonic music of Nuristan]', in A. L. Pakdel, *Safinahe Musiqi* [*A Spaceship of Music*] (1996:59).
[11] For this discussion see *A Musical Anthology of the Orient: The Music of Afghanistan* (Danielou 1961).
[12] Lorraine Sakata, private communication, [redacted], 5 March 1998.

each other, however, this data alone does not mean that these two musical cultures are synonymous. Any comparison of modes and scales should be approached with great caution. Otherwise, such an approach leaves much room for misleading speculation, allowing one or others to find in a particular musical culture the vestiges of different musical cultures, depending on the ultimate aim of the researcher.

Analogies of the some scales or modes characterised by Danielou as ancient Greek modes may also be found in totally different tonal systems, such as in the Arabic system of *maqāmāt*, the Persian *dastgāhs*, and the Indian *rāgas*, depending on the interpretation of researchers and their goals. It is a very complicated task and almost impossible to demonstrate the influence of ancient Greek music in contemporary Afghan music and musical culture of the region or, vice versa. Nonetheless, some scholars of the region are of the opinion that it was the music of this region that strongly influenced Greek music, and not the reverse.[13]

The Kushans, Buddhism and music in Āryana, *c.* 50-250 A.D.

The next era in the history of Afghan music culture and art is linked with establishment of the Kushan dynasty that ruled there between the late 1st century and early 3rd century A.D. The Kushans ruled over a kingdom incorporating Northern India, certain regions of Central Asia, and lands corresponding to present Afghanistan and Pakistan. This dynasty is credited with the introduction of Buddhism from India into Afghanistan and Central Asia. At that time hundreds of Buddhist monasteries functioned in this region.[14] By the seventh century A.D., a majority of the population had been converted to the type of Buddhism associated

[13] Fraidun Janidi, in his *Zamina-i Shinākht Mūsiqi Irani* [Basis for the Study of Iranian Music], argues for this influence (1372/1993:48-83).

[14] The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan-tsang (635-640 A.D.) visited the area a few years before the Arabs arrived. On his route from the north to the south he counted more than 1220 Buddhist monasteries (Ghubar 1969:66).

with the *Mahāyāna* movement, known as the 'Great Vehicle', which began around 200 B.C. in India.

Owing to the absence of Buddhist music in Afghanistan today, as well as to the paucity of written sources, especially since Buddhism and all its appropriate institutions were effectively destroyed in Afghanistan and other countries of the region by the armay of the Arabs and Muslim local dynasties, it is a complex and a problematic task to speculate about Buddhist music in Afghanistan. However, on the basis of data in general concerning Buddhist music, one may say that with the adoption of Buddhism in ancient Afghan society, a vital role started to be given to the appropriate Buddhist musical forms of expression, particularly to those common to the *Mahāyāna* school, which gave enormous value to the use of musical activities as important means towards becoming enlightened.[15]

It may be suggested that in monastic ritual as well as in non-monastic life, the ritual and ceremonial forms of musical activities as practiced in Buddhist communities of the Indian sub-continent were among the Buddhist forms of musical practice in ancient Āryana, modern Afghanistan. These two streams of music in Buddhism, ritual and ceremonial, arose from two Buddhist groups, respectively the monks and the lay population. This latter and larger community of Buddhists followed some of Buddha's ideas and encouraged monasteries.

Ritual or monastic Buddhist music performed by monks included intoned choral recitation and choral chanting, primarily used as an educational tool, to aid in remembering and concentrating on the basic Buddhist teachings, and for singing the praises of Buddha, his teachings, and the Buddhist community. The monastic chant assemblies, or chanting to establish protective spells, is another genre of ritual Buddhist music to be used when needed. Musical offerings of dance, instrumental music, and songs performed by laymen at Buddhist

[15] All the information and data on Buddhist music presented here are based on Ellingson (1980:431-452) and Mabbett (1993/1994:9-28).

ceremonies included many types of music, Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist, in order to inspire people to take an interest in Buddhism.

The *Mahāyāna* movement and its positive attitude towards music considers that ceremonial music might be performed by laymen and monks for the good or happiness of others as well as of Buddha, the *Dharma* (Buddhist teaching), and the *Sangha* (the Buddhist community). This positive attitude of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism may have lead to the formation of early Buddhist theatrical music and the birth and development of a new chant style with extended melodic formulas, called *svarasvasti*. It has been argued by a well-known authority that *svarasvasti* became the stylistic ancestor of the Tibetan, Korean, and Japanese styles of *dbyangs*, *chissori*, and *shōmyō* respectively (Ellingson 1980:434).

Further light can be thrown on the music of Āryana during the Kushan era through archaeological data found in Bactria and Gandhāra, two very important ancient artistic and cultural regions, which together covered almost the entire territory of the Afghanistan today. It should be noted that Bactria also included some parts of modern Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, and Turkmanistan, while Gandhāra, in addition to a large portion of contemporary Afghanistan, also extended over a large region of the area known today as Pakistan. Thus, in order to support our working hypothesis, we refer occasionally to archaeological data discovered in neighbouring countries, which were part of historical Bactria and Gandhāra.[16]

The archaeology of music and the musical instruments of these two regions is a topic for a separate investigation. At the outset it is important to note that many of the archaeological monuments of Afghanistan, which have not yet been extensively studied by musicologists, music historians, and musical instrument historians, most probably were destroyed as a result of the cultural vandalism of the Tālibān, who believe that the destruction of sculptures and images is their Islamic duty.

[16] For the art and geography of Bactria see Pichikian (1991) and Pugachenkova (1979). For a discussion on the art of Gandhāra see Hallade (1968), Marshall (1980), and Zwalf (1996).

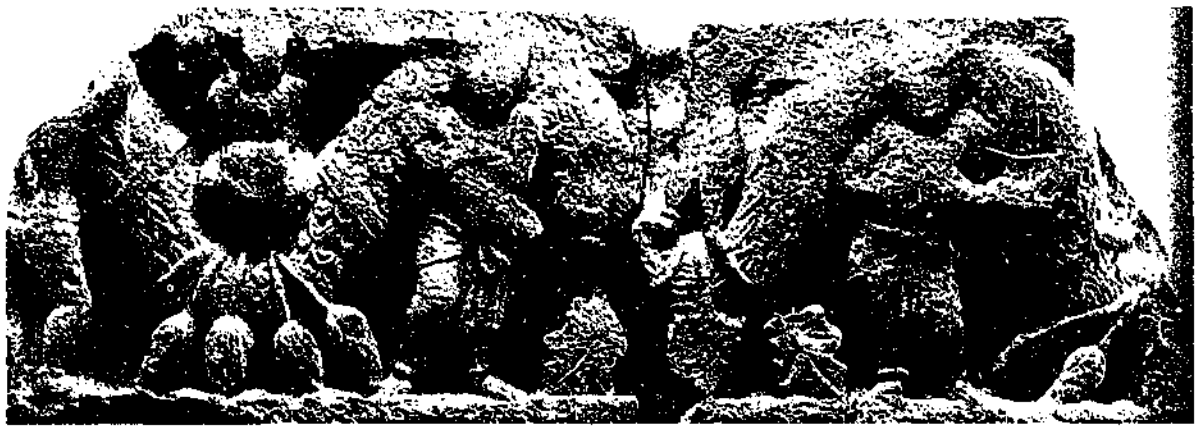
The small amount of archaeological data from Afghanistan is available in pictures from museums in different countries. The data demonstrate a colourful panorama of musical activities—including dancing, singing, and the playing of musical instruments. These data also make known the fact that dancing and singing, accompanied by different musical instruments, were important features of the social and religious life of the community.

This evidence suggests that the influence of ancient Greek theatre and Bacchic ceremonies and rituals, which were adapted into local culture, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, were continued in ancient Afghanistan and in the surrounding areas under the Kushan dynasty. For instance, among archaeological artefacts discovered in Begram, the summer capital of the Kushan rulers, some forty-five miles to the north of Kabul, which date about the first century A.D., were identified some personages and cult scenes of ancient Greece historically linked with Dionysus. These artefacts include a bronze mask of Silenus, a plaster relief of Aphrodite, and two plaster emblems depicting maenads.[17] To this list of four artefacts may be added a plaster disc found in Hadda depicting a satyr playing a double pipe. This last artefact will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

In addition to these five items of data, there are a number of archaeological findings depicting a composite scene of musicians, gift-bearers, and other personages in popular festive processions. Scenes of such revels representing elements of a theatrical show may be seen on the artefacts and the sculptural friezes of Gandhāra, several of which show a row of children or adults bearing a large garland being accompanied by musicians. Though this very large garland, especially in proportion to the human figure, may be an artistic convention and therefore not representative of reality, the music data is what concerns us here. Below are given fragments from a partly continuous frieze with an undulating garland and garland bearers (Illus. 2).

[17] These items are reported and reproduced in the *Art in Afghanistan: Objects from the Kabul Museum* (Rowland 1971), Illustrations 86, 94, 98, and 103.

There are four figures in this illustration, reproduced here from Zwalf (1997:234). Firstly, a standing garland bearer is playing a plucked lute and supporting the large garland over both shoulders. The second standing person is another member of this procession. He supports the garland over his right shoulder and plays a barrel-shaped drum with both hands, striking the drum's head at the top of the diagonally held instrument. The third man in the dip of the garland, is another drum player, to the left of whom a naked personage seen from the back is encircling the garland with the surviving hand. Another fragment of this frieze depicting two more participants of this procession is also available in Zwalf (1996:234, Fig. 421).



Illus. 2. A garland-bearing scene with musicians from Hadda, from the second century A.D.

A fragment of another frieze from Surkh Kotal in Baghlan in northern Afghanistan (Illus. 3), reproduced from Pugachenkova (1979:134), also depicting a garland-bearing ceremony accompanied by music and musicians similar to the one discussed just above, witnesses to the festivities and rituals that might have been adapted for the stage in Kushan areas. Figures of this frieze are a musician in the dip of the garland playing a horizontal arched harp. Next to him is a garland bearer supporting the garland on his left shoulder. The third figure is a musician apparently playing a panpipe. Nonetheless, it is unclear whether a professional theatre existed in Kushan Afghanistan and in other areas of the region that formed the Kushan Empire.

Illus. 3. A frieze from the second century A.D. from Surkh Kotal.

The archaeological findings of the region from the first century A.D. onward also would be of great importance and help for a detailed study of the history of the music instruments of the region. Such a study of the musical instruments common in Āryana during the Kushan era, their origin, construction, and modification, is not a matter of concern for this thesis. With respect to the more general survey or discussion here, they will only be classified more generally with respect to the impression one receives initially from their depiction in sculptures and in artefacts unearthed in Kushan sites in modern Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asian countries. From the archaeological data depicting musical scenes, it appears that in Kushan Afghanistan musicians played three groups of musical instruments: wind instruments, stringed instruments, and percussion. At least three types of wind instruments are known and depicted in Bactrian and Gandhāran artefacts.

Divergent end-blown double pipes, transverse flutes, and single end-blown pipes were in use in Kushan Afghanistan and in neighbouring countries. These three types of wind instruments, in addition to appearing as solo instruments, are also depicted as members of bigger ensembles. Illustration 4, reproduced from Jarrige and Pierre Cambon (2002:134, Fig. 65), found from an archaeological site in Hadda, depicts a divergent end-blown double-pipe player. Illustration 5, reproduced from Zwalf (1996:194, Fig. 331), which appears to be part

of a larger stair-riser, depicts the same instrument in an ensemble with a musician playing a double-headed drum, two singers or dancers (third and fourth persons from the right), and a panpipe player (the fifth man from the right). Beyond the panpipe player is a women embraced by a naked man.

Zwalf has suggested (1996:248) that illustration 5, which appears in Zwalf as relief 331, probably was connected with relief 330 in the same source, showing musicians, dancers, and drinkers. Given this suggestion, one may see the double pipe in an even bigger ensemble, one which also included two zither players, an end-blown pipe player, and two more drummers playing the same type of drum as depicted here in illustrations 5 and 6.[18] The double pipe as a member of an ensemble is also depicted in some artefacts from Bactria.[19]

The two other wind instruments named above as common wind instruments of the region during the reign of the Kushans—namely, the transverse flute and single end-blown pipe—are depicted in illustration 6, reproduced from Zwalf (1996:197, Fig. 339). On the far left of illustration 6, which according to Flora (1983:104) depicts prince Siddhārtha seated in the centre and several musicians, one may see a drummer playing a drum similar to that in illustration 5. The constant appearance of illustrations of this drum in archaeological findings from Gandhāra and Bactria, which resembles the contemporary small double-headed drum of Afghanistan, the *dohl*, suggests that it was a very popular instrument over a large area in this much earlier era.[20]

Next to the drummer is standing a transverse flute player followed by a plucked lute player. The fourth and fifth musicians play on a long end-blown instrument. The sixth

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[18] For the second part of illustration 5 see relief 330 in *A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum* (Zwalf 1996:195). A detailed description and discussion of Illus. 4, 5, and 6 of this thesis from a musical point of view is available in Flora (1983:62-68).

[19] In *Iskustvo Baktrii Epokhi Kushan*, Pugachenkova has called attention to the details of a single relief demonstrating four musicians playing on the harp, a double-headed drum, a waisted lute, and on a double divergent end-blown pipe (1979:132-133, 136). In this source the harpist is not reported. The harpist of this relief appears more fully in a reproduction of this relief in *Shedevri Srednei Azii* [Masterpieces of Central Asia] (Pugachenkova 1986:106).

[20] For the appearance of this instrument in Bactrian archaeological findings see Pugachenkova (1986:106).

member of this ensemble is playing a horizontal arched harp. The function of the two remaining personages of this scene is not clear. As Flora has suggested, they may be singing or dancing, or perhaps they are gift bearers (1983:111).

Concerning the stringed instruments of the region during the time under consideration, the archaeological monuments of Gandhāra, in a manner similar to the illustrations discussed just above (Illus. 2, 3, 5, and 6), suggest that plucked lutes of different sizes and shapes, and also harps and zither-type instruments, were widely used in Gandhāra and Bactria. Two of these stringed instruments—namely a horizontal arched harp and a plucked lute, as noted just above—are depicted in illustration 6. It is highly significant and very interesting to note that some plucked lutes of the Kushan time, especially as seen in illustration 6 and in some other sculptures of the second and the third century A.D., resemble the general shape and show some features of the contemporary Afghan *rabāb*.[21]

Illus. 4 A player of the end-blown divergent double pipes from a monastery in Hadda.

[21] The same plucked lute depicted illustration 6 from the British museum is also seen in plate III in the *Guide-Catalogue du Musee Guimet* by Hackin (1923). In the plate III of the latter source the lute is part of similar scene and ensemble as the one shown in illustration 6 depicting Siddhārtha (the fourth person seated between two dancers) with his musicians (a drummer, a transverse flute player, a lute player, and a harp player). In comparison to illustration 6 of this chapter, the ensemble depicted in Hackin's plate III lacks the two end-blown pipers.

These similarities are: (1) a pear-shaped and sometimes rather elongated resonator, (2) a barb-like waisted or indented shape just above in the middle of the resonator, and (3) extending from the resonator, a markedly wide neck that tapers to the top of the instrument. These three peculiarities of some lutes of Gandhāra, as noted by Curt Sachs (1940/42:160-161) and Marcel-Dubois (1941:87-88), which are seen in the illustration 6, most probably lead the Afghan historian Ghubar (1969:52), the linguist Rishtin (1338/1959:69), and the musician and music historian Shirzoy (1375/1996:54) to name this type of lute a *rabāb*. This ancient type of lute, noted here in the region from a very early data, may well be a prototype of the later Afghan *rabāb*, the history of which will be discussed briefly subsequently in this thesis.

Illus. 5. The divergent double pipe depicted in a musical ensemble from Jamālgarhī, Gandhāran.

Illus. 6. A Gandhāran ensemble consisting of six musicians.

Another stringed instrument often seen in the archaeological sculptures of Gandhāra and Bactria dating to the Kushan time, as we have noted earlier in this chapter, is the harp. This ancient instrument, the history of which may be traced back to the third millennium

B.C. in Mesopotamia, is represented in two forms; namely, an angular harp with a vertical resonator, and an arched or bow harp with a horizontal resonator. Whereas the first type is represented quite extensively in Central Asian archaeological sources found in ancient Bactria from the second century A.D. onwards, the horizontal arched harp is represented numerous times in archaeological findings in Gandhāra since the second century A.D.

Illustration 7, reproduced from Pugachenkova (1986:106), depicting a musician playing an angular harp, a musician playing a plucked lute, and a drummer, is early iconographic evidence for the use of the angular harp with a vertical resonator in Central Asia.[22] Illustration 8, which shows part of a piece of pierced ivory found in Begram, reproduced here from Rowland (1971:illus. 60), is early evidence for the horizontal arched harp south of the Hindu Kush.

Though the vertical angular harp is depicted in Gandhāran sculpture and several centuries later in the Mughal miniature painting of India, these representations, important though they may be, are actually quite rare in South Asian sources. Thus, it is not accidental that the vertical angular harp is associated generally with ancient Central Asian musical traditions, while the horizontal arched harp is associated with India in general, and with Gandhāra and its musical culture in particular (Vizgo 1987:60, Pal 1997:104, Rensch 1998:24). Therefore, the appearance of the vertical angular harp in Gandhāran artefacts and in Indian Mughal miniature paintings is considered to be an attribute of Central Asia and its music in Indian musical culture and life (Vizgo (1987:60, Pal 1997:104, Rensch 1998:24).[23]

It is interesting to note that the vertical angular harp, this pre-Islamic harp of Central Asia, which has been identified in later sources as the *chang*, as Vizgo has pointed out, preserved its importance in the musical life of Central Asia until the late Middle Ages. A

[22] Illustration 4 in Vizgo (1987:60) is additional early iconographic evidence for the use of the vertical angular harp in Central Asia.
[23] For an iconographic representation of the angular harp in Gandhāra and a discussion about its presence in the Indian sub-continent, see (Pal (1997:107, Fig. 50a).

detailed description of the vertical angular harp in the Middle Ages emerges in Dari/Persian literature, in iconographic sources, and more importantly in musical treatises.[24]

Concerning the fate of the horizontal ancient bow harp of Gandhāra, which apparently was a very popular instrument south of the Hindu Kush in pre-Islamic times, it has been reported that even today a descendent of this ancient musical instrument in its archaic form survived in eastern Afghanistan in the province of Nuristan, where it is called *waji*.[25] It is interesting to note that the *waji* survived in an area very closely located to ancient Gandhāra.

Illus. 7. Fragment of a second century A.D. Bactrian relief.

The presence of percussion instruments in Kushan Afghanistan may be seen in the iconographic illustrations of many occasions, leading one to think that they were important instruments in secular festivals, as well as in sacred rituals and ceremonies. In Gandhāran sculptures and reliefs, percussion instruments are represented in different forms and in various sizes: single-headed and double-headed barrel-shaped drums, known today as *dohl*s, the frame drum (the contemporary *dā'ira* or *daf*), and cymbals (modern *zang*s or *tāl*s). Illustrations 5, 6, and 7 of this chapter depict a double-headed barrel-shaped drum. The frame

[24] A detailed description and illustration of the vertical harp, the *chang*, is available in the *Kanz-ul-tuhaf*, a 14th century Dari/Persian musical treatise compiled by Hassan Kashani. This harp is also described in the *Sharh-i-Adwār*, by Abdul Qadir ibn Ghaibi al-Marāghi (d. 838/1459). For ten iconographic representations of the vertical harp in the late Middle Ages see paintings 27, 55, 63, 67, 70, 72, 73, 77, 80, 82 in Yusupov (1983).

[25] A detailed description of the *waji* is available in Alvad (1954:151-154), who was the first to report about this instrument. The *waji* is also described by Alastair Dick (1984:835) and Roslyn Rensch (1998:26).

drum is depicted also in many iconographic sources of the time, an example of which is given just below (Illus. 9), reproduced from Marshall (1980:Fig. 49).[26]

Illus. 8. An early representation of the arched harp from Begram, second century A.D.

The musical data represented and discussed above may be interpreted within a much broader context, especially as presented in the theory and argument put forward by Veksler (1968:6). This scholar has suggested that the unification of ancient Centra Asia (Bactria and Sogdiana) with Gandhāra under the Kushans led to the development of cities, and to the establishment of trade links between China, Persia, Rome and India, both of which strongly

[26] For the representation of cymbals in artefacts of Gandhāra, see Pal (1997:104, 107, Fig. 50b).

promoted the flourishing of various arts including music. These developments presumably resulted in an exchange of musical ideas between the north (Central Asia and West Asia) and the south (North Indian).

Illus. 9. Detail of a relief from Hadda depicting a musician playing a frame drum and another playing a plucked lute.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced the history of music in antiquity in the area known today as Afghanistan, and in a preliminary manner has established the role of music in the life of the people of this area at this early time. Furthermore, this brief investigation has attempted to understand what the music of the earlier times of this region may have been, by drawing on relatively recent studies of well-known ancient cultural traditions. These studies are of significant importance for the suggested reconstruction of musical practices in the earliest periods of Afghan music history.

The data discussed above suggest that when the early Āryans lived in the area known as Afghanistan—one of the early centres of the Āryans before their migration southward to

India and westward to Persia—they enjoyed and practiced the singing of scared words or the Āryan hymns, which became a cornerstone of both Indian and Iranian cultures, and a very important source for the musical culture of both civilisations.

Āryan religion and culture is reflected in the Vedic hymns, which are still recited in India today at weddings, funerals, and in the daily devotions of the *brāhman*. According to Basham, these hymns have survived to the present day in a form that has not been seriously tampered with for nearly three thousand years (1967:30). This survival of a very early scared practice suggests that the tradition of a highly developed system of accentuated recitation of the Vedic hymns, as reflected in the oldest *Veda*, the *Rgveda*, was also known and practiced in the area now under consideration, an ancient region of the Āryans, which is in Afghanistan today.

It also may be assumed that the ancient Āryans of Afghanistan, similar to their compatriots in India, loved music and played on stringed, wind and percussion instruments. Their love for music presumably was linked to the important and significant place of Vedic hymns in their social and religious life.

Furthermore, this chapter has examined the possibilities of the influence of ancient Greek musical traditions on the musical culture of ancient Āryana. A study of archaeological artefacts found in Greco-Bactrian cities of the area strongly suggests that some elements of ancient Greek music and musical culture made their way into the musical life of ancient Āryana after the establishment of a Greco-Bactrian kingdom in the region. These elements probably included the introduction of ancient Greek tragedies, the Menander comedies, and orgiastic Bacchic revels and erotic games linked with the cult of Dionysus, and the musical instruments associated with these revels and the god of passion and wine, Dionysus.

Moreover, it has been argued that while it is impossible to trace Hellenic elements in the contemporary music of Afghanistan, it has been suggested that some Hellenic thoughts

concerning the *aulos* and associated percussion instruments may still possibly be reflected in the attitude of some Afghans, who associate the *sūrnā* and the *dohl* and their players with Satan.

Additionally, this chapter has attempted to investigate the history of Afghan music within the context of the ancient Kushan Empire and the introduction of Buddhism into Āryana. The data examined in this regard suggest that singing and dancing, accompanied by a small and a relatively large ensemble of musicians respectively, were elements of the social and religious life of society and the courts of the Kushan rulers.

It has been suggested that the introduction of Buddhism, in which music was used as an educational tool to aid in remembering the basic Buddhist teachings, and for singing the praises of Buddha, his teachings, and the Buddhist community, strongly promoted the development of music in the area under consideration. Furthermore, it has been assumed that the unification of Bactria and Gandhāra under the Kushans resulted in an exchange of musical ideas and practices between Central and West Asia and North India.

These exchanges, which were linked to the movement of Greco-Bactrian cultural ideas and the way of life of this cultural tradition southward, and to the spread of Buddhism to the north, possibly led to the emergence of professional musicians from folk entertainers, the former of which became attached to the courts at the time. Furthermore, these cultural exchanges may well have promoted the improvement of the musical and professional skills of Buddhist priests, who had to perform together with highly skilled court musicians during religious festivities linked with the spread of Buddhism, with its complex musical and theatrical rituals.

The exchange of musical ideas between the north and the south, as the archaeological monuments of the Kushan era suggest, apparently brought about the formation of musical ensembles. These musical ensembles consisted, on the one hand, of musical instruments

originating in West and Central Asia—vertical harps, cymbals, double pipes, tambourine—and, on the other hand, those from South Asia—horizontal harps, the transverse flute, single and double-headed barrel-shaped drums, and short-necked plucked lutes of various sizes and shapes. Concerning the short-necked plucked lutes depicted in large numbers and various shapes in the iconographic sources from Gandhāra and Bactria, scholars are of the opinion that the presence of this instrument in Central Asia in the second century A.D., from where it further migrated eastward and westward, is linked to the Indian musical tradition (Malkeeva 1992:35).

The discussion in this chapter has suggested that the ancient people of Afghanistan, which was an early centre of the Āryans from an early era of its history, had a well-developed musical culture and played an important role in the development of the musical cultures in this area. This chapter has moreover indicated that the ancient people of the region came under the influence of two other music cultural traditions from outside, Greek culture from the west and Buddhism from India.

Though these influences came from outside, the local ancient recipient population of the area no doubt were also active participants in new musical and cultural developments of the ancient era, as discussed above. They participated in local musical and cultural changes and developments, and also in the formation, transition, and spread of other ancient musical and cultural traditions, which followed the arrival of Greek culture and the emergence of Buddhist musical traditions to a larger region, which included North India, Central and West Asia, and China.

Chapter 2

Music in Khurāsān

In the previous chapter this thesis has examined music in antiquity in the area known today as Afghanistan. This chapter will consider and attempt to reconstruct the area's music in the pre-Islamic era and the early Middle Ages. More precisely, this chapter will examine the history of the development of the art or professional music of the area, which is identified in local contemporary Afghan writings as *Musiqi Khurāsāni*, signifying 'Khurāsānian music' or the music of Khurāsān.

An issue of terminology: Khurāsānian or Persian?

The country known today as Afghanistan, a name that historically emerged after socio-political developments in the area in the second half of the eighteenth century, was called Khurāsān from the fifth until the 19th century. The term Khurāsān, meaning 'the eastern land' or 'the land of rising sun', initially was applied only to parts of the area under consideration, and later to the entire country (Ghubar 1967:9). Afghan historians, as well as foreign writers, have noted that until the last decade of the 19th century, the inhabitants of Afghanistan called their country by the name of Khurāsān.[1] It has been reported that even after the establishment of an Afghan kingdom, its founder Ahmad Shah (1747-1772) regarded himself as the king of Khurāsān (Mousavi 1997:2-3).

The name Afghanistan, signifying 'the place or land of the Afghans', referred originally only to the areas inhabited entirely or mostly by Afghans, a group of people known also as Pashtūn and Pathān. In its present context, the term Afghanistan, as the name of an

[1] Mousavi (1997:2-17) in his *The Hazaras of Afghanistan* has named several Afghan and foreign writers who have noted that Khurāsān was a name used by the inhabitants of Afghanistan for naming their country before the late 19th century. For a discussion about the historical names of Afghanistan see Ghubar's *Afghanistan dar Masir-i-Tarikh* [Afghanistan along the Highway of History] (1967:9, 309-310), and *Jughrafiae Tarikhi Afghanistan* [Historical Geography of Afghanistan] (1989:195). The names of Afghanistan are also discussed in Farhang's *Afghanistan dar Panch Qarne Akhir* [Afghanistan in the Last Five Centuries] (1992:vol 1; 24-25).

entire country composed of different ethnic groups, only one of whom are Afghans, was first used in an agreement between Iran and Great Britain in 1801.

The imposition of this new name, which deprives Afghanistan from its long historical past and its rich cultural heritage, a cultural heritage shared by many peoples of a large Dari/Persian speaking world, most probably is behind the unfortunate fact that, up to date, the role of Afghanistan and its peoples in the development of this cultural heritage, produced over centuries, has been ignored. This cultural legacy, in the formation and development of which many peoples of a large region participated, as Mousavi has pointed out (1997:5), is reflected in numerous Dari/Persian works from the region on history, philosophy, geography poetry, and also in treatises on music.

Thus, Farhadi in his chart, and other Afghan authorities in their writings, use the adjective 'Khurāsāni', or Khurāsānian, to reflect more properly the early historical and cultural situation of the region under consideration. The use of this term, which is regarded as making no reference to any particular group of people (Mousavi 1997:5) or their musical culture, is apparently employed by Farhadi, the author of a historical chart of Afghan musical development introduced in the first chapter of this thesis, and by Afghan art historians, and also by the musician and music historian Madadi (1983:2, 5, 1375/1996:93-106), to refer to the type and style of the art music of a distinct and identifiable musical cultural heritage described in Dari/Persian historical writings, in poetic collections in Dari/Persian, and in Dari/Persian musical treatises.

The two contemporary Afghan authors noted just above, Farhadi and Madadi, while using the word Khurāsānian music to identify a particular type or style of music, are not specific about the origin, type and theoretical basis of this music. Because of this vagueness, the author of this thesis contacted Dr Rawan-e Farhadi and Abdul Wahab Madadi in order to

find out their position in this regard.[2] Farhadi, during a private communication (2004), made it clear that he uses the term Khurāsāni strictly for identifying the art or classical music of the region, rather than the folk or the ethnic musics of different inhabitants of the area. Nonetheless, he noted that the term Khurāsāni might be used for identifying the musical culture that developed in the four main districts of historical Khurāsān, the cities of Nishapur, Merv, Herat, and Balkh.

Furthermore, Farhadi has indicated specifically that the word Khurāsāni cannot be used for describing the musical culture of the peoples of eastern and south-eastern Afghanistan, who historically in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times have been under the influence of South Asian cultural traditions. Nonetheless, he did not rule out the possibility of the penetration of some aspects of Khurāsānian musical tradition and thought into the musical culture of eastern Afghanistan, after the peoples of the area were converted to Islam and started to share certain Islamic cultural values with other peoples of the lands of the eastern caliphate known as Khurāsān.[3]

Madadi, similar to Farhadi, is of the opinion that the term Khurāsāni, while it primarily should be employed to define the art music of the area, might be used also for the description of a musical culture in more general terms, which developed in the historical region of Khurāsān, which included the western and north-western provinces of modern Afghanistan (private communication 2004).

During our private communications, in answering a question about the origin and style of Khurāsānian music in the pre-Islamic era of Afghan history, Madadi described it as the

[2] The contacts with Dr Rawan-e Farhadi and Abdul Wahab Madadi for some explanation and clarification about Khurāsānian music were made by telephone in April and May 2004.

[3] G. Le Strange in *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, in describing the boundaries of Khurāsān, has reported that in the earlier Middle Ages the name Khurāsān was applied so as to include all the Muslim provinces east of the Great Desert, as far as the frontier of the Indian mountains ([1905]1966:382).

music played and systematised by Barbad (*c*.585-628), an inhabitant of Khūrāsān (2004).[4] The Khurāsāni origin of Barbad, a legendary court musician of the Sassanian King Khusrau Parwiz (reigned 950-628), is also suggested by the Soviet scholars Vinogradov (1982:26) and Veksler (1968:9), when they name the city of Merv, one of the four main districts of historical Khurāsān, as the birthplace and residence of this musician before his arrival at the court of Khusrau Parwiz.

Moreover, Farhadi and Madadi, when speaking about the music of Afghanistan in the early and late Middle Ages, refer to the music played at the courts of the various rulers of the area, which has been reported in Dari/Persian historical sources, in different Dari/Persian poetic collections of court poets, and in musical treatises in Dari/Persian, as noted earlier. These two authorities identified the court music of the Ghaznavid and the Timurid dynasties, for instance, as Khurāsānian. In Western scholarship, by comparison, the music and other cultural attributes of these two Turkic dynasties of Central Asia, who ruled Afghanistan in the Middle Ages, is generally identified as Persian, perhaps because Dari/Persian was both the common and the court language of a large region at that time.

Dr Asadullah Shu'ūr, who has done a great amount of work on folklore, has recently joined the community of Afghan intellectuals interested in musical studies. He has already published a few works about music, which demonstrate his deep and serious interest in the study of the music cultures of a wide region, which includes North India and the historical region of Khurāsān. Shu'ūr, similar to Farhadi and Madadi, in his working paper in progress, which is currently being serialised in the Afghan paper *Andisha-e-nau* [New Thoughts] published by the Cultural Assembly of Afghans in Canada, uses the word Khurāsāni for the description of the musical heritage of Afghanistan in the Middle Ages. Unlike Farhadi and Madadi, however, he is very specific. Shu'ūr exclusively uses the word Khurāsāni for

[4] This hypothesis about the origin and type of Khurāsānian music expressed by Madadi is also given in his *Sarguzasht Musiqi Mu'āsir Afghanistan* [The Story of Contemporary Music of Afghanistan] (1375/1996:93).

describing and identifying the art or classical music of Afghanistan, and its complex system of melodic modes, in the pre-Islamic era and in the Middle Ages.

His current working paper concentrates on the study of a specific musical-poetic genre of Central Asia, the *kulyāt*. His paper is based on the study of a large number of Dari/Persian musical treatises, which are introduced and considered by Shu'ūr as sources dealing with the theoretical and practical aspects of Khurāsāni music (2003-2004), a musical culture that is widely known in Western scholarship as Persian or Iranian music, as noted just above.

The treatises used by Shu'ūr as sources for his study and reconstruction of Khurāsāni music include the works of Ibn-Sina, also known as Avicenna (980-1037), Manuchari Damaghani (d. *c.* 1044), Kai Ka'us ibn Iskandar (treatise written *c.* 1082), Mohammad Nishapuri (second half of the 12th century), Hassan Kashani, (treatise written *ca* 741-764/1337-1360), Al-Marāghi, (1365-1434), Nuruddin Abd al-Rahmān Jami (1414-1498), Bana'i, (888/1484), Najmuddin Kawkabi (15th century), Darwesh Ali Changi's (17th century), and finally the treatise *Zamzamah Wahdat* [A Melody of Unity] by Mirza-beg Ibn Said Ali (17th century).

It is important to note that in Soviet and Iranian scholarship these materials are respectively considered as sources discussing the modal system of the Central Asian countries Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, and Iran.[5] It also should be pointed out that most of the sources named just above are also discussed and described in the works of some Western scholars as sources dealing with the traditional music of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in the

[5] For the works of Soviet scholars see *Sredneaziyatskii Traktat po Muzike Derwisha Ali* (Semënov 1946), *Abdurakhman Dzami: Traktat o Muzike* (Beliaev 1960), 'Nadzhmiddin Kavhabi Bukhori' (Rashidova 1972:365-375), 'Uchenii-Muzikant, Poet i Istorik Darvish Ali Ckangi' (Rashidova 1992:51-68), and 'From Parda to Maqām' (Dzhumajev 1992:145-161). For the works of Iranian academics see the introductions written by Taghi Binesh to Al-Marāghi's *Sharh-i- Adwār* (1370/1991:1-44), and to *Sih Risāla-e Farsi dar Mūsiqi* (1371/1992:3-13, 31-40, 55-71), and the preface written by Nasratullah Pur Jawadi to Bana'i's *Risāla-e dar Mūsiqi*. Other Iranian sources include Janidi's *Zamina-i Shinākht Mūsiqi Irani* (1372/1993:137-184) and Sidiq's *Āshinā-e bā Risālat Mūsiqi* (1379/2000).

Middle Ages,[6] while in most Western academic works the music and the scales and modes, and the metric systems described in these and other sources, are identified as Persian or Islamic.[7]

Additionally, at this point is relevant to state that most of the data noted just above were written in the cities of historical Khurāsān by authors who hailed from the same region. They shared the same cultural and musical values, in the development of which a significant role was played not only by the people of ancient Iran, but also by other peoples of a larger Persian-speaking area of Central Asia. Thus, it is not accidental that these works, similar to the cultural legacy of many other celebrated cultural figures, who include musicians as well as poets and philosophers of the Dari/Persian speaking world and the Islamic world, are simultaneously claimed by several countries today according to the respective birthplace and place of residence of the authors, or according to the language of their works.

From the above discussion it appears that contemporary Afghan scholars and intellectuals use the term Khurāsānian music as an equivalent of the concept of ancient Persian or Iranian classical music used in the West. In Central Asia this musical practice is identified as their own. In the writings of contemporary Afghan authors the reasons behind the replacement of the adjectives Persian or Iranian by Khurāsānian are not discussed. Nonetheless, one may assume that there are several motives.

Firstly, the word Khurāsāni or Khurāsānian, which is derived from the word Khurāsān, the name of the area under consideration for several centuries, is employed to provide a more accurate reflection of the historical and cultural aspects of an art music that dominated the

[6] For a thorough discussion of the materials and treatises noted above as sources for the study of traditional music of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan see *Quellen der traditionellen Kunstmusik der Usbeken und Tadshiken Mittelasiens: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung des šašmaqām* (Jung 1989).

[7] For discussion on the origin and formation of Persian music, Arabic, and the pan-Islamic music traditions, see the reprint of writings by Henry George Farmer, *The Science of Music in Islam* (Farmer [1925-1969]1997) and *Music in the World of Islam: A Socio-cultural study* (Shiloah 1995).

traditional or classical music of a region larger than contemporary Afghanistan.[8] Secondly, the term Khurāsāni is regarded as making no reference to any particular ethnic group now living in modern Afghanistan and their musical culture. Thirdly, the adjective Khurāsāni apparently is also used to avoid an unquestioning and an uncritical acknowledgement of any view or opinion that may wish to demonstrate a hypothetical superiority for neighbouring musical cultures in the development of the traditional music of Afghanistan prior to the arrival of Hindustani music in Afghanistan in the late 18th century.

Additionally, in modern Afghanistan, the adjective Khurāsāni is used in written texts and in conversation among scholars of cultural history for two purposes. Firstly, it is used to demonstrate the musical independence and the musical identity of the Khurāsān region in the pre-Islamic era and in the Islamic Middle Ages. Secondly, the adjective Khurāsāni is also used to demonstrate the importance of this region and its musical culture in the subsequent development of the musical cultures of Persia, Central Asia, and also in the pan-Islamic musical system.

Furthermore, by the use of the word Khurāsāni, Afghan scholars and intellectuals attempt to note the contribution and role played by the musicians and scholars of this historical and cultural region in the spreading of musical traditions from there southward into the Indian subcontinent, and in the development and crystallisation of North Indian musical culture. Thus, it is not accidental that in Afghan sources the music that developed north-west of India within a large cultural region in the pre-Islamic and Islamic eras, in parallel with North Indian classical music, is identified as Mūsiqi Khurāsāni.

The expansion of Khurāsānian music into India, as Farhadi has noted in his historical chart of music development in Afghanistan (Fig. 2), is linked with the name of a few dynasties in the Middle Ages that ruled the area known today as Afghanistan. These

[8] Mousavi has noted that while the geographic boundaries of Khurāsān changed frequently, at any one time it was a larger country than Afghanistan is today (1997:2).

dynasties have included the Ghaznavid (999-1186), Ghorid (1150-1217), Timurid, and Mughal dynasties. Nonetheless, the music performed at the court of these dynasties, regardless of the ethnic origin of the court, was from the Khurāsānian tradition, which is somewhat misleadingly identified in Western scholarship, in the opinion of this author, as Persian.

The discussion above strongly suggests and indicates that for several centuries the peoples of a vast area of Central Asia, modern Afghanistan, and Iran, in addition to speaking in one common tongue, also shared a common language in their art or classical music. Weather we call this type of music Khurāsānian, ancient Persian, or something else, it does not change this historical fact. Additionally, it does not de, ive any people of this vast region from their historical right to claim ownership of, or at least to claim a partnership in, this clearly identifiable musical heritage, which over time has been absorbed in the West under the concept of Persian music.

This argument is not put forward to justify the nationalistic claims of one contemporary country or another. Rather, it is to remind us that by a narrow separate study today of cultural phenomena of the past, and by the consideration of earlier important cultural figures only according to the relatively recently-established modern boundaries, we will very probably reach only a deadlock in our investigations and research, instead of arriving at plausible scientific conclusions and a clear understanding of the essence of the music shared by the peoples of this ancient region.

Though the use of the adjective Khurāsāniān might satisfy the local patriotic feelings of the peoples of modern Afghanistan, which is derived in part from a suspicion concerning those words and terms which might indicate the submission of their culture in general and their music culture in particular to the domination of the music culture of their neighbours, in international musicological scholarship it could lead to some confusion. This confusion may

be avoided when the adjective Khurāsāniān is explained as above, and also when it is realised that this adjective is used to describe at least an early version of the music culture that is known today outside Afghanistan as Persian music. If, on the other hand, one wishes to argue that Khurāsāniān music is something completely different from the ancient Persian musical tradition, *i.e.* something totally independent, which will also avoid confusion and misunderstanding, such a viewpoint will need to be proven by data and argument. Such an argument cannot be supported by the research reported in this thesis.

Actually, one may choose to use the internationally accepted adjective Persian instead of the locally defined adjective Khurāsāniān to refer to the art music of Afghanistan in the pre-Islamic era and in the Middle Ages. However, as Dzhumajev has suggested, it is necessary to extend the meaning of the word 'Persian' (1992:145-146). It should be understood to comprise that vast area in which the numerous Persian-speaking ethnic groups and their local cultures were spread in ancient times, in the pre-Islamic era, and in the early Middle Ages. It should include not only the territory of the contemporary Iran itself, but also several historical cultural regions of Central Asia, including Bactria, Takharistan, Transoxania, and historical Khu. isān (Dzhumajev 1992:145-146).

Nonetheless, even given Dzhumajev's scholarly breakthrough in understanding the history of the music of the region, the adjective 'Persian' still remains problematic, especially because it is a word that denotes a language, or variations thereof, spoken over a vast region. It is used to identify the art musical practices of this entire vast region. Theoretically, it assumes that a one-to-one correspondence exists between language and musical style. Such an understanding confuses and clouds the issue of the importance of different regional musical traditions existing within the Dari/Persian speaking areas of Iran, Afghanistan, and different Central Asian regions. It also neglects the role played in the development of this music by any of the regional musical traditions of this vast area.

Given the above discussion, the adjective Khurāsānian will be used in this thesis for describing the art or professional music of Afghanistan and its complex modal system in the pre-Islamic era and subsequently in the Middle Ages. Nonetheless, having made such a decision, one may argue that the adjectives Persian and Khurāsānian may be used interchangeably to refer to this early music tradition. However, the latter term is considered to be more appropriate for the reasons discussed earlier in this chapter, and for two additional reasons.

Firstly, the adjective Khurāsānian more accurately reflects an historical region and cultural tradition, while the term Persian is used today primarily to identify a somewhat different recent musical tradition, with a distinct international recognition, based on the concept of *dastgah* and its associated music theory. Secondly, the adjective Khurāsānian is a natural term making no reference to any particular country or people of a large region, while it reflects a current local view and more properly echoes the early history and cultural situation of Afghanistan and significant areas of Iran, and Central Asia. At the same time the use of this adjective acknowledges the contribution of many peoples and nations in the development of this music tradition and gives credit to each of them.

Pre-Islamic music in Khurāsān

Considering the above discussion, it is now relevant to trace the development of pre-Islamic Khurāsānian music briefly here. It has already been noted in this chapter that Afghan intellectuals when speaking about the art or professional music of Khurāsān in the pre-Islamic era, link it with the name, artistic activities, and musical heritage of Barbad (*c.*585-628), a Khurāsāni musician of the Sassanian King Khusrau Parwiz. This pre-Islamic musician is acknowledged simultaneously by scholars in Iran, Afghanistan, and a few contemporary countries of Central Asia as the founder of the art or professional music of

these contemporary countries. Such a consideration within the context of discourse about the art or professional music of a vast Dari/Persian speaking region east of Persia seems reasonable. Consequently, it is noteworthy and highly significant that in 1990 a Central Asian country hosted an international symposium to discuss the historical importance and the place of this legendary musician in the history of the professional and traditional music of Central Asian nations.[9]

Ancient Khurāsāniān music is based on the principle of seven *khsrovani* or Seven Royal Scales, thirty *lahan*, and three hundred and sixty *dastān*. In spite of the absence of documentary evidence and explanations, which would allow us to describe the structure and theory on which the above mentioned system was based, it is thought that the seven *khsrovani* were basic scales, the thirty *lahan*s modes, and the three hundred and sixty *dastān* melodies (Farhat 1990:3). Additionally, Farhat believes that the numbers correspond respectively to the number of days in a week, in a month and in a year of the Sassanian calendar (Farhat 1990:3), though he notes that the nature and calendrical application of these modes and melodies are not known (Farhat 2001:530).

Whatever Barbad's contribution was, and how it was classified into three groups, is unknown. However, its division into three groups, as well as the increasing number of the entities in each division, leads one to the reasonable speculation that, similar to the three-part classification of *grāmas*, *jātis*, and *mūrchhanās* in an earlier Indian music theory as recorded in the *Nātyaśāstra*,[10] Barbad's creation was based on a similar theory which consisted of seven principle scales, their derivative thirty modes and three hundred and sixty melodies.

[9] From the 23rd to the 29th of April 1990, Tajikistan hosted an international symposium dedicated to the 1400th anniversary of Barbad and his historical importance and role in the formation and development of the traditional music of Central Asian peoples. For the abstract of papers presented at this symposium see *Borbad* [sic] *and Culture Traditions of Central Asiatic Peoples: the History and the Present* (Radzhabov 1990).

[10] This theoretical system is presented in the *Nātyaśāstra*, an early Indian treatise on music and drama variously dated from the second century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. (Jairazbhoy 1975:216). For a description of this early Indian system see Jairazbhoy's 'Music' (1975:216-218).

One should not ignore, however, that the numbers presented in the second and third sections of Barbad's system differ sharply from those presented in the *Nātyaśāstra*.

Vinogradov even does not rule out the possibility of Barbad being familiar with Indian music, and Barbad then could have used its principles to systematise his own scale system (1982:30). This possibility seems quite reasonable if one takes into account the intensive links that exited between India, and the Dari/Persian speaking world during the reign of the Kushans, as well as the presence of a huge number of Indian musicians, singers and dancers in the Sassanian courts, particularly at the court of Bahram Gur (420-475), who is said to have recruited thousands of musicians and courtesans from India (Janidi 1372/1993:121, Lawergren 2001:528).

The quantitative increase in the second and third divisions of Barbad's system of basic scales, modes and melodies may well have been linked to a process of Barbad working out in detail epic features, lyric aspects and scenes from nature, the embodiment in music of which was Barbad's contribution. Without noting the name of specific modes or melodies, Farhat names some of these feelings and landscapes (1990:3).[11] However, this lacuna, which to date remains open for reasonable speculation and discussion, may be filled very soon with more substantial knowledge derived from an intensive study of the documentary sources on the music of the Sassanian era, which up to now have not yet been investigated.[12]

Music in Khurāsān after the arrival of Islam

Though reliable data is not available on the music of Khurāsān and its place in the life of society immediately after the introduction of Islam by the Arab invaders, many Afghan art and music historians are of the opinion that through a restriction on music imposed by the

[11] For a complete list of the thirty modes (*lahans*) of Barbad see *Kuliyat Khamsa* (Ganjavi 1351/1972:244-247).
[12] Askarali Rajabov gives a list of written sources on the music of the region during the reign of the Sassanids. He is of the opinion that these sources provide invaluable information about the theory of music, musical practice, genres, musical instruments and their origin, and the aesthetic rules and other rules about the ethics of music, and that a careful study of these data may fill in the very space that remains open (1987:236-240).

Arabs, the region was deprived of its scared music as well as of its art music, the latter of which previously had been presented at the courts of local rulers. By comparison, the folk songs seem to have survived in spite of all types of repression and pressure (Madadi 1983:2, Nair Herawi 1984:36). Madadi, describing the state of art music in the area after the invasion of the Arabs, goes as far as claiming that the art or professional music of Khurāsān under the influence of the Arabic music, the latter of which had a 'primitive' character, started to become 'curdled' or coagulated, and eventually became totally 'emasculated' (1983:2).

Concerning scared music of the region at this time, there is no doubt that by the elimination of Zoroastrianism and Buddhism, the two major religions practiced in Afghanistan before the arrival of Islam, and by the destruction of their temples, the people of ancient Afghanistan lost many genres of their musical practice, connected mainly with the religious rituals and ceremonies of Zoroastrianism and Buddhism. Nonetheless, some of these genres might have been adapted into Islamic traditions.

As an example, one may note some similarities between the monotonous collective repetition of certain vocalised formulae, notably the name of God, which marks the collective remembrance of God during an Islamic mystic ritual called *zikr*,[13] and the incessant repetition of chanted *mantras* (evocative syllables and syllabic sequences) of a Buddhist ritual.[14] One may even suggest that the entire elaborate mystic doctrine of Muslim mystic orders, the members of which consider music and dance as essential parts of their complex rituals in attaining ecstasy or the state that would enable them to unite with God, or enter into closer relationship with God, might be traced back to the pre-Islamic traditions and religious rituals of Buddhism in general.

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[13] For a description of *zikr* and other Islamic religious music and rituals, and of Sufi doctrine about music, see *Music in the World of Islam: A Socio-cultural study* (Shiloah 1995:31-44, 93) and 'Islamic Religious Music' (Neubauer and Doubleday 200:599-608)

[14] For a comprehensive description of Buddist music and its musical rituals see 'Ancient Indian Drum Syllables and Bu Ston's Sham Pa Ta Ritual' (Ellingson 1980:431-449) and 'Buddhism and Music' (Mabbett 1993/1994:9-28).

Recent studies of Buddhism have demonstrated that the offering of music and dance in worship were important parts of this ancient religion and its associated rituals, in which music was used for several purposes. One of these purposes included an evocative role for the repetition of sacred names, words or syllables, which were 'pronounced to evoke an extraordinary state of conscious receptiveness to the generation of divine qualities' (Ellingson 1980:437). In Islamic mysticism or Sufi rituals, music and dance, in a manner that is similar to some Buddhist rituals, is used to generate religious ecstasy (*wajd*), a state that allows 'the soul's ascent from its earthly existence to its divine home' (Shiloah 1995:40).

Concerning the art music of the region, Madadi's strong suggestion, in light of recent studies of the history of music in Arabia, seems problematic and needs to be re-evaluated. Madadi, in characterising the music of the Arabs on the eve and after the arrival of their armies in Khurāsān as 'primitive', appears to reflect opinion and data in early Islamic sources. Shiloah has reported that the earliest attempts to describe the past musical events in Arabia were made in the ninth century, when musical activities were in their height and had gained wide acceptance among rulers and intellectuals. It was then that much of the urbanised Islamic elite tended to consider pre-Islamic Arabic music as inferior and 'primitive', a view that to a large extent corresponded with the Muslim hagiographic image of the pre-Islamic age in Arabia as backward and barbaric, an era known in Islam as *jāhiliyah* (Shiloah 1995:2).

However, as Farmer ([1957]1997:vol 1; 152), and Shiloah (1995:1) have noted, Arabia was not, as once thought, a land of nomads and barbarism. In that region an Arabian civilisation of high achievements flourished, which included the artistic expression of poetry and music. The *jāhiliyah* period saw the flourishing of highly sophisticated poetry, which was considered to be the epitome of artistic achievement, the measure of Arab learning, and the perfect expression of Arab wisdom (Shiloah 1995:3). This traditional poetry served as a source for musical life during the later period of the pre-Islamic Arabia (Touma 1996:1), and

it also served as a point of departure in the development of music before and after the advent of Islam (Shiloah 1995:3).

From sources about the history of music in Arabia, it appears that the musical life of the Arabs in pre-Islamic Arabia was defined by the *qiyān*, a class of singing girls and performers on a lute called variously *mizhar*, *kirāna*, and *muwattar*. Touma has reported that this class of urban entertainers cultivated a virtuous and extraordinary style of singing, which fell into two categories, *sinād* and *hazaj*, according to the content and poetic forms of its poetry (1996:2-3).[15]

Furthermore, it has been reported that contact between the music of Arabia and its major neighbours was established in the pre-Islamic era via the vassal Arab kingdoms of the Lakhmides and the Ghassanides (Shiloah 1995:6-7). It was through al-Hira, an important pre-Islamic centre of Arabian culture, that the music and musical practices of the Darī/Persian speaking peoples of a vast region to the east filtered into Arab lands (Farmer [1957] 1997:vol. 1; 426). In al-Hira, the capital of the Lakhmides, the music of the Arabs flourished under the direct impact of the highly refined and strictly organised art music of the Sassanians (Shiloah 1995:7); *i.e.*, the art music of Khurāsān.

This music, and the music that later developed within the vast Khurāsānian and Central Asian region, which over time has been understood in Western scholarship under the concept of ancient Persian music as noted earlier, continued to contribute significantly in the development of the music culture of Arabs after the expansion of the Islamic empire eastward to Khurāsān and Central Asia. It is important to note that the Arabs, during the early ears of Islam, were prepared to accept the varying musical styles of their subject peoples and lands, and did not to try to eliminate varying musical styles or make them conform to their own musical traditions. This conclusion, made by Shiloah (1976:161), strongly suggests that no

[15] For a detailed description of the *qiyān*, their duties, and their singing and performing skills, see *The Music of the Arabs* (Touma 1996:2-4).

attempts at repression were made by the Arabs after their march into Afghanistan and other neighbouring countries, which could have lead to a 'curdling' and 'emasculation' of the art music of this vast region.

To continue the argument in support of this view, the presence of a large number of musicians from the eastern lands of the caliphate in the early years of Islam in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and latter in Damascus, the capital of the Umayyad dynasty (661-750), and in Baghdad, the capital of the Abbāsid dynasty (750-1258), indicates the healthy state of music in the conquered eastern lands of the Islamic empire, *i.e.* in Khurāsān. These musicians, who most probably came from different regions of the Dari/Persian speaking world, rather than from a single geographical area, are generally identified in Western scholarship as Persian. This adjective is also used for the definition of the music practiced by so-called 'Persian' musicians.[16]

In support to this argument about the use of 'Persian' in Western scholarship and its link to Khurāsān, one can cite the data of a recent scholar, who in discussing music development in early Islam in Arabia has stated that 'another testimony [about the use of eastern musicians and dancers in Arabia] refers to the Umayyad caliph al-Walid who wrote to the governor of Khorasan [*sic*] (Persia) asking him to send a group of female dancers to Damascus' (Shiloah 1995:8). The use of 'Khorasan (Persia)' suggests that although Shiloah considers the ancient name to be more appropriate in this context, many readers will not recognise what it means. Thus, the more commonly known concept 'Persia' is added parenthetically to facilitate comprehension and understanding.

[16] For a comprehensive discussion about the presence of so-called Persian musicians and their music in Arabia in the early years of Islam and in the Islamic Middle Ages see *The Science of Music in Islam* (Farmer [1925-1969]1997), 'The Dimension of Sound' (Shiloah 1976:161-180), *Music in the World of Islam: a Socio-cultural Study* (Shiloah 1995), and *The Music of the Arabs* (Touma 1996). General information presented in this chapter about the state of music in Arabia in the pre-Islamic era and after the establishment of Islam there is based on these works.

Additionally, the history of music in Arabia demonstrates that the music culture of the eastern lands, after the arrival of the Arab armies and their military campaigns, did not 'curdle' or became 'emasculated' under the 'primitive' music of the Arabs. In marked contrast, it was very alive and a very important element in the development of music in the Arab and Islamic worlds, and a significant factor in the formation of a pan-Islamic classical musical tradition. Further, the history of the modal music of the vast Dari/Persian speaking world suggests that it was the pre-Islamic music of this region that served as basis for the formation and development of modal music in the eastern lands of the Islamic empire soon after the establishment of Islam in Khurāsān.

It has been reported that simultaneously with the formation of a pan-Islamic modal system, a specific modal system, with its own scientific theory, existed and had been developed in Khurāsān and Transoxania from the 8th to the 13th centuries, which, by the end of the 12th and first half of the 13th century, had already functioned within the framework of pan-Islamic artistic values. Thus, its local Khurāsāniān[17] ethno-cultural orientation had been absorbed and adjusted to the poly-ethnic composition of the Islamic world and towns (Dzhumajev 1992:151-152). This regional system, identified as the *parda* system of Khurāsān and Transoxania, was closely associated with the ancient modal system of Khurāsān, and was formed on the basis of the transformation of this ancient modal system.[18]

Additionally, the history of music in the Islamic empire clearly indicates that in spite of frequent campaigns against music by the theologians and orthodox clergy, and regardless of the official position of theologians and statesmen during various periods following the emergence of Islam, music and songs were cultivated without interruption in the Islamic empire. It is known that soon after the establishment of Islam and its rapid conquests, the two

[17] Even though Dzhumajev uses the word Persian, the adjective Khurāsāniān is used here in light of the earlier argument and point of view presented in this chapter.
[18] For a comprehensive discussion about the existence of a regional modal system in Khūrāsān and Transoxania see 'From *parda* to *maqām*: a problem of the origin of the regional system' (Dzhumajev 1992:145-146).

holy cities of Mecca and Medina began to develop into important centres of rich musical life, particularly during the rule of the last two orthodox caliphs, Uthmān and Ali (Shiloah 1976:171, Touma 1996:5).

Remarkable was the number of female and male musicians in these two cities named just above, during the rule of the first four caliphs (632-661). Musicians were welcomed in the houses of rich and noble men. It was often possible for the most pious among the faithful Muslims to live peacefully alongside the most high-spirited of the musicians and singers, as they did, for example in Medina and Mecca during the reign of the third Caliph Uthmān (Touma 1996:5).

The first dynastic caliphate, the Umayyad dynasty, which was eventually overthrown by the Abbāsid dynasty (750-1258), emerged in 661 after the end of the four elective orthodox caliphs. The first Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiya, knowing the value of and maintaining a façade of princely living, turned his capital Damascus into a centre of pomp and power and opened his court to poets and musicians. In a manner similar to the caliph, the nobility and the new class of wealthy people became strong patrons and supporters of music and musicians, and were absorbed in worldly of pleasures.

The rulers of the Abbāsid dynasty, which came into power with the strong support of non-Arabs, especially the peoples of the eastern caliphate, the historical region of Khurāsān, similar to the Umayyad caliphs, were enthusiastic supporters of the arts, poetry, and music. Baghdad, the new capital of the caliphate, attracted men of arts and culture from all parts of the Islamic world. Among these men and women, the influence of the peoples of the eastern lands of the caliphate, the Khurāsānians, was strong and perceptible in both government and culture, and the court life reflected this influence on every side.

The above brief description of the history of music in Arabia in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic ages, suggests that if there was any decline in the musical life of historical

Khurāsān and other areas of the eastern region in the early years of Islam, it was most probably linked with the military campaigns of Arabs and a consequent lack of stability which would have followed a series of military raids by the Arabs, rather than with the 'primitive' character of their music, or with the postulated 'primitive' character of their culture, and the 'primitive' social and political policies of invaders, or the imposition of a restriction on music by the Arabs, who actually were very keen to accept the varying musical styles of their subject peoples and lands, as has been noted earlier in this chapter.

Furthermore, data on the history of music culture in Khurāsān in the Middle Ages, which will be discussed in the next chapter, suggest that the art music of this historical region, after the arrival of the Arabs, did not suffer a period of marked decline. On the contrary, it was well preserved and greatly contributed to the development of music in Arabia and to the music of the Islamic world.

Conclusion

This chapter has defined the adjective Khurāsāni or Khurāsānian, which is used locally to identify the art music of the country in the pre-Islamic and Islamic Middle Ages, and has presented a brief survey of the pre-Islamic art music of the area known today as Afghanistan. It has been argued that the adjective Khurāsāni is used in contemporary Afghan writings to reflect more properly the early historical and cultural situation of Afghanistan, known for centuries as Khurāsān, and to indicate the participation and contribution made by the inhabitants of this country in the formation and development of an identifiable cultural heritage.

This chapter has reported that in the pre-Islamic era, while the peoples of eastern and southern Afghanistan very probably had been under the influence of a South Asian cultural tradition, the peoples of other parts of the country were contributing to the formation and

crystallisation of an art music practiced over a large area of the Dari/Persian speaking world, which in contemporary Afghan writings, is identified as Khurāsāni, or Khurāsānian music.

The discussion about the adjective Khurāsāni has demonstrated that this term is used locally for identifying a musical culture that is claimed simultaneously by a few contemporary countries as the musical heritage of these different nations, which include Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and others. This discussion has established that contemporary Afghan scholars and intellectuals use the concept *Mūsiqi Khurāsāni* as an equivalent of the concept 'Persian music' used in the West or 'Iranian music' used in Iran.

Given the several reasons discussed earlier in this chapter, which might have inspired Afghan intellectuals to use the adjective Khurāsāni instead of Persian or Iranian, and also considering the positive and negative aspects of each of the named adjectives, in considering music history it has been argued in this chapter that the use of the adjective Khurāsāni for describing the art music of Afghanistan and its modal system in the pre-Islamic era and subsequently in the Islamic Middle Ages, is more appropriate. This adjective is a natural term reflecting the early history and cultural situation of Afghanistan and significant parts of Iran, and Central Asia. It also acknowledges the contribution of many peoples and nations in the formation and development of a so-called 'Persian' music, and it also gives credit to a few contemporary countries, which were parts of the historical region of Khurāsān.

Furthermore, this chapter, after noting data for a healthy condition for Khurāsānian music in the pre-Islamic era, argued for an equally vigorous condition for music in the early Islamic history of the region. It was noted that by the eradication of Zoroastrianism and Buddhism, the people of Afghanistan lost many genres of their musical practice, especially those connected mainly with the religious rituals and ceremonies of these two religions. Nonetheless, some of these genres might have been adapted into Islamic traditions.

This chapter also has noted that in the early years of the establishment of Islam, there might have been some decline in the development of the art music of the region. It was argued that any possible change in the state of the art music of the region could have been the result of military raids by the Arabs, rather than because of the effect of their music, or because of the imposition of restrictions on the art music of the region, which, as recognised scholars have noted—*i.e.* Farmer, Shiloah, and Touma—greatly contributed in the formation and development of music in Arabia before and after the raise of Islam.

This chapter has demonstrated that Afghanistan, known for centuries by other names, shared the same music culture of art or professional music with Iran and other countries of a vast area. Thus, one may suggest that the contribution of the inhabitants of ancient Afghanistan in the formation, development, and spreading of so-called 'Persian' music, identified in this chapter and subsequent chapters of this thesis as Khurāsānian music, which was then considered to be in advance of the Arabic music system at the time, was as great as that of any of the other countries of the region and Iran, the latter of which up to this time enjoys all the recognition.

Chapter 3

The State of Art Music and Musicians under the Ghaznavid Rulers in Khurāsān, (977-1147)

Soon after the establishment of Islam in Khurāsān, this vast area in the eastern region of the caliphate witnessed the emergence of a few local independent dynasties. These dynasties, showing only nominal obedience to the Abbāsid caliphs (Rizvi 1987:12), included the Tahirids (820-873), Saffarids (872-910) Samanids (874-961), and the Ghaznavids (977-1147). These dynasties, as Shiloah has pointed out, endeavoured to foster their historic national identity through reviving their mother tongue, the Dari/Persian language, as a written language (1995:94).

It is not the aim of this chapter to discuss the music of all the four dynasties named above. This chapter, as its title indicates, will focus on the state of art music and musicians at the courts of the Ghaznavid dynasty and try to reconstruct the type of music played at the court of this dynasty.[1] It is important to note that Afghan authors today when discussing the history of music in Afghanistan after the establishment of Islam, are of the opinion that the rehabilitation of the court or the art music in Afghanistan started with the rise of the Ghaznavid dynasty (Jahad 1368/1989:227-230, Nayyir 1363/1984:36-37).

Before beginning our discussion about the history of music in Afghanistan during the Ghaznavids, it is appropriate to start our discussion with a very brief introduction to music and musical activities at the courts of the Samanid dynasty, whose practices, as Bosworth has pointed out, 'the Ghaznavids followed in many ways'.[2]

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[1] In 977, the slave general of the Samanid amirs, Sebuktigin, after proclaiming himself the amir of Khurāsān, founded this Turkic dynasty in the city of Ghazni. This city, the name of which is also now the name of a province of modern Afghanistan in the central area of the country, was also the capital of the Ghaznavids. Sultan Mahmud (988-1030), the greatest ruler of this dynasty, extended the realm of this dynasty and founded his own empire, which included large areas of Iran in the west, a vast territory of central Asia north beyond the Oxus River, and a large part of the Indian sub-continent up to Punjab.

[2] This reference is based on the reprint of 'The Titulature of the Early Ghaznavids' (Bosworth 1962:210-233) in *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (Bosworth 1977).

Data considering the history of Central Asia and Afghanistan clearly indicate that the Samanid kings and the nobility were strong patrons of poetry, architecture, science, art and music and musicians. The name of Rodaki (*c.* 860-941), a court musician and poet of the Samanid king Nasr II (914-943), is well known in Central Asia, Iran, and Afghanistan even now more than a millennium later. This blind musician and poet (Veksler 1968:11) secured his place in the history of music and literature of the region thanks to his improvisational skill as a virtuoso and his ability to compose new songs and poetry impromptu (Ghafurbekov 1987:15).

The Russian scholar and musicologist Veksler, in describing the state of music and musicians at the court of the Samanids, has reported that in addition to various departments, which supervised the activity of different groups of craftsmen, a special department, the members of which were selected among urban musicians, was in charge of court music and musicians (1968:10-11). According to Veksler, the court musicians of this department, playing from a specially built pavilion, performed according to the *maqām* tradition, and also performed round the clock in turn, rotating with each other at a particular time of the day (1968:11).

This data, as represented by Veksler, contains some important information or suggestions. Firstly, however, it should be noted that at this time (874-961) the modal system in use in Transoxania and Khurāsān, the realm of the Samanid dynasty, was the *parda* system, not the later *maqām* system. Dzhumajev has reported that a specific modal system called *parda*, with its own scientific theory, existed and developed in Khurāsān and Transoxania prior to the formation of the *maqām* tradition (Dzhumajev 1992:151-152). More details about the *parda* system of Transoxania and Khurāsān will be discussed subsequently in this chapter.

That point aside, new data here for the Central Asian region is quite significant. The construction of an outdoor pavilion, very probably at a prominent point of approach and entrance to the royal palace, suggests the use of an outdoor ensemble, perhaps an early instance of the well-known *naubat* ensemble, or, as it was referred to locally, the *naghāra khāna* of the Central Asian and North Indian regions during the time of the Timurid and the Mughal dynasties.[3]

Additionally, the use of different musicians, who evidently played in turn or in rotation during twenty-four hours, also suggests the *naubat* function of marking the hours of the day by the performance of music (Faruqi 1981:234, Wade 1998:6-7). Though specific musical instruments are not mentioned in Veksler's discussion, the general frame of reference from the information he presents suggests an early example of the outdoor *naubat* or *naghāra khāna* tradition in Central Asia.

Concerning the musical instruments used in such an early military or outdoor band, it should be noted that in Gardizi's *Zain al-akhbār*, compiled in the mid-eleventh century, a group of percussion and wind instruments are named ([*c.* 1050]1984:371). Most of these instruments are mentioned later as musical instruments used in a *naubat* or *naghāra khāna* ensemble of Central Asia, North India, and Iran. These musical instruments, the presence of which in a Samanid outdoor band add significant support to the suggestion made just above, are the *tabl* ('drum'), *dohl* ('a double-headed drum'), *dabdaba* ('kettledrum'), *sanj* ('cymbals'), ā*yina-i pilān* ('big bells'), *karnā* ('a metal trumpet'), and *būq* a ('horn' or 'reedpipe').[4]

From this short description of the state of music at the Samanid courts, it appears that indoor and outdoor music were practiced and encouraged by this royal dynasty. As we shall

[3] For a description of the *naubat* ensemble of North India and its function see 'Styles of the *Śahnāī* in Recent Decades: from *Naubat* to *Gāyakī Ang*' (Flora 1995:52-75) and *Imaging Sound*: An *Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India* (Wade 1998:4-11).

[4] Farmer is of the opinion that *būq* was the generic name for any musical instrument of the horn or trumpet family, but especially, it referred to the conical-tube group ([1945]1997:vol 1, 93).

see subsequently in this chapter, these two types of music and musical ensembles were also important elements of court musical entertainment, official ceremonies, and military campaigns of the Ghaznavids, the literary, cultural and artistic trends of which followed the pattern previously established in the eastern lands of the caliphate by the Samanids.[5]

It was within this period that Khurāsānian cultural and musical ideas were implanted in the eastern regions of ancient Khurāsān, in the regions of Ghazni and Zabulistan. Into Ghazni, the flowering capital of the Ghaznavids, streamed the best creative minds of the country, as well as cultural figures from all over the eastern Islamic world, attracted there by the generous support and patronage offered to the poets, scholars, craftsmen, and musicians by Mahmud and other Ghaznavid rulers. In this regard Abu al Fazal Baihaqi (995-1077), the court clerk, has reported in his book, known today as *Tārikh-i Baihaqi*, that the 'Amir fell in love with [Ghazni] and wherever he found a skilled man or woman in any profession sent them here [to Ghazni] (Baihaqi [*c.* 1075] 1985:263).[6]

Sources of information

To continue with the primary aim of this chapter, which is a brief discussion focused on the art music of Afghanistan during the reign of the Ghaznavids, it is important to note the existence of a few written sources of significant importance for the study of the musical culture of Afghanistan and other areas of the eastern caliphate in that era. These writings include the *Tārihk-i Baihaqi* or 'Baihaqi's History' (385-470/995-1077), the *Diwāns* or 'Poetry Collections' of the Ghaznavid court poets; namely, Unsuri Balkhi (*c.* 971-1052),

[5] For a discussion about the state of art, culture, and literature under the Ghaznavids see the reprint of 'The Development of Persian Culture under the Early Ghaznavids' (Bosworth 1968:33-44). The references to this article are based on the reprint of this article in *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (Bosworth 1977).

[6] Baihaqi, who started his career as a clerk in the Correspondence Department (*diwan-i risalat*) of the Ghaznavid court, and finally became its head, is the author of a history originally consisting of over thirty books, collectively called the *mujalladat*. The book known today as *Tārikh-i Baihaqi* was originally titled *Tārikh-i Mahsūdi*. Quotations cited in this thesis are based on the sixth edition of Baihaqi's history published by the State Press of Afghanistan in 1985. This edition was reprinted from the fifth edition edited by an Iranian scholar, Dr. Ali Akbar-e Fayaz.

Farrukhi Sistāni (d. *c.* 1050), and Manūchihri Dāmaghāni (d. *c.* 1044). The authors of the sources named just above were attached to the court circle, respectively as a clerk and as panegyrist poets, and thus followed the sultans round on their travels and campaigns.

Additionally, this chapter will consider the music of the area under consideration in the light of data obtained from Gardizi's *Zain al-akhbār* and the *Qābūs Nāma* written by Kai Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar (*c.* 475/1082), who is believed to be the son-in-law of Sultan Mahmud (Yosofi 1375/1996:13).[7] The latter source is a collection of exhortations and edifications addressed from a father to his son, in which Kai Kā'ūs assiduously suggests to his son how to behave in circumstances such as wine-dinking, love affairs, hunting, the purchasing of slaves, buying a horse, marrying a wife, being a musician, and so on. The *Qābūs Nāma* consists of forty-four chapters. The thirty-sixth chapter of the *Qābūs Nāma*, titled *Dar āhin wa rasm-e khunyāgari*, or 'On the Custom and Tradition of Musicianship', is dedicated to music and musicianship.[8]

These sources provide us with very useful data about different aspects of music and musical life in the eastern lands of the Islamic empire during the reign of the Ghaznavids. These data clearly demonstrate that singing, playing musical instruments, and male and female dancing were important means of entertainment in Ghaznavid court life. Also, this information gives us the names of musicians, describes the status of musicians and entertainers, names musical instruments, and provides us with some information about the practical and theoretical aspects of court music. Finally, from data obtained from these sources, it becomes clear that

[7] Ghulam Mohsen Yosofi, who annotated and edited the eighth edition of the *Qābūs Nāma*, which is used in this thesis as a source of information, provides us with this information in the introduction of this edition (Kai Ka'us [*c.* 1082]1996).

[8] Reuben Levy completed a valuable and readable translation of the *Qābūs Nāma* in 1951. However, Levy's translation does not satisfy the needs of musicologists and music historians, as the interpretation of music terms is problematic. This difficulty is quite understandable, as Levy is a linguist and not a musicologist. Nonetheless, it is a matter of grateful acknowledgement to note here that Levy's translation was of great help in preparing the current translation of chapter XXXVI of the *Qābūs Nāma* cited in this chapter of this thesis. For Levy's translation of the *Qābūs Nāma* see *A Mirror for Princes: The Qābūs Nāma*: (1951).

an outdoor band was also an important part of the court life and military campaigns of the Ghaznavids. This chapter will consider each of these issues in their turn.

Before starting our discussion about those issues just outlined, it is appropriate to note that the presence of female entertainers at Ghaznavid courts as reported in written sources is supported further by iconographic evidence. Among Ghaznavid marble carvings, which are based on the environment of the court and the refinements of the harem (Rowland 1971:53), is a relief depicting three female dancing figures. This relief, a reproduction of which from Rowland (1971:illustration 172) is included in this chapter (Illus. 10), was found in Lashkari Bāzār, the site of a Ghaznavid palace complex.

The body movement and gesture of the three figures in illustration 10 clearly reflect a dancing scene, though the accompanying musicians are not seen in this relief. The dancing character of this relief is marked by the solid standing of the three dancers on their left leg, with the right thigh raised to an horizontal position and the lower leg sharply bent back. Additionally, the dancing position of the three figures is highlighted by the gesture of their hands, which are brought together at waist. This iconographic evidence could well illustrate dancers of Khurāsān in general, who additionally were very popular in the capital of the caliphs at about the same time, as has been reported by Shiloah (1995:8)

Having presented this iconographic data, we may continue the discussion of the issues noted above. Baihaqi's history contains a large number of sentences indicating the presence of musicians and singers at the Ghaznavid courts, who entertained their masters in their courts, as well as during their hunting seasons outside cities, and in military campaigns and at all feasts ([*c.* 1075]/1985:145, 179, 311, 572, 586, 597, 647, 654, 656, 657, 663, 664, 715).

Though many sentences in Baihaqi point to musical activities, for this thesis only those were selected that provide relatively more information, rather than those containing only one or two key words: such as *mutrib*, 'a male vocalist or musician, who produces *tarab*'

signifying 'delight' (al-Faruqi 1981:217, 350); *mutriba*, 'a female entertainer', *khunyāgar*, 'a singer or musician' (Mallāh 1363/1984:136); *qawāl*, 'a singer' (Mallāh 1363/1984:232); and *paykobān*, 'dancers' (Steingass 1957:235). Below are a few citations from the *Tārihk-i Baihaqi*. They provide us with the names of musicians, their status, the sources of their income, and the name of a few musical instruments.

Illus. 10. A Ghaznavid relief from Lashkari Bāzār.

Musicians and their status

> I, Abul Fazl [Baihaqi], heard from *mutriba* Sati Zarin, who was as close to Sultan Mahsud as if she had been a doorkeeper of his mansion, and the Sultan even sent all types of messages by her to members of his mansion ([*c.* 1075] 1985:510).
>
> After the death of the court secretary *Dabir* Bu-al-Hassan Iraqi, there was talk that his wives poisoned him because he married Marghazi, a female entertainer (Baihaqi [*c.* 1075]1985:712).

The first citation, in addition to recording the name of a female court musician, Sati Zarin, also describes the level of trust that could be accorded to a musician or a singer of Mahsud's court. It also witnesses to the confidential position enjoyed by musicians, singers, and dancers at the Ghaznavid courts. It has been reported that musicians and singers were even used by the sultan and princes for spying on each other as a part of court intrigue. A remarkable example of such instances is told by Baihaqi in his *Tārihk-i Baihaqi* [*c.* 1075]1985:145-147).

The second citation quoted just above from the *Tārihk-i Baihaqi* provides us with the name of another female entertainer, Marghazi. Furthermore, it demonstrates that marrying a female entertainer was not a matter of normal social acceptance, even for such a high-level member of the Ghaznavid court as the court secretary. Such an action could provoke the discomfiture and envy of others, leading sometimes to very unfortunate and fatal consequences.

Continuing with the state and status of musicians at the court, we turn again to the *Tārihk-i Baihaqi*. The author of this book, in describing a luxurious banquet during a religious festival, provides us with very interesting data about the state of musicians and the sources of their income during the Ghaznavids.

> Outdoor and indoor musicians started to perform. There was a grand gladness, during which the Amir [Mahsud] granted twenty thousand silver coins (*dirams*) to poets of lesser popularity and sent fifty thousand *dirams* to Alawi Zainabi. He gave a thousand gold coins (*dīnār*) to Unsuri [Balkhi] and thirty thousand *dirams* to *mutribān* ('musicians') and *maskharagān* ('comedians'). (Baihaqi [*c.* 1075]1985:360).

Firstly, this citation reports clearly about the presence of two types of musical ensemble at the Ghaznavid courts; namely, (1) an outdoor ensemble and (2) an indoor ensemble. These two ensembles will be considered subsequently within this chapter. Secondly, this quotation informs us that musicians and other entertainers enjoyed the same

treatment as the beloved court poets. Additionally, these data suggest that gratuities received from the Ghaznavid rulers, other aristocrats, and nobility were the main source, if not the only source, for the livelihood of the musicians.

Such a condition and treatment, which forced musicians to be content with the gratuities of their audience, and to adjust their art to the taste of often drunken idlers, in order to earn their living, is evident also form the *Qābūs Nāma*. The author of this work, after considering the outward appearance, skill, and manner of a musician, makes it clear that musicians have to comply with the demand of their audience in order to obtain their gratuities.

> If you become a musician, be affable and light-minded. As far as it is possible always keep your garments clean and be fragrant and glib-tongued, and when you are asked to perform in a mansion do not be sour-faced (Kai Kā'ūs [*c.* 1082]1996:193).
>
> When you perform according to the rules of musicianship, the audience may well be bored, [become] drunk and take their departure. [Therefore], look around and discover the taste of each listener. When the cup reaches him sing what he wishes, so that you may gain whatever you wish. The greatest art of a *khunyāgar* ('musician') is the ability to respond to the mood of his listeners. ... Musicians are the servant[s] (*mazdur*) of drunks. (Kai Kā'ūs [*c.* 1082]1996:196-197). ...
>
> If at a party someone praises you, show your modesty and sing whatever he wishes and attract the praise of the rest. At the beginning, while the [listeners] are still sober, there will be praise but no silver [money]. As they become drunk silver will follow the praises. If the drunken [audience] insists on a mode (*rāh-i*) or on a song (*surod-i*), as it is the habit of the drunks, do not be upset. Keep singing and playing until you gain your object. The greatest art of the musicians (*mutribān*) is their tolerance with drunks. If they are not tolerant, they always remain deprived [of the gratuity from their audience] (Kai Kā'ūs [*c.* 1082]1996:196-197)

To focus again on the name of musicians, it is appropriate to leave the *Qābūs Nāma* aside for a while and to return to the *Tārihk-i Baihaqi*. This source, in addition to the two female musicians Sati Zarin and Marghazi named earlier in this chapter, has perpetuated the names of another six musicians from the of Ghaznavid courts. These six musicians and singers, whose names will appear in the following quotations, were Ūstād Abdu-l-rahman

Qawal, Naseri, Baghawi, Maki,[9] Būqi, and Mohammad Bārbati. The first four musicians in this list were witnesses of Mohammad Ghaznavid's arrest and exile to Mandish by his Brother Sultan Mahsud.

> I [Baihaqi] heard from Ūstād Abdu-l-rahman Qawāl that ... every day, as in a rule of habit; my companion *mutriban* ('musicians'), *qawalan* ('singers'), and myself went to serve [the *amir* Mohammad]... among us were Naseri, Baghawi, and [Ali] Maki (Baihaqi [*c.* 1075]1985:80, 85).
>
> Būqi, the watchman of the army and the comedian ... was a very good man. The *amir* and all the nobles of the army loved him. He has been playing the *tanbūr* from the time of Tash, the Samanid commander-in-chief (Baihaqi [*c.* 1075]1985:585).
>
> Mohammad Barbati, who was a very good ūstād ('master') [of the *barbat*], listened and then asked the *amir*: what would be his highness's order regarding the drinking of wine, when the *nadimān* ('intimate or confidant friends') will sit to recite *dū-baitiah* ('couplets'), and *mūtribān* ('musicians') come to play the *rūd* and the *bārbat* at a party dedicated to the series of victories by your highness? (Baihaqi [*c.* 1075]1985:735-736).

In these three citations Baihaqi, in addition to mentioning the musicians named just above, also informs us about the qualification of some of these musicians. The word *qawāl*, signifying 'a singer', which appears after the name of Ūstād Abdu-l-rahman, indicates that he was a singer. The suffix *i* added to the terms *būq* and *barbat* demonstrates that Būqi and Mohammad Barbati were players respectively of a *būq* and a *barbat*. This practice, *i.e.* the clear association of musicians with their musical instrument by adding the name of the musical instrument they play as an honorific title to their name, is still well preserved in Afghanistan, and also in other countries of Central Asia and South Asia.

Further, these quotations provide us with the name of few musical instruments, such as *būq*, *tanbūr*, *barbat*, and *rūd*. However, before discussing these and other musical instruments

[9] The full name of this musician is Ali Maki. His surname Maki mistakenly appears in the text of the *Tārihk-i Baihaqi* as Yaki. The author of this thesis has inserted the correct name of this musician in the citation discussed above according to information obtained from other sources, among which is Mallāh's *Manouchehri Damaghani* [sic] *and Music*.

played over a vast area of the eastern lands of the caliphate, it is important to note that other important sources for the names of Ghaznavid court musicians are the *diwāns* of court poets.

Manūchihri Dāmaghāni, in one of his poems, mentions four musicians, which are Ali Maki, Sati Zarin, Ma'bad, and Zalzal Rāzi (Dāmaghāni 1984:133).[10] Ali Maki, and Sati Zarin, as we have noted earlier, were respectively court musicians of Mohammad and Sultan Mahsud Ghaznavid. Ma'bad (d. 126/740) was a musician of the Umayyad Arabia (Shiloah 1995:12, Mallāh 1363/1984:260), and Zalzal Rāzi was a court musician of the Abbāsid caliph Hārūn al-Rashid (786-809) (Mallāh 1363/1984:177, Farmer [1957]1997:159).

Another musician, Bubakr Rabābi, is a singer and *rabāb* player of a Ghaznavid court named in Manūchihri Dāmaghāni's *diwān* (Dāmaghāni 1984:140). This musician is also named in the *diwān* of Farrukhi Sistāni (1984:98). Another celebrated musician of that time was Bunasr, also known as Bunasr Palang. He is presented as a *barbat* or *rūd* player by Farrukhi Sistāni in his *diwān* (Sistāni 1984:365, 391, 406). In one instance, Sistāni is more specific and names Bunasr as an instrumentalist who provided accompaniment to a singer of Sultan Mahmud's court, Bu-Omaro (1984:365).

Musical instruments: indoor ensembles

We have noted earlier in this chapter that the following musical instruments among others—the *būq*, *barbat*,[11] *rūd*,[12] *tanbūr*,[13] and *rabāb*[14]—were named in the data discussed.

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[10] It should be noted Manūchihri Dāmaghāni in his *diwān* also mentions the names of a few pre-Isalmic musicians of the Dari/Persian speaking world. These names include Bamshad, Ramtin, and Barbad (Dāmaghāni 1984:19, 80, 195).

[11] The *bārbat* is mentioned in several verses in the *Diwān-i Manūchari Dāmaghāni* (Dāmaghāni 1984:18, 23, 40, 80, 162, 195, 204, 215, 227, 230), and in the *Diwān-i Hakim Farrukhi Sistāni* (Sistāni 1984:152, 153, 185, 197, 349, 358, 385, 387, 389, 391, 451).

[12] The *rūd* is mentioned in the following pages of the *Diwān-i Manūchari Dāmaghāni* (Dāmaghāni 1984:195, 120, 209), and in several verses in the *Diwān-i Hakim Farrukhi Sistāni* (Sistāni 1984:15, 90, 99, 104, 105, 176, 199, 201, 219, 284, 294. 313, 372, 391, 406, 414).

[13] The *tanbūr* is also named in several verses in the poetry collections of Dāmaghāni (1984:1, 30, 39, 40, 182, 215) and Sistāni (1984:197, 438).

[14] The *rabāb* is also named in the poetry collections of the court poets Dāmaghāni (1984:7, 34, 162, 178, 215, 226) and Sistāni (1984:10, 11, 15).

Court poets, in describing sumptuous court life and the victorious military campaigns of the Ghaznavids, provide us with the names of the musical instruments named just above, and with the names of more musical instruments as well, which were used in ensembles that performed indoors at private parties. These additional instruments are: the *chang*,[15] *santūr*,[16] *nāy*,[17] *mūsiqār*,[18] *ārghanūn*,[19] *chaghāna*,[20] and *naqūs*.[21]

These musical instruments include six chordophones (*barbat*, *rūd*, *tanbūr*, *rabāb*, *chang*, and *santūr*), four aerophones (*b* [illegible] *nāy*, *mūsiqār*, *arghanūn*), and two percussion instruments (*chaghāna* and *naqūs*). It is the not the aim of this chapter to present a comprehensive and detailed description of these musical instruments, and their history. We shall limit our discussion to a very short presentation of these musical instruments.

Before starting our discussion, it is important to note that some of these musical instruments are known today in Afghanistan only in name. In some of these instances the same name identifies a totally different musical instrument. Some of the instruments named just above, on the other hand, are still present in the musical culture of Afghanistan with the same name. Perhaps these instruments now appear in a modified form, such as the *tanbūr* and *rabāb* for instance. We start our discussion with a description of the chordophones.

The *barbat* was a short-necked plucked lute of the Sassanian era. This instrument, known also as the *rūd* (Mallāh 1363/1984:94, Saremi 1994:23), at the beginning of its history had three strings and thus it was additionally called *sitā* (Mallāh 1363/1984:94). Latter a

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[15] This instrument is named in many verses of Dāmaghāni's *diwān*. For a few instances see *Diwān-i Manūchari Dāmaghāni* (Dāmaghāni 1984:7, 39, 50, 137, 162, 182). Also, the *chang* is named in the *Diwān-i Hakim Farrukhi Sistāni* (Sistāni 1984:11, 406).
[16] The *santūr* is mentioned in the *Diwān-i Manūchari Dāmaghāni* (Dāmaghāni 1984:1).
[17] The *nāy* is named in several verses in the *Diwān-i Manūchari Dāmaghāni* (Dāmaghāni 1984:30, 170, 183, 204), and in the *Diwān-i Hakim Farrukhi Sistāni* (Sistāni 1984:234, 385, 389, 406).
[18] Only in one instance is the *mūsiqār* named in the *Diwān-i Manūchari Dāmaghāni* (Dāmaghāni 1984:39). This instrument is named twice in the *Diwān-i Hakim Farrukhi Sistāni* (Sistāni 1984:104, 140)
[19] Dāmaghāni, in his *diwān*, twice names the *ārghanūn* (Dāmaghāni 1984:63, 66).
[20] This term as a musical instrument is mentioned in two verses of the *Diwān-i Manūchari Dāmaghāni* (Dāmaghāni 1984:59, 91), and in the *Diwān-i Hakim Farrukhi Sistāni* (Sistāni 1984:95).
[21] The word *naqūs* as a musical instrument is mentioned in the *Diwān-i Manūchari Dāmaghāni* (Dāmaghāni 1984:1).

fourth string was added to these three primary strings. The Chinese *pipa*, the Japanese *biwa*, and the Arab *ūd* are considered as descendants of the ancient *barbat* (During 1984:156). Today the word *barbat*, as it appears from some contemporary sources, is used in Iran for naming a short-necked pear-shaped plucked lute, which is commonly known as the *ūd* throughout the Middle East.[22]

The *rūd*, which appears in some Dari/Persian sources as a musical instrument in its own right, is believed to be another name for the *barbat*. Some scholars are of the opinion that it was this second name for the *barbat*, which after the penetration of the instrument into the Arab world, became the *ūd* (Vinogradov 1982:20, Saremi 1994:23). Given this data, it is not accidental that Farrukhi Sistāni presents Bunasr, a Ghaznavid court musician, as a *barbat* player in one instance, and in another occasion as a *rūd* player (Sistāni 1984:391, 406).

It is important to note that the term *rūd*, in addition to being synonymous with *barbat* in the Dari/Persian poetry and literature that consider music and singing, was also used as a generic term for different types of musical instrument (Mallāh 1363/1984:94, Saremi 1994:114). Additionally, the word *rūd* was used to refer to the strings of a musical instrument. A remarkable literary musical text, in which the term *rūd* is used to refer to the strings of a musical instrument, perhaps the strings of the *barbat*, which was in common use during the Ghaznavid era, is the *Qābūs Nāma*.

> When you are seated [for performing] at a party, look around. If the listener is ruddy and sanguine, largely play on the string that is second [lowest in pitch] (*dū rūd*). If the audience is bashful and bilious, largely play on the sharp string (*zir*). If the listener is dark-complexioned, thin, and melancholic, play on the third string (*sih tār*), and if the hearer is white-skinned, obese, and moist, mostly play on the bass string (*bam*). These strings (*rūdhā*) were constructed to suit four characters, as the master of the science of music invented this art to the temperament of four peoples. Although what has just been said is not among the rules and the custom of musicianship, I wanted to make you aware of this phenomenon so that you know about it (Kai Kā'ūs [1082]1996:196).

[22] For a description of the contemporary Iranian *barbat* see notes accompanying the CD *Night Silence Desert* by Kayhan Kalhor and Mohammad Reza Shajarian (2000).

The appearance of the term *rūd*, which has been translated from Dari/Persian into English as the string of a musical instrument (Steingass 1957:592), combined with the word *dū*, signifying in Dari/Persian the number two, points to the second lowest string of a musical instrument. Additionally, the presence of the term *dū rūd* in a context with the word *zir*, signifying in Dari/Persian the 'narrowest string of a lute as well as sharp pitches and tunes with a high tessitura' (Steingass 1957:633), and term *bam*, expressing the lowest string of a lute (Steingass 1957:200) and tunes with a low tessitura, makes it clear that the use of *du rūd* in the text just above identifies the second lowest string of an instrument. Nonetheless, some scholars, in annotating the *Qābūs Nāma*, have interpreted the terms *dū rūd* and *sih tār* as musical instruments (Yosofi 1996: 435).[23]

Concerning the word *sih tār*, one may agree that the word *sih tār* identifies a contemporary plucked instrument of Iran. However, in the citation above, this combined word consisting of two words *sih*, signifying 'three', and *tār*, meaning 'string' in Dari/Persian, apparently is used to identify the third string of a musical instrument, rather than a particular instrument. Such an interpretation may be supported from the context in which the *sih tār* appears here. In the citation above, the word *sih tār* is used in a context with the terms that are used, as we have noted, for identifying the lowest or the first string (*bam*) of a musical instrument, the second lowest string '*dū rūd*', and the fourth or sharpest string (*zir*).

Thus, the word *sih tār* in this instance might be interpreted as the 'third' lowest string of a musical instrument, perhaps of the *barbat*, which had four strings. Additional support for this interpretation is provided by the concluding sentence of the above citation from the *Qābūs Nāma*, in which the author identifies all the four terms—*dū rūd*, *zir*, *bam*, and *sih tār*—with the generic term *rūdhā* ('strings'), which is the plural of the term *rūd* ('string'). Nonetheless,

[23] See the annotation of the *Qābūs Nāma*, recently prepared by Yosofi (Kai Kā'ūs [1082] 1996: 435).

some linguists have mistranslated and misinterpreted the word *rūdhā* as 'modes' (Levy 1951:187).[24]

Before the introduction other musical instruments, it is important to note another issue that appears in the citation above, which is the association of each string of a musical instrument, from the lowest string to the highest string, with the physical and psychic characteristics of members of the audience. This issue will be discussed later in this chapter in the context of a discussion about the modal music of the region before the emergence of a pan-Islamic modal system.

Another instrument commonly used by musicians at the Ghaznavid courts was the *chang*, an angular harp. The structure and history of this instrument, which became obsolete in Afghanistan by the end of the 18th century, is discussed briefly in the first chapter. However, it is important to note that the term *chang* is now employed in contemporary Afghanistan to identify the Jew's harp of northern Afghanistan.[25]

The *santūr* is an important contemporary trapezoid-shaped box zither of Iran and several other countries of the Middle East. The history of this instrument, which is played by striking the strings with two light wooden hammers, in the art or professional music of the area known toady as Afghanistan, is quite interesting. The term *santūr*, as the name of musical instrument of Khurāsān, appears in a poem of *Manūchari Dāmaghāni* in the 11th century (Dāmaghāni 1984:1). It is mentioned in a context with an indoor musical ensemble, which also includes the *tanbūr*, *nāy*, and *naqūs*.

Nonetheless, in spite of such an early appearance of the *santūr* in the professional music of Khurāsān, from where it most probably migrated westward to the Arab world and eastward to Kashmir, in Afghanistan today, it is considered to be an Indian musical instrument (Madadi 1375/1996:303). This association is linked with the history of the arrival of North

[24] See *A Mirror for Princes*; The *Qābūs Nāma* (1951)
[25] For a thorough discussion about the Jew's harp [illegible] rthern Afghanistan see Slobin's *Music in the Culture of Northern Afghanistan* (1976:273-276).

Indian musicians to Afghanistan at the end of 18th century, among whom were many Kashmiri musicians, who most probably re-imported the *santūr* from Kashmir back to the region of its possible origin. Until relatively recent years, the *santūr* was a member of an Afghan radio ensemble. By the death of Salim Qandahari (1302/1923-1360-1981), however, the last contemporary performer of this old Khurāsānian instrument, the *santūr*, became obsolete in Afghanistan.

The *rabāb*, a short-necked plucked lute of contemporary Afghanistan, is briefly described and discussed in the first and fifth chapters of this thesis. Concerning the *rabāb* mentioned in sources that were named in this chapter, it should be noted that these sources do not provide us with any specific data about the instrument, its construction and classification, nor about the style of its performance. These data give us only the name of the instrument *rabāb*.

Thus, it is a complicated task to speculate about the classification and the construction of the *rabāb* played at the Ghaznavid courts. In an early Arabic musical treatise written by al-Fārābi (d. 950), the *Kitāb al-Mūsiqi al-Kabir*, the word *rabāb* denotes a spike fiddle, which had from one to four strings.[26] However, as Farmer has argued ([1939]1997:vol II; 216), it is very difficult to agree that the *rabāb* mentioned in early Dari/Persian writings was a bowed instrument. Such a doubt is quite reasonable given the fact that short-necked waisted plucked lutes looking very similar to the Afghan *rabāb* today, and also to the *rabāb* discussed and depicted in the *Kanz-ul-tuhaf* (14th century), were known in the region from pre-Islamic eras, though we do not know the name of this type of instrument when it first appears in Gandharan iconographic sources.

Another instrument mentioned as a common musical instrument of Khurāsān during the Ghaznavid era is the *tanbūr*. This instrument appears to be one of the oldest instruments of

[26] For the bowed *rabāb* of the 10th century see al-Fārābi's *Kitāb al-Mūsiqi al-Kabir*, translated from Arabic into Persian by Āzartāsh Āzarnūsh (1375/1996:357-370).

the region, used there at least since the Sassanians. Early evidence about this instrument emerges from Sassanian sources and early Islamic Dari/Persian poetry, in which this ancient instrument is named as an indoor musical instrument (Saremi 1994:70-71). An early detailed description of the *tanbūr* is available in al-Fārābi's *Kitāb al-Mūsiqi al-Kabir*, where it is associated clearly with the historical region of Khurāsān. In this early source it is named '*tanbūr Khurāsāni*, played in the cities of Khurāsān and neighbouring areas'. It is described as a long-necked lute with two strings.[27] Today the term *tanbūr* is used for naming a contemporary long-necked lute of Afghanistan.[28]

After this short discussion about the five different types of chordophone named in the sources noted in this chapter, it is appropriate to continue our discussion with description of the few aerophones and percussion instruments named in these sources. We start our discussion with the *mūsiqār* or panpipe.

According to the evidence in written and iconographic sources, this instrument, which does not exist any more in the music of Afghanistan, was a popular instrument of Khurāsān. In Dari/Persian musical treatises of the Middle Ages, this term is used for a description of a set of reed pipes of varying lengths joined together.[29] Iconographic evidence for the presence of a *mūsiqār* in the musical ensembles of the region under consideration emerges from pre-Islamic artefacts of the region as noted in the first chapter (Illus. 3 and 5), and from Khurāsānian and Indian miniature paintings of the Islamic Middle Ages.[30]

The *ārghanūn* is another instrument used in Khurāsānian music that is obsolete in the music of Afghanistan today. In al-Marāghi's (1365-1434) writings on music and musical instruments, the *ārghanūn* is described as an organ-type wind instrument made of reed pipes

[27] For an early description and discussion about the *tanbūr Khurāsāni* see al-Fārābi's *Kitāb al-Mūsiqi al-Kabir*, translated from Arabic into Persian by Āzartāsh Āzamūsh (1375/1996:289-290, 319-344).
[28] The contemporary *tanbūr* of Afghanistan is described in *Music in the Culture of Northern Afghanistan* (Slobin 1976:235-240) and in 'Afghan Musical Instruments: The Dutar and Tanbur' (Sakata 1978:150-153).
[29] For a description of the *māsiqār* see al-Marāghi's (1365-1434) musical treatise the *Sharh-i- Adwār*, annotated and edited by Taki Binesh (1370/1991:359).
[30] For a later illustration of the *mūsiqār* see figure 115 in *Imaging Sound*: An *Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India* (Wade 1998).

bound together, behind which was attached a manual wind-raising device set to direct or push air into the pipes. The left hand was used to move the wind-raising device, while the fingers of the right hand played the instrument by pressing the keys, and thus created melodies.[31]

The *nāy* as a member of a musical ensemble is often named in company with those musical instruments that are usually used indoors, such as the *tanbūr*, *santūr*, *barbat*, *naqūs*, *chang*, and *rūd* (Dāmaghāni 1984:1, 30, 204, Sistāni 1984: 234, 385, 388) 389). Such a combination of instruments suggests that the term *nāy*, signifying 'reed' in Dari/Persian, has been used to refer to at least a reed flute, if not specifically to the end-blown flute of the region, rather than any other woodwind instrument, for which type generally the word *nāy* also is used. In contemporary Afghanistan the word *nāy* is used as a general term for all the flutes. More specifically, however, the word refers to the long rim-blown shepherd flute.[32]

Before concluding our discussion about the indoor musical instruments of Khurāsān in the second half of the 10th century and the 11th century, it is appropriate to mention that two percussion instruments are named as the time-keeping instruments of indoor musical ensembles. These instruments were the *chaghāna* and the *naqūs*. The first instrument is identified as frame cymbals, which were known in the region since the pre-Islamic era and are depicted in artefacts of that time (Farmer [1939]1997:vol II; 219).

The word *naqūs* is translated from Dari/Persian as an 'oblong piece of wood struck with a flexible rod', and also as a 'kind of wooden gong', and as a 'bell' (Steingass 1957:1377). We do not know anything about the size and the quality of the sound of the *naqūs*. Nonetheless, based on the context of its appearance in an indoor ensemble, which also includes the *tanbūr*, *santūr*, and the *nāy*, one may suggest that it was a small bell or perhaps a type of small wooden percussion instrument used to mark the time.

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[31] This description of the *ārghanūn* is based on al-Marāghi's *Sharh-i- Adwār*, annotated and edited by Taki Binesh (1370/1991:359).

[32] For a discussion about the *nāy* in modern Afghanistan see 'Afghan Musical Instruments: Nai' (Sakata1979b144-146).

Musical instruments: outdoor ensembles

Having discussed the musicians, their status, and the musical instruments that comprised the indoor ensembles of Khurāsān during the Ghaznavid rule, it is appropriate to consider briefly the outdoor or the royal ensemble of wind and percussion instruments, which was apparently an important element of royalty and a symbol of power. Gardizi in his *Zain al-akhbār*, in reporting on the appointment of Amir Maudūd ibn Mahsud as the governor of Balkh, and also on the assignment of his brother Amir Majdūd as the governor of Lahore, clearly indicates an earlier instance of the use of a drum and a flag as symbols of royalty and power.

> Amir Mahsud, peace upon him after being placed on the throne and being crowned, gave a drum and flag to the prince Amir Maudūd and sent him to Balkh. ... and he appointed Amir Majdūd as the governor of Lahore, and giving him a drum and the flag sent him with his servants and attendants to Lahore (Gardizi [1050]1984:432-433).

Baihaqi, in describing scenes of the Ghaznavid military campaigns and victories, the appointment of new governors, and the reception of diplomatic envoys, informs us about the function and official status of an outdoor band, which was an important part of the official ceremonies and military campaigns of this dynasty. The citations just below are from the *Tārihk-i Baihaqi*, which respectively indicate the occasions noted just above in which an outdoor ensemble was used.

> One could say that the world was shaking and the sky became bold from the people's exclamation, and from the sound of *kauses*, *būqs*, and *tabls*, when the army moved into battle (*Baihaqi* [*c.* 1076]1985:760).

> As Amir Mahsud became aware of the event, he became joyful and ordered the *būq* and the *dohl* to play (*Baihaqi* [*c.* 1076]1985:48).

> He [the messenger] reached the cavalry row of the army, and the sound of the *dohal*, *būq*, and the voice of the people arose (*Baihaqi* [*c.* 1076]1985:57).

> In the middle of the forenoon the sound of the *kaus*, *tabl*, and the *būq* arose as Tash-i Frash was leaving for Khurasan and Iraq (*Baihaqi* [*c.* 1076]1985:373).

> The sound of the *būq*, *dohal*, and *kāsa-pil* arose, which caused some to think it was the resurrection day, and the messenger was taken through (*Baihaqi* [*c.* 1076]1985:382).

These passages of the *Tārihk-i Baihaqi* thus additionally provide clues about the instrumental constitution of outdoor ensembles at that time. Among the musical instruments of such an ensemble, the construction and classification of certain instruments—the *dohl*, a large double-headed drum, the *kaus* a large kettledrum, and the *tabl*, a drum—is clear. However, the structure and the style of playing on a few other instruments mentioned in the citations just above and earlier, such as the ā*yina-i pilān*, *kāsa-pil*, and the *būq*, needs further discussion.

Concerning the *kāsa-pil* or *kāsa-pilān*, which is the plural of the *kāsa-pil*, one may suggest that it belonged to the percussion section of the royal outdoor ensemble, and that it was a type of drum. The term *kāsa*, from Persian, may be translated into English as 'bowl', which probably indicates in general the deep and circled shape of the instrument, and *pil* as an elephant. Additionally, the term *kāsa* denotes a drum (Haddādi 1376/1997:449).

Given these two explanations, one may suggest that *kāsa-pilān* were relatively large kettledrums mounted on elephants, and perhaps the term was an early name for the very large kettledrums, the *naghāras*, carried on the elephants. For such a suggestion one can refer to support in much later iconographic sources; namely, in the miniature paintings of India demonstrating the court life and military campaigns of Mughals. Some of the paintings depict military or outdoor bands of the royal court, which consisted of large trumpets (*karnā*), conical shawms (*sūrnā*), cymbals (*sanj*), and a pair of very large kettledrums on the elephants.[33]

[33] Figures 24, 28, 35, and 42 of the *Pādshāhnāma* are remarkable examples in support of such a suggestion. For these illustrations see *King of the World: The Pādshāhnāma, an Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle* (Beach 1997).

Below is another citation from the *Tārihk-i Baihaqi*, which might help us in considering the *āyina-i-pilān* and the *būq*. Additionally, the quotation just below throws light on the quality of the sound of the outdoor ensemble, and these two instruments, which were members of this ensemble. This sound helped in creating an audible presence of power and authority.

> The *būq-ha-i zarin* kept in the garden were blown and their sound mixed up with the sound of *digar būq-ah*, and at the royal gate the *kaus* were hit, *būqs* [were blown], and *āyina-i-pilān* were shaken from which arose an exclamation. It caused some to think that it was the resurrection day (*Baihaqi* [c. 1076]1985473-74).

In this data the word *āyina-i-pilān*, which has been translated into English as an elephant's bell (Steingass 1957:133), is used in conjunction with the Dari/Persian verb *junbānīdan*, signifying to 'shake', or to 'move'. Thus, the appearance of the 'bell' together with the verb 'shaking' gives one a very plausible reason to suggest that the *āyina-i-pilān* were relatively large bells hung from the neck of elephants. Such an instrument of different sizes appears much later on the neck of the elephants, which carried members of outdoor and military ensembles of the Mughal courts in India.[34]

Unlike Gardizi, who is more specific about the wind instruments of an outdoor band of this region before the reign of the Ghaznavids, as we have noted earlier in this chapter, and we will refer to him again for the name of the wind instrument of such an ensemble during the Ghaznavids, Baihaqi is not specific. In the *Tārihk-i Baihaqi* one may find only one word that indicates a wind instrument used in the outdoor bands of this dynasty. This word is *būq*, which according to Farmer was the generic name for any instrument of the horn or trumpet family, but specifically it referred to the conical-tube group ([1945]1997:vol 1, 93).

[34] See figures 22, 24, 28, 34, and 42 in *King of the World: The Pādshāhnāma, an Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle* (Beach 1997).

Baihaqi most probably uses the word *būq* as a generic term. This interpretation is evident in the citation just above from the *Tārihk-i Baihaqi*, in which Baihaqi uses the word *būq* in three instances. Firstly, the word *būq* is used with the adjective *zarin*, signifying 'made of gold or golden', *i.e.* 'golden *būqs*'. In this instance, though Baihaqi does not name any particular instrument, he is more specific than on all other occasions. Here the adjective 'golden' clearly indicates the brass material of the instrument. In this context it is quite reasonable to assume that the word *būq-ha-i zarin* is used to refer to the trumpet-type wind instruments of an outdoor ensemble.

In the second instance the words *digar būq-ah*, signifying 'other *būqs*', may point to the conical woodwind instruments of an outdoor ensemble in addition to metal trumpets, perhaps to the shawms. The last appearance of the word *būqs* in the quotation above indicates a third type of wind instrument, called also *būq*, possibly the horns. Thus, the triple usage of the word *būq*, in one sentence accompanied with an adjective in the first two instances, gives us a reasonable cause to suggest that Baihaqi employs the word būq for identifying all wind instruments regardless of their specific classification.

Observations on the development of the *parda* system, an early modal system of Khurāsān

This discussion about the music of Khurāsān during the Ghaznavids will be incomplete without considering the music or the type of music played at the court and supported by the king and the nobility. We have noted in the second chapter and earlier in the current discussion that from the 8th to the 13th centuries, simultaneously with the formation of a pan-Islamic modal system, a specific modal system, with its own scientific theory, existed and had been developed in Khurāsān and Transoxania.

By the end of the 12th century and the first half of the 13th century, this system, identified here as the *parda* system of Khurāsān, had already functioned within the framework of pan-Islamic artistic values. Thus, its local Khurāsāniān ethno-cultural orientation had been absorbed and adjusted to the poly-ethnic composition of the Islamic world and towns. Additionally, it was reported that this regional system was closely associated with the ancient modal system of Khurāsān, and was formed on the basis of the transformation of this ancient modal system.

Here we will examine mainly two relatively early literary sources of the Ghaznavid era to follow the process of the formation of the Khurāsānian *parda* system, a system that eventually was reported and discussed in Mohammad Nīshāpūri's musical treatise, which dates from the second half of the 12th to first half of the 13th century.[35] Mohammad Nīshāpūri, a poet and musician of the Ghaznavid era, who lived during the reign of Bahrām Shah in the city of Ghazni. These two earlier sources are the *diwān* of Manūchihri Dāmaghāni and the thirty-sixth chapter of the *Qābūs Nāma*, 'On the Custom and Tradition of Musicianship'. Respectively, they date from the first half and second half of the 11th century. These sources provide us with very important data on theoretical and practical aspects of music in Khurāsān at that time.

Manūchihri Dāmaghāni, as Janidi has pointed out (1372/1993:140), names around seventy titles, which include *bāda*, *rāst*, *ūshāq rāhwi*, and *nawā* (Dāmaghāni 1984:1, 195, 127, 231). These five titles are accompanied by the term *parda*, signifying 'curtain' in Dari/Persian (Faruqi 1981:248), a word that previously was used for the identification of the modal system of Khurāsān and Transoxania before the 13th century (Dzhumajev 1992:145-146). The word *parda* was considered by Qutbudin Shīrāzi as a Persian equivalent of the Arabic word *shadd*, *i.e.*, a principle or basic melodic mode (Faruqi 1981:248). The five

[35] This treatise, referred to sometimes as the 'Tumanski Manuscript', is discussed by Dzhumajev (1992:145-146).

pardas noted just above, as we shall see, are also named among the 10 '*pardas*' or modes mentioned in the *Qābūs Nāma*.

Concerning the remaining 65 names used in the *diwān* of Manūchihri Dāmaghāni, it has been argued that they also comprise the pre-Islamic modes of the region, and many of them are attributed to the legendary musician of the region Barbad (Janidi 1372/1993:137-149). Additionally, Dzhumajev believes that the entire *parda* system of Khurāsān and Transoxania of the period under consideration (874-1147) was derived from the transformation of the old or pre-Islamic [Khurāsānian] modal system (1992:151).[36]

Additional data supports this view. In chapter two we noted that the pre-Islamic modal system of the region was based in a three-part system invented by Barbad. All the three earlier terms used for naming each part of this system appear in the *Qābūs Nāma* and Dāmaghāni's *diwān*. In this regard, two appearances of the term *khsrovani* in the *Qābūs Nāma* (Kai Kā'ūs [*c.* 1082]1996:193, 196), and the appearance of the words *dastān* and *lahan* in the *diwāns* of Farrukhi Sistani (1994:284, 298) and Manūchihri Dāmaghāni (1984:22, 56, 91) respectively, suggest that the musical heritage of the legendary musician Barbad still was alive and had some definite practical importance for the science of music and musical performance of the region.

It has been reported that in the pre-Islamic era the modal system of the region was a highly ritualised art, regulated by strict rules and canons, which governed the time associations of the *pardas* and the sequential order of their performance (Dzhumajev 1992:148). Such restrictions are obvious also later in the *Qābūs Nāma*, and in a poem of Dāmaghāni's *diwan*. Before continuing our discussion about this data, however, it important to note that the names of the modes that appear in the *Qābūs Nāma* were adopted subsequently in the region for naming the 12 *pardas*, *shudūd*, *maqāms*, *dastgahs*, and *shasmaqāms*, as the case may be. Data

[36] Even though Dzhumajev uses the word Persian, the adjective Khurāsānian is used here in light of the earlier argument and the point of view presented in the second chapter of this thesis.

in the *Qābūs Nāma* clearly notes a time theory for performance and also provides us with specific names for 10 different modes, and the sequence of their performance.

> ... And all those songs, which are appropriate to hours of the day and to the seasons, like the songs of spring and autumn, winter and summer. You must be aware what to sing at each period. Do not sing a spring song in the autumn, neither an autumn song in the spring, nor a summer song in the winter, nor a winter song in the summer. You must know the appropriate time for every song, even though you are an unrivalled master (*ūstād*) (Kai Kā'ūs [*c.* 1082]1996:195).
>
> At the beginning, sing something in the *parda rāst*, then according to the rules in all *pardas*, which include *parda bāda*, *parda irāq*, *parda ūshāq*, *parda zir-āfgand*, *parda būslik*, *parda ispāhān*, *parda rawā parda gūzashta*, and *parda rāhāwi*, and accomplish the rule of musicianship. ([Kai Kā'ūs [*c.* 1082]1996:196).

Dāmaghāni, in his poem titled 'In the Praise of the Sovereign', in addition to mentioning the name of several melodic modes, also clearly indicates the hour of the day and the seasonal assignment of modes. In this poem, composed of twenty couplets, seven couplets (13-19) include data about melodic modes, which demonstrate a time theory and the seasonal association of the modes (Dāmaghāni 1984:87, 88).

> Musicians hour by hour in the nigh and the low tones
> At one time they play in *sarwistān* and another time in *ishkina*
> Then in *zir-qaisrān* and *takht-i-ardishir*
> Followed by *nau-roz-buzurg* and a melody in *baskana*
> Next they play in *haft-ganj* and *ganj-gāv*
> Followed by melodies in *def-rakhsh* and *ārjanah*
> In one turn they play in *pālīzbān* and in other turn in *sarwi-sahi*
> Then a turn in *roshan-chīrāgh* and a turn in *kāwīznah*
> An hour in *sīwārtir* and an hour in *kabki-dari*
> One hour in *sarwi-sitāh* and the next hour in *bārauzana*
> Early mornings in *chakak* as at noon in *shakhj*
> Mid-days in *labīnā*, evenings in *bardana*
> In the month of *Farwardin* in *gul-cham*, in the month of *Di* in *bād-rang*, *Mihrgan* in *nargis* and in another season in *sūsana*

In Dāmaghāni's poem cited just above, while the time and hour assignment of modes during a day might be followed easily, the seasonal association of modes are perhaps obscure and somewhat difficult to understand. The modes are linked with the words *Farwardīn*, *Di*, and *Mihrgān*, which respectively are the names of a month of spring, winter, and autumn in the Persian solar year (Steingass 1957:924, 550, 1354).

In light of the data about the time assignment of modes, it is interesting to note that there is a time theory in contemporary Hindustani music, in which certain *rāg*s are associated with certain times and hours of the day. This tradition in Hindustani music dates back possibly to the 7th century (Ruckert and Widdess 2000:72). The relationship between time theory in ancient India and time theory in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic music of Khurāsān eventually needs to be studied in greater detail. This thesis does not engage in such a discussion.

The *naubat* in Khurāsān: hourly rotation and suite-type composition

Before discussing a few final theoretical and practical aspects of music of Khurāsān at the time as noted in the two sources above, it is important to note that the fourth and fifth couplets of the poem cited above appear to indicate an early presence of a *naubat* tradition in the musical life of this region. In these two couplets the term *naubat*, signifying 'turn', rotation, and 'round', and the word *sā'at*, meaning 'an hour', are of significant importance in this regard.

The two terms *naubat* and *sā'at*, each of which is used four times respectively in the fourth and fifth couplets cited above, are used at least in two more instances in this poem. Firstly, they note the cultivation of the *naubat*, a practice of the Abbāsid courts, in which musicians performed in turn or in rotation (Faruqi 1981:234) at Khurāsān courts. Secondly, though specific musical instruments are not mentioned in this poem, the general frame of

reference from the poem suggests an early example in Khurāsān of the *naubat* function of marking the hours of the day by the performance of a particular mode during a particular time of the day (Faruqi 1981:234, Wade 1998:6-7). Twenty-two out of the twenty-six modes mentioned in this poem are linked with hours of the day. This linkage, which notes the performance of mode for almost every hour (*sā'at*), possibly by different musicians in turn (*naubat*), for twenty-four hours, provides further support for this suggestion.

Furthermore, the word *naubat* in the citation above may also refer to the cultivation of a suite-type of vocal and instrumental composition, as used in the Islamic world, called *naubat*. This suggestion may further be supported by a fragment from the *Qābūs Nāma* in which the author describes a four-part suite-type composition associated with the term *naubat*, as one may notice in the citation just below.

> It is not a good rule to play always one thing, as all men do not have the same character and people are different. Thus, the masters (*ūstādān*) of this art have established it on a certain order. At first [they] played a *khsrovani*, [which is] a tune (*dastān*) composed for the company of kings. Then they created certain metres (*tarīqahā*) lighter than the [poetic] metre (*wazn*) used [in *khsrovani*], to which a song may be sung, and called them *rāh* ('melody') [in general].[37] This [movement], called *rāh-i*-grān ('heavy melody') was close to the character of the elderly and men of serious disposition, and it was constructed for this group of people. But, seeing that not everyone was old or of a serious disposition, they said: we have constructed (*tariq-i*) for the old men and we will construct one for the young people too. Then they looked around for poems in a lighter [poetic] rhythm and set them to lighter melodies (*rāh-i-sabuk*), and called them *khafif* ('light') so that after every *rāh-i-gran* a *khafif* was played and sung, so that the old and the youth gain their portion during the performance of a *naubat* [suite]. Then children, and women, who are of a more effeminate character, were deprived until the *tarāna* was composed for these people, so that they might enjoy this pleasure. ... So, do not play and sing only one thing. As I mentioned, play and sing all of them, so that every one may gain some profit from hearing you (Kai Kā'ūs [*c.* 1082]1996:193-194).

[37] The term *rāh* may be translated from Persian into English as 'way', 'road', 'path', 'means', 'method', and 'course' (Steingass 1957:565). From the musical point of view, it is identified and interpreted as an old musical term, which was used for naming a melodic mode (*lahan*), a tune (*naghma*) a musical mode (*parda* or *maqām*), and melody (*āhang*) (Haddādi 1376/1997:247).

In the quotation just above, *khsrovani*, *rāh-i-grān*, *rāh-i-sabuk*, and *tarāna* are named as the four movements of a *naubat*, which apparently consisted of an instrumental prelude, known generally as *khsrovani*, and three vocal pieces, known generally respectively as *rāh-i-grān*, *rāh-i-sabuk*, and *tarāna*. The instrumental origin of the first piece of an early *naubat* is noted in the *Qābūs Nāma* by the Dari/Persian verb *zadand* ('played'). The vocal origin of the second section is noted by the words *surod* ('a song'), and *tawān guft* ('may sing'). The word 'poems' set to light melodies indicates the vocal basis of the third movement, while the title of the fourth piece, *tarāna*, signifying a 'song', marks the vocal origin of the fourth movement.

It is important to note that in the citation just above, only the title of one movement—namely *tarāna*—corresponds to a title of a section in the later *naubat* suite, about the structural parts of which, up to the 14th century, not much is known (Faruqi 1981:234). At that time it consisted of four parts—*qawl*, *ghazal*, *tarāna*, and *furū-dāsht*—which were vocal compositions, preceded by an instrumental prelude called *tarīqa* (Farmer [1957]1997:vol 1; 453, Faruqi 1981:234).

In spite of the emergence of the word *tarīqa* in the citation above, one may not be certain whether the vocal pieces were opened by an instrumental prelude later known as *tarīqa*, which preceded each vocal piece of the later *naubat* suite, noted by Faruqi (1981:235). Concerning the appearance of the term *tarīqa* or *tarīq* in the *Qābūs Nāma*, one should note that in the citation above, the word *tarīqa* is evidently used to refer to metric modes, rather than to the instrumental prelude of a vocal composition, or to instrumental piece in its own right. We do know, however, that an instrumental composition called *tarīqa* was immensely popular among the musicians of Khurāsān in the 10th century (Farmer [1957]1997:vol 1; 452).

The above suggestion concerning an appropriate interpretation of the word *tarīqa* in this instance, is based on the manner in which the word *tarīqa* is used in the *Qābūs Nāma*. The term *tarīqa* appears in the *Qābūs Nāma* twice. Each time it is used in conjunction and

comparison with the term *wazn*, which identifies a poetic rhythmic mode or metric pattern (Faruqi 1981:388). Such an emergence of the term *tarīqa* in the *Qābūs Nāma* clearly supports the above suggestion. Additionally, it should be noted that the word *tarīqa* historically has been used with four meanings, one of which was the use of this term for defining rhythmic modes (Faruqi 1981:353-354).

To continue our discussion about the *naubat* suite-type composition, it is important to note two more specific features of this vocal and instrumental genre of Khurāsānian music as reported in the *Qābūs Nāma*. Firstly, it is evident from the above citation that the use of four different metric modes from the heaviest to the lightest was the main factor in achieving contrast between four movements of a *naubat*. Secondly, the author of the *Qābūs Nāma* clearly links the contrast of each movement of a *naubat* composition to diverse character, social position, gender, and age, and even to the profession of people.

It is interesting to note that Kai Kā'ūs, after advising about different aspects of a musician's life and activity, in advising how musicians should select their repertoire and the melodic modes and metric modes of their performance, also makes an interesting note about the subject of poems and the age and profession of the audience.

> In the mansion be alert. If you see a special group of people, who are wise and acquainted with music, then demonstrate your musicianship and play the pleasant modes (*rāh-ahi*) and melodies (*nawā-ahi*), and sing about old age, and the contempt of the world. If you see [that your listeners are] the youth and children, largely sing in the light metres (*tariqa-hae sabuk*), and [for the young men] sing songs praising women, wine, and wine drinkers. If you see [that your hearers consist of] soldiers, and people living as knights (*aiyar-pishagān*), sing the *mā-wara'u n-nahri* (Transoxanian) quatrains about battle, bloodshed, and in praise of knights' (Kai Kā'ūs [*c.* 1082]1996:195).

Leaving aside now the discussion of the *naubat*, and before the conclusion of this chapter, it is appropriate to add to our discussion about the *parda* system of Khurāsān. For instance, in the citation above, one may also see an evident association of age and gender with

the melodic (*rāhs*) and metric modes (*tarīqas*). Concerning the assignment of melodic modes and metric modes to physical characteristics, and to age, gender, profession and other characteristics of the audience as noted in the *Qābūs Nāma*, which find its thorough reflection later in Dari/Persian musical treatises of the next centuries, it should be said that this association, according to Dzhumajev, originates in the pre-Islamic modal system of the region (1992:149). According to the same source, in the pre-Islamic modal system of the region each mode (*parda*) was a vehicle for a specific idea and was associated with a definite emotion.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed a few aspects of music in Khurāsān after the establishment of Islam in this region, in order to trace the state of music and musicians, to note the presence and use of different musical instruments, and to follow the process of the formation and development of the *parda* system of Khurāsān. These issues of the musical life of Khurāsān were discussed according to data obtained from historical writings of the Ghaznavid era, from the poetry collections of court poets, and from an early literary source about the art of music and musicianship.

The discussion above demonstrated that singing, playing musical instruments, and male and female dancing, in spite of being forbidden as anti-Islamic phenomena by orthodox Muslims, were important means of entertainment in Khurāsān. These sources indicated the presence of musicians and singers at the Ghaznavid courts, who entertained their masters at court, as well as during hunting seasons outside the cities, and at all feasts.

This chapter highlighted the names of a two female and a few male court musicians, as reported in the sources discussed above. Additionally, this chapter presented data about the status of musicians and the source of their income. It was suggested that musicians were accorded with high trust and a confidential position, and that they enjoyed the same treatment

as the beloved court poets. Nonetheless, gratuities received from the Ghaznavid rulers, nobility, and other aristocrats were the main source for the livelihood of the musicians.

This chapter also briefly described several musical instruments used in indoor and outdoor ensembles of Khurāsān in the 10th and the 11th centuries. The description of musical instruments of these two types of ensembles demonstrated a rich panorama in the instrumentarium of the region. It was established that some of these musical instruments are known today only in name in Afghanistan. Other instruments are still present in the musical culture of Afghanistan with the same name, perhaps in a somewhat modified physical form, while in some instances the same name identifies a totally different musical instrument.

Concerning to the outdoor ensembles of the region and their function, it was discussed that the presence of these ensembles indicates an early instance of the use of percussion and wind instruments as an important element of royalty, and also an early instance of the well-known *naubat* outdoor ceremonial ensemble of the Central Asian and North Indian regions. Mentioning the term *naubat*, it is appropriate to note that this chapter also briefly discussed an instrumental and vocal suite-type composition, which consisted of four movements, and considered it as an early version of the 14th and the 15th century *naubat* suite.

Another issue discussed in this chapter was the *parda* system of Khurāsān. The sources discussed in this chapter do not provide one with much data about the modal concept of the region and the *parda* system in use at that time. However, the little information that is available in these sources allows one to conclude that a theoretically well-developed musical system, based on a transformation of the old or pre-Islamic Khurāsānian modal system, was in use then and also was developing in the region at that time. Nonetheless, it is not possible to reconstruct a detailed description of this system from the data discussed in this chapter.

Even given a lack of detail, however, at least we have some clues about this early system. This evidence includes the names of about 10 modes identified by the term *parda*,

and also a time assignment and sequential order of *pardas* to be followed in performance. Other clues refer to an association of modes with physical characteristics, age, gender, and profession. Concerning the legacy of this time in the music culture of later traditions, it is not only that the name of most of the 10 modes named in the *Qābūs Nāma* were subsequently adopted in later theoretical and musical systems of the Islamic world. Additionally, the time theory for the performance of modes and their association with different features of the audience, as reported in the sources discussed in this chapter, are reflected in later theoretical and musical systems of the region as well.

Chapter 4

The Music of Khurāsān during the Reign of the Timurids, 1405-1507

In the previous chapter we discussed the music of the area under consideration in light of data obtained from the sources that were completed during the reign of the Ghaznavid rulers of Afghanistan and the surrounding areas. The aim of the previous chapter was to present the music identified in this thesis as Khurāsānian in an early stage of its formation after the establishment of Islam in the region. This chapter will discuss the fate of music in Khurāsān a few centuries later, after the foundation of the Timurids in this region. The skip of two and a half centuries, *i.e.* from the collapse of the Ghaznavids in 1147 to the raise of the Timurids in 1405, is linked with the historical events that followed the collapse of the Ghaznavids and the dynasty succeeding them, the Ghorids (1148 -1214).

The latter dynasty, which eventually took over the entire Ghaznavid Empire, continued the cultural and artistic trends of the Ghaznavid era in general (Ghubar 1967:135), which may also be said about the state of music and musicians during the time of Ghorids as well. This suggestion is supported by the history of the formation of Khurāsānian *parda* system, which, as noted in the previous chapter, developed within a period of time (8th to the 13th centuries) that covers the Ghaznavid and Ghorid eras respectively. Nonetheless, up to now the author of this thesis has not been able to find any other evidence for or against this working hypothesis.

From the end of the Ghorids to the emergence of the Timurid dynasty in Khurāsān, the history of Afghanistan is marked by years of the devastating destruction of cities, by merciless mass executions of indigenous populations, and by the placement of urban societies and civilisation under a pagan nomadic yoke. Changiz Khan and his barbaric army were

responsible for these events, which had a disastrous economic and cultural effect on the region.[1]

The people of Khurāsān had not even recovered from the destruction caused by Changiz Khan and his army when they were overrun by a Turko-Mongol invader, Timur Lang, or Timur the Lame (1336-1405). In fact, the atrocities of Timur against his Muslim coreligionists in Afghanistan equalled those of Changiz Khan (Gregorian 1069:19). Yet, unlike Changiz Khan, as pointed out by Adshead, there was a gleam of enlightenment about Timur (1993:103). He was a strong supporter of various arts and promoted a form of culture. These arts and this culture dominated the Islamic world for centuries.

Under his successors, the Timurids, the music of Khurāsān, in a manner similar to other aspects of its culture, was revived. Thanks to the patronage and support of the Timurid rulers of Khūrāsān (1370-1507), Herat, the capital of the Timurids, was famous for its sparkling achievements in various arts. In this ancient city of greater Khūrāsān lived outstanding masters, such as the great miniaturist Behzad (d. *c.* 1535), the calligrapher Sultan Ali (1453-1519), the musician and music theorist Abdul Qadir ibn Ghaibi al-Marāghi (1365-1434),[2] and the poets and musicians Jami (1414-1498), Mir Ali Sher Nawa'i (1441-1501), and Bana'i.

Sources of information

This chapter will briefly discuss the music promoted and supported by this dynasty, which is identified in contemporary Afghan writings as Khūrāsānian. At least three types of

[1] For a comprehensive discussion about the invasion of Afghanistan by the Mongol army of Changiz Khan and its consequences, see Ghubar's *Afghanistan dar Masir-I-Tarikh* [Afghanistan along the Highway of History] (1967:185-237).

[2] The celebrated musician and theorist of the Timurid era al-Marāghi was the chief musician of Timur (d. 1405) and of his son Shahrukh (d. 1447). He is believed to be the author of five major works on music (Shiloah 1995:56), which became the authoritative examples for subsequent generations in the Dari/Persian speaking world. His major writings include *Jami ul-alhān* (818/1414), *Mqāsid ul-alhān* (821/1417), and *Sharh-i Adwār*. The latter text is used in this chapter as a primary source about the music of Khurāsān during the Timurids.

data are of significant importance for this discussion. These data are: (1) sources that have general information about the music and dance of that time, (2) technical sources that directly consider the theoretical and practical aspects of that music, and (3) iconographic sources.

The first group includes historical writings, poetry collections, and other literary sources. Among this category, the *Bābūr-nāma*, written by the founder of the Indian Mughal Empire Zahir-u-din Mohammad Babur (1483-1530), and the *Majālis un-Nafā'is* by Mir Ali Sher Nawa'*i* (1441-1501), the principle minister of Sultan Hussain Ba'iqra (1470-1506), and a well-known patron of the artists and cultural figures of his era, are very important.[3]

The second type is comprised of Dari/Persian musical treatises written during the Timurid era in the city of Herat. These treatises are the *Sharh-i Adwār* [An Explanation of Scales] by Abdul Qadir ibn Ghaibi al-Marāghi (1365-1434), the *Risāla-e dar Mūsiqi* by Bana'i (888/1484),[4] and the *Risāla-e Mūsiqi* by Jami (1414-1498).[5] Occasionally, for a better understanding of one or another aspect of the Timurid music of Khurāsān, one may be referred to a 14th century Dari/Persian musical treatise and three Dari/Persian musical treatises compiled in the 16th century and the 17th century. These other sources are the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* (14th century),[6] the *Risāla-e Mūsiqi* [*Sultāniya*] by Kawkabi (16th century),[7] the *Risāla-e*

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[3] The *Majālis un-Nafā'is* is a catalogue of accomplished people of the 15th century. Originally this work was written in an Eastern Turkic language called Chaghatay'i. Fakhri Herati and Hakim Shah Muhammad Qizwini completed two translations of the *Majālis un-Nafā'is* in the 16th century. This discussion is based on Fakhri Herati's translation completed in A.H. 928/1549 in Heart and published in 1945 in Iran.

[4] This treatise was written by the poet, musician and theorist Ali bin Mohammad Mimar, who is well known by the nick-name Bana'i ('builder'). He is mentioned in the *Bābūr-nāma* and the *Majālis un-Nafā'is*. The manuscript of the *Risāla-e Mūsiqi*, compiled in 888/1484, was published in facsimile in Iran in 1368/1989.

[5] Jami's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi* was written in the second half of the 15th century by one of the most respected scholars of Sulatan Hussain Baiqra's (d. 1506) court, Nur al-din Abd-al rahman Jami (1414-1498). In 1960 the Soviet linguist Boldirev translated Jami's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi* from Persian into Russian. John Baily mistakenly identifies Beliaev as the translator of this treatise into Russian (1988:14). The well-known Soviet musicologist Beliaev is the author of the commentary accompanying Boldirev's translation.

[6] Not much is known about the author of this treatise. In several sources the author of the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* is identified differently. Shiloah is of the opinion that the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* is written by an unknown author (1976:166). On the basis of Clement Huart's claim, the author of the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* is represented as Amir ibn Khir Māli (Farmer [1964]1997:614). More reasonable seems an argument forwarded by Taghi Binesh, who identified Hassan Kash .ni as the author of this musical treatise (al-Marāghi 1991:23, Kashani 1992:57). I am of the same opinion as Binesh. Thus, in this thesis the author of the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* is named Hassan Kashāni.

[7] In the *Āshinā-e bā Risālat Mūsiqi*, Kawkabi's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi* is introduced and listed as *Risāla-e Sultaniya* (Sidiq 1379/2000: 96-97). According to Changi, the author of this treatise was trained by Jami (Simiyonov

Mūsiqi by Darwesh Ali Changi (17th century),[8] and the *Zamzamah Wahdat* [A Melody of Unity], by Mirza-beg ibn Said Ali (17th century).[9]

A detailed and critical study of each the seven treatises named just above, and their comparison to each other, is an enormous task and it is a topic for a major investigation.[10] This thesis will deal with these treatises only in so far as it is necessary for a better understanding and presentation of one or another aspect of the Timurid music of Khurāsān. Noting the extent of the study necessary for these treatises, it is nonetheless appropriate to present them here very briefly.

The *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* consists of an introduction (*muqaddama*) and four essays (*maqālas*). Each essay consists of several chapters and each chapter of several sub-chapters. For example, the first essay consists of two chapters and each chapter is divided into three and five sub-chapters respectively. This essay, called *Dar ilmi musiqi*, is dedicated to the science or theoretical aspects of music. The second essay, *Dar amali musiqi*, unveils the practical side

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1946:48), whose musical treatise was named above. Nonetheless, Rashidova doubts the accuracy of Changi's claim (1972:368). Several copies of Kawkabi's treatise are held in the libraries of the Institutes for Oriental Studies of the Uzbek, Tadjik, and Russian Academy of Sciences (Rashidova 1972:365). All the references to Kawkabi in this thesis are based on the copy held in the *Sipah-salar* Library in Tehran, 2931:fol. 262-275.

[8] Hafiz Darwesh Ali Changi, the musician, poet, and historian, is the author of this treatise, a few copies of which are held in Tashkent, Dushanbe, and St. Petersburg. References to Chnagi's treatise in this thesis are based on the copy held in the library of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, numbered 449. Rashidova, whose dissertation was dedicated to this treatise, gave the first six chapters of Changi's musical treatise in facsimile to me, for which I am very grateful to her. I was not able to obtain its full copy in any form. Due to this fact Simiyonov, who has completed a shortened translation of Changi's treatise into Russian, will be cited additionally.

[9] The original of this manuscript is in the possession of Punjab University of Pakistan, recorded by the number 6262. Nau-shahi, a Pakistani scholar, published an unedited copy of this treatise in *Ma'ārif* (1379/2000:102-124). In the library of the al-Beruni Institute for Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences another musical treatise with the same title is recorded by the number 6874, whose author was identified as Naini. This treatise was copied by Mulla Muhammad in 1064/1654. This treatise also focuses on the community of Central Asian and Indian musical cultures (Yosupova and Akhralova 1992:160). Similar to Mirza-beg's work, it consists of an introduction, a *zamzamah*, and a conclusion. A detailed study and comparison of these two treatises with one title would allow one to determine their true essence and to come to a conclusion. So far the study of these two works are waiting for willing pioneering scholars.

[10] Several of these seven musical treatises are thoroughly studied and discussed by Angelika Jung in her major thesis titled *Quellen der traditionellen Kunstmusik der Usbeken und Tadshiken Mittelasiens: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung des šašmaqām* (1989).

of music. The third essay, *Dar tasni sāzāt*, deals with the classification and making of musical instruments. The fourth essay consists of several advisory tips to the trainees of music.

The *Sharh-i Adwār*, as it is pointed out by al-Marāghi in the preface of his treatise, is an explanation or a commentary to a treatise by Safi al-din al-Urmayi's (d. 1294), the *Kitāb al-adwār* [Book of Scales] (Binesh 1370/1991:76-77). It consists of an introduction (*muqaddama*), an essay (*maqāla*), and a conclusion (*khātima*). The introduction consists of three chapters. The essay is divided into two big parts. The first part consisting of 12 chapters, is an explanation of scales (*adwār*). The second part of the essay is comprised of three chapters, two of which discuss metre (*iqā*) and one the aesthetic power of scales. The conclusion, called *Zawā'id ul-fawā'id* or additional notes, is a supplementary part to the *Sharh-i Adwār* and consists of 10 additional notes.

Bana'i's *Risāla-e dar Mūsiqi* consists of an introduction (*muqaddama*), two essays (*maqālas*), and a conclusion (*khātima*). The first essay is divided into 11 chapters and second essay into 4. The first and the second essays respectively discuss the science of the scales and modes (*ilmi adwār*) and to the science of rhythm (*ilmi iqa*). In conclusion brief descriptions of 17 vocal and instrumental genres are presented.

Jami's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi* consists of 23 chapters, three of which comprise an introduction (chapters 1-3), with the remainder being organised into two main sections and a conclusion. In the first main section, called *Dar ilmi talif* or 'on the science of composition' (chapters 4-18), are discussed tone, intervals and their relationship, and scales and their components. In the second main section, (chapters 19-22) titled *Dar ilmi I* or 'on the science of rhythm', metric modes with all their elements are thoroughly presented. In the conclusion the emotional connotation of the scales and modes are demonstrated.

Kawkabi's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi* is comprised of 12 chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter is dedicated to the elevation of music. In the second chapter is given the definition of

music. Chapters 3-5 consider pitch, intervals, and scales. In chapters 6-11 are discussed the principle of rhythm (*iqa*). Chapter 12 deals with the musical genres. In the conclusion, the emotional connotation of the scales and modes and their being allotted to particular times of the day are discussed.

Changi's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi* consists of a preface and 12 chapters. In the preface, after praising God, the prophet and the first four Caliphs and introducing himself, he gives the reason for writing his treatise. In the first chapter, called 'On the Description of the Prophet Muhammad's Sayings on the Legitimacy of Music', the lawfulness of music in Islam is discussed.

The second chapter discusses the definition of music, scales and rhythm. The third chapter describes the 12 *maqāms* and their derivative forms. Chapter 4 deals with principle of rhythm. In chapter 5, the description of musical genres, are given. Chapter 6 includes descriptions of more than a dozen musical instruments. Chapters 7-12 are dedicated to biographies, to the art of the past, and to the musicians of Changi's time, as well as to those rulers and scholars who loved, valued, and learnt music in various periods of history. In summary, this treatise reflects the musical life in Central Asia during the Timurid time and after the collapse of their kingdom in this region. It has very useful information on the history of music and is also noteworthy for containing the biographies of many musicians of the Timurid era and succeeding dynasties in Central Asia, Persia and India.

The *Zamzamah Wahdat* is an interesting source. It discusses the musical culture practiced north of India in Central Asia and Persia and compares it with North Indian musical culture. In the preface the author advises that the treatise is composed of an introduction (*muqaddama*), *zamzamah*, and a conclusion (*khātima*). However, these titles do not appear in the text of the treatise. Instead the following 6 sub-chapters make the chapters of this treatise.

Chapter 1, titled 'On the explanation of Persian and Indian Scales', deals with the 12 basic *maqāms* and their derivative melodic modes. In the second chapter, named 'On the Linkage of some Indian modes to the Persian modes and their Names', are discussed North Indian modal entities known as *rāgas* and their similarities with *maqāms*. The third chapter, called 'On the Description of Indian and Persian Compositions (*tasānif*)', discusses the vocal genres performed in India. Chapter 4 describes those vocal genres used north of India in the Islamic world. In chapters 5 and 6 the time association of Indian modes and so-called Persian modes respectively is described.

Leaving aside for a while the musical treatises and their discussion, it is appropriate to conclude this introduction by noting the third category of the sources that are of great help in discussing the musical culture of Khurāsān during the Timurids. This category consists of miniature paintings of the 15th and 16th centuries, which adorn the new editions of the works of the Dari/Persian literary heritage commissioned by the Timurids, and also the historical narratives of the Mughal kings of India, such as the *Bābūr-nāma*, the *Pādshāhnāma*, and others.

Musicians

Mentioning the *Bābūr-nāma*, it is appropriate to start our discussion with this source and also the *Majālis un-Nafā'is*, which have been selected as two important sources that contain general information about music. These two sources, the former of which was comprehensively discussed by John Baily (1988:12-16) from a musicological point of view, provide one with the names of musicians, musical instruments, and musical genres.

In his memoirs, the *Bābūr-nāma*, Babur provides us with the names of 13 musicians and a male dancer who served at the court of Sultan Hussain Ba'iqra and Muzzaffar Mirza. These musicians are: (1) Khwāja Abdullah Marwārid, a *qānūn* player; (2) Bana'i, a poet,

composer, and theorist; (3) Qul-Muhammad Ūdi, an *ūd* and a *ghichak* player; (4) Shaykhi Nay'i, a *nay*, an *ūd* and a *ghickak* player; (5) Shah-Quli Ghichaki, a *ghichak* player; (6) Hussain Ūdi, an *ūd* player and singer; (7) Ghulam Shadi, a composer; (8) Mirza Gharwandi, a composer; (9) Pahlawan Muhammad Bu-Sa'id, a composer; (10) Hajji, a singer; (11) Jalaluddin Mahmud Nay'i, a *nay* player; (12) Ghulam Shadi Bachcha, a *chang* player; (13) Mir Jan, a singer; and Yusuf Ali Kukaldash, a male dancer (Babur [*c.* 1525]1996:227-228, 235-236).

Nawa'i, the founder of Uzbek classical literature, who himself was also a good musician, in his *Majālis un-Nafā'is*, names 17 musicians among 385 accomplished people of his time. These musicians enter into his book, which is a galaxy of poets, mainly as poets rather than musicians. Nwa'i in his *Majālis un-Nafā'is*, in addition to providing us with very important supplementary information on several musicians named in the *Bābūr-nāma*, also confirms the information that appears about them in the *Bābur-nāma*.

Bana'i, Pahlawan Muhammad Bu-sa'id, and Qul-Muhammad are musicians mentioned in both sources. Nwa'i further advises us that Bana'i was the author of two treatises (*risāla*) on musical scales (*adwār*) (1945:60).[11] Another scholar who wrote on the science of music at this time was Khwāja Ab-ul-wafa (Nwa'i 1945:9). In the *Majālis un-Nafā'is*, Pahlawan Muhammad Bu-sa'id is presented as in the *Bābūr-nāma*, as a composer. Additionally, his skilful ability to compose impromptu new songs is noted (Nwa'i 1945:89-90). Concerning Qul-Muhammad Ūdi, it should be noted that in the *Majālis un-Nafā'is* he is introduced not only as a very good musician performing on the *ūd* and the *ghichak*, but also he is described as a skilful painter, calligrapher, composer, poet, and *qūpūz* player (Nwa'i 1945:103).

[11] Bana'i may have written two treatises on music. However, according to the best of my knowledge only one of them is currently known, which has been introduced briefly in this chapter.

Before continuing with the names of musicians documented in the *Majālis un-Nafā'is*, it should be noted that Nwa'i, similar to Babur, confirms and makes a clear distinction between the activities of performers and composers. John Baily (1988:14) pointed out this distinction, in discussing the musical data presented in the *Bābūr-nāma*. In addition to the composers Ghulam Shadi, Mirza Gharwandi, and Pahlawan Muhammad Bu-Sa'id, who are mentioned in the *Bābūr-nāma*, the following additional composers are named in the *Majālis un-Nafā'is*: Maulā-nā Sahib Balkhi, Khwāja Yosof Burhan, Maulānā Ghubari, and Maulānā Shikhi (Nwa'i 1945:16, 42, 77, 80).

Other musicians named in the *Majālis un-Nafā'is* are the following: (1) Maulā-nā Qadimi, a *naqqāra* player; (2) Mir Muhammad Ali Kabuli, a performer of several musical instruments; (3) Maulā-nā Sa'ili, who played a few instruments; (4) Khwāja Abdullah Sadir, a *qānūn* player; and (5) Said Imad, a *qānūn* player (Nwa'i 1945:35, 53, 66,106, 122). Additionally, (6) Mir Ibrahim Qānūni, a *qānūn* player; (7) Mula Sultan Muhammad Khandan, a *nay* player; (8) Maulānā Ilmi, a *qānūn* player; (9) Mula Kawkabi, a performer and theorist; (10) Homa-e Samarqandi, a singer; (11) Halbi Tanburchi, a *tanbūr* player; and (12) Mula Zin-u-din Ali, a *nay* player and singer, are other musicians of the Timurid era named in the *Majālis un-Nafā'is* (Nwa'i 1945:139, 148, 150, 155, 160, 164, 168).[12]

Most of the musicians named in the two sources noted above, together with other musicians of the Timurid era, are thoroughly introduced in Darwesh Ali Changi's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi*, chapters 7-12 (Simeonov 1946:36-53). The number of musicians noted above indicates the healthy state of musical culture at that time and the important status of musicians in Khurāsān.

[12] Chapter nine of the *Majālis un-Nafā'is* was written by Fakhri Herati after the death of Nwa'i and added to his translation of the original text.

Musical instruments

Having named these musicians, it is appropriate to note that several musical instruments and a few musical genres are also noted in the pages of the *Bābūr-nāma* and the *Majālis un-Nafā'is*. The musical instruments mentioned in these two sources are the *qānūn*, *ūd*, *ghichak*, *chang*, *tanbūr*, *qūpūz*, *nay*, and the *naqqāra* or *naghāra*. A few of these musical instruments, such as the *chang*, *tanbūr*, *nay* and the *naghāra*, were discussed in previous chapters of this thesis. The *ghichak* will be discussed in chapter 5 of this thesis. The *qānūn*, *ūd*, and the *qūpūz* are described just below.

Before starting our discussion about these three instruments, it is important to note that the musical instruments of the Timurid era are described in three musical treatises and are illustrated in the miniature paintings of the Timurid era. The three musical treatises are the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf*, the *Sharh-i Adwār*, and Chanigi's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi*.

The third essay of The *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* is called *Dar tasni sāzāt* or 'On the Making of Musical Instruments'. This essay is divided into two chapters. The first chapter, titled *Dar tasni sāzāt kāmila* 'On the Making of Perfect Musical Instruments', consists of five sub-chapters. In each sub-chapter a musical instrument belonging to the class of the so-called perfect musical instruments is discussed and described. The *ūd*, the *ghichak*, the *rabāb*, the *mizmār*, and the *bisha* are grouped as perfect instruments.

The second chapter, *Dar tasni sāzāt nāqisa* or 'On the Making of Imperfect Musical Instruments', is constituted of six sub-chapters. Each sub-chapter of the second chapter discusses those musical instruments that form the class of 'imperfect instruments'. The *chang*, the *nuzha*, the *qānūn*, and the *mūghani* are classified as imperfect instruments.

Another source, which includes information about musical instruments, is the *Sharh-i Adwār*. In the conclusion of this work a subchapter is dedicated to musical instruments, in which al-Marāghi describes over 40 musical instruments. In the *Sharh-i Adwār* musical

instruments are classified into three groups: chordophones or stringed instruments (*alāt zawāt ul-autār*), aerophones, or wind instruments (*ālāt zawāt ul-nafkh*), and idiophones and membranophones or percussion instruments (*kāsāt*, *tāssāt*, and *alwāh fūlād*).

Compared to the *Sharh-i Adwār*, in the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* fewer musical instruments are described. The latter treatise deals with only nine instruments. However, the more detailed description of the musical instruments, included the description of the method of their making in the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf*, accompanied by their illustration, is very important feature of this treatise, which distinguishes it from the other two treatises; namely from the *Sharh-i Adwār* and from Changi's treatise *Risāla-e Mūsiqi*.

The sixth chapter of Changi's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi* considers musical instruments. Changi, in a manner similar to al-Marāghi and Kashāni, provides some useful information on the construction of musical instruments and the way they were played. The peculiarity and unusual value of Changi's treatise is in the information he presents about the association of musical instruments to one or other mythical, historical, religious, and scientific personages. Changi dose not provide us with any information on the classification of musical instruments.

Describing briefly the main characteristics of the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf*, the *Sharh-i Adwār*, and Changi's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi*, it is time to start the description of the *qānūn*, *ūd*, and the *qūpūz*. The description of these three instruments given below is based on combining the data about these three instruments as obtained from the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf*, the *Sharh-i Adwār*, and Changi's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi*. We start our discussion with the *qānūn*, which is a classical instrument of the Arab world and Turkey today.

In all the three sources just named the *qānūn* is presented as a plucked box zither with either a half trapezoidal or a trapezoidal shape. This instrument of open strings, according to our sources, was mounted with 64 to 72 strings of three types: the *bam*, the *musallas*, and the *masna*. In the *Kanz-ul-tuhaf* the total number of the strings of a *qānūn* is given as 64, while in

the *Sharh-i Adwār* the *qānūn* is described as having 72 strings. Its strings were made of twisted metal. Nonetheless, the *qānūn* could be mounted with strings made of either gut or silk, tuned trichordally, *i.e*, every three strings being tuned to one pitch.[13]

The number of *qānūn* players depicted in miniature paintings of the time, which show an indoor or an outdoor scene of an ensemble of soft musical entertainment, as well as the number of *qānūn* players mentioned in the *Bābūr-nāma* and the *Majālis un-Nafā'is*, suggest that the *qānūn* was an important member of indoor ensembles in Khūrāsān. In miniature paintings the *qānūn* is laid on the knees of a musician with the longest side of the instrument next to the body of the player. The instrument was plucked by both hands, with or without a plectrum.[14]

The *qānūn*, which is prevalent in many countries in the Middle East today under the same name, is obsolete within Afghanistan's musical culture. Nonetheless, today Afghan classical singers accompany themselves with a similar instrument called *surmandal* or *svaramandala* in Sanskrit, a term that according to some scholars may have been created to refer to the *qānūn* (Dick 1984:477, Wade 1998:198).

The modern *surmandal* of Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan looks very similar to the *qānūn* of the Timurid era. It has both a half-trapezoidal and a trapezoidal shape, and approximately 40 metal strings. The way the *qānūn-surmandal* is held and played in Afghanistan today differentiates from the way it was held and played during the 15th and 16th centuries. Today the *qānūn-surmandal* mostly is held in the left arm at an angle from the left shoulder to the right thigh of a seated singer or an accompanist, and strummed only with the right hand. Nonetheless, it can be laid on the knees of a seated singer, as is the common method of performance depicted in the Timurid miniature paintings.

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[13] For a thorough description of the *qānūn* in the 14th-15th centuries see *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* ([14th century] 1992:117-118), and *Sharh-i- Adwār* (al-Marāghi [*c.* 1449]1991:354).

[14] These technical features of playing on the *qānūn* are clearly seen in several miniature paintings in *Miniatures Illumination of Amir [K]hosrov Dehlevi's Works* (Yusupov 1983:Illus. 52, 77, 78, 79).

Another popular instrument of the Timurid time was the *ūd*, a short-necked plucked lute of the Islamic world, considered to be a descendent of the ancient plucked lute of Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia known as the ancient *barbat*, as noted in the previous chapter. A comprehensive description of the *ūd* is available in several Arabic and Dari/Persian musical treatises of that early time, since the 10th century. The *ūd* is called by Darwesh Ali Changi as the 'king' of all musical instruments (fol. 20b), and by Kashani as the 'most popular and most perfect instrument' ([14th century] 1992:111). According to information available in the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* and the *Sharh-i Adwār*, the *ūd* had five strings. Its strings, from the lowest in pitch to the highest, were called the *bam*, the *musallas*, the *masna*, the *zir*, and the *hādd*, and they were tuned a fourth apart.

In addition to the five strings just mentioned, which were named in the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* and the *Sharh-i Adwār*, Changi names a sixth string called *mukhtalif*, which was tuned lower than the *bam* (fol. 21a). Also, in some miniature paintings the *ūd* is depicted with six strings.[15] From these sources it seems that the *ūd* was mounted with from four strings, as in the *ud qadim* ('ancient *ūd*'), to five or six strings, as in perfect *ūd* (*ūd kāmil*). The strings of the *ūd* were made of silk.[16] Today the *ūd* has a dominant position in the professional musical life of many Arab and none-Arab countries in the Middle East. Nonetheless, it has become obsolete in Afghanistan.

Another instrument mentioned above, which also is obsolete in Afghanistan, is the *qūpūz*. The construction, its type, and the manner in which this instrument was played in the 1[illegible]th and succeeding centuries is not clear. In different contemporary sources it is described and classified differently. Wade describes it as a short-necked bowed instrument with the shape of

[15] For iconographic evidence of an *ūd* with six strings see *Miniatures Illumination of Amir [K]hosrov Dehlevi's Works* (Yusupov 1983:Illus. 42, 85).
[16] A detailed description of the *ūd*, the method of the making an *ūd*, and the technique of playing on this instrument are reported in the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* ([14th century] 1992:11-112), and also in the *Sharh-i- Adwār* (al-Marāghi [*c.* 1449]1991:195-198).

a ladle (1998:243). Morris writes that the *qūpūz* was a long-necked plucked lute similar to the *baghlama* of Turkey (1984:97). A short-necked double-chested bowed instrument of contemporary Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, mounted with two, three or four strings, is identified with a very similar name *kobuz*, or *kobiz*.[17]

We know that in many parts of the world several musical instruments of various shapes and styles of playing are identified by a single name. From this point of view there is nothing incorrect in the presentation of the *qūpūz* in the sources named just above. However, it is a difficult task to establish the type of the *qūpūz* played in Khurāsān during the time of the Timurids. This task is complicated by the lack of data about this instrument in the musical treatises of that time, which have been used as direct sources of information about various aspects of musical life of the region.

The *qūpūz* is neither described nor even mentioned in the *Kanz-ul-tuhaf* and the *Sharh-i Adwār*. However, the appearance of the word *qūpūz*, in conjunction with the adjective *rūmi*, suggests that at least two instruments of a similar type were identified with the term *qūpūz*, one of which was distinguished from the other by the adjective *rūmi* signifying 'Byzantine'.

The author of the *Sharh-i Adwār* does not provide us with much data about the *qūpūz rūmi*, or Byzantine *qūpūz*. According to him the *qūpūz rūmi* was a stringed instrument with a large resonator (*kāsa*), the hollowness of which continued through the neck of the instrument (*jauf*). The resonator of this instrument was covered with a piece of skin and mounted with five double strings tuned in fourths (al-Marāghi [*c.* 1449]1991:353). It is not clear wheather this instrument was plucked or bowed.

Concerning the second type or the *qūpūz* itself, it should be noted that it is described in a 17th century Dari/Persian musical treatise compiled by Changi. The author of this treatise wrote that Sultan Uwais Jala'ir [1356-1374] invented the *qūpūz* by lengthening the *rabāb*'s

[17] For a comprehensive discussion about the *kobuz* and the *kobiz* see *Atlas Muzikalnikh* Instrumentov *Narodov* SSSR (Vertkov 1963:132-33).

fingerboard and enlarging its resonator (fol. 21b). This description strongly suggests that the *qūpūz* was a *rabāb*-type instrument and most probably its shape reflected the shape of the *rabāb*, a 14-century double-chested short-necked plucked lute on which it was modelled, but, in this instance with a longer and much thinner fingerboard and a larger resonator, as just noted.[18]

This working hypothesis may be supported by the appearance of a *rabāb*-type lute in several miniature paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries, an instrument, which was not yet identified with a particular name. Illustration 11 of this chapter, which is a reproduction of a 16th-century painting as published by Bonnie Wade (1998:plate 2), depicts a *rabāb*-type instrument with a fairly large basic resonator having a bowl shape. A waisted or indented second chest of an unusual shape is placed just above, in the middle of the resonator, which is extended from the basic resonator and tapered to meet the long neck of the instrument. This neck is a markedly long and relatively narrow neck, and has an angled-back peg box, with at least ten pegs.

The number of the pegs suggests that the instrument had probably five double strings, similar to the *qūpūz rūmi*. Most likely, the strings of the *qūpūz*, similar to the *qūpūz rūmi* and *rabāb*, were tuned in fourths and played by the use of a plectrum in the right hand, as seen in illustration 11. The use of two slightly different colours in illustrating the lower part and the upper part of the resonator of the instrument suggests that a piece of skin and a thin piece of wood respectively covered these two parts of the resonator, similar to the *rabāb* as reported in the *Kanz-ul-tuhaf*. The use of two different materials in covering the resonator of the instrument depicted in Illustration 11 differentiates this instrument from the *qūpūz rūmi*, the large resonator of which was covered only by a piece of skin, as noted earlier in this discussion.

[18] For an illustrated description of this *rabāb* see *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* (Kashani [14th century] 1992:113-114). .

On the bases of the above discussion one may suggest that the word *qūpūz* was used for identifying a long-necked *rabāb*-type instrument differentiated from the *qūpūz rūmi* by the use of two different materials used for covering their resonators. Additionally, the above discussion thus allows one to identify the *rabāb*-type instrument depicted in illustration 11 as a *qūpūz*.

Musical ensembles

The *qānūn*, *ūd*, *ghichak*, *chang*, *tanbūr*, *qūpūz* and *nay* named in the sources discussed above as musical instruments played at the courts of the Timurid rulers of Khurāsān are depicted in different combinations. The miniature paintings suggest that these musical instruments accompanied by a player of the frame drum (*daf*) constituted the backbone of musical ensembles, which served at the Timurid courts. These paintings, illustrating romance, battles, feasts, scholarly discussions and other scenes from the works of classical Dari/Persian poets, who perpetuated the historical events and love stories of the distant past are prominent characteristics of the art of the books, which flourished under the Timurids.

Apparently, the paintings are the visual representation of those events and their heroes in these books, and therefore neither are they directly connected with Timurid rulers, one may argue, nor do they purposely exhibit the Timurid courts. However, one may suggest that the illustrations of poetic works indirectly are a reflection of Timurid court life as seen by artists and embodied by them through the illumination of the works of the Dari/Persian classical poets. Lentz and Lowry have pointed out that illustrated poetry became the supreme expression of Timurid taste (1989:114). Further, this reflection of a high practical level of linkage among different arts drew upon a common aesthetic and communicative resource (Shiloah 1995:95).

Illus. 11. A miniature painting of the 16th century, which depicts a *qūpūz* player on the far upper left.

Also, differences between the illustrations of a music-making scene in paintings and in poems suggest that the depiction of such scenes are the reflection of music making at Timurid courts, rather than the fantasy of artists presenting various scenes from one or another poem. In exhibiting a scene of music making, the artists most probably depicted their own experience, what they saw and enjoyed at Timurid courts. This possibility becomes more evident when one compares poetic texts to their illustrated representation.

In paintings attached to poems or historic manuscripts that demonstrate scenes attended by musicians and dancers, such differences are obvious. Musical instruments depicted in paintings are far removed from those named in the texts. Often it happens that musical instruments named in the text do not appear in paintings. Instead, totally different musical instruments replace them. Frequently, the depiction of musicians with their musical instruments in paintings are connected with one or two words, such as *tarab* ('cheerfulness') or *aish'u ishrat* ('luxurious enjoyment'), which indicates that musical entertainment was an important part of pleasant life at the courts of the Timurids.

For example, in illustration 12, which is the reproduction of an illustration from Yusupov (1983:Illus. 77), none of the musical instruments named in the poetic text appear in this painting. Instead of the *barbat* and *rūd*, an angular harp (*chang*), two frame-drums (*dafs*), a plucked box zither (*qānūn*), and the *kamāncha/ghichak* are depicted in this illustration, which represents a scene of music and dance entertainment provided to a prince.

Such an inconsistency is also seen in illustration 13, from Yusupov (1983:Illus. 78). In this illustration the appearance of three singers and their leader seated on the left side of the throne (lower left), and the *chang* and the *nay* on the right of this illustration, corresponds to the poetic text accompanying this painting. However, the depiction of the *daf* and the *qānūn* in this illustration is an additional feature. They replace the *rūd*, which is mentioned in the poetic text, but absent in the painting.

Illustrations 12 and 13, apart of being very useful in identifying four different musical instruments mentioned and discussed in this and earlier chapters—namely, the *chang*, *daf*, *qānūn*, *kamāncha/ghichak*, and *nay*—also throw light on the gender and instrumental composition of musical ensembles of that time. These two paintings, together with several other paintings, suggest that female instrumental musicians, singers and dancers, as well as male musicians, provided musical entertainment to the Timurid courts.

Illus. 12. A prince enjoys the company of his female musicians and dancers, from a manuscript of the *Kulliyat* of Amir Khusrau, *c.* 1565.

Nonetheless, neither is a single female musician nor a female dancer named in sources cited earlier in this chapter, in spite of the abundance of female musicians, singers, and dancers in the miniature paintings. However, it should be noted that several written sources

that deal with the history and the court life of the last decedents of Timur, the Mughal rulers of India, not only confirm the presence of female dancers, singers, and musicians at the court of last Timurids early on, but also provide us with several names.[19]

Illustration 12, demonstrating either an intimate solitude atmosphere of a loving couples or a luxurious private enjoyment party without many guests, suggests that in such a private atmosphere mostly female musicians provided the musical entertainment.[20] By comparison, illustration 13 indicates that in an environment of men only, musical entertainment was provided by male musicians.[21] Additionally, ensembles consisting of a combination of female and male musicians also served in men only parties. Illustration 14, reproduced from Yusupov (1983:Illus. 80), shows the appearance of the two male musicians—namely, a *daf* and a *nay* player—who are an addition to the poetic text, which speaks only about the art and beauty of female singers, dancers, and musicians.

Having briefly discussed three different ensembles of the Timurid era, it is interesting to note that the iconographic evidence suggests that the composition of these ensembles occasionally changed from a duet (Yusupov 1983:Illus. 43, 52) to larger ensembles constituting of several singers, a pair of dancers, and a pair or a group of instrumentalists, depending on the circumstances. Two paintings reproduced by Yusupov (1983:Illus. 43, 52), respectively represent a scene of intimate privacy and in marked contrast a scene of formal revelry. The latter painting shows a gathering of scholars and poets in men-only atmosphere. In both scenes, however, only two musicians are in attendance. A female *tanbūr*-type lute player and a *daf* player are part of the first painting, while the second occasion is served with a duet of male musicians playing on the *qānūn* and the *daf*.

[19] For a detailed discussion of these sources and the presence of female musicians and dancers at the Mughal courts and *harems* see *Imaging Sound*: An *Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India* (Wade 1998:72-91).

[20] An additional support for this working hypothesis might be obtained from *Miniatures Illumination of Amir [K]hosrov Dehlevi's Works* (Yusupov 1983:Illus. 43, 76).

[21] Illustrations 52 and 79 from *Miniatures Illumination of Amir [K]hosrov Dehlevi's Works* are additional support for this working hypothesis (Yusupov 1983).

Illustration 12 shows a luxurious enjoyment party for only a few people, of less privacy and more cheerfulness, at the court of a prince. This illustration indicates that in such an atmosphere larger ensembles provided musical pleasure. Illustration 12 depicts an ensemble of women musicians accompanying two female dancers. This ensemble consists of a *chang* player, two *daf* players, a *qānūn*, and a *kamāncha/ghichak* player, and six singers. Four of the singers are seated at the left-hand side and two at the right-hand side next to the *kamāncha/ghichak* player. The raised hands of these seated women showing a gesture clearly suggest that they are singers and performing in chorus under a leading soloist.

The depiction of the singer seated at the left separate from other three singers (bottom left), suggests that she might be the soloist singer leading others. The forward position of this singer showing a similar gesture like the other three singers clearly indicates that she is the soloist and the leading singer followed by the other singers. A soloist leading the group of male singers is seen clearly also in illustration 13, where a singer is seated separately at the left side in front of the other four singers, with the same gesture. The ensemble depicted in this illustration consists of four singers seated to the left-hand side behind the soloist singer, a *chang* player, a *qānūn* player, a *nay* player, and a *daf* player.

Technical terms and musical genres

Having considered the musical ensembles of the Timurid era, it is appropriate to present briefly the repertoire of these ensembles. In pages of the *Bābūr-nāma* and the *Majālis un-Nafā'is* cited earlier in this chapter, four vocal genres—the *amal*, the *naqsh*, the *sawt*, the *kār*—and an instrumental genre, the *peshrau*, are noted as genres cultivated by Timurid court musicians. These and a few more musical genres practiced in Khurāsān during the Timurid era are described in two musical treatises of that time. These two sources are al-Marāghi's *Sharh-i Adwār*, and Bana'i's *Risāla-e dar Mūsiqi*. In these two treatises 14 and 17 genres are

considered respectively. Additional data about the musical genres mentioned just above may be found in Kawkabi's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi*, Changi's *Risāla-e Mūsiqi*, and in the *Zamzamah Wahdat*.

Before starting a description of the genres named in this chapter in light of data about them in the musical treatises just named, it is important to present here several technical terms. These terms are used in these sources to identify different sections of a composition. One of these important terms is the word *nasr* (Dari/Persian) or *nathr* (Arabic), signifying 'prose', a term used for identifying a vocal or an instrumental section of a composition in free metre (Faruqi 1981:233), identified by al-Marāghi as a 'melody that is not based on a metric mode (*iqā*) or a melody without the *iqā* ([*c.* 1449]1991:336). According to Mirza-beg all the vocal compositions started by the *nasr*, called in Hindi *ālāp* ([17th century] 2000:118), a comparison that clearly indicates the movement of a melodic line without a metrical pulse.

Another technical Arabic ward, *matla*, signifying 'place of rising', the initiatory verse of a poem and the opening section of music, which returns as a refrain throughout a movement (Faruqi 1981:176-177), is used only in the *Sharh-i Adwār* for the identification of the first section of a composition that consisted of two or more sections. In the other Dari/Persian musical treatises named above, the term *sar-khāna* is employed for this purpose. The author of the *Sharh-i Adwār*, in describing the *amal*, a vocal genre of the region, provides us with the Dari/Persian equivalent of *matla*, the *sar-khāna* (al-Marāghi [*c.* 1449] 1991:342).

Illus. 13. An ensemble of male singers and instrumentalists, from a manuscript of the *Kuliyat* of Amir Khusrau, *c.* 1560.

Illus. 14. A mix ensemble of female singers, a dancer, a female *chang* player, and two male musicians, from a manuscript of the *Kuliyat* of Amir Khusrau, *c.* 1560.

Additionally, al-Marāghi supplies us with the Dari/Persian equivalents of two more Arabic terms, used for naming other sections of a composition. These other two Arabic words, respectively identified by Faruqi as indicating a melismatic section and a refrain (1981:12, 300), are the *sawt ul-wasat* and the *tashih-ya*. In the *Sharh-i Adwār*, the terms *miyān-khāna* and *bāzgasht* or *bāzgū* are respectively given as Dari/Persian synonymous to the Arabic terms *sawt ul-wasat* and *tashih-ya* (al-Marāghi [*c.* 1449] 1991:342). In other Dari/Persian musical treatises named in this chapter, the term *miyān-khāna* signifies 'middle section', and *bāzgū*, which may be translated from Dari/Persian into English as the 'repetition' of what has been said, are respectively used for distinguishing between the couplet, or a melismatic section, and the refrain of musical compositions.

In Kawkabi's and Changi's musical treatises two more technical terms emerge. They are used for the description of a prelude and an interlude of a composition. These two terms are the words *mūstahil* and *naqarāt*. According to Changi, any melody performed before a vocal section with verses is called *mūstahil*, while melodies performed after a vocal section with verses is named *naqarāt* (fol.16b). Changi is not specific whether these prelude and interlude sections were vocal or instrumental. However, one of the definitions of the word *naqrah*, signifying any sound duration produced by the human voice or a musical instrument (Faruqi 1981:230), suggests that these two sections of a composition could be either vocal or instrumental.

After introducing the nine technical terms—*nasr*, *matla*, *sar-khāna*, *sawt ul-wasat*, *tashih-ya*, *miyān-khāna*, *bāzgū*, *mūstahil*, and *naqarāt*—used for naming different parts of a composition in the sources mentioned in this chapter, in which data are also available about musical genres, it is now appropriate to present the compositional structure of the musical genres named above. We start our presentation with the description of the *amal*.

Amal

According to al-Marāghi, *amal* was a vocal composition created by people living in the eastern land of the Arab world (*ajam*), who set Persian poems to music with short metric modes and a lively tempo, with metric modes such as *raml*, *mukhammas*, and the *hazaj*.[22] This composition consists of *matla* and its *jadwal*[23] or *sar-khāna*, *sawt ul-wasat* or *miyān-khāna*, and *tashih-ya* or *bāzgū* (al-Marāghi [*c.* 1449] 1991:342).

Kawkabi and Changi, while confirming the same compositional structure for the *amal* given by al-Marāghi just above, provide us with an additional element of this composition; namely, a prelude *mūstahil/naqarāt*, which proceeded the sections performed with poetic text. According to Kawkabi, this beginning section could be either vocal or instrumental (fol. 6b).

Naqsh

The *naqsh* was another vocal genre of that time. Its structure was simpler than the compositional structure of the *amal*. According to al-Marāghi, the entire structure of a *naqsh* conists of the *matla* of the *amal* sung repeatedly, depending on the length of the poetry text. Unlike the *amal*, the *naqsh* lacked the *sawt ul-wasat* [or *miyān-khāna*] and *tashih-ya* [or *bāzgū*] ([*c.* 1449]1991:342). Similar to the *amal*, however, the *naqsh* started with an instrumental or a vocalised prelude, the *naqarāt* (Kawakabi fol. 6a).

Kawkabi (fol. 6a), and Changi (fol. 17b) reported that any poetic genre could be used as a poetic text for a *naqsh*. Additionally, Changi advises that short and light metric modes, such as *fara*, *turki-zarb*, and *fākhta-zarb*, should be used in composing a *naqsh* (fol. 18a).[24]

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[22] Kawkabi, in addition to these three metric modes used in the *amal*, names *turki-zarb* and the *dūyak* as two common metric modes also used in the *amal* (fol. 6b).
[23] *Jadwal* is defined as the second introductory segment of the *amal* (Faruqi 1981:118).
[24] The rhythmic and poetic particularities of the *naqsh*, which are reported in Changi's musical treatise, are also noted in the *Zamzamah Wahdat* (Mirza-beg [17th century] 2000:119).

Sawt

The *sawt* was also a vocal composition consisting of one section of melody like the *naqsh*, similar to which it lasted for one *sar-khāna* repeated a few times to match the length of a poem. Unlike the *naqsh*, which began with a prelude, the *sawt* started with the basic composition with a poetic text. This difference appears to be the main distinguishing factor between the *naqsh* and the *sawt*. Kawkabi believed that *sawt* was a creation of the non-Arabs, the *ajams*; *i.e.*, the people living on the east of Arabia (fol. 6b).

Kār

Another musical genre mentioned earlier in this chapter was the *kār*. This musical genre of the Timurid era is named and described only in two musical treatises that have served as the sources for the description of musical genres presented in this chapter. This genre is described in Changi's musical treatise (fol. 16b) and Mirza-beg's *Zamzamah Wahdat* ([17th century] 2000:118).

In both these sources this genre is described as being similar to the *amal*. Like the *amal* it consisted of an instrumental prelude (*mūstahil*), a *sar-khāna*, two *miyan-khānas*, and the *bazgū*. The *kār*, similar to the *amal* as noted above, was composed within the frame of a light metric mode, *khafif*. The use of an Arabic poetic text in *kār* differentiated the *kār* from the *amal*, in which a Dari/Persian poem was set to music, as noted earlier in this chapter.

Peshrau

The *peshrau* appears to be the most popular instrumental genre of the Timurid era, which belonged to a category of musical genres identified by Kawkabi as *basiti* that consisted

of *naghamāt* ('pitches') and *iqā* ('metric mode') without verses (fol. 6a).[25] Other instrumental genres of that time as reported by al-Marāghi were the *nawākht*, the *tarji*, and the *zakhma* ([*c.* 1449]1991:342).

The *peshrau* created by composers as an alternative to vocal music and as a direct response to the poets, who claimed that without their poems composers cannot create any thing (Changi fol. 17a), consisted of a refrain called *tarji-band* and an indefinite number of pieces called *khāna*. The minimum amount of the *khāna*s, also called *buyūt*, in a *peshrau* was three (Bana'i's ([1484]1989:126). The maximum number of *khāna*s or *buyūt*, which could be five, seven or even more, depended on the wish of a composer (al-Marāghi [*c.*1449]1991:342, Bana'i [1484]1989:126). Each *khāna*, signifying 'an house', 'a section', or 'a fragment', ended with a return to the refrain, the *tarji-band*.

The term *sar-band* in Bana'i's ([1484]1989:126) and Kawkabi's (fol. 6a), treatises, is used instead of *tarji-band* for naming the refrain of the *peshrau*. According to Kawkabi (fol. 6a) and Changi (fol. 17a) the *sar-band* or *tarji-band* of a *peshrau* consisted of two *sar-khāna*s, a *miyan-khāna*, and a *bazgū*. A *peshrau* was named after the melodic mode in which it was composed (al-Marāghi [*c.*1449]1991:342, Changi fol. 17a).

The above introductory survey of the musical genres of the Timurid era allows one to assume that these vocal and instrumental genres had their own definite musical structure. The structure of each genre consisted of its own constituent parts, and they could be as simple as in the *sawt* or very complicated, for instance as in the *peshrau* and in the *naubat*. The latter vocal and instrumental genre of the region was briefly discussed in the previous chapter.

[25] Chapter eleven of Kawkabi's musical treatise discusses the musical genres of his time. This chapter begins with the classification of musical genres into three categories according to their constituents. These three categories are identified as *jirmi*, *basiti*, *and khati*. The first type consisted of the following three elements: *naghamāt* ('tones'), *iqā* ('metric modes'), and *abyāt* ('verses'). The second type comprises two of the three elements named just above. the third type comprised only one element of the three possibilities. The *peshrau* is the only example of the *basiti* category given by Kawkabi. No example is given for the *khati* category. All other genres discussed earlier are examples of the first type, named *jirmi* (fol. 6a).

Having discussed the musical genres of the Timurid era, it is important to note that a system of notation, which according to Farmer dates from the 13th century ([1957]1997:vol 1; 183), was used for recording these compositions. In this system of notation the pitches of a melody are noted by an alphabetic (*abjadi*) notation and its mensural extent by a numeric (*adadi*) notation. Examples of such a notation are available in al-Marāghi's *Sharh-i Adwār* ([c.1449]1991:281-283) and Bana'i's *Risāla-e dar Mūsiqi* ([1484]1989:124).

The diffusion of Timurid music

Concerning the fate of these musical genres, one may note that none of the musical genres discussed above are currently used in the musical culture of Afghanistan. Some of these terms, however, are still in use for naming instrumental and vocal forms in Middle East and Central Asia. For instance, the *peshrau* and the *kār* are identified as the most important instrumental and vocal forms respectively of art music in Turkey (Reinhard 2000:773). It is interesting to note that the Turkish *peshrau* is considered to be a descendant of the late medieval Iranian or [Timurid] *peshrau*, which served as a model for the Ottoman Turkish *peshrau* (1500-1850).[26]

This relatively liberal Ottoman dynasty was receptive to Timurid culture for more than 150 years, which found a considerable resonance in Ottoman Turkish courts (Adshead 1993:141). These courts attracted and recruited many Khurāsānian craftsmen, artists and musicians after the collapse the Timurids in Khurāsān. Musicians, artists, poets, and scholars who lived under the protection of the Timurids had to look for other patrons. The Ottoman courts, considered to have been the most direct heirs of the Timurids (Adshead 1993:140),

[26] For a detailed discussion of the history and development of the Turkish *peshrau* see 'Melodic Progression, Rhythm and Compositional Form in the Ottoman Peşrev: 1500-1850' (Feldman 1992:191-251).

were one of only a few directions in which to go for these cultural figures. The imprint of their art is evident in many aspects of the Ottoman cultural heritage, which included their music.[27]

The musical ideas from Timurid Khūrāsān penetrated into Turkish traditional music and in its repertoire, through the practical art of musicians and the translation of Dari/Persian musical treatises into Turkish during the Ottomans (Farmer 1997[1957]:162). Farmer reports that Abdul Aziz and Mahmud, respectively a son and a grandson of the great Timurid musician and theorist Abdul Qadir Ghaibi al-Marāghi, were patronised by Ottoman sultans, to whom they dedicated their theoretical works (1997[1962]:243).

Having mentioned the influences of Timurid culture and music in Ottoman Turkey, it is revellent to note briefly that Ottoman Turkey was not the only centre where Khūrāsānian musicians and artists found support and patronage after the fall of the Timurid empire and disintegration of the region.

In this context, it should be noted that in spite of the negative attitude of the orthodox clergy in Central Asia towards music, some of the Shaibanid rulers of Transoxinia, who were great lovers of music, offered their patronage to Khūrāsānian musicians. Ubaidullah Khan and Abdullah Khan encouraged musicians as well as poets and artists to shift from Khūrāsān to Transoxinia (Rashidova 1992:52, 62). Najmudin Kawkabi, a theorist, composer, and poet; Maulānā Badrudin Khalili, a theorist; Khoja Mahmud bin Isahq, a dūtār player; Said Ahamad Mehtar, a *naghāra* player; and Maulānā Ahi Herawi a singer, were among those musicians taken from the city of Herat to the courts of Ubaidullah Khan and Abdullah Khan Shaibanid (Simeonov 1946:48, 50, 54, 55, 59).

Safavid Persia (1501-1722) was another destination, where many Khūrāsānian artists, craftsmen, and musicians migrated. Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576), who had been the governor of Herat (1516-1522), took up the Timurid tradition of patronage, a practice continued by

[27] A general survey of Timurid culture and its wide diffusion in different directions after the collapse of this dynasty is discussed in *Central Asia in World History* (Adshead 1993:127-149).

Shah Abbas (1587-1629). Their patronage gave a new impulse to many aspects of Timurid culture in Persia, and encouraged the migration of architects, artists, poets and musicians to Safavid Persia. Changi, in describing a banquet organised by Shah Tahmasp Safavid in honor of Humayun, the Mughal ruler of India, names two musicians—namely, Zitun Ghichaki and Yūsuf Dūtāri—who served at the Safavid court (Simeonov 1946:63). Yūsuf Dūtāri, a singer and *dūtār* player later in India when Humayun restored Mughal rule there, was gifted to Humayun by Shah Tahmasp and taken to India (Simeonov 1946:63). Qasim Qānūni, a *qānūn* player is another musician who served at the court of Shah Ibrahim Safavid (Simeonov 1946:72).

The emergence of several Dari/Persian musical treatises written during the reign of the Safavids in Persia, which are dedicated to one or another Safavid king, indicates the interest of this dynasty in musical scholarship. The *Anis al-Rawāh* by Kashif-al-din Yazdi, the *Ahyā al-mulūk* by Malik Shah Hussain Sistani, the *Ta'lim al-Naghamāt*, an anonymous treatise, and the *Risāla-e* Amir Khan Kawkabi are among the treatises written during the Safavids (Sidiq 1379/2000:94, 97, 98, 105-107).

Additionally, the intensification of controversy among Islamic clergy on the legitimacy of music in Islam, which marks the Shaibanid and Safavid rules in Central Asia and Persia respectively, resulted in the completion of several works by leading theologians of the time for and against music in Islam.[28] Nonetheless, it is suggested that musical scholarship ceased to be a respectable topic for learning and writings during the Safavids, and it was no longer patronised (Baily 1988:16, Farhat 1990:5).

The most desirable direction that attracted many musicians as well as other cultural figures tired of the religious intolerance of the clergy, who were hostile to music in society, and also tired of regional wars was the courts of the Mughal rulers of India, the true heirs of

[28] Several of these works are introduced and discussed in *Mūsiqi dar Sair Talāqi Andeshahā wa Panj Risala-i Fiqhi Fārsi* (Irani 1376/1997:131-301).

the Timurids. The presence of Timurid musicians from Khūrāsān and their music is reported in various data of the Mughal era and is discussed in several contemporary works that consider the history of North Indian classical music.[29]

Concerning the fate of Timurid art music, which has been identified in this thesis as Khūrāsānian music in light of the earlier argument and the point of view presented in the second chapter of this thesis, one should note that some elements of this tradition dominated the court of the founder of contemporary Afghanistan Ahmad Shah (1747-1773) and his immediate successor Timur Shah (1773-1793), as we shall see in forthcoming chapters.

The science of music: the *ilmi talif* and *ilmi iqā*

To bring this discussion about the musical culture of Afghanistan during the Timurid to a complete conclusion, it is appropriate to present briefly here a general survey of the music theory or *ilm mūsiqi* employed by court musicians in their practical art of music performance. As has been noted earlier in this chapter, a few technical works were written during the Timurid era in the city of Herat, the capital of this dynasty. These works include al-Marāghi's *Sharh-i Adwār*, Jami's and Bana'i's musical treatises, and later writings about the music of the region, such as the *Risāla-e Mūsiqi* [*Sultāniya*] by Kawkabi, the *Risāla-e Mūsiqi* by Darwesh Ali Changi and the *Zamzamah Wahdat*. Additionally, in this review, the theoretical basis of Timurid music will be discussed in light of data available in the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* as well.

These treatises mainly discuss two major constituents of music; namely, the *ilmi talif* ('science of composition') and the *ilmi iqā* ('science of metre'). Nonetheless, some of the treatises named above also consider musical instruments and musical genres, as reported earlier in this chapter in discussing musical instruments and musical genres. We start our

[29] The interaction between North Indian classical music and the music of the Timurid courts is thoroughly studied in Wade's *Imaging Sound*: An *Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India* (1998).

discussion about the theoretical system of Khurāsān during the Timurids with an earlier source, the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf*.

Before starting this brief review, however, it is important to note that in the discussion just below the *Sharh-i Adwār*, which is a Dari/Persian translation of the *Kitāb al-adwār* (*c.* 1250) and an extensive commentary to it, is not described. The latter work, compiled by Safi al-Din Abd-al-Mumin al-Urmayi (d. 1294), the founder of the systematist school, is considered as the first surviving work of any significance in this field, from which the analytical procedures adopted by other theorists of this school have been derived (Wright 1978:1).[30] Three of these later theorists are discussed below.

The *ilmi talif*

Kashani, the author of the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf*, after discussing the definition of the term music (*musiqi*), its origin and its subjects, defines the two basic elements of music: (1) *talif* signifying 'musical composition', and any 'combination of two or more tones' (Faruqi 1981:341), and (2) *iqā* 'a beat produced on a percussion instrument' or 'a rhythmic mode' (Faruqi 1981:109). Considering the *ilmi talif*, Kashani deals with such elements of music as sound (*sawt*), musical tones (*naghamāt*, sing. *naghma*), melodic intervals (*ab'ād*, sing. *bu'd*), any tetrachordal and pentachordal scalar segments from which modal scales are composed (*jins*), scalar combinations of three or more notes from which melodies are composed (*jam*), the frets and fret positions of a stringed instrument, where the finger is placed in order to achieve a desired tone (*dasātīn*), and the modal system of the *adwār* ([14th century] 1992:96-107).[31]

[30] For a detailed description of this writing and a comprehensive discussion about it see *The Modal System of Arab and Persian Music A.D. 1250-1300* (Wright 1978).
[31] For English definition of the terms just mentioned see *An Annotated Glossary of Arabic Musical Terms* (Faruqi 1981:298, 225, 1, 125, 118, 57, 58).

These subjects of music are also discussed in the post-fourteenth century writings on music; namely, the musical treatises of Jami (1960:14-29) and Bana'i (1484]1989:6-101). Additionally, these issues of *talif* are presented in a 16th-century Dari/Persian musical treatise compiled by Kawkabi (fol. 1a-6a).

In the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf*, and in Jami's and Bana'i's musical treatises, the intervals are classified into two categories, large and small. The first category is comprised of the octave (*bu'd zi al-kull*), double octave (*bu'd zi-al-kull martin*), fifth (*bu'd zi-al-mukhammas*), fourth (*bu'd zi-al-arba*), octave plus a fifth (*bu'd zi-al-kull-u al-mukhammas*), and the octave plus a fourth (*bu'd zi-al-kull-u al-arba*). The second group consists of the tone and smaller steps. This division clearly reflects the classification of intervals found in the division of the octave according to Urmayi as reported by Shiloah (1995:113).

Additionally, in these three sources the calculation, obtaining and demonstration of intervals are based on various divisions of a monochord and seventeen-tone scale system (Kashani [14th century] 1992:98-102, Jami 1960:19-22, Bana'i [1484]1989:25-80), which was established by the founder of the systematsist school Urmayi through three sub-divisions within every 9/8 tone (204 cents), equalling two *limmas* (90 cents each) and a *comma* (34 cents), resulting in a tetrachord of 8 and an octave of 17 degrees (Shiloah 1995:12). In these three sources, similar to Urmayi, each degree is designated by letters of the *abjad* alphabet, a system used much earlier for the same purpose, *i.e.* for identifying the notes and their position on the *ūd*, as noted by Shiloah (1995:112).

The scale system discussed in the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* and in Jami's and Bana'i's musical treatises departs from the 84 *adwār* system of octave scales, in which the octave scale is obtained through 'combinations and permutations of tetrachords and pentachords with the tetrachord invariably placed below' (Shiloah 1995:113). According to Urmayi as reported by Wright (1978:45) and Shiloah (1995:113), there were seven categories for dividing of the

fourth or tetrachord, and 12 ways for dividing the fifth or pentachord. Thus, the 84 *adwār* system is the result of the multiplication of seven categories of tetrachord to 12 pentachord categories.

Kashani, Jami, and Bana'i, in representing the *adwār* classify them into three groups. In the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf*, the first group is identified as consisting of well-known scales (*adwār mashhūra*) ([14th century] 1992:103). Twelve modes—*ushāq*, *nawā*, *būsalik*, *rāst*, *irāq*, *isfahān*, *zirafkand*, *buzurg*, *zangula*, *rahāwi*, *husaini*, and *hijāzi* or *hijāz*—are grouped into this class of modes. The 12 titles just named are also named in Bana'i's treatise for identifying the first group of modes, which are named in this source as the 12-*adwār asliya*, meaning 12 'principle' or 'basic' scales (Bana'i [1484]1989:62-70).

These 12 titles, which originally emerge in Urmayi's *Kitāb al-adwār* (Wright 1978:79, Shiloah 1995:115), are also used in Jami's treatise for naming the first category of *adwār*, as in Bana'i's source (Jami 1960:32-37). The first class of modes in Jami's treatise consist 12 modes, which are identified by the word *maqāmāt* (pl. of *maqām*), signifying 'place', 'position', or 'station', a term that at least since the second half of the 13th century has been used in the sense of melodic mode (Faruqi 1981:169). Before discussing the second class of *adwār*, it is important to note that most of these 12 titles, before being adopted into the theory of the systematist school, were used in the *parda* system of Khurāsān as reported in earlier sources, which were discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis.

The second class of modes in the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* (Kashani ([14th century] 1992:104), and in Jami's (1960:37) and Bana'i's ([1484]1989:86) musical treatises, is identified by the term *āwāzāt* (pl. of *āwāz*), meaning a 'sound' or 'tune' (Faruqi 1981:23). This category consists of six modes—*kuwasht*, *kardāniya*, *nawrūz*, *māya*, *salmak*, and *shahnāz*. The titles of the modes grouped in this class of modes, as well as the term *āwāzāt*, which are used in the

three sources named above for identifying the second class of modes, correspond to the second group of modes as classified in the *Kitāb al-adwār*.[32]

The term *āwāzāt*, considered as an equivalent to Naishapuri's 6 *shu'bas* (Shiloah 2003:149), is synonymous to the latter word also in Kashani's classification, in which he writes that the six *awāzāt* are called by some people *shu'ab* ([14th century] 1992:104), which is the plural of *shu'ba*, signifying 'branch' or 'division' (Faruqi 1981:311). This latter term in Jami's (1960:40) and Bana'i's ([1484]1989:91) treatises is used for naming the third class of modes called *shu'ba*, which consisted of 24 derivative modes. Modes named *du-gāh*, *sih-gāh*, *chahār-gāh*, *panj-gāh*, *ashirā*, *nawrūz-arab*, *māhur*, *nawrūz-khārā*, *biyāti*, *hisār*, *nihuft*, *azzāl*, *auj*, *nairiz*, *mubarqa*, *rakab*, *sabā*, *humāyūn*, *zāwul*, *isfahānak*, *basta-nigār*, *khūzi*, *nihāwand*, and *muhaiyir* were modes that comprised the third class of *adwār* in Jami's (1960:40-48) and Bana'i's ([1484]1989:91-100) treatises.

Concerning the third class of *adwār* in the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf*, one may note that this category, similar to Urmayi, is identified by the term *murakabāt* (Kashani [14th century 1992:104), which is the singular of *murakab*, signifying 'constructed' or 'compound', by which were identified melodic modes constructed of more than one variety of tetrachordal segment (Faruqi 1981:204). The use of the *murakabāt* for naming the third class of modes in the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf*, in which only two modes are named in this category of modes, dates from the 13th century in Urmayi's writings, in which specific modes were not identified (Wright 1978:90-91, Shiloah 1995:115).

Before leaving aside this brief description of data about the modal system of Khurāsān during the Timurids, it is important to note that most elements of the modal system just described are reflected in Kawkabi's and Changi's treatises, which in spite of being based on earlier works have their own particularities and stylistic features that reflect the musical

[32] For Urmayi's classification of *adwār* see *The Modal System of Arab and Persian Music A.D. 1250-1300* (Wright 1978:79-94) and *Music in the World of Islam: A Socio-cultural study* (Shiloah 1995:115).

atmosphere of their time. They emphasise the local approaches and traditions as pointed out by Shiloah (1995:115).

In these two works the 84 *adwār* system is replaced with a new system of classification of modes, which departs from the 12 primary modes identified earlier by the word *maqām*. It is interesting to note that in Changi's treatise the 12 primary modes are associated with several biblical personalities, who are considered in Islam as prophets that preceded Mohammad. These prophets included Adam (*ādam*), Noah (*nūh*), David (*dāwud*), Jacob (*yaqūb*), Joseph (*yūsuf*), and others (Changi fol. 7b-10a). Such an association, as Rashidova has pointed out, reflects the ideological atmosphere of Central Asia (1992:61). It is an attempt by Changi to demonstrate the righteousness of music from a religious point of view and to justify the profession of a musician.[33] Thus, it is not accidental that the first chapter of his treatise discusses the Prophet Muhammad's sayings allowing musical practices in Islam.

Continuing with the classification of modes, one should note that in Kawkabi's and Changi' treatises the 12 primary *maqāmāt* are identified with the same 12 titles used by earlier authors for naming the 12 well-known *adwār* in the system of 84 modes. Furthermore, these two sources provide us with names in the derivative classes of modes, the six *awāzāt* and the 24 *shu'ab*, and the method of their formation.

In naming the six *awāzāt* they retain the same titles used by Safi al-din al-Urmayi, Kashani, Jami, and Bana'i for the classification of the six *awāzāt* in the system of 84 *adwār*. In the third category, twenty-one out of 24 *shu'ab* are identified with the same titles, as they are in the similar section in Jami's treatise. Nonetheless, in Kawkabi's (fol. 3b) and Changi's (fol.11b) treatises some of the titles appear in a modified form. In the just mentioned

[33] The history of Central Asia in the 16th century witnessed the raise of clericalism, when cultural and political initiative passed to religious culture and institutions, whose clerical organisations intimidated the state and dominated society (Adshead 1993:149). In such an environment the intensification of debate about the legitimacy of music in Islam, which always was present in Islamic countries, seems reasonable, and this debate is reflected in Changi's treatise.

treatises—*ashirā*, *nawrūz-khārā*, *sabā*, and *zāwul*—espectively emerge as *ashirān*, *khārā*, *nawrūz-sabā*, and *zābul*. The *shu'ab named basta-nigār*, *isfahānak*, and *nihāwand* do not emerge in Kawkabi's (fol. 3b) and Changi's (fol. 11b) treatises. They are replaced by *shu'ab* named *maghlūb*, *nishāpūrk*, and *ajam*.

After considering these three calsses of modes, Changi (fol. 12a) and Kawkabi (fol. 3b-4a) respectively identify three *rang* and 24 *murakabāt* as a fourth class of modes. The three *rang*s ('colour or paint') are described as derivative modes obtained by combing two tetrachords of two *awāzāt*. The *basta-nigār*, *mukhalif-irāq*, and *arzwāni* are named as the three *rang*s. The term *murakabāt*, which is used for identifying the third category of *adwār* in the *Kitāb al-adwār* as noted earlier in this chapter, is used in Kawkabi's treatise for naming a fourth class of modes, which according to him were formed through shifting from one melodic mode to another. This kind of transformation aimed in obtaining a compound mode could occur between two *maqāms*, two *shu'ab*, and even between a *shuba* and a *maqām*. Unlike the author of *Kitāb al-adwār*, Kawkabi provides us with the title of 23 *murakabāt* and their constituent modes.

The *ilmi iqā*

Having briefly discussed the melodic modal system of the Timurid era, it is now apt to describe fleetingly here the metric system of that era. Metre and rhythm, being important constituents of music from the earliest times, has attracted the attention of music theorists and thereby became a principle subject of theoretical studies. The second main section of the musical treatises discussed above is devoted to the science of rhythm or *iqā*, a succession of beats of equal or varying lengths arranged into a cycle, which was repeated for the length of a musical performance (Faruqi 1981:109). This cyclic arrangement of beats was called *sabab*, a

prosodic term, which was borrowed by theorists to indicate the duration of an element within a musical metric mode (Faruqi 1981:285).

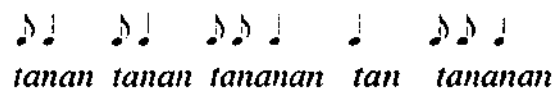
These musical treatises generally define the metre as a group of beats called *naqarāt* (sing. *naqrah*) separated from each other by a perceptible and measurable length, as short as not allowing another beat to be placed between them. Apart of the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf*, in the other five treatises, for demonstrating the span of time and the stress of separation, the concepts and terms of the prosody of poetry, the *arūz*, are borrowed.[34] Thus, the elements of one or another musical metre in these treatises, are compared to a particular poetic prosodic pattern that corresponds to them.

The following four prosodic terms, *sabab saqil*, *sabab khafif*, *watad*, and *fāsila*, are identified in the mentioned treatises as the metrical elements of musical metric modes, called *adwār iqā*. The length of time determined by reciting two successive consonant letters (*harfi mūtaharrik*) is called *sabab saqil*. The length of time determined by reciting one consonant followed by a quiescent or dormant consonant (*sākin*) is called *sabab khafif*. Similarly, two consonants followed by a quiescent is identified by the term *watad*, and three consonants and a quiescent is titled *fāsila*. The consonant and quiescent, when used in music to the indicate the elements of a metric mode, are symbolised respectively by a circle (O) and by a stroke (/), which are respectively equal to a beat ♪ *ta*, and to an intervening time unit of the same length as the beat, *na* ♪.

Thus, the four constituents of a metric mode—namely, the *sabab saqil*, *sabab khafif*, *watad*, and *fāsila*—which are respectively marked in musical treatises as *tana*, *tan*, *tanan*, and *tananan*, would appear in Western notation as ♪♪, ♩, ♪♩, ♪♪♩. For example, the metric mode *saqil-awal* is mentioned and described in detail in the *Sharh-i Adwār* (al-Marāghi

[34] The *Risāla-e Arūz* by Jami, on the prosody of poetry, contributes considerably to one's knowledge of prosody and its application to metre and rhythm in music. For this treatise see *Bahāristān wa Rasā'il Jami: Mushtamil bar Risālahā-i Mūsiqi, Arūz, Qāfiya, Chihil Hadis, Nā'iya, Lawāmi, Shar-i tā'iya, Lawā'ih*, and *Sar-rishta* (Jami 1379/2000: 221-285).

[*c.*1449]1991:259), and in Jami's (1960:53) and Bana'i's ([1484]1989:112-113) musical treatises, with 8 *sababs*, comprising 16 *naqarāt*. The constituent elements of this metric mode known as *warshān* in the eastern lands of the Arab world, the *ajam*, are arranged in the following order—two *watads*, a *fāsila*, a *sabab khafif*, and a *fāsila*.[35] According to all the three sources just named the metric elements of this musical metric mode correspond to the prosodic pattern *mafā'ilun*, *fa'ilun*, *mufta'ilun*. Below is the transcription of the *saqil-awal* as transcribed by Beliaev (Jami 1960:53).



The musical treatises discussed in this chapter, after defining the *iqā* and its comprising elements, describe the metric modes commonly used by musicians of the region. The number of the metric modes named in these treatises, differ from seven in the *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* to 12 in Bana'i's and Kawkabi's treatises. These treatises generally mention and describe the seven classical metric modes systematised in earlier theoretical works of the Islamic world. These seven metric modes are: (1) *saqil-awal*, (2) *saqil-sāni*, (3) *khafif-saqil*, (4) *khafif-saqil-awal*, (5) *ramal*, (6) *khafif-ramal*, and (7) *hazaj*.

Additionally, some of these treatises name other metric modes, which probably were used by musicians east of Arabia, in the region known in Arabic culture as *ajam*, which included Khurāsān. These other metric modes are: (1) *fākhti*, (2) *chahar-zarb*, (3) *dawr-turki* or *turki zarb* (4) *mukhammas* (5) *ufar* (6) *du-yak* and (7) *zarb al-fatah*. While the general description of these metric modes agrees in the different musical treatises named and discussed in this chapter, a few of these seven metric modes are described with a certain level of difference in one or another of these sources.

[35] al-Marāghi ([*c.*1449]1991:259), and Bana'i's ([1484]1989:112-113) provide us with the second name of *saqil-awal*, the *warshān*.

For instance, al-Marāghi, in describing the *fākhti* mode, wrote that it is a metric mode used by non-Arabs, the *ajam*s, which has four different types, respectively consisting of 5, 10, 20, and 40 *naqarāt* ([*c.*1449]1991:264-265). In Bana'i's treatise this metric mode of the region is classified into three categories; namely, the *fākhti saghir* '(little'), *awasat* ('middle'), and *kabir* ('big'), respectively consisting of 5, 10, and 20 *naqarāt* ([1484]1989:119-121). Jami, in describing the *fākhti* varieties, advises that two types of *fākhti* are used in practice. The first had 20 *naqarāt and* the second 10 (1960:60-61). In later sources the term *fākhti* appears as *fākhta*, and it is said to have six *naqarāt* (Kawakabi fol. 5b, Changi fol 14a.).

Different types of other metric modes are also noted in Jami's and Bana'i's musical treatises. The *dawr-turki* and the *mukhammas* are described in these two sources as having different types. According to Jami there were four types of *dawr-turki*; namely, (1) *turki asli jaded*, (2) *turki asli qadim*, (3) *turki khafif*, and (4) *turki sarih* (1960:61), which were respectively comprised of 20, 24, 12, and 6 *naqarāt* (1960:61). Bana'i also pointed out some of these categories of the *dawr-turki* ([1484]1989:119-121). The *mukhammas* is another metric mode that is described with at least three types; namely, (1) *mukhammas kabir*, (2) *mukhammas awsat*, and (3) *mukhammas saghir*, respectively consisting of 16, 8, and 4 *naqarāt* (Jami 1960:63, Bana'i ([1484] 1989:111-112).

Noting these differences is very important for a better understanding and comparison of an hypothesis forwarded by Shiloah, who suggested that the modal forms provided by earlier theorists only served as basic models and were subject to variation and embellishment, which by undergoing changes in structure, number, and name (1995:122) resulted in the formation of new metric modes. This hypothesis might additionally be supported by Bana'i's treatise, in which the author, in describing metric modes, demonstrates that by moving the metric elements of a metric mode, one may achieve new metric modes ([1484]1989:119-121).

The above discussion of the seven Dari/Persian musical treatises and their brief comparison to each other and to earlier writings about the music of the Islamic world, demonstrate that these treatises, which were compiled by Khurāsānian musicians and scholars, are the continuation of the theoretical works written by earlier authors of the Islamic world, such as al-Farabi ibn Sina, Safi al-din al-Urmayi, and Qutbudin Shirazi (1236-1311). Additionally, they are links in a chain following each other.

For instance, al-Marāghi, who in his work refers to the authorities just mentioned, himself became an authority very soon after the death of Safi al-din al-Urmayi and Qutbudin Shirazi, and al-Marāghi's works, as pointed out by Shiloah, exerted an influence over wide areas, particularly in the Dari/Persian speaking regions (1995:56) of Central Asia, including the region of Khurāsān. This influence is evident from the works of Khurāsānian musicians and theorists—Bana'i, Jami, Kawkabi, Changi, and Mirza-beg, who, in addition to referring to such authorities as Safi al-din al-Urmayi and Qutbudin Shirazi, also constantly refer to al-Marāghi.

The works of the former musicians and scholars are generally based on the writings of these three latter authorities, the remarkable representatives of the systematist school. This hypothesis, put forward by John Baily (1988:14) in discussing Jami's musical treatise, is also supported by other musical treatises discussed in this chapter, which may be regarded as fine examples of this theoretical school compiled east of Baghdad and Persia, in Khurāsān, and thus reflect also the native traditions of Khurāsānian musicians and theorists. Nonetheless, these eastern Dari/Persian writings about music of the region are strongly influenced by the systematist musical and theoretical ideas of the 13th century, and in the view of some scholars show a certain lack of originality (Wright 1978:3).

The Khurāsānian regional musical tradition in musical treatises compiled in Khurāsān are noted by the Dari/Persian technical terms used for naming metric modes and musical

genres that in these treatises are clearly associated with non-Arabs, the *ajamis*; *i.e.*, people living east of Arabia. Additionally, the regional particularities of these musical treatises are marked by the emergence of new classifications of modes reflecting local approaches and traditions, though pursuant to the same spirit and based on earlier modal principles (Shiloah 1995:115). In certain respects these treatises differ from earlier works and clearly show some of the internal developments that were taking place at that time (Wright 1978:4).

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to examine the art music of the area during the reign of the Timurids and to define the essence of this music, which is identified in Afghan writing today as Khurāsānian. For this purpose we used three categories of data, which were: (1) sources that have general information about the music and dance of that time, (2) technical sources that directly consider the theoretical and practical aspects of that music, and (3) iconographic sources. These data provide one with very valuable information about different aspects of the music of the region. This information includes biographies of musicians, descriptions of musical instruments and their illustration, the composition of musical ensembles, detailed descriptions of musical genres, and the theoretical basis of this music.

The study of these issues, as discussed in this chapter in light of these three types of data, clearly indicated that the area known today as Afghanistan, in the arena of art or professional music, shared a rich and common panorama of instrumentarium and musical genres within a larger region of the Middle East and Central Asia. The musical instruments mentioned and depicted in these data, as well as musical genres named and described in these sources constituted the instrumentarium and repertoire of the pan-Islamic musical culture, which was born as a result of a fusion between the musical culture of the Arab World and the

art music of the Greater Khurāsān region; *i.e.*, contemporary Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia.

Additionally, the data discussed in this chapter strongly suggested that professional musicians of Khurāsān shared a common modal system of melodic and metric modes with the rest of the Islamic world, particularly with the Middle East and Central Asia. This chapter has demonstrated that it is this common system, known as the systematist system of *adwār*, or a variant of this system, that is called in modern Afghan writings Khurāsānian music. This common system, in the formation, development, and enrichment of which many people of Greater Khurāsān participated, or a variant of this system, dominated the art music of Afghanistan up to the second half of the 19th century, as we shall see in forthcoming chapters. Thus, it is not accidental that the scholars and intellectuals of modern Afghanistan, similar to a few other modern nations of Central Asia, claim ownership of this musical heritage.

Chapter 5

Music among the Pashtūns

In the previous chapters this thesis has briefly considered the style and the type of music played at the courts of different rulers belonging to different ethnic groups and races in the area known today as Afghanistan. None of these rulers were Pashtūns, a group of people who are also known by the name of Afghan, a name that eventually in conjunction with the word *istan*, signifying 'place' or 'land', was given to an area ruled by the Pashtūns, which was historically known by other names. This group of people, after years of struggle for self-determination, eventually established their own kingdom in 1747. The next stage of the history of music in Afghanistan is linked with the establishment of modern Afghanistan by a Pashtūn chieftain from the Durrani confederation of the Pashtūn tribes.

Before considering the music played at Durrani courts and the support offered to music and musicians by the Pashtūn rulers of Afghanistan in subsequent chapters, it is important to find out about the significance of music in the eye of the Pashtūns, their music, and their attitudes towards music and musicians. This chapter will discuss these and other issues in the light of two important works, which are among the few, and possibly may be the only written sources compiled by Pashtūn intellectuals that discuss several aspects of music among the Pashtūns in the past.

Not much is known and documented about music among the Pashtūns. A few studies of modern Afghan music completed by Slobin (1972), Sakata (1983) and Baily (1988) have thrown some light on the music of the Pashtūns. However, as McNeil has noted, these are mainly contemporary urban-based studies and do not represent the traditional function of music, nor the history of music and musicians in Pashtūn social life and their system of patronage in pre-modern times (1992:48). These issues are discussed by Adrian McNeil (1992), in his unpublished PhD thesis 'The Dynamics of Social and Musical Status in

Hindustani Music: *Sarodiyās*, *Seniyās* and the *Mārgi-desi* Paradigm', in which he examines the history of the *sarodiyās*, an endogamous community of hereditary Pashtūn musicians (*mirāsis*), after they left their homelands and migrated to India.[1]

This chapter will discuss passages connected to musical activities from a 16th century written source and a 17th century essay on music. These sources respectively are the *Hāl Nāma* of Ali Muhammad Mukhlis and the *Dastār Nāma* of Khushal Khan Khatak.

The *Hāl Nāma* or 'Letter of Ecstasy' is a history in Dari of the founder of the Roshania movement,[2] his decedents and disciples. The Roshania phenomenon was a religious sectarian movement led by Bayazid Ansari (1521-1581), who encouraged the Pashtūn tribes to fight for their independence from the Mughal rulers of India. We shall see that music was an important part of this movement and its religious rituals. All references to the *Hāl Nāma* in this thesis are based on the *Pa Hāl Nāma ke di Bāyazid Roshān Irfāni aw Falsafi Cera* or 'The Scholarly and Philosophical Portrait of Bāyazid Roshān in the *Hāl Nāma*' by Muhammad Akbar Kargar (1369/1990:167-178).[3]

In the 17th century Khushal Khan Khatak (1613-1691), a celebrated Pashto poet, scholar, warrior and tribal chieftain continued to carry the torch of independence lit by *Pir-e Roshan*. Khushal Khan is the author of many poems and several prose works. In this chapter we deal with his book the *Dastār Nāma* (1076/1697) or 'Letter of the Turban'. The *Dastār Nāma* is a collection of written advice about twenty skills or arts and twenty characteristics that princes and kings are supposed to learn. The eighteenth skill or art of the *Dastār Nāma* is dedicated to the science of music.

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[1] Additionally, the article 'Promotion of music by the Turko-Afghan Rulers of India' by Dharma Bhanu (1955:9-31), and the book *Royal Patronage of Indian Music* by Gowri (1984), discuss court music and the court attitude of the Pashtūn rulers of India and their outlook about music.

[2] The name of the movement is derived from the nick-name of its founder, *Pir-e Roshan* or 'Enlightened Saint', given to him by his followers.

[3] The author of this PhD thesis compiled the English translation of the passages of the *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma* presented in this chapter.

The *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma* provide one with very interesting data on several aspects of music and musicianship among the Pashtūns that give one some ground for discussion. The definition of music, metre and melodic modes, the distinction between instrumental and vocal music, the classification of musical instruments, the aesthetic power of music, the religious polemic over the legitimacy of music, and the importance of dance in the social life of the Pashtūns are among several of the topics that emerge from these sources. Each of these issues will be discussed in this chapter.

Definition of music, metre, and modes

Ali Muhammad Mukhlis in his *Hāl Nāma*, as reported by Kargar, in describing the characteristics and skills of Bayazid Ansari's decedents and disciples, defines music as a science. Khushal Khan Khatak also shares this point of view, which is the reflection of earlier works on music completed by Arab, Khurāsāniān, and Transoxanian scholars. A few of this works have been named and cited in previous chapters of this thesis.

> Khdaidad, ... was a brave cavalier, and a *chaugān* player. He did not have an equal in the science of music (Kargar 1369/1990:177).
>
> Abdul Alim, ... is very skilful in the science of music and he has a thorough knowledge in theology. Also he composes verses in Hindi (*ibid*).

In the forthcoming citation from the *Dastār Nāma*, Khushal Khan, defining music as a science, reports that the Greek philosopher Plato, who is identified in Dari/Persian and Pashto writings as *Aflātūn*, invented music and poetry, both being needed simultaneously to fulfil each other. The links between the poetry and music in the *Dastār Nāma* goes back to some earlier writing on music completed by Muslim scholars. Among such authorities one may refer to al-Fārābi (d. 950), who considered poetry as 'a natural soil for music and the one [that] just glides into the other' (Shehadi 1995:60).

The relationship between the two is also discussed in the works of the great Muslim philosopher and physician Ibn-Sina on music. He showed consistent aesthetic links between both arts (Shehadi 1995:74). The invention of music by a Greek philosopher in the *Dastār Nāma* appears in some earlier sources too. Nonetheless, in earlier sources Pythagoras, rather than Plato, is credited with the creation of music and several musical instruments.[4]

> The science of music (*ilm musiqi*), that is the combination of singing and instrumental performance, is a deep science. Music, similar to poetry, has its own metric (*arūz*) and melodic modes (*buhūr*). The [music], has six [primary] modes, and each primary mode *bahr* (singular of *buhūr*) has its own six melodic modes, *naghmi*. Music, as poetry (*nazm*), is the invention of [the Greek philosopher] Plato. Although, music and poetry fulfil each other, poetry is superior. Amir Khusrau Dehlovi, who was a master of both arts, notes this superiority in the following verse.
>
> > Know! That the poetry is the bride and the music her jewel
> > Not having the jewel is not a vice for a beautiful bride (Khatak 1345/1966:86).

Metre

In the citation above, in addition to defining music and discussing the relationship between music and poetry, Khushal Khan, when comparing and describing similarities between music and poetry, provides us with very interesting data on the metric (*arūz*) and melodic (*buhūr*) concepts of music among the Pashtūns. Apart of likening the musical metric modes to the prosody of poetry, he does not provide us with any specific data on the structure, principles, and rules that would have regulated the metric modes of music. However, the comparison of the musical metric modes to the prosody of poetry reminds one of previous links between the six classical metric modes of Arabic music and their association with the prosody of poetry. This linkage and association as has been noted in the previous chapter of this thesis also was used in Khurāsān.

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[4] In the works of an earlier Muslim scholar, al-Kindi (d. 870), and in the *Risā'il Ikhwān al-Safā*, compiled by a group of Muslim thinkers known as *Ikhwān al-Safā* or 'the Brethren of Purity', which flourished in the second half of the 10th century, the Greek philosopher Phythagoras is singled out as the originator of human music (Shehadi 1995:59). This point of view is later repeated in Kawkabi's musical treatise (fol. 1b).

It is important to note that the term *bahr*, a word which is used in the Middle Eastern Arabic music tradition for identifying the melodic modes, metric modes, and poetic modes (al-Faruqi 1981:28), is used by Khushal Khan. However, he uses the term *bahr* in only one meaning. In this instance, the word *bahr* is used for defining a preliminary view of melodic modes, the very next subject in the discussion, the details of which are given below.

Scales

Concerning scales and melodic modes, it should be noted that in the quotation above Khushal Khan indicates the existence of a certain system of scales that consisted of six primary modes (*buhūr*) and their associated melodic modes (*naghmi*). The association to each primary mode of six additional melodic modes leads to the total number of 42 melodic modes (six primary modes, plus 6 X 6 = 42). Khushal Khan does not provide us with more data on this theoretical concept. However, the relationship and interaction of the 6 primary modes to their associated melodic modes in the *Dastār Nāma* reminds one of an earlier theory of North Indian *rāgas* based on the relationship of 6 primary male *rāgas* and their wives *rāginis*.[5] The concept of six primary modes, which has been reported in the *Dastār Nāma*, is als[illegible]ted by the author of the *Hāl Nāma* a few decades earlier.

> O' my dear, now I will talk to you about the second treasure. As I mentioned earlier, that treasure is the world of music developed among Pashtūns[6] by Haji Muhammad, the master (*khalifa*) musician of Mir Fazilulah Wali. [Previously] Pashtūns mounted the *ghichak* with three strings, the *rabāb* with five strings, and the *sarinda* with two strings and played them. Thanks to the education and contribution of Haji Muhammad, [Pashtūn] musicians (*sāzinda-ha*) added several strings to the instruments and were creating new melodies (*naghma*). Often they played dancing pieces and fast instrumental pieces (*naghma-hā*). But, since the arrival of these musicians to the service of Saint [Bayazid], thanks to his explanations, they started to play [and sing] moderate and soft

[5] A detailed description of this classification and several other concepts, which were used in the past for the classification of North Indian *rāgas*, are available in Gangoly's *Rāgas* and *Rāginis: A Pictorial and Iconographic Study of Indian Musical Modes Based on Original Sources* (1948).

[6] In my English translation of this passage of the *Hāl Nāma*, the term 'Afghans' has been replaced by Pashtūns in order to avoid unnecessary confusion.

> songs (*surod*), and instrumental pieces (*naghma-hā*). [These musicians] invented the six *maqām[āt]*, which are *nāsri*, *panj-parda*, *chār-parda*, *sih-parda*, *parda-e jang* (mode of war) played in the time of war, and *parda-e shahādat* (mode of martyrdom). Many instrumental melodies (*naghma*) and songs (*band-ah*) are played and sung in these *maqām[āt]* (Kargar 1369/1990:174).

In the citation above, the author of the *Hāl Nāma*, by comparison, reports about the creation of six *maqām[āt]* by the very musicians that were in the service of Bayazid Ansari. Also, from this citation it emerges that this invention has taken place under the direct guidance of Bayazid Ansari, who apparently was a good musician himself. Furthermore, this passage of the *Hāl Nāma* provides us with the names of these six modes created by Pashtūn musicians.

The number of the modes in the *Hāl Nāma* once again recalls the principle of six primary *rāgas* in the system of the *rāgas* and *rāginis* mentioned just above. Nonetheless, there is not any indication of *rāginis* in the *Hāl Nāma*. In marked contrast to the *Dastār Nāma*, however, the author of the *Hāl Nāma* does not note any further sub-units associated with the concepts of six fundamental modes. Only six modes are mentioned with their names. The naming of the modes in the *Hāl Nāma* is quite significant, as the *Dastār Nāma* does not mention any names, even though the *Dastār Nāma* notes six basic modes (*bahr*), each having six sub-modes (*naghma*).

Thus, as will become apparent just subsequently, the only thing in common between the *Hāl Nāma*, *Dastār Nāma* and the *rāg/rāgini* system of North India is the number six for the number of basic musical modes at the highest level in the modal classification systems of Pashtūn musical culture and the musical culture of North India. The terms used in the *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma* for identifying different aspects of the modal system described in these two sources might not be traced in the vocabulary of *rāga* and *rāgini*. These terms, which include *bahr*, *naghma*, *maqām*, and *parda* are borrowed from Arabo- Khurāsānian nomenclature of musical terms, rather than from the North Indian classical traditions.

It should be noted that, according to the best of my knowledge, the name of the modes named in the *Hāl Nāma* do not appear in any Dari/Persian musical treatise that considers the theoretical concepts of music in Greater Khurāsān and the Arab Middle East, nor in treatises about North Indian classical music. It is important to note that among the names of the modes, the titles *panj-parda*, *chār-parda*, and *sih-parda*, respectively signifying five tunes, four tunes and three tunes, may indicate the number of tunes of these modes. Modes with the same number of tunes and the synonymous names of *panj-gāh*, *chahār-gāh*, and *sih-gāh* were known in the system of 12 *maqāmāt*, 24 *shu'ab* or *sh'abāt*, and the six *awāzāt* discussed in Dari/Persian musical treatises.[7]

The titles of the fifth and sixth modes, respectively *parda-e jang* and *parda-e shahādat*, point to a clear association of these two modes to military music. Also, they indicate the genre of war ballads and mourning songs for people killed in battle. These two genres are described by Elphinstone as the two main vocal genres performed by Pashtūn musicians to celebrate the wars of their tribes and to mourn the death of their chieftains ([1815]/1842:309). The necessity of music in a military campaign, as we shall see later in this chapter, is also noted in the *Dastār Nāma* (Khatak 1345/1966:88).

Definition of instrumental and vocal music

Naghma

The author of the *Hāl Nāma*, in the passage cited above, in addition to the issues just discussed, makes a clear distinction between instrumental and vocal music. The term *naghma*, an equivalent of the *nagham* (Faruqi 1981:226), signifying a 'musical sound', a 'tune', a 'melody', and a 'song', which also was used for identifying melodic modes (Faruqi 1981:225), is used by the author of the *Hāl Nāma* for identifying an instrumental composition or piece. In

[7] For description of these modes see Jami's Dari/Persian musical treatise translated by Beliaev into Russian as *Traktat o Muzyki* (1960:92-96).

the *Hāl Nāma* the word *naghma* is always accompanied by the verb *nawākhtan*, which means 'playing' instead of 'singing', and both *naghma* and *nawākhtan* are used in a context with musical instruments.

This use of *naghma* and *nawākhtan* in conjunction with each other in the description of musical instruments, makes it clear that the author of the *Hāl Nāma* considers *naghma* to be the appropriate term for composition or a piece of instrumental music. It is very interesting and important to note here, as will be explained in appropriate detail later, that even today in Afghanistan the term *naghma* identifies an instrumental performance or a section of instrumental music within a large performance of vocal music. This usage of the term *naghma* appears to have its origin in Pashtūn musical traditions of the past.

Surod

Concerning a vocal performance, it should be noted that in the *Hāl Nāma* the word *surod*, signifying in Dari/Persian and Pashto, a 'song', an 'ode', a 'hymn', and an 'anthem', is used to differentiate between a vocal (*surod*) and an instrumental piece (*naghma*). However, it is important to note that in the *Hāl Nāma*, the term *surod* is used in the two scenes. The word *surod* is used primarily to indicate a vocal composition as it has been reported in a text from the *Hāl Nāma*, quoted earlier in this chapter. Secondly, it is used for naming a musical instrument played by Pashtūn musicians.

> No one had the courage to move their lips for a word, while Ahdad was reading a book or playing (*nawākhtan*) on the *surod* (Kargar 1369/1990:176).

In this data, the term *surod* is used in conjunction with the word *nawākhtan*, meaning to 'play' on a musical instrument. The use of these two words *surod* and *nawākhtan* together makes it clear that *surod* was a musical instrument. We know from McNeil's PhD (1992) thesis that Pashtūn musicians, who came to India in the 18th century, played on a plucked lute

In the second part are grouped musical instruments played by the hands, which include plucked and bowed stringed instruments (*rabāb*, *chār-tār*, *sarinda*) and drums (*dohl* and the *daf*). The sound and the performance of this category of musical instruments, which are identified by the author of the *Dastār Nāma* as the tools or means of accompanying music, are considered as instrumental music, generically named *naghma*.

This classification, not known previously in musicological studies, which is used for classifying vocal and instrumental music, as well as for classifying musical instruments, appears to be based on the association of vocal and instrumental music with human physiology. The very close association of wind instruments to the breath and the mouth, which are essential for vocal music and the production of sound in wind instruments, and the ability of wind instruments to sustain sound, appear to be the basic idea behind this two-part classification.

This classification appears to reflect al-Fārābi's attitude towards musical instruments, who has given priority to wind instruments and the bowed *rabāb* among other melodic instruments, due to their ability to sustain sounds as being closest to the voice (Shiloah 1995:66). Khushal Khan goes beyond this preference, however, by considering the sound of wind instruments primarily as vocal music, rather than as instrumental music. It also should be noted that the subordination of certain musical instruments to the voice and their accompanying role for vocal music noted in the *Dastār Nāma* is the reflection of al-Fārābi's argument, who centuries earlier argued that musical instruments were invented to accompany and enrich vocal music and are inferior in quality to the voice (Shiloah 1995:66).

Having considered this classification, it is appropriate now to describe and discuss the musical instruments named in the text of the *Dastār Nāma* and the *Hāl Nāma*. The data from these two sources name a total of eleven instruments. These musical instruments, which are named in the following passages of the *Hāl Nāma* and in the text of the *Dastār Nāma* just

discussed, are the following—chordophones; (1) the *rabāb*, (2) *surod*, (3) *chār-tār*, (4) *ghichak*, (5) and *sarinda*: aerophones; (6) the *surnā*, (7) *nāy*, (8) *shpilay*, (9) and *mūsiqār*: and drums; (10) the *dā'ira* or *daf*, and (11) the *dohl*.

> Many people dressed in dervish clothing travelled from city to city and by playing the *dā'ira* and *rabāb* begged from the people. ... One morning a group of these people that consisted of 24 people came to Bayazid's house. Each of them held a *dāriya*, *rabāb* or a *chār-tār* (Kargar 1369/1990:173).
>
> Pashtūns mounted the *ghichak* with three strings, the *rabāb* with five strings, and the *sarinda* with two strings and played them. Thanks to the education and contribution of Haji Muhammad, [Pashtūn] musicians (*sāzinda-ha*) added several strings to the instruments and were creating new melodies (*naghma*) (Kargar 1369/1990:174).

Most of the musical instruments named in the *Hāl Nāma* and *Dastār Nāma* are discussed in the context of music in Afghanistan today by Sakata (1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1980a, 1980b, 1983) and Slobin (1976:). Thus, these sources will not be extensively reviewed here. Rather, the author of this thesis considers it to be useful and important to discuss some of these musical instruments in the light of new data, which might contribute to our knowledge of the history of the Afghan *rabāb*, *surod*, *chār-tār* and the *ghichak*. This chapter also describes the *sarinda* and *shpilay*, which are not discussed in the sources named just above. Concerning the *nāy* and *mūsiqār*, it should be noted that these two instruments have been described in the previous chapters of this thesis.

Afghan rabāb

The history of the contemporary Afghan *rabāb* and the adoption of the term *rabāb* to this beloved instrument of the people of Afghanistan remain to be solved, and up to date the evidence is unclear. Afghan intellectuals and musicians believe that the contemporary Afghan

rabāb is the oldest musical instrument of Afghanistan, the history of which might be traced back in pre-historic times (Rishtin 1338/1959:69 and Shirzoy 1375/1996:54).[8]

Afghan intellectuals and musicians base their argument on the appearance of archaeological sources from Gandhāra,[9] which depict various plucked lutes, some of which clearly show some features of the contemporary Afghan *rabāb*. These features as noted in the first chapter of this thesis are—a rounded resonator sometimes rather elongated, a waisted or indented shape just above in the middle of the resonator, and extending from the resonator a wide neck that clearly tapers to the top of the instrument.

These features are seen in illustrations 15 and 16 in sculpture found in archaeological sites of Gandhāra. These two illustrations are details of two larger reliefs reproduced from Zwalf (1996:197, Fig. 339) and Hackin (1923:pl. III) respectively. A detailed description of these two sculptures and the other musical instruments depicted on them has been presented in chapter 1 of this thesis. The plucked instrument of sculpture depicted in illustrations 15 and 16, with its pear-shaped waisted resonator and a wide tapering and relatively short neck, clearly bears some features of the contemporary Afghan *rabāb*.

After these pre-Islamic illustrations, the iconographic evidence for the Afghan *rabāb*-type instrument seems to disappear until a drawing in the *Kanz-ul-tuhaf*, a Dari/Persian musical treatise of the 14th century. This treatise depicts a short-necked pear-shaped plucked lute with a waisted resonator covered by a piece of skin, and a tapered neck with an angled back peg box mounted with six strings, called *rabāb*. The translation of a text from the *Kanz-ul-tuhaf*, which considers the shape and construction of a plucked instrument called *rabāb*, is directly relevant to this discussion.

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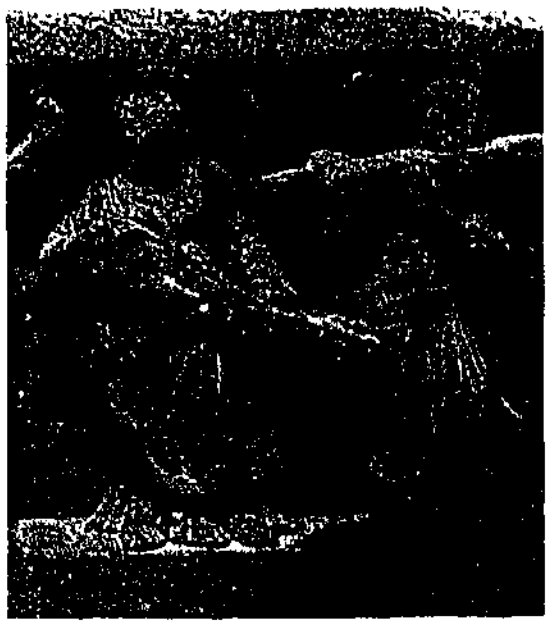
[8] Sidiqullah Rishtin, in his *De Zhuwand Sandari* [The Songs of Life], traces the age of the contemporary Afghan *rabāb* and discusses the origin of the word *rabāb* (1338/1959:68-72).

[9] Gandhāra was the ancient name of a historical region in Eastern Afghanistan, bounded on the east by the Indus River, on the west by the Hindu Kush, on the north by the Swat Hills, and on the south by the provinces of Zabul and Paktia, *i.e.*, it consisted of areas along the lower course of the Kabul River, the North-Western area of Pakistan, and some tributaries of the Indus River in the west. The Peshawr Valley, Swat, Buner, Bajaur, and the Dir districts of Pakistan, with the following provinces of modern Afghanistan—Nangarhar, Laghman, Kunar, Kabul, Logar, Wardak, and Kapisa—were among the districts of Gandhara.



Illus. 15. Two musicians playing a *rabāb*-type lute and a transverse flute, from Gandhāra.

Illus. 16. A lute player with a *rabāb*-type lute from Gandhāra.

> The *rabāb* has two bellies [or it is a double-chested instrument]. The first belly is the hollow of the resonator and the second is the hollow of the neck of the resonator. The depth of each hollow should be seven joined fingers. The length of the resonator and its upper hollow should be one span and four extended fingers and the breadth of each belly should be one span a two extended fingers. The length of its fingerboard should be three spans. The upper hollow of the resonator, to which the fingerboard is tapered, should be covered by a thin piece of wood and the lower hollow by a piece of skin. It should be mounted with six strings (Kashani [14th century] 1992:114).

After this treatise, visual data for *rabāb*-type lutes seemingly disappear again until the 16th century, when certain plucked lutes, similar in their basic shape—a rounded pear-shaped resonator sometimes elongated covered by a piece of skin, a waisted form, a tapering neck, and a receding peg box—is seen in certain Mughal miniature paintings. Illustration 17 and 18 are scenes from larger paintings, which demonstrate certain plucked instruments with these features.[10]

[10] The complete painting, details of which are shown in illustration 17 and 18, are available in *Imaging Sound: An Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India* (Wade 1996:Fig. 21, 128).

The contemporary Afghan *rabāb*, considered by the Afghans as their national instrument, is a short-necked double-chested plucked instrument of Afghanistan, with an elongated, oval body made from mulberry wood in small (*zircha*), medium (*miyāna*), and large (*buzurg* or *kalān*) sizes. The smaller ones are used in small ensembles that accompany regional or folk music, while the two larger *rabāb*s are used as a solo instrument in the art or classical music of Afghanistan.

The modern Afghan *rabāb* today has three melodic strings: the *jalau* (front), the *miyāna* (middle) and the *kata* (big, large, thick), respectively identifying the instrument's strings from the highest in pitch to the lowest. The three melodic strings are tuned in 4ths and made of gut or nylon. In addition, the *rabāb* has two or three drone strings called the *shah-tār*s, and 15 sympathetic strings named *tār-hae farayi* ('derivative') attached to pegs in the upper side of the body. The drone and sympathetic strings of the Afghan *rabāb* are made of metal. The sympathetic strings of the *rabāb* are tuned to the scale of the mode played.

Illus. 17. Detail of a 16th century Mughal miniature painting depicting a *rabāb*-type plucked instrument.

According to Madadi, the Afghan *rabāb* was Previously mounted with a total of five melodic or main strings: two *jalaus* (front), two *miyāna* (middle), and the *kata* (big, large, thick), plus two or three drone strings, and 12 to 13 sympathetic strings (1364/1985:48). Additionally, Madadi reports that the current number of strings on the *rabāb* was determined by Ūstād Mohammad Ūmar. Today, a specific instrumental genre of Afghan classical music, the *naghma chartuk*, which will be discussed later in this thesis, is closely linked with the Afghan *rabāb*, an instrument throughout the county.

Illus. 18. An Afghan *rabāb*-type plucked lute from a 16th century Mughal painting of India.

Surod

The *Surod* (Hindustani *sarod*) of Afghanistan today is a fretless plucked lute of North India, which evolved from a particular type of Afghan or Kabuli *rabāb* called the *surod*, which was an official instrument of the Pashtūn military and played by a group of Pashtūn hereditary musicians (*mirāsis*).[11]

[11] The evolution of the contemporary North Indian *sarod* from the Pashtūn *surod* and the role that was played by Pashtūn hereditary musicians (*mirāsis*) in its development is thoroughly discussed in McNeil's unpublished PhD thesis (1992).

The appearance of the word *surod* in the 16th century *Hāl Nāma* in conjunction with the word *nawākhtan* (playing) on a musical instrument most probably indicates the very type of Afghan or Pashtūn *rabāb* that evolved into the contemporary *sarod* of North India. Ironically, in the 1970s Afghan musicians trained in North Indian classical music adopted the modified type of Afghan *rabāb* as being a unique instrument of North Indian classical music. According to Madadi (1375/1996: 302), Mohammad Akram Ruhnawaz, an Afghan *rabāb* player and composer, was the first Afghan musician to perform on the modern (Indian) *surod* in Afghanistan.

Chār-tār

The construction of the *chār-tār* named in the *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma* and the way it was played is not clear. The modern *chār-tār* (lit. 'four strings') of Afghanistan, known in Iran and the Caucasus as the *tār*, is a long-necked plucked lute. The body of the instrument, made of mulberry, is divided into two parts of different size. Both parts are covered with skin and are shaped as two hearts. The instrument is mounted with six metal strings grouped as two single courses and two double courses. As Sakata has pointed out, the name of the instrument meaning 'four strings' may indicate that the original instrument had four strings, or it may refer to the six strings that function as four (1983:199).

According to Madadi, until the late 1950s amateur and professional musicians mainly in the province of Herat played on the *chār-tār*, which was also called *shish-tār* (lit. 'six strings') (1375/1996:268). The same source informs us that the *chār-tār* was a member of the first orchestra of Kabul Radio, where the late Lālā Rahim preformed on it. In the late 1970s and in the 1980s, as Sakata has reported, the *chār-tār* was not a popular instrument in Afghanistan. Today the *chār-tār* is obsolete in Afghanistan (Madadi 1375/1996:268).

called *surod*. The importance of the above data is that it confirms McNeil's research about the use of the word *surod* among Pashtun musicians and pushes the data back at least to the second half of the 16th century.

Both terms, *naghma* and *surod*, are used by Khushal Khan, the author of the *Dastār Nāma*, respectively for identifying instrumental (*naghma*) and vocal compositions (*surod*). But, it is important to note that Khushal Khan uses the term *naghma* in two meanings. Firstly, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, Khushal Khan uses *naghma* for naming the sub-category of the primary six modes. Secondly, as we shall see in the text quoted just below, the term *naghma* is used by Khushal Khan similar to the author of the *Hāl Nāma* for identifying instrumental compositions and performances.

> The melody of the mouth that comes from the gullet via the mouth or [the sound of wind instruments such as] the *surnā*, *nāy*, *shpilay* and *mūsiqār* [produced by mouth] is called a song (*surod*). Those [musical instruments] played by hands such as the *rabāb*, *sarinda*, *chār-tār*, *dohl* and the *daf* are the tools of a song (Khatak 1345/1966: 86) and the melodies [produced on these instruments] are called *naghma*. The person, who sings is called *mughanni* [signifying a 'male singer'] and his accompanist is named *mutrib* (Khtak 1345/1966:86).

Musical instruments

This two-part classification, which is primarily used by the author of the *Dastār Nāma* to distinguish between vocal and instrumental music, also appears to indicate a two-part system of classification used by Khushal Khan in categorising musical instruments. In the first part of this classification are grouped musical instruments that are linked with the breath in producing the sound; namely, the wind instruments that may perform music continuously, similar to the voice. Thus, the sound of this group or class of musical instruments, both flutes (*nāy*, *shpilay*) and reedpipes (*mūsiqār* and *surnā*), as considered in the *Dastār Nāma*, may be considered to be, breath music from the mouth, seemingly a type of vocal music (*surod*), rather than instrumental music as such.

Ghichak

The authors of the *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma*, other than of naming the *ghichak*, do not provide us with any other information about the shape and the way the instrument was played. It appears that since Middle Ages the term *ghichak* was used for identifying two types of a bowed instrument played in Central Asia and Iran. Firstly, the word *ghichak* was used for naming and describing of a spike fiddle of Central Asia, known in Iran as *kamāncha*. Secondly, the word *ghichak* was used for naming and describing a different bowed instrument, which by marked contrast was differentiated in size, shape, and its number of strings from the *ghichak/kamāncha* of Iran and Central Asia.

In a 14th century Dari/Persian musical treatise—namely, the *Kanz-ul-tuhaf*—the *ghichak* is described and depicted as a bowed instrument with two strings, with a resonator of spherical shape of medium size covered with a piece of skin and attached to a standing peg, with no sympathetic strings.[12] This description agrees with the illustration of a bowed instrument depicted in large number of Central Asian, Iranian and Indian Mughal miniature paintings. This musical instrument has been identified by musicologists and other scholars as a *ghichak* or *kamāncha*.

The above description of the *ghichak* also corresponds with the description of the *kamāncha* described in the *Sharh-i- Adwār*, by Abdul Qadir ibn Ghaibi al-Marāghi, as a bowed instrument with two melodic strings, [13] a spherical or globe-shaped resonator made of coconut or wood, the sound box of which is covered by skin (al-Marāghi *c.* [1449]/1991:354).

However, it is important to note that in spite of the very close similarity between the *ghichak* of Central Asia and the Iranian *kamāncha* in the past and now (spherical body shape covered with skin and attached to a standing peg or spike, fretless fingerboard, curved bow), which strongly influenced or caused scholars and musicologists to identify the *ghichak* and

[12] For description of the *ghichak* see *Kanz-ul-tuhaf* (Kashani [14th century] 1992:76, 112-113).
[13] In describing the *kamāncha*, al-Marāghi does not provide us with the number of its strings. However, he gives us its number while he speaks about the function of the strings of the *ghichak* ([1449]/1991:354).

kamāncha synonymously, there appears to be some data since the 15th century, that distinguishes the *ghichak/kamāncha* from the *ghichak* with a resonator of a square or rectangular shape. Abdul Qadir ibn Ghaibi al-Marāghi in his *Sharh-i- Adwār*, reporting on various musical instruments, makes a clear distinction between the *kamāncha* and the *ghichak*. In describing the *ghichak* he wrote that it is a bowed lute, with a large resonator having two melodic and eight sympathetic strings.

> The *ghichak* is also a bowed instrument with a large resonator. It has ten strings. The bow, however, passes only over two strings, which are fastened higher [than the other eight]. The other eight strings are open and the bow neither reaches nor crosses them. These eight strings were struck by the ring finger in order to demonstrate the start of a metric mode. The two main strings of this instrument have the same function as those of the *kamāncha*. (al-Marāghi [1449]/1991:354-355).

As noted earlier, the author of the text above does not provide us with a complete description of the *ghichak*. Information available in this text does not describe the shape of the resonator of the instrument and the material of its belly. It is possible to fill in part of this incompleteness from information on the *ghichak* from other theoretical works of al-Marāghi, in which he informs us that the large resonator of the *ghichak* was covered by a piece of skin.[14] Concerning the shape of the resonator of the *ghichak*, al-Marāghi is not specific. He describes it only as 'large', a general term, which might indicate the resonator of a large spherical shape, as well as of a rectangular or square shape.

Among a large number of miniature paintings of the 15th and the 16th centuries, which traditionally depict the *ghichak/kamāncha* with a spherical or globe resonator, there is a rare miniature painting of *c.* 1527 (Illus. 19), portraying a bowed instrument of the *ghichak/kamāncha* family with a square resonator very similar to the contemporary *ghichak* of

[14] Farmer reports that in the *Cāmi al-alhan* [*Jami ul-alhān*], also written by Marāghi and evidently translated by Farmer, it is said that the resonator of *ghichak* was covered with a skin ([1962] 1997:1609).

Afghanistan. The whole painting, a detail of which is reproduced in illustration 19, is shown in Welch (1972:50, Fig. 13).

Illus. 19. Detail of a 16th century miniature painting depicting a musician, who plays on a bowed instrument similar to the contemporary *ghichak* of Afghanistan.

Thus, the above discussion about the *ghichak*, in addition of confirming that the term *ghichak* historically was used for naming one particular type of a bowed instrument known by two different names *ghichak* and *kamāncha*, furthermore suggests that the word *ghichak* was also used for identifying a second variant instrument of the same family with a different shape and number of strings, which appears to be very similar to the contemporary 'new-style' *ghichak* of Afghanistan. This instrument is different from the standard *ghichak* of Afghanistan.[15]

[15] For a detailed description and comparison of the standard and new-style *ghichak* of Afghanistan see *Music in the Culture of Northern Afghanistan* (Slobin 1976:243-248).

The new-style *ghichak* of Afghanistan, played in the northern parts of the country and believed to be an invention of recent times (Slobin 1976:246), is similar to a spike fiddle of the 16th century depicted in the illustration 19. It has a 'large' rectangular resonator made of mulberry wood covered by skin. The slightly pointed end of the rounded fretless neck, after passing through the body of the instrument, serves as a support or standing peg for the instrument. The new-style *ghichak* of northern Afghanistan today, similar to the *ghichak* described by al-Marāghi, has two melodic and eight sympathetic strings and is played with a horsehair bow. Thus, as Slobin has pointed out, it is not so radical as might appear at first glance (1976:246), and the history of the so-called 'new-style' *ghichak* as the discussion above suggests might be traced back at least to the second half of the 15th century.

Sarinda

The *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma*, other than providing us with name of the *sarinda*, do not supply us with any other information about this musical instrument. Additionally, the instrument is not mentioned or depicted in any of the earlier sources that deal with the musical instruments of Central Asia. Thus, it is a complicated task to trace its evolution within the history of musical instruments. This is not a matter of concern here. Nonetheless, the appearance of the word *sarinda* in the *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma* as a musical instrument suggests that *sarinda* was played among the Pashtūns from as early as 16th century, if not prior to that.

Today the *sarinda* is a double-chested short-necked fiddle of Afghanistan played mostly in the south and south-eastern part of the country, the areas populated by the Pashtūns, among whom it has been is reported in the 16th century. It is made of mulberry wood in the shape of a heart, which is strongly waisted at the sides and rounded in at the back. The lower part of the instrument is covered with a piece of goatskin. The upper chamber is open and a

fretless fingerboard extends somewhat across it. The *sarinda* is mounted with three melodic strings made of gut or nylon, and 17 sympathetic strings made of metal. It is played by a heavy and curved bow.

Shpilay or *tūla*

The name *shpilay* is a Pashto word employed by the Pashtūns for the identification of transverse flutes. The term *tūla* is used with the same purpose; *i.e.*, for naming transverse flutes among other peoples residing in Afghanistan. In several written sources[16] the terms *shpilay* and *tūla* are synonymously used for the identification of one particular type of flute; namely, a transverse flute made of either wood or bronze in various sizes, between 36 and 46 cm long, and with variations in the number of finger holes, from 5 to 7 holes. More specifically, the term *shpilay* identifies a small transverse flute played by Pashtūn shepherds, nick-named by Rishtin as the life and dearest friend of shepherds (1338/1959:76). Though the *shpilay* is primarily a solo instrument, it may appear in small ensembles of folk music as well. It is used throughout Afghanistan.

Aesthetic power of music

The aesthetic power of music is another important aspect of music mentioned in the *Dastār Nāma*. Writing on the aesthetic power of music and its affects on humans and animals, Khushal Khan repeats to some extent an earlier work on music that considers the same issue. One may come across a similar idea in Al-Kindi's (d. 870) works in which the effects of music on humans and animals and its therapeutic power is dealt with in detail.

[16] Among Afghan writers today, the terms *shpilay* and *tūla* are synonymously used in *De Zhuwand Sandari* [The Songs of Life] by Rishtin (1338/1959:73-76), *Mauzū'at Musiqi* [Subjects of Music] by Ghulam Ghaws (1368/1994:86), and in *Sar-guzasht Musiqi Mu'āsir Afghanistan* [The story of Contemporary Music of Afghanistan] by Madadi (1375/1996:273).

> Music makes the camels intoxicated and the roes unconscious. People who do not reach ecstasy from listening to a musical performance are of a very sick nature. What kind of human beings would be the people that are not moved by the performance of a song *surod*? Those who are denying [the aesthetic power of music] have to remember that if singing was an evil phenomenon, was it not the miracle of Prophet David's voice that made the birds to land?
>
> As kings are skilful sword players and have the wisdom to forgive and to do justice and be equitable, they have to learn all the sciences. Similar to poetry, music is an art and its understanding is a necessity too. Kings do not have to perform. Nonetheless, they may do so privately in their seraglio. It is sufficient to listen to music and to learn it from the learned scholars and experienced musicians (Khatak 1345/1966:86).

Legitimacy of music

Khushal Khan, continuing the debate concerning the effects of music on living beings in the text just above, notes its importance in the life of kings and the necessity of learning and listening to music. Furthermore, he discusses the legitimacy of music in Islam, a subject that always has been an actual problem in Islamic societies. This issue is also present in the pages of the *Hāl Nāma*. The admissibility of music in Islam was and remains an issue that attracts theologians, spiritual leaders (*mufti*), legalists (*qāzi*), Sufi leaders, and the custodians of morality (*muhtasib*). The intensity of this controversy depends on the social and political state of the orthodox clergy and their influence in governing bodies. The engagement of various authorities in this polemic is obvious in the text of the *Dastār Nāma*.

> There is big discussion and dispute on the legitimacy of music [from an Islamic point of view] among the Sufis and the clergy. It was the false lamentation and restlessness of the Sufis, named by themselves as melancholy (*wajd*), ecstasy (*hāl*), and *samā*, that discredited the science of music and made the clergy to announce it a forbidden (*harām*) phenomenon that brings about a breach in religion. However, the Sufis claim that the music is neither an allowable nor a forbidden (*mubāh*) activity and are continuing the debate (Khatak 1345/1966:87).

In this text, Khushal Khan, in addition to reporting on the existence of a dispute between theologians and Sufis over the legality of music, exposes their respective stand on

this debate, respectively as *harām* and *mubāh*. In the *Dastār Nāma*, the total denial of all musical activities by orthodox religious authorities and the soft stand of the Sufis, who consider music as being (*mubāh*), which is neither prohibited nor allowable, is the reflection of a long and interminable polemic in the Muslim world. The complete negation of music can be traced back to one of the earliest works that prohibits music as a 'diversion from devotional life'. This fundamental approach, expressed first by ibn Abi-'l-Dunya (823-894), found its multiple variations in many subsequent corresponding writings (Shiloah 1995:34).

In representing the opinions of both the theologians and the Sufis in regard to music, the *Dastār Nāma* is very laconic. It does not provide us with the roots of their arguments. In this regard an episode of the *Hāl Nāma* that notes the arrival of a group of itinerant dervish musicians at the house of Bayazid exposes his religious, philosophical, and mystical attitude toward the music.

> Many people dressed in dervish clothing travelled from city to city and by playing the *dāriya* and *rabāb* begged from the people. ... One morning a group of these people that consisted of 24 persons came to Bayazid's house. Each of them held a *dāriya*, *rabāb* or a *chār-tār*. Exposing the view of some scholars that consider listening to a song and singing a song unlawful [from an Islamic point of view], they asked [Bayazid] to expose his view. He answered that there are three conditions for listening to or signing a song. If the singing is for the worldly pleasure, listening to it is forbidden (*harām*). If it is for the devotion of paradise, listening to it is [neither prohibited, nor unlawful], it is (*mubāh*). But if singing is for the love of God, then its singing [as well as its listening] is lawful (Kargar1369/1990:172-173).

Here Bayazid defines two purposes for which music, or more precisely singing, is allowed, and one case in which the use of music is prohibited. Bayazid, similar to Ghazali (1058-1111), who was opposed to music for only worldly pleasure that serves the cause of the devil (Shehadi 1995:121), opposes the singing or the type of music that is for the 'affection of the world'.

The other two purposes for which music is allowed in the *Hāl Nāma* are for the devotion of paradise and the love of God. With respect to the second occasion as noted above, its listening is neither prohibited, nor unlawful (*mubāh*). In the third case, when music is performed for the love of God, it is lawful (*halāl*). Here, once again, one may note a similarity between Bayazid and Ghazali. Both state that when listening to what stirs up on anti-devil feeling that leads to the dominance of the love of God, music is *halāl* or allowable ((Shehadi 1995:121).

Furthermore, Khushal Khan, continuing the debate of the legality of music in Islam, makes some recommendations and advices kings and religious authorities. These recommendations and advice are of significant importance in understanding the reason causing that particular controversy then and today. After advising kings to keep away from this controversy, and the religious authorities to soften their position, he writes that 'the absence of an explicit reference in the *Qur'ān* concerning music is the main reason that causes this debate'. Many contemporary Western scholars note this important point today (Farmer 1957/1997:157, Shiloah 1995:32, Shehadi 1995:10).

> The argument over the forbidden-ness and allowably of music is for the Sufis and clergy. Kings have to have confidence in the faith, and in this dispute [they] have to follow the conclusion agreed to by the religious scholars. The learned (*qāzi*) and the magistrate (*mufti*) should be flexible in this dispute, as there is not an explicit proof in the *Qur'ān*ic text demonstrating the unlawfulness of music, and this is the cause for this dispute and discussion. It is advisable for kings to have music (Khatak 1345/1966:88).

Maintaining the discussion and making it clear that the *Qur'ān* has nothing that explicitly forbids music, Khushal Khan recommends the Pashtūn nobles and kings to have music at their courts. Furthermore, before concluding his essay on music, he urges one to perform and listen to music out of the sight of religious authorities and not in public, in order to avoid being blamed for neglecting Islamic law. Also, he identifies two occasions where

music might be played in public, and also an event where banning a musical activity is of particular importance.

> Musical performance should occur in the absence of a judge (*qāzi*), or a magistrate (*mufti*) and the custodians of morality (*muhtasib*), to prevent [being accused of] neglecting Islamic law. It never should happen in public among a crowd with the exception of weddings and wars. It is for kings as well as for every Muslim to help the custodians of morality in preventing musical performance in public, particularly in wine drinking gatherings (Khatak 1345/1966:88).

The context of a wedding and war as the two exceptional circumstances, when playing music is permitted also appears among the seven purposes approved by Ghazali in which music may be used.[17] The connection of music and wine in the *Dastār Nāma* most probably is the reflection of a linkage between music and wine drinking made by Tha'ālibi (d. 1038), who declared music, wine drinking, and sex as the mother of all worldly pleasure (Shehadi 1995:121).

Dancing

Dancing as a subject of music is not discussed in the *Dastār Nāma* as a musical form or a genre that was common among the Pashtūns. Ali Muhammad Mukhlis in his *Hāl Nāma*, in describing the marriage of Khudadad, a cousin of Bayazid Ansari, which was attended by young Bayazid, his father, and *Khwāja* Isma'il, reports about a particular type of male dancing and notes the social attitude towards this cultural phenomenon. The data below suggest that dancing was considered among the Pashtūns as wicked incident, damaging their dignity.

> The ecstasy of the singing and dancing youths moved Bayazid to the same state and he came to *Khwāja* Isma'il and said: "I am moved and excited. I want to dance with other youths. But, I am afraid of [my father] Abdullah, who may not approve [my action] and may rise at the banquet and punish me. Please take his permission". *Khwāja* Isma'il, who was aware of the Saint's (*pir-dast-gir*) state,

[17] Shiloah in the *Music in the World of Islam* writes that al-Ghazali defines seven purposes for which music may be used, and five cases in which its use is forbidden (1995:43-44).

> asked Abdullah's approval. Abdullah became angry and said: 'no one has danced in our entire tribe yet. If he dances he would ruin our dignity'. The Saint [Bayazid] threw himself at the feet of his father and begged for permission. Abdullah angrily answered: 'if you wish to deal with my walking stick then dance'. While still at his father's feet, the Saint [Bayazid] said: 'My desire overcame me and I cannot control my self'. Then he stood, took a sword and started to dance with other youths (Kargar 1369/1990:172).

In this passage it was not the intention of the author of the *Hāl Nāma* to describe a particular dance or style of singing. He is trying to demonstrate that Bayazid, during his younger years, was not indifferent to the effects of music and dancing. This data also suggest that dancing and singing were considered to be embarrassing activities in a society strongly influenced by the orthodox clergy and religious fanatics, who imposed a strict prohibition on dancing and singing. This prohibition most probably was one of the main factors preventing people from participating publicly in musical activities and dancing. Another factor was the existence of a basic culture-bound mistrust that is prevalent in Muslim society, and a deprecatory attitude among intellectuals, as pointed out by Shiloah (1995:137).

Apart from the following three words—singing, dancing, and the sword—there is nothing else to help us in representing the dance performed by Bayazid and other youth. Among these three words the term *tūra*, signifying in Pashto a 'sword' or a 'knife', is particularly important. It indicates a type of dance in which a knife or sword was used as a component of the dance.

One familiar with Pashtūn male dances may suggest that the link between swords and dancing in the cited quotation indicates a particular type of Pashtūn male dance, known generally as *attan*. This particular type of *attan*, known as *khattak*[18] in the North West Frontier

[18] A stirring description of a khattak dance is available in *Horned Moon: An Account of a Journey Through Pakistan, Kashmir, and Afghanistan* by Stephens (1953:235-236), The *Pathan Borderland* by Spain (1963:98), and in *Journey Through Pakistan* by Amin (1982:81).

of Pakistan, also is danced by the Pashtūns living on the Afghan side of the Durrand line.[19] The Zadran Pashtūns of Afghanistan were noted for this type of *attan*. Below is given a description of this particular type of *attan*.

> About fifty men arrange themselves in a circle with four or five more in the centre, who beat tom-toms and tambourines, and play on stringed instruments. The dance commences by the men springing forward towards the centre of the circle and back again, flushing their knives about over their heads, and singing in time to the music in a low tone. But, gradually the music, the singing, and the dancing become louder and quicker. Belts and turbans are thrown off to allow of greater freedom of movement. And the knives flash more rapidly, until at last the men seem in a very frenzy, and the dancing becomes a series of wild leaps in the air. Knives are thrown up and caught again, and the singing changes to a chorus of wild yells. When the dance has reached its most frenzied point, it suddenly ceases, and then there is a loud clapping of hands by the dancers, and all is over (Martin 2000:72).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed several aspects of music among the Pashtūns, as these issues are represented and discussed in the *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma*. Firstly, this chapter has discussed the definition of music and its primary elements, metre and these scales among the Pashtūns. The material of the *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma* indicates that music was comprehended and defined by the Pashtūn intellectuals as a very deep and serious science and art originated by a Greek philosopher, a valuation which reflects the thoughts of early Muslim scholars about music.

Furthermore, the authors of the *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma* consider a system of melodic modes practiced by Pashtūn musicians. These two sources report that six primary modes (*buhūr* or *maqāms*), possibly each having their six sub-modes (*naghmi*), comprised the theoretical basis of the Pashtūn music in the 16th and the 17th centuries. Though the concept of six basic modes of the Pashtūn modal system is found in North India, it is important to note

[19] The line drawn on the map as the definite frontier dividing Afghanistan from British India was established by the British envoy Sir Mortimer Durand and the king of Afghanistan Abdur-rahman Khan in 1883. Named after the British envoy, the Durand line cut ethnically related tribal groups and separates Afghanistan from Pakistan.

that the name of the six primary modes in the Pashtūn regions is completely different from the six basic modes (*rāgas*) of North India, and also from the 12 *maqāms* of Khurāsānian music. Nonetheless, the words and technical terms used for the definition of various aspect of this system, which may be considered unique to the Pashtūn region, are picked up from the vocabulary of Arabo-Khurāsānian musical culture. Khurāsānian

Moreover, the *Hāl Nāma* and the *Dastār Nāma* make a clear distinction between instrumental (*naghma*) and vocal (*surod*) music, and name a few musical instruments, some of which are historically considered as the musical instruments of the Pashtūns (Afghan *rabāb*, *sarinda*, *shpilay*, and *dohl*), while others are traditionally associated with Khurāsānian. Additionally, the author of the *Dastār Nāma* has provided as with a system of, two parts in the classification of the musical instruments, which has not been known previously in musicological studies. This classification appears to be based on the physiology of humans and the ability of wind instruments to sustain sounds.

Also, this chapter has discussed the importance of music in the minds of the Pashtūns. From the *Hāl Nāma* and *Dastār Nāma* considering music as a deep and serious science, it appears that the Pashtūns also admitted the aesthetic power of music on humans and other living beings, and recognised its importance in the life and comprehensive education of kings. Nonetheless, the Pashtūns could not avoid debate about the legitimacy of music and dance in Islam, a subject that always has been an actual problem in Islamic societies. The views of the Pashtūn religious scholars in this debate as reported in the *Hāl Nāma* and *Dastār Nāma* reflect the fundamental approaches of the early Islamic scholars, expressed by ibn Abi-'l-Dunya and Ghazali.

The discussion above strongly suggests that the Pashtūns, while using music terms and technical words of Arabo-Khurāsānian origin for the definition of various aspects of their music, and while sharing thoughts exposed in the early Islamic philosophical works and

Dari/Persian musical treatises about music, its effect on humans, and its legality from a religious point of view, had their own modal system of musical practice and method of classifying musical instruments, both of which are not found either in North India or in Iran and Central Asia.

Chapter 6

Music at the Court of Ahmad Shah Durrani (1747-1773) and Timur Shah Durrani (1773-1793)

In 1747 the long history of the Safavid and the Mughal rule over the region of what is known now as Afghanistan, came to an end, when Ahmad Shah Abdali (1747-1773), a Pashtūn officer in the army of Nadir Shah Safavid, was elected as leader of the Pashtūns after the death of his sovereign, and proclaimed the king of Afghanistan. Ahmad Shah, the founder of a Pashtūn kingdom after several campaigns into India, founded an empire that extended from Khurāsān to the North India, and from the Amu River to the Indian Ocean. This chapter is an attempt to demonstrate the state and the type of music at the court of Ahmad Shah, and his immediate successor, Timur Shah (1773-1793).

Only a minimal amount of data is available on the state of music at the court of Ahmad Shah Durrani, and about his attitude concerning music and musicians. Several sources that consider the history of Afghanistan at that time report a keen interest by Ahmad Shah in poetry, history, and architecture. They also report on his patronage, which was offered by the king to poets, masons and wood-carvers (Elphinstone 1842:261, Singh 1959:333-335, Gregorian 1969:49, Ewans 2001:25-26). This chapter will discuss data for music and dance during the rule of the first two Durrani kings.

Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi and music

Mahmud ul-Hussaini Munshi ibn Ibrahim Jami, the author of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*, or the 'History of Ahmad Shah', who served for 20 years as the official history writer and court secretary of Ahmad Shah, in his book completed in 1190/1786, which is the first historical writing on the history of the establishment and expansion of the Durrani empire,

provides us with very interesting and valuable data on the state of music and musicians at the court of Ahmad Shah.

The author of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*, when describing two marriages of the prince Timur Shah and several military campaigns of his father Ahmad Shah, and after drawing a wonderful literal and verbal picture of the luxurious atmosphere that dominated those events, reports on the musical entertainment provided at those festivities. Below is the description of a musical entertainment offered at prince Timur Shah's marriage to a daughter of the Mughal emperor Alam-gir II (*r.* 1754-1759). This passage of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*, similar to all the accounts in this historical book, is full of allegories, metaphors, analogies, and plays on words.[1] This complex style of writing tends to take one's attention away from the musical ideas that are hidden in the text behind symbols and analogous terms.

> What may I say in praise of the dancers at this paradisaical banquet? ... Fairy-faced dancers with erect bodies captivated the hearts of courageous men by desirable movement and pauses. The sound of their jewels, coquettish walking, and the graceful movement of their elongated figures created calamity everywhere. It deprived spectators of common sense and made them wear a chain, as [if being the dancers'] slaves. Looking at the walking and spinning of these moon-faced and charming beauties, and at the circle of their dance, one may think that the stars are spinning on the earth, or that golden peacocks are dancing.
>
> > As she started to straighten her body to dance
> > One would imagine that the wave of her steps creates an ocean;
> > the movement of her extended hands and the wind of her skirt
> > and the flame of her skilful voice put the sun, the flowers and
> > the moon on fire
>
> Magic musicians and [additional] singers, whose voices greatly improved on the singing of a nightingale[2] and a parrot, tuned the instruments and started to sing loudly. With sweet melodies they raised *shor* (lit. 'lamentations') in [the Arab] *Irāq* and [non-Arab] *Ajam* [worlds], and made the [inhabitants of]

[1] Drawing literal and verbal pictures that are achieved through an enormous usage of allegories, metaphors, analogies and a play on words, is a peculiarity of literature and history writing of that time, and the text of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* is no exception. Therefore, in the translation of the passages of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* cited in this chapter, sometimes a word, a sentence, a couplet, or a whole paragraph that is the repetition of the same idea is omitted or ignored by the author of this thesis, who completed the translation of these passages from Dari into English.

[2] In Dari/Persian literature, the beauty of the voice and the professional skill of a singer is often compared to the voice and singing of a nightingale.

Isfahān and *Zabul* their lovers (*ushāq*). The nightingale became a captive to their voices and from jealousy Venus[3] broke the strings of her *chang*. The crescent moon, because of its similarity to the bow (*kamāncha*) [of the *kamāncha* or *ghichak*], became popular, and the full moon, resembling [the circular shape of] the *dā'ira*, was proud of itself. The *rabāb* did not consider the sound of other instruments equal to its own sound, and the *daf*, from desire and gladness, did not fill in its own body. ... What a pity that Nakisa [a Sassanian court musician] passed away before this [banquet], otherwise he could have revealed his perfect ignorance [of music].

The wise king [Ahmad Shah Durrani], believing in the unity of God and the truth, and obeying the *shariah* law and [the wishes of his people], was willing to destroy the *rabāb* and to detain the musicians. [Also, His Majesty was willing] to silence the singers by scattering collyrium into their throats, and to punish the instrumentalists in a manner to make their instruments silent. But as in such delightful banquets and parties full of entertainment, the lamentations of musicians and the cry of singers are part of official and ceremonial customs, and as His Highness did not want anyone to be deprived of the generosity of His Majesty [at such a delightful occasion]. ... Therefore, he did not strip this class [musicians and dancers] from his kindness and made their pockets and their skirts full of gold and pearls (Hussaini 1786/2001:274-275).

A textual analysis

The quotation by Hussaini just cited throws valuable light on several aspects of music entertainment at Ahmad Shah's court. In this text data about four related subjects emerge. These related issues are the presence of female dancers and the style of their dance, the characteristics of musical ensembles, the type of the music played at the court, and the attitude of Ahmad Shah concerning music and musicians. Addressing these data in some detail will allow us to come up with a conclusion about the type and state of music at Ahmad Shah's court.

[3] In Dari/Persian literature and several musical treatises, Venus (*Nāhid*), also called *Zahra*, appears as the patron of music, beauty, and love, and often she is represented as a beautiful celestial female musician with the *chang*. For a description of Venus as patron of music and love, see Kashani's *Kanz-ul-Tuhaf* (([14th century] 1992:122-123) and Changi's musical treatise (fol. 19b-20b).

Female dancers

Concerning female entertainers, Hussaini indicates that female dancing and singing was an integral element of musical entertainment during festivities and celebrations at Ahmad Shah's court. Nonetheless, he does not report on the origin of the dancers and the type or style of their dance. Establishing the precise nature and type of the dance described by Hussaini is a complicated task. Nonetheless, by comparing the passages in *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* with miniature paintings of the Timurid, Safavid, and Indian Mughal miniature paintings, one may offer some suggestions. There are several words, expressions, and signs that give one reasonable grounds to suggest that the dancers providing entertainment at the festivities mentioned, and at other festivities as well, performed Khurāsānian, or Central Asian dances.

From the way the dance of the dancing girls is described, it is clear that they did not perform a Pashtūn group ring dance called *attan*, which is performed by Pashtūn men and women. Hussaini, when describing the beauty and gracefulness of these female dancers, points to an amorous and playful walking of the dancers, and several times indicates their erect standing position, a pose that is characterised as a feature of a dancing style performed by the non- Indian dancers of the Mughal courts (Vatsyayan 1982:97-108); namely, Khurāsānian and Central Asian female dancers, who are identified by some scholars as Turki dancers (Wade 1998:86). A more inclusive concept would be Khurāsānian or Central Asian, as when the Mughals came to India the employees in their court, including musicians and female dancers, came from a variety of Central Asian peoples; Khurāsānian, Turks, Uzbeks, and Tadjiks.

The verbal and literal description of the dance described by the author of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* finds its visual illustration in many miniature paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries. Illustration 20, painted in the second half of the 16th century and reproduced in this chapter from Yusupov (1983:Illus. 76), is an examples of such a representation. In this

painting, the feet and the legs of the dancers are in a straight line, as if walking, a position that is much different from Indian traditions, in which the basic position of feet and legs is with the feet diverted outwards with heels together, and knees bent outwards. The absence of ankle bells on the Central Asian dancers is also an important characteristic, which distinguishes them from their Indian colleagues.

In the position of the upper torso of Central Asian dancers, we see a gentle curve, with the head bent slightly to the left or to the right. The arms are notably extended and scarves or castanets are often held in each hand of the dancers. The elongated body of the dancers, the walking position of their feet and legs, and the erect pose of their upper and lower torso resemble the style of the dance described in the passages of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* in general terms. Illustration 12 of this thesis reproduced in chapter 4 is an additional visual representation of the dance described in the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*.

In illustration 20 the long coat of the dancer has short sleeves and she holds scarves in each hand. In illustration 12 the coats of the two dancers have extra long sleeves, which purposely hide their hands. Thus, one may suggest that the two illustrations may depict two different styles or genres of Central Asian or Khurāsānian dances. Even in illustration 12 a female in a coat with short sleeves, who is dressed in a similar style to the dancer of the illustration 20, and similarly holds a scarf in her left hand, appears to be a seated dancer (upper right), who is perhaps waiting her turn to dance.

The number of musicians, including instrumentalists and singers, who accompany a small or a large group of dancers, range from as low as three or four to as high as 10 or 12 musicians. For instance, in the illustration 20, on the left one may identify four singers and on the right one can see a singer, a *kamāncha* player, and two players of the *dā'ira* or *dafs*. All these 8 female musicians accompany a single female dancer. In illustration 12, on the left one can see four singers. On the right one may identify two singers, a *kamāncha* player, a *qānūn*

player, two *dā'ira* or *daf* performers, and a *chang* player, making a total of 11 musicians, who accompany two dancers.

Musical ensembles and the music of their performance

Having discussed the stylistic feature of the dance performed at the court of Ahmad Shah, it is appropriate to briefly describe the musical ensemble and the music performed in such occasions. From the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* it appears that similar ensembles, which consisted of a group of singers, two or more instrumentalists playing on melodic musical instruments of a Khurāsānian origin, such as the *kamāncha*, the *rabāb*, and two or more frame drums known as *dā'ira* or a *daf*, supplied accompaniment to the dancers. Also, it should be noted that singing performed by the dancers themselves, as well as by the professional singers depicted in the paintings, very clearly is described as a captivating element of the performance in the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*. This data appears in the poem in the citation above, and since this point about singing dancers becomes increasingly important in the more recent history of music in Afghanistan, which is developed in later chapters, it is worth citing this poem again to reconfirm this point.

> As she started to straighten her body to dance
> One would imagine that the wave of her steps creates an ocean; the movement of her extended hands and the wind of her skirt and the flame of her skilful voice put the sun, the flowers and the moon on fire

Furthermore, Hussaini, with his play on words, indirectly alludes to the type of music played at the court of the founder of the Durrani Empire. The information on the type of the music is veiled with symbols and analogies, which make its comprehension a complicated task. Several words indicate the type of music played at the court of Ahmad Shah. These terms are *shor*, *irāq*, *ajam*, *isfahān*, *zabul*, *ushāq*, which are symbolically and analogously used in

the reference cited above. For those not familiar with the history of music in Khurāsān and Central Asia, the words *Iraq*, *Ajam*, *isfahān*, and *zabul* very probably refer to only the name of several geographical areas. In this passage of *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*, geography could be the primary meaning of these four terms for many readers. In a symbolic manner similar to the geographical names just mentioned, the words *shor* and *ushāq*, which respectively signify 'lamentation' and 'lovers', may be understood as having a very straightforward meaning as well.

However, even musicologists with only a limited knowledge of the history of music in Khurāsān the Central Asian countries, and Middle East, may easily comprehend the analogous and symbolic meaning of the terms mentioned and thereby unveil some of the musical characteristics of Ahmad Shah's court, which lay partially hidden behind the play on words and analogous use of musical terms. The terms *irāq*, *isfahān*, *ushāq*, *zabul*, *ajam* and *shor* as noted in chapter 4 were among the names used for naming different categories of modes in the scale system of 84 *adwār* and subsequent theoretical systems in Khurāsān and Central Asia.

The analogous and symbolic use of the names of several modes is not the only musical terms indicating the type of the music, which was played at the court of Ahmad Shah. In another passage of *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*, which describes the musical entertainment offered at prince Timur Shah's marriage to a daughter of Haji Jamal Khan Durrani, a few more musical terms emerge. These terms are: (1) *alhān* ('melodies'), (2) *naghmāt* ('tones'), and (3) *muqāmāt* ('modes'), which as noted previously in this thesis were used to define and identify different aspects of sound in the system of the 84 *adwār*, as well as in the later system of Khurāsān.

> Venus-faced instrumentalists and singers, who sounded like a nightingale, by [playing and singing] happy songs, cheerful melodies (*alhān*), heart-ravishing tones (*naghmāt*), and delightful modes (*muqāmāt*), added to the excitement, happiness and pleasure of His Highness and started charming (Hussaini 1786/2001:472). ... In a word, for three days and three nights the singers,

> instrumentalists, and other people of entertainment added to the gladness of everyone and removed the sadness from the hearts of common people and nobility (Hussaini 1786/2001:474).

The gender of performers

Unlike the female singing dancers, the gender of the musicians, who provided musical accompaniment to the dancers and other singers, is not clearly identified by the author of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* in the first citation from this book. In the text immediately above, this issue also is not explicitly addressed. However, it should be noted that the term 'Venus-faced' musicians in the text above is significantly important concerning the gender of musicians.

We have noted earlier in this chapter that in Dari/Persian literature in general, and also in some musical treatises in particular, Venus (*Zahra*), also called *Nāhid*, appears as the patron of music, women's beauty, and love. She often is represented as a beautiful celestial female musician with the *chang*. Thus, the comparison of the prettiness of musicians to the beauty of the celestial female musician *Zahra* clearly suggests the presence of female musicians in addition to male musicians and female dancers at the court. It is interesting to note that in South Asian traditions, the Goddess of learning and music, *Sarasvatī*, plays the vina, which is also a plucked stringed instrument.

The presence of female musicians at the court also is reported in a poem from the same passage of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*, part of which was cited just above. In this poem, Hussaini does not use the word women. However, by playing on words while he is praising the beauty of the instrumentalists, singers, and dancers, he reports indirectly on the presence of female musicians at the court of Ahmad Shah. This is evident from Hussaini's use of adjectives, which in Dari/Persian literature and poetry are used for a description of the attractiveness and gorgeousness of women. These words are 'elongated figures', 'talking moon', and 'fairy-faced'.

Then the happy king of kings
Called the musicians in.
Fairy-faced singers like the talking moon,
Dancers, and instrumentalists,
With elongated figures and Jasmine perfume
Stood in rows and by playing and singing
Began to captivate hearts (Hussaini 1786 2001:472).

Ahamd Shah's attitude to music

Another issue noted by the author of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* is the attitude of Ahmad Shah concerning musicians and music. From comments in the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* and also noted by Singh (1959:335), Ahmad Shah does not seem to have paid much attention to music and paintings, the very two aspects of art that orthodox Muslim clergy consider to be an un-Islamic phenomena.

According to some scholars, the indifferent attitude of Ahmad Shah toward music and musicians is due to a lack of leisure time, as most of his life was spent in military operations and the very little time that Ahmad Shah had between wars was spent in the consolidation of his gains and in preparation for the next campaign (Jahad 1368/1989:34). However, one should not ignore the fact that Ahmad Shah was a deeply religious and cultivated man (Ewans 2001:25), and always a very firm supporter of religion (Ferrier 1858:92-93). He had a religious bent of mind and was fond of the society of learned and holy men, and he treated the *Mullahs* and *darveshes* with great respect (Singh 1959:329).

Thus, it is most probable that his religious outlook, which was strongly influenced by the orthodox clergy of his court, determined his indifferent and negative attitude toward music and musicians, as reported in the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*, rather than a lack of leisure time for anything else. This explanation is obvious from an account of a dialogue between Ahmad Shah and *Mullah* Shahu on the legitimacy of music in Islam, as recorded in the *Sirajut Tawarikh*.

Illus. 20. A revelry scene at Iskandar's palace attended by maidservants and female entertainers, from a manuscript of the *Kulliyat* of Amir Khusrau, *c.* 1565.

> The nation's clergy impudently have been issuing religious decrees in the presence [of His Highness] without any reprehension. Once [the king of kings], in order to test the purity and sincerity of the clergy of his court, asked for a musical instrument and started to play on it. The sound of the musical instrument offended *Mullah* Aradat, well-known as *Mullah* Shahu, and another one who were present. Both stood up, and *Mullah* Shahu, daringly and fearlessly asked: 'Ho! What are you committing Ahmad?' Answering, His Highness Ahmad Shah said 'nothing', and [asked] 'what is the harm of playing [on a musical instrument]?' [*Mullah* Shahu] while replying said that 'even by saying what you have just asked you regarded [something] prohibited [in Islam] as allowable, and the result of such a consideration is infidelity'. While [*Mullah* Shahu] was leaving, His Highness Ahmad Shah said [to him] that '[my] playing [on a musical instrument] and talking so was not for regarding something forbidden as a permissible. It was for testing of your faith and believes' (Katib 1912/1993:41).

In this account one also may note that Ahmad Shah, in addition to being described as a strong believer and implementer of Islamic law, indirectly is possibly portrayed as an accomplished musician. However, it seems very unlikely given the account previously cited from the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*, in which Ahmad Shah wished to destroy the *rabāb*, to detain the musicians, and to silence the singers by scattering collyrium into their throats, as part of his religious duties to implement the Islamic law, the *shariah*' (Hussaini 1786/2001:274-275). In the above account from the *Sirajut Tawarikh*, it is much more likely that Ahmad Shah simply picked up a musical instrument and started to make a few sounds on it in order to see the reaction and to test the belief of his court clerics in Islamic law.

Naghārkhāna

The last issue that emerges from the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* is the presence of an outdoor ensemble known as *naghārkhāna* at the court and in the army of Ahmad Shah. This outdoor ensemble, considered as a symbol of royalty by several Muslim rulers of Khurāsān, Transoxania, and India is noted in several chapters of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* (Hussaini 1786 /2001:131, 134). The military and ceremonial character of this ensemble is reported very clearly in the following two citations from the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*.

The sound of the *naghara* and
Thunder of the 'golden *nāy*' trumpet
Quaking the earth and horrifying the enemies to death,
Was the testimony of a great march (Hussaini 1786 /2001:279)

The *naghara* of gladness arose from the roof of the palace of the victorious king and echoed into the celestial globe, and the sound of the *shādiyāna* [metric mode][4] reached the orbits (Hussaini 1786 /2001:472).

Timur Shah and music

Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his son Timur Shah, who, like his father, was a cultivated man with a penchant for architecture and the construction of formal gardens (Ewans 2001: 26). Timur Shah tried to make his court an intellectual and artistic centre through his patronage of scholars and artists (Gregorian 1969:50). But, unlike his father, it seems that he had a keen interest in music and patronised music and musicians (Nayyir 1363/1984:37, Jahad 1368/1989:36).

Very little is known about music at the court of Timur Shah. The minimal data that is available describe the musical entertainment of Timur Shah's court, similar to the music and the style dancing at his father's court, which was just discussed. Mirza Abdul Hadi, the secretary of Timur Shah's court, in addition to naming a musician of Timur Shah's court, in 11 verses from one of his poems that consists of 62 verses, which is dedicated to Prince Humayun's marriage in 1789, describes the musical entertainment offered in this celebration.[5]

Instrumentalists playing on the *nāy* and the *chang*
Started to lament as a nightingale in
The *Būzūrg* and *Kūchak* [modes]
Which are friends of the time of sadness and rest.
The singer lamented according to [music] rules and
Swept grief from the heart.

[4] Darwish Ali Changi, in his musical treatise discussing metre and its components, identifies the *shādiyāna* as one of the earliest metric modes of the region created by the Sassanian king Bahram Gur (420-438) (fol. 13a). Bana'i identifies the *shādiyāna* metre as a regional equivalent of the Arabic metre *saqil-al-ramal* ([1484] 1989:116).

[5] The poem of Mirza Abdul Hadi is reported in 'Sair Musiqi dar Afghanistan' [The Trace of Music in Afghanistan] by Nayyir Herawi (1363/1984:37). The author of this thesis completed the translation of the poem from Dari into English.

The virtuous performance of the *barbat* players
Set alight the swan in the ocean of water, and
The sound of the *tanbūr* made
The lovers (*ushāq*) joyful ...
Venus-mannered dancers,
Walking gracefully as a partridge,[6]
Raised their hands and erected their figures
In a manner that made
The audiences senseless and impatient.

The author of these lines reports on several aspects of musical entertainment of this occasion. Firstly, Mirza Abdul Hadi names the instrumentation of the musical ensemble that provided accompaniment to the singers and female dancers. The musical instruments named above are the end-blown flute (*nāy*), a harp (*chang*), a short-necked lute (*barbat*) also known as *ūd*, and a long-necked lute (*tanbūr*). These melodic instruments, together with one or two singers, and most probably one or two *dā'ira* players, making a total of at least six musicians, who played on traditional Khurāsānian musical instruments, constituted this ensemble.

Secondly, he indicates the type of music played at the court. Three words in the above poem indicate the type of the music played at the court of Timur Shah. These three words are: *būzūrg*, *kūchak*, and *ushāq*. All these three word are the names of three primary modes in the system of the 84 *adwār* and subsequent modal systems of Khurāsān. A few other modes of this system have been noted earlier in this chapter in regard to the type of music at the court of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

Finally, he describes the style of the dance of the female dancers, which is characterised by graceful walking and the erect pose of their upper and lower torsos, a pose, and features, which were identified earlier in this chapter as stylistic characteristics of Khurāsānian and Central Asian dance traditions.

The description and discussion of the minimal data provided by Mirza Abdul Hadi, the secretary of Timur Shah's court, give us reasonable data to suggest that the type of the court

[6] The partridge is the symbol of gracefulness and coquetry in Dari/Persian literature.

music and style of the dancing of the first Durrani ruler of Afghanistan, described in the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*, was dominate at the court of his immediate successor, at least before the arrival of the first wave of Hindustani musicians to Afghanistan during the reign of Timur Shah.

Indian entertainers

Mountstuart Elphinstone, an official of the East India Company, when describing a court banquet organised in his honour by Timur Shah in a royal garden of Kabul not far from the *Bālā Hisār* palace, also reports on the musical entertainment of that formal meal, which does not fully fit within the concept of a Khurāsānian and Central Asian style of musical entertainment at the court of Ahmad Shah and Timur Shah, as described and discussed earlier in this chapter.

> ... Three dancing girls were introduced to amuse us with their singing and dancing. They were incomparably superior to those of India in face, figure, and performance. Their dress, though not so rich as is usual in Hindoostaun, was in much better taste. They wore caps of gold and silver stuffs. Their hair was plaited in a very becoming manner, and little curls were allowed to hang down round their foreheads and cheeks, with a very pretty effect. They had perfectly white teeth, red lips, and clear complexions, set off by little artificial moles like patches. Their complexions however, were perhaps indebted to art, as rouge is very common among the ladies of Caubul. Their dancing had a great deal of action. The girl scarcely ever stands while she sings (as those in India do); but rushes forward, clasps her hands, sometimes sinks on her knees, and throws herself into other attitudes expressive of the passions which are the subject of her song; and all this action, though violent, is perfectly graceful. Behind, stand a number of well-dressed fiddlers, drummers, and beaters of cymbals, with long beards, and an air of gravity little suited to their profession. All these disturb the concert by shouting out their applauses of the dancers, or joining in the song with all the powers of their voices (Elphinstone 1842:364).[7]

[7] The second part of this passage, characterising some features of the actual dance performed by these three dancing girls, was first reported and discussed in *Music of Afghanistan: Professional Musicians in the city of Herat* by John Baily (1988:17).

Illus. 21. Royal musicians perform at a wedding, from a manuscript the *Akbar* Nāma, *c.* 1590.

In the passage above, identifies the dancers as being of non-Indian origin. This identity appears to be based only on their beauty, figure, and costume, rather than on the style of their performance. This part of his description, which concerns the make-up and clothing of Timur Shah's court dancers, agrees with the depiction of Khurāsānian and Central Asian dancers at the Indian Mughal courts, who are dressed in simple, smooth and elegant dresses, wearing 'gold silver caps' or headgear. This style of dressing, which clearly separates them from their Indian colleagues in Indian miniature paintings of the 16th and the 17th centuries, is demonstrated in illustration 21. A sub-scene of this painting reproduced from Wade (1998:Pl. 13) clearly represents two Khurāsānian or Central Asian dancers, dressed in long gowns and gold caps or headgear.[8]

However, very interesting data seems to emerge, when Elphinstone describes the style of the dance performed by these dancers. Unlike Hussaini, the author of the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*, and to Mirza Abdul Hadi, the secretary of Timur Shah, Elphinstone, when describing the style of the performance of these so-called non-Indian dancers, does not speak about the graceful and amorous style of the stepping of the dancers, their coquettish demeanour, their raised or extended hands, and erect pose of the their dancing

In marked contrast, however, Elphinstone describes the energetic action of the dancers, 'rushing forward' and 'sinking' to their knees, 'clasping to their hands', and 'throwing' themselves into different 'expressive' 'attitudes' to dramatise the theme of the text of their songs. This description in total strongly suggests a style of dancing with strong direct or indirect links to Indian dance traditions, which tell a story of a text through mime and action.

Even the description of the accompanists and their musical instruments points to North Indian ensembles that traditionally were used to accompany singing and dancing girls, as we shall see in the next chapter. In this instance, a lack of data also appears to be significant, as

[8] For a comprehensive discussion on the style of the dance performed by non-Indian dancers of the Mughal courts and their image on Indian painting see Kapila Vatsyayan's *Dance in Indian Painting* (1982:97-118) and Bonnie Wade's *Imaging Sound: An Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India* (1998:84-91).

Khurāsānian and Central Asian instruments are not identified. Elphinstone does not mention the long end-blown flute (*nāy*), the harp (*chang*), nor the short-necked and the long-necked plucked lutes, (*ūd*) and (*tanbūr*) respectively, nor the Khurāsānian or Central Asian fretless fiddle *kamāncha* or *ghichak*, nor the frame drums (*dā'iras*), all of which were part of ensembles that accompanied Khurāsānian and Central Asian dancers. When discussing the data about music in the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi*, and in Mirza Abdul Hadi's account, we have seen that these Khurāsānian and Central Asian music instruments were named as the instruments accompanying female dancers.

Coming from India, Elphinstone appears to identify musical instruments of this ensemble according to his earlier experience of the *nautch* girls' tradition and performances in Hindustan, where the standard ensemble for accompanying female entertainers consisted of *sārang* players ('fiddlers'), *tabla* players ('drummers'), and *manjira* players ('beaters of cymbals'). Thus, the description of a musical entertainment at Timur Shah's court described by Elphinstone generally agrees with the description of the dancing and singing style of North Indian dancing girls, and their musical ensembles, as reported in narratives of British and other Europeans, who came to India for different reasons between the 17th and 19th centuries.[9]

With this data and this interpretation, it is very reasonable to suggest that the dance performance described by Elphinstone was not of a local, Central Asian or Khurāsānian origin. It could have been performed by a dance troupe from India. Though Elphinstone's description of the dancers wearing a Central Asian costume poses a problem concerning dancers coming from India, a reasonable explanation to solve this apparent paradox may be offered.

Briefly, the argument is that Central Asian and Khurāsānian dancers were present at North Indian courts for a long period of history. It would have been natural for them and their

[9] Some of these narratives considering the courtesans and their musical ensembles are cited and discussed in *The Voice of the Sārangi* (Bor 1987: 87-109), and in *Sitār and Sarod in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Miner 1993).

decedents, who shared performance time with their Indian colleagues at the Mughal courts (Wade 1998:90), to observe, learn, and pick up Indian dance styles and techniques while retaining their Central Asian and Khurāsānian costume.

The data shows that among various dance castes of India, each having a different name, and recognised by more than one observer, was a group of Indian dancers considered to be decedents of Khurāsānian dancers. This group of singing dancers, who according to Pelsaert sang only in Dari/Persian (1925:83), are identified by the names *lullenees* (Mundy 1914:216) and *lolonis*, (Pelsaert 1925:83). These two similar terms seem to be a slightly transferred version of the word *loli*, signifying in Dari/Persian 'a public singer', 'a courtesan', and someone who is 'intelligent' (Steingass 1892/1957:1133). Bor has suggested that *loli* is the original term for *lullenees* (1987:82).

The word *loli*, as we shall see later in this chapter, in its plural form *loliyān*, was recorded for identifying a group of singing dancers accompanied by an ensemble of Khurāsānian and Indian instrumentalists, *c*. 1805 after the arrival of the first or an early group of entertainers from Indian to Afghanistan *c*. 1775. Nayyir (1363/1984:37) and Jahad (1368/1989:36) have reported that the first or an early group of Hindustani musicians and entertainers were brought to Kabul by the order of Timur Shah.

These Indian musicians were placed in a residential area of Kabul not far from the palace of *Bālā Hisār*, a quarter of old Kabul that soon became known as the *Guzar Kharābāt* (Nayyir 1363/1984:37). Among these Indian entertainers, the presence of singing dancers from the dance community of *loli*s would seem to be very reasonable and natural, particularly when one takes into consideration the Dari/Persian language of the songs performed by the *loli*s. Additionally, one would also take into account Timur Shah's 'strong Persian affinities' (Ewans 2001:26), by whose order the earliest group of Indian entertainers were brought to the country. Below is given the translation of an historical text in which is recorded the presence

of *lolis* at a Durrani court at the beginning of the 19th century, at the court of Haji Firoz-uddin, the governor of Herat and an ally of Shah Mahmud (1801-1804, 1809-1818), the son of Timur Shah.

> Fairy-faced and skilful singing *loliyān* dressed in colourful costumes and adorned with beautiful jewelleries who with their delicate and elegant manner robbed the hearts of audiences were present at that paradisiacal banquet ... After the dinner the musical instruments [such as] the *kamāncha*, the *sitār*, the *chang*, the *mardang*, and the *tabla* started to be played, and the sweet sounded *loliyān* began singing and dancing (Shikar-puri as cited in Nayyir 1363/1984:58).

In the citation above the term *loliyān*, which is the plural of *loli*, appears in association with the names of three Hindustani musical instruments; namely, the *sitār*, the *mardang*, and the *tabla*, which throughout the 19th century together with the *sārangi* players were a part of the ensembles that provided musical accompaniment for the *nautch* girls in North India, as we shall see in the next chapter. In the ensemble noted above, a Khurāsānian bowed instrument, the *kamāncha*, which traditionally was used in Khurāsān and Central Asia to accompany dancers, replaces the *sārangi*. The *chang* from Khurāsān and Central Asia is also present in this ensemble.

This citation, in addition to clearly indicating the performance of a dance linked with an Indian style by a troupe of singing dancers with a non-Indian origin from India, also suggests that the importation of female entertainers and their accompanying musicians, started by the order of Timur Shah, was not limited to the capital Kabul. It encouraged the arrival of Indian female entertainers and their accompanying musicians to other important and big cities of Afghanistan, including the city of Herat, which historically, traditionally and culturally was associated with Khurāsān.

Conclusion

After the inauguration of Ahmad Shah Durrani and the establishment of a Pashtūn kingdom in Afghanistan, one may reasonably assume that Ahmad Shah and his decedents patronised their own Pashtūn music. Also, it may be suggested that some of the musicians and dancers that provided entertainment at the court of Ahmad Shah, similar to other men of arts, were invited from India.[10] However, the *Tarikh-e Ahmad Shahi* seems to suggest otherwise.

It has been reported that Ahmad Shah does not seem to have paid much attention to any type of music, in spite of the presence of music and musicians at his court and in his army, and that the presence of musicians and music at Ahmad Shah's court had an occasional and ceremonial character. The musicians could be called on for special occasions, such as wedding banquets or new-year festivities, to provide entertainment to courtiers and their guests. Nonetheless, their presence was not welcome by the king and they were not given the patronage offered by Ahmad Shah to poets, artisans, and craftsmen.

Concerning the type of music and style of dance performed at the court Ahmad Shah, the data presented and discussed in this chapter, strongly indicate the Khurāsāniān type of music and dancing style performed at the court. This style is evident from the instrumentatium of the ensembles, the names of the melodic modes and other terms traditionally used for identifying one or another aspects of sound in the tradition of Khūrāsāniān music systems, and from the description of the skill and stylistic features of the dance performed by female dancers at the court.

This style of dance and type of music, which was part of the musical entertainment at the court of Ahamd Shah, appears to have been practiced at the court of his son Timur Shah, before the arrival of the musicians and entertainers from India. As we shall see in the subsequent chapters, the Khurāsānian music continued to be performed in the cities of

[10] Singh (1959:335) and Gregorian (1969:49) report that Ahmad Shah encouraged the active immigration of artisans from India and invited many of them to his capital, the city of Qandahar.

Afghanistan and at the courts of its rulers throughout the 19th century and in the earlier years of the 20th century. Nonetheless, the dominant position of this music and dance, and of their performers, started to be undermined by the arrival of more musicians and entertainers from India since *c.* 1805.

Concerning Indian musicians and female entertainers, it should be noted that the data introduced above strongly suggest that they were not solo singers and instrumentalists in their own right, cultivating North Indian classical genres. Apparently Indian musical troupes consisted of one to three female singing dancers and a standard ensemble of instrumentalists, who traditionally provided accompaniment to *nautch* girls' performances in India. The continuation of this tradition and the arrival of more musicians and singing dancers from Indian and their subsequent role in the history of music and dance in Afghanistan will be discussed as appropriate in forthcoming chapters.

Chapter 7

Music under the Durrani Amirs, 1826-1920

This chapter will trace the history of the arrival of other groups of Hindustani musicians to Afghanistan, the primary function of these musicians, and the style of their performance. Furthermore, in this chapter the art of Hindustani female entertainers, the *kanchanis* in Afghanistan, whose sad story up-to-date reminds untold, will be discussed briefly. Also, this chapter will consider the music of two other groups of court musicians, whose role in the musical life of Afghan courts after the arrival of Hindustani musicians and dancers has been overlooked and greatly neglected. These two other groups are Khurāsānian and Pashtūn musicians. In addition to discussing the indoor music of the Durrani amirs, this chapter will also report on the outdoor music of Afghanistan in the 19th century and the early 20th century, and on the introduction of a few musical innovations that were fashioned Europe.

Music at the court of Dost Mohammad (1826-1838, 1842-1863)

Throughout of the first quarter of the 19th century, political life in Afghanistan was dominated by a fierce civil war between the princely Sadozai and Mohammadzai clans of the Durrani tribe, which had been triggered by the failure of Timur Shah to nominate a successor among the large number of his sons. Apart from the quotation cited at the end of chapter 6, pointing to the coexistence of North Indian and Khurāsānian music at the court of Haji Firoz-uddin, the governor of Herat, not much is known about the state of music in Afghanistan and at the Afghan courts during this period of history, which started after the death of Timur Shah and continued until the emergence of Dost Mohammad.

Even under the rule of Dost Mohammad, no cultural and educational achievements are recorded. Mohan Lal reports that chess and music were the favourite amusements at Dost

Mohammad's court (1846/1978:239),[1] which resembled a tribal council (Gregorian 1969:81-82). He does not provide us with any information on the type of music then or the origin of musicians employed at Dost Mohammad's court. However, on the bases of data about the state of music at the courts of Durrani kings preceding and succeeding him, one may assume, that similar to them, he enjoyed the art of Khurāsānian and North Indian musicians.

But, unlike the previous kings of Afghanistan who enjoyed the art of dancing girls, Amir Dost Mohammad prevented them from remaining in his kingdom and prohibited the dance performed by female dancers. Nonetheless, it is believed that before assuming the religious title *Amir-ul-mominin* ('commander of the faithfuls'),[2] as well as after his return from exile in India, Dost Mohammad enjoyed his leisure time in the company of dancing girls and by drinking wine. This belief is evident in the citation below from Mohan Lal.

> When he [Dost Mohammad Khan] gained power, he prohibited the sale and the use of wine, and prevented dancing girls from remaining in his kingdom, while the dance performed by boys was considered lawful. One day he was informed that some women were drinking privately in the house of Husain, the sevant of Nayab Abdul Samad, on which the Amir sent people to seize them. The punishment inflicted upon them for drinking wine against Mohammedan law and his own notification was the infliction of deformity of their beauty, in order to prevent them from appearing again in drinking parties. Their heads were shaved, and the beard of the host was burnt by the flame of a candle (1846/1978:237-238).
>
> The Amir is now enjoying the authority in Kabul, and the superiority of his family. ... He has given himself up again to drinking and to dancing parties, which habits he had forsaken on assuming the title of "Amir-ul-mominin". It is said he believes that while he was an enemy to wine he was always involved in difficulties, and that since he drinks he is prosperous and has gained his liberty after being in "*Qaid-i Frang*" (Mohan Lal 1846/1978:237-238).

[1] Mohan Lal, an Indian secretary of a British mission to Afghanistan in 1832, is the author of *The Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (1846/1978). This book is a comprehensive study of the history of Afghanistan during the reign of Dost Mohammad

[2] The title *Amir-ul-mominin*, is used by the author of this thesis instead of 'Amir-ul-momni', which appears in the original text of *The Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (Mohan Lal 1846/1978:497).

Amir Sher Ali Khan (1869-1879)

After the death of Amir Dost Mohammad, his son Sher Ali Khan (1869-1879), following five yeas of inter-family strife, subsequently gained the throne. After consolidating his power, Sher Ali started to carry out his socio-political reforms. It is believed that the Muslim modernist Seyed Jamal-u-din al-Afghani, on the eve of his forced departure from Afghanistan, submitted a reform plan to Amir Sher Ali (Ghubar 1967:593), which became the cornerstone of the new Amir's reforms. The history of the classical music of Afghanistan in recent times and the arrival of North Indian music in Afghanistan, which are considered to be turning points in the history of Afghan music (Madadi 1375/1996:109), are also linked to his name.

Hindustani musicians invited to Afghanistan

It is believed that Amir Sher Ali had a keen interest in music and that he was the first Afghan king who attempted to promote music (Jahad 1368/1989:38-39, Ūstād Nathu 1350/1971:17). For this purpose, after his tour of British India in 1248/1869, Amir Sher Ali invited a group of North Indian musicians to his court, who in addition to providing musical entertainment to the court, taught music lessons to princes and other members of the ruling dynasty (Ūstād Nathu 1350/1971:17). According to Ūstād Nathu, initially these musicians were offered accommodation in the palace of *Bālā Hisār*, and later they were moved to the *Kochah Khoja Khodak*, from where they were delivered to the court on elephants (1350/1971:19, 20).

Madadi, similar to Ūstād Nathu, considers these musicians as the first group of North Indian musicians in Afghanistan, who introduced several vocal forms of Indian classical music to the court of Amir Sher Ali (1375/1996:110). Also, Mdadi and Ūstād Nathu link the establishment of *Kocheh Khoja Khodak*, the musicians' quarter that became known as *Guzar*

or *Kochah Kharābāt*, to the arrival of these Indian musicians (Madadi 1375/1996:110, Ūstād Nathu1350/1971:19).

However, as has been reported earlier in chapter 6, the arrival of Indian musicians started almost a century earlier during the rule of Timur Shah, and their residential quarter was founded at the same time. The presence of Indian musicians, as has been pointed out in chapter 6, was reported even at the court of the governor of Herat, Haji Firoz-uddin *c.* 1801-1818. Furthermore, decedents of some *Kharābāti* musicians claim that their ancestors were living in the musicians' quarter much earlier than those musicians that came to Afghanistan during the reign of Amir Sher Ali (Mohammad Arif Chishti: personal communication, 1998). Mohammad Arif Chishti, has identified the *tabla* player Gamuddin as one of his ancestors. The blood relationship of the Chishti brothers to Gamuddin is indicated in figure 4.

John Baily also suggests the possibility of Indian musicians being present at Kabul courts long before the arrival of the more widely known group of musicians from India during the reign of Amir Sher Ali (1988:25). Thus, the arrival of the well-known group of Indian musicians by the invitation of Amir Sher Ali might be considered as the second wave or a new wave of Indian musicians who migrated to Afghanistan during the reign of Durrani rulers.

In considering the second wave of Hindustani musicians, according to Ūstād Nathu, a grandchild of Mia Samandar, in addition to his grandfather Mia Samandar, the following instrumentalists and singers came to Afghanistan by the invitation of Amir Sher Ali: (1) Bar Pur, (2) Gamu, and (3) Taleh-mand (*tabla* players); (4) Qando, and (5) Raji (*sārang* players); (6) Rang Ali (*rabāb* player); (7) Nata Khan[3] and (8) Sāyan Gund Kali Khan (male singers); and (9) Mina (female singer) (1350/1971:17). Madadi adds to this list Mia Mahtab Khan (male singer), Karim Bakhsh and Khuda Bakhsh (*tabla* players), and Mohammad Akbar (*sārang* player) (1375/1996:110).

[3] Ūstād Nathu's father Qoorban Ali was a pupil of Nata Khan, after whom he named his son, whose name by the passage of time became Nathu (Ūstād Nathu 1350/1971:17-18).

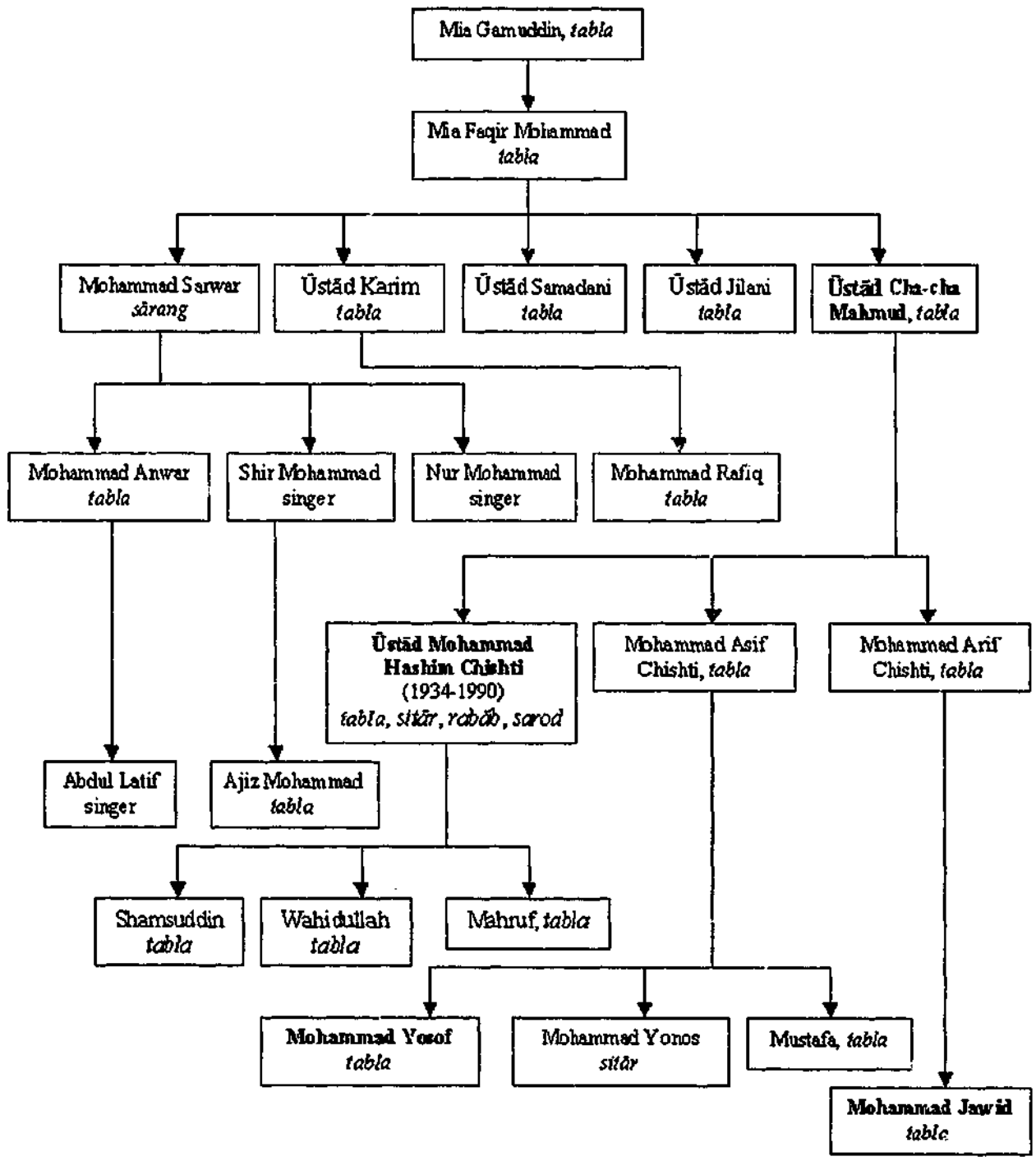


Fig. 4. A genealogical chart of the Hindustani musician Mia Gamuddin and his decedents for five generations, *c*. 1780-2004.

Furthermore, Madadi indicates the relationship between some of these musicians and their decedents who have an important position in the history of contemporary Afghan classical music. Madadi identifies Gamu, of the second wave of Indian musicians as the maternal grandfather of Ūstād Mohammmad Hussain Sarahang, while Karim Bakhsh and Khuda Bakhsh are recognised as parental ancestors of Ūstād Rahim Bakhsh. Mohammad

Akbar is identified as the maternal grandfather of Ūstād Rahim Bakhsh (1375/1996:110). The parental genealogical line of Ūstād Rahim Bakhsh is demonstrated in figure 5.

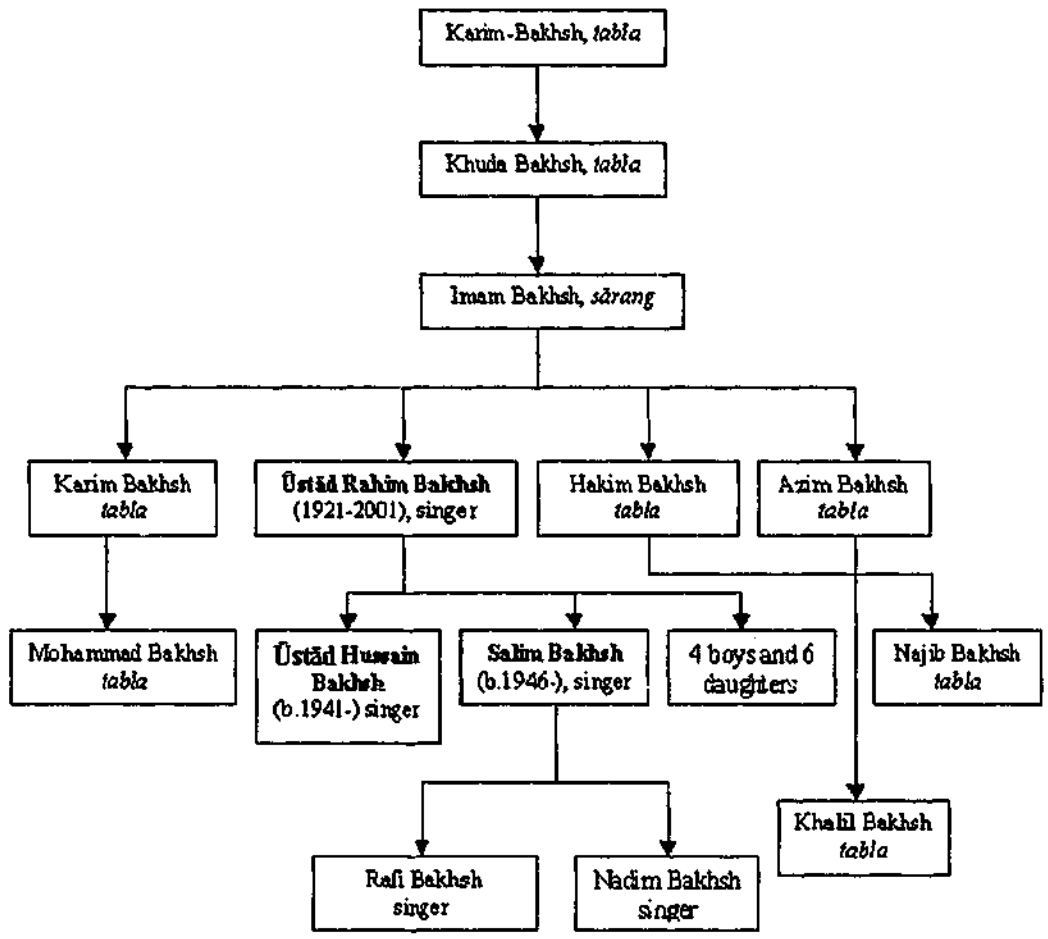


Fig. 5. A genealogical chart of the Hindustani musician Karim Bakh and his decedents for six generations, *c.* 1869-2004.

Naser Puran Qassemi, during a private communication with the author, has very greatly enriched our knowledge of instrumentalists and singers during this era. In addition to the 13 instrumentalists and singers named just above, Naser Puran Qassemi has identified another female singer, Gawhar, three female dancers—Anwari, Maltani, and Gulshah—and a female *daf* player, Haji Begum, making a total now of 18 musicians and dancers known by name from this era (2000 and 2004).

These five new names of female musicians and dancers, which have been previously unknown in publications, are important for this thesis on three counts. Firstly, according to

Naser Puran Qassemi, the names he has provided are derived from the notes of his grandfather, Ūstād Qassem, and thus provide a useful authority and historical depth to the data. Secondly, it greatly supports the working hypothesis being developed in this thesis concerning the previously unrecognised importance of Hindustani female entertainers in the history of music and dance in Afghanistan. Thirdly, it significantly contributes towards determining the primary function of Hindustani musicians, before the banning of the activities of Hindustani female entertainers.

Grouping these musicians together according to their particular performance skill provides interesting data: 5 *tabla* players, 3 *sārang* players, 1 *rabāb* player, 3 male singers, 2 female singers, three female dancers, and a female *daf* player. The skill of these musicians and their relative numbers strongly suggest ensembles providing musical accompaniment for dancing girls. This can be considered as a manifestation of the ancient South Asian aesthetic concept of *sangīt*, which refers to the ideal of having text, instrumental music, and dance as three parts of a total performance entity. This grouping clearly does not suggest solo melodic instruments accompanied by a drummer and a drone player. We shall return to this point again later in this chapter. But before that it is useful now to consider other aspects in the social history of Hindustani musicians and dancers in Afghanistan.

Kharābāti, *khalifa*, and *ūstād*

John Baily is of the opinion that these musicians from India were known collectively by the name of *ūstād*, signifying 'master teacher', because of their musical skills, their knowledge of Hindustani music, and their lineages (1999:804). However, these musicians, and their decedents, as well as musicians of non-Indian origin who resided in *Kharābāt*, were known among the Afghan people as *kharābātiyān* (sing. *kharābāti*). It is a collective name

given to them according to the place of their residency, and still they are known by the same name.[4]

Technically, *kharābāt* is translated from Persian into English as 'a tavern, a pothouse, a gaming house, and a brothel' and *kharābāti* as a 'hunter of a tavern' (Steingass 1957:415). In Islamic mysticism, Sufism, however, *kharābāt* is a place of self-destruction, where one may spiritually cleanse oneself of conceit, haughtiness, and vanity in order to obtain perfection and truth, and *kharābāti* is a person who has reached perfection.

In Afghanistan in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, these two terms most probably were employed in their original meaning, rather than in their Sufi-derived philosophic and mystic meanings, for identifying the musicians' quarter and its residents, the musicians and dancing girls, the latter of whom were often associated with prostitution. The straightforward adoption of these two words—*kharābāt* and *kharābāti*—as it appears to be the case from the content of their use in some art-historical sources, was linked to the negative attitude of religious bigots, who considered musical activities and dancing as an outrage, and musicians and dancers as debauchees and people of a very low or lost reputation.

Prior to the establishment of Ūstād as the official artistic and honorary title in Afghanistan, Indian master musicians addressed each other, and Afghan musicians who moved into *Kharābāt* as well, as *chacha*, *mia*, and master (Mohammad Arif Chishti personal communication, 1998).[5] However, the general population addressed them as *khalifa*, signifying 'a master', which is an equivalent of *ūstād*. The title *khalifa*, as Sakata has pointed out, is mainly associated with hereditary barber-musicians from regional folk traditions, and

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[4] In a large number of articles concerned with the history of music in Afghanistan, the residents of the musicians's quarter, regardless of their origin, collectively are identified as *Kharābātiyān* or *Kharābāti* masters. Ūstād Nathu's '*Kharābāt wa Kharābātiyān*' (1350/1971), Madadi's *Sar-guzasht Musiqi Mu'āsir Afghanistan* (1375/1996:124, 130, 208), and Qassemi's '*Kharābātiyān Shikāyat Mekonand*: *Qassemi* Niz *Arfāh-e Dārad*' 1352/1073:22, 62) are three examples of such articles.

[5] The titles of *chacha* and *mia*, are of Hindi or Urdu origin (Mohammad Arif Chishti personal communication, 1998).

could not be used for all musicians (1983:83, 96, 217). Nonetheless, master musicians of *Kharābāt* accepted the term and even used it for addressing each other until recent decades.[6]

The title Ūstād is relatively a new phenomenon in modern Afghanistan. Musicians, as well as other cultural figures, were honoured with this title for their skill, knowledge, and their contribution to the development and promotion of different categories of Afghan art and culture. A special committee of the Ministry of Culture and Information had the authority of granting this honorary title to one or another cultural figure. By replacing the title of *khalifa* with Ūstād, most probably the government officials wanted to improve the social status of professional musicians and to make a clear distinction between master musicians and hereditary barber-musicians. Also, the grant of the title Ūstād to *kharābāti* musicians signifies that government authorities recognise their art and their contribution to the development of music in Afghanistan.

The fate of Khurāsānian music and musicians

The arrival of Indian musicians to Afghanistan and the art of their decedents, as Baily points out, had great consequences for the future course of musical development in this country (1988:25). The presence of these musicians, side by side with Khurāsānian musicians, which made the landscape of Afghan courts very similar to the courts of the Mughal rulers of India, undermined the state of Khurāsānian music and the position of musicians performing in that style, as we shall see subsequently. Khurāsānian music, which was dominant for centuries at the courts of different rulers of the region known today as Afghanistan, eventually was pushed aside and replaced by Hindustani musicians and music. It should be noted that this was

[6] The use of *khalifa* when referring to *kharābāti* musicians, and by themselves toward each other, is clearly demonstrated in a magazine interview titled '*Khalifa Din Mohammad Sārangi Sharah Midiad*' (Srur 1352/1973:12-13,58). In this interview, the term *khalifa* is used as a title by both the interviewer and interviewee, and replaces the term Ūstād. Din Mohammad, who is presented in later sources as Ūstād, in this interview is introduced as a *khalifa*. One of the sources in which Din Mohammad is introduced as a master *sārang* player with the honorary title of Ūstād is Madadi's *Sar-guzasht Musiqi Mu'āsir Afghanistan* (1375/1996:296).

not an immediate transition. As it appears, according to the history of Afghan music, this process took several decades.

The presence of Khurāsānian music and musicians at the court of Afghan kings is reported after the arrival of the second wave of Indian musicians to Kabul during the reign of Amir Sher Ali, and even after the arrival of the third wave during his successors, Amir Abd al-Rahmān (1880-1901) and Amir Habibullah (1901-1919). In some contemporary Afghan sources, the term Khurāsānian is replaced by the term *Irani* signifying 'Iranian'.[7]

This word is equivalent to Persian, which is used by some Western scholars for characterising Afghan court and urban music prior to the arrival of Indian musicians to Afghanistan (Slobin 1976:34). John Baily, while questioning the 'Persian origin' of the music played at Afghan courts before the arrival of Hindustani musicians, continues to use it, although he employs it very strictly in relation to a particular genre of so-called Persian music; namely, *ghazal* singing in Persian melodic modes with instrumental accompaniment (1988:24).

From Slobin (1976:34) and Baily (1988:24), it appears that the term 'Persian', employed by them for characterising Afghan court and urban music in the 19th century, was borrowed from the Afghan musicologist, singer, and radio journalist on musical subjects, Madadi. But it should be noted that Madadi, similar to some other Afghan art historians and intellectuals, uses the word Khrāsānian for the identification of art music in Afghanistan prior to the arrival of North Indian musician to Afghan courts. This point of view expressed by Madadi, is clearly evident in the citation below.

> Before the arrival of Indian musicians in Afghanistan, Khurāsānian music, [mistakenly] identified by many Afghan master musicians [trained in Hindustani music] as Iranian, was practiced in our country, particularly in the big cities such as Kabul, Qandahar, and Herat. Rajab Herati, Said Quraish, Haidar Namadmal, and Aka Abd al-Rahmān Badakhshi, were musicians who

[7] These sources include Rohina (1349/1970:4), Ūstād Nathu (1350/1970:27), Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi (1350/1971:18), and Asif Qassemi (1351/1972:43).

> continued to sing in this style of performance at the courts, even after the arrival Indian musicians (Madadi 1375/1996:110). ... Indian musicians cultivating the classical genres of Indian music caused Khrāsānian music to become obsolete in our country (Madadi 1375/1996:112).

Rohina (1349/1970:4) and Madadi (1575/1996:163) list more than a dozen singers and instrumentalists as musicians performing in Khurāsānian style, during the time of Amir Sher Ali and Amir Abd al-Rahmān. The following musicians—Rustam Kalan, Ūstād Quraban, Murad Ali, Sufi Rustam, Haidar Mullah, Usman Balaq, Sultan Shah, Haidar Shah, Mirza Rajab Ali, Said Sarwar Shah, Abdul-Haad, Haidar Namadmal, Haidar Pinah, and Said Quraish—are named in these two sources. These sources do not specify the origin of these musicians, and they do not name the court of their patrons.

The last three musicians from the above list are identified in Baily as Herati musicians, who were summoned to Kabul from the city of Herat, to sing and play for king Habibullah (1901-1919) (1988:20). The Herati origin of these three musicians suggests that most of those musicians who are named in the history of Afghan music as performers of a so-called Iranian style very probably were from the city of Herat, once the flourishing capital of the great Khurāsān. Thus, their music might be more usefully identified as Khurāsānian, a term better reflecting cultural and historical realities of the region and local attitude of historians, intellectuals and music historians in Afghanistan today about the history and type of their music in the past as discussed earlier in this thesis.

Music and musicians at the court of Amir Abd al-Rahmān (1880-1901)

After the death of Amir Sher Ali, the throne of Afghanistan passed to Amir Abd al-Rahmān, who was a great patron of music and musicians, as well as a skilful *rabāb* and *kamāncha* player himself. The musical panorama of his court is documented in his memoirs *Tāj-ul-twārikh*, and also in the narratives of a few British men who witnessed his court life.

These data, which throw light on the court music of Afghanistan in the late 19th century, will be discussed below.

> Musicians of my court belong to the second group of my servants. They are of Indian (*Hindi*), Iranian (*Irani*), and Afghan origin. They come for the service of my court in the evening and get paid. If I am free they come in for playing and singing. Otherwise, courtiers gain happiness from their singing. Sometimes I listen [to their singing and playing] too. ... The third class is my private servants, who are always present in rooms next to my living room or in tents next to my royal tent if I am on an expedition. The following constitute this class ... and a group of musicians, a *naghāra*-player (*naghārachi*) (Abd al-Rahmān Khān [1885]1996:359).

> My banquet is very modest. ... At nights the chess-players and backgammon players compete at my court. Often I watch their game. Sometimes I join them, but it does not happen often. The musicians play and sing in order to please the present company. Sometimes I distract my attention from work for a few minutes and listen [to their performance], as I am inclined to the music naturally. The best pianos, *tārs*, *kamānchas*, *nay-ambās* (bagpipes) and other musical instruments are ready in my residences. I am very good in music myself and I can play the *kamāncha* and the *rabāb* (Abd al-Rahmān Khān [1885] 1996:374-75).

In the *Tāj-ul-twārikh*, Amir Abd al-Rahmān, when reporting on the servants of his court and describing his banquets, makes a clear distinction between three groups of musicians playing at his court. These three were comprised respectively of Indian (*Hindi*), Iranian (*Irani*), and Afghan musicians. Neither the Amir nor other sources provide us with the names of Afghan and Iranian musicians at the court of Amir. In marked contrast, the names of several musicians of Indian origin, who are believed to have migrated to Afghanistan during the reign of Amir Abd al-Rahmān to provide musical entertainment to his court and to the court of other nobles, are well-known, thanks to their decedents.

Indoor music and dance

Indian musicians and their music

At least ten musicians from India are known to have migrated to Afghanistan to be court musicians of Amir Abd al-Rahmān. According to Madadi these court musicians were:

(1) Satar Joo, (2) Atta Hussain, and (3) Qurban-ali (male singers); (4) Kākol, (5) Gora or Gawhar, (6) Soobi, and her daughter (7) Ditoo or Dita, and (8) Gulshah (female singers [and possibly dancers]); (9) Ghulam Jilani (*sārang* player); and (10) Karim Hussain (1375/1996:111). Figures 6 and 8 present the genealogical charts of Satar Joo and Atta Hussain respectively, whose decedents have an important position in the history of music in Afghanistan.

Kākol, and Gora or Gawhar, who are identified by Madadi only as female singers, are identified as singers and dancers in a list read to the author by Naser Puran Qassemi, from the notes of his grandfather, Ūstād Qassem. In this list, Naser Puran Qassemi's grandmother Ditoo (d. 1318/1939), the second wife of Ūstād Qassem, is identified only as a singer.[8] The names of additional Hindustani female entertainers, singers and dancers and instrumentalists, who arrived in Afghanistan in this era, also appear in the list. They are: (1) Yasamin, (2) Saraj-gul, (3) Qandi, (4) Shabana Azam, (singers and dancers); (5) Bai-Umaran, *mardang* (double-headed drum) player, and (6) Sah'ibu or Sahiro, *zang* (cymbal) player.

Five of these previously unknown women were singers and dancers, and two were instrumentalists. The *mardang* player Bai-Umaran, and the *zang* player Sah'ibu, appear to be known representatives, at the end of the 19th century, of a tradition of female instrumentalists and dancers that is well documented in the miniature paintings of North India since second half of the 16th century (Wade 1998:Fig. 19, 52, 54; pl. 15). To briefly summarise, these four new names of Indian female singers and dancers and two instrumentalists from Naser Puran Qassemi, through the notes of his grandfather Ūstād Qassem, added to the five names of female singers and dancers as noted earlier, further increase the data for reassessing the role of female musicians and dancers in the history of music in Afghanistan.

[8] The love story of Ūstād Qassem to beautiful Ditoo, who became his second wife, is retold in Rawaq's '*Pir-e Kharābāt*' [The Saint of the *Kharābāt*] (1996:79).

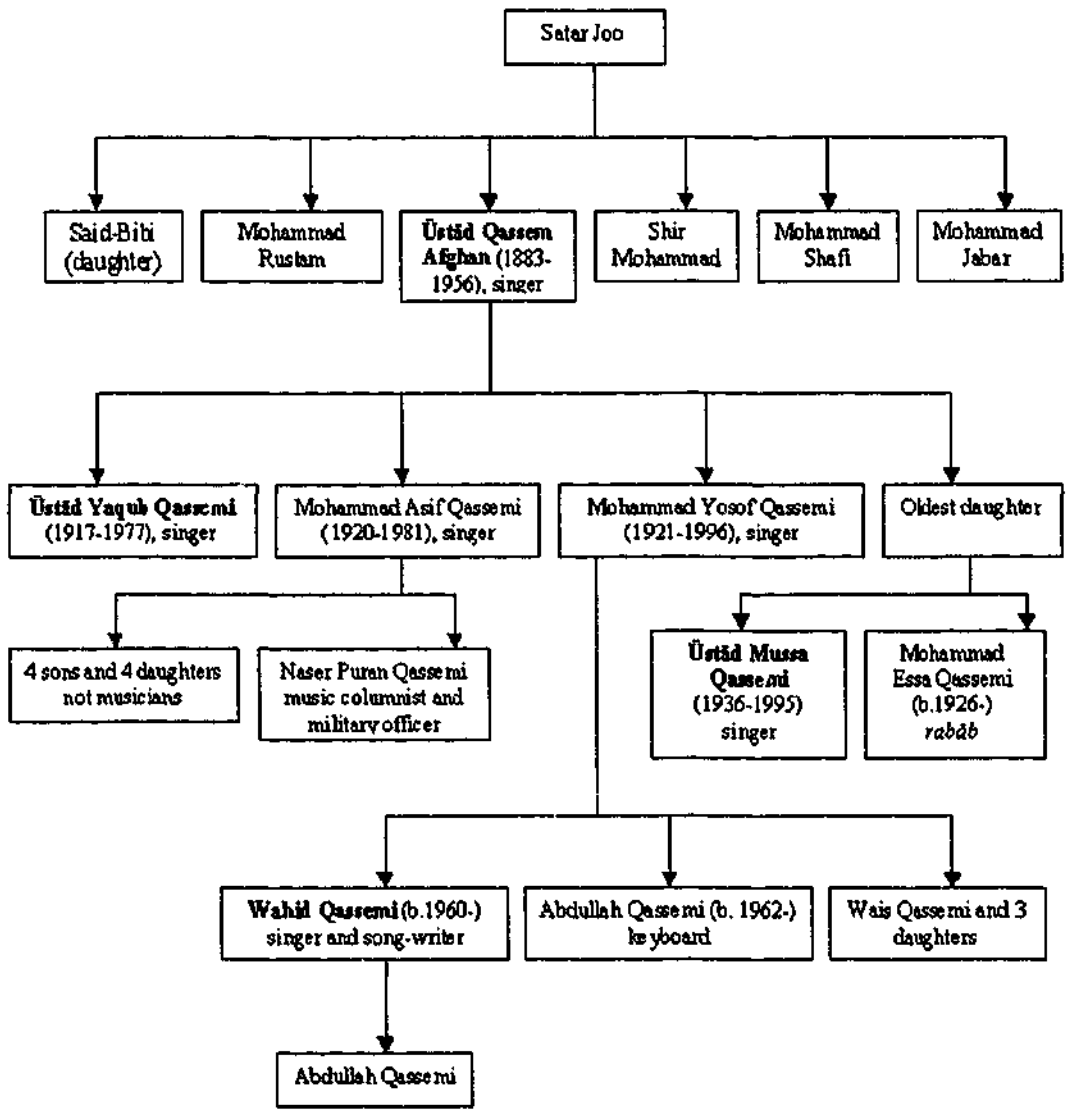

Fig. 6. A genealogical chart of the Hindustani musician Satar Joo and his decedents for five generations, *c.* 1880-2004.

Not much is known about the musical style of the three groups of musicians noted earlier. Afghan musicians and music historians, similar to some Western musicologists, suggest that the Indian musicians cultivated North Indian classical vocal genres, such as *dorbot* (*dhrupad*), *khyāl*, and *tarāna* (Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi 1350/1971:16, Madadi 1996:111, Baily 2000:805). The terms *rāg* and *rāgni* (Hindustani *rāginī*), which are theoretical concepts, indicating an earlier theory in which the *rāgs* were systematised, are incorrectly listed in some sources from Afghanistan as genres of Hindustani music performed at Afghan courts in the 19th Century (Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi 1350/1971:16, Madadi 1996:111).

These two conceptual entities, as well as the Hindustani musical genres just named, which are performed in Afghanistan, will be described and discussed in forthcoming chapters. It also should be noted that in this thesis, the primary spelling of conceptual entities related to music theory and practice reflect current usage in Afghanistan. Hindustani spellings, which are often easily recognised as being very similar, are used only when the context of the discussion clearly indicates the Hindustani music of North India.

Information about the art of those Indian musicians who entertained Afghan courts in the 19th and 20th centuries has been obtained mainly from the personal accounts and narratives of contemporary Afghan musicians whose ancestors came to Afghanistan from India in earlier times. It should be noted that until very recently these oral data, which are still retained by some contemporary Afghan musicians, have not been critically examined. Though these data may eventually be confirmed historically in the several accounts and narratives compiled by some Englishmen who witnessed musical entertainment at the Afghan courts on several occasions in the 18th, 19th, and 20 centuries, to date these oral data have not been confirmed. The general lack of any detailed commentary about solo *darbārī* Indian musicians and their music in the named sources suggests that though—they may have been present, they were not notably mentioned because they did not have a sufficient social and musical status at the Afghan courts at beginning of their arrival.

In their narratives, John Alfred Gray and Frank Martin provide us with a very important account of indoor and outdoor musical entertainment at royal banquets.[9] In these narratives the presence of Indian musicians cultivating a genre of North Indian solo classical music at Afghan courts is not mentioned. Instead, these two sources, similar to two earlier European sources, describe a choral music used for accompanying dancing girls, which was

[9] John Alfred Gray and Frank Martin, a surgeon and an engineer respectively, were among the first Europeans who assisted Amir Abd al-Rahmān in implementing his social reforms, two parts of which were the introduction of new medicine and machinery in Afghanistan.

performed by all the members of an accompanying ensemble.[10] These musicians functioned as both singers and instrumentalists. The parts of the citation below that describe the style of the dance and motion of the dancers will be introduced later in this chapter.

> I can speak of the wild barbaric music from *seithar* [*seh-tār*], *rubarb* [the *rabāb*], and drum; of the passionate Oriental love songs pealing forth in unison from strong male voices. ... I can also speak of the indescribable ear-splitting din, without either time or tune, which was torn from the tortured instruments and hurled at us as "music"; of the harsh voices roaring till they were hoarse something which we did not understand; of the attempts of the singers to produce a trill by shaking the head; of the utter absence of modulation or feeling in their singing. (Gray1895/1987:134-35).

This choral music as represented by Gray does not appear to have very much if anything in common with the high art or classical vocal tradition of *dhrupad*, *khyal*, and other North Indian vocal genres, which are primarily for solo performance, although male duos, usually family members, may perform them together. In this instance two soloists might sing the composition and the cadential phrases together, dividing the improvisation between them, jointly performing only one melodic solo line. Another possible vocalist might be a supporting singer, a young artist engaging in traditional performance-centred training (Wade 2000:171).

The choral singing described by Gray is also reported in some contemporary Afghan sources. Nonetheless, the association of this style of singing with dancing girls is not mentioned in these sources. Madadi, reporting on musical genres that were cultivated in Afghanistan after the decline of Khurāsānian music, writes.

> In the start Indian classical music was represented in the form of *dorbot* (*dhrupat*), *rāg*, and *rāgni*. Later a new style of *ghazal* that was performed by a leading singer and all accompanying musicians were added to those classical genres. By the passage of the time this new type of *ghazal* was modified into contemporary solo *ghazal* singing (1375/1996:112).

[10] These two sources, which are discussed in John Baily's *Music of Afghanistan* (1988:17-18), are: *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and its Depencies in Persia, Tartary, and India* by Elphinstone (1842:364-365), and *Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Beloochistan; with Historical Noties of the Countries Lying Between Russia and India* by Ferrier (1857:152-153).

Before engaging in a detailed discussion aimed at increasing our understanding of the above choral vocal music as noted in the British and Afghan sources, it is relevant to finish the discussion from where we departed, that is, the identification of the three musical groups and their music, as reported in the memoirs of Amir Abd al-Rahmān, the *Tāj-ul-twārikh*. Noting all three groups and trying to decode the stylistic feature of their music might help one to better comprehend the very choral music that according to Madadi was modified into the contemporary classical *ghazal* of Afghanistan.

Irānian musicians

The second group of court musicians named by the Amir was a company of Iranian musicians. The term *Irani* or Iranian musician in the Amir's memoires, similar to several other sources, probably is employed for the identification of those musicians and the characterisation of their music that are noted in this and in the previous chapters of this thesis as Khurāsānian musicians and music. Therefore, one may very reasonably assume that this group of musicians were practicing some aspects of a musical tradition that had historically been practiced at the courts of the Timurid rulers in Herat, and also at the courts of the Mughal rulers of India. This tradition, as it has been argued earlier in the previous chapter, dominated the musical entertainment of earlier the Durrani kings, prior to the arrival of musicians from North India. This music also is primarily meant for solo performances, and is far removed from the choral singing as represented above, which will be discussed in more detail shortly.

Pashtūns and their music

Pashtūns or native musicians comprised the third group of court musicians. Most probably the term Afghan, a name given to Pashtūns by others and currently employed as a national name for all citizens of Afghanistan, is used by the Amir Abd al-Rahmān, in his *Tāj-*

ul-twārikh, for identifying this group of musicians at his court. Afghan or local musicians most probably comprised all outdoor bands providing musical accompaniment during various feasts and celebration. These outdoor bands will be introduced later in this chapter. Some Pashtūn musicians seem to have provided indoor music at Afghan courts as well.

The emergence of the term Afghan [Pashtūn] musicians next to the names of the other two groups—Indian and Iranian musicians, who mostly entertained their masters in their palaces and sometimes in their royal tents—suggests that a group of Pashtūn musicians also carried out this duty. According to an Afghan musician today with a Pashtūn background, Ghulam Nabi (*tabla* player), his grandfather Kalim Khan and his father Gul-Hassan were Pashtūn musicians who provided indoor music at the court of Amir Abd al-Rahmān (personal communication, 1992). According to this musician, Kalim Khan and Gul-Hassan were singers accompanying themselves on the *rabāb*. These two Pashtūn musicians are the forefathers of Ūstād Nabi-gul, whose musical contribution to the contemporary music of Afghanistan will be discussed briefly in subsequent chapters. The genealogical relationship of these musicians is demonstrated in figure 7.

Though the precise role played by these Pashtūn musicians, is not known, one may assume that they most probably fulfilled duties traditionally performed by Pashtūn musicians in the past, such as singing love stories, ballads, odes and telling stories, accompanying their songs on the *rabāb*.[11] It might be suggested that late 19th century Pashtūn musicians, in addition to fulfilling their traditional functions, also performed as accompanists to the Hindustani dancing girls. This function was adopted by Pashtūn musicians, or more precisely by Pashtūn *sarodyās* or *rabāb* players, for earning a living in India after the collapse of the independent sovereignty of Pashtūn states in the beginning of the 19th century (McNeil

[11] The story-telling role of Pashtūn musicians and singers, accompanying themselves on the Afghan *rabāb*, is also described in Elphinstone's *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul* (1842:309).

1992:109).[12] This disintegration forced many Pashtūn *sarodyās* to migrate to Lucknow and other urban areas where they found an accessible and regular source of income from within the expanding courtesan culture (McNeil 1992:202).

It is possible that the first or second generation decedents in India of those Pashtūn *rabāb* players, in search of a new patron and livelihood, returned to Afghanistan, the land of their ancestors, where in addition to performing their traditional functions of storytelling and ballad singing, they carried on their new role, together with an ensemble of Indian *sārang* (Indian *sārangi*) and *tabla* players. It has been reported earlier in this chapter that Rang Ali, a *rabāb* player, was among other Hindustani musicians who came to Afghanistan during the reign of Shir Ali. Nonetheless, we do not know anything about the ethnic background of this musician.

The appearance of the *rabāb* together with the *sārang* and the *tabla*—the latter two being two musical instruments which by the 19th century became the standard instruments of accompaniment for courtesans and dance music (Manuel 1989:178)—demonstrates not only the new position adopted by Pashtūn musicians in North Indian musical culture.[13], It also indicates the formation of a new group accompanying *nautch* girls in Afghanistan. Illustration 22 is a photograph by John Burke depicting a group of dancing girls, a *rabāb* player, a musician playing an earlier type of *sārang*, and a *tabla* player, taken in Afghanistan in 1880. This photograph, which is in the possession of the British Library, IOL, 430/3 (60), provides data in support of the hypothesis just above.

The above suggestion is also based in part on stylistic similarities between the choral music reported above, which is discussed in more detail below, and the Pashtūn musical tradition of the *deri majles* and the *hujre majles*, which are social and musical events. The

[12] These days the term denotes any performer of the North Indian *sarod*. In the 18th century the term *sarodyā* specified an endogamous community of Pashtūn hereditary musicians; namely, *rabāb* players known in India as *sarodyās*, who went to India along with a large influx of Pashtūn mercenaries (McNeil 1992:143).
[13] For a comprehensive discussion about the association of *sārang* and *tabla* with courtesans and dancing girls see *The Voice of the sārangi* (Bor 1987) and *Thumri in Historical and Stylistic Perspectives* (Manuel 1989).

outdoor banquet of such a gathering, which occurs usually in the summer time, is called *deri majles*. The term *hujre majles* is used for identifying the winter banquets of this type of gathering, when the party is arranged indoors. At these occasions, music lovers, instrumentalists and groups of male singers, comprised of two three, four or more singers, come together to set up a musical banquet. At these musical gatherings, singers accompanied by the *rabāb, sarinda, hāmūnia*, and *tabla*, similar to the group singing described in the British and Afghan sources noted above, perform in unison and sing mostly about love. The *hāmūnia*, and *tabla* were added to the ensemble of the *deri majles* and the *hujre majles* in recent years. In the past the musical ensemble accompanying the singers consisted of a *rabāb*, a *sarinda*, a *mangay* (a clay drum), and the *tāl* (brass finger cymbals).

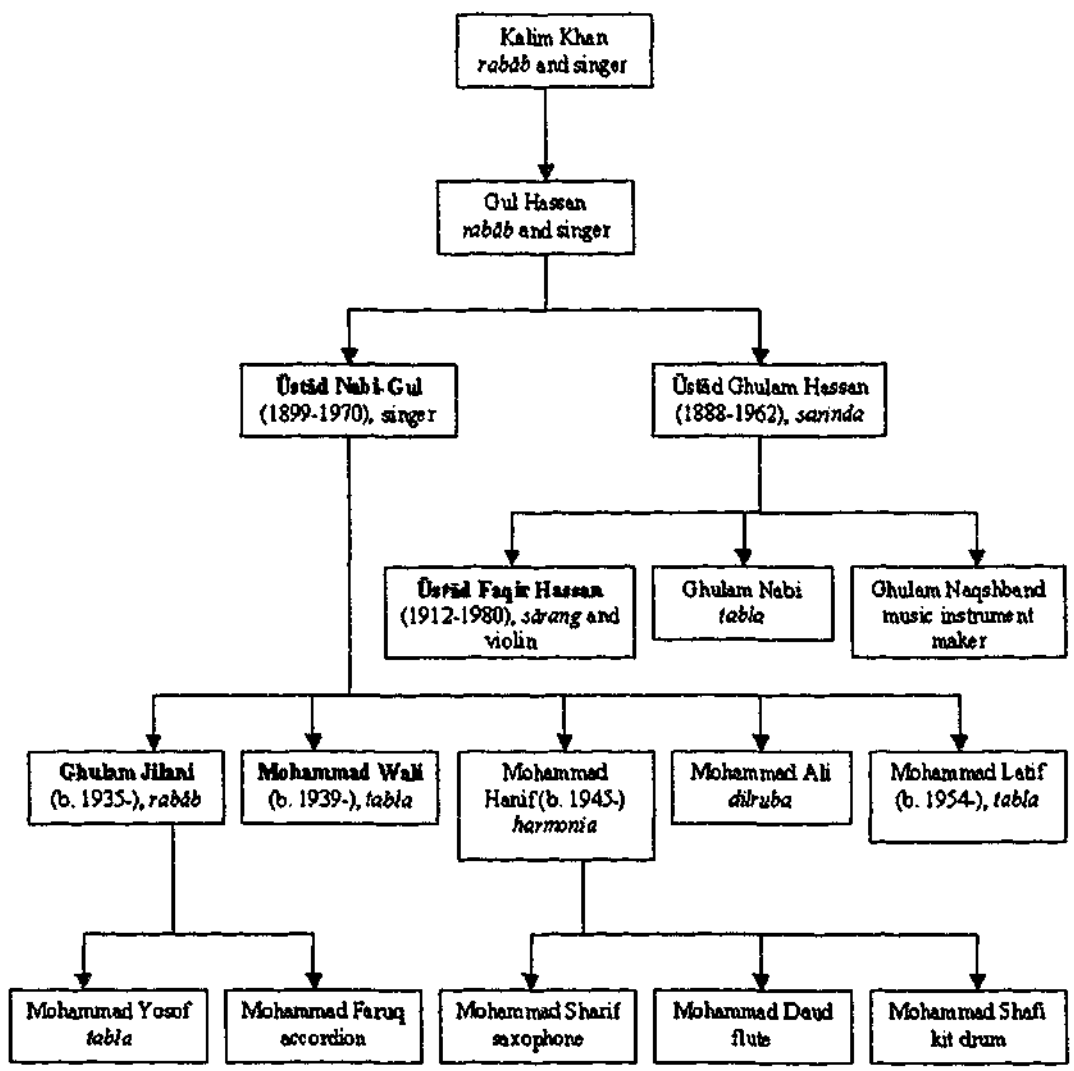

Fig. 7. A genealogical chart of the Pashtūn musician Kalim Khan and his decedents for five generations, *c*. 1880-2004.

Illus. 22. A photograph of three dancing girls and their accompanists, Kabul 1879-1880.

Choral music: *deri majles* and the *hujre majles*, *sufyāna kalam*, and *chakri*

Determining the precise nature of the group singing, which is reported in the British sources noted above, is a difficult task, complicated by the presence of genre and stylistic features from several musical traditions within it. John Baily (1988:17) reasonably attempts to determine and to establish some connection between this group singing and Kashmiri *sufyāna kalam*, and we also are aware of some Pashtūn elements within the former vocal genre. Doubtlessly, there are many similarities between Afghani and Kashmiri musical traditions in general, and more particularly between the choral music of Afghan courts as noted in the British and Afghan sources and the *sufyāna kalam* or classical music of Kashmir.

However, straightforwardly identifying any group singing associated with professional female dancers, who historically have been linked with prostitution, as *sufyāna kalam*, which

primarily is mystic and religious music, seems unreasonable from an Islamic point of view. Nonetheless, Pacholczyk and Arnold (2000:687) have reported that in the past *sufyāna kalam* also was connected with professional female dancers known as *hafiza*, who were also connected with prostitution.

Also, one should not ignore the similarities between the Pashtūn tradition of *deri majles* and *hujre majles*, and the responsorial singing genre of *chakri* in Kashmir, which according to Qalandar, was associated with male dancing during the Afghan occupation of Kashmir (1752-1819) (1976:19). It is not the intention of this discussion to establish the imprint of these two cultures on each other, or to argue for the superiority of one and the subordination of the other. In general, a northern imprint on the musical culture of Kashmir has already been pointed out.[14]

Weather the group singing at the court of Afghan kings in the 19th century was an ensemble of *chakri*, *sufyāna kalam* or a local company of *deri majles* and the *hujre majles* is not clear. However, the presence of several Kashmiri musicians at the court of the Afghan king and other nobilities, as well as Rohina's remark identifying three Indian musicians—Qadir Joo, Qaliq Joo, and Wazir Joo—as performers of songs in Kashmiri style (1349/1970:4), give us a reasonable grounds to assume that Afghanistan's court musicians from the Indian sub-continent with their North Indian and Kashmiri backgrounds performed at least in two styles of performance: Hindustani music and Kashmiri music.

Musicians playing in these two styles of performance, as we have discussed earlier in this chapter, and we shall see subsequently as well, provided musical accompaniment to courtesans in collaboration with some local musicians. They were not employed as

[14] A northern imprint on the musical culture of Kashmir—*i.e.* Afghan, Khurāsānian, and Central Asian influences—is noted in *Folksongs of Kashmir* (Gillis 1972), *Traditional Songs and Dances of Kashmir* (Aima and Lewiston 1974 and 1976), 'Music in Kashmir-an Introduction' (Qalandar 1976:15-22), '*Sufyana Kalam, The Classical Music of Kashmir*' (Pacholczyk 1979:1-16), 'Towards a Comparative Study of a Suite Tradition in the Islamic Near East and Central Asia: Kashmir and Morocco' (Pacholczyk 1992:429-463), and in 'Kashmir, Sufi Music' (Pacholczyk and Gordon 2000:686-695).

instrumental and vocal soloists in their own right as is claimed by their decedents. Nonetheless, one should not dismiss the possibility that some of these instrumentalists and dancers were probably very highly skilled musicians, who were capable of performing classical Hindustani genres such as *dhrupad*, *tarāna*, and *khyal*.

Additionally, this working hypothesis might be supported by the composition of musical ensemble having Hindustani musicians in Afghanistan, which clearly points to the accompanying role played by them in their association with dancing girls. These ensembles were comprised of male and female singers, and *sārang* and *tabla* players. As it has been noted previously, during the 19th century such ensembles were the most common groups that accompanied dancing girls in India, from where these musicians migrated to Afghanistan. Most of the Hindustani musicians who came to Afghanistan prior to the first quarter of the 20th century had one or more of the above qualifications.

Among them is one exception, the name of Satar Joo, believed by some scholars to have been a *setār* player (Jahad 1368/1989:165) or *sitār* player (Baily 1988:27, Madadi 1996:301), the latter of which, as Miner has reported (1993:35-36), also throughout the 19th and into the 20th centuries together with a *sārang* and a *tabla* players provided accompaniment for dancing girls.[15] We know from the history of the *sārang* that the performers of this instrument, in spite of occupying one of the lowest levels in the social hierarchy of musicians, were highly skilled instrumentalists, singers, and composers, with a profound knowledge of *rāgs*. They were the foremost teachers of female singers (Bor 1987:107, 113).

[15] The use of *sitār*, *sārang*, and *tabla* players as accompanying musicians to the dance of the *nautch* girl is reported in written and visual sources. For a description of some of these sources and a visual depiction of the *sitār* playing such a role, see Miner (1993:35-38 and Figs. 22, 23, and 81).

The *setār*, *sitār*, and the *madam*

Before continuing our discussion about the skill and professions of Indian musicians, it is revellent to digress briefly here to consider the type of instrument, played by Satar Joo. Madadi uses the term *sitār* and *madam* synonymously for identifying the musical instrument played by Satar Joo (1375/1996:115). The latter term is also used by Jahad (1368/1989:165) and his decedent to identify a musical instrument played by Satar Joo. One should note that Jahad, in contrast to Madadi, employs the word *madam* and *setār* as the names of two different musical instruments played by Satar Joo (Jahad 1368/1989:165).

The word *madam*, either as a musical instrument or as an equivalent for the *sitār*, is not encountered in any sources that deal with Indian musical instruments in general, nor in those sources in which the history of the *sitār* in particular is studied. For clarification, the author of this thesis turned to Wahid Qassemi, a decedent of Satar Joo. Wahid Qassemi described the *madam* as a plucked stringed instrument with a long neck, similar to the neck of a *tanbūr*, and a body bigger than the body of a *tanbūr*, mounted by only three melodic strings, without any sympathetic strings.

Taking into consideration the history of the evolution and popularisation of the *sitār* in India, Satar Joo's Kashmiri origin, and similarities between his so-called *madam* and the Kashmiri *setār*, one may suggest that he was a performer of the Kashmiri *setār*, rather than a *sitār* player. Similarities embodied in the structural composition and pronunciation of the musical instruments just named most probably has given Afghan scholars some reason to identify Satar Joo as a *sitār* player.

Wahid Qassemi, during a private conversation with the author of this thesis, questioned his forefather being a master of the Hindustani *sitār*, and agreed that most probably he was a performer of the Kashmiri *setār*, which is a type of Khurāsānian and Central Asian long-

necked lute of the same name. This instrument also is considered as an ancestor of the contemporary Hindustani *sitār* (Miner 1993:33).

Kanchanis in Kabul

As noted earlier, Hindustani female musicians are identified by some contemporary Afghan musicians today as being female singers exclusively, which puts forth a very strong implication that they were solo singers, as no other performance skill has been mentioned about these women. Concerning the actual skill and profession of Indian female entertainers, one may argue that they might have been singing dancers, if not only dancers, rather than singers alone (Illus. 23).[16] Up to date, however, we do not have any written or visual evidence documenting the vocal skill of Hindustani female entertainers at Afghan courts. Those few written sources that describe musical entertainment at Afghan courts report on the presence of Indian *nautch* or dancing girls, accompanied by a group of male musicians, as noted earlier. Thus, there appears to be a marked inconsistency in the data gathered from musicians today and data in the earlier British written sources.

It is evident from the history of music in India that singing dancers had a long history in India and that they played an important role in the development of Indian music (Manuel 1989:45). Until recent times in India, dancing girls, who were also singers with a comprehensive musical knowledge, some of whom were very good singers, were classified into several social groups, who provided musical and other types of entertainment at the royal courts and in private homes (Bor 1987:84-86). These different class of female professional entertainers, referred to by Europeans generally as dancing girls, ranged from vulgar bazaar

[16] This photograph by John Burke is in the possession of the British Library, IOL, 430/3 (59).

prostitutes to a dedicated, respectable, and high class of dancers and singers (Bor 1987:81-82).[17]

Illus. 23. Three dancing girls in Kabul 1879-1880.

The latter class, who practiced no profession other than singing and dancing, were known as the *kanchanis* (Lal 1988:31), a name which was given to this high class of singing and dancing girls by Akbar, the Mughal Emperor of India (1542-1605) (Bor 1987:81, Lal 1988:31).[18] The name *kanchani*, as we shall see later in this chapter, was used for identifying Indian singing dancers in Kabul, whose activities were outlawed in the beginning of the 20th century (Ghubar 1967:700), apparently because of religious restrictions imposed on women in

[17] For the social status and class of Indian dancing girls see *The Voice of* the *Sārangī* (Bor 1987) and *Thumri in Historical and Stylistic Perspectives* (Manuel 1989).

[18] Abul Fazl, the author of the *Āin-i Akbari*, reporting on the Indian entertainers of Akbar's court, mentions the *kanchanis* as a group of women entertainers who sing and dance. He also writes that Akabar called them *kanchanis* (1948:272).

general and on singing and dancing girls in particular during the reign of Amir Habibullah.[19] Possibly the association of some dancing girls with prostitution and the negative attitudes of religious bigots, who considered female singers and dancers as debauchees and people of a very low or lost reputation, contributed to the Amir's decision.

Unfortunately, the immoral activities of the lowest class of female entertainers, who were associated with prostitution, have tended to put a stigma on the entire class of dancing girls in Afghanistan, and have led to a very important change in the meaning of *kanchani*. The term *kanchani*, which historically was used for identifying a high class of courtesans, who were engaged only in singing and dancing as noted above, started to be employed for identifying disreputable women. Today the term *kanchani* carries a very negative meaning and is exclusively used in Afghanistan for naming any woman associated with prostitution, regardless of their profession and social group.

This shift in the meaning of *kanchani* may account for the inconsistency in the data as noted above, which most probably have led some to hide of the main skill and profession of the majority of Hindustani female entertainers, *kanchani*s, which was dancing. Though the term *kanchani* has been associated with disreputable activities in recent times, we should not let this hinder our evaluation of the history of music in Afghanistan, as not all the dancing girls in the past were associated with those activities. Every possibility exists that entertainers of the *kanchani* class in Afghanistan, similar to their counterparts in India, were of the highest standards, musically and morally.

Additionally, one also should not underestimate the possibility that some of these female entertainers were highly skilled singers, the musical ability of whom is conscientiously underlined in the oral narratives and accounts of Afghan musicians today in order to rule out any possibility of their forefathers being associated with disreputable dancing girls. This inconsistency has led to the fact that up to now the actual history of Indian female

[19] An account of these restrictions is available in *Afghanistan dar Masir-i-Tarikh* (Ghubar 1967:700).

entertainers and their accompanying Indian musicians in Afghanistan has remained untold or misrepresented.

Contemporary *Kharābāti* musicians do not mention their ancestors as being accompanists to dancing girls, who had their own section within the musicians' quarter *Kharābāt*, known as the street of the *kanchanis*, or *Kocheh Kanchani-ah.* [20] Additionally, they do not wish to speak about the fact that the ancestors of several of these musicians were married to those dancing girls. In collecting the oral data for this research, it was observed that many of those providing information about the presence and arrival of dancing girls at *Kharābāt* did not mention that any female ancestor of their family had any role or skill as a dancing girl. Nonetheless, the same interviewees were very forthcoming in mentioning their knowledge of such ancestors in other families, and of the family relationships in these other families. In my notes there are many names and much information indicating such relationships. But because of the clear and understandable sensitivity of many musicians to the current derogatory meaning of the term *kanchani*, it is not prudent or advisable to record or make these specifics public.

When speaking about their forefathers, they prefer to stress their knowledge, training, and skill in North Indian classical music, rather than offer any information about the actual means by which their ancestors earned their living in Afghanistan. Furthermore, they choose to emphasise their ancestral association with Afghan courts, and the contribution made by their forefathers to the development and promotion of music in Afghanistan today, in order to downplay any negative association that might harmfully affects their current musical and social status.

[20] According to Ghubar, the female dancers and singers collectively called *kanchnis* lived in their own quarter known as *kocheh kanchnihā* until the reign of Amir Habibullah (1901-1919), the son and the immediate successor of Amir Abd al-Rahmān, who forced them to repent and to leave their quarter, in which other classes of people settled (1967:700).

Concluding the above discussion, which has aimed to establish general guidelines about the style of music of the three different groups of musicians and to determined the actual skill and profession of the Indian musicians and dancers that provided musical entertainment to the court, now it is appropriate for an attempt decoding the stylistic features of the dance performed by the Indian dancing girls, *kanchanis* in Afghanistan. Martin, when reporting on the manners and customs of Kabulis, provides us with very interesting data about the dancing girls of the capital.

> They have properly trained dancing girls. ... The services of the dancing girls are requisitioned only on festivals and weddings, or when some wealthy man gives an entertainment to his friends or some high official person. ... The life of the dancing girl is a hard one, for the dancing they practice is exhausting, and induces a good deal of perspiration, and the girl is clad in light flimsy muslin, while the nights even in summer are chill, and all doors and windows are open to the breeze. Consequently, she catches cold and gets fever and continues to get it, for she must practice her profession whenever called upon, so that it is not a matter of surprise that these girls mostly die of consumption. The dancing girls in Kabul are Hindustanis from the Peshawar and Delhi districts, while some are the offspring of former dancing girls and men of the country. ... Their action during the dance appears very studied and wanting in grace, even with the best of them, and none that I have seen are to be compared with our own principle of ballet-dancers for grace of movement (Martin 1907/2000:71).

Martin, in the citation just above, informs us about specially trained dancers, who provided dancing entertainment to wealthy residents of Kabul on different occasions. Furthermore, he reports on the hard condition and life of these dancing girls, which caused many of them to die from consumption and exhaustion. Martin is very specific about the Hindustani origin of these dancing girls, who were from the Peshawar and Delhi districts of India. He also notes the presence of at least another class of dancers, who are identified by Martin as 'offspring of former dancing girls and men of the country. He is not specific about the style of the performance or the class of both groups of dancers. Martin, apart from noting the studied movement of the dancers, which he considers to be ungraceful, does not provide us

with much data about the style or the type of dance performed by Hindustani dancers in Kabul.

However, there are several words and sentences in another British observer's Gray's description of those *nautch* girls and their dance, which expose some similarities between their performance and the *kathak* dance of North India. These terms and sentences provide one with some grounds to suggest that, similar to the courts of the Indian feudal lords and kings, where the *kathak* dancers performed according to the occasion and interest of their patrons, a variation of *kathak* or a section of it was performed in Afghan courts.[21] The *kathak* dance, in addition to its Hindu religious role, was a source of entertainment at the courts of North India and was patronised by Hindu and Muslim rulers alike (Natavar 2000:493).

> I can speak of the ... passionate Oriental love songs pealing forth in unison from strong male voices; of the unveiled girl dancers undulating to the music; of the glances cast by the dark eyes, the waving of arms, the clinking of bangles, and the tinkling of bells on their ankles, as the dancers stepped daintily on the carpets. ... I can speak also of the dancing women shuffling about, clapping their hands and throwing themselves into uncouth and to us unmeaning postures (Gray1895/1987:134-35).

A component of the *kathak* reflected in the citation above is the romantic and passionate character of the poetry, a peculiarity of the text of a *thumri* or a *ghazal* that accompanies the third section of a *kathak* dance. Nonetheless, a devotional song is also used in this expressive part of this dance. The natural facial expression, sweeping turns, and the elaborate hand and body gestures that are used in the *kathak* dance to express the poetry and to depict the emotions connected with various themes, is also present in the description of the dance performed by the Indian dancers, as reported by Gray.

[21] Today the *kathak* consists of three sections: the invocation, the pure dance recital (*nrtta*), and an expressive dance. In the first section the dancer, after offering respect to the guru and musicians, depicts the deity and the devotee. In Muslim gatherings *salami* ('greeting or salutation') replaces the prayer. The second section, which is considered the 'trademark' of *kathak*, is the longest part of this dance, and it is full of technical virtuosity. The third section is an expressive dance. This structure applies to all stylistic schools of the *kathak* dance. A description of the *kathak* dance and its peculiarities are available in Natavar (2000:492-494).

The use of bells attached to the ankles of the dancers is another important element of the *kathak* dance. *Kathak* dancers skilfully use and control a large number of bells attached to their ankles. This use of the bells is an important part of the complicated system of footwork in the *kathak* dance. Some elements of this dance, or a version of *kathak*, penetrated into a local dance called *logari*.

The *logari* is an Afghan dance performed by men and women. It takes its name from the place of its origin, the province of Logar. Similar to the *kathak* dance, it starts with *salami* or 'greeting or salutation'. In *logari* dancing the bells attached to the ankles of the dancers, unlike in the *kathak* dance, are not part of a complicated system of footwork. They are part of the costume and the general sound effects. This Afghan dance is accompanied by an instrumental composition consisting of several pieces in a single metric mode, with several musical pauses during which dancers freeze in a seated or a standing pose. Making up and dressing boys in women's clothing most probably is another element of the *logari* dance borrowed from the *kathak* dance. [22]

Outdoor music

John Alfred Gray and Frank Martin also draw up a very interesting picture of musical bands and groups that provided military and ceremonial music to the court. Some of these groups and their musical practices are believed to be among novelties fashioned after Europeans and introduced in Afghanistan during the reign of Amir Abd al-Rahmān.

> Outside were bands of music: at one time a native band with flageolets and drums was playing, then would follow a brass band, afterwards the bagpipes playing Scotch tunes. In the hall at the lower end were dancing boys, singers, and musicians (Gray1895/1987:481).
>
> The Armenian enquired if we should like some music, and he sent for a band of pipers. They marched with their bagpipes up and down in front of the tent

[22] The influence of Indian dance via the court of the Afghan Amirs on *logari* music and dance is noted in Zhwak's *Afghani Musiqi* (1370/1991:109-10).

> playing Scotch and Afghan tunes. There were several other bands about the garden—brass bands and native string bands—playing military and native music. There were dancing boys, conjurers, and *nautch* girls (Gray1895/1987:376).

As it emerges from these two quotations, the Afghan or native musicians, as they are identified in Gray's narrative, were members of two different native musical groups; namely, the band of drum and 'flageolet' players, and a group of string players. Gray, in naming these two native musical ensembles that supplied musical entertainment to the Amir's court, is not specific about their musical instruments and the style of their music. Flageolets, drums, and string instruments are general terms and do not help one in precisely identifying the musical instruments that constituted the two ensembles of native musicians at the Amir's court.

Dohl-o sūrnāy and the Afghan national dance *attan*

However, several other passages in Gray's narratives are of great assistance in clarifying the musical instruments that comprised the two native musical groups named by Gray. Considering the data from the two passages above and the next fragment from the same source, it is evident that the first band of native musicians only played outdoors and provided accompaniment to an Afghan outdoor group dance that is known as the *attan*.

> The musicians stood in the centre, their musical instruments being drums and pipes or flageolets. The latter were large, black instruments, bound with brass, and with a tone not unlike that of the bagpipes. They played an Afghan tune, most quaint to my ear, and the drums beat rhythmically, but with a rhythm quite different from anything I had heard in Europe. Then came forward about thirty Afghan soldiers, belonging to an artillery regiment. They were to dance an Afghan dance. ... The thirty solders formed a ring round the musicians; the drums beat a sort of slow march, and the dancers walked slowly round singing a chant in falsetto—one-half sang a verse, the other half answered. Presently the pipes began their shrill wailing, and the dancers moved faster, with a step something like a mazurka. Quicker and quicker grew the music, and quicker and quicker the dance. ... The circle widened and lessened at regular intervals, and the arms were waved and hands clapped simultaneously. The dancers became excited, uttering at intervals a sharp cry [that is called *de attan nari*]. Continuing the mazurka step, every dancer at each momentary pause in the

music whirled round on his toes to the right, then to the left. ... In time the dancers became exhausted, and dropped off one by one (Gray1895/1987:305).

In this description of a dance six features are noteworthy. These features are: (1) the formation of a ring round the musicians by the dancers, (2) the slow start of the dance that gradually becomes quicker and moves to an exciting climax, (3) their simultaneous clapping, (4) their sharp cry, (5) their whirling to the left and to the right, (6) and the drop off of dancers one by one. All these six features correspond to the features of the *attan*, which is considered the Afghan national dance.[23]

An ensemble consisting of musicians playing the *dohl* (a double-headed drum) and the *sūrnā* or *sūrnāy* (a shawm), together being known as the *dohl o-sūrnāy* band, supply musical accompaniment to the *attan*. This ensemble also is noted in the citation quoted above. Apart from the generic terms 'drums', 'pipes', and 'flageolets' that are employed for identifying the percussion and wind instruments of the native band that provided outdoor music at Amir Abd al-Rahmān's court, there are several other words giving one reasonable grounds to be more specific and to suggest that a band of *dohl* and *sūrnāy* players comprised this native band.

These words, used for the description of the wind instruments and the quality of their sound, are 'black', 'bound with brass', 'a tone not unlike that of the bagpipes', and 'shrill wailing'. These rather specific words might be used very aptly even today in a description of the shawm and its sound quality, known in Afghanistan as the *sūrnāy*.

The word 'black' refers to the dark colour of the *sūrnāy*, which sometimes is painted in black. In earlier times the *sūrnāy* has been represented with this colour in many miniatures paintings. The phrase 'bound with the brass' indicates two short metal cylindrical pieces attached round the *sūrnāy* that are used to prevent its wooden body from splitting. One brass

[23] A folk, group, round dance performed by Pashtūn men and women is considered to be the national dance of Afghanistan. A description of different versions of the *attan* is available in *Afghani Musiqi* (Zhwak 1370/1991). The *attan* is also discussed in *De Zhūwand Sandari* (Rishtin 1338/1959:112), *Volknusik in Afghanistan* (Hoerburger 1969:37-40), and 'Mili attan' (Zalmai 1350/1971:13,15). A description of the *attan*, or a version of the *attan*, is available in *Under the Absolute Amir of Afghanistan* (Martin 2000:72-73).

ring is located just below the mouthpiece and the other is placed above the bell of the instrument.[24]

The words 'shrill wailing' note the sharp, powerful and high-pitched sound of the instrument, which makes it an outdoor instrument similar to a bagpipe. The alikeness of the sound of the very 'large black instrument' to a bagpipe, as noted by Gray, is another reason that encourages one to suggest that one of the outdoor bands reported in several passages of Gray's narrative was a band of *dohl* and *sūrnāy* players.

Brass bands, bagpipes, and *naghārakhāna*

In addition to the group of *dohl* and *sūrnāy* players, three other outdoor bands playing at the court of the Amir and in military garrisons are reported in Gray and other British sources.[25] These three bands are a band of bagpipes, a brass band, and an ensemble of the *naghārakhāna*. The bagpipe and brass bands are among musical innovations introduced into Afghanistan during the reign of Amir Abd al-Rahmān. It is believed that these novelties were fashioned after those in the British army (Gregorian 1967:141), and that the formation of a bagpipe band also was a tribute to the fighting qualities of Highlanders (Martin 2000:224). The history of the brass band and the bagpipes will briefly be discussed in chapter 10.

> Two brass bands, with crowds round them, were hard at work, their style reminding one of a parish school band. Pipers were marching up and down, gaily playing Scotch tunes on their bagpipes. Native instruments were giving vent to moans, shrieks, and thuds (Gray 1895/1987:219).

The fourth band that provided outdoor music to the court of the Amir, which is also reported in Gray's memoirs, is an ensemble of the *naghārakhāna*. Though Gray does not

[24] An Afghan *sūrnāy* bound with a brass ring located below its mouthpiece and another above its bell is depicted in 'Afghan Musical Instruments: Sorna and Dohl' (Sakata 1980:93-96). Also, a *sūrnāy* with similar characteristics is in the possession of John Baily (personal communication, November 2002). For information on the band of *dohl* and *sūrnāy* in Afghanistan see Sakata's article above.

[25] The presence of a native band, a brass band, and a bagpipe band in the Afghan army is also reported in Martin (1907/2000:223-224).

mention the *naghārakhāna* specifically, the location of the band in a room over the gateway, its specific role of playing at sunrise and sunset, and also at certain other times, and the instrumental composition of the musical band—drums and wind instruments—clearly indicates the presence of a *naghāra* band or a *naghārakhāna*.

> On the wall over the gateway was a small cupola sheltering what appeared to be a telescope, but may have been a machine gun. From this tower issues at sunrise and sunset the wild native music of drums and horns, which is the invariable "*salaam-i subh*" [morning greeting] and "*salaam-i shām*" [evening greeting] of oriental kings. I woke up at daybreak by the weird monotonous howl of the horns and the distant rattle of the drums ([1895]1987:35).

It is reported that the last royal *naghārakhāna*, which was located in the very spot known today as the Pashtūnistān Square, functioned up to 1312/1933 and was destroyed during the re-building of the capital (anonymous 1350/1971:43). The history of the *naghārakhāna* in Afghanistan will be discussed briefly in chapter 10.

Amir Habibullah (1901-1919)

After the death of Amir Abd al-Rahmān, the throne of Afghanistan was passed to prince Amir Habibullah, who had been nominated by the Amir himself as his heir. Similar to his father, Habibullah had a keen interest in music and a strong affection for introducing technical and other European innovations to his court and his country. In 1908 he sponsored a Pianola recital at court (Gregorian 1969:201). Among other music-related inventions that made their first appearance in Afghanistan during the reign of Habibullah was the phonograph (Gregorian 1969.200). The musical panorama of Habibullah's court mostly reflected the musical environment of his father's court, where Pashtūn, Khurāsānian, and Indian musicians provided indoor musical entertainment.

Considering the presence of the three groups of musicians at the court of Amir Habibullah that sang and played in three different musical styles is important. It was within

this environment and during the preceding phase of the history of Afghan music that the first attempts were made by the Afghan/Indian musicians of Kabul towards adapting their music to the taste of their patrons. This process subsequently led to the creation of new vocal and instrumental genres that bear distinctly Afghan characteristics (Baily 1988:26). Additionally, some genres of Afghan folk music were also adapted into the repertoire of Afghan musicians of Indian origin. A clear identification of all three musical ensembles will also assist one in more clearly understanding the particular elements of the actual music that has been created within such an atmosphere and environment.

Pashtūn musicians

The presence of Pashtūn musicians and music at Habibullah's court is noted in a few sources that deal with the history of Afghan music, and also in the biographies of Afghan musicians. These sources indicate the presence of local musicians at the court of Amir Habibullah and his keen interest in the music of the Pashtūns. It is believed that he admired the art of Logari musicians (Zhwak 1370/1991:109). Gulbuddin Logari and Ali Gul Logari are named as his favourite musicians (Zhwak 1370/1991:109), who became well known in the 20th century in Afghanistan as singers of Pashto songs.[26]

At the beginning of the 20th century, during the reign of Amir Habibullah, very little is known about the music of the Pashtūns in general, and the music of the Logar valley in particular. Madadi in 1364/1985 reported that 'until 85 years ago [1279/1900] the music of Logar maintained its originality and Logari musicians including Mirak Kākā continued to function as story-tellers accompanying their performances on the *rabāb*' (1364/1985:50).

Traditionally, Pashtūn musicians fulfilled such a role in the past, as noted earlier in this chapter. It was within this period (1900-1920) that the music and the dance of Logar started to

[26] Unlike Ali Gul Logari, whose name is mentioned only in Zhwak (1370/1991:110), the name of Gulbuddin Logari as a master of Pashto songs emerges in other sources as well (Madadi 1375/1996:85, Rohina 1349/1970:4).

interact with the tradition of Hindustani music and dance, thanks to the occasional arrival of Logari musicians at Habibullah's court, where North Indian dance performed by *nautch* girls and music performed by Hindustani musicians dominated (Zhwak 1370/1991:110).

It has been reported earlier in this chapter that the activities of female entertainers were outlawed during Amir Habibullah. However, it should be noted that while this group of entertainers were banned from performing in front of males and in public, a small group of Hindustani female singers and dancers were allowed to provide musical entertainment for the female quarter of the royal seraglio or harem. Hira, Zahra, and Mina were female dancers of Amir Habibullah's harem (Naser Puran Qassemi, private communication, 2000, 2004).

Herati musicians and Khurāsānian music

The presence of two other groups of musicians and singers is reported in the following two personal accounts of contemporary Afghan musicians, who discuss the style of music and musical genres that were performed at the Afghan courts at the end of 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century.

> In that time *rāg*, *dorbot* (*dhrupad*), and *tarāna* were the common forms of singing and *gazal* was not performed often. Dari/Persia *gazals* were performed in the old Iranian style of signing (Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi 1350/1971:18).
>
> It is known that around 60-70 years ago in our beloved country two styles of music—namely, Iranian and Indian light music—were common (Asif Qassemi 1351/1972:43).

These two accounts indicate the two different musical styles that were mainly performed at the court of Amir Habibullah; namely, from the Iranian [Khurāsānian] and Indian performance traditions. In the two quotations just cited, the term *Irani* or Iranian most probably is employed for characterising of the music featured in this thesis as Khurāsānian, as we have previously noted. The appropriateness of the use of the concept 'Khurāsānian music'

for identifying the music of those musicians that are designated in the sources mentioned as performers playing and singing in a so-called Iranian style becomes more compelling when one takes into consideration the Herati origin of those musicians that served at the court of Amir Habibullah. According to John Baily, Haidar Namadmal and Haidar Pinah, singers and *chahārtār* players, and the *tabla* player Said Quraish, were Herati musicians called to Kabul in the time of Amir Habibullah to sing and play for the king (1988:20).

These three musicians are named in a list of musicians that sang and played in a so-called Iranian style form the reign of Amir Sher Ali and Amir Abd al-Rahmān onward (Rohina 1349/1970:4, Madadi 1575/1996:163). However, the accounts of Rohina and Madadi, two Afghan authors cited in a previous chapter, are incomplete and vague, especially compared to Baily's report, which is more specific about the origin and qualifications of the musicians, and the court where these three musicians were employed.

The main vocal genre of these musicians was Khurāsānian *ghazal* singing, characterised by John Baily as a form of old Persian music that dominated at the Kabul court (1988:26). As we shall see, this style of singing was most probably performed according to the old *maqām* principles, rather than according to the contemporary system of the *dastgāh* of Iran, which is primarily a development of the Qajar period in the 19th century (1785-1925) (Farhat 1990:5, 19). It is unlikely that Herati musicians would have adopted a musical system that only came into existence in Iran in the 19th century, especially as the primary foreign musical influence in Afghanistan in that time, even up to Herat, was from North India. At this time Afghan courts, politically and culturally, were more oriented to North India than Iran.

The general correspondence of the modes that were gathered by Baily (1988:22) from Mohammad Karim Khan,[27] to one or another of the contemporary Persian *dastgāh* modes, in terms of their scale, should not cause them to be considered as synonymous. We know that in

[27] Mohammad Karim Khan was the principle informant of Baily about Herati music from the 1920s to the 1970s. Haidar Pinah, a court musician of Kabul *c.*1901-1919, was the mentor of Mohammad Karim Khan (Baily 1988:20-21).

all modal concepts, any similarity in the pitch material of modes or scales is of relatively little significance in music performance (Farhat 1983:21). It is the melodic patterns or characteristic motifs that distinguishes modes of a similar scale structure (Farhat 1983:21). In this regard, as Baily has reported, there are very significant differences in the characteristic melodic motifs of the modes gathered from Mohammad Karim Khan and the contemporary Persian modes of the same name (1988:22).

Thus, it seems reasonable to suggest that those musicians of the Kabul court of Amir Habibullah, who performed in a so-called Iranian style, sang and played according to the system of *maqāms*, which prior to the development of the system of the twelve *dastgāhs* constituted the theoretical basis of the traditional music of Iran, Afghanistan and other areas of the Central Asia. Concerning the names of those modes, it should be noted that many of those titles, in addition to being employed for naming of the twelve *dastgāhs* and their components, are also used for the identification of modes in the different musical traditions of Central Asia, Kashmir, and the Middle East. Most of those titles, as it was reported previously in this thesis, were used for naming the modes used in Herat and other Khurāsānian cities.

Hindustani musicians

The third group of musicians at the court of Amir Habibullah, as reported in the citations above and in several other Afghan sources, were of Indian origin. Many of these Indian musicians were decedents of those Indian musicians who came to Afghanistan during the reign of Amir Sher Ali and Amir Abd al-Rahmān; for instance, (1) Ūstād Qurban Ali, the son of Mia Samandar, (2) Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki* (1886-1967), the son of Atta Hussain, and (3) Ūstād Qassem Afghan (1883-1956),[28] the son of Satar Joo. Others, such as

[28] In addition to the title 'Afghan', Ūstād Qassem's other titles and awards include the titles *Āftāb Musiqi* ('Sun of Music') (Anonymous 1352/1973:29), *Mu'jid Musiqi Afghan* ('The Founder, Inventor or Originator of Afghan Music') (Ūstād Nathu 1350/1971:15, Baily 1988:28), *Pir-e Kharābāt* ('The Saint of the *Kharābāt*') (Rawaq

(4) Ūstād Piyara Khan, came to Afghanistan within the period 1901 to 1919. Though this generation of Afghan/Indian musicians are remembered as singers, one should not rule out the possibility that in the beginning of their musical career, these musicians may have accompanied Indian female singing dancers, whose activities were banned in the first years of Amir Habibullah's rule.

As a working hypothesis one may consider that this ban, which denied female entertainers the opportunity to earn their living according to their ways, gave an opportunity to their accompanists to emerge as soloist singers and instrumentalists in their own right, in order to earn a living as musicians without losing their patronage. This greatly encouraged musicians to develop their skills and repertoire to the taste of their patrons, which led to the introduction and popularisation of *ghazal* singing in the tradition of Hindustani music, and the formation of the Afghan classical *ghazal*. Thus, it is not accidental that these and other musical innovations, introduced into the contemporary traditional music of Afghanistan, are associated with the names of musicians who emerged as singers and instrumentalists in the first quarter of the 20th century.

It has been reported that Ūstād Qassem started his musical career as a *rabāb* player at the court of Amir Habbibullah (anonymous 1352/1973:29), and used to accompany an Indian female singer [or most probably singing dancer] named Soobi Bigum (Rawaq 1996:79). The nick-name *Nātaki*, signifying 'a dancer, an actor, and a mime' in Sanskrit (Monier-Williams [1899]1976:534), most probably was given to Ūstād Ghulam Hussain because of his being a member of a dancing company (*nātak*), in which he as a singer perhaps accompanied female dancers.

Madadi, while indicating that Ūstād Ghulam Hussain was part of a *nātak* troupe, is of the opinion that this nick-name was given to him due to his live performances in the Paghman

1996:79). He was also awarded with the golden and diamond medals called respectively *Masarrat* ('Happiness') and *Yādgār Istiqlāl Watan* ('A Monument of the Fatherland's Independence') (Madadi 1375/1996:117).

cinema of Kabul, where he, in a company of other musicians, provided musical accompaniment to the silent movies (1362/1983:12-13). Unlike Madadi, Naser Puran Qassemi is more specific about the nick-name of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain. According to Naser Puran Qassemi, Ūstād Ghulam Hussain was part of big theatrical and musical group, which consisted of instrumentalists, singers, dancers, a juggler ('*sha'bada-bāz*'), and a puppeteer ('*pūtli-bāz*').

It was this generation of Indian musicians born in Afghanistan, or brought up there, that carried out historical changes in the musical practices of that time. These changes finally led to the formation of new vocal and instrumental genres that are a combination of the three musical traditions common earlier at Afghan courts. These reforms are linked with the names of Ūstād Piyara Khan, Ūstād Qurban Ali, Ūstād Qassem, and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain. These four musicians have found a place in the history of Afghan music for their particular contribution to its development.

Ūstād Piyara Khan, believed to be a pupil of Fateh Ali Khan and Jarnail Ali Bakhsh, the founders of the Patiala *gharāna* of Hindustani music, is credited by some with the introduction of this stylistic school of Hindustani music into Afghanistan (personal communication with Salim Bakhsh).[29] The Patiala *gharāna* is a famous style and vocal school of Hindustani music located in the Punjab. The Patiala *gharāna* is considered to be an offshoot of the Gwalior *gharāna* in its inspiration (Menon 1995:138, Amarnath 1989:85). Originally its style was founded by a family of musicians from Kasur, a small area near the Pakistani city of Lahore, who served at the court of the Maharaja of Patiala, and the school is named after this princely state. Clarity of intonation, purity and clearness of pitches, and a delicate spiritual ecstasy are among the main features of this school.[30]

[29] This communication occurred in February 1992 at a vocal class by Salim Bakhsh in the Centre for Classical Music Education of the Music Directory of the Ministry of Culture and Information in Kabul.

[30] A comprehensive description of the Patiala *gharāna* is available in *Indian Musical Traditions: an Aesthetic Study of Gharānas in Hindustani Music* (Deshpande 1987:53-62) and in *Khyāl: Creativity within North India's Classical Music Tradition* (Wade 1984:227-254).

It was through Piyara Khan and his Afghan pupils of Indian origin that Afghan musicians became associated with the Patiala *gharāna*. Ūstād Qassem Afghan perfected his vocal and musical knowledge in Hindustani music under Ūstād Piyara Khan. Piyara Khan, however, should not be considered as the only mentor of Ūstād Qassem. It has been reported that Ūstād Qassem started his musical training first under his father's instruction, and next he was trained by Ūstād Qurban Ali, and that lastly Piyara Khan was engaged in his musical tutoring (Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi 1350/1971:16, Madadi 1375/1996).

Ūstād Qassem further facilitated the links between Afghan musicians and the Patiala *gharāna*, especially through being engaged in the musical training of many *Kharābāti* musicians. Later Piyara Khan and his son Omid Ali Khan were also engaged in the musical training of Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi and Asif Qassemi, the sons of Ūstād Qassem Afghan.

Illus. 24. Ūstād Piyara Khan (left) and his pupil Ūstād Qassem.[31]

In addition to the five musicians noted in the paragraph immediately above, Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki*, and his decedents and pupils, also helped to secure the association of

[31] This is a detail of a larger photograph kindly given to me by Salim Bakhsh.

Afghan singers practicing North Indian classical music with the Patiala *gharāna*. Ūstād Mohammad Hussain Sarahang (1302/1923-1361/1983), a son of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki*, who is wrongly identified by Baily (1988:28) as the only son of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain [*Nātaki*], spent 16 years learning Hindustani music with one of the principle mentors of the Patiala *gharāna*, Ūstād Ashiq Ali Khan (Madadi 1375/1996:134).

Ūstād Ghulam Hussain married twice and had four sons and four daughters (Madadi 1375/1996:126). Sharif Ghazal, a grandson of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain, confirmed to the author that the number given by Madadi as the total number of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain's children is correct (Private conversation, 1992,). This number is demonstrated in the chart of genealogical line of Atta Hussain, the father of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain.

Ūstād Qurban Ali, a mentor of Ūstād Qassem Afghan, in addition to being credited with the introduction of *khyāl* into Afghanistan, is also identified as being the first musician to begin solo *ghazal* singing in Afghanistan (Madadi 1375/1996:112, 164), in the tradition of North Indian classical singing, in contrast to the earlier form of *ghazal* singing performed by Herati court musicians. According to Madadi, Qurban Ali was the first Afghan singer of Indian origin that used Dari/Persian poems instead of Urdu or Hindustani texts for his *ghazal*s. The poetic texts of his *ghazal*s were mostly selected from the poems of Bedil (Madadi 1375/1996:164), an Indian poet, who composed Dari/Persian poems. The passion of many contemporary Afghan singers for the poems of Bedil probably stems from the love of Qurban Ali and his pupil Ūstād Qassem for the mystic poems of Bedil.

The use of Dari/Persian texts by Qurban Ali most probably was part of an attempt taken by the new generation of Afghan/Indian musicians to adopt their music that "may have commanded high prestige amongst the Afghans but ultimately did not have much support outside a small circle of *aficionados*" (Baily 1988:26) to the taste of their patrons and the

Kabul artisan communities.[32] The hypothesis expressed by Baily in regard to Hindustani vocal genres and their status in Afghanistan at the end of the 19th century and the start of the 20th century is important, as it illustrates the relatively low level of popularity of the named genres, several decades after some serious attempts were made to popularise the Hindustani classical music that comprised the repertoire of many Afghan musicians.

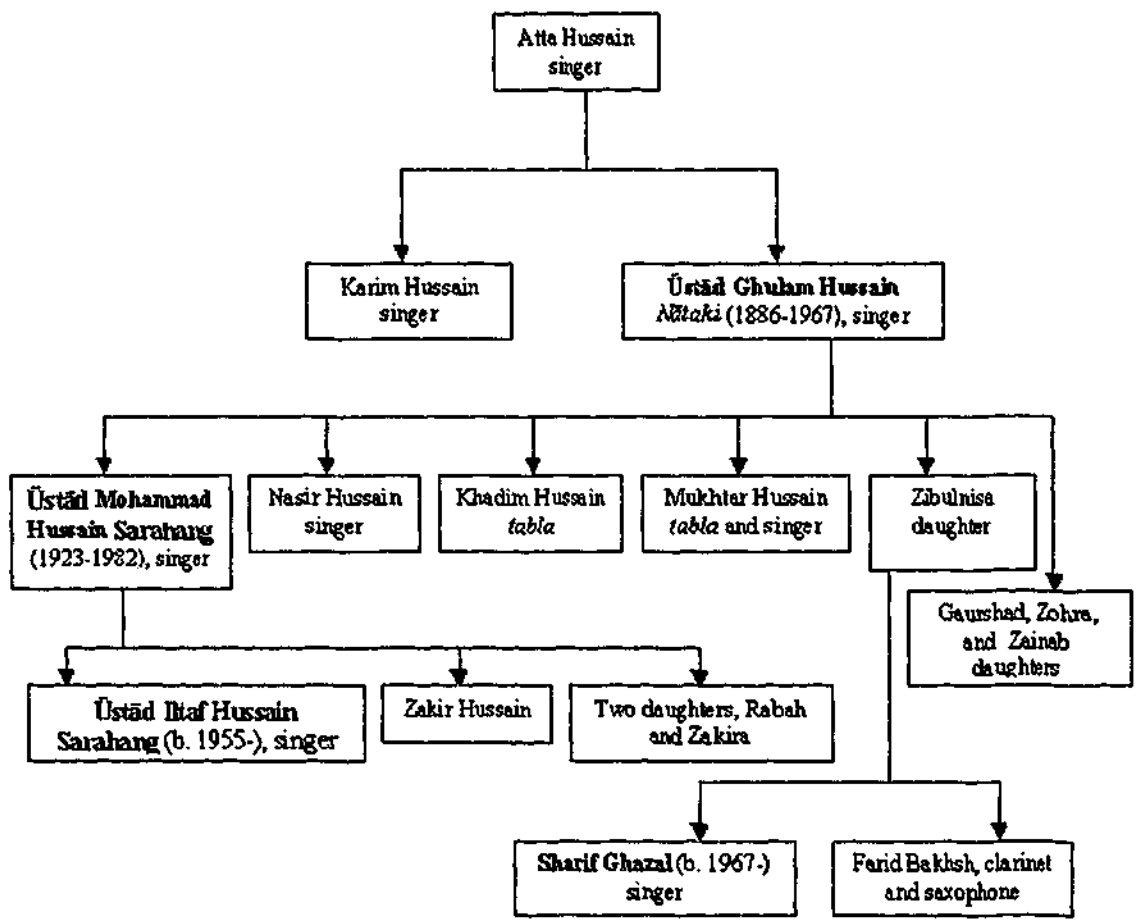

Fig. 8. A genealogical chart of the Hindustani musician Atta Hussain and his decedents for four generations, *c*. 1880-2004.

As it is pointed out by Baily (1988:44), there was even a series of radio programmes called *Klāsika Musiqi* ('Classical Music'), which had an educational intention, in which Ūstād Sarahang, interviewed by Madadi, talked about the principles of *rāg* and other aspects of

[32] According to Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi (1350/1971:16), Ūstād Nathu (1350/1971:23), and Din Mohammad Sārangi (Srur 1352/1973:13), during the rule of Abd al-Rahmān music became available outside the court to a larger range of audiences, which included Kabuli nobles, aristocrats, clerks and the different artisan communities. Musicians, in addition of providing musical entertainment for weddings, also played at parties and the gathering of various artisan groups celebrating various traditional festivities.

North Indian classical music. These two individuals also presented another radio programme named *De Āhangūno Mahfil* ('A Party of Songs'), which was an educational programme that concentrated on the *ghazal* and explanations of its poetry. The author of this thesis holds a huge number of the recordings of both programmes. Several recordings of the *Klāsika Musiqi* are referred to in the next chapter of this thesis.

It should be noted that the adoption of Dari or Pashto poems for a Hindustani compositional form as a means to adapt one or another Hindustani genre to the taste of a much broader Afghan audience, continued. In the late 20th century, contemporary Afghan singers used this technique, started by Qurban Ali, to replace the original text of Hindustani vocal genres such as *khyāl* and *tarāna*, in order to give them an Afghan tinge. This attempt made by Afghan musicians will be discussed in the next chapter, which considers the history and use of Hindustani vocal genres in Afghanistan.

Before concluding this chapter it should be noted that the music and contribution of Ūstād Qassem and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain, two of the court musicians of Habibullah noted at the beginning of this section, will be discussed separately in chapter 8. This is appropriate because the development of music in Afghanistan in the 20th century is linked with name of these two musicians and a few more musicians. The history and further development of music since 1919 onward is discussed in the forthcoming chapters in one or another form, separate of court life. This change is because of social and cultural changes in the lives and social status of musicians.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced the arrival of Indian musicians to Afghanistan and their primary function. Within this discussion, it has introduced the untold story of Indian female singers and dancers, the *kanchanis*, the presence of whom in the world of Afghan

entertainment is consciously hidden. It has been reported that Indian musicians and female entertainers came to Afghanistan from a few districts of North India. It has been suggested that they have may performed according two styles of performance; namely, Kashmiri classical music and North Indian or Hindustani music.

It seems likely that the majority of Indian musicians were brought in as part of troupes specifically to provide musical accompaniment for the Indian female entertainers, and were not employed as instrumentalists and vocal soloists in their own right. Nonetheless, one should not ignore the possibility that some of those Indian musicians and entertainers were highly skilled singers and musicians with a profound knowledge of *rāg* and *rāgnīs*, and sufficiently competent to cultivate the spread and performance of Hindustani classical and semi-classical vocal genres.

It as been argued that the immoral activities of a few of those Hindustani female entertainers, who were associated with prostitution, have put a disgrace on the entire class of female singers and dancers and led to a very important change in the meaning of *kanchani*, which accounts for the fact that up to the date the actual history of Indian female entertainers and their accompanying Indian musicians in Afghanistan has been untold or greatly misrepresented.

Also, in this chapter the presence of Pashtūn musicians and their collaboration with Indian musicians were noted. It has been suggested that in the late 19th century Pashtūn musicians, in addition to fulfilling their traditional functions, such as singing love stories, ballads, odes and telling stories, while accompanying their songs on the *rabāb*, also performed as accompanists to the Hindustani dancing girls.

Furthermore, we reported on the presence of Khurāsānian singers and musicians at Afghan courts next to their Indian and Pashtūn colleagues. It has been suggested that those musicians of the Kabul courts who performed in a so-called Iranian style, sang and played

according to the system of *maqāms*, which prior to the development of the system of the twelve *dastgāhs* in Iran, the *shashmaqāms* in Central Asia, and the arrival of the Hindustani *rāgs* in Afghanistan, constituted the theoretical basis of the traditional music of Iran, Central Asia, and Afghanistan. Also, this chapter has considered the outdoor music of Afghan courts and the musical bands of *dohl* and *sūrnāy*, brass and bagpipe bands, and the *naghārakhāna*, all of which had both a ceremonial and a military function.

Noting and considering the presence of all these different groups of musicians, who spoke in different musical languages and cultivated their own music, is important. It may assist one in better understanding the essence of the contemporary art and popular music of Afghanistan, which was formed within such a rich musical environment. The contemporary art and popular music of Afghanistan reflects the imprints of all the musical cultures discussed in this chapter. Nonetheless, the influence of North Indian classical music and dance is more evident in many aspects of contemporary music and dance of Afghanistan, as we shall see in forthcoming chapters.

Chapter 8

The Development of Contemporary Vocal and Instrumental Genres in the Art Music of Afghanistan

It has been noted in the previous chapter of this thesis that with the arrival of Hindustani musicians in Afghanistan, new musical ideas and practices were introduced into this country. These innovations included the conceptual music entities of *rāg*, *rāgni* and *tāl*, and various vocal and instrumental genres of Hindustani music. As we noted in the previous chapter, contemporary Afghan musicians name the following four vocal genres—*dorbot* (Hindustani *dhrupad*), *khyāl*, *tarāna*, and *thumri*—as genres which were cultivated by their Hindustani ancestors at the Afghan courts in the 19th century. As we shall see in this chapter, sometime during the early years of the 20th century *ghazal* singing in the tradition of Hindustani music was added to these genres.

The first part of this chapter will discuss the genres of Hindustani music named above. The second part of this chapter will consider the creative role of two Afghan musicians—Ūstād Qassem Afghan and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki*—in the creation and development of three genres of contemporary music in Afghanistan; the Afghan classical *ghazal*, *tarz*, and *naghma chārtuk*. Though these three genres are thoroughly discussed and described in a monograph and several articles by John Baily, our discussion will present another point of view about the origin of these musical genres of contemporary music in Afghanistan.

Hindustani genres

Dorbot (*dhrupad*)

The *dhrupad*, which is known in Afghanistan as, is a genre of Hindustani vocal music considered to be the most serious form among other vocal compositions that comprise the panorama of Hindustani vocal genres (Wade 2000:161). Its structure consists in part of a long

improvisation (*ālāp*), which opens the performance of a *dhrupad*. In this textless opening section, the singer, using meaningless syllables such as *na* and *re* in a free meter, thoroughly explores and illustrates the identifying aspects of a *rāg*.

After demonstrating the aspects of the *rāg*, the singer, accompanied by a *pakhāvaj* player, presents the *dhrupad*'s composition, which is comprised of four parts; namely, the *sthāi*, *antarā*, *sanchāri*, and *ābhog*. Wade reports that until the early 20th century *dhrupad* was performed with all its four parts, but that contemporary performers of this genre usually sing only the first two parts, which are short distinct melodies consisting of two, three or four textual phrases (2000:169). This vocal genre of Hindustani music, which is believed to have been cultivated at the court of Afghan rulers sometime during the late 19th century and the early 20th century, is now obsolete in Afghanistan. Up to today, I have not been able to find any recording of this genre performed by an Afghan-Indian musician of the past or present.[1]

Khyāl

Khyāl is a vocal genre of Hindustani music considered to be second in prestige among the Hindustani vocal genres after *dhrupad* (Wade 2000:170). Afghan musicians and singers trained in Hindustani music credit the poet and musician Amir Khusrau (1251-1326) with the creation of this genre of Hindustani music.[2] As Wade has pointed out (1984:1), Amir Khusrau is also considered in many Indian sources as the originator of *khyāl*.[3] As it has been reported in the previous chapter of this thesis, Ūstād Qurban Ali is credited with the introduction of *khyāl* in Afghanistan *c.* 1900.

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[1] For a comprehensive description of the *dhrupad* see Srivastava's *Dhrupada: a Study of its Origin, Historical Development, Structure, and Present State* (1980). Representative contemporary vocal performances of *dhrupad* are available on the CD *Chant Dhrupad* (Dagar 1989).

[2] Ūstād Sarahang, in *Klāsika Musiqi: Tashrihāt Sorāhi Komol* Wa *Tiwar*, identifies Amir Khusrau as the creator of *khyāl*, *tarāna*, *qawali*, and several musical instruments and melodic modes (*rāgs*) (Radio Afghanistan Archives, tape 2699, part 1).

[3] A detailed study of *khyāl* is available in *Khyāl: Creativity within North India's Classical Music Tradition* (Wade 1984).

The compositional structure and performance manner of a *khyāl* in Afghanistan reflects the form of a Hindustani *khyāl*. The composition of a *Khyāl* consists of two sections, the *āstāi-e* (Hindustani *sthāi*) and *antara* (Hindustani *antarā*). The *āstāi-e* section is composed and sung within the range of the lower tetrachord, while the melody of the *antara* rises to the upper octave and explores the upper ranges of a *rāg*, before returning to the *āstāi-e*. In a manner similar to India, the term *bandish* is used by Afghan musicians for the identification of a classical composition.

The terms *āstāi-e* (*sthāi*) and *antara* (*antarā*) are used in North Indian classical music for identifying the first and second portion of any Hindustani musical form. In Afghanistan these two concepts, in addition to being used as in India for the definition of parts of classical and semi-classical genres, also are employed for the classification of parts of any musical composition that mostly consist of two parts, plus an instrumental or vocal prelude, *shakl* or *ālāp*, and an instrumental interlude, *naghma*. In Afghanistan, as Baily has reported (1988:61-62) and as the author of this thesis has experienced during his own artistic life in Afghanistan, the notions *āstāi-e* and *antara* are used for the identification of the refrain and verse section of any song. In classical traditions *āstāi-e* is composed and sung within the range of the lower tetrachord, while the melody of the *antara* rises to the upper octave and explores the upper ranges of a *rāg*. Such a melodic distinction exposed between *āstāi-e* and *antara*, in classical and semi-classical traditions, is also observed between the refrain and verse of an Afghan-composed or popular song, in which the melody of the verse (*antara*) is sung in a higher tessitura than the melody of the refrain (*āstāi-e*) (Baily 1988:61-62).

The performance of a *khyāl* usually consists of two parts. The slow or medium-tempo song of the first section, which is named *barā* ('large') *khyāl* in the tradition of Hindustani music (Wade 2000:172), is identified in Afghanistan as *khyāl āhista* ('slow *khyāl*') (Ūstād

Sarahang).[4] The fast song of the second section, which is known in North India as *chotā* ('small') *khyāl* (Wade 2000:172), is named by Afghan classical singers as *drot khyāl* ('fast *khyāl*') (Ūstād Sarahang).[5]

The dependency of the classification of *khyāl* categories on their tempos, as has been pointed out by Wade (2000:172.), is also used for naming the two categories of a *khyāl* composition in Afghanistan, where they are named according to their respective tempos as *āhista* ('slow') and *drot* ('fast'). The performance of a *khyāl* begins with the *khyāl āhista* followed without a break by a *drot khyāl*, usually in the same *rāg* but in a different *tāl*. Occasionally the *drot khyāl* is replaced by a *tarāna*, which is a semi-classical genre of Hindustani music discussed later in this chapter. Track 1 of CD 1 accompanying this thesis, performed by Ūstād Mussa Qassemi in *achum rāg* is an example of such a replacement.[6]

An improvised section in free metre called *ālāp*, usually precedes the introduction of the actual composition of a *khyāl*. Nonetheless, this section might be omitted. After this improvised section the presentation of composition follows, which begins in a slow tempo, which accelerates gradually and reaches its peak by the end of the *drot khyāl*.

The word *ālāp*, synonymously used in Afghanistan with the term *shakl*, signifying 'figure', 'form', 'shape', 'image', 'face', denotes the opening section of a vocal or an instrumental composition in which a performer, while observing all the laws that govern the principles of melodic modes (*rāgs*), exposes and imparts the melodic aspects of a *rāg* in a section without a metric pulse, and without the accompaniment of the drummer. It should be noted that Afghan instrumentalists predominantly use the term *shakl*, while among Afghan singers the term *ālāp* is used for the identification of such a section of a vocal genre. The duration and the complexity of this section depend on the musical forms that it precedes. It

[4] Ūstād Sarahang, *Klāsika Musiqi, rāg hindol* (Radio Afghanistan Archives, tape 2916, part 1).
[5] Ūstād Sarahang, *Klāsika Musiqi, rāg hindol* (Radio Afghanistan Archives, tape 2916, part 1).
[6] The original recording of this *khyāl* performed by Ūstād Mussa Qassemi in *achum rāg*, is held Radio Afghanistan Archives, tape 5107, part 1.

also should be noted that in vocal music this improvised part of a composition is textless and syllables such as *ā*, *nā*, and *re* are used for exposing a melodic mode with all its features. A detailed description of *shakl* is available in Baily (1988:68).

The manner in which the composition is presented differs from song to song and from singer to singer. A performer may present both sections (*āstāi-e* and *antara*) of a *khyāl* together, before concentrating on a long improvisation, which, similar to the opening section, is called *ālāp*. But, unlike the opening *ālāp*, this improvised section is accompanied by a metric cycle (*tāl*), which in Afghanistan starts after the presentation of the composition. In some instances the singer may not chose to perform the *antara* at all.[7] On other occasions, an Afghan classical singer may choose to complete their performance after the presentation of the first category, *khyāl āhista*, without performing second category, *drot khyāl*.

The ensemble that accompanies a *khyāl* performer in Afghanistan usually consists of four musical instruments; namely, a *tampūra*, the two melody-producing instruments *dilrūba* and *armonia*, and a drum player, playing *tabla*. The singer usually accompanies himself on a multi-stringed drone instrument called *surmandal* (Hindustani *svaramandala*). This latter instrument has been described in chapter 4.

It also should be noted that in Afghanistan *khyāl* compositions are named after the *rāgs* in which they are composed. A very large number of *khyāl* compositions performed by the two leading Afghan classical singers, Ūstād Sarahang (1923-1982) and Ūstād Mussa Qassemi (1936-1995), held at the Archives of Radio Afghanistan, are simply identified by the name of a *rāg*. A very simple analysis of these recording quickly establishes their *khyāl* genre and compositional form.

The majority of *khyāls* performed by Afghan singers are in Hindi. There have been attempts to adapt Dari/Persian or Pashto texts to this Hindustani vocal genre. These attempts

[7] For an example of such a performance see *kāfi rāg*, track 1in CD Ūstād Iltaf Hussain Sarahang (1996).

most probably were part of an effort to adapt this and the other Hindustani genres used by Afghan musicians to a much broader Afghan audience, rather than to a small group of *aficionados* and the educated population in the sophisticated capital. This adaptation, aimed to give Hindustani genres an Afghan tinge, is not the only innovation introduced into this and other Hindustani vocal genres by Afghan singers.

The introduction or interpolation of a semi-melodic section called *shāh fard* ('a king verse') or *shāh bait* ('a king couplet'), within the framework of Hindustani vocal genres, is another important innovation introduced by Afghan singers. The *shāh fard* or *shāh bait*, which is identified in some sources just as a *fard* or a *beit* (Baily 1988:62), is a selected couplet with a mystic, philosophical, moral, or a love massage. It is an extra verse picked up from another poem and inserted between the opening couplet (*matla*) and the following verses of a *ghazal* poetic text, the latter two of which in a musical form function respectively as the refrain and verses, termed *āstāi-e* and *antara*. As Baily has reported (1988:62), it should be noted that sometimes a quatrain (*rubā'i*) is used as a *shāh fard*.

The melody of a *shāh fard* or *shāh bait* mostly has a recitative character and it is recited without a metric pulse. It might be inserted in the *āstāi-e* after an improvisation and before the *antara*, or after the *antara* before the return of the *āstāi-e*. In other words, a *shāh fard*, with its semi-melodic character, which is considered to be a distinguishing element of *ghazal* singing in Afghanistan, sometimes is inserted into forms of Indian classical vocal genres similar to the manner in which it is allowed in tradition of *ghazal* singing in Afghanistan.

The replacement of the original Hindi or Urdu texts by Dari/Persian texts in some instances, and the insertion of *shāh fards* into genres of Hindustani vocal music such as *khyāl*, *tarāna*, and *thumri*, lead to a certain level of distortion or deviation in these genres, causing each of them to sound somewhat similar to a *ghazal*, the beloved genre of many Afghans.

Such an adaptation makes Hindustani vocal genres linguistically more accessible and acceptable, and causes listeners to be more sympathetic to what they have considered before to be a foreign style of music. Many examples of these two types of change are to be found among the recordings of Ūstād Sarahang (1923-1982), Ūstād Mussa Qassemi (d.1995), Ūstād Iltaf Hussain Sarahang, Sharif Ghazal, Sameh Rafi, and others.

Below is given an analysis of a *khyāl* with a Dari/Persian lyric, into which have been inserted two *shāh fards*, into the compositional structure of a Hindustani *khyāl*. This composition (track 2 of CD 1), performed by Ūstād Sarahang, is composed in *bairo rāg* (Hindustani *Bhairav*). The use of a Dari/Persian text in the first part of this composition (*khyāl āhista* or *barā khyāl*), and the introduction of *shāh fards* within the mentioned section, causes this piece to be received as a Kabuli *ghazal*. However, a detailed study of this piece indicates that its original form is a classical Hindustani *khyāl*, with all its attributes.

The performance of this composition, as in the performance of any other classical *khyāl*, starts slowly in a complex metric mode of North Indian classical music. The metric mode of this piece is *jab-tāl* (Hindustani *jhaptāl*), consisting of ten *mātras* (Hindustani *mātrās*), 2 + 3 + 2 + 3. This composition in a slow metre, which because of its Dari text and the use of *shāh fards* sounds like a *ghazal*, represents a *barā khyāl*. The manner of the presentation of this *barā khyāl* is straightforward. Nonetheless, the absence of the short prelude (*ālāp*) that often precedes the singing of a *barā khyāl*, and the use of two languages in this performance—namely, Dari/Persian for the *barā khyāl* and Hindi for the *chotā khyāl*—and the insertion of *shāh fards* are among peculiarities of this presentation.

The performance starts immediately with the *āstāi-e*, followed by the *antara*. Soon after the return of the *āstāi-e*, the performance begins the first *ālāp*-style improvisation. This short *ālāp* is followed by the return of the *āstāi-e*, after which the first appears. Contrary to the recitative and semi-melodic character of *shāh fards* in general, however, this *shāh fard* has a

melodic character and in this instance it functions as a *bol ālāp*,[8] followed by the return of the *āstāi-e* again. The text of this *shāh fard*, given below, is a quatrain (*rubā'i*), a poetic form of four lines. This poetic form is used initially by Ūstād Sarahang in this performance as the source for both the *āstāi-e* and the *antara* at the beginning of the *khyāl* performance. The first two lines become *āstāi-e*, and the second two lines the *antara* in this *barā khyāl*.

One should also note that the second *shāh fard*, given below, introduced between the *barā khyāl* and a *chotā khyāl*, plays a connecting role between the two categories of this *khyāl* performance and makes the transition smoother between the two sections. The poetic structure of this second *shāh fard* is a couplet, *bait*, consisting of two *misras*. This second *shāh fard* is recited after a series of improvisations that include almost all types of improvisation associated with the *khyāl*.[9] Now is given the complete text of this *barā khyāl* in three parts; *āstāi-e*, and *antara*, first *shāh fard* and second *shāh fard*.

āstāi-e

Ba bāgh-e ke choon sobeh dida būdam
Ze har barg-e gool dāmani chida būdam

antara

Marā in manādist o dar shahr khūbān
Ke gum kardaim dil kasi dida nashad

As I collected various types of flower
From the garden in which I walked in the morning,
In the city of fairs I have to ask everyone
About my heart I lost there.

first *shāh fard*

Marā tā mahram ān rāz kardand
Ba gosh-e man ze ghaib āwāz kardand
Nafas dar qālib ādam na meraft
Daroon sinah-e o sāz kardand

A sound coming from a concealed place

[8] This is an improvised section of a North Indian vocal form in which the text or separate words of the text (*bols*) of the composition are used in the *ālāp* section that follows the introduction of the actual composition as a potential force in elaborating and shaping the musical features of one or another *rāg*.

[9] In Hindustani tradition, the following six types of improvisation are usually associated with a *khyāl*: *bol-ālāp*, *nom-tom*, *bol-bānt*, two kinds of *tān* (*boltān* and *ākārtān*) and *sargam* (Wade 2000:173).

Confided to me the secret of
Music being played inside the body of man,
So that the soul might enter.

second *shāh fard*

Pāyem pish az sari in kolı namirawad
Yārān khabar dihed ki in jilwa-gāh kist

O friends, tell me who's splendour prevents me
From passing through this quarter

After the appearance of the second *shāh fard*, followed by the return of the *āstāi-e* again, the slow section of this composition changes into a faster song in the same *rāg*, but in a different *tāl*. The slow *jap-tāl* changes to fast *tin-tāl*, which has 16 *mātras* grouped into 4 + 4 + 4 + 4. A transition from one *tāl* to another is the procedure usually followed for the performance of a *khyāl*, which depending on the tempo of its two compositions, is classified into two sections. A *barā khyāl* is followed by a *chotā khyāl*.

In this performance 8 factors identify the form of this piece as being clearly within the *khyāl* genre. These 8 factors are: (1) the change of metric modes, (2) an increase in the tempo, (3) a change in the mood of songs performed in the first and second sections, (4) the execution of a relatively lengthy and virtuoso-type *ālāp*, together with (5) *bol ālāp*, (6) *sargam*,[10] (7) *tān*,[11] and (8) *ākārtān*,[12] types of improvisation in the first and second songs. These eight aspects also give one reasonable grounds to identify the first song of this composition as a *barā khyāl* rather than a *ghazal*. Nonetheless, the use of a Dari/Persian text and the insertion of two *shāh fards* cause an unexperienced and an uneducated listener in Afghanistan to accept it

[10] The word *sargam*, which is a contraction of *sā, re, ga, ma*—the names of the first four notes in the system of North Indian musical notation—is the name for Indian solfa performance by vocalists. In vocal compositions it refers to improvised phrases employing the solfa syllables as means of improvisation.
[11] The term *tān*, known in Afghanistan also as *gulū-zadan* (lit. vibrating the throat or gullet), is a word employed for the identification of fast ascending and descending improvised virtuosic melodic passages used as tools of improvisation in classical or semi-classical forms of North Indian classical vocal music.
[12] The *ākārtān* is a fast melodic improvised figure in which the syllable *ā* by the vocalist, is used.

as a *ghazal*. Below is given a detailed analysis of this *khyāl*, which is identified by its Dari/Persian poetry text.

The compositional structure of *Ba bāgh-e ke choon sobeh dida būdam*

Sections	**Time**
āhista or *barā khyāl*	
tampūra and tuning the *tabla*	0-09
āstāi-e	09-1.04
antara	1.05-1.26
āstāi-e	1.26-1.39
ālāp	1.40-1.50
āstāi-e	1.51-2.04
first *shāh fard* used as *bol ālāp*	2.05-2.59
āstāi-e	2.59-3.15
sargam	3.15-3.40
āstāi-e	3.40-3.54
antara	3.54-4.07
ālāp	4.08-4.41
antara	4.41-4.51
āstāi-e	4.52-5.08
tān	5.09-5.11
āstāi-e	5.11-5.19
ālāp	5.19-6.01
āstāi-e	6.02-6.19
sargam	6.19-6.40
āstāi-e	6.40-6.47
sargam	6.47-7.07
āstāi-e	7.07-7.20
sargam	7.21-7.50
āstāi-e	7.50-8.03.
ākārtān	8.03-8.08
āstāi-e	8.09-8.16

second *shāh fard*	8.16-8.37
āstāi-e	8.38-8.51
drot or *chotā khyāl*	
āstāi-e	8.51-9.16
tān	9.16-9.19
āstāi-e	9.19-9.23
tān	9.23-9.30
āstāi-e	9.31-9.38
sargam	9.39-10-10.00
āstāi-e	10.01-10.08
ālāp	10.10-10.45
āstāi-e	10.45-11.24

One should note that a local text is not always used in the *khyāl āhista* section. In some instances, while the original Indian text of the *khyāl āhista* remains intact, the original Indian text of the *drot khyāl* is replaced by a text sung in one of the two main languages of Afghanistan, Dari/Persian or Pashto. Also, it should be noted that Dari or Pashto texts might replace the original Indian text in both sections of a *khyāl*. Sometimes Afghan singers, while performing an Indian composition with its original Indian text, might insert one or several Dari/Persian *shāh fard*s within them. This practice, which leads to a marked change in the musical form, is often used during the live performance of a *thumri*, and also when performing Hindi or Urdu *ghazal*s. The text that replaces the original text of the Indian compositions, as well as the verses that are used as *shāh fard*s, are selected from the collections of Dari/Persian poets, and sometimes are composed by singers themselves as well.

Tarāna

A *tarāna* is a vocal composition of North India that employs syllables of various origins instead of a poetic or prosodic text. The usual syllables met in a *tarāna* are *tā nā*, *dir*

dir, *tā no*, *tom*, *ni*, and others. Nonetheless, occasionally a *tarāna* includes a Dari/Persian couplet that reveals its historical link to Indo-Muslim culture and music (Wade 2000:179). The use of separate Dari/Persian words, or a set of them connected to the ecstatic state of Sufis as syllables of *tarāna*, and its Dari/Persian name signifying 'a song or a melody' (Steingass1957:293), are among other elements of this genre demonstrating its connection with the Muslim world in general and with Sufi songs of *qawwali* singers in particular.[13]

This textless composition in two parts is comprised of an *āstāi-e* and *antara*. Traditionally, Hindustani musicians and scholars believe that Amir Khusrau (1251-1326) invented the *tarāna* (Amir Khan 1966:22, Ranade 1990:30). Afghan singers also credit Amir Khusrau with the creation of this Hindustani vocal genre, which likewise is an integral part of the repertoire of Afghan classical singers.

This song usually is performed in its own right in a medium or fast tempo. Occasionally, however, as has been pointed out earlier in this chapter, a *tarāna* replaces the second song in a *khyāl* performance. The performance of a *tarāna* as an independent genre begins with a short *ālāp* in free metre, which is followed by the presentation of the *āstāi-e* and *antara* in a moderate tempo, which gradually is increased. When a *tarāna* is performed as the second composition in a *khyāl* performance, the *tarāna* starts with the immediate introduction of its compositional structure in a fast tempo.

Usually, Afghan singers, similar to their Hindustani counterparts, use syllables instead of a poetic or prosodic text when singing a *tarāna*. Occasionally, however a Dari/Persian or a Pashto couplet adapted by Afghan singers replaces the original syllables of a *tarāna*. Thus, one may consider the replacement of the syllables of a *tarāna* by a Pashto couplet as an innovation of contemporary Afghan musicians. By comparison, considering the inclusion of a

[13] For Persian words used as syllables in a *tarāna* and their connection with the Sufi world see Amir Khan (1966:22-23).

Dari/Persian text in the context of a *tarāna* as an innovation of contemporary Afghan musicians is somewhat problematic.

The emergence of a Dari/Persian couplet within a *tarāna* seems to have an earlier precedent in Hindustani music. Wade reports that occasionally a Dari/Persian couplet is included in the original form of a *tarāna*, revealing its historical link to Indo-Muslim culture and music (2000:179). It is also believed that a Dari/Persian couplet in the poetic form *rubā'i* essentially contributed to the formation of *tarāna* (Ranade 1990:30). Tracks number 3 and 4 of CD 1 accompanying this thesis, are examples of a *tarāna*, respectively using syllables and a poetic text for the creation of these two songs. Track number 3 is performed by Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki* and his son Ūstād Sarahang, in the melodic mode *gujri todi* and the metric mode *tin-tāl*. Track number 4, is performed by Sharif Ghazal, the grandson of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain. It is a *tarāna* composed in the *rāg darbāri* and the metric mode *yak-tāl*.

Thumri

The *thumri* is a semi-classical vocal form of Hindustani music closely associated with dance, dramatic gestures, evocative love poetry, and folk songs.[14] From the early period of its formation as a folk song, from which it later developed into accompanying music for the *kathak* dance, until the first half of the 20th century, *thumri* was the core repertoire of well-trained courtesan singers. It was then that male singers, including the *khyāl* performers, took over the artistic singing of *thumri* from the female dancing singers traditionally associated with this genre, as they lost the support of their partons because of the socio-political events that had taken place in the 19th and 20th centuries in India. In this manner *thumri* became a part of the repertoire of many *khyāl* performers and started to exist separately from dance performances and became more classicised.

[14] A comprehensive study of *thumri* is available in Manuel's *Thumri in Historical and Stylistic Perspectives* (1989). Introductory information in this paragraph is based on this source.

Ūstād Karim is identified as the singer who introduced the *thumri* genre into Afghanistan (Madadi 1357/1996:165). This genre, similar to *khyāl* and *tarāna*, consists of two sections, *āstāi-e* and *antara*. According to Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal, as reported in Madadi (1357/1996:156) light *rāgs* are used to sing *thumri* in Afghanistan,such as *bairawi*, *pāri*, *kamāch*, *talang*, *sindi bairawi* (Hindustani *bhairvi*, *pahari*, *khamāj*, *tilang*, and *sindhi bhairvi*). A few more *rāgs* are often used for singing and composing *thumri* in North India and in Afghanistan. A list of the recordings of several Afghan musicians held at the Archive of Radio Afghanistan allows one to add *Pilo*, (Hindustani *Pilū*) and *Kāfi* to the *rāgs* just named.

Thumri, with its original form, is an important element of the repertoire of the Afghan singers and instrumentalists trained in Hindustani music. The text of a *thumri* composition, which is the most important aspect of this genre (Wade 2000:181), remains intact in Afghanistan, where *thumris* are performed in Hindi or Urdu, rather than in one of the two main languages of Afghanistan, Dari/Persian or Pashto. According to Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal (personal communication 2003), and Sharif Ghazal (personal communication, 2004), *thumris* are romantic songs about love.

Unlike India, where this genre is performed in various contexts, which include special *thumri* concerts, *kathak* dance performances, and classical concerts, in Afghanistan it is performed only in the framework of a classical concert, and also as an independent genre of semi-classical music for radio broadcasting.

Additionally, unlike North India, where a *thumri* is referred to by the first line of the text (Wade 2000:181), in Afghanistan the name of the genre '*thumri*', plus the name of a *rāg*, which sometimes appear in reverse order, are used to refer to a *thumri* composition, such as *thumri kamāch*, or *kamāch thumri*. In this manner, recordings of hundreds of *thumri* compositions performed by Afghan singers are listed as part of the Archives of Radio Afghanistan. Singers themselves also use this style of identification. Track 5 of CD 1 is a

thumri composition in the *kamāch rāg* and *kehrwa* (Hindustani *kaharvā*) *tāl* performed by Ūstād Mussa Qassemi.[15] Track 6 of CD 1 is an instrumental example of *thumri*, in *misher*[16] *kamāch* set in *kehrwa tāl*. Mohammad Kabir performs this composition on the *dilrūba*.

On some occasions, Afghan virtuosos trained in North Indian classical singing introduce some elements and vocal principles of Hindustani music into several Afghan vocal forms of folk origin, such as *landay* and *chahārbaiti*. The insertion of Hindustani vocal elements into Afghan folk songs, as we shall see later in this chapter, started decades ago, when Afghan folk songs were adapted into the repertoire of Afghan musicians of Indian origin. Ūstād Qassem Afghan and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki* were the first Afghan musicians who introduced some elements of Hindustani vocal technique into Afghan folk songs. Early examples of such a treatment of Afghan folk songs are available among the recordings of these two singers, whose musical art and contribution to the contemporary music of Afghanistan is discussed below.

This tradition continued in the singing of contemporary Afghan classical singers, who by inserting a few techniques of Hindustani singing, such as *ālāp*, *tān*, and *sargam*, and by exploiting the emotional meaning conveyed by the words, which is an important aspect of *thumri* performance, raise the prestige and the artistic value of Afghan vocal genres to the status of *thumri* and *ghazal*. Track 7 of CD 1, O *khuda jan* ('O dear God') is an example of such an artistic rework of an Afghan folk song performed by Ūstād Sarahang.[17]

Having considered the four genres of Hindustani music that were introduced in Afghanistan at the end of 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century, it is appropriate to discuss a few other genres of Afghan music closely associated with the name of Ūstād Qassem Afghan and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki*.

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[15] The original recording of this performance is held at the Archives of Radio Afghanistan, tape 5107, part 2.
[16] *Misher* is a term used by Afghan musicians for the identification of a *rāg* that is a combination of two or more *rāgs*.
[17] This track is borrowed from the CD of Ūstād Sarahang, *The Last Performance in India*.

Innovations associated with Ūstād Qassem Afghan and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki*

According to one well-known Afghan musician, these two singers are known in the history of Afghan music as the originators and heads of two vocal schools named after themselves (Ūstād Nabi Gul).[18] Nonetheless, identifying these two musicians as the leaders or founders of two independent vocal schools seems unreasonable. As Baily has pointed out, no recognised stylistic school of either instrumental music or singing arose in Kabul (1988:25). These two musicians and their decedents were trained in the Patiala *gharāna* of North India and both families represent this stylistic school in Afghanistan. Not only the members of these two families claim to be the true representatives of the Patiala *gharāna* in Afghanistan. Even their pupils are of the same opinion about the style of their fathers and themselves.[19]

Weather these two singers had their own school of singing remains obscure. However, on the basis of the very few compositions that constitute Ūstād Qassem Afghan's and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki*'s vocal legacies, and on the bases of the accounts of contemporary musicians, one might note some similarities and differences between these two musicians and their art of singing.

Both were trained in the Patiala *gharāna* and are considered as great masters of Hindustani singing and experts of its theoretical basis. Also, the two are credited with being the first singers of Indian origin who performed solo *ghazals* in Dari and sang folk songs in Pashto and Dari, making these compositions an integral part of their repertoire. Furthermore, both might be credited with the introduction of a particular type of song into Afghan music identified in this thesis as *tarz*. This genre will be discussed later in this thesis.

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[18] Ūstād Nabi Gul (1278-80/1899-1901—1350/1971), an outstanding Afghan musician who learned Hindustani music from Ūstād Qassem Afghan and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki*, expressed this opinion in an interview with Madadi (1375/1996:132).

[19] The Late Ūstād Mussa Qassemi (d.1995), the grandson of Ūstād Qassem, and Sharif Ghazal, the grandson of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki*, and the son of Ūstād Rahim Bakhsh, Salim Bakhsh, whose father was a trainee of Ūstād Qassem, came forward with this suggestion to the author of this thesis in 1992 in Kabul.

Unlike Ūstād Qassem whose vocal legacy consists only of Afghan classical *ghazals* and folk chants, the repertoire of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain's compositions also includes examples of *thumri* and *tarāna*. The extensive use of Hindustani classical and semi-classical compositions by Ūstād Ghulam Hussain, which made his repertoire more diverse than that of Ūstād Qassem, which mainly consisted of Afghan classical *ghazals* and Afghan folk songs, might be considered as the primary distinction between these two musicians and their schools. Of course, one should not ignore their different approaches concerning the execution of the different vocal techniques used in Hindustani music, such as *tāns* and *ālāp*, and their introduction into Afghan folk songs.

Illus. 25. The busts of Ūstād Qassem (left) and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain (right).[20]

[20] These busts adored the foyer of the main building of Radio Afghanistan, until 1992. According to my latest information from within Radio Afghanistan, an extremist member of a mujahidin faction destroyed the bust of Ūstād Qassem, in the first days of their arrival into power in 1992. The bust of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain survived and remains locked up in a storage room of Radio Afghanistan.

Ūstād Qassem inserts both Hindustani *tān* and *ālāp* vocal techniques into Pashto and Dari folk songs as interpolations. In doing this, however, he keeps the syllabic character of the melodies intact, as the *tān* and *ālāps* are newly inserted and do not use the words of the text. By comparison, Ūstād Ghulam Hussain performs folk songs without any vocal interpolations in Hindustani style into them, but begins them with an instrumental section known as *naghma* that then alternates with the verses of the song. Sometimes this instrumental section, the *naghma*, is a reproduction of the song, such as in *Mullah Mohammad Jan*. On other occasions, it is an independent instrumental melody, which is inserted into an Afghan folk song, such as in *Nasro Nasro Jan*.

Several Afghan musicians are of the opinion that Ūstād Ghulam Hussain first introduced the *naghma* section into Afghan folk songs.[21] Nonetheless, in four folk songs—*O halika*, *Gul-Babu*, *Yār me*, and *Shah Laila*—as performed by Ūstād Qassem, the *naghma* section is apparent as well. The *naghma* section of *O halika* and *Gul-Babu*, are the instrumental reproduction of the song, while a newly composed *naghma* sections alternates with verses in *Yār me* and *Shah Laila*.

Another distinguishing factor between the two singers is their particular contribution to contemporary Afghan music, and their association with one or another genre of contemporary Afghan music, for which they are remembered. Ūstād Qassem, as we shall see, is by many Afghans considered to be the originator and founder of the Afghan classical *ghazal*. Subsequently, he did much to promote and popularise this genre. Ūstād Ghulam Hussain, by comparison, contributed to Afghan music more as a music teacher and as an expert of Hindustani music, and as a composer who played a great role in the creation and promotion of *tarz*. Early examples of this genre, which subsequently became the main form of urban or

[21] Ūstād Ahmad Bakhsh and Mohammad Wali Nabizada were among musicians who gave this information to the author of this thesis in Kabul in1992.

popular music of Afghanistan, thanks to the radio broadcasting of this genre, are among Ūstād Ghulam Hussain's vocal compositions held at the Archives of Radio Afghanistan.

The musical art of Ūstād Qassem, which is considered as the cornerstone of new Afghan music, is reflected in his humble vocal legacy consisting of 21 vocal pieces. These compositions might be classified into three categories of songs; namely, Afghan classical *ghazals*, *tarz*, and folk chants. Each group respectively consists of twelve, one and eight songs.[22] The vocal repertoire of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain consists of four *ghazals*, one *tarz*, two folk songs, two *thumris*, and one *tarāna*, a total of 11 songs.

The modest catalogue of the recordings of these two musicians is held in the archives of Radio Afghanistan.[23] A detailed study of these recordings allows one to establish the stylistic features, vocal repertoire, and vocal genres used by Ūstād Qassem and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain. The complexity and simplicity of vocal principles adorning each song led to the categorisation noted above. Furthermore, a comparison of these Afghan genres with semi-classical genres of Hindustani music has led to some conclusions about their origin, which will follow later.

Afghan classical *ghazal*

The first group of Ūstād Qassem's and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain's songs, identified here as the Afghan classical *ghazal*, is a genre of Afghan music that in Western sources is named Kabuli *ghazal* (Baily 1994:53 and 2000:805). This genre of Afghan music, which was

[22] The first group is comprised of the following twelve classical *ghazals*: (1) *Too karim mutlaq* ('You are the most generous'), (2) Yārab ('O God'), (3) *Jahān junūn* ('World of darkness'), (4) *Dil be tapish nist* ('My heart is beating'), (5) *Rahrawān husn* ('Beautiful walkers'), (6) *Gar bihistam me sazad* ('If I deserve haven'), (7) *Isq agar* ('If love'), (8) *Gairat-i Afghani* ('Afghan honour'), (9) *Khosh ān sā'at* ('Happy that Hour'), (10) *Jins husn* ('Stock of beauty'), (11) *Bāz me binamat* ('I see you again'), (12) *Mādar* ('Mother'). The second category consists of only one *tarz* known as *Nadir Afghan* ('Nadir the Afghan'). The third type consists of an equal number of folk songs in Dari/Persian and Pashto. These songs are the following chants: *Āhista biro* ('Go slowly'), *Kūt-hawāladār* ('A fort sentry'), *Zilaikhā* Dāram, ('*Zilaikhā* is my') *Shirin Jan* ('Dear Shirin'), *O halika* ('O boy'), *Gul-Babu*, *Yār Me* 'My Beloved', and *Shah Laila*. The titles that are not translated are names.
[23] In 1992 the director of Radio Afghanistan kindly gave copies of Ūstād Qassem's and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain's recordings to the author of this thesis.

perfected in the late 19th century or early 20th century in the city of Kabul (Baily 1988:61), apparently has been given that title by Baily after the name of the place where it was brought to perfection or reformed. We do not know who should be credited with the perfection of the Afghan classical *ghazal*. However, a detailed comparison of this genre with the first group of songs that constitute part of the vocal legacy of Ūstād Qassem, and personal accounts of contemporary musicians, give one reasonable grounds to assume that the Afghan classical *ghazal*, in its contemporary shape, most probably was formed and perfected in the vocal art of Ūstād Qassem.

Nonetheless, as reported earlier in this thesis, Ūstād Qurban Ali, a mentor of Ūstād Qassem, is identified as being the first Afghan musician of an Indian origin to begin solo *ghazal* singing in Afghanistan in the tradition of North Indian classical singing, in contrast to the earlier form of *ghazal* singing performed by Herati court musicians.

If one agrees with this suggestion, one may further propose that because of this and his adaptation of Afghan folk songs and their systematisation according to the principles of *rāg* and *tāl*, he is considered as the 'father and originator' of a new Afghan music (anonymous 1352/1973:29, Baily 1988:28, Jahad 1368/1989:74-76, Madadi 1375/1996:115, Asif Qassemi 1351/1972:43). It was Ūstād Qassem who, after starting his vocal career, consciously was inspired and resolute in forming and creating a distinct Afghan vocal style of art music with its own compositional form and melodic peculiarities (Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi 1350/1971:18-19, Asif Qassemi 1351/1972:43).

His musical experiments,[24] aimed at achieving his thoughtful ambition, presumably resulted eventually in the perfection of the Afghan classical *ghazal* known as *tarz* Qassemi (Madadi 1375/1996:118,121, Jahad 1368/1989:83, Asif Qassemi 1351/1972:43), and the adaptation of Afghan folk music into his repertoire.

[24] According to Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi (1296/1917-1356/1977), the oldest son of Ūstād Qassem, his father, prior to achieving his aim, first attempted to adapt Dari/Persian poetry to Indian compositions (1350/1971:18-19).

Ūstād Qassem's desire to create a distinct Afghan music most probably was brought about by the necessity of gaining the support of the Afghan masses and satisfying of their musical aesthetic. For the Afghan population, Hindustani music, in its original shape and language, was a foreign musical phenomenon 'too sensuous, too florid, and too drawn out' (Baily 1988:26). Ūstād Qassem's ambition perhaps also was influenced by the nationalistic and modernistic ideas, which dominated at the court of King Ammanullah and among the Afghan intelligentsia, who were advocating for Afghanistan independence from British domination and for the modernisation of the country.

It should be also noted that Ūstād Qassem himself is well known for his patriotism and his love for Afghan national sovereignty and progress (Madadi 1375/1996:118, Jahad 1368/1989:86-88). The subject of the text of three out of the 21 songs of Ūstād Qassem are about the idea of freedom and the patriotism of the Afghan people. These compositions are *Mādar* ('Mother'), *Nadir Afghan* ('Nadir the Afghan'), and his patriotic *ghazal Gairat Afghani* ('Afghan honour'). The premier performance of the latter song, which became the hymn that is a symbol of this country's liberty, took place at an historical banquet with the Afghan government arranged in honour of an English delegation that had negotiated an agreement recognising Afghanistan's independence.[25]

Songs that belong to the first group of Ūstād Qassem's vocal legacy are sung in a slow tempo. Usually they begin with a very short *ālāp* consisting of only one pitch that one can hardly call *ālāp*. However, the presence of this one pitch may indicate that this very brief introductory section of the Afghan classical *ghazal* most probably was part of an earlier *ālāp* section in *ghazal* performance, a remnant of which is still found in *ghazal* singing as it is

[25] The history of this song and the interesting dialog between Ūstād Qassem and the British representative Dabs that preceded the performance of this celebrated song is reported in several Afghan sources (Madadi 1375/1996:118, Jahad 1368/1989:86-88). Dabs, in asking the Afghan singer to teach him some of the musical pieces composed by him as examples of a song carrying Afghan features, agreed on the conditions proposed by Ūstād Qassem. According to the agreement reached, the British politician had to repeat on the piano whatever was played and sung by the Afghan singer, who, soon after getting the agreement of Mr. Dabs, started to sing about Afghan independence, thereby tricking the British statesman into playing with his own hand the song of Afghanistan's independence, in spite of all his unwillingness.

today. One may suggest that for the sake of a complete presentation of the composition and its large portion of poetry, and the desire for a demonstration of the performer's skill and virtuosity, this first interpolative part was dropped off because of a time restriction imposed on Ūstād Qassem by the limited capabilities of the gramophone in the 1920s.[26] The effect of such a time limit is also seen in the unexpected ending of songs, sometimes in a refrain, and on other occasions with a couplet or an improvised phrase. The duration of his available recordings does not exceed three minutes.

After this shortened *ālāp* follows the compositions of the first group of songs, which reflect the musical form of the contemporary Afghan classical *ghazal*.[27] The compositions of Ūstād Qassem's classical *ghazals*, similar to the Indian genre of the same name, which was adopted and introduced into Afghanistan at the end of 19th century and in the beginning of 20th century by Qurban Ali, a mentor of Ūstād Qassem, has a cyclic form arranged on the principle of a refrain and couplets (*āstāi-e* and *antara*). However, a distinguishing factor between the classical *ghazal* of Ūstād Qassem and its Indian prototype is the presence of *shāh fards* or *shāh baits* in the Afghan genre, which is added into the primary compositional form of the *ghazal*. This interpolation is noted in all 11 *ghazals* of Ūstād Qassem.

This interpolation, which today is considered to be an important element of the Afghan classical *ghazal*, most probably was adopted by Ūstād Qassem from the style of Herati court *ghazal* singers, who according to Baily, performed in a manner similar to the *āvāz* style of Iran (1988:19), which to a great extent is an improvised form of singing (Caton 1983:27). According to Wahid Qassemi, his grandfather Ūstād Qassem used the principle of reciting *shāh fards* as a musical means to participate in the poetic dialogue, known as *musshā'ara*, that

[26] As we know from the history of sound recordings in the earlier stage of the introduction of the gramophone, the recording companies were not able to create long tracks and their capabilities were limited.
[27] A detailed description of the contemporary Afghan classical *ghazal* is available in Baily (1988:60-62, 1994:53-54, 2000:805-806).

had been part of Afghan court culture, and to bring his messages and remarks to his audiences (personal communication).[28]

The use of Indian vocal techniques and principles of ornamentation have given a new sound to this familiar *ghazal* tradition, bringing to it a new degree of unfamiliarity. A free rhythmic movement and the recitative character of this section is the only reminder of its original roots. Moreover, a *shāh fard* is inserted almost in the every performance of a classical *ghazal* by Ūstād Qassem. Usually this new element of a *ghazal* performance is introduced after a full display of the composition (*āstāi-e* → *antara* → *āstāi-e*). Then, instead of the expected *antara*, a *shāh fard*, replacing the former, is introduced, followed by the refrain (*āstāi-e*).

An instrumental imitation of the *āstāi-e*, which is a constituent element of the Afghan classical *ghazal*, is also present in some classical *ghazals* as performed by Ūstād Qassem. In these *ghazals*, as in the contemporary *ghazal* of Afghanistan today, these instrumental interludes serve to separate the *āstāi-e* and *antara* from each other. In other instances, this role is fulfilled by relatively large improvised phrases in the style of *ālāps* and *tāns*, which are used primarily as means for the vocalist to improvise and demonstrate his skill and ability. The use of a comparatively large number of such improvised phrases, is one among several other features that are characteristic of the first category of Ūstād Qassem's vocal legacy, which enables one to categorise them as classical *ghazals*.

This instrumental section, which has been identified as *duni* in the city of Herat (Baily 1988:62), is known and identified by Afghan musicians of classical tendency in Kabul as *tā-duni*. It corresponds to the *laggi* section of a Hindustani *ghazal*. In the tradition of Hindustani *ghazal* singing, the *laggi* section consists of an instrumental reproduction of a refrain in which

[28] The author of this thesis discussed the music and contribution made by Ūstād Qassem, to the contemporary music of Afghanistan with his grandson Wahid Qassemi in Australia and in Canada in 2000. These discussions took place during the concert tour of Mr. Qassemi in Australia and later during the fieldwork of the author of this thesis in Canada.

the *tabla* player has the opportunity to play brief solos in double tempo, at the end of which the music performance returns to the first tempo, after the performance of shining rhythmic cadences (Wade 2000:186). Such a temporal organisation, which is the main principle explained by the term *laggi* in Hindustani music,[29] is also observed in a section of the Afghan classical *ghazal*. In this thesis, this section of the Afghan classical *ghazal* is identified by the term *tā-duni*, which is used by the majority of Afghan *ghazal* singers for the same purpose. The use of the term *tā-duni*, as we shall see later, also helps in understanding the rhythmic organisation of the Afghan classical *ghazal* and its origin.

In the contemporary Afghan classical *ghazal*, the *tabla* performer has the same opportunity and behaves in the same manner; *i.e.*, the *tabla* player doubles the rhythmic density *lā* in *tā-duni* and drops back before the beginning of the couplets. The arrival of the *tā-duni* back to its original slower pulse similar to the *laggi* section of the Hindustani *ghazal* is marked by rhythmic cadences, known in Afghanistan as *gor*.[30] It should be noted that in the *tā-duni* section of the Afghan classical *ghazal*, it is not the tempo that becomes transformed. It is the rhythmic density *lā*[31] that usually is boosted to two notes or strokes per beat. Such a move, known among Afghan musicians as *du-lā* (double stroke), is also a feature of *ghazal* performance in North India, where it is embodied in the *laggi* section of this genre in India.

One should note that the virtuosity and solo character of *tabla* players in the Afghan classical *ghazal* is overshadowed by the instrumental rendering of the refrain. In the earlier classical *ghazal* as performed by Ūstād Qassem, this section is performed in the same way as it is in the contemporary classical *ghazal* of Afghanistan and Hindustan; *i.e.*, the doubling of

[29] Essentially any attractive sound-patterns or syllables played in double tempo in a *tāl* are called *laggi*. Conventionally it is employed to accompany the renderings of *thumri*, *dadra*, and other similar semi-classical musical forms of North India (Ranade 1990:41).
[30] This word is probably a localised version of *graha*, a term used in Hindustani music to indicate ways in which songs and rhythm come together to mark the first beat of a metric cycle (Ranade 1990:63).
[31] The term *lā* presumably is a localised syllable for *lay* or *laya*. In Hindustani music the duration of rest between two strokes determining the duration of a *matra* is called *laya* (Ranade 1990:67).

the rhythmic density starts in the vocal refrain and continues in its instrumental reproduction, which then drops back to its normal tempo again for each couplet.

John Baily is of the opinion that the rhythmic characteristics of the Afghan classical or Kabuli *ghazal* derive originally from Pashtūn regional music (Baily 1988:79). The author of this thesis has discussed this hypothesis with many Afghan *ghazal* singers, many of whom categorically denied such a connection. Furthermore, they described such a temporal organisation as an important feature of *ghazal* structure and performance in general, which is observed by both Afghan and North Indian *ghazal* singers. Afghan singers and musicians believe that the temporal organisation of the Afghan classical *ghazal*, similar to its compositional form in its primary shape, was adopted from India, and transformed into its contemporary form and style in the art of Ūstād Qassem.[32]

The author of this thesis, while studying a large number of Afghan classical *ghazals*, including those of Ūstād Qassem, and comparing them with examples of this genre performed by one of the best *ghazal* singers of the Indian sub-continent, Begum Akhtar, has reached the same conclusion as the Afghan *ghazal* singers.[33] Additionally, my conclusion is also based on the use and definition of the term *tā-duni*, which is used for the identification of the instrumental section of the Afghan classical *ghazal*. The term *tā-duni* has an Indian origin, and it consists of two word of *tā* (Indian *thā*) and *dun*. The first term refers to a single tempo, which is equal to that of the basic *mātra* of the composition (Miner 1993:187). The second notion refers to a rhythm that is the double of *thā* (*ibid.*).

Thus the word *tā-duni*, signifying 'single-double' (*ibid.*), which is used in Afghanistan primarily for naming a particular section of the Afghan classical *ghazal*, has also another meaning. Its second meaning indicates the rhythmic characteristics and rhythmic organisation

[32] The rhythmic organisation of the Afghan classical *ghazal* and its origin was discussed with Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal (USA 2003), Ūstād Ulfat-ahang (Canada 2000), Wahid Qassemi (Canada and Austarlia 2000), and with Sharif Ghazal and Salir. Bakhsh (Kabul 1992).

[33] *Ghazals* performed by Begum Akhtar, are available in *Begum Akhtar Ghazals* (1975) and *Lost Horizons* (Begum Akhtar 1977).

of this genre of Afghan music, which from a rhythmical point of view is based on the alternation of the basic or single *mātras* in the *āstāi-e* and *antara* and the doubling of rhythmic density of the basic *mātras* in the instrumental section of *tā-duni*.

It also should be noted that the principle of *tā-duni* is apparent in some of the Pashto folk songs performed by Ūstād Qassem and Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki*. *O halika* and *Gul-Babu* are examples of Pashto songs sung by Ūstād Qassem in which the *tā-duni* model is introduced. *Jānāna rāsha* and *Dil me pa khyal* are Pashto tunes performed by Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki* with the same rhythmic pattern. Even though the principle of *tā-duni* is used in the songs named above, it does not weaken our argument, as the presence of this principle in these songs are the result of the influence from Hindustani music, especially as both of these musicians, who are credited with the reworking of Afghan folk songs, had strong training and family links with Hindustani music traditions.

Baily is not specific about the type and genre of Pashtūn regional music that inspired him to put forth such a proposal. However, it might be suggested that he may have been influenced by the music of Logar province, with its fast instrumental interlude section marked by rhythmic cadences and sudden pauses. Such a rhythmic organisation within the songs and music of Logar is closely linked with the *logari* dance that came under the strong influence of Indian dancing, through the court of the Afghan Amirs in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Zhwak1370/1991:109-10).[34] Thus, one may argue that an interest in fast instrumental sections and glittering rhythmic cadences in the music of Logar emerged because of the necessity to create a new musical style to fulfil the musical needs of the new dancing style.

It is reasonable to suggest that the presence of rhythmic cadences and full stops in the music of Logar is linked to the spinning and gesturing of the *logari* dancers who freeze during

[34] The influence of Indian dance via the court of the Afghan Amirs on *Logari* music and dance is discussed in Zhwak's *Afghani Musiqi* (1370/1991:109-10). The changes brought about in the music of Logar in the early 20th century is also reported in Madadi's *Sar-guzasht Musiqi Mu'āsir Afghanistan* [The story of the Contemporary Music of Afghanistan] (375/1996:83-86).

each cadential stop in a seated or standing pose. The spinning of dancers, accompanied by rhythmic cadences and the full stop of drummers, like several other elements of the *logari* dance, such as *salami* and the use of the bells attached to the ankles of the dancers, the make-up and dressing of boys as women, expose some similarities with the *kathak* dance of India, a version of which supposedly was danced at the Afghan courts by Indian dancing girls. The meaningless posture of dancers in pauses between musical pieces is another element of *logari* dance that possibly has a parallel in the 'uncouth and unmeaning postures' of the *nautch* girls of Afghan courts (Gray 1987:135).

Therefore, one may propose that with the penetration of these elements of an Indian dancing style, performed at the Afghan courts, into *logari* dancing, several musical components of this dance also met the requirements of the new dancing style, and that they were adopted into the music of Logar, thus comprising one of the bases of the Pashtūn regional music. Among these musical components, one may identify the rhythmic cadence of *logari* music, which might be traced back, in addition to the style of the *kathak* dance music, also to the several classical and semi-classical vocal genres of Hindustani music practiced in Afghanistan. In tradition the of Hindustani music, rhythmic cadences are used for marking the end of improvisation, the phrases of compositional forms, and the mastery of a singer or instrumentalist and drummer in keeping together and returning simultaneously to the initial phrases of a composition in the first beat (*sam*) of a *tāl*.

The above discussion has concentrated on the first group of Ūstād Qassem's vocal repertoire, which has been identified as classical *ghazal*. A characteristic feature of this style is a cyclic form comprised of a short *ālāp* followed by composition (*āstāi-e* → *antara* → *āstāi-e*). One also has to note that each couplet of the composition is preceded by vocal improvised phrase in the style of or *tān*. As it has been noted earlier, in some instances such vocal outbursts fulfil the role of an instrumental interlude (*tā-duni*) when a particular performance

lacks one. It should be noted that an improvised vocal interlude sometimes precedes the refrain, suggesting that a vocal interpolation might be inserted in any part of *ghazal* composition.

Putting together all the constituent elements of Ūstād Qassem's classical *ghazals*, one obtains a cyclic vocal form comprised a prelude followed by refrain (*āstāi-e*), which is followed by an instrumental interlude rendering the refrain, or by an improvised vocal phrase. After these three sections follows the couplet *antara* that might be replaced by a *shāh fard*. This element is followed by a refrain. This structure fully corresponds to the musical form of the contemporary Afghan classical *ghazal*, a similarity that might confirm our suggestion that this genre today was earlier perfected and popularised by Ūstād Qassem and his decedents and pupils.

Track 8 of CD 1, *Rozgāri shod* ('It is some time'), is an example of an Afghan classical *ghazal*, which is performed by Ūstād Qassem. This *ghazal* demonstrates all the features and stylistic peculiarities of the Afghan classical *ghazal* as discussed above. Furthermore, it reveals the singing style of Ūstād Qassem. Below is given the translation of the lyric of *Rozgāri shod* first, then follows a detailed analysis of its compositional form and structure.

āstāi-e

Rozgāri shod ke maikhāna khidmat mekonam
Dar libās faqr kāri ahli dawlat mekonam

It is some time since I have served in a tavern
Dressed in the cloth of poverty I do the job of statesmen

first *antara*

Dida-i badbin biposhān ai karim aibposh
Zin diliriāh ke man dar konj khalwat mekonam

Oh! Kind concealer of faults, quash the sight of an evil-eye

From the valour that I do in my confined retirement

second *antara*

Az yamin arsh āmin mekond rūhu'lamin
Chūn du'a padshāh-o mulk-o milat mekonam

From the heaven the divine spirit indicates, let it be so
When I pray for the king, country and nation

shāh fard

Shabi āshiq namerasad ba sahr
Subhi sādiq durogh megoid

The night of a lover does not reach the dawn
The true dawn is lying

third *antara*[35]

Compositional structure of *Rozgāri shod*

Sections	**Time**
introduction	0-04
āstāi-e	04-0.28
antara with a short *tān*	0.28-0.45
āstāi-e plus *tā-duni*. The *tā-duni* begins at the 51st second of the *āstāi-e* and returns to its basic density before a short *tān*.	0.46-1.08
tān	1.09-1.12
antara, tān, antara	1.13-1.36
āstāi-e plus *tā-duni*	1.37-1.52
ālāp	1.52-2.01
shāh fard	2.02-2.10
āstāi-e	2.11-2.21
antara	2.22-2.38
āstāi	2.39-3.00

[35] Because of the poor quality of the recording I was not able to transliterate and to translate the poetic text of the third *antara*.

Tarz, the genre of Afghan popular songs

Here we are discussing a distinct genre of Afghan music that is sandwiched between the classical, semi-classical, and folk (*mahalli* or *kiliwāli*)[36] music of the country. John Baily, when describing Afghanistan's popular music (1988:81-83, 1994:55, 2000:809), identifies this genre as *kiliwāli* (of the village), which is a Pashto term exclusively used in Afghanistan in regard to folk and regional music. He is aware of the meaning and the context in which the term *kiliwāli* should be used. In spite of that view, however, he uses this term in order to refer to a particular type of Afghan urban music, which was formed in Kabul and then spread to other parts of the country.

The reason given for such a terminological substitution seems to be the use of this Pashto term by non-Pashto speaking Herati musicians in regard to a type of urban music. That might be the case among Herati musicians. However, in the capital city of the country, where this new form of Afghan singing was created and perfected, the musicians, singers, and songwriters employ the term *āhang*, *tasnif*, and *tarz* for naming this specific genre of Afghan music. A single particular name for this type of song does not exist. Because of radio broadcasting and the concert tours of Radio singers, it became a common compositional form of composed songs throughout the country. Consequently, it became the main genre of Afghan urban music.[37]

The lack of a single name for the designation of a definite type of music might have led to the terminological confusion in the city of Herat, and to the employment of several words for naming this distinct class of songs. In order to avoid further bewilderment, it is time to select a definite name for this new type of Afghan music, which dominates the urban vocal music of the country down to the present day.

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[36] These two terms, which are the equivalent of each other in Dari/Persian and Pashto respectively, are used synonymously in Afghanistan to refer to the folk or local music of different ethnic groups of the country. This fact has been reported earlier by Baily (1988:81).

[37] The role played by radio broadcasting in the creation and promotion of this type of Afghan music is thoroughly discussed by Baily (2000:807-810, 1994:57, 1988:30) and Slobin (1976:28, 33-35).

The term *āhang*, signifying 'a song', 'a melody', 'harmony', and 'a composition', which is used by some musicians to indicate this type of Afghan song, cannot reflect the essence of this specific type of Afghan composition. It is too general and is usually used to identify any vocal song and tune, regardless of its genre and nature. Most of the time *āhang* is used together with an adjective, such as *āhang klasik* ('a classical song'), *āhang mahalli* ('a folk or a regional song'), *āhang hindi* or *filmi* ('a song from an Indian movie'), in order to specify a particular genre or type of a song. *Āhang* may be used for characterising of this new type of Afghan music provided one finds a suitable adjective to go with it.

The word *tasnif*, signifying a musical and a poetic composition, could have been a name chosen to be given to this type of Afghan music. However, the use of this term for naming a genre of Afghan music is also problematic. It might cause confusion between the type of Afghan music identified in this thesis as *tarz* and a vocal genre of Iranian classical music named *tasnif*.

Concerning the use of the notion *kiliwāli* by Baily for the classification of this particular genre of Afghan vocal music, which serves as the main source of Afghan popular music, one should note that in the mind of Afghan musicians, as well as in the mind of every Afghan, this term is associated with the folk songs of the country. Thus, *kiliwāli* does not represent the very new type of Afghan song or style, which, according to Baily (1988:81), developed at Radio Afghanistan in response to the need to create a music suitable for radio broadcasting (1988:30), in order to satisfy the musical taste of the majority of the Afghan population (Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal 1347/1968).

As one may now understand, none of the three terms discussed above, out of the four used for the identification of this new style of Afghan music, is in a position to be effectively employed for naming this new genre of Afghan singing. The only term left is the word *tarz*, signifying 'style'. Thus, one might suggest that *tarz* should be used as the specific name for

this recent innovation. One might argue that the meaning of this term is also too general, and that consequently it may be used to refer to any style. But it should be pointed out that the term *sabk*, which is an equivalent of *tarz*, is usually used in Afghanistan for distinguishing between different distinct musical styles and genre.

Kharābāti musicians are of the opinion that their forefathers created this new genre of Afghan music, though they do not name any particular authority as the actual creator of *tarz* singing. Madadi, describing Ūstād Ghulam Hussain and his contribution to Afghan music, makes an interesting comment that might be accepted as a clue in suggesting a concrete person as the true creator of *tarz* singing. From Madadi's statement it appears that Ūstād Ghulam Hussain most probably was the musician, who deserted the Afghan *chāshni*[38] tradition and stared to sing and compose light songs in the form of *tarz*, performed by himself and his pupils. The word 'composing' in the citation below also points to the *tarz* style as his new creation, which, according to Madadi, was created in contrast to a series of long vocal songs.

> Ūstād Ghulam Hussain was the first [Afghan musician] to realise that long vocal sequences, the *chāshni*, do not satisfy the audiences, a realisation that led him to search for new forms and a new style of singing (Madadi 1375/1996:123). ... He was continuingly composing new songs for his pupils [and other singers] (*ibid.*:124).

Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal, talking about the development of music in Afghanistan after the resumption of radio broadcasting in 1941, straightforwardly identifies Ūstād Ghulam Hussain as the originator of new type of Afghan song, which was acceptable and understandable for the most common audiences of music. Furthermore, Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal characterises this new style, as being similar to the *ghazal* in form, but simpler in its style of performance, with an instrumental interlude *naghma*, ((1347/1968). This description of the new type of Afghan song, which was supposedly created by Ūstād Ghulam Hussain,

[38] A *chāshni* was a sequence of *ghazals* in the same melodic mode performed jointly as a single entity (Baily 1988:72).

corresponds to the structure and style of the Afghan popular song as it is described in Baily (1988:82) and practiced up to this day.

This assessment may be supported by the fact that an early known example of this new type of Afghan music appears among the recordings of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain. *Zidast-i mahbub* ('From my beloved'), track 9 of CD 1 is the title of an early *tarz* performed by Ūstād Ghulam Hussain. It is a simple song that does not fit either within the compositional format of the Afghan classical *ghazal* or the forms of Afghan folk songs.

It starts with an instrumental prelude *naghma*, in a fixed rhythmic metre. The sound material of this instrumental piece reflects the first vocal section of this composition, the *āstāi-e*. The *āstāi-e* section melts into the *antara*, which is followed by the return of the *āstāi-e*. After the *āstāi-e*, a *naghma* is played again. But, it should be noted that in this instance a new *naghma*, which is longer than the first instrumental piece of this song, is played. After this long and multi-sectional instrumental piece, the *āstāi-e* is sung, followed by the *antara*. The *antara* smoothly goes to the *āstāi-e* and the end of the entire song. The overall structure of this cyclic composition, *Zidast-i mahbub*, reflects the compositional structure and performing style of a contemporary Afghan popular song *tarz*.

The form of this new type of Afghan song, as Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal has pointed out, and as it is embodied in the composition of *Zidast-i mahbub*, resembles the structure of a *ghazal*. The melody of the refrain (*āstāi-e*) and the couplet (*antara*) of this composition, similar to the melody in a *ghazal* composition, are created on the basis of the differences in tonal register between the melodies of the two main sections of *ghazal*, the *āstāi-e* and *antara*. The melody of the *āstāi-e* of this song, like the melody of similar section of a *ghazal*, or of other classical and semi-classical genres of Hindustani music, is composed and sung in a lower tessitura than the melody of the *antara*, which rises to the upper octave and explores the upper ranges of a *rāg*. Below is the lyric text of this song

āstāi-e

Zidast-i mahbub chi-āh kashidam
Zi khu-rūyān wafā na-didam

I can't describe what I went through thanks to my beloved
As well as the unfaithfulness of fair-faced women

antara

Shab-āh zi ghamat khūn giraim
Chūn rūdi jaihūn giraim

āstāi-e[39]

Jawro jafā tā ba kai
Naubat hijrān gūzasht
Ai sanam māh liqā

Oh! My moon-faced mistress,
The time of separation is gone.
For how long more by your tyranny and cruelty
Are you making me cry,
Like the Oxus river, blood at nights

A single rhythmic movement in the *Zidast-i mahbub*, which replaces the principles of *ta-duni* found in the rhythmic organisation of an Afghan classical *ghazal*, is an important element, possibly used for the simplification of the structure and performing style of the new Afghan song, which is considered here. Additionally, the instrumental reproduction of the refrain, which constitutes the melodic basis of the *ta-duni* section of a classical *ghazal*, is replaced by a composed instrumental piece, *naghma*, which comprises the second unit of a *tarz* in general and of the song under consideration in particular.

The introduction of this composed instrumental piece *naghma* within the Afghan *ghazal* structure, which is also a significant innovation in the new *tarz* genre, might be likened

[39] For a better understanding and comprehension the text of the *antara* and new text of the *āstāi-e* are translated and given together.

to an instrumental composition that was used to separate parts of a Pashto song in the tradition of the singing of *qisahey manzum* ('versified story').[40]

The absence of interpolative elements of the Afghan classical *ghazal*, such as *ālāp*, *shāh fard*, *tān*, and the syllabic treatment of the text, are other differentiating factors between the Afghan classical *ghazal* and the structure and performing style of *Zidast-i mahbub*, which is an early example of a *tarz* composition. Below is given an analysis of the compositional structure of this song.

Compositional structure of *Zidast-i mahbub*

Sections	**Time**
naghma	0-0.24
āstāi-e	025-1.15
antara	1.16-1.46
āstāi-e	1.47-2.25
naghma	2.26-3.13
āstāi-e	3.14-3.56
antara	3.57-4.24
āstāi	4.25-4.56

On the basis of the above discussion, in considering the personal accounts of musicians, and the compositional similarities and differences between an earlier example of a *tarz*, as analysed and described above, and the Afghan classical *ghazal*, and by taking into consideration the training, expertise, and knowledge of Ūstād Ghulam Hussain, it is very reasonable to conjecture that this new genre of Afghan music was modelled by Ūstād Ghulam Hussain on a simplified form *ghazal* and other compositional formats from Hindustani music.

[40] For a description of *qisahey manzum*, which is performed by Pashtūn musicians see Madadi (1375/1996:72-73).

Nonetheless, John Baily is of the opinion that urban music of the Pashtūns is the basis of Afghan popular music, *tarz* (1981:58, 1988:82, 2000:809). Making such a statement on the basis of the contemporary music of the Pashtūns seems unreasonable and problematic. Up to this day we do not know anything about the musical style of the Pashtūns in the past, before the formation of the Afghan *tarz*.

In contrast with Baily's view, to argue for the impact of the Afghan classical *ghazal* and the Kabuli *tarz* on the regional and urban music of the Pashtūns seems more reasonable, generally because of radio broadcasting in which the musical art of the *Kharābāti* musicians who invented, promoted and popularised the *tarz*, dominated. Among a list of singers and instrumentalists that from the very beginning of radio broadcasting provided music to the radio station, one can scarcely find the name of a Pashto singer or instrumentalist who could represent Pashtūn regional or urban music at Radio Kabul/Afghanistan.[41] The names of Ūstād Nabi-Gul (1278/1899 or 1280/1901-1350/1970) and his brother Ghulam Hassan (1267/1888-1341/1962) (a *sarinda* player) are exceptions.

Nonetheless, one should not forget that Ūstād Nabi-Gul was trained in Hindustani music by the same musician considered to be the originator of this new form of Afghan music. The recordings by Ūstād Nabi-Gul, held at the archives of Radio Afghanistan, demonstrate that in addition to the Afghan classical *ghazal* and Pashto folk songs, he was also performing the new genre of Afghan music.

The vocal legacy of Ūstād Nabi-Gul consists of 42 songs, which include Afghan classical *ghazals*, folk chants in Dari and Pashto, and popular songs (*tarzs*). Dari/Persian and Pashto examples of *tarzs* composed and performed by Ūstād Nabi-Gul may be found respectively on track 10 of CD 1, *Az khūn jigar* ('From the blood of my heart'), and track 11 of CD 1, *Ta kho Laili* ('You are Laili').

[41] This list is available in Madadi's *Sar-guzasht Musiqi Mu'āsir Afghanistan* (1375/1996:163-164).

The songs of Ūstād Nabi-Gul composed in Pashto in the style of *tarz*, together with other forms of Afghan music cultivated by *Kharābāti* musicians at Radio Afghanistan, most probably inspired Pashtūn urban musicians. Furthermore, one may suggest that Pashtūn singers, such as Salam Jalalabadi and Gul-Mohammad Qandahari,[42] who were trained in Hindustani music in *Kharābāt* by Ūstād Qassem, may have promoted the *tarz* style among musicians in their respective regions, Jalalabad and Qandahar.

Musicians trained in Hindustani music led even the first Pashto orchestra of Radio Afghanistan, from its foundation to its collapse after the death of Salim Qandahari (1302/1923/-1360/1981), the last head and leader of this ensemble. One should note that all the members of this group also were trained in the North Indian musical system and played according to its rules. The musical instruments used in this orchestra were of Indian (*dilruba*, *tabla*, *santūr*)[43] and Afghan (*rabāb*, *sarinda*) origin.

Acording to Madadi (1375/1996:230), Master Ahmad Bakhsh (1295/1916-) (clarinet player), Ūstād Awalmir (1308/1929-1361/1982) (Pashto singer), Mohammad Din Zakhail (1317/1938-) (singer, *sarod* and *hamonia* player), and Salim Qandahari (1302/1923-1360-1981) (singer, *dilruba* and *santūr* player) were the leaders of the Pashto orchestra of Radio Afghanistan. All these musicians, as noted in their biographies as reported in the same source (306-308, 75-79, 287-288, 304-306), were trained in Hindustani music.

The *lāras* and *naghma chārtuk*

The *naghma chārtuk* is a genre of Afghan classical instrumental music for the creation or more precisely popularisation of which Ūstād Qassem is credited (Baily 1997:118,

[42] These two musicians use the name of the cities as their surnames. The suffix i added at the end of the name of a city indicates the place of their origin. Such a practice is wide spread among Afghans, who want to be identified by the place of their birth, or by their tribal and ethnic origins.

[43] In modern Afghanistan the *santūr* is listed among North Indian musical instruments. The reason for this classification was the arrival of this instrument to Afghanistan from India sometimes at the 18th century (Madadi 1375/1996:303). In contemporary Afghanistan the instrument was played according to the tradition Hindustani music.

1988:79). This suggestion seems quite reasonable when one takes into consideration the fact that Ūstād Qassem started his professional career as a *rabāb* player (Rawaq 1996:79, anonymous 1352/1973:29).[44] This instrumental genre is thoroughly described by Baily in several articles.[45] Though Afghan musicians, warmly express their gratitude to John Baily for his contribution to the study of Afghan music in general and his discussion of Afghan classical music and this genre of instrumental music in particular, they nonetheless, disagree with some aspects of his research that is concerned with this specific genre of Afghan instrumental music, which has been identified by Baily as *naghma kashāl*. Here we highlight some of their concerns,[46] which are shared by the author of this thesis.

The musicians who discussed this instrumental genre refused to accept or adopt the term *kashāl* for identifying *naghma chārtuk*. These musicians argue that the term *naghma kashāl*, which signifies 'an enlarged', 'extended', or 'prolonged instrumental composition', is too vague, too general, and, furthermore, that it does not resonate the essence of this genre as being a particular instrumental composition. The term *kashāl* might be used to identify any prolonged instrumental composition consisting of several parts, regardless of their fundamental characteristics. According to these musicians, the original name of both instrumental and vocal compositions is an important factor in distinguishing between various genres of art and folk music, rather than their length, duration, and parts.

According to several Afghan musicians, this instrumental genre of Afghan art music, before becoming a solo instrumental piece, thereby becoming closely associated with the

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[44] Ūstād Qassem started his musical career as a *rabāb* player at the court of Amir Habbibullah (anonymous 1352/1973:29), and used to accompany an Indian female singing-[dancer] named Soobi Bigum, whose daughter Alah Ditoo he married later on (Rawaq 1996:79). Wahid Qassemi, the grandson of Ūstād Qassem, in a one-to-one conversation with the author of this thesis, confirmed that his grandfather started his musical career as a *rabāb* player (personal communication, 2000).

[45] John Baily, in addition to discussing this genre in his monograph *Music of Afghanistan: professional musicians in the city of Herat* (1988:66-74), has also discussed *naghma chārtuk* in his 'The *naghma-ye kashāl* of Afghansitan' (1997:117-163).

[46] Ghulam Hussain, a leading contemporary Afghan *rabāb* player, was among the Afghan musicians who disagree with John Baily. This musician, interviewed by the author of this thesis in 1998 and 2000, also features in the latest documentary on the state of music and musicians in Afghanistan after the collapse of the Taliban. John Baily filmed and narrated this documentary called *A Kabul Music Dairy*, 2003.

Afghan *rabāb*, was known as *lāra*[47]. The *lāras* were fixed instrumental pieces played by all members of an ensemble at the beginning of *ghazal* performances. On such occasions, instrumentalists, led usually by the singer playing on the *armonia* and in previous times on the *rabāb*, started the performance by performing a *lāra*. The *lāras* were always played in the same melodic mode (*rāg*) in which the singer planed to perform the first series of his *ghazals*. These series, as we pointed out earlier in this chapter, were called *chāshni*. The aim of playing a *lāra* at the beginning of a vocal performance was to create the ambience of the melodic mode (*ahwa-e rāg rā āwardan*), in order to accustom the singer, instrumentalists, and audience to the same melodic mode chosen for the beginning of the *ghazal* performances.

As group instrumental pieces, *lāras* continued to function even long after the introduction of the so-called *naghma chārtuk*. A *lāra* continued to be identified by its original name. Additionally, it should be noted that the compositional form of a *lāra* remained intact, while some innovations—such as long *shakls*, and the insertion of improvised phrases (*paltas*) between different sections of the composition—were introduced into its solo version.

It was suggested that when one speaks about a solo instrumental piece of Afghan art music, *musiqi klasik* ('classical music'), the term *naghma chārtuk* should be employed instead of *naghma kashāl*, which is an adopted,[48] uncommon, and an indistinct name. In contrast, the notion *lāra* should be used for the precise identification of a group instrumental compositions played at the beginning of the *ghazal* performances. It might be argued that the term *naghma chārtuk* is also an adopted name given by Ūstād Mohammad Omar (1284/1905-1359/1980)[49] to the solo version of *lāras*, which are considered to be the prototype of *naghma chārtuk*. Nonetheless, one must not ignore the fact that the term *naghma chārtuk* is very specific and it

[47] Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal (*ghazal* singer), Ghulam Hussain and Sultan Miazoy (*rabāb* players), expressed this hypothesis to the author of this thesis respectively in 2003, 1998 and 2000, and 2003.

[48] Baily (1997:117) adopted the term *naghma kashāl* from the vocabulary of Amir Jan Khushnawaz, a Herati musician who used this term for the identification of the same solo instrumental piece known elsewhere as *naghma chārtuk*

[49] Ūstād Mohammad Omar is credited with adopting the *lāra* as a solo genre for the Afghan *rabāb* and the further development and enrichment of the same genre. Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal (*ghazal* singer), Ghulam Hussain and Miazoy (*rabāb* players), are Afghan musicians, who are of such an opinion.

clearly indicates a particular genre of Afghan instrumental music played solo on *rabāb*, *sarod*, *tanbūr* and *dutār*.

Furthermore, it might be proposed that the adoption of a new name *naghma chārtuk* (lit. *chahārtuk*, 'four-part instrumental composition') for an old piece (*lāra*), was aimed at giving a national character to a borrowed compositional form that became closely associated with a national instrument of the country. This usage was probably also meant to make a distinction between a group and solo instrumental performance of the same genre. The replacement of the term *lāra* by *naghma chārtuk* possibly was designed to avoid any confusion between the virtuoso solo instrumental piece identified by the latter term, and a simple time-keeping melody known with the same term (*lahra*, *laharā* or *lehra*)[50] of the former term.

One may agree or disagree with the above suggestions and discussion. However, it is important to note that the acceptance of the term *lāra* to identify one of the original sources of *naghma chārtuk* might help one to come forward with a proposal about the roots of this specific genre of Afghan instrumental music that until now reminds obscure. This obscurity most probably is the result of the adoption of new names that do not have anything in common with the original name of this genre. The use of *naghma chārtuk*, as well as the close association of this musical genre with the Afghan *rabāb*, most probably led to the somewhat incorrect identification of *naghma chārtuk* as 'an old type of [an] Afghan piece historically bound with the history of the *rabāb*' (Baily 1988:79).

[50] This simple repeated melodic line, which fits the structure of a cycle of a particular *tāl* in the contemporary tradition of Hindustani music, is used as a background for solo drum performances. A comprehensive representation of *lahra* as a time-keeping melody is discussed in Neil Sorrell and Ram Narayan's *Indian Music in Performance* (1980:61, 121-122).

However, the term *lāra*, which most probably is a localised[51] version of the Hindustani word *laharā*, and the structural similarity between *naghma chārtuk* and an old instrumental composition of Hindustani music called *gat-todā*, suggest that the *naghma chārtuk* of Afghanistan is rooted on an old form of a North Indian instrumental piece. The Indian origin of this genre of Afghan instrumental music becomes more evident when one takes into consideration the fact that as a group and solo instrumental piece this genre is closely linked with *Kharābāti* musicians who continued to cultivate those genres that were passed to them by their Hindustani forefathers or mentors.

According to the best of my knowledge, no musical genre with the name *naghma chārtuk* was known in the past, neither in Afghanistan nor in neighbouring countries. However, as a specific song or compositional form, *lāra* or *laharā* is mentioned in the *Sarmāya-i Ishrat*. My understanding of the *lāra* or *laharā* is based on the text of the *Sarmāya-i Ishrat* as translated and discussed by Allyn Miner (1993:58).

In this source the term *lāra* or *laharā* emerges as an instrumental genre with the same status as the classical (*khyāl*) and semi-classical vocal genres (*tappa*, *thumri*, and *ghazal*) of Hindustani music. From the same source it appears that *laharā* was associated with the *sārang* and *sārang*-related instruments, and that it was played at the beginning of *thumri* and *ghazal* performances, fulfilling a warming up function. As pointed out previously in this chapter, in the past *lāra* fulfilled a similar function at the beginning of *ghazal* performances for the *ahwa-e rāg rā āwardan* ('creation of the ambience of a *rāg*'), to accustom musicians and the audience to the same *rāg* chosen for the beginning of *ghazal* performances.

Also, it should be noted that a *sitār* composition (*gat*) within the Masitkhani style of *gat-todā* was known as *gat lahara* (Miner 1993:203), which in a manner similar to the Afghan *lāra* or *naghma chārtuk*, started in slow tempo that gradually was increased and ended in a fast

[51] Hindustani music terminology has undergone a number of transformations in Afghanistan (Baily 1997:123). Thus, it seems quite reasonable to suggest that the term *lāra* in Afghanistan has been derived from Hindustani *laharā*.

tempo. As we shall see later on in this chapter, the compositional form of *lāra* or *naghma chārtuk* of Afghanistan shows some obvious similarities with the structure of *gat-todā*, an instrumental genre of Hindustani music created by Masit Khan, the founder of Masitkhani style in late 18th century for solo sitar performances (Miner 1993:93).

The association of *laharā* with *sārang* and *sitār*, two musical instruments that together with a *tabla* player became a common ensemble for the accompaniment of *nautch* girls throughout the 19th century,[52] suggest that this instrumental genre, mentioned within the *gat-todā* style of Masit Khan, probably was borrowed by *sārang* players from the repertoire of *sitār* players and possibly introduced into Afghanistan. It was reported in chapter seven that the majority of Indian musicians who came to Afghanistan in various periods of the 19th century were *sārang* and *tabla* players, brought into the country to accompany Indian dancing girls.

The connection between *sārang*, *sitār*, and *laharā* or *lāra* also indicates the possible use of this genre of instrumental music for a type of Indian classical dance.[53] Afghan musicians consider it to be possible that *lāra*s were used in the past for a type of Indian classical dance performed at Afghan courts by Indian dancing girls. Given this association, however, they categorically refused to accept any association of this genre in its group or solo version with and their clandestine boy parties, a claim made by Baily (1997:117, 118).

Those musicians interviewed in this regard argue that *lāra* and *naghma chārtuk* are genres of classical music not suitable for the dance of dancing boys, *bacha bāzigar*s, commonly known as *bacha bāzingar*s. The use of complex rhythmic modes, compositional form, and the classical character of melodies, as well as the status and prestige of musicians

[52] The use of *sitār*, *sārang*, and *tabla* players as accompanying musicians to the dance of the *nautch* girl is reported in written and visual sources throughout the 19th and into the 20th century. For a description of some of these sources and a visual depiction of the *sitār* playing such a role, see Miner (1993:35-38 and figures 22, 23, and 81).

[53] Sufi Lali, the maternal uncle of Ūstād Sarahang, reported to John Baily (1997:118) that *lāra* or *naghma chrātuk* used to be used for a type of Indian classical dance. Sufi Lali, in the same source, also indicates the Indian origin of this instrumental genre (*ibid.*).

cultivating *lāra* and *naghma*, make them out of reach of dancing boys. According to musicians interviewed for this thesis, dancing boys usually dance to accompanied *logari* and *uzbeki* (*qataghani*) dance pieces, which consist of several parts and can be as lengthy as *lāra* and *naghma chārtuk*.[54]

My informants reported that a *lāra*, similar to a *naghma chārtuk*, consisted of four parts plus a prelude (*shakl*). The fixed parts of a *lāra* were identified with the same names employed for naming the main section of a *naghma chārtuk*; namely, *āstāi-e*, *antara*, *sanchari*, and *bog*. These terms, representing the sequential sections of a *dhrupad* composition, in the same manner identified the melodic series of *todās* in an early solo instrumental genre of Hindustani music called *gat-todā*, which primarily identified all solo *sitār* music in the early period (Miner 1993:93, 185).[55]

This is not the only resemblance between *naghma chārtuk* and *gat-todā* in which the *gat* conforms with the definition of *āstāi-e* (Miner 1993:185), while the *todā* compositional format represented the high range *antara* (*ibid.*), or at least four more pre-composed expressions (*antaras*) that extended the number of parts of a *gat-todā* to five or even more sections. Such a tendency might be traced also in *naghma chārtuk*, the *āstāi-e* composition of which has been compared with an Indian *gat* (Baily 1997:157), while the *antara* section consists of several parts that might be compared to *todās*. One of the reasons that apparently influenced Baily to adopt the terms *naghma kashāl* for naming *naghma chārtuk* was the number of melodic sections, which are more than four in a *naghma chārtuk* (1997:117).

The predominant use of *tin-tāl* in *naghma chārtuk*, which frequently is indicated for use with Masitkhani *gat-todā* (Miner 1993:180), is another source of kinship between these

[54] Baily, in making this claim in the cited source, does not provide us with any detail or example. On the contrary in his monograph, in describing dancing boy parties and dances (1988:141), he names *logari* and *uzbeki* dance pieces as primarily dance tunes used for dancing boys, seemingly contradicting his earlier view about the association of *naghma chrātuk* with dancing boy parties. Slobin (1976:119) also names these two dance pieces as the primary dance tunes used for dancing boys. A detailed description of dancing boy parties and their dancing style appears in Slobin (1976:116-121) and Baily (1988:140-142).

[55] Masit Khan, the most famous of the early *sitār* players of Dehli, is credited with introducing the *gat-todā* style of performance (Miner 1993:92, 93, 185).

two instrumental genres. A collection of *naghma chārtuk*s found in 'the *naghma-ye kashāl* of Afghanistan' compiled by Baily, demonstrates a strong relationship with *tin-tāl*. All the sixteen compositions reported in the work just named are set to the rhythmic mode *tin-tāl*.[56]

As Baily has reported (1997:118), most of these compositions are composed over two cycles of *tin-tāl*, another sign of similarity between the *naghma chārtuk* and *gat-todā*. In written collections of the 19th century, one finds examples of *gat-todā* that cover two rhythmic cycles of *tin-tāl* (Miner 1993:182). The systematic introduction of rhythmic variations in *todā*s in early *sitār* music (Miner 1993:185), which was common to all Masitkhani *gat*s (*ibid.* 93), is present in *naghma chārtuk*. This principle, which predominates within *naghma chārtuk*, and has caused some scholars to consider it as 'a vehicle for rhythmic rather than for melodic improvisation' (Baily 1997:118), might be added to the other similarities between this genre of contemporary Afghan art music and the *gat-todā* tradition of India.

This instrumental genre of Hindustani music, based on ideas from *dhrupad* (Miner 1993:104), similar to the source of its inspiration, did not allow melodic improvisation within its compositional framework (Ranade 1990:48). This stylistic feature might explain the predominance of rhythmic variation or improvisation in the *naghma chārtuk* genre, which resonates several different aspects of *gat-todā*.

On the bases of the above discussion about *naghma chārtuk*, one may conclude that this genre of Afghan instrumental music is based on an earlier form of a North Indian Instrumental music; namely, *gat-todā*. It might be suggested that the *gat-todā*, after undergoing several transformations and modifications, was developed and changed beyond recognition in the place of its origin. But in its primary form and structure, the *gat-todā* of Hindustan was preserved somewhere else with a new local name (*naghma chārtuk*), and also became associated with a local musical instrument (*rabāb*). These two factors possibly led to

[56] For these sixteen compositions see 'The *naghma-ye kashāl* of Afghanistan' (Baily 1997: 117-162).

the obscurity of the origin and roots of *naghma chārtuk*, which seems to be based on the *gat-todā*.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to present the vocal and instrumental genres that were introduced into Afghanistan after the arrival of Hindustani musicians, and then those genres of Afghan music that are associated with Afghan musicians trained in Hindustani music. From the above discussion it appears that some Hindustani vocal genres, which might have been cultivated in Afghanistan in the second half of the 19th century, such as *dhrupad*, are obsolete there today, while other classical and semi-classical genres of Hindustani singing still are practiced by Afghan singers and musicians.

Furthermore, it has been reported that Hindustani vocal genres, such as *khyāl*, *tarāna*, and *thumri*, generally are performed in their original languages, and that Afghan singers traditionally follow the compositional structure and performance style of each genre as they are cultivated and performed in India. Nonetheless, there were attempts made by a few Afghan singers in the second half of the 20th century to adapt these styles of singing to a broader Afghan audience by using a Dari/Persian or a Pashto text in these three Hindustani genres.

Moreover, it has been discussed that *ghazal* singing in the tradition of Hindustani music was introduced in Afghanistan at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. This style of *ghazal* performance, thanks to the borrowing of some elements of an earlier style of *ghazal* singing, which was performed by Herati court musicians, soon became the beloved genre of many Afghans. These elements included the use of Dari/Persian lyrics, and the insertion of an interpolation within the format of the Hindustani *ghazal*, called *shāh fard*.

Also, this chapter considered the history of the formation and compositional structure of *tarz*, which is the genre of Afghan popular songs. This new genre of Afghan vocal music apparently is modelled on the compositional format of the Hindustani *ghazal* and other classical and semi-classical genres of Hindustani music, which mainly consist of two fixed sections; namely, the *sthāi* (Afghan *āstāi-e*) and *antarā* (Afghan *antara*), distinguished from each other by the tonal tessitura of each section. It has been suggested that the introduction of a composed instrumental piece, *naghma*, within the compositional structure of a *ghazal*, possibly might be traced to an instrumental piece that was used to separate parts of a Pashto song in the tradition of the singing of *qisahey manzum* ('versified stories'). Another element giving this type of song an Afghan tinge is the use of Dari/Persian and Pashto lyrics.

The last genre discussed in this chapter was *naghma chārtuk*, which is a contemporary instrumental genre of Afghan music closely associated with the *rabāb*. It was argued that this genre of Afghan music, before becoming a solo instrumental piece, was played by all the members of an ensemble at the beginning of a *ghazal* performance, as a means to accustom musicians and the audience to the ambience of the melodic mode chosen for the beginning of *ghazal* performances. As a group instrumental composition, the *naghma chārtuk* was known as *lāra*.

Furthermore, it was suggested that the compositional structure and style of the performance of *naghma chārtuk* reflects an earlier genre of Hindustani music, *gat-todā*, which after several modifications and transformations was changed beyond recognition in India, while in its primary structure and style of performance, the *gat-todā* was preserved and popularised in Afghanistan.

On the basis of the above discussion, one may conclude that Hindustani genres, such as *khyāl*, *tarāna*, *thumri*, and *gat-todā*, which were brought to Afghanistan by Hindustani musicians, still maintain their originality in structure, language, and style of performance.

Nonetheless, a new name has been adopted for the *gat-todā*, and attempts were made to adapt Dari/Persian or Pashto lyrics for *khyāl*, *tarāna*. The only genre that has undergone some transformation and change is *ghazal*, the compositional structure of which, in its turn, served as a model for the creation of the *tarz* genre.

Chapter 9

The Theoretical Base of Music in Contemporary Afghanistan with Reference to *rāgs* and *tāls*

In the previous chapters of this thesis we have seen that before the arrival of Indian musicians into Afghanistan in the late 18th century, during the reign of Timur Shah (1773-1793), the tradition of Khurāsānian music and its scale system dominated the art music of the country. By the end of the 19th and the first quarter of the 20th centuries, the arrival of more Indian musicians and the royal patronage offered to these musicians and their music led to the domination of North Indian classical music. This domination greatly increased the process of the transition of Khurāsānian music and its replacement by the tradition of Hindustani music with its scale and metric systems; namely, the concepts of *rāg* and *tāl*. It is not the intention of this chapter to provide a comprehensive description of these two fundamental conceptual entities of North Indian classical music. Rather, the attempt here is to outline some differences and the characteristics of these concepts in Afghanistan, as demonstrated on several occasions during the last several years by Afghan musicians.

The *tāts*, *rāgs*, and *rāgnis*

As Baily has reported, Afghan musicians generally accept the concepts of the North Indian scale system of *rāg* as it is demonstrated in *Hindustāni Sangit Paddhati*[1] compiled by Pandit Bhatkhande in the early 20th century (1981:2). However, it should be noted that the new system of classification of ten primary *tāts* (Hindustani *thāts*)[2] and their subordinate melodic modes (*rāgs*), as outlined in Bhatkhande's works, has been somewhat rearranged in

[1] References to Bhatkhande's work in this thesis are based on *The Rāgas of North India* by Walter Kaufmann (1968), who in his book drew extensively from Bhatkhande's *Hindustāni Sangit Paddati*.

[2] In this thesis, the primary spelling of conceptual entities related to music theory reflect current usage in Afghanistan. Hindustani spellings, which are often easily recognised as being very similar, are used only when the context of the discussion clearly indicates the Hindustani music of North India.

Afghanistan and combined with an older theory of Hindustani music; namely, the system of six primary *rāgs* and their *rāgnis*.[3]

This later classification, which represents an early theory in which the *rāgas* were systematised before the introduction of the Bhatkhande system in India, appears in Afghanistan as part of the new Bhatkhande system used there. Afghan musicians, when talking about the categories or classification of *rāgs*, report that there are ten *tāts*, six fundamental *rāgas*, and hundreds of *rāgnis*. The author of this thesis experienced verbal reference to this classification on several occasions during his personal communication with Afghan musicians. Ūstād Sarahang, an Afghan authority and expert of Hindustani music of the previous generation, has also used this classification in a programme of his radio-lessons, in which he introduced the *kāfi* and *todi tāts*.[4]

After introducing the scale of *todi tāt*, the reply of Ūstād Sarahang, to a question asked by the interviewer Madadi about whether *gojri todi*, *blās khāni todi*, and *miā ke todi* were *rāgs*, was categorically negative. 'No they are not. They are *rāgnis*, technically called *rāgs*. There are only six *rāgs*. ... Even *todi* itself is not a *rāg*. ... It is one of the ten *tāts*. Among the ten *tāts* only *bhairo* (Hindustani *bhairav*) functions as a *tāt* and a *rāg*. The rest are only *tāts*'.[5]

The problem of the classification of *rāgs* is raised and discussed by Ūstād Sarahang in several other series of his *Klāsika Musiqi* radio programme. Discussing the importance of the *komol* (♭) and *tiwar* (♯) altered pitches, and their correct performance and intonation for the creation of *tāts*, *rāgs*, and *rāgnis*, Ūstād Sarahang explained that 'there are two types of pitches; namely, *komol* and *tiwar*, respectively identifying 'female' and 'male' in music. Unless, these two types of pitches, respectively represented in the *bairawi* and in the *kalyān*

[3] For a detailed description of this early theory see Gangoly's *Rāgas* and *Rāginis: a Pictorial and Iconographic Study of Indian Musical Modes Based on Original Sources* (1948).
[4] This classification is documented in a reading of the radio programme *Klāsika Musiqi*: *kāfi*, and *todi tāts*, Radio Afghanistan Archives, tape 2837, part 1.
[5] Translated into English by the author of this thesis.

tāts, are correctly comprehended and distinguished, it is impossible to learn and understand music thoroughly. It is the mixture and combination of these two types of pitches of the *bairawi* and the *kalyān tāts* that lead to the formation of another eight *tāts*. Each *tāt* serves as a source for the derivation of hundreds of modes. Six of these modes are *rāgs* and the rest are *rāgnis*'.[6]

Bhairo and *hindola* are identified by Ūstād Sarahang as two of the six *rāgs*.[7] Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal, in addition to these two titles, named *dipak*, *meg*, *sri*, and *mālkaus*, as the other four *rāgs* of the group of six (private communication, 2003). These six modes, in the system of *rāg* and *rāgnis*, represent six male *rāgs*. In the new Bhatkhande system in India the six *rāgs* are treated as equals with their wives, the *rāgnis*. In Afghanistan it appears that the six *rāgs* are still separated and distinguished from their subordinate *rāgnis*. Nonetheless, in Afghanistan they lose their primacy to the ten *tāts* and are absorbed into these new parent scales of North India, where both the six *rāgs* and their *rāgnis* were equated and given a single theoretical name, the *rāg*.

Ūstād Sarahang, in classifying *tāts*, *rāgs*, and *rāgnis* as three elements of a single theory, also makes an interesting comment about the relationship between the ten *tāts*. From the above citation, it appears that Ūstād Sarahang considered the *bairawi* and *kalyān tāts* as the primary source for the derivation of the other eight *tāts*, as respectively being the female and male in music.

Ūstād Mussa Qassemi,[8] on several different occasions has expressed a similar interpretation of *tāts*. The late Ūstād Mussa Qassemi considered that the ten primary modes of Hindustani music, known as *tāts* in Afghanistan, unjustifiably have been grouped together and

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[6] This classification is given by Ūstād Sarahang in the radio programme *Klāsika Musiqi*: *tashrihāt sorāhi komol wa tiwar*, Radio Afghanistan Archives, tape 2699, part 1, translated here by the author of this thesis.

[7] These two *rāgs* respectively are identified in two series of *Klāsika Musiqi*: *tashrihāt sorāhi komol* wa *tiwar* and *rāg hindola*, Radio Afghanistan Archives, tapes 2699 and 2916.

[8] He is the grandson of Ūstād Qassem Afghan and the son of Aqa Mohammad. The latter person, in addition to being the son-in-law of Ūstād Qassem, also was a member of his musical ensemble. Aqa Mohammad, who was employed by Ūstād Qassem as a *dilruba* player, was also a good singer.

do not reflect the main principle of correlation between the existing and potential possibilities of *rāgs*. In his view, there are only two *tāts*, *bairawi* and the *kalyān*, which should be considered as parents of the other *tāts* and *rāgs* (private communication, 1992). According to his suggestion, which is identical to the explanation of Ūstād Sarahang, *bairawi* and *kalyān tāts* respectively represent the male and female in music.

Such an interpretation and consideration of the system of *tāts*, which contradict the accepted contemporary canons of Hindustani music in India, where all ten *tāts* are considered as equal with each other, suggest that the early gender duality of the *rāg* and *rāgni* system has been applied by Afghan professional performing musicians, considered by many to be experts of Hindustani music in Afghanistan, to the new Bhatkhande theory of ten *tāts*.

This insertion of the new *tāt* theory into another related earlier theoretical concept is most probably the result of the historical fact that most Afghan musicians practicing Hindustani music today and in recent times were trained by their ancestors or mentors who came to Afghanistan with the old *rāg* and *rāgni* system, which they maintained, disseminated, and passed down to the heirs of their musical knowledge.

It also should be noted that in the vocabulary of some contemporary Afghan musicians the term *masdar*—signifying in Dari/Persian 'the source', 'the origin', 'the spring' and 'departure' (Steingass 1957:1252)—is synonymously used with the word *tāt* for the identification of the ten main or primary scales of Bhatkhande, which Deva has identified in Hindustani music as being 'parent' scales (Deva 1973:19).[9] *Masdar* is not the only local term that Afghan musicians use as an equivalent of a Hindustani technical term connected with pitch, interval, scale, and other aspects of a *rāg*.

For instance, *panj-sora*, *shash-sora* and *haft-sora* are local Dari terms, equated by Afghan musicians with the Hindustani-derived terms *odo* (Hindustani *odava*), *kadūra*

[9] Two Afghan musicians, Majid Sipand (*sitār* player) and Ulfat Ahang (singer), interviewed privately for this thesis, identified *masdar* as the synonym of *tāt*.

(Hindustani *shādava*), and *sampuran* (Hindustani *sampūrna*), which are used respectively for the identification of *rāgs* with five, six, and seven pitches. Other local terms connected with one or another aspect of *rāgs* in Afghanistan, as Baily has reported (1981:12, 1988:41) and as Sakata has pointed out (1983:64), are *raft* and *āmad*, which are synonymously used with the Hindustani-derived words *āro* or *ārui* (Hindustani *aroha*) and *amro* or *amrui* (Hindustani *avaroha*) for the description of the ascending and descending movement of a *rāg*. Additionally, several Afghan technical terms are linked with the concept of *tāl*. These terms will be introduced later in this chapter.

As we know, the number of pitches in a melodic mode or *rāg* is considered to be an important factor in distinguishing between classical and tribal music (Deva 1974:11). In theory, a *rāg* has to have at least five and at the utmost seven pitches (Kaufmann 1968:2, 57). In South Asia, melodies with fewer than five pitches are met in tribal music and should not be considered as a *rāg* (Deva 1974:11). However, Ūstād Sarahang, widely accepted as the most experienced and knowledgeable Afghan singer of the classical tradition, ignores this basic principle. In Ūstād Sarahang's view, a musician's ability and skill in performing the most complicated compositions, by employing what he considers to be *rāgs* with a small number of pitches, is one of the norms that determines the essence of *rāgs*. His view is in marked contrast to the theory of Hindustani music, which defines *rāg* basically by the fact that a *rāg* should consist of a scale of at least five pitches.

Ūstād Sarahang, in a programme of his radio lessons known as *Klāsika Musiqi*, in introducing *rāg mālsri*,[10] consisting of the three pitches *sā*, *ga*, and *pa*, expresses his opinion regarding the number of pitches in a *rāg*. 'I consider such a restriction [as found in Hindustani music theory] incorrect. It is possible to sing for two hours using only three pitches. Everything depends on the skill and mastery of a performer'. This argument is followed by the

[10] The recording of this radio-lesson and performance is held at the Archives of Radio Afghanistan, tape 2957.

performance of a *khyāl* in *rāg mālsri* (track 12 of CD 1), or more precisely speaking, in the third type of the melodic mode known in Hindustani music as *rāg malashri*, as reported by Kaufmann.[11]

The success of Ūstād Sarahang in performing a complicated composition with a *rāg* that consists of only three pitches in theory is not the result of his skill, abilities, and his mastery alone. It is also the result of a masterly usage of two hidden descending gliding pitches, *re* and *ma*, as can be heard in his performance. These pitches are theoretically overlooked or not admitted by Ūstād Sarahang. By comparison, Indian musicians use these hidden gliding steps as evidence to argue that the tone material of the *rāg* contains five notes (Kaufmann 1968:74).

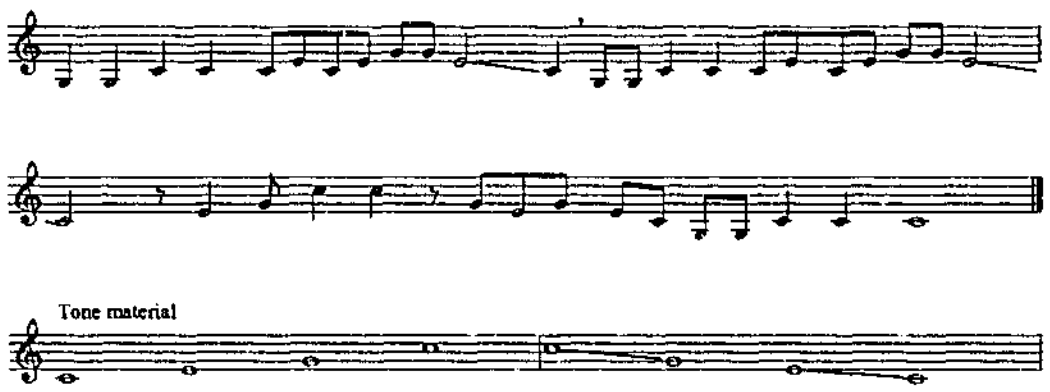


Fig. 9. *Rāg mālsri* and its tone material.

Furthermore, Afghan musicians, in addition to practicing and employing well-known *rāgs* that comprise the cornerstone of the panorama of contemporary Hindustani melodic modes, also perform in rare and less significant *rāgs*, such as *mālsri*, *jit-kaliyan* and *jit-marva*. Wahid Qassemi even names modes that are not found in the system of Hindustani music, such as *sendra* and *nairiz*, identified by him as modes of local origin (private communication,

[11] According to Kaufmann, Hindustani musicians distinguish three types of *rāg malashri* or *mālsri* (1968:72). In his distinction the third type consists of three pitches *sā*, *ga*, *pa* as demonstrated by Ūstād Sarahang, who also speaks in the radio programme just noted of three types of *rāg mālsri*, consisting of five, four, and three notes.

2000). His uncle Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi, in listing *rāgs* used by Ūstād Qassem for his songs, also mentions *nairiz* without distinguishing it from the others that are of Indian origin. The 19 *rāgs* noted by Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi are *pilo*, *pāri*, *mālkauns*, *bairo*, *lalat*, *mārva*, *pūriya*, *yaman*, *bopāhli*, *talang*, *bāgisri*, *konsiya*, *kastūri*, *multani*, *darbāri*, *sohani*, *āsā*, *basnat*, and *nairiz* (1350/1971:18).

The terms *sendra* or *senduri* and *nairiz* or *nayriz* are used by the decedents of Ūstād Qassem for the identification of two modes that are not found with the same name in the system of Hindustani *rāgs*. These two modes, considered as local *rāgs* in Afghanistan, are also encountered in the *maqām* system of Kashmir with the same names.[12] To date I have not been able to compare the tone material of these two *rāgs* to the Kashmiri *maqāms* with the same name.

The penetration of *sendra* and *nairiz* into the vocabulary of Afghan musicians and its adoption into the Hindustani system of *rāgs* in Afghanistan is most probably a result of the presence of Kashmiri musicians at Afghan courts and in the musicians' quarter *Kharābāt*. These musicians might have introduced these two modes to their heirs and pupils. Among Kashmiri musicians Satar Joo, the father of Ūstād Qassem, was an outstanding figure whose decedents safeguarded and passed down these two modes to Afghan musicians trained in Hindustani music.

According to Wahid Qassemi, the *ghazals* *Dar jahan hasti* ('In the world of existence') and the *tarz* *Por ghubār shod āsmān-i man* ('My sky became foggy') (track 13 of CD 1 and track 1 of CD 2), respectively performed by himself and his uncle Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi, are respectively composed in the *sendra* and *nayriz rāgs* (private communication, 2003).

[12] For the *maqām* system of Kashmir, see 'Suiyana Kalam, the Classical Music of Kashmir' (Pacholczyk 1979:7-9).

Afghan musicians, describing these two so-called local *rāgs*, always associate them with *rāgs* of Hindustani music, a practice that, according to Baily, might have been used by Afghan musicians trained in North Indian classical music for the identification or systematisation of modes used in the urban music of Afghanistan (1981:37). Wahid Qassemi, when introducing *sendra* and *nayriz* to the author of this thesis, respectively likened them to the North Indian *rāgs bhimplāsi*, and *mānd* (private communication, 2003). A similar view by Afghan musicians has also been reported by Baily (1988:42).

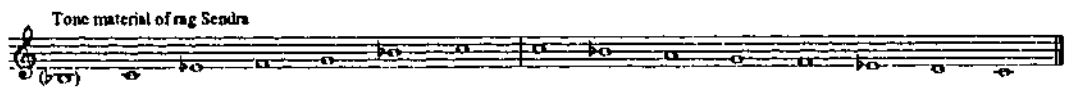


Fig. 10. The tone material of *rāg sendra*.

Additionally, it should be noted that in Afghanistan *asāwari* and *multani* are *rāgs* of North Indian music, and they are known in Hindustan music with the same names (*āsāvri and multāni*), rather than as *jaunpuri* and *sindi bhairavi*, as has been claimed by some Afghan musicians in the city of Herat and reported by Baily (1988:42). The confusion between *asavari* and *jaunpuri* in Afghanistan is most probably the result of a very close likeness between these two *rāgs*, which still causes Indian musicians to engage in relatively heated arguments concerning the correct performance rules of these two *rāgs* of Hindustani music.[13]

One should also note that constructing new *rāgs* is practiced among Afghan musicians to a certain extent, and it is done in two ways. One method is the path in which musicians, through a combination of pitches of two or more *rāgs*, create their own modes. The second approach follows the principle of borrowing melodic modes from the folk songs sung by various groups of people living in Afghanistan. This approach is not an innovation of Afghan

[13] For description of *jaunpuri rāg* and its comparison to the *āsāvri rāg* see Kaufmann (1968:469-471).

musicians. As has been reported, the names of some of the Hindustani *rāgs* are associated and named after several groups of people and places.[14]

Tracks number 2 and 3 of CD 2, respectively called *rāg mina mani* (My Mina) and *rāg hazra*, which is the correct pronunciation of the term Hazara in Hazaragi (Mousavi 1997:34),[15] are examples respectively of the two different approaches. The *rāg* performed on track 2 of CD 2 has been constructed by Ūstād Sarahang himself. By comparison, track 3 of CD 2 is based on a melody that Ūstād Sarahang heard from a *Hazra* boy selling fruit in a street of Kabul, after whose ethnic group it is titled.[16] The title *hazra* given to this mode indicates the regional, folk and ethnic origin of the melodic scale.

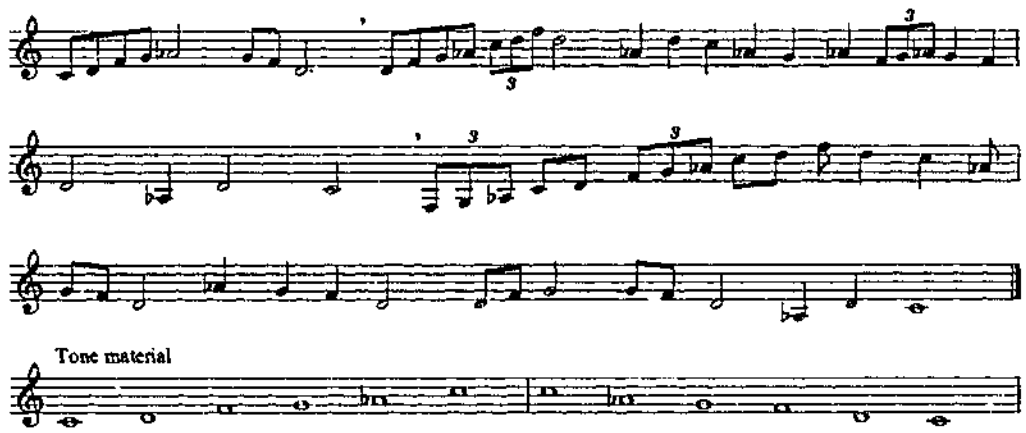


Fig. 11. The *rāg mina mani* and its tone material.

[14] For the association of the names of Hindustani *rāgs* with different groups of people see *The Rāgas of North India* (Kaufmann 1968:18-20).

[15] Hazaragi is the name of a language spoken by a group of people that traditionally live in the mountainous areas of Central Afghanistan. This language, named after its native speakers the Hazras or Hazaras, has been described as a dialect of Persian strongly influenced by the Turkic and Mongol languages. A comprehensive discussion on the origin, race, history and culture of this community is available in Mousavi's *The Hazaras of Afghanistan* (1997). Professor Hiromi Lorraine Sakata carried out an investigation into the musical culture of the Hazaras. The outcome of her study is available in her *Music in the Mind* (1983).

[16] Ūstād Sarahang reports about the creation of these two *rāgs* in a TV interview. This interview may be observed in the documentary *Nawā-e Jāwidān Ūstād Sarahang* [*The Eternal Voice of Ūstād Sarahang*], a film dedicated to Ūstād Sarahang and his art, By Asadullah Habib and Mahsud Atta-e (1999).

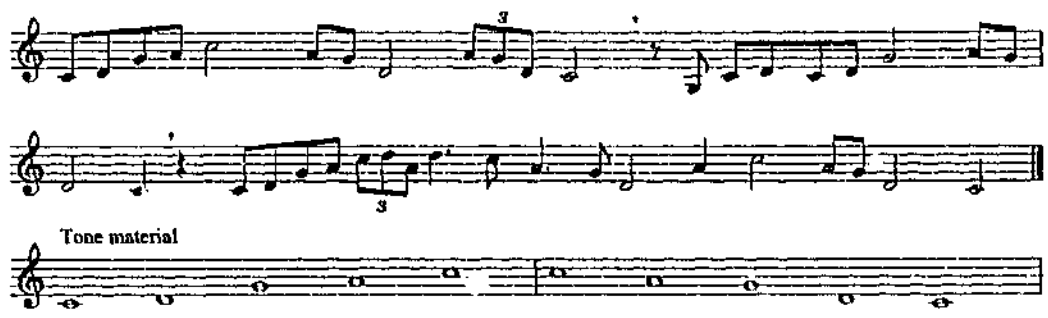


Fig. 12. *Rāg hazra* and its tone material

Another interesting phenomenon is the synonymous use among Afghan musicians of two different words that are used elsewhere to indicate two relatively diverse concepts, *maqām* and *rāg*. Though these two terms are used for the identification of two different but related conceptual entities in two different musical cultures, in Afghanistan they are used as being equivalent to each other. As Baily has reported (1988:40), and as the author of this thesis has observed, the term *rāg* and the word *maqām* are used by Afghan musicians for the general identification of the melodic modes. Such apparent terminological ambiguity and the simultaneous use of words that from a cultural, theoretical, and scientific point of view are significantly different, might be considered by some to be an accidental and slipshod practice. In this instance, however, it reflects the historical realities of Afghanistan. Prior to the introduction of Hindustani music, Khurāsānian music and its scale system dominated the court music of the various rulers of this region.

Also, this verbal ambiguity today still reflects the co-existence of at least two different musical systems in Afghanistan until the first half of 20th century, when the old system of *maqāms* gave place to Hindustani *rāgs*, which subsequently took over from the old system, even in its stronghold, the city of the Heart.[17]

[17] The course of this transition is comprehensively discussed by Baily in the *Music of Afghanistan: Professional Musicians in the City of Heart* (1988).

Furthermore, with the introduction of Western staff notation and European musical terminology into Afghanistan, new words from this tradition found their way into the musical vocabulary of Afghan musicians not trained in Western music. The author of this thesis, during his professional life at Afghan State Radio, where he worked as a trumpet player, as well as during his fieldwork for this thesis, on several occasions witnessed the substitution of one or another words borrowed from Western music for Hindustani terms. Such substitutions included the use of Western solfa (do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, do), and other separate terms of Western origin.

The penetration of Western musical terms for pitche or tone into the vocabulary of Afghan musicians trained in Hindustani music, or of North Indian musical words into the language of those musicians educated in Western music, most probably is the result of close collaboration between various groups of Afghan musicians at Afghan State Radio. Such cooperation started with the establishment of *Arkestar Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*, founded by the Music Directory of Afghanistan Radio under the leadership of Ūstād Sarmast (1930-1990) in 1349/1970. This orchestra was comprised of 38 players playing Afghan, Indian, and Western musical instruments. Members of this orchestra were trained in the Hindustani and Western musical systems. The contribution made by this orchestra to the musical life of Afghanistan is discussed in the next chapter of this thesis.

Tāl

The concept of *tāl* is the fundamental principle of metric organisation in the classical and urban music of Afghanistan.[18] As a principle of metric organisation, *tāl*, which has been

[18] The presentation of the concepts of *tāl* and *lai* in Afghanistan in this chapter is based on information obtained from three Afghan masters of *tabla*; namely, Mohammad Wali Nabizada, Mohammad Arif Chishti, and Mohammad Asif Chishti. The first musician was interviewed in 1992 and 1998. The second and third *tabla* players were respectively interviewed in 1998 and 2003. The interviews carried out in 1992 and 1998 were recorded on video. These recordings are held in my private archives. Mohammad Asif Chishti was interviewed several times via telephone. These telephone communications were recorded in written notes.

translated as 'time measure' (Jairazbhoy 1971:29), is organised according to complicated norms conceived as cyclically recurring patterns of a fixed length (Clayton 2000:43). The overall time-span of each cycle (*chekār*), known in Hindustani music as *āvart* (*ibid.*), consists of a fixed number of smaller time units or pulses called *mātras*.

The *mātras* are organised into sections (*vibhāghs*), which form sub-sections of a *chekār* or *daireh tāl* ('cycle of a *tāl*'). Afghan *tabla* players, being aware of such sub-divisions and clearly executing them in practice, neither employ any particular term for the definition of such sub-sections, nor are they familiar with the notion of *vibhāgh* as used in Hindustani music for the identification of sub-divisions of an *āvart* or one cycle of a *tāl*. Afghan *tabla* performers recognise these sub-sections according to the emphasis and negation of stresses distributed within a *tāl*. The terms *por* and *zarb*, respectively signifying 'full' and 'a beat', are words used in Afghanistan for the definition and demarcation of the sonorous beat of a *tāl* known in the tradition of Hindustani music as *tāli*. The notion *khāli*, meaning 'empty', as used in North Indian classical music for the description of the less sonorous or inaudible beats of a *tāl*, is used by Afghan musicians for the same purpose.

The term *gor*, most probably a transformed version of the Hindustani word *graha*, which is an equivalent of the notion of *sam* (Ranade 1990:63) as used in Hindustani music for indicating the starting point of a metric cycle (*tāl*), is used for this purpose in Afghanistan. However, one should note that the leading *tabla* players of Afghanistan are also familiar with the term *sam* and its primary meaning. Leading Afghan *tabla* players, such as Mohammad Wali Nabizada, Mohammad Arif Chishti, and Mohammad Asif Chishti, use the word *sam* synonymously with the word *gor*.

The organisation of *por* and *khāli*, used for marking two different types of sections of a *tāl*, is also used for the construction of a fixed sequence of *tabla* syllables (*alfāz tabla*) known as *teka* (Hindustani *thekā*). The term *bol*, which is used in North Indian music for identifying

the mnemonic syllables of a *thekā*, is synonymous with the word *alfāz* used in Afghanistan. Each *tāl* has its own characteristic *teka*, symbolised by syllables (*alfāz*) such as *dhā*, *dhin*, *nā*, *tin*, *tā*, *dhāge*, *tirakita*, etc. The oral recitation of *alfāz* is accompanied by two hand gestures, either a clap or a wave. Respectively these two gestures are used to mark the *por* and *khāli* sub-sections of a *tāl*, and are therefore used for teaching and learning the *tāl*s.

In the following illustration of *tin-tāl* and the other common *tāl*s of Afghanistan, **X** represents the *gor*, the numbers **2** and **3** indicate the second and the third *por*s and **0** the *khāli* pulse, and their respective sub-sections. *Tin-tāl* is considered as the mother of all *tāl*s (Mohammad Asif Chishti, personal communication). It consists of 16 *mātra*s, which are divided into four sub-sections, in the sequence of 4 + 4 + 4 + 4. Its pattern is comprised of three *por*s and one *khāli*. The first and second sub-sections are *por*s. The third sub-section is a *khāli*, and the fourth sub-section is also *por*. The counting-out pattern of these four sub-sections, and the hand gestures for each of them respectively, forms the following model; *por* + *por* + *khāli* + *por*: clap + clap + wave + clap.

tin-tāl: 16 *mātra*s, 4 + 4 + 4 + 4

grouped into 4 sub-sections of 3 *por*s and 1 *khāli*

sub-sections	**X**				**2**				**0**				**3**				**X**
*mātra*s	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	1
alfāz	*dhā*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*dhā*	*dhā*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*dhā*	*dhā*	*tin*	*tin*	*tā*	*tā*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*dhā*	*dhā*

According to leading Afghan *tabla* players today, theoretically there are hundreds of *tāl*s with even and odd numbers of time units (*mātra*s). Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti (1313/1934-1369/1990)[19] (Madadi 1375/1996:293) and Mohammad Wali Nabizada (personal

[19] The late Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti, in addition of being the most skilful *tabla* player of contemporary Afghanistan, was also a competent *sitār*, *rabāb*, *sarod*, and *harmonia* player. Furthermore, he was a good singer and gifted songwriter.

communication, 1992, 1997) are of the opinion that 360 *tāls* constitute the total number of metric modes, only a very few of which are in use.[20] Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti names 20 *tāls* as the more common metric cycles (Madadi 1375/1996:293). Listing these 20 *tāls*, he also provides the number of their time units (*mātras*) each, and the number of their *por* and *khāli* sub-sections, as noted below.

In the tables below, it should be noted that the order of these 20 *tāls* has been changed slightly in order to facilitate their subsequent description and discussion. *Tāls* not named among the common *tāls* of North India as listed by Clayton (2000:58-59) and Stewart (1974:89-92) are introduced first. Secondly, four *tāls* are given, which are described differently by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti, Clayton, and Stewart. Finally, 8 *tāls* are listed, the structure and description of six of which correspond to the structure and description of the Hindustani *tāls* with the same name. In all three tables the *tāls* are arranged in a descending order according to their respective number of *mātras*.

The number of *tāls* given by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti is similar to the number of *tāls* used in Hindustani music in general. Clayton reports that about 20 *tāls* are commonly used in North Indian music at the present time (2000:57). Eight of the 20 *tāls* named by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti are not listed among the *tāls* commonly used in Hindustani music, as reported and described by Clayton (2000:58-59) and Stewart (1974:89-92).

These eight *tāls* are *hasht-mangal* (22 *mātras* organised into 9 sub-sections of 6 *pors* and 3 *khālis*), *mig-tāl* (20 *mātras* of 6 *pors* and 2 *khālis*), *sālūt* (18 *mātras* of 6 *pors* and 2 *khālis*), *lakshmi-tāl* (17 *mātras* of 5 *pors* and 2 *khālis*), *tilwara* (16 *mātras* of 4 *pors* and 2 *khālis*), *frodast* (14 *mātras* organised into 6 sub-sections of 4 *pors* and 2 *khālis*), *jai-tāl* (13 *mātras* of 3 *pors* and 2 *khālis*), and *gheda* (4 *mātras* of one *por* and one *khāli*). The first seven

[20] Ūstād Sarahang, in his radio programme *Klāsika Musiqi: shankara rāg*, gave the number 360 as the total number of *tāls*, Radio Afghanistan Archives, tape 2709.

out of these *tāls* are rare metric cycles, generally used in *tabla* solos, while *gheda*, organised into two sub-sections (2+2), is widely used in Afghan urban music.

Name of *tāls*	Number of *mātras*	Outline of sub-sections
hasht-mangal	22 *mātras*	6 *pors* and 3 *khālis*
mig-tāl	20 *mātras*	6 *pors* and 2 *khālis*
sālūt [*sālwand*]	18 *mātras*	6 *pors* and 2 *khālis*
lakshmi-tāl	17 *mātras*	5 *pors* and 2 *khālis*
tilwara	16 *mātras*	4 *pors* and 2 *khālis*
frodast [*firoz-dast*]	14 *mātras*	4 *pors* and 2 *khālis*
jai-tāl	13 *mātras*	3 *pors* and 2 *khālis*
gheda	4 *mātras*	1 *por* and 1 *khāli*

Fig. 13. The first group of *tāls* named by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti

dahmār	14 *mātras*	4 *pors* with 2 *khālis*
ārachāw-tāl	14 *mātras*	4 *pors* and 2 *khālis*
jhūmra	14 *mātras*	5 *pors* and 2 *khālis*
dipchandi	7 *mātras*	3 *pors* and 1 *khāli*

Fig. 14. The second group of *tāls* named by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti

tin-tāl	16 *mātras*	3 *pors* and 1 *khāli*
yak-tāl	12 *mātras*	4 *por* and 2 *khālis*
jap-tāl	10 *mātras*	3 *pors* and 1 *khāli*
kehrwa	8 *mātras*	1 *por* and 1 *khāli*
tāpiya	8 *mātras*	2 *por* and 1 *khāli*
rūpak	7 *mātras*	2 *pors* and 1 *khāli*
mugholi	7 *mātras*	1 *por* and 1 *khāli*
dādra	6 *mātras*	1 *por* and 1 *khāli*

Fig. 15. The third group of *tāls* named by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti

Twelve of the 20 common *tāls* named by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti are reported among the prevalent *tāls* of North India, but one should note that there are some structural differences between *dahmār*, *ārachāw-tāl*, *jhūmra*, and *dipchandi* as they are described by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti, Clayton and Stewart. In all three sources *dahmār* is described as having 14 units. However, the number of 6 sub-sections given by

Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti as the organisation of *dahmār*, consisting of 4 *pors* and 2 *khālis* contradicts with the four sub-sections of this *tāl*, 3 *pors* and 1 *khāli*, given by Clayton (2000:58) and Stewart (1975:91).

The next *tāl*, *ārachāw-tāl*, is named and described only by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti and Stewart (1975:89). In both sources it is described as having 14 *mātras*. According to Chishti, the *mātras* of *ārachāw-tāl* are grouped into 6 sub-sections, 4 *pors* and 2 *khālis*. Stewart gives the number of sub-section of this *tāl* as 7, 4 *pors* and 3 *khālis*.

Jhūmra is another *tāl* comprised of 14 *mātras*, which is described in all three sources with the same amount of *mātras*. Similar to the two previous cases, however, the number of sub-sections of *jhūmra* given by Chishti—7, organised into 5 *pors* and 2 *khālis*—contradicts with the description of its *vibhag* sub-sections as reported by Stewart (1975:91) and Clayton (2000:58)—4, organised into 3 *pors* and 1 *khāli*.

Dipchandi is presented by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti as a *tāl* of 7 *mātras* comprised of four sections (3 *pors* and 1 *khāli*). Clayton (2000:58) and Stewart (1975:91) report that this *tāl* has 14 *mātras* arranged into 3 *pors* and one *khāli*.

Mohammad Asif Chishti, in discussing and clarifying the differences noticed between these four *tāls*, has provided a different description of them. His presentation of these four *tāls* corresponds with their description in Stewart and Clayton. Mohammad Asif Chishti, who was trained by his brother the late Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti, from whom he learnt these *tāls* and others, is of the opinion that the observed dissimilarities are due to printing errors in Madadi's book. Also, he indicted that the titles of two *tāls*, *firoz-dast* and *sālwand*,[21] are mistakenly printed as *frodast* and *sālūt*.

The time units (*mātras*), the *tekas*, the sub-sections (*pors* and *khālis*), and the titles of six of the the remaining 8 *tāls* considered by Mohammad Wali Nabizada and Mohammad Arif

[21] A *khyāl* performed by Ūstād Sarahang in *shankara rāg* is composed in this *tāl* of 18 *mātras*. The recording of this composition is held in the Radio Afghanistan Archives, tape 2709.

Chishti[22] to be the most common *tāl*s in Afghanistan, correspond to the structure of the Hindustani *tāl*s with the same name. Concerning the other two *tāl*s, it should be noted that up to this point it has not been possible to establish the structure and *alfāz* of the *tāpiya tāl*. *Tāl-i mugholi* will be discussed and described subsequently among *tāl*s considered by some Afghan *tabla* players to be of an Afghan origin.

Below are descriptions of these and other *tāl*s that are prevalently used in the classical, semi-classical, and urban music of Afghanistan. Their depictions include the number of *mātra*s for each *tāl*, section groupings, their clapping gestures, and their *teka*s respectively, identified by a particular pattern of *alfāz*. These examples are based on information obtained from the list of *tāl*s given by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti (Madadi 1375/1996:293), and from Mohammad Wali Nabizada and Mohammad Arif Chishti (private communications). Six of these 7 *tāl*s have also been checked with the description of the 6 *tāl*s with the same names and structure given in Ghosh (1968), Stewart (1975) and Clayton (2000).

tin-tāl: 16 *mātra*s, 4 + 4 + 4 + 4

grouped into 4 sub-sections of 3 *por*s and 1 *khāli*

sub-sections	**X**				**2**				**0**				**3**				**X**
*mātra*s	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	1
alfāz	*dhā*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*dhā*	*dhā*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*dhā*	*dhā*	*tin*	*tin*	*tā*	*tā*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*dhā*	*dhā*

yak-tāl: 12 *mātra*s, 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2

organised into 6 sub-sections of 4 *por*s and 2 *khāli*s

sub-sections	**X**		**0**		**2**		**0**		**3**		**4**		**X**
*mātra*s	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1
alfāz	*dhin*	*dhin*	*dhāge*	*tirekati*	*tū*	*nā*	*kat*	*ta*	*dhāge*	*tirekati*	*dhin*	*nā*	*dhin*

[22] Mohammad Arif Chishti is the youngest brother of Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti and Mohammad Asif Chishti. They are the sons of the celebrated Afghan *tabla* player Ūstād Cha-cha Mahmud. The forefathers of these musicians, Mia Faqir Mohammad, Mia Gamuddin, and others, were the first Indian musicians brought to Afghanistan before the reign of Amir Shir Ali (private communication, Mohammad Arif Chishti, 1998). In the names of two of these three brothers, only one letter is different, M. Arif C. and M. Asif C.

jap-tāl: 10 *mātras*, 2 + 3 + 2 + 3

divided into 4 sub-sections of 3 *pors* and 1 *khāli*

sub-sections	X		2			0		3			X
mātras	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1
alfāz	*dhin*	*nā*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*nā*	*tin*	*nā*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*nā*	*dhin*

kehrwa: 8 *mātras*, 4 + 4

arranged into 2 sub-sections[23] of 1 *por* and 1 *khāli*

sub-sections	X				0				X
mātras	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
alfāz	*dhā*	*ge*	*nā*	*tin*	*nā*	*ke*	*dhin*	*nā*	*dhā*

rūpak: 7 *mātras*, 3 + 2 + 2

divided into 3 sub-sections of 1 *khāli* and 2 *pors*

sub-sections	X/0			1		2		X/0
mātras	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1
alfāz	*tin*	*tin*	*nā*	*dhin*	*nā*	*dhin*	*nā*	*tin*

dādra: 6 *mātras*, 3 + 3

grouped into two sub-sections of 1 *por* and 1 *khāli*

sub-sections	X			0			X
mātras	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
alfāz	*dhā*	*dhin*	*nā*	*dhā*	*tin*	*nā*	*dhā*

Some Afghan musicians trained in Hindustani music are of the opinion that in addition to the *tāls* of North India described above, which are commonly used in Afghan music, there

[23] Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti, similar to Stewart (1975:90), gives three sections for *kehrwa*, two *pors* and one *khali*. The variant provided here is used by Mohammad Wali Nabizada, Mohammad Arif Chishti, and Mohammad Asif Chishti.

are several *tāls* of Afghan origin. Mohammad Wali Nabizada named and demonstrated the four metric modes *mugholi*, *kehrwa-e qataghani*, *dādra-e herati*, and *tingla-tāl* as purely Afghan *tāls*. Mohammad Arif Chishti added a fifth, *bādā bādā tāl*, to the so-called purely Afghan *tāls*. However, three of these metric cycles, considered by Mohammad Wali Nabizada as *tāls* in their own right, are nothing more than variations on the basic structures of Hindustani *dādra* and *kaharvā*, to which most of the *tāls* just named are associated. Among these five *tāls*, the *mogholi* and *bādā bādā tāls* are exceptional, as their *teka* structure, and their sub-sections, do not correspond to the *teka* structure and sub-section division of any Hindustani *tāl* with the same number of *mātras*. Each of the five *tāls* named just above will be considered in order.

Mugholi, also known as *tāl-i logari* (Mohammad Wali Nabizada, personal communication), is considered to be an Afghan *tāl*. The national dance of Afghanistan, the *attan*, is danced to the accompaniment of this metric cycle, which consists of 7 *mātras* organised into two sub-sections of 3 + 4. The *gor* (*sam*) of this *tāl*, similar to *rupak tāl*, is *khāli*. The stress or (*por*) is placed on the second sub-section of the *tāl*. Some Afghan musicians claim that there is no *tāl* of a similar structure and movement among the Hindustani *tāls*. However, it should be noted that an equivalent of *mugholi*, named *pashto tāl*, is used in Hindustani music as a metric cycle associated with the Pashtūns (Stewart 1975:88). Though this Hindustani *tāl*, similar to *mugholi*, consists of 7 *mātras*, it is grouped into three sub-sections of 3+2+2. The difference in its sub-sections and the corresponding *alfāz* are the main distinguishing factors between *mugholi* and *pashto tāl*.[24]

The *alfāz* (*bols*) of *pashto tāl* are very similar to the *alfāz* of *mugholi* given by Mohammad Asif Chishti, as noted below. Mohammad Asif Chishti gave these *alfāz* for *mugholi* as an alternative to the first version of *mugholi alfāz* provided by Mohammad Arif

[24] A description of *pasho tāl* is available in Stewart's *The Tabla in Perspective* (1975:91).

Chishti and Mohammad Wali Nabizada. The *alfāz* of the first five *mātras* are exactly the same in both versions. By comparison, the *alfāz* of the last two *mātras* are different. In contrast to these two version of *tāl-i mugholi*, the *teka* of the *pashto-tāl* in Hindustani music is a slightly different again. In Afghanistan *mugholi* is considered as 3+4, while *pashto-tāl* as used in India appears to be 3+2+2.

tāl-i mugholi or ***logari***: 7 *mātras*, 3 + 4

organised into 2 sub-sections of 1 *khāli* and 1 *por*

primary version

sub-sections	**X/0**			**1**				**X/0**
mātras	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1
alfāz	*tin*	-	*tā*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*tā*	*tā*	*tin*

secondary version

sub-sections	**X/0**			**1**				**X/0**
mātras	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1
alfāz	*tin*	-	*tā*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*dhā*	*dhā*	*tin*

Bādā bādā is another rhythmic cycle commonly used in Afghanistan and considered as an Afghan *tāl*, which is not met among Hindustani *tāls* (Mohammad Arif Chishti). This Afghan *tāl*, named after a traditional wedding song of the same title, is similar to Hindustani *dādra* and is comprised of six *mātras* divided into two sub-sections of 3+3. The difference in this instance, however, is that the first beat (*gor* or *sam*) of *bādā bādā* is a wave (*khāli*), and its second beat is *por* (*tāli*), while in Hindustani *dādra* the first beat is *por* (*tāli*), and then follows the *khāli*. In addition to this remarkable difference, the contrast between *bādā bādā* and Hindustani *dādra* is underlined by differences in the *teka* and *alfāz* of these two *tāls* of 6 *mātras*, as demonstrated below.

bādā bādā: 6 *mātras*, 3 + 3

organised into 2 sub-sections of 1 *khāli* and 1 *por*

Stresses	**X/0**				**1**			**X/0**
mātras	1	2	3		4	5	6	1
alfāz (*bols*)	*dhin*	*tā*	*tā*	*tā* *tā*	*dhin*	*tā*	-	*dhin*

dādra: with its traditional structure and *teka* 3 + 3

sub-sections	**X**			**0**			**X**
mātras	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
alfāz	*dhā*	*dhin*	*nā*	*dhā*	*tin*	*nā*	*dhā*

Concerning the remaining Afghan *tāls*, it is evident from the explanation of Mohammad Wali Nabizada himself and other *tabla* players that these *tāls* are basically variants of the two Hindustani *tāls* on which they have been modelled. Mohammad Wali Nabizada, demonstrating *kehrwa-e qataghani* (*qataghanian kehrwa*),[25] and comparing it to Hindustani *kaharvā*, when asked about the number of the time units (*mātras*) and the sub-sections of *kehrwa-e qataghani* and North Indian *kaharvā*, answered that the *mātra* concept and *vibhāgh* structure remains the same.

Both *tāls* consist of 8 *mātras* divided into two sub-sections of 4 + 4. The principle of their *por* (*tāli*) and *khāli* also corresponds. Nonetheless, they are distinguished from each other because of differences in the *rawish* (style) and *alfāz* of these *tāls*. The same explanation was received from Mohammad Asif Chishti and his brother, Mohammad Arif Chishti.

After the demonstration of the *tāl dādra-e herati* and *tingla-tāl* and their comparison to Hindustani *dādra*, the question of the number of time units (*mātras*) and the sub-sections was put once again to Mohammad Wali Nabizada. His explanation was that these two Afghan *tāls*,

[25] Qataghan is the name of a city in the northern part of Afghanistan.

respectively associated with the city of Herat and the Pashtūn population of the country, were described as being the Hindustani *dādra*, which nonetheless are performed in a different movement and manner. Mohammad Arif Chishti, when discussing *kehrwa-e qataghani*, *dādra-e herati*, and the *tingla-tāl*, was also of the opinion that the structure of the so-called Afghan *tāl*s reflects the arrangement of the two Hindustani metric modes to which they are linked. Furthermore, he also indicated that *rawish* and *alfāz* are the main factors distinguishing Afghan *tāl*s and their Hindustani equivalents.

The terms *rawish* and *alfāz* indicate the changes that are brought about in the *teka* pattern and finger stokes of both hands to articulate the basic models. The changed placement and alteration of the basic *teka* strokes of the *tabla* in these *tāl*s in Afghanistan is possibly derived from the strokes from the *daira*, *zirbaghali*, *dohl* and *mangai*, drums which are traditionally associated with one or another region of Afghanistan. For instance, the *daira* (a frame drum) and the *zirbaghali* (a goblet-shaped drum), which are played throughout Afghanistan are nonetheless the principle drums of the north.[26] The relatively small *dohl* (a double-headed drum)[27] and the *mangai* (a clay vessel also serving as water pot),[28] previously were the main drums of the east and southeast of Afghanistan, before the adoption of the *tabla* into the urban musical ensembles of various parts of the country.

These changes, which arguably cause the Hindustani *tāl*s to sound more lively and give *tabla* players more freedom for variation, lead to a colouring of the *tāl*s according to local and regional tinges. Such alterations, resulting in the changed placement of the strokes on the *tabla*, usually occur in the context of the *tarz* genre and folk music, when *tabla* players imitate

[26] A comprehensive description of these two drums of Afghanistan and their role in the musical culture of Northern Afghanistan is discussed in Slobin (1976:261-269), Sakata (1980a:30-32, 1983:204), and Madadi (1375/1996:277, 279).
[27] For a description of the *dohl* see Sakata (1980b:93-96) and Madadi (1375/1996:276-277).
[28] This drum, used in Afghanistan by Pashtūn musicians, also has a common use in the North West Frontier of Pakistan, where it is played by the same group of people. It is described in Akbar (2000:789) and Madadi (1375/1996:280-281).

the rhythmic features of various parts of the country. Thus, it is not by chance that some of the Afghan *tāl*s are named after a particular city or are associated with a group of people.

kehrwa-e qataghani: 8 *mātra*s, 4 + 4

grouped into 2 sub-sections of 1 *por* and 1 *khāli*

sub-sections	X				0				X
mātras	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
alfāz	*tā*	*tā*	*nā*	*nā*	*dhin*	-	*dhin*	-	*tā*

dādra-e herati: 6 *mātra*s, 3 + 3

arranged into 2 sub-sections of 1 *por* and 1 *khāli*

sub-sections	X			0			X
mātras	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
alfāz	*dhin*	- *tā*	*tā*	*dhin*	*tā*	-	*dhin*

or

sub-sections	X			0			X
mātras	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
alfāz	*dhin*	-*ta*	*la*	*dhin*	*tā*	-	*dhin*

tingla-tāl: 6 *mātra*s, 3 + 3

grouped into to sub-sections of 1 *por* and 1 *khāli*

sub-sections	X			0			X
mātras	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
alfāz	*dhin*	-	*tā*	*dhin*	-	*dhā*	*dhin*

A few Afghan *tabla* players, in addition to masterly executing common classical and semi-classical *tāl*s, also create their own *tāl*s and are familiar with rare and unusual metric modes, which are used mainly in *tabla* solos. Mohammad Arif Chishti, during a private

fieldwork session, demonstrated *jai-tāl* and *kampak-tāl* as examples of rare and newly constructed *tāl*s. According to Mohammad Arif Chishti, *jai-tāl* is a rare *tāl*, consisting of 13 *mātra*s, grouped into five sub-sections of three *por*s and two *khāli*s. He presented *kampak-tāl* as an example of a newly composed *tāl*, which is believed to have been created by his brother the late Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti (Mohammad Arif Chishti and Mohammad Asif Chishti). This unusual *tāl* consists of nine and a half *mātra*s, divided into five sub-sections of three *por*s and two *khāli*s. The fourth clap does not designate a *por* sub-section and is only one half of a *mātra*.

Jai-tāl: 13 *mātra*s, 3 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 3

groupted into 5 sub-sections of 3 *por*s and 2 *khāli*s

sub-sections	X			0			2		0		3		
*mātra*s	1	2	3	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
alfāz	*dhin*	*terker*	*terker*	*dh*[illegible]	[illegible]*ā*	*ghere*	*nāke*	*kā*	*tā*	*tetekete*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*tā*

kampak-tāl: 9½ *mātra*s, 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1½

arranged into 5 sub-sections of 3 *por*s and 2 *khāli*s

sub-sections	X		2		0		3		0		4
*mātra*s	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
alfāz	*dhin*	*tetekete*	*dhin*	*nā*	*tu*	*nā*	*kā*	*tā*	*dhin*	*dhin*	*tā*

Lai or tempo

The second important concept of theory in North India about musical time, which is also used in Afghanistan, is the term *lay* or *laya* (Afghan *lai*). This word, used in Hindustani music for the identification of the tempo as well as for noting the rhythmic density per *mātra*, and its ratio to the *mātra*, is used for the same purposes in Afghanistan. Nonetheless, in both

countries there appears to be some ambiguity about the primarily meaning of the term *laya* or *lai*—weather it primarily refers to one of three concepts; the tempo, or rhythmic density, or to the ratio between the two. This ambiguity is reported in Clayton's *Time* in *Indian Music* (2000:75), and also Baily's *Music of Afghanistan* (1988:50-55). The author of this thesis observed this ambiguity during his fieldwork interviews with the Afghan *tabla* players named in previous footnotes in this chapter.

Baily, in defining the concept of *lai* in Afghanistan as 'highly ambiguous' (1988:55), provides one with reasonable grounds for arriving at a similar conclusion as Clayton, suggesting that the *lai* can mean any of the three things named above, but that the sense is usually clear from the context (2000:75). When the term *lai* refers to tempo, it identifies three tempo categories, which are *āhista*, *mad*, and *tiz*, respectively signifying slow, medium, and fast. These categories of tempo correspond to the three tempo types traditionally recognised in Hindustani music; namely, *vilambit*, *madhya*, and *drut*. These Hindustani terms, slightly transformed as *blampat*, *mad*, and *drot*, are also synonymous with their Dari equivalents, the later of which are also used for the identification of a tempo in Afghanistan.

Raftār-lai, which is a combination of the word *raftār*—signifying 'moving' or 'manner of going or walking'—and *lai*, is an Afghan term, used by Afghan *tabla* players for the identification of the relationship between rhythmic density and tempo. The word *lā*—signifying 'thickness'—combined with the words *kardn* or *sākhtan*—signifying 'doing' or 'creating'—are terms used by Afghan musicians to indicate performance changes brought about in the rhythmic density of a *tāl*. The practice to which these two words refer might be likened to the principle of *laykāri* in Hindustani music, 'denoting any type of rhythmic play involving a change in rhythmic density or *lay* ratio' (Clayton 2000:154).

Unlike Hindustani music, however, in which numerous terms are used for the identification of various types of rhythmic density and rhythmic ratios, Afghan musicians use

only a few words for both purposes. The notions *yaklā*, *dulā*, *sehlā*, and *chahārlā*, respectively signifying one *lā*, two *lā*, three *lā*, and four *lā*, are used among Afghan musicians to refer to four different rhythmic densities. A visual demonstration of these Afghan terms, which respectively are equivalents of the Hindustani words *barābar-lay*, *dugani-lay*, *tigani-lay*, and *caugun-lay*, is available in figure 16. In Hindustani music these technical terms are for the description of *lay* or *lai*, as the ratio of rhythmic density to tempo.

Fig. 16. A visual demonstration of four rhythmic densities.

It also should be noted that the notion *lai*, similar to the term *tāl*, in conjunction with the prefix *bilai* or *bitāl*, which signifies 'out of tempo or metre' respectively, is used for identifying musical compositions performed in free rhythm, as well as for noting temporal and rhythmic errors (Baily 1988:50) made by a musician.

Conclusion

It was not the aim of this chapter to provide a comprehensive description of *rāg*s and *tāt*s, the two fundamental elements of North Indian classical music. Rather, the aim here has been to record and demonstrate a current and substantially representative sample of the differences and characteristics of these concepts in Afghanistan. It appears that Afghan musicians, in generally accepting the new system of 10 primary *tāt*s and their subordinate *rāg*s, mix up this system somewhat with the old theory of *rāg*s and *rāgni*s, where the insertion of one theory into another related theory seems to being forth a newly constructed single theoretical model.

Furthermore, a few Afghan musicians have articulated their own interpretation of several aspects of Hindustani music, which disagree with the canons of North Indian classical music in India. Their thoughts are about the number of basic *tāt*s and the number of pitches in a mode. It has also been reported that several local terms, equated by Afghan musicians to Hindustani-derived words, which are connected with pitches, intervals, scales, and other aspects of *rāg*s and *tāl*s, are used in Afghanistan. Moreover, Afghan musicians, in addition to practicing and employing well-known *rāg*s, also perform in rare and less significant *rāg*s with an obscure origin, and additionally in newly constructed melodic modes.

Concerning the definitions of musical metre and tempo, it has been reported that Afghan musicians employ the concept of *tāl* and *lai* as they are used in Hindustani music. Nonetheless, some local terms are used for the definition and description of several elements within these conceptual entities. It has also been reported that Afghan *tabla* players, in addition of executing the classical and semi-classical *tāl*s of North India, also employ the *tāl* concept for a systematisation of Afghan metric modes associated with a region or a group of people. Furthermore, it has been noted that Afghan *tabla* performers are familiar with rare *tāl*s. Moreover, it has been stated that a few Afghan *tabla* players have created their own unusual *tāl*s, which are used during solo *tabla* performances.

The artistic and critical attitude of Afghan musicians concerning the potentialities and limits of Hindustani *rāg*s and *tāl*s in music, which have been reported in this chapter, appears to be very clear and rather detailed evidence for an obvious 'manifestation of Afghan musical thinking', as generally noted earlier by Baily (1981:2). Though this new Afghan musical thinking is based in part on the adoption of Hindustani music, which has replaced the tradition of Khurāsānian music and its scale system, other factors have also featured in this new thinking.

These factors are: firstly, a theoretical model for classifying melodic modes that uses both the *rāg* and *rāgni* system and the *tāt* system; secondly, the construction of new *rāgs*, some of an abstract nature and others derived from folk music; and thirdly, the use of Afghan *tāls*. All these factors have contributed to the new thinking. Thus, it is clear that when these factors are considered together, current musical practice in the music of Afghanistan, either at home or abroad, should not be regarded as examples of a totally borrowed musical culture.

Chapter 10

The Introduction of Western Musical Instruments and the Western Musical System, from the late 19th Century Onward

This chapter traces the history of the introduction of Western musical instruments, the Western musical system, the establishment of musical bands and ensembles of Western musical instruments, and the role played by Afghan musicians trained in the Western system in the development of musical culture in Afghanistan in the 20th century. To facilitate ease of understanding and comprehension, these data are discussed under three headings: early history, the orchestral tradition, and the style of orchestration.

Early history, from the late 19th century to the late 1930s

The introduction of military brass bands in late 19th-century Afghanistan

The history of Western musical instruments and the introduction of Western notation in Afghanistan are linked to the creation of a standing and centralised Afghan army in the last quarter of the 19th century, during the reign of Amir Abd al-Rahmān. This new army included military bands, or more precisely, brass bands complete with bagpipes (Gregorian 1969:141). Initially these new musical bands in Afghanistan appear to have been additions to the older military and ceremonial bands, such as the *naghāra* ensembles, and did not replace them. However, with the passage of the time the brass bands slowly have taken over the ceremonial functions of the *naghāra* ensembles (Baily 1980:6). These brass bands finally led to the disappearance of the *naghāra*, a symbol of royalty and power that historically accompanied various rulers of Afghanistan and their armies into battle and on marches, as was reported in previous chapters of this thesis.

Before the occurrence of this replacement, linked as noted above to the modernisation of the Afghan army, and additionally linked also to the modernisation of Afghan society, a

period existed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when both bands were employed at Afghan courts (Baily 1980:7). Today the *naghārakhāna* no longer exists in Afghanistan. The last *naghārakhāna* of the royal palace, the ensemble that most probably is described in Gray (1895/1987:35), is believed to have been located in the very spot known today as the Pashtūnistān Square (Anon. 1350/1971:43). It functioned up to 1312/1933, when it was destroyed during the re-building of the capital (*ibid.*).

The introduction of brass bands fashioned after those in the British army (Gregorian 1967:141, 151), at the court and into the Afghan army, is believed to have been the initiative of Zabto Khan, apparently an Afghan musician who spent several years in British India learning music (Said Mohammad Hussain 1375/1996:210-211). The presence of brass and bagpipe bands at court and in the military garrisons of Afghanistan in the last quarter of the 19th century is reported in the narratives of British men such as Gray (1895/1987:108, 219, 376, 481) and Martin (1907/2000:223-224), both of whom were associated with the royal court.

It was Zabto Khan who convinced the Amir to let him reform the military music of his court and his army. Zabto Khan, receiving the approval of the Amir and all the necessary materials, formed the first brass band, named *Dasta-e Muzik Huzur* (Music Band of the Court), consisting of 35 players. The musical instruments of this band, imported from British India, included clarinets (*kilārnet*), cornets (*kornit*), two different sizes of Wagner tuba—alto (*ālto*) and baritone (*bāriton*)—a small bass (*bāsi khord*) identified to date only by name, a drum (*dohl*), cymbals (*janj*), a tambourin (*tāmpūrin*), a jingling-johnny (*darakht zang*), and a triangle (*triangal*) (Said Mohammad Hussain 1375/1996:210-211).[1]

Soon after the formation of the first brass band associated with the court and the first bagpipe band also associated with the court, several other bands of similar instrumentation

[1] A similar instrumentation for the brass band of Herat is reported in the 1970s (Baily 1980:6).

were introduced into the army in various provinces of the country. A band master or leader was in charge of each brass band. This person was identified as *nāyak*, signifying in Hindi 'a guide, a leader, a conductor, a person well-versed in music, and a military officer of the lowest rank' (Pathak 1946/1970:590), or as *hawāladār*, a title which is derived from the Hindi term *havaldār*, meaning 'a native officer of inferior rank in the Indian army' (*ibid.*:1143 and Steingass1892/1957:433).

These officers of the lowest rank, selected by Zabto Khan as the leaders of army brass bands in the provinces, learnt and practiced the repertoire of their bands under the supervision and direction of the head-guide of the music bands of the Afghan army—Zabto Khan himself—who was promoted to the rank of colonel (*karnail*) in the Afghan army. These newly founded brass bands, constituting the smallest military units (*kandak*) of the Herat, Qandahar, and Mazar military camps, were respectively named *Kandak Herati*, *Kandak Qandahari*, and *Kandak Mazari*, *i.e.* the Music Unit of Herat, Qandahar, and Mazar.

Foreign music advisors

No data is available on the social status, ethnic and cultural background of the bandsmen and their leaders, nor on their musical knowledge, the repertoire of the bands, and the performance practice of the early brass bands of Afghanistan. It seems reasonable to suggest that the help of foreign musicians—namely, Indian bandsmen specially brought into the country—played a significant role in the creation of early brass bands in Afghanistan. The employment of Indian bandsmen, who probably were trained by British bandsmen or British musician advisors, seems a very reasonable hypothesis, specially in light of the presence of foreign advisors engaged in the creation of a new army in the third quarter of the 19th century (Gregorian 1969:139), to which the brass bands were attached.

Without the contribution and participation of foreign advisors, who could have disseminated knowledge of European musical instruments among the military staff of the Afghan army that comprised the first brass bands of the country, the creation of brass bands equipped with European musical instruments seems unreasonable and unrealistic. We know from the history of Afghan music and the history of the country that the first music educational institution was founded only in the 1920s. Once again, in this instance, as we shall see in this chapter, it was foreign experts who were responsible for the introduction of Western notation and the dissemination of Western musical instruments within the first and the subsequent music educational institutions of the country. Nonetheless, soon some of the Afghan trainees of these specialists became involved in teaching brass instruments and Western notation. This scenario could have happened earlier in the last quarter of the 19th century as well.

To return to the early history of brass bands in Afghanistan, it is reported that two Indian musicians, named Abd al-Rahmān Maqamras and Chacha, were brought to Afghanistan sometime in the second half of the 19th century, to introduce reforms into the military music of the country (Said Mohammad Hussain 1375/1996:210). These two musicians, who probably were trained by British bandsmen, and also very probably were members of traditional percussion and double-reed families who converted to brass bands,[2] are credited with the formation of military bands called *bāja* (Said Mohammad Hussain 1375/1996:210), signifying in Hindi a band of musicians, as well as a musical instrument of any kind (Pathak1946/1970:775). In India and Pakistan the term *bāja*, combined with the English word brass, brass *bāja*, is used to identify brass bands in general.[3] In some parts of Afghanistan, especially in several provinces, the term *bāja*, combined with the word *khāna* ('house'),

[2] For the history of brass bands in India and the background of musicians playing in such bands, see Booth 1990 and 1996/97.

[3] Gregory Booth, personal communication, [redacted]an, 11 September 2003. For a description of brass bands in India see Booth 1990 and 1996/97.

forming *bājakhāna* and meaning 'house-band', is used for identifying the brass band attached to the Mayor's office.[4]

To summarise the data thus far, the presence of the two Indian musicians noted above, associated with the reform of military music in Afghanistan, the Hindi term *bāja*, employed for identifying military bands, and the Hindi-derived terms *nāyak* and *hawāladār*, used for naming the band master, strongly suggest that in the early stage of the introduction of brass bands into Afghanistan, British-trained Indian bandsmen contributed to its creation. One also should not ignore the possibility of a British musician being involved in the formation of the first brass bands. This musician may even have been the unknown British musician who in the late 19th century is credited with composing 'Salaam Padshah' or the national anthem (Gray 1895/1987:108), which was played by the brass band of the Afghan court, *Dasta-e Muzik Huzur*. It is revellent to digress briefly here to consider the history of the Afghan national anthem.

History of the Afghanistan national anthems, *c.* 1890-1978

The adoption of brass and bagpipe bands were not the only musical innovation introduced in Afghanistan during the reign of the Amir Abd al-Rahmān. Other musical novelties modelled after European practices included the purchase of pianos for the royal residences and the adoption of a national anthem *Salam-i padshah* ('Salute of the king') (Gregorian 1979:151). The *Salam-i padshah*, considered to be the first Afghan national anthem, is reported to be composed by an unknown Englishman.

> Presently I heard the "*Salam-i Padshah*"—the representative of our National Anthem—being played by a brass band. It is solemn and slow chant, reminding one of a dead march: it is very impressive and by no means unmusical. I was told it was composed by an Englishman—who he was I do not know (Gray 1895/1987:108).

[4] For a description of these brass bands see Slobin (1976:45) and Baily (1980:6).

Apart from this bleak characteristic of *Salam-i padshah* provided by Gray, we do not know anything else about it. Nothing is known about the fate of a national anthem after the death of Amir Abd al-Rahmān until 1943, when a new Afghan national anthem composed by Mohammed Farukh Afandi (1900-1977) was adopted. It should be noted, however, that a song in the praise of King Amanullah, performed by Ūstād Miran-bakhsh and currently held in the the archives of Radio Afghanistan, is believed to be the national anthem of Afghanistan during the rgein of Amir Amanullah (1919-1929). The 1943 anthem, called *Loy salami* ('Great salute') or *Shah salami* ('salute of the King') was replaced in 1973 with a new hymn, when Afghanistan was declared a republic.

The new national anthem, praising the republic and the people of Afghasnistan, was composed by Ūstād Abdul Ghafoor Bereshna (1907–74) and Jalil Ahmad Zaland (b. 1931). In 1978, after the arrival of the leftist regime in power, the national anthem of Afghanistan, as its regime, was changed once again. The new song was composed by Jalil Ahmad Zaland. In 1981 Ūstād Salim Sarmast (1930-90), incorrectly identified in earlier times as the composer of the new national hymn, prepared a full score and an arrangment of the 1978 Afghan national anthem for a symphony orchestra (Sarmast 2000:5). Tracks 4, 5, 6, and 7 of CD 2 respectively represent these national anthems of Afghanistan.

Having considered the history of the Afghan national anthem, we should return to our previous discussion. Concerning the identity of the instrumentalists of the early Western military bands, one might assume that they were members of *dohl* and *sūrnāy* ensembles, and *naghāra* ensembles, who probably were converted to brass bands. In the early stage of the formation of brass bands in the Indian sub-continent, the principle of conversion from traditional percussion and double-reed ensembles was a major source of musicians for entry into brass bands (Booth 1990:254). Thus, it is reasonable to conjecture that the Indian bandsmen engaged in the formation of the first brass bands of Afghanistan might have

convinced members of *dohl* and *sūrnāy* bands, and *naghāra* bands, to replace their traditional instruments with European instruments played in brass bands.

Baily, in describing the *naghārakhāna* of Herat, reports that his informant, Arbab Joma, a member of the Gharibzada[5] group and aged 80 or 90 in 1976-77, spent some years as a young man as a tambourin (*tāmpūrin*) player with the brass band of the military camp of Herat (1980:3). Some other members of this group generally associated with ensembles of *dohl* and *sūrnāy* also were affiliated to the brass band of Herat in the time that Baily carried out his fieldwork in that city. Furthermore, in the past members of this ethnic group were also members of the *naghāra* ensemble of Herat (1980:3).

Concerning the musical knowledge and musical skills of Zabto Khan, it might be suggested that he, having studied music in India, very probably obtained the skills necessary for playing and teaching brass instruments from British bandsmen or British-trained Indians, if he was not an Indian bandsman himself. His name does not seem and sound local to Afghanistan. Nonetheless, he has been identified as an Afghan (Said Mohammad Hussain 1375/1996:210).

Repertoire, performance practice, and music knowledge

At the present time, almost no information is available on the repertoire and the performance practice of these early brass bands. The repertoire of these bands, which provided ceremonial music (Gray 1895/1987:108) as well as military music for the changing of the guard (Gregorian 1969:141), apparently included bugle calls and marches of British and European origin, as well as some Afghan melodies. Indian musicians engaged in the formation of the earliest brass bands in Afghanistan, or possibly a European musician, most likely

[5] The Gharibzada ethnic group, sometimes identified as Gypsies, engage in a number of low status hereditary occupations, notably those of barber (*dalak*), musicians (*sazinda*), actor (*moqalid*), and many other lowly professions. As musicians they are generally associated with the *dohl* and *sūrnāy*, which are invariably played together (Baily 1980:3).

introduced the non-native tunes into the repertoire of the bands, similar to the Scottish tunes played by the court bagpipers, who also played native tunes and melodies (Gray 1895/1987: 219,376, 481).

Concerning the style of the performance of the early military bands playing on Western musical instruments, one might assume that most probably they played in unison without the application of Western harmony, a practice that is prevalent among the brass bands of the country even today (Slobin 1976:45-46, Baily 1980:6). It should be noted that even today, more than a century after the introduction of Western musical instruments and bands, only a very small number of musicians trained by Soviet musicians during 1340/1961 to 1343/1964, and musicians trained by Austrian musicians at the music courses of the Ministry of Education established in 1338/1959, are familiar with the basic principles of Western harmony.

In 1353/1974 the Austrian music courses were transformed into a School of Music that yet remains the only civic music school of the country. The graduates of this music school, who have been taught according to Western notation, also have obtained some knowledge of harmony. By comparison, a few Afghan musicians educated in European countries have a comprehensive knowledge of harmony, polyphony, and orchestration. Thus, from the time of the introduction of brass bands into Afghanistan in the second half of the 19th century until today, most musicians in Afghanistan have had no knowledge of Western harmony and therefore would not follow harmonic principals in their performance practice.

Two interesting reports describe the performance skills of the early brass bands. The first report is by Gray. In comparing the quality of the playing of a brass band performing at the Afghan court to a 'parish school band', Gray suggests that these bands did not perform to the standard of high quality military bands. The second account of these bands and their poor and low quality of performance, according to Martin, an observer from Western culture,

implies that they were playing out of metre and that the melody was not in unison. His observation may be interpreted to suggest the musicians were performing in a heterophonic style. The fact that each musician wanted to be heard above others also suggests this style of performance.

> Two brass bands, with crowds round them were hard at work, their style reminding one of a parish school band (Gray 1895/1987:219).

> The music the brass bands bring forth is something to be remembered, for all the instruments seem to keep their own time, and each man apparently plays a tune of his own, and does his best to make what he plays over heard above the others. The result is rather staggering when they are close to one (Martin 1907/2000:223).

No information exists about the musical education and musical knowledge of the musicians who played in the early brass bands of the country. We do not know how the bandsmen learned playing Western musical instruments and their repertoire. However, the participation of foreign experts—mainly Indian musicians, as we have seen—in the formation of the early brass band in Afghanistan does not exclude the use of aural tradition as well as Western notation. Both systems are used by bands in India. The aural tradition is exclusively used by private brass bands, which provide musical accompaniment for the *barāt* or wedding procession in urban India. In marked contrast, the system of notation is used in the military bands of India, which comprise a completely separate group of musicians with a separate social background (Booth 2003).

We do not know anything about the social and professional background of those Indian musicians who were engaged in the creation of the early brass bands in Afghanistan. But the historical fact that the first Afghan brass bands were formed within the military establishment suggests that those Indian musicians might have been members of the British-Indian army trained by British bandsmen. These Indian musicians could well have taught their Afghan trainees according to Western notation. Nonetheless, one should not exclude the possibility of the use of aural tradition in the early stage of the formation of brass bands in Afghanistan.

Weather an aural tradition or the system of Western notation was used for learning and playing Western musical instruments by the early brass bands of Afghanistan remains unclear. It is possible that both systems of instruction were used simultaneously. This situation continued until the establishment of the first music school of Afghanistan in the mid 1920s.

The first school of music

During the reign of King Amanullah (1919-1929), *c.* 1924 the first school of music was founded, together with a few other professional schools of the country. The school of music, attached to the military college, had to provide staff for the brass band of the court, called the *Muzik Risala-e Shahi* (Music Band of Royal Command), led by Mohammad Qassem.

Furthermore, the graduate instrumentalists of this music school provided staff for the brass bands of the military camps and the first municipal brass bands, called *bājakhānas*. The municipal *bājakhānas* of the capital and the provinces introduced in this period had to provide musical entertainment for private weddings and public festivities (Said Mohaamd Hussain 1375/1996:212), a function that municipal *bājakhānas* fulfilled until recent years (Slobin 1976:45).

The students of this music school were selected from the trainees of the military college and trained by Soviet, Iranian (Said Mohaamd Hussain 1375/1996:211) and probably Turkish music advisors. The engagement of Turkish musicians in the musical education of officers of the Afghan army seems a very reasonable conjecture when one takes into consideration reports that in the 1920s the overall supervision and training of the Afghan army was entrusted to Turkish officers and a Turkish military mission (Gregorian 1969:252). About a decade later it was Turkish music experts, who after the reopening of a music school in 1314/1935 sponsored by the Ministry of Defence, played the most important role in the

dissemination of the Western musical system, of European musical instruments, and of musical bands and orchestras. The closing of the music school established in the mid 1920s and its re-establishment for the second time *c.* 1934 is discussed in more detail subsequently just below.

The establishment of a military music school was not the only step taken by the progressive and reformist government of Afghanistan led by King Amanullah. In the 1920s, when secular and vocational curricula were introduced into the educational programmes of the country, music as a subject of modern education was inserted into this new educational system. Ūstād Nathu, Ūstād Qurban Ali, and Ūstād Pirbakhsh, masters of Hindustani music, were respectively teaching music at the Lycèe Habibiya, Lycèe Amaniya,[6] and the college of pedagogy (Madadi 1375/1996:124).

These innovations, which could significantly contribute to the promotion and development of music, did not last long. Government authorities, under strong pressure from the religious orthodoxy and the tribal leaders of the 1924 rebellion, who opposed the social and educational reforms of Amir Amanullah, which divested them of control over education, had to withdraw music from the educational curricula. Since then never again has music been part of the secondary school programme.

Weather the music school of the Afghan army was dismissed during the uprising of 1924, which was led by the notorious Mullah Abdullah, nick-named *Mullah-i Lang* 'Lame Mullah', or after the fall of Amanullah during the brief rule of Amir Habibullah Kalakani (January-October 1929), known as *Bach-e Saqao* (Water Carrier's Son), who halted all progressive reforms introduced by his predecessor, is not clear. However, it is important to notice that after the resumption of modernistic reforms in 1930, the responsibility for the re-

[6] During the time of Amir Amanullah, Lycèe Istiqlal, as it is known today, was known as Lycèe Amaniya, having been named after Amanullah. It was renamed Lycèe Istiqlal (Independence) after Amanullah's fall (Gregoian 1969:239). The use of the original name in the context of this discussion more properly reflects the history of this prestigious secondary school of the Afghan capital.

establishment of a systematic and modern music institution was given to the army, which was regarded and received as government establishment of internal stability, prosperity, and progress (Gregorian 1969:370).

Before a systematic school of music was established for the second time, a group of 22 musicians who had served as instrumentalists in the early brass bands of the country, were called to the capital. They were summoned to play in a brass band called *Musik Namūna*, set up by Khalid Rajab-beg, a Turkish music advisor, as a model for future brass bands of the Afghan army. Members of *Musik Namūna*, which signifies 'A Model Band', learnt Western notation under Khalid Rajab-beg. Within six months they were able to play marches and other melodies from notation.

After approving the repertoire and performing style of this band, the Ministry of Defence *c.*1313/1934 re-established a musical educational institution called *Maktab-i Musik* (School of Music). Khalid Rajab-beg, a specialist in brass bands, was appointed as the head of the teaching staff. He was assisted by Farukh Afandi (1279/1900-1356/1977), an Afghan musician and painter of Turkish origin, who came to Afghanistan sometime in the 1920s. Some members of the *Musik Namūna* also taught others and thereby provided teaching assistance to Khalid Rajab-beg. Later several students from among the first graduates of this school also were employed as teachers at the school.

The first group of students enrolled in this school, located in the Garden of Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur, was made up of 315 Kabuli residents. Each student was granted the sum of 300 Afghanis for learning music and enrolling in the school of music (Said Mohammad Hussain 1375/1996:212). The reason for this grant and other privileges[7] given to Kabulis by the Ministry of Defence most probably was the general and widespread unwillingness of people to permit their children and relatives to learn music, a subject traditionally considered

[7] For other privileges offered to Kabulis by the Ministry of Defence for providing students for the school of music, see Said Mohammad Hussain (1375/1996:212).

to be a lose occupation, forbidden by Islam. According to Ūstād Sarmast, this unwillingness forced state authorities to enrol orphans from a state orphanage, who were studying at the School of Fine and Applied Arts, in this school of music (1359/1980).[8] This famous Afghan musician, trained according to Western notation and a trainee of this school of music, was brought up in that orphanage, from where he was transferred into the *Maktab-i Musik*.

The students of this school were taught according to Western notation. At the beginning, the curriculum of the music school consisted of notation, *solfa* (*qarā-ati mūsiqi*), learning a musical instrument used in a brass band, and some military training. The school programme was designed for three years. However, under pressure from the Ministry of Defence, which urgently required musical staff for several military camps, the school had to graduate some of its trainees within a year and a half. Each graduated group consisted of 14 instrumentalists, who formed brass bands in several military camps.

In addition to these brass bands, Khalid Rajab-beg founded a special brass band for the Ministry of Defence, named *Bāndo Wizārat-i Ahrbia* ([Brass] Band of The Ministry of Defence) (Said Mohammad Hussain 1375/1996:213), also known as *Bāndo Hārmoni* (Harmony Band) (Ūstād Sarmast 1375/1996:214). Khalid Rajab-beg himself led and supervised this brass band, which was comprised of 55 players, until *c.*1320/1941, when his second contract with the government of Afghanistan expired. Then Ghulam Rasul Khan, a trumpet player and trainee of Khalid Rajab-beg, took over the leadership of the *Bāndo Hārmoni*.

During his second contract, which lasted for four years, Khalid Rajab-beg was accompanied by Mukhtar-beg, a Turkish conductor who also specialised in European stringed instruments (Ūstād Sarmast 1347/1968, 1375/1996:214). With the arrival of this Turkish conductor and string specialist, the range of musical subjects taught in the school of music was

[8] Ūstād Sarmast expressed the above opinion in a radio programme named *Simaye Honarmand* [The Portrait of an Artist], which was broadcaste in 1359/August 1980. A copy of this programme, obtained from the archives of Radio Afghanistan, is with the author of this thesis.

extended. Instrumentation, harmony, and conducting were also included in the curriculum. Furthermore, the duration of study for students was extended from three to four years. At the completion of this term, the graduated students of the school were employed in one of four music ensembles. Two ensembles of wind instruments were named *Arkestar Jāz*. The other two ensembles were a brass band known as *Bāndo Hārmoni*, and the *Jāz Samfony* orchestra, the latter of which consisted of both woodwind and stringed instruments.

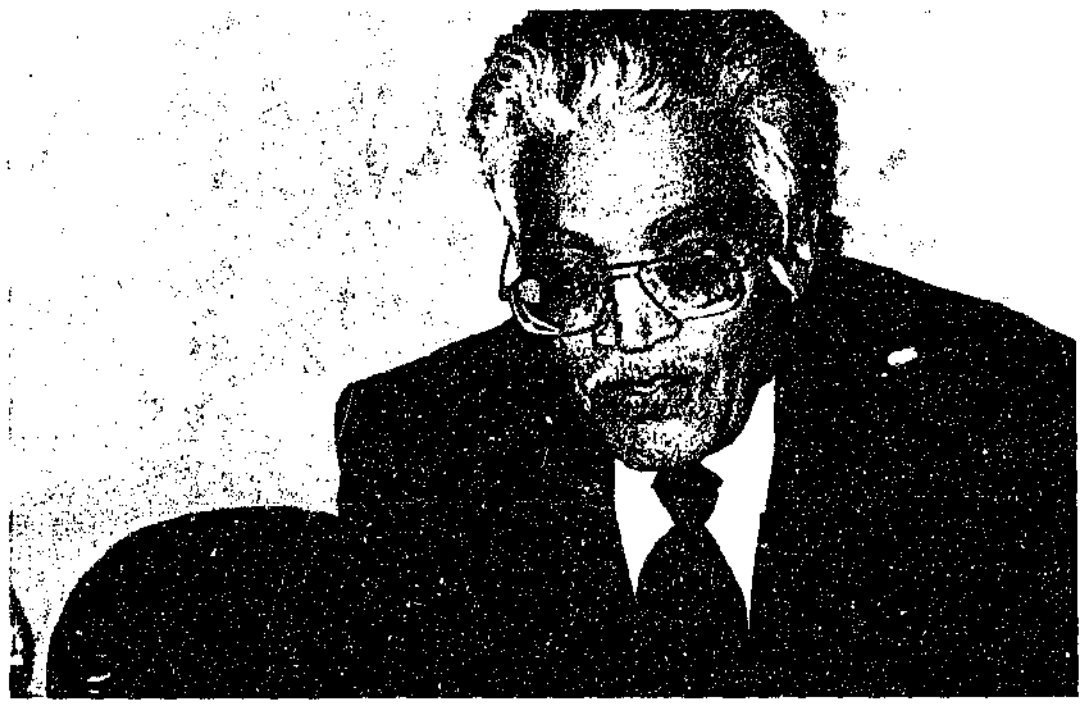
Illus. 26. Some students and teaching staff of the music school of the country after its re-establishment in the 1930s.

The orchestral tradition, *c.* 1940 to the 1970s

The *Arkestar Jāz* of Radio Kabul and its background

The first two ensembles, both known as *Arkestar Jāz*, signifying jazz orchestras, were respectively founded *c.* 1320/1941 and 1322/1943. These two ensembles were attached to the municipality of Kabul, the Afghan capital. Ūstād Faqir Mohammad Nangiyaly (1305/1926-

1382/2003)[9] led the municipality's first *Arkestar Jāz*. The function of this ensemble was to provide musical entertainment in public places of the capital. It should be noted that the name of these two orchestras was given to them because of their European instrumentation, rather than according to the concept of the style of their performance.



Illus. 27. Ūstād Faqir Mohammad Nangiyaly, the second conductor of the *Arkestar Jāz* and the *Arkestar Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*.

This title, with the same definition, was subsequently applied to a new orchestra that was formed in the mid 1320s/1940s from the members of these two initial ensembles known as *Arkestar Jāz*, at the Independent Directorate of the Press (*Riyāsat Mustaqil Matbuāt*). This new ensemble later became the backbone of Radio Kabul's second ensemble—the first ensemble used traditional Afghan and Hindustani musical instruments—which was also

[9] Faqir Mohammad Nangiyaly was a gifted Afghan trumpet player and composer, with whose name the trumpet is associated in Afghanistan. The author of this thesis completed his secondary education as a trumpet player under the late Ūstād Nangiyaly, who taught at the only music school of Afghanistan in recent times, from its establishment in 1974 until its total collapse in 1992 during the power struggle between the Afghan fundamentalist factions. In 2003 this unique music school of Afghanistan was reopened with the help of the Polish Humanitarian Organisation.

known by the same name. Thus, over time, the name *Arkestar Jāz* has been the name of three ensembles in the recent history of music in Afghanistan.

The brass band named *Bāndo Hārmoni*, and the *Arkestar Jāz Samfony*, were created for the military school of the Afghan army. The brass band consisted of 55 players and the *Arkestar Jāz Samfony* consisted of 17 instrumentalists. Mukhtar-beg, with the close collaboration of Farukh Afandi, led and supervised these two ensembles until *c.* 1324/1965, when the school was dismissed. After the closure of this music school of the Afghan army and the departure of its Turkish staff, the association of the *Bāndo Hārmoni* and the *Arkestar Jāz Samfony* with the military school was maintained. Ghulam Rasul Khan and Farukh Afandi respectively led these two ensembles after the return of the Turkish specialists to Turkey.

The employment of musicians was restricted to the bands of the Afghan army and the capital's municipality bands until the resumption of radio broadcasting in 1941.[10] Seven years later, after the foundation of the Municipal Theatre of Kabul in 1327/1948, which was named Shari Nandari and also known as Sahneh Baladia, musicians were employed in a theatre orchestra there.

To pick up the earlier thread of history again, it was in the mid 1320s/1940s that a small number of graduate musicians of the military music school, who at the time were members of the wind ensembles of the Kabul municipality, were transferred to the Independent Directorate of the Press (*Riyāsat Mustaqil Matbuāt*), a state-run institute that fulfilled the role of a Ministry of Culture and Information before the introduction of a ministerial portfilo for this government organisation. The ensemble at the *Riyāsat Mustaqil Matbuāt* maintained the previous name *Arkestar Jāz*, as noted above. While attached to this administrative organisation, this *Arkestar Jāz* had to play on the radio from the early days of the resumption of radio broadcasting.

[10] Radio broadcasting in Afghanistan was initiated in 1925 and then continued until 1929, when it was destroyed (Baily 1988:30).

The repertoire of this ensemble consisted mainly of instrumental tunes broadcast live once a week, because of the absence of recording facilities at Radio Kabul (Ūstād Sarmast 1347/1968, 1375/1996:215). Therefore, no recording of this orchestra is held in the archives of Radio Afghanistan (*ibid.*).[11] Nonetheless, one may assume that the repertoire of this *Arkestar Jāz* consisted of music of foreign origin. For an unknown reason the musical programme of this orchestra at Radio Kabul was halted for an unknown period of time, until 1332/1953 (Ūstād Sarmast 1347/1968), when the *Arkestar Jāz* programmes, known as *pogram arkestra-i*, were resumed.

About 1332/1953 the Directory of Music Programmes of Radio Kabul, which soon after its re-establishment had taken over from the Afghan court its role as the main patron of musicians and the sponsor of new developments in music (Baily 1988:30), initiated its second musical ensemble, called *Arkestar Jāz*, also known as *Arkestar Shomara Dovom* (Number Two Orchestra).

In marked contrast to these developments, the first ensemble that had been founded and sponsored by the directorate of Radio Kabul, also known as the *Arkestar Klasik*, consisted of *Kharābāti* musicians playing Hindustani and local instruments, as briefly noted above. According to Ūstād Din Mohammad, Ūstād Qassem Afghan assembled the instrumentalists of the first ensemble of Radio Kabul. The list of these musicians given by Din Mohammad Sārangi, a member of the first ensemble of Radio Kabul, is available in Srur (1352/1973:12-13, 58). According to Din Mohammad Sārangi, Ūstād Nazer and Ūstād Din Mohammad (*sārang* players), Ūstād Mahrajudin (*sitār* player),[12] Ūstād Cha-cha Mahmud and Baba Rahim (*tabla* players), and Ghulam Sakhi (*rabāb* player) were members of the first ensemble of

[11] In 1964 Radio Kabul, after moving from its old building and location to its current address, became known as Radio Afghanistan.
[12] Though the instrument depicted in the illustration 28 is called the *sitār* by Afghan musicians, it appears to be the *surbahar*.

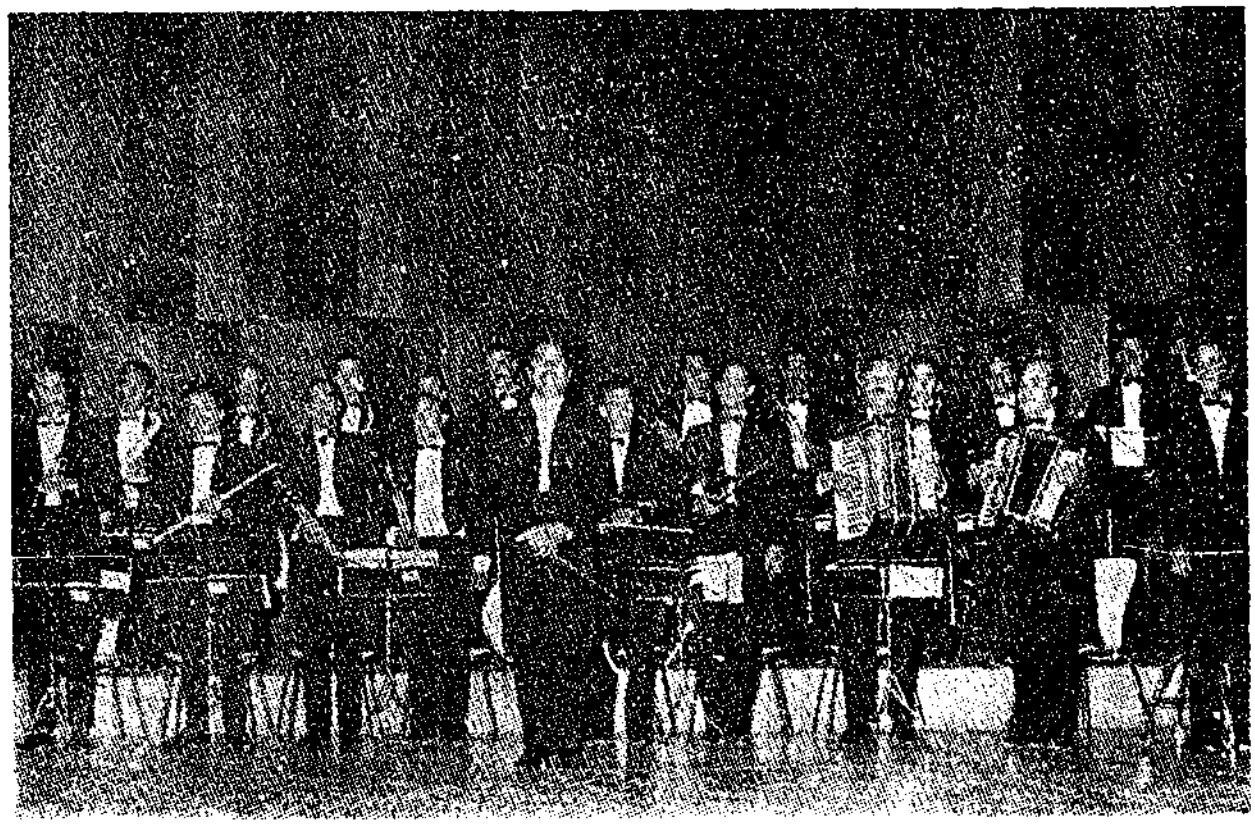
Radio Kabul. In figure 28, two other instruments may be seen, the *harmonia* and *tanpura*, also from the tradition of Hindustani music.

Illus. 28. The first ensemble of Radio Kabul.

At the beginning of its establishment in the mid 1940s, the *Arkestar Jāz* of Radio Kabul consisted of six players, performing on trumpet, accordion, kit drums, saxophone, mandolin, and flute. The following six musicians are named as the six primary members of *Arkestar Shomara Dovom*: Ūstād Sarmast [leader of the ensemble, mandolin, and trumpet player], Faqir Mohammad Nangiyaly [trumpet player], Ghulam Sakhi [accordion player], Nala [flute player], Mohammad Ali [percussion], Juma Khan [saxophone player] (Madadi 1375/1996:235). About 15 years later, by *c.* 1340/1961, the number of its instrumentalists had reached 19 musicians; musicians playing on 3 trumpets, 2 accordions, 3 saxophones, 2 clarinets, 2 flutes, 2 violins, a piano, a double bass (*contorbās*), a trombone, a drum kit (*jāz band*), and maracas (known in Afghanistan as *barakes*).

It was then in 1340/1961 that two Soviet musical advisors, Osman Mohammad Yarov, the conductor of the State Symphony Orchestra of Tadjik SSR (modern Tadjikistan), and Khairi Azamov, the conductor of the Orchestra of National Instruments of Uzbek SSR

(modern Uzbekistan), were employed at Radio Kabul. These two musicians were engaged to assist Afghan musicians playing in the *Arkestar Jāz* of Radio Kabul in improving their musical knowledge. They also helped them in the arrangement, harmonisation, and orchestration of Afghan folk songs (Ūstād Sarmast 1347/1968).



Illus. 29. The *Arkestar Jāz* or *Arkestar Shomara Dovom* in its full complement with its main conductor Ūstād Sarmast (centre) and the Soviet advisor Osman Mohammad Yarov (far right).

Ūstād Sarmast, the irrepressible conductor and leader of Radio Kabul's *Arkestar Jāz* from 1335/1956 until the total collapse of this orchestra in 1367/1988,[13] and the creator of the first Afghan symphonic arrangement in the form of a full score, and also the composer of the first and only Afghan composition to date created for a symphony orchestra and chorus, learnt the principles of orchestration and harmony under the supervision of these two specialists.

[13] Though Ūstād Sarmast remained the main leader and conductor of *Arkestar Jāz* for a considerable period of time, Faqir Mohammad Nangiyaly also acted as the leader of *Arkestar Jāz* of Radio Afghanistan.

The knowledge that Ūstād Sarmast obtained from these two musicians and Ūstād Farukh Afandi enabled him not only to successfully arrange, harmonise, and orchestrate for the *Arkestar Jāz* and the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* (The Big Orchestra of Radio Afghanistan), but also to create the first Afghan symphonic scores and to work with a symphony orchestra.[14] The teaching and practical activities of the two Soviet musicians, which significantly contributed to the musical knowledge of musicians, also brought about some changes in the quality and style of the performance of the *Arkestar Jāz*. These new qualities will be discussed later in this chapter.

The creation of the *Arkestar Jāz* at Radio Kabul most probably was brought about by a desire to have a modern ensemble in Afghanistan capable of performing light and popular songs, which could replace the Hindi songs from Hindi movies, and also the other foreign tunes 'that comprised a large portion of the radio's music broadcasting' in the early days of its re-establishment (Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal 1347/1968).[15] Thus, it does not seem accidental that a huge number of *tarzs*, or Afghan songs in a popular style, 'originated partly in response to the need to create a music suitable for radio broadcasting' (Baily 1988:30). These *tarzs* were performed by the first group of Afghan amateur singers, and these singers were accompanied by this newly founded ensemble at Radio Kabul.

It should be noted that before the adoption of the *tarz* style and the arrangement of Afghan folk songs, the vocal repertoire of the *Arkestar Shomara Dovom* was based on the adaptation of foreign tunes set with Dari lyrics, performed by Zaland, Khyal, Gul Ahmad Shefta, and Nala (Ūstād Sarmast 1347/1968). Several waltzes bearing an Austrian-German character, and other melodies of non-Afghan origin, such as a tune known as '*la palomo*' and

[14] A copy of the score of the first Afghan song composed for a symphonic orchestra is available in *Ūstād Mohammad Salim Sarmast: a 20th Century Afghan Composer, and the First Symphonic Score of Afghanistan* (Sarmast 2000).

[15] According to this same authority, about 60% of the music broadcast by Radio Kabul after its re-establishment consisted of Hindi songs from various movies (Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal, personal communication, 2 October 2003).

many others, the origins of which have yet to be determined, are to be found among early recordings of the *Arkestar Jāz* in the archives of Radio Afghanistan. Copies of these adaptations are in the possession of the author of this thesis, which in time and with appropriate research will be dealt with in the future.

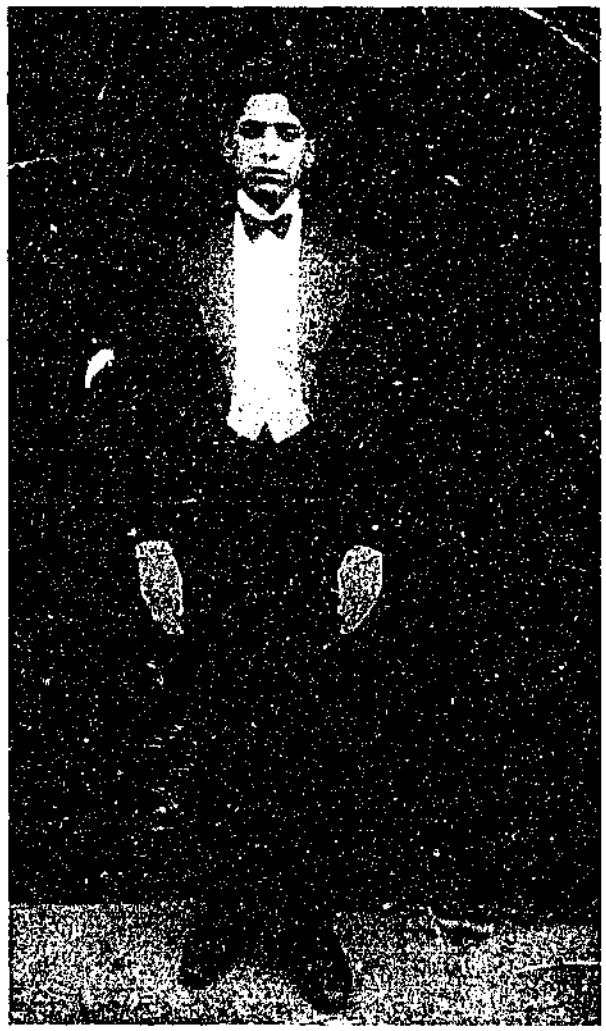
As an example of the use of foreign tunes in Afghanistan, track 8 of CD 2 illustrates the use of the melody '*la palomo*' with Dari lyrics, as compiled by the leader of *Arkestar Jāz*, Ūstād Sarmast, who has identified it as the first example of such an adaptation (Ūstād Sramast 1347/1968). Gul Ahmad Shefta is the performer of this adaptation.

The *Arkestar Jāz* and the theatre

Other venues in which the musical skills of the *Arkestar Jāz* were demanded were the newly founded Kabul theatre. Before being employed by Radio Kabul, and in addition to its live musical programmes at Radio Kabul before being employed there, *Arkestar Jāz* from the very beginning of the establishment of the Shari Nandari provided musical support to this cultural institution. This collaboration between *Arkestar Jāz* and the Municipal Theatre continued even after the hire of this orchestra by Radio Kabul. It has been reported that a limited number of musicians of the Kabul municipality, after being linked to the Independent Directorate of the Press, tried their musical skill in Puhani Nandari, the first national theatre of Afghanistan established in 1941 (Ūstād Sarmast 1375/1996:214).

The use of an orchestra at the Shari Nandari and earlier at Puhani Nandari was a necessity linked to the difficulties that the actors and directors of theatrical pieces faced during a theatrical performance consisting of several acts. These difficulties, which were exemplified by big unfilled gaps between the acts of a drama, were the result of the poor state of the theatres, which lacked technical facilities, technicians, and decorators. Stage decorations and props could not be prepared in advance. To fill in these long intervals between acts, musicians

and singers were employed to entertain spectators while the decoration of the set of the next act was prepared.



Illus. 30. Ūstād Sarmast in 1325/1946.

Members of the orchestra of Shari Nandari, led by Ūstād Farukh Afandi, were: Ūstād Farukh Afandi (piano player), Ūstād Sarmast (mandolin player), Faqir Mohammad Nangiyaly (trumpet player), Nawshad (accordion player), and Ismail Azami (saxophone player).[16] Singers performing at Shari Nandari were: Mohammad Ibrahim Nasim, Mohammad Hussain

[16] Mohammad Hussain Arman, Ūstād Nahim Farhan, and Ūstād Hafīzullah Khyal provided me with the names of instrumentalists and singers associated with Shari Nandari during personal communications. The author of this thesis initiated these contacts respectively on 29 September, 28 September, and 2 October 2003. It also should be noted that their valuable information, together with Du'ā-goy's *Farāz Wa Frod Tiyātor Dar Afghanistan* [The Up and Down of Theatre in Afghanistan] (1369/1990:63-64, 70-71, 73), were of great help in establishing the role that the *Arkestar Jāz* played in the theatrical life of the country in the second half of the 1320s/1940s and in the following years.

Arman, Amin Ashifta, Sarban, and Mohammad Nahim Shola (known today as Ūstād Mohammad Nahim Farhan).

Singers standing in front of the theatrical curtain were accompanied by musicians located in the orchestra pit. They performed songs with different themes; love, comedy, humour, and satire. These vocal musical performances, accompanied by the *Arkestar Jāz*, were generally identified as *pish parda-es* ('before the acts'), as they helped to fill in the gaps. Most of the time, singers wearing a theatrical costume and make-up performed these songs as short plays. The musical sources for the *pish parda-es* were from five different origins; namely, (1) Dari/Persian folk tunes and Pashto folk tunes, (2) adapted Hindi songs from movies with a new text in Dari/Persian or Pashto, (3) Iranian popular songs, (4) imitations of European popular tunes, and (5) Afghan composed songs in the *tarz* style that had just been taking its first steps towards being fully recognised and widely practiced.[17]

It also should be noted that each show at the theatres started with several instrumental pieces played before the start of the drama, while spectators were arriving and taking their seats. These opening instrumental tunes generally were European dancing melodies, such as waltzes, foxtrots, tangos, and polkas.[18] The adaptation of these genres into the repertoire of the *Arkestar Jāz* may well have been brought about by the need to provide suitable musical entertainment for special occasions for the members of European embassies present in Kabul,[19] as well as by the absence of local suitable instrumental genres for adaptation for the Western musical instrumentation of *Arkestar Jāz*. Nonetheless, some local folk songs arranged and orchestrated by Ūstād Farukh Afandi, the leader of the ensemble, were also part of their instrumental repertoire.

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[17] Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal, personal communication, 2 October 2003 and Mohammad Hussain Arman, personal communication, 29 September 2003.
[18] Ūstād Mohammad Nahim Farhan, personal communication, 28 September 2003.
[19] According to Mohammad Hussain Arman, on special occasions the *Arkestar Jāz* provided musical entertainment to western embassies (personal communication 29 September 2003).

Later some of these European instrumental pieces with Dari lyrics were the source for compositions of the early vocal performances accompanied by the *Arkestar Jāz* in the 1950s when it was established at Radio Kabul. This historical fact has been reported by the conductor and author of many the lyrics for such adaptations, Ūstād Sarmast (1347/1968).

The style of performance

Concerning the style of the performance of the *Arkestar Jāz*, it is useful to classify it into two stages according to the quality of the performance of this orchestra as it developed and improved. These phases may be identified as the early and late style of the *Arkestar Jāz*. The first style is illustrated by the early recordings of this ensemble, made before the arrival of the Soviet musical advisors in the 1960s. The late style is illustrated by those recordings of the *Arkestar Jāz* made after the completion of a music course by the musicians, when members of the *Arkestar Jāz*, particularly its conductor, under the supervision of two Soviet music advisors introduced earlier in this chapter, improved their theoretical and practical skills in orchestration and in using the principles of harmony in the arrangement of different songs.

The early recordings of the *Arkestar Jāz* demonstrate that before the arrival of the Soviet musicians the ensemble, which accompanied vocal compositions and played instrumental compositions as well, generally played in unison, with a very limited use of harmony, in the style of a basic accompaniment in the root position of a few basic chords. On only rare occasions is the instrumental interlude that is part of any Afghan composed song in the style of *tarz* orchestrated on the principle of call-and-response, between a soloist calling and a unison response of the orchestra. The principle of melodic ornamental filling-in that is used extensively in the recordings of the later period, also emerges modestly in the early recordings of the *Arkestar Jāz*, as a means of ornamenting long notes and vocal pauses.

This manner of performance is characteristic of the early style of the *Arkestar Jāz*, regardless of the origin of the tunes performed in this period. Track 9 of CD 2 sung by Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal, represents this unison style. This tune, bearing an Austrian-German character with its 3/4 or waltz metric pattern, which is not a common metre of Afghan music, is an adaptation of a European tune.

In the second period, the style of the performance of the *Arkestar Jāz* is remarkably sophisticated in its orchestration of instrumental tone colours. From now on the orchestra, in accompanying vocal compositions and performing instrumental tunes, does not speak in unison. The principle of unison is replaced by performance according to the rules of heterophonic sharing, supported by a harmonic texture. In other instances the melodic instruments of the orchestra, while playing the melody and its harmonic background, engage each other contrapuntally. These stylistic features are achieved thanks to the skill of the musicians on different instruments in calling, responding, duplicating, and accompanying each other, while they are in the service of the singers.

The harmonic language of the recordings made by the *Arkestar Jāz* in the second period of the formation of its style is very straightforward. It is mainly characterised by the use of the basic chords of a scale on the tonic, subdominant, and dominant. These simple chords, however, are used in diverse styles, rather than just as an accompaniment in root position as used in the earlier style. In the later style, they are used as arpeggio, and as harmonic chords in inverted position, performed by a group of instruments providing homophonic support to the melody, or providing parallel harmony in thirds and sixths, duplicating a melodic line. Tracks 10 and 11 of CD 2, performed respectively by Rukhshana and Nasim, are instances of the late style of the *Arkestar Jāz*, demonstrating these harmonic and orchestral features. Both these two songs are Pashto folk songs.

Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan and Afghan folk songs

This new stylistic quality in the performances of the *Arkestar Jāz*, the experience and knowledge of its leader, and the musical skill of its instrumentalists in the 1970s, were a prerequisite for the creation of a new type of orchestra whose duty was to collect, musically 'polish', and broadcast Afghan folk songs. The introduction of this project at Radio Afghanistan most probably was part of a coordination envisioned between the Department of Literature and Folklore, Radio Afghanistan, and Afghan Films, in the recording and scientific collection of folk tales and folk songs, a project planned by the Department of Literature and Folklore.[20]

To accomplish these goals, in 1349/1970 the directorate of Radio Afghanistan initiated a new ensemble known as *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* (Big Orchestra of Radio Afghanistan), which was also called *Arkestar-e Siwoahsht Nafari* (Orchestra of Thirty-eight Persons). This orchestra, which consisted of musicians playing local, Hindustani, and Western musical instruments, was created through the fusion of radio ensembles such as *Arkestar Klasik Radio Afghanistan* (Classical Orchestra of Radio Afghanistan), *Arkestar Kliwāli Radio Afghanistan* (Folk Orchestra of Radio Afghanistan), and the *Arkestar Jāz*. All these ensembles already were operating at Radio Afghanistan and continued to do so after the foundation of the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*. The first and third ensembles just named have already been introduced in this chapter.

The *Arkestar Kliwāli Radio Afghanistan*, which primarily was known as the *Arkestar Mili Radio Kabul*, was founded 1336/1957 under the leadership of Ūstād Mohammad Omar. It consisted of musicians playing those musical instruments considered to be Afghan national musical instruments. The instrumentation of this orchestra consisted of 3 *rabāb*s, 2 *tanbur*s, a *dutār*, 2 *sarinda*s, a *tula*, a *dohl*, and a *zirbaghali*.

[20] The establishment of coordination between several state institutions in implementing these plans is reported in 'Archaeology and the Arts in the Creation of a National Consciousness' (Dupree 1974:232).

The *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*, under the leadership of its main conductor Ūstād Sarmast, who was also acting as the arranger and composer of this new orchestra, successfully fulfilled the task of the collection and recording of Afghan folk songs as outlined by the plans.[21] Over a period of less than ten years, from 1970-1978, about 200 folk songs were collected, arranged, orchestrated, harmonised, and broadcast. These folk songs were performed by singers who were known for singing in different styles—*ghazal*, popular, and *kliwāli*. About two thirds of these 200 folk songs were restored and up-dated by Ūstād Sarmast. The rest are the work of Ūstād Faqir Mohammad Nangiyaly, who later on started to carry out this duty and to lead the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* as well.

The 'polishing' or 'scientific' cultivation of folk songs was achieved through the use of a new orchestra, and by using principles of orchestration and Western harmony that are not common features of Afghan music. The combined sound of Afghan, Hindustani, and Western musical instruments, skilfully orchestrated, and the structural expansion of original melodies by the introduction of a newly composed multi-sectional instrumental section within them, are also important elements in this process. The introduction of all these musical ideas into Afghan folk songs was implemented in a manner such that the original simple and short melodies of the folk songs remained intact.

Usually these simple and syllabic vocal tunes are divided into verse and refrain sections, the tonal range of which in most cases does not exceed the lower and upper 5th of a melodic mode.[22] This structural form, which applies to Pashto and Dari folk songs in general, is the basic organisational principle of the two poetic-musical genres of Afghan folklore,

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[21] Nancy Hatch Dupree in her 'Archaeology and the Arts in the Creation of a National Consciousness' provides some outlines and notes the origin of the plans aimed at the safeguarding of Afghan folklore and Afghan folk songs (1974:232).

[22] This structural and tonal characteristic of Afghan folk songs is clearly seen in the notation of 100 Afghan folk songs published in *Ahang-ahi Mardomi Afghani* [*Afghan Folk Songs*] (Ūstād Nangiyaly 1370/1991), which were reworked at Radio Afghanistan by the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*. These notations, however, do not include the long multi-sectional instrumental sections that were composed and inserted into Afghan folk songs. Notations of Afghan folk songs are also available in *Afghansaya Narodnaya Musika* [*Afghan Folk Music*] by Beliaev (1960), which is based on the published work of Benawa and Afandi (n. d.).

chahārbaiti and *landay*,[23] which dominate the recordings of Afghan folk songs made by the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*.

The use of harmony and the style of the orchestration as applied to Afghan folk songs performed by the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* reflect the late style of the *Arkestar Jāz*, the conductor and arranger of which was given the task of the scientific collection of Afghan folk songs. The manner in which harmony is used in the reworking of Afghan folk songs accompanied by the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* is simple. Generally it appears in the manner of a melody in unison played by a few instruments, which is duplicated in parallel harmony by one instrument or a group of instruments. The use of harmonic texture, contrapuntal movement, and basic chordal accompaniment are other features of the harmonic style of the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*.

These harmonic principles are not presented equally in each song. There are examples in which only the unison duplication of melodies may be heard, rather than any of the other elements of the listed harmonic principles. In other instances, however, two or more techniques of harmonising are used. Usually, these harmonising methods are used in the instrumental introduction and interludes of Afghan folk songs.

With this general background about the style and structural forms of these musical pieces, it will be useful to highlight some of the principles of orchestration applied to Afghan folk songs in more detail.

Style of orchestration

Twenty-six different musical instruments with different tone qualities and idiomatic styles of performance comprised the instrumentation of the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*. Ūstād Sarmast, the conductor of this unique orchestra, in a special radio

[23] For a description of this beloved poetic and musical form of the Pashtūns see Slobin (1976:90-91).

programme of Afghan folk songs (1351/1972), identified the following musical instruments as members of this ensemble: flute, piccolo, transverse wooden flute (*tula*), clarinet, alto and tenor saxophones, trumpet, piano, accordion, *harmonia*, double bass, *rabāb*s of three sizes (small, medium and large), *tanbur*, *dutār*, *sitār*, *sarod*, violin, *dilrūba*, *sarinda*, *tabla*, drum kit, maracas, castanets, and *daira*.[24]

In the same programme the musicians who were members of the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* are named. These musicians are: Abdul Rahim Nala (flute), Sikandar (*tula*), Ahamd Bakhsh and Noor Hussain (clarinet), Joma Khan (alto saxophone) and [Mohammad Ismali Azami] (tenor saxophone), Abdul Ghafar [Samandar] and [Ūstād Faqir Mohammad Nangiyaly] (trumpet), Maluk (piano), Mohammad Hussain Honardost and Mohammad Anwar Nawshad (accordion), Ghulam Sarwar (*harmonia*), Ūstād Mohammad Omar (medium *rabāb*), Bulbul Shah and Atiqullah (small *rabāb*), Mir Mohammad (large *rabāb*), Ūstād Ghulam Nabi and Mohammad Kabir (*dilrūba*), Nik Mohammad and Abdulmajid (*tanbur*), Mohammad Karim Herawi (*dutār*), Ūstād Sarajudin (*sitār*), Mohammad Akram Rohnawaz (*sarod*), Abdul Rashid Mashinay (*sarinda*), Ūstād Faqir Mohammad (violi.), Mohammad Wali Nabizada (*tabla*), Mohammad Ali (drum kit and maracas), Asadullah Tarin (castanets and *daira*). The musicians performing on piccolo and double bass are not named.

Some of these instruments and musicians may be seen in a rare photograph of this ensemble (Illus. 31) accompanying the singer Zhila *c.* 1350/1971. Two *dutār*s may be identified by their very long narrow necks. Next to them are Nik Mohammad and Abdulmajid playing *tanbur*s, which may be identified by the long wide neck of the instrument, held in a vertical position. Behind them one may see the scroll of a double bass. Behind the *dutār* players is depicted a *sitār*, and at the far left the neck of a classical acoustic guitar appears.

[24] A few names have been add to Ūstād Sarmast's list, based on the research of the author of this thesis.

Illus. 31. The *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* under its main conductor Ūstād Sarmast, provides accompaniment to Zhila during a live performance at the Kabul Nindari.

The style of the orchestration of folk songs played by this orchestra is very simple and straightforward. It is based on the principle of communication between different musical instruments, in the form of dialogue and the tradition of call and response, when the melodic line of one instrument is enriched by an ornamental melodic phrase, or by a new melody played by one of the other instrumentalists, or the all the orchestra. This method offers great opportunities to highlight the use of Afghan, Hindustani, and Western musical instruments, with their different tone qualities and idiomatic styles of performance. Different musical instruments were employed in a single section of a folk song to demonstrate their harmonic coexistence and usefulness in Afghan folk music. This technique of orchestration presents excellent solo prospects for a great variety of the musical instruments. It also leads to a constant changing of instrumental tone colours and the introduction of new instrumental nuances within a single piece.

This style of orchestration is clearly demonstrated in the composed instrumental sections of Afghan folk songs. Each song begins with a long multi-sectional newly composed

instrumental section (*naghma*). This section functions both as an instrumental introduction and later as an interlude. The melodic pieces of such a section, which completely eliminates the stylistic differences between folk songs and composed songs (*tarz*), and leads to the urbanisation of the former, is orchestrated on the basis of a dialogue between various musical instruments and the orchestra in unison.

These instrumental sections sometimes are longer in duration than the original vocal melodies. Often these *naghmas*, which alternate with vocal sections in the *tarz*-style, are concluded by an instrumental introduction of the vocal refrain, which is subsequently performed by a soloist who is accompanied by the orchestra. Often the solo trumpet carries out this instrumental introduction of the vocal soloist. This orchestration has the effect of declaring the presence of Western instruments in the orchestra, and thus demonstrating the suitability of Afghan tunes and Western instruments for each other. The additional Western musical instruments in the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* are usually used in the background, providing harmonic and melodic filling support to the melodic space of the Afghan and Hindustani instruments. In other instances a desire for the creation of a typical Afghan sound environment leads to the use of a local instrument for the instrumental rendering of the subsequent vocal refrain. Usually the *tula* or the *rabāb* are used for such a purpose.

The instrumental sections used as a vehicle for the introduction of new musical ideas into Afghan folk songs were composed, orchestrated, and arranged in most instances by the main leader and conductor of the orchestra, Ūstād Sarmast. Ūstād Faqir Mohammad Nangiyaly, the second conductor and leader of this orchestra, composed instrumental sections of several folk songs, and also arranged, orchestrated, harmonised and conducted himself. The insertion of such multi-sectional instrumental sections into Afghan folk songs most probably aimed to enrich and artistically up-date or modernise and popularise Afghan folk songs.

Illus. 32. Zainab Davod, wife of the first president of Afghanistan Mohammad Davod, is presenting the first award of a compositional competition to Ūstād Sarmast in 1355/1976.

An analysis of *Ala ai āhu-e man* and *Sari shab shod*

Ala ai āhu-e man ('O my deer')[25] (track 12 of CD 2) and *Sari shab shod* ('It became evening') (track 13 of CD 2) are examples of Afghan folk songs demonstrating the style of orchestration and the stylistic features of the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* noted generally above. Both songs begin with a long multi-sectional instrumental introduction, which also functions as an interlude. For the scores of the instrumental sections of these two Afghan folk songs see figures 17 and 18. Sara Zaland and Ahmad Wali respectively are the vocal soloist in these two examples. On both of these two recordings, the original folk songs were reworked and arranged by Ūstād Sarmast, who also composed their instrumental sections.

The instrumental section of the first example consists of 41 measures segmented into four sub-sections. The first four measures are played twice by the accordion and trumpet and a few other instruments, bringing the total number of the measures in this first sub-section to 8. The next five measures (5-9) are played by solo flute against a harmonic background of the orchestra. This solo, being the second sub-section, leads into the third sub-section, which consists of 8 measures played twice, forming a total of 16 measures (end of 9-25).

This new section is played first by the *rabāb*s, the melodic space of which is melodically filled in by the accordion, which is used here as a device for the creation of a dialogue between the *rabāb*s and the accordion. Then these instruments join in unison together, and with a few more instrumentalists repeat this melodic line, while the trumpet takes over from the accordion, thus creating an ambience of dialogue between an ensemble and a solo instrument of the orchestra. Such a technique is also used in the first section of this instrumental section (measures 1-4), where the space of the melodic line in the second measure is filled in by the *tula* and *rabāb*s, duplicating an octave apart.

[25] In Dari the beauty of a mistress and a beautiful woman is compared with the beauty of a deer.

The fourth sub-section consists of the instrumental introduction of the subsequent vocal refrain, first played by the solo *tula* in a *rubato* style, which is repeated by the orchestra in a strict measured style, playing in unison. This section consists of a total of 12 measures (25-37). Between the vocal performance of the refrain and the couplets, the refrain is played twice more by the *tula* and the orchestra, in this same style and structure without any harmonic or instrumental changes. After the vocalist has finished singing, the orchestral reproduction of the refrain, played three times in this instance, predicts the coda, which is based on the first sub-section of the instrumental section (1-4). It should be noted that all these melodic and orchestral diversities are accompanied from the piano with basic chords, and by a few percussion instruments, among which the *tabla* dominates.

The second Afghan folk song considered here, *Sari shab shod*, as we have seen in the first folk song just discussed, starts with an instrumental section consisting of 41 measures in 5 sub-sections. This instrumental prelude is orchestrated in a manner similar to *Ala ai āhu-e man*, according to the principle of dialogue and communication between soloists and the orchestra. Several instruments in unison, including some of those that are used as soloists for this song, play the first sub-section of this *naghma*, comprised of 11 measures and one beat (1-12). A saxophone playing the dominant and tonic chords of D major in arpeggio fills in the melodic spaces of this melody. The end of this melody coincides with the beginning of the second sub-section played solo by the *tula*, against a harmonic background provided by the saxophone, which is playing F sharp in the form of a drone throughout this sub-section (12-20).

This monologue smoothly gives way to a dialogue between the solo *rabābs* playing as a group, and the accordion, which is completed by the addition of the orchestra. This dialogue of 8 measures constitutes the third sub-section of this *naghma* (20-29), leading to the fourth sub-section and the monologue of the *dilrūba*. This monologue is repeated by the orchestra in

unison, and harmonically enriched by the parallel harmonic movement of the saxophone. The solo trumpet reproduces the vocal refrain of this song and thereby concludes this multi-sectional instrumental introduction. The solo trumpet also anticipates the beginning of the vocal soloist, who alternates with this instrumental section, which is played as an instrumental interlude three times. This folk song also ends with an orchestral coda, which is based on the orchestral performance of the fourth sub-section of the *naghma* (34-37).

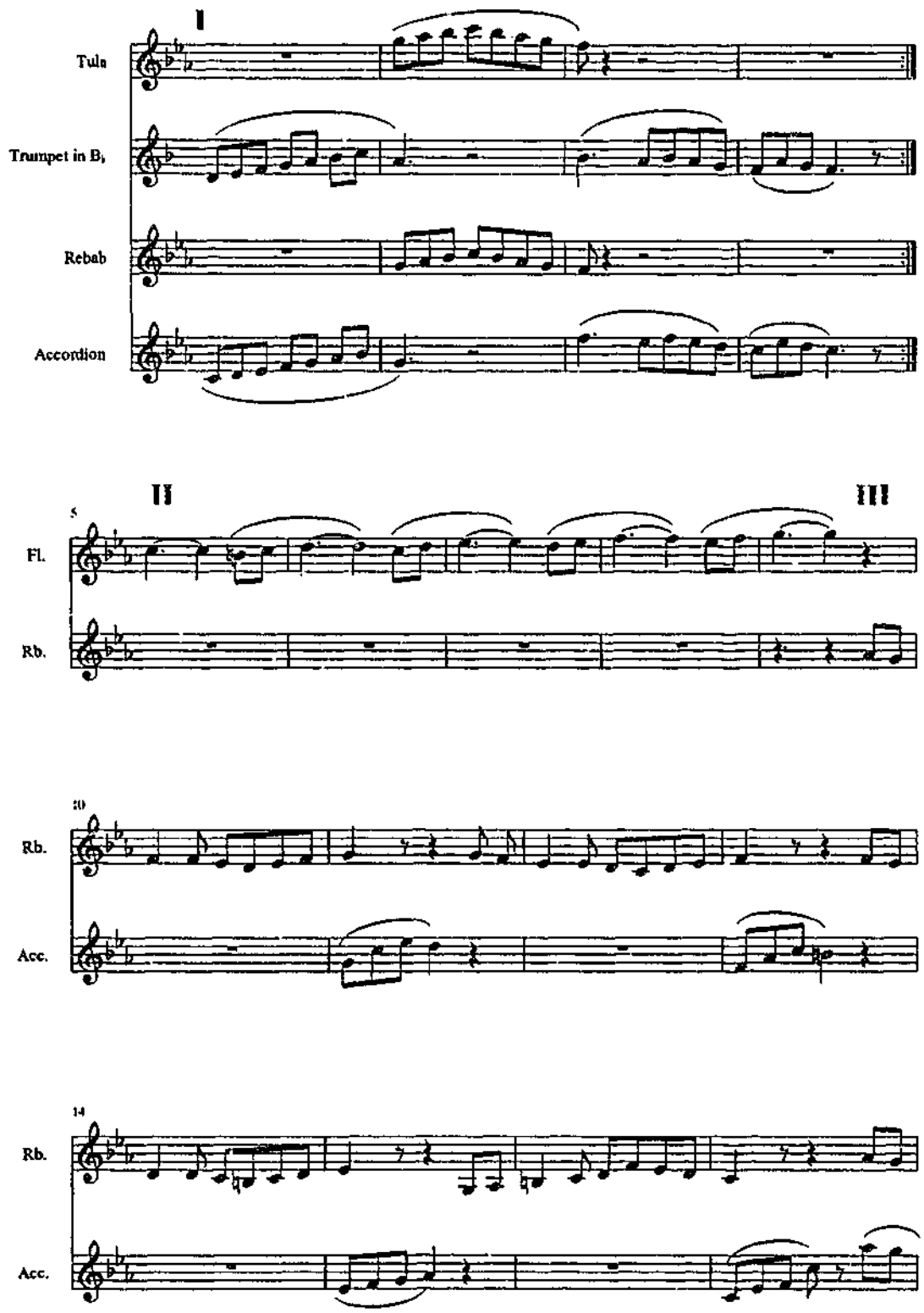
With this background and discussion of the style of orchestration and arrangement of Afghan folk songs, it is now possible to consider the subsequent musical development in the history of Afghan musical and literary culture.

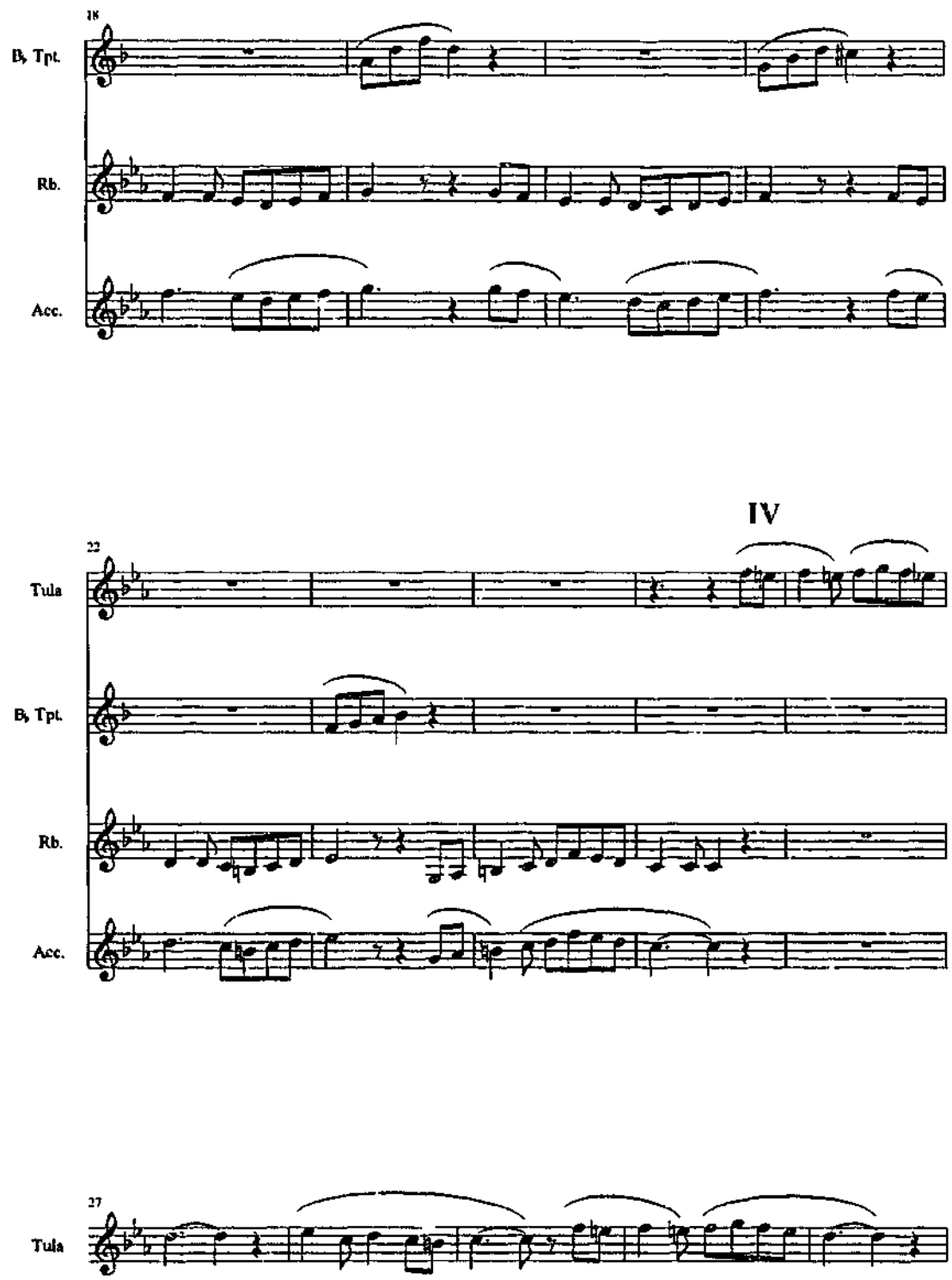
Pogrāms nim sāhata and suite-type compositions

Simultaneously with the reworking of Afghan folk songs, the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* and its leader were given the assignment to introduce a new programme of vocal and instrumental music at Radio Afghanistan, known as *Pogrām Nim Sāhata Arkestar Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* (The Special Half-an-Hour Programme of the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*). Each of these programmes had to fit within 30 minutes. Each programme was introduced with a serial number, and in total there were 19 programmes. The compositions prepared for these programmes, which were broadcast fortnightly, had to be performed by the orchestra, reciters, and the singers, consecutively, without any interruption or pauses.

As a result, a suite-type of composition emerged, which at the collapse of the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* also came to an end. These suite-type compositions consist of four joined sections; namely, an instrumental prelude called *owartūr* (overture) and three composed songs (*tarz*), the latter of which were performed by three reciters and three soloist singers. All four parts, which might be independent pieces, are performed together successively without any pauses.

Ala ai ālu-e man




18
B♭ Tpt.
Rb.
Acc.
IV
22
Tuba
B♭ Tpt.
Rb.
Acc.
27
Tuba

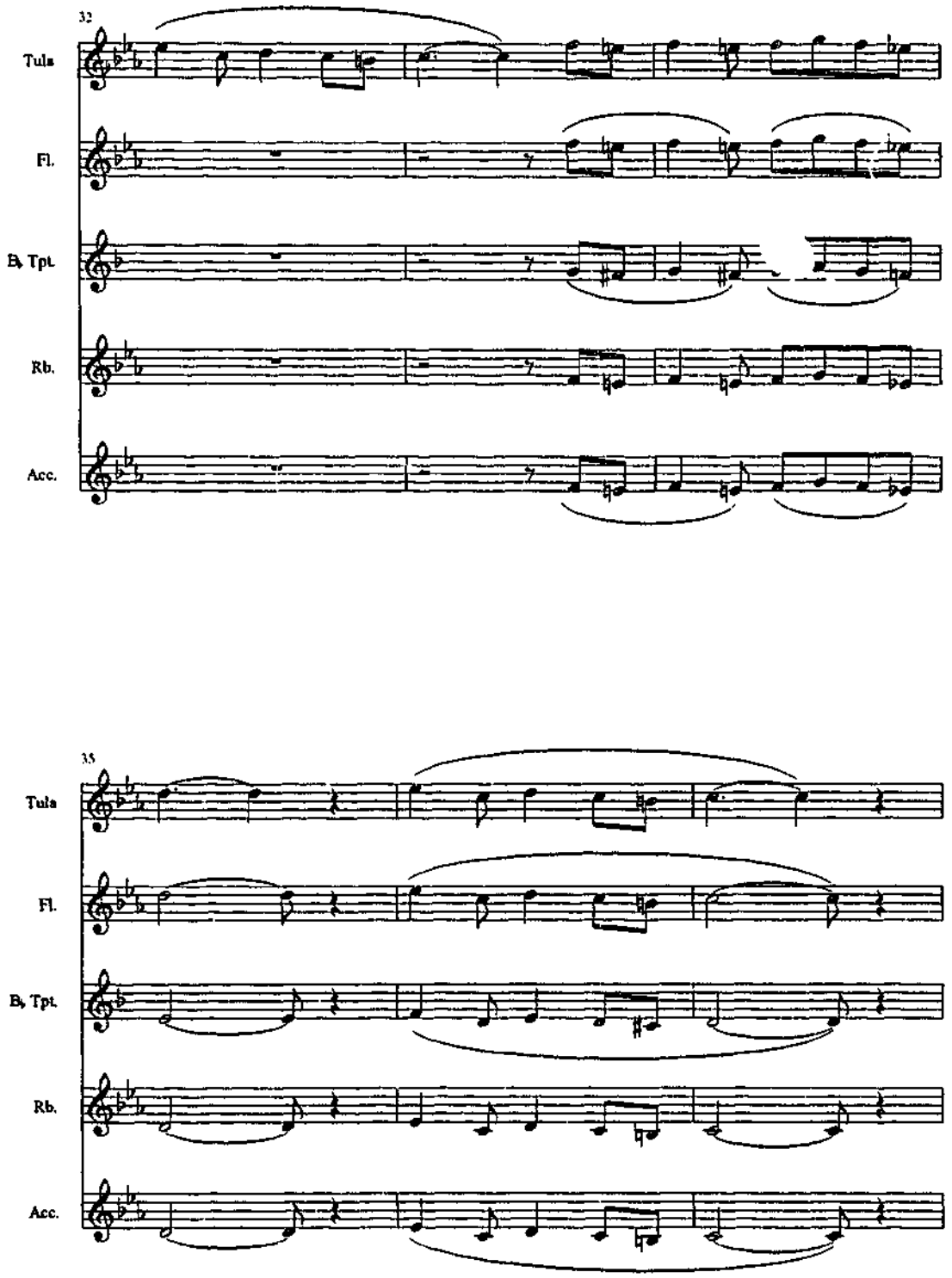


Fig. 17. The score of the *naghma* section of *Ala ai āhu-e man*.

Sari shab shod

I

Tula

Tenor Sax.

Trumpet in B♭

Rabab

Accordion

Dilruba

II

7

Tula

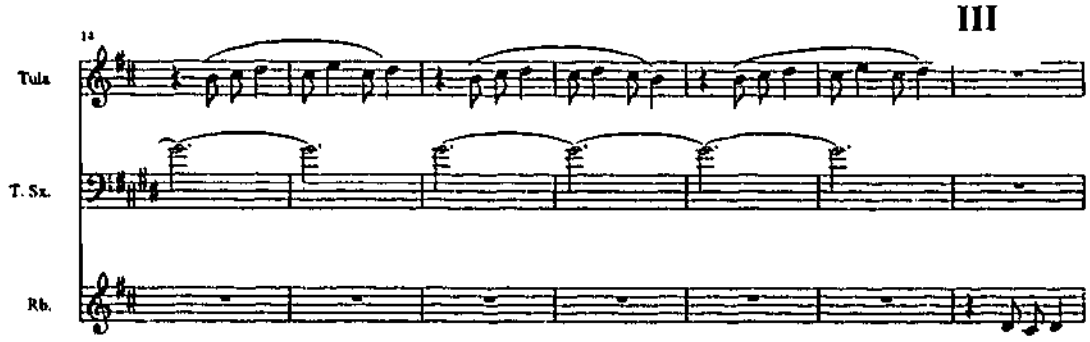
T. Sx.

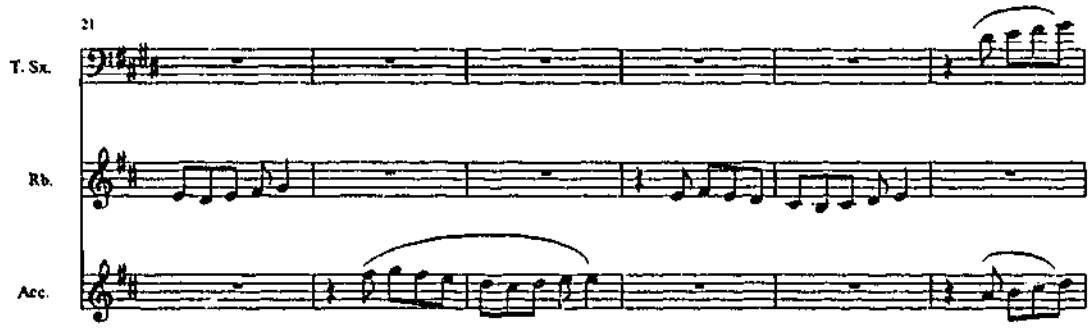
Rb.

Acc.

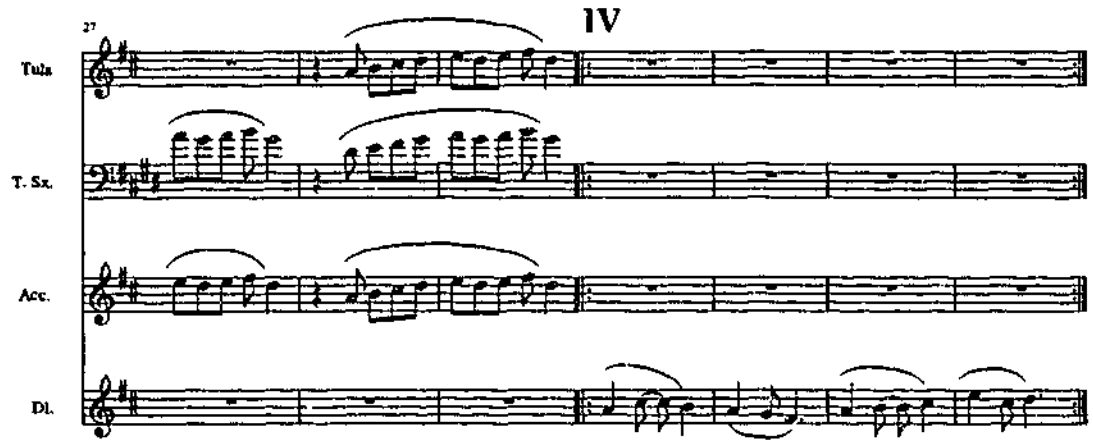
Dl.

III





IV



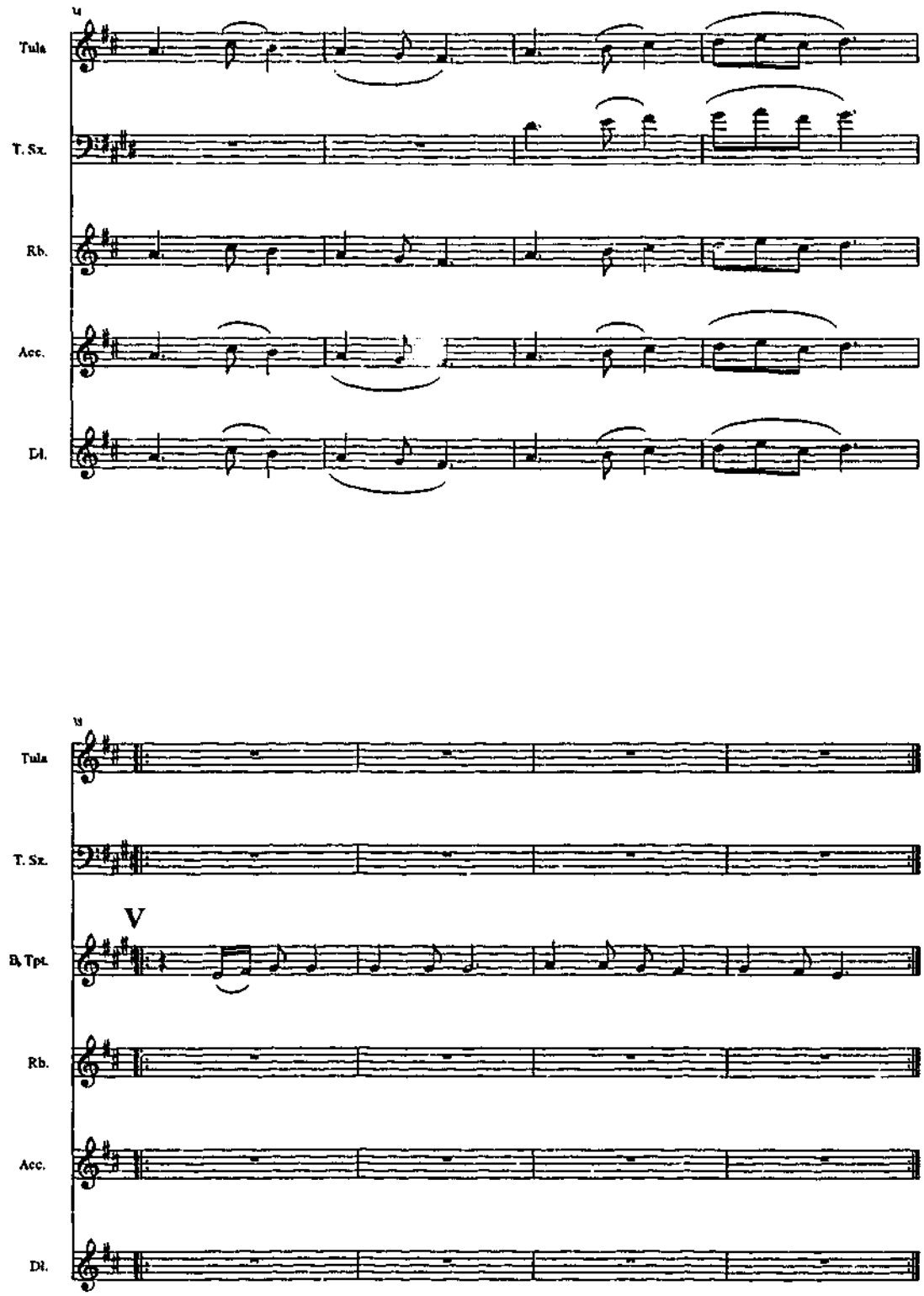


Fig. 18. The score of the *naghma* section of *Sari shab shod*.

The overture usually consists of three and sometimes more sections, the end of which is marked by a strong cadence. The sections of the overture are also identified by a change of style, metre, tempo, and emotional references, which follow each other consecutively. The music in the overture does not provide an obvious and apparent thematic or metric link with either the vocal sections or the other instrumental themes of these suite-type compositions. Orchestration is used in a masterly fashion to highlight changes and the unique aspects of each section. It should be noted that each of the three primary sections of an overture itself may be classified into a few sub-sections.

In the *owartūr* section, more than in any other section of these cyclic compositions, it is obvious that the use of harmony has been used in a very creative manner, rather than just as an accompaniment. Several techniques of harmonising—such as basic accompaniment, harmonic chords inverted or in root position performed by a group of instruments providing homophonic support to the melody, plus parallel harmony in 3^{rds} or 6^{ths} duplicating a melodic line, and the use of arpeggio—usually are utilised in these compositions. This manner of harmonising is based on the use of the basic chords of a scale; namely, the tonic, subdominant, and dominant.

The public radio announcement for each of these special radio programmes, which precedes the broadcast of these compositions, indicates that 18 out of the 19 overtures for these compositions were composed by Ūstād Sarmast, and that at least two more composers were engaged in the creation of the vocal melodies for each suite. Ūstād Faqir Mohammad Nangiyaly is the composer of the overture of the 14th suite. The songs of this suite, composed by Nasim, Zakhail, and Guizaman, were arranged and orchestrated by Ūstād Faqir Mohammad Nangiyaly, who conducted the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* on this occasion.

In most instances, three different songwriters, some of whom perform their own *tarz*-style compositions, composed the three songs of these suites. However, suite number 1 and suite number 17 are exceptional, as all three songs in these two suites are composed by a single composer. The vocal sections of the first suite are composed by Ūstād Mohammad Hashim Chishti, and Ūstād Sarmast wrote the entire composition of suite number 17.

After the instrumental *owartūr*, each song starts with the recitation of the poetic text of the vocal composition, recited by a male or female reciter, with orchestral accompaniment in the background. In such instances, the multi-sectional instrumental interlude of each *tarz* is used as background music for the recitations The instrumental sections of each song of these suite-type compositions are composed and orchestrated in a style similar to those instrumental pieces that were inserted into Afghan folk songs that were arranged and orchestrated for the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*.

Similar to those *naghmas*, these instrumental compositions consist of a few sub-sections, but with the difference that the solo instrumental rendering of the refrain that concluded the instrumental interludes in the arrangements of the urbanised Afghan folk songs is absent in the instrumental interludes of these newly composed songs. The style of orchestration in the overture and the instrumental sections between the vocal parts of each suite reflects the general manner and technique of orchestration used in the multi-sectional instrumental section of Afghan folk songs that has already been discussed earlier in this chapter.

In each suite all three songs are based on one poetic text, which results not only in poetic links between each of the three songs, but also leads to the poetic and metric unity of the three *tarz* of the suite. The use of a single poem, composed on the basis of a single poetic metre, most probably is the reason for the use of a single musical metre and tempo for the three melodically contrasting vocal pieces of a suite. Poems by Dari Persian and Pashto poets

of the past and present—such as Wasil, Nadim, Waqif, Jami, Qa-āni, Farrukhi Sistani, Bidil, Ghulam Mohammad Tarzi, Mustaghni, Khushal Khan Khatak, Zarghun Nurzai, Hamza, and Ashraf Maftun—are the basic sources for the lyrics of these songs.

The songs of these compositions are composed in the Afghan popular style and structure identified in this thesis as *tarz*, which traditionally consists of three sections, *āstāi-e*, *naghma*, and *antara*. This structure is repeated a few times in a particular *tarz* according to the length of the text. The addition of recitation at the beginning of the initial song section, to open each of the three songs, and the addition of a fast, lively, and loud coda, slightly expands this structure. The coda of each song is composed in a different metric pattern than the pattern used for the three songs. As a rule, the coda is played in tutti, ending with forceful homophonic cadences, as in the European classical tradition. This introduction of the coda in a completely new style, inserted within the mono-metric and mono-tempo organisation of the three songs that constitute the three vocal sections of these suites, interrupts to mark the end of one vocal section and the start of the other. Furthermore, the coda of each song remarkably contributes to reinforcing two important contrasts between each of the three songs. This contrast is marked primarily by the voices of male and female singers, and by the use of different melodic modes.

Track 14 of CD 2 is recording of suite 5. It demonstrates the compositional structure and instrumental and harmonic features of these suite-type compositions, and is composed and performed in the style generally described above. Three composers composed this suite of four sections. Ūstād Sarmast is identified as the composer of the overture and the second vocal piece of this suite, sung by Rukhshna, an Afghan female singer. Ūstād Sarmast also is named as the arranger and conductor of the entire suite. Iltaf Hussain and Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi, the male singers respectively of the first and the third song of this composition, are respectively named as the composer of the first and the third songs.

The vocal section of all three songs is based on a single poem of Farrukhi Sistani (d. 1040), which are recited by three well-known reciters of Radio Afghanistan—Farida Anwari, Abdullah Shadan, and Eqlima Makhfi. All three songs of this cyclic composition are composed in a single metric pattern, in *moghuli tāl*. This *tāl*, which is considered to be an Afghan national *tāl*, is commonly used in most of these 19 suite-type compositions.

All the three vocal pieces are composed in the *tarz* style. In the second song of this suite, the first appearance of the *antara* occurs immediately after the *āstāi-e*, before the introduction of the instrumental interlude (*naghma*), which after the repeat of the *āstāi-e* appears as a section of the second song as usual. This irregularity within the *tarz* structure, omitting the *naghma* after the first *āstāi-e* of the song, which also appears in the third song of this composition, most probably is an attempt to present the entire suite lyrics within the time limit of 28 minutes and 21 seconds. The remaining 1 minute and 39 seconds of the half-hour programme is taken up by the identifying musical radio signal of this programme and the initial announcement of the suite.

The compositional structure of the fifth suite may be outlined as follows:

Section	**Time**
<u>Overture</u>	
first sub-section	0-1.39
second sub-section	1.39-2.46
third sub-section	2.47-4.18
<u>First song</u>	
recitation	4.19-6.08
āstāi-e (refrain)	6.09-6.47
naghma	6.48-7.18
antara (couplet)	7.19-7.35
āstāi-e (refrain)	7.36-7.57

naghma	7.57-8.27
antara	8.28-8.46
āstāi-e	8.46-9.06
naghma	9.07-9.38
antara	9.39-9.55
āstāi-e	9.56-10.42
naghma (first section only)	10.42-10.49
coda	10.49-11.05
<u>Second song</u>	
recitation	11.06-13.22
āstāi-e	13.23-13.57
antara	13.58-14.22
āstāi-e	14.23-14.57
naghma	14.57-15.38
antara	15.39-16.03
āstāi-e	16.04-16.37
naghma	16.37-16.52
antara	16.53-17.18
āstāi-e	17.18-17.51
naghma	17.51-18.30
antara	18.30-18.55
āstāi-e	18.55-20.01
short rhythmic cadence	20.01-20.07
coda	20.08-20.25
<u>Third Song</u>	
recitation	20.26-22.28
āstāi-e	22.29-23.03
antara	23.04-23.29
āstāi-e	23.29-23.45
naghma	23.45-24.12
antara	24.12-24.35
āstāi-e	24.36-24.52
naghma	24.52-25.18

antara	25.19-25.41
āstāi-e	25.42-25.59
naghma	29.59-26.25
antara	26.26-26.45
āstāi-e	26.46-27.40
naghma (third section only)	27.40-27.52
coda	27.53-28.21

From the above discussion it appears that this new type of composition, invented to fulfil the requirements of a new and visionary radio programme, is based on a synthesis of three musical traditions; namely, Afghan, Hindustani, and Western. Firstly, Pashto and Dari/Persian lyrics, the use of Afghan musical instruments (*tula*, *rabāb*, *tanbur*, *dutār*, *sarinda*, and *daira*), and the *tarz* form and style that comprises the compositional structure of all vocal sections of these suites are the Afghan components of these suite-type compositions, which at the collapse of the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan* also came to an end. Secondly, the use of Hindustani musical instruments (*sitār*, *sarod*, *dilrūba*, *harmonia*, and *tabla*), the execution of the melodic concepts of the *rāg* used mainly in the vocal sections, and the *tāl* are the elements of Hindustani music that are used in these compositions.

Finally, from the Western musical tradition the multi-sectional instrumental opening piece the *owartūr* is borrowed. This opening section is designed in a manner similar to Western overtures, to precede the entire composition. The overture of these suite-type compositions, similar to Western overtures, concludes with a fast section, the presence of which in Western music differentiates between an instrumental prelude and an overture, the latter of which paves the way for a subsequent full-length dramatic composition (ballet, opera, or oratorio).[26]

[26] For a brief history of overture in Western music and its compositional form see 'Overture' (Temperley 2001:824-826).

It should be noted that the structure of these instrumental compositions, named and fashioned after Western overtures, is far from the sonata form and structure of the first movement of a symphony, which is often used for an overture. Other attributes of Western music present in these suite-type compositions are the use of a fast and dynamic coda at the end of the sub-sections in the structure of the vocal pieces, and the use of harmony and Western orchestration.

Summary and subsequent developments

This chapter has reported on the arrival of Western musical instruments and Western notation to Afghanistan and the establishment of ensembles playing on European instruments with Afghan musicians trained to read Western notation. It has also examined the role played by foreign music advisors concerning the introduction and dissemination of these innovations. Additionally, this chapter has discussed the musical activities of a small group of Afghan musicians; namely, the members of the *Arkestar Jāz* and subsequent ensembles, and the contribution that they made to the musical life of the country in the 20th century.

It seems that initially Indian and Turkish musicians employed by the Afghan court, and later by the Afghan army, were engaged in disseminating Western musical instruments and staff notation, and in the introduction of brass bands in the early stage of these innovations in Afghanistan. The above discussion demonstrates that a small number of Afghan musicians educated by Turkish musicians, the members of the *Arkestar Jāz*, played an important role in these developments.

Additionally, the members of this group of musicians also greatly contributed to music education and the establishment of musical educational institutions in Afghanistan. The musical activities of this group, whose skill was required for radio broadcasting and theatrical shows, and for forming large orchestras and educational institutions, indicates that the country

needed to have fundamental and systematic musical institutions, capable of educating highly qualified musicians for the new or modern music needs of the country.

The necessity of having such new institutions, which was overlooked for years during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, was obvious only a few decades ago, when the *Arkestar Jāz* was transferred with its full complement into the *Arkestar Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*. This latter ensemble was a newly formed musical institution to meet new Afghan musical and cultural needs at that time. By that time some of the instrumentalists of the *Arkestar-e Jāz* had retired, and a few had withdrawn from their musical collaboration with Radio Afghanistan. There were no other musicians trained in Western music to fill in these vacancies and to maintain the quality of the performance of the *Arkestar Jāz*.

This lack of musicians playing on Western musical instruments with the skills necessary to read Western notation was due to the fact that after the closure of the music school of the Afghan army, which had educated the members of the *Arkestar Jāz*, the authorities of Afghanistan did not take any serious, practical, and fundamental steps towards the promotion, maintenance, and propagation of a new system.

Nonetheless, a few short courses were introduced at Radio Kabul, where the music staff of this institution, under the supervision of local and foreign advisors, learnt Western notation. From 1318/1939 to 1336/1957 three music courses, in which Western notation was taught, were introduced at Radio Kabul. The first course was established in 1318/1939 and provided musical teaching until 1322/1943. The next course was founded in 1335/1956, and, after a relatively short life, was dismissed in 1337/1958. An American musician, identified as Mr. Freeman, supervised the last course that was operative only for three months in 1336/1957.[27]

[27] For more information on these courses see Madadi (1375/1996:219-221).

The first attempt to establish a systematic and fundamental formal music school with degrees based on the Western tradition was taken in 1353/1974. It was then that the music courses of the Ministry of Education, established in 1338/1959, and taught by Austrians who subsequently left, were turned into the first specialised Music Lycèe of the country, sponsored by the Ministry of High and Professional Education.

The graduates of this music school, which to this day remains the only institution of such a function, after the completion of their secondary education as musicians, had to change their occupation in order to obtain a higher education. This change of career was necessary because of the absence of an institution of higher musical education in the country, a problem that was solved eventually by the establishment of the Music Department of Kabul University in 1360/1981. The graduates of the Music Lycèe, who were enrolled into this newly founded music institution at Kabul University, were granted scholarships in a few institutions of higher musical education in the Soviet Union, and also in other countries of Eastern Europe.

Even the trainees of these two institutions and those musicians educated in the prestigious music institutions of Europe were not able to take over vacancies or form a new ensemble similar to the *Arkestar Jāz*. This inability is because of the social and political changes of the 1980s and the 1990s, which prevented these young musicians from working together. These conditions also stopped others from returning from Europe.

In the 1980s, during the civil war, musicians trained to read Western notation and capable of arranging and orchestrating were conscripted into the ensembles of the Ministries of Defence, Interior, and Intelligence, and into the ensembles of Afghanistan's Democratic Organisation of Youth, and Afghanistan's Democratic Organisation of Women. One of the reasons underlining these conscriptions was to prevent musicians from being sent to the battleground as ordinary solders. This conscription gave musicians a chance to preserve their musical skills, while they were serving their compulsory term of military service in the

national army. It also gave them financial advantages and the social advantages of remaining mainly in the capital close to their families. This scenario was part of the patronage that the leftist regime (1978-1992), led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, offered to musicians.

The social and political upheaval of the 1990s, which supposedly was to bring about peace, stability and prosperity, ended in a new civil war that led to the total collapse of the cultural and economic life of the country, and opened the way for the arrival of the Tālibān, which banned all types of music and the music profession. Within this period the reminding pioneers of Western music in Afghanistan, members of the *Arkestar Jāz*, passed away. The graduates of the Music Lycèe and the Music Department of Kabul University had to leave Afghanistan, as did other musicians. Musicians studying abroad in the 1980s lost any hope for returning home and rehabiliting Afghan music in general and the Western-derived tradition discussed above in particular.

Today, about two years after the defeat of the Tālibān, and even after all the positive changes that have been brought about in the social and political life of the country, the prospects of establishing an ensemble of Western musical instruments similar to the *Arkestar Jāz*, or a combined orchestra like the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*, seems very bleak in the near future. This sad and pessimistic prognosis is because of a lack of qualified musicians playing various Western musical instruments, capable of reading Western notation, and familiar with the principles of orchestration and harmony.

However, this depressing and gloomy prospect may be changed with the help of the international community and foreign music teachers, experts, and music advisors, whose role was essential in the introduction of Western musical instruments, notation, and the principles of orchestration and harmony in the second half of 19th and in the early 20th centuries. Otherwise, the re-opening of the only music school of the country and the Music Department

of Kabul University cannot improve the worsening situation of the Western musical system and musical instruments, unless highly qualified musicians are engaged in the music education of a new generation of Afghan musicians, who will establish new ensembles of Western and mixed musical instruments similar to the *Arkestar Jāz* and the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*.

Chapter 11

Summary and Conclusion

This thesis has traced the history of music in Afghanistan, from ancient times to 2000 A.D., with special reference to the art music of this country, and has brought to the field of international musicology the point of view presented by Afghan intellectuals and scholars about the history of their art music. This point of view has been re-evaluated in light of Western scholarship and the history of the country.

The first chapter discussed the history of music in antiquity in the area known today as Afghanistan, and in a preliminary manner has established the role of music in the life of the people of this area at this early time. The discussion in this chapter has suggested that the ancient people of Afghanistan, which was an early centre of the Āryans from an early era of its history, had a well-developed musical culture and played an important role in the development of the musical cultures in this area. This chapter has moreover indicated that the ancient people of the region came under the influence of two other music cultural traditions from outside, Greek culture from the west and Buddhism from India.

Though these influences came from outside, the local ancient recipient population of the area no doubt were also active participants in new musical and cultural developments of the ancient era, as discussed. They participated in local musical and cultural changes and developments, and also in the formation, transition, and spread of other ancient musical and cultural traditions, which followed the arrival of Greek culture and the emergence of Buddhist musical traditions, to a larger region, which included North India, Central and West Asia, and China.

Discussion in chapter 2 defined the concept *Mūsiqi Khurāsāni* or Khurāsānian music, which is used in the writings of Afghan scholars and intellectuals today to identify the art music of the country in the pre-Islamic and Islamic Middle Ages. It demonstrated that the

adjective Khurāsāni is used locally for identifying a musical culture that is claimed simultaneously by a few contemporary countries as the musical heritage of these different nations, which include Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and others. This discussion established that the concept *Mūsiqi Khurāsāni* is used in Afghanistan today as an equivalent of the historic concept 'Persian music' used in the West or 'Iranian music' used in Iran.

Additionally, chapter 2 began to trace the history of the formation and development of *Mūsiqi Khurāsāni* from the pre-Islamic era onward. This chapter also argued for the continuous role played by Khurāsāni musicians and their music in the development of the musical culture of the Arab world in the pre-Islamic and the early Islamic years. The discussion presented in the chapter 2, strongly suggested that while the peoples of eastern and southern Afghanistan very probably had been under the influence of a South Asian cultural tradition, the peoples of other parts of the country were contributing to the formation and crystallisation of *Mūsiqi Khurāsāni* as practiced over a large area of the Dari/Persian speaking world.

Discussion about the history of *Mūsiqi Khurāsāni* continued in chapters 3 and 4, both of which further discussed the history of art music and its theoretical basis in Khurāsān. Data discussed in chapters 2, 3, and 4 provided us with very valuable information about different aspects of the music of the region known today as Afghanistan. This information includes names of musicians and data about their activities, descriptions of musical instruments and their illustration, the composition of musical ensembles, detailed descriptions of musical genres, and the theoretical basis of *Mūsiqi Khurāsāni*.

The study of these issues, as discussed in chapters 2, 3, and 4, clearly indicated that the area known today as Afghanistan, in the arena of art music, has shared a rich and common panorama of musical instruments and musical genres within the larger region of Central Asia and Iran since antiquity. The musical instruments mentioned and depicted in these data, as

well as musical genres named and described in these sources, later became part of the instrumentarium and repertoire of a pan-Islamic musical culture, which was born as a result of a fusion between the musical culture of the Arab world and the art music of the Greater Khurāsān region; *i.e.*, contemporary Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia.

Concerning the musical theoretical systems of the area under consideration, chapters 2 and 3 demonstrated that a theoretically well-developed musical system, based on a transformation of the old or pre-Islamic Khurāsānian modal system, was in use then, and also underwent a period of development in the region from the 8th to the 13th centuries. By the end of the 12th and first half of the 13th century, this local musical theoretical system had already functioned within the framework of pan-Islamic artistic values. Chapter 4 indicated that after the fusion of the Khurāsānian *parda* system with the music system of the Arab world, professional musicians of Khurāsān shared a common modal system of melodic and metric modes with the rest of the Islamic world, particularly with the Middle East and Central Asia. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 demonstrated that it is this common system, known as the systematist system of *adwār*, or a variant of this system, called in Afghan writings today the Khurāsānian system, which dominated the art music of Afghanistan up to the second half of the 19th century.

Chapter 5 established the significance of music in the minds of the Pashtūns, and discussed their music and their attitudes towards music and musicians in light of a Dari/Persian written source from the 16th century, and a Pashto essay on music from the 17th century. The discussion of these two historical writings suggested that the Pashtūns, while using music terms and technical words of Arabo-Khurāsānian origin for the definition of various aspects of their music, and while sharing thoughts put forward in the early Islamic philosophical works and Dari/Persian musical treatises about music, its effect on humans, and its legality from a religious point of view, had their own modal system of musical practice and

method of classifying musical instruments, both of which are not found either in North India or in Iran and Central Asia.

Chapter 6 discussed data for music and dance during the rule of the first two Durrani kings. After the inauguration of Ahmad Shah Durrani and the establishment of a Pashtūn kingdom in Afghanistan, one may reasonably assume that Ahmad Shah and his decedents patronised their own Pashtūn music. However, data discussed in chapter 6 suggested otherwise.

Data indicated that Ahmad Shah did not pay much attention to any type of music, in spite of the presence of music and musicians at his court and in his army. Additionally, it was observed that the presence of musicians and music at Ahmad Shah's court had an occasional and ceremonial character. Concerning the type of music and style of dance performed at the court of Ahmad Shah, the data presented and discussed strongly demonstrated the Khurāsāniān type of music and dancing style performed at the court of Ahmad Shah and his son Timur Shah. Nonetheless, the presence of dancing girls from India and Hindustani musicians was reported at the court of Timur Shah.

Chapter 7 traced the arrival of Indian musicians to Afghanistan and their primary function. Within this discussion, it introduced the untold story of Indian female singers and dancers, the *kanchanis*, the presence of whom in the world of Afghan entertainment is consciously hidden. This chapter demonstrated that the majority of Indian musicians were brought in as part of troupes specifically to provide musical accompaniment for the Indian female entertainers, and were not employed as instrumentalists and vocal soloists in their own right. Nonetheless, the possibility that some of those Indian musicians and entertainers were highly skilled singers and musicians with a profound knowledge of *rāg* and *rāgnīs*, and sufficiently competent to cultivate the spread and performance of Hindustani classical and semi-classical vocal genres, was not ruled out.

It as been argued that the immoral activities of a few of those Hindustani female entertainers, who were associated with prostitution, have placed disgrace on the entire class of female singers and dancers, which led to a very important change in the meaning of *kanchani*. This change in the meaning of the word accounts for the fact that up now the actual history of Indian female entertainers and their accompanying Indian musicians in Afghanistan has been untold or greatly misrepresented.

Additionally, considering this story, chapter 7 indicated that in the late 19th century Pashtūn musicians, in addition to fulfilling their traditional functions, such as singing love stories, ballads, odes and telling stories, while accompanying their songs on the *rabāb*, also performed as accompanists to the Hindustani dancing girls. Furthermore, the presence of Khurāsānian singers and musicians at Afghan courts in Kabul, next to their Indian and Pashtūn colleagues, was noted.

In chapter 7, it has been argued that noting and considering the presence of all these different groups of musicians is important. It may assist one in better understanding the essence of the contemporary art and popular music of Afghanistan, which was formed within such a rich musical environment. In chapter 7 it also has been noted that the contemporary art and popular music of Afghanistan reflects the imprints of all the musical cultures discussed in this chapter. Nonetheless, the influence of North Indian classical music and dance is more evident in many aspects of contemporary music and dance of Afghanistan, as is demonstrated in chapters 8 and 9 of this thesis.

Chapter 8 presented the vocal and instrumental genres that were introduced into Afghanistan after the arrival of Hindustani musicians, and then those genres of Afghan music that are associated with the Afghan decedents of these musicians. Chapter 8 reported that one Hindustani vocal genre, which might have been cultivated in Afghanistan in the second half of the 19th century, the *dhrupad*, is obsolete there today, while other classical and semi-classical

genres of Hindustani singing still are practiced by Afghan singers and musicians in their original languages, and that Afghan singers traditionally follow the compositional structure and performance style of each of these genres as they are cultivated and performed in India. Nonetheless, attempts were made by a few Afghan singers in the second half of 20th century to adapt these styles of singing to a broader Afghan audience by using a Dari/Persian or a Pashto text in these three Hindustani genres—*khyāl*, *tarāna*, and *thumri*.

Moreover, chapter 8 discussed the history of the Afghan classical *ghazal* and its compositional structure. The discussion of this genre indicated that the compositional structure and tempo organisation of the Afghan classical *ghazal* generally reflects the tradition of *ghazal* singing in the tradition of Hindustani music. As a manifestation of local Afghan developments, however, the use of Dari/Persian lyrics, and the insertion of *shāh fard* borrowed from the tradition of Khurāsānian *ghazal* singing, within the format of the Hindustani *ghazal*, are specifics of *ghazal* performance in Afghanistan today.

Also, chapter 8 considered the history of the formation and compositional structure of *tarz*, which is the genre of Afghan popular songs. It is been argued that this new genre of Afghan vocal music apparently was modelled on a simplified compositional format of the Hindustani *ghazal* and other classical and semi-classical genres of Hindustani music. Ustad Ghulam Hussain Nātaki was identified in this thesis for his important role in the creation and promotion of this genre of music in Afghanistan today.

The last genre discussed in this chapter was *naghma chārtuk*, which is considered as a contemporary instrumental genre of Afghan music closely associated with the *rabāb*. It was argued that this genre of Afghan music, before becoming a solo instrumental piece, was played by all the members of an ensemble at the beginning of a *ghazal* performance, as a means to accustom musicians and the audience to the ambience of the melodic mode chosen

for the beginning of *ghazal* performances. As a group instrumental composition, the *naghma chārtuk* was known as *lāra*.

Furthermore, it was suggested that the compositional structure and style of the performance of *naghma chārtuk* reflects an earlier genre of Hindustani music, *gat-todā*, which after several modifications and transformations in India was changed beyond recognition there, while in its primary structure and style of performance, the *gat-todā* was preserved and popularised in Afghanistan.

Chapter 8 concluded that Hindustani genres, such as *khyāl*, *tarāna*, *thumri*, and *gat-todā*, which were brought to Afghanistan by Hindustani musicians, still maintain their originality in structure, language, and style of performance. Nonetheless, a new name has been adopted for the *gat-todā*, and attempts were made to adapt Dari/Persian or Pashto lyrics for *khyāl* and *tarāna*. The only genre that has undergone some transformation and change is *ghazal*, the compositional structure of which, in its turn, served as a model for the creation of the *tarz* genre.

Chapter 9 examined the theoretical base of music in contemporary Afghanistan with reference to *rāgs* and *tāls*. It appears that Afghan musicians, in generally accepting the new system of 10 primary *tāts* and their subordinate *rāgs*, mix up this system somewhat with the old theory of *rāgs* and *rāgnis*. Thus, the insertion of one theory into another related theory seems to being forth a newly constructed single theoretical model. Chapter 9 indicated that a few Afghan musicians have articulated their own interpretation of several aspects of Hindustani music, which disagree with the canons of North Indian classical music in India. Their thoughts are about the number of basic *tāts* and the number of pitches in a mode. It has also been reported that several local terms, equated by Afghan musicians to Hindustani-derived words, which are connected with pitches, intervals, scales, and other aspects of *rāgs* and *tāls*, are used in Afghanistan. Moreover, Afghan musicians, in addition to practicing and

employing well-known *rāgs*, also perform in rare and less significant *rāgs* with an obscure origin, and additionally in newly constructed melodic modes.

Concerning the definitions of musical metre and tempo, it has been established that Afghan musicians use the concept of *tāl* and *lai* as they are used in Hindustani music. Nonetheless, some local terms are used for the definition and description of several elements within these conceptual entities. It has also been reported that Afghan *tabla* players, in addition of executing the classical and semi-classical *tāls* of North India, also employ the *tāl* concept for a systematisation of the Afghan metric modes associated with a region or a group of people. Furthermore, it has been noted that Afghan *tabla* performers are familiar with rare *tāls*. Moreover, it has been stated that a few Afghan *tabla* players have created their own unusual *tāls*, which are used during solo *tabla* performances.

The artistic and critical attitude of Afghan musicians concerning the potentialities and limits of Hindustani *rāgs* and *tāls* in music, which have been reported in this chapter, appears to be very clear and rather detailed evidence for an obvious manifestation of Afghan musical thinking. Though this new Afghan musical thinking is based in part on the adoption of Hindustani music.

Finally, chapter 10 has reported on the arrival of Western musical instruments and Western notation to Afghanistan, and the establishment of ensembles playing on European instruments. Chapter 10 examined the role played by foreign music advisors in the introduction and dissemination of these innovations, and reported that initially Indian and then Turkish musicians employed by the Afghan court, and later by the Afghan army, were engaged in disseminating Western musical instruments and staff notation, and in the introduction of brass bands in the early stage of these innovations in Afghanistan.

Chapater 10 demonstrated that a small number of Afghan musicians educated by Turkish musicians, the members of the *Arkestar Jāz*, played an important new role in these

developments. Additionally, chapter 10 examined the role of this small group of Afghan musicians in forming large orchestras, in the reworking of Afghan folk songs, in the creation of a suite-type composition, and in music education and the establishment of musical educational institutions in Afghanistan.

Finally, chapter 10 discussed the fate of the *Arkestar Jāz* and *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*, which were formed to meet new Afghan musical and cultural needs. Chapter 10 established that the indifferent policies of the previous governments of Afghanistan, which did not take any serious, practical, and fundamental steps to establish a systematic and fundamental formal music education, led to the unfortunate fact that after the retirement of the instrumentalists of the *Arkestar Jāz*, which stopped their collaboration with Radio Afghanistan, and after the death of these musicians, there were no other musicians trained in Western music to fill in these vacancies and to maintain the quality of the performance of the *Arkestar Jāz* and *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*.

Additionally, chapter 10 suggested that this demise of Afghan art music and the new and recent modern developments also are because of the social and political changes of the 1980s and the 1990s, which resulted in the mass emigration of the best musicians and eventually led to the total collapse of the cultural and economic life of the country, and opened the way for the arrival of the Tālibān, which banned all types of music and the music profession. Chapter 10 considered the prospects for re-establishing large ensembles similar to the *Arkestar Jāz*, or a combined orchestra such as the *Arkestar-e Bozorg Radio Afghanistan*, in the near future, and reported a very bleak, depressing and gloomy prospect.

However, it was recommended that this sad and pessimistic prognosis can be changed and improved with the help of the international community and foreign music teachers, experts, and music advisors, whose role earlier had been essential in the introduction of

Western musical instruments and the Western music system in the second half of 19th and in the early 20th centuries.

Having noted the current moribund state of the orchestral tradition and the Western music system in Afghanistan, it is also important to bring to the attention of the international community and musicology the plight of the Afghan art or classical tradition, which is also in a critical situation. The current condition of Afghan classical music primarily is linked with those factors that contributed to the worsening state of the Western music system in Afghanistan, as noted above. Furthermore, the deaths of great masters of Afghan classical music in the last three decades, the total destruction of the musicians' quarter Kharābāt during the civil war of 1992-2001 (actually the Kharābāt was completely destroyed in 1992), the mass emigration of the best musicians trained in the classical tradition as a result of internecine strife and because of the ban imposed on music by the Islamic militia students, the Tālibān, in 1996, are among other significant factors that have led to the current depressed state of art or classical music in Afghanistan.

Additionally, the introduction of Western musical instruments, including the multi-functional electronic keyboard, and the emergence of musical ensembles oriented to Western pop groups, has brought about significant changes in the audience and their musical needs and demands. These changes have resulted in the singing of fast popular songs, and in the use of a one-man band with a multi-functional electronic keyboard. These changes have forced many young decedents of the Kharabati musicians to desert the classical tradition in order to earn their livelihood.

Given the critical state and the ultimate fate of Afghan music and its classical tradition, a large number of Afghan musicians and cultural figures have became seriously thoughtful now and actually very worried. Ūstād Sarahang, three decades ago in an interview with Madadi, which was published several years later, gave a signal and forewarning about what he

considered to be the hopeless future of Afghan classical music (1982:9). Today, about two years after the defeat of the Tālibān, and even after all the positive changes that have been brought about in the social and political life of the country, prospects for the rehabilitation of art music in Afghanistan seem very bleak, and the cautious warning signalled by Ūstād Sarahang thirty years ago remains actual.

The older generation of Kharābāti musicians has gone. The current classical performers of Afghan music are spread all over the world, and they do their best to keep alive the torch of the Afghan art or classical music tradition, and to pass it on to the younger generation. However, it is a very risky and complicated task to speculate that, in the current conditions, Afghan musicians may preserve the entire system of the classical tradition formed within the last century.

This bleak situation could change for the better, however, if the current authorities are able to work out a detailed programme to rehabilitate the art music of the country. This programme should include the encouragement of musicians to return to Afghanistan, and should facilitate their return by the rebuilding of Kharābāt, and by the establishment of permanent fundamental music schools. Additional assistance would be gained by the detailed study of the vocal and instrumental performances of the Afghan classical and semi-classical musicians now held at the Archives of Radio Afghanistan, and by the promotion, maintenance and propagation of different genres of Afghan classical music.

One can hope and yearningly anticipate that the developments suggested above may happen in the future. The author of this thesis further hopes that the completion of this study will serve as a small contribution in this process of the rehabilitation of Afghan music, and particularly in its revival now and in the future in Afghanistan.

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A Survey of the History of Music in Afghanistan from Ancient Times to 2000 A.D., with Special Reference to Art Music from c.1000 A.D.

CD 1

1 Ūstād Mussa Qassemi, *khyāl* in *achum rāg*
2 Ūstād Sarahang, *khyāl* with a Dari/Persian text
3 Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki* and Ūstād Sarahang, *tarāna*
4 Sharif Ghazal, *tarāna* with a Dari/Persian text
5 Ūstād Mssa Qassemi, *thumri*
6 Mohammad Kabir, *thumri*
7 Ūstād Sarahang, an Afghan folk song
8 Ūstād Qassem, *ghazal, Rozgāri shod*
9 Ūstād Ghulam Hussain *Nātaki, tarz, Zidast-i mahbub*
10 Ūstād Nabi-Gul, Dari/Persian *tarz, Az khūn jigar*
11 Ūstād Nabi-Gul, Pashto *tarz, Ta kho Laili*
12 Ūstād Sarahang, *rāg mālsri*
13 Wahid Qassemi, *ghazal* in *rāg sendra*

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CD 2

1 Ūstād Yaqub Qassemi, *tarz* in *rāg nayriz*
2 Ūstād Sarahang, *ālāp* in *rāg mina mani*
3 Ūstād Sarahang, *ālāp* in *rāg hazra*
4 Ūstād Miran-bakhsh, national anthem of 1919-1929
5 National anthem or *Loy salami*
6 National anthem of the first republic
7 National anthem of the leftist regime
8 Gul Ahmad Shefta, *la palomo*
9 Ūstād Hafizullah Khyal, waltz
10 Rukhshana
11 Nasim
12 Sara Zaland, *Ala ai āhu-e man*
13 Ahmad Wali, *Sari shab shod*
14 A suite of *Pogrāmahi nim sāhata*