III. CENTRAL ASIAN TURKIC PEOPLES

These peoples can be divided into three groups: 1) the Central Asian Oghuzic groups (Turkmens), 2) the Aral-Caspian Kipchaks (Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, Kyrgyz) and 3) the Turkis (Uzbeks, Uyghurs) and their subgroups (Salars, Dolgans, Yellow Uyghurs and Yughurs).

1. Central Asian Oghuzes

Turkmens

Turkmenistan, a country the size of Spain, is bordered on the west by the Caspian Sea and is adjacent to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Iran. Much of the country is desert (Karakum) with little vegetation. It has a population of 5 million, of whom 85% were estimated in 2003 to be Turkmen, 5% Uzbek, 4% Russian and 6% other nationalities.

The area was once inhabited by Iranian-speaking peoples, including Sogds, Parthians, Bactrians and Scythians, and around 500 BC the *Dayae* people appeared in the area, whose anthropological traces can be found in the Turkmens of today. In the 5th to 8th centuries, the Turk Kaganates intensified the Turkification of the Iranian peoples of Central Asia, and by the 11th century the Iranian and Turkic peoples of the area had formed the ethnic group that would play a decisive role in the development of the Oghuz Turks (Turkmen, Azeri and Anatolian Turks).

Through incessant raids and hunts for captives, the Turkmens have steadily increased their population share of Iranians, and they still distinguish between pure Turkmens and the descendants of captives. The *Yomut*s and the *Göklen*s consider themselves as true Turkmens and look down on the *Tekkes* as being of foreign origin. The Turkmens are also currently assimilating other Muslim elements, both Turkic (Kazakh, Karakalpak) and non-Turkic (Balochi, Hazara, Arab). Having lived together with Kipchak and Turkic groups for centuries (medieval Kipchaks, Karluks), elements from these peoples have also been incorporated among the Turkmens.

Their present-day tribal classification is also reflected in the Yomut, Tekke, Göklen, Salur, Sarik, Ersari and Chavdur dialects. Their smaller tribes are the Imreli, Bayat, Karadashli and others.[1] At the time of the Russian conquest, most tribes were semi-nomadic, in a state of transition towards sedentary living.[2]

Soviet scholars date the emergence of the Turkmens to the 14th–15th centuries, after the great ethnic mixing caused by the Mongol invasion. By the 16th century, the Turkmens were divided into three territorial units: 1) the Khorasan Salurs in the Balkan area, 2) the main groups (Salur, Tekke, Yomut and Sarik) in the area around Lake Sarikamish, and in the region of South Ustyurt, and along the Kara Bogaz and Caspian Sea coast as far as Mangyshlak, and 3) Chavdurs, Igdirs, Abdals and Tekkes in north-western Khorasan.

From the 17th century to the early 19th, there were further migrations to the Köpet Dağ area and in other directions, triggered by pressure from stronger neighbours (such as the Nogais, Uzbeks, Kalmyks and Kazakhs) and internal territorial disputes among Turkmen tribes. Some groups of Chavdurs and Igdirs moved to the North Caucasus under pressure from the Kalmyks and became the ancestors of the Turkmens (Turkpens) of Stavropol. Significant Turkmen groups are also found in Iran, Iraq and Turkey.

The Turkmens of Central Asia were famous for being good warriors. This militancy certainly played a role in the fact that they never developed a stable state. Each tribe was independent, with

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[1] KAKUK 1976: 43.
[2] TIHOMIROV 1960: 29–30.

its own elected khan, they did not submit to central authority, and only elected a ruling khan in times of great crisis.[3] Doerfer argues that camel breeding, which required less effort than horse breeding, made Turkmen society less developed and less unified on the fringes of the steppe world.[4]

By 1880, Russian troops had occupied Turkmenistan, which became part of the Soviet Union in 1922. In the Soviet era, from the formation of the Turkmen SSR in 1924 onwards, this ethnic group was transformed into a modern nation. Although the tribal and clan consciousness remains strong to this day, the Turkmens also have a national consciousness and a sense of being superior to other peoples. In 1991, the independent Turkmen Republic was established.

Today, Turkmenistan is mainly inhabited by different Turkmen tribes, who are quite distinct from each other both territorially and socially. The most important of them are the Tekke and the Yomut, and I myself have collected mainly among the Yomuts living in Balkan province. Within this tribe, there are two major branches: the Chaparbay and the Atabay, and the branches break down further into a number of smaller groups.

My Turkmen collection

My Turkmen research had Hungarian antecedents, including ethnographic observations in these areas in 1863 by Ármin Vámbéry, who travelled the deserts of Central Asia between 1861 and 1864. The Turkmens know the Hungarians primarily through his name. Another important name here is Béla Bartók, who in 1936 was researching the music of Turkmen tribes in the Adana area of southern Turkey, although those Turkmens are only indirectly connected with the current inhabitants of Turkmenistan.

In April–May 2011, I collected folk music from villagers and nomadic camps in 16 villages in Turkmenistan's Balkan province, from 150 respondents, and made 20 hours of video recordings of 500 songs, Turkmen customs and landscapes. I studied the archives of the Turkmen State Conservatory and supplemented the collected material with material from commercial publications, as well as folk music publications and recordings from television, and with some received from Turkmen researchers.

History of folk music research

BELIAEV 1975 gives a brief overview of Turkmen folk music with 15 examples, and GULLIEV 2003 includes 16 folk songs. The entry *Turkmenistan* in Grove encyclopaedia is very general and gives little information on Turkmen folk music. However, the two recordings of *Traditional music of Turkmen people* should be mentioned here because of their good melodic material. There have recently been a number of music publications, but the vast majority of them are not scholarly, with few notes, no musical analysis and no comparative approach.

The music of the Turkmen *bakhshi*s (bards, troubadours) is a professional form of music that lies somewhere between art music and folk music, and has been the subject of several volumes and studies. The very first, most important work, which includes a large number of scores, also has a chapter (the sixth) dealing with foreign influences on the music of the Turkmen bakhshis.[5] Also fundamental are the English-language publications by the Polish author Żereńska-Kominek (1991, 1997), based on many years of fieldwork, mainly on the Turkmen bakhshis.[6] Also in English, the music

[3] SÜMER 1980: 139–142.
[4] DOERFER 1990: 7.
[5] USPENSKY–BELIAEV 1928.
[6] ŻEREŃSKA-KOMINEK 1991, 1997.

of the Turkmens of Afghanistan is a work by Slobin.[7] The most prominent Turkmen scholar of the present era, the Turkmen Shahin Gulliev, who fled to Kazakhstan, also primarily concentrates on the art of the bakhshis.[8] Among these publications are several high-quality volumes, although none of them gives an exhaustive account of the very complex musical repertoire of the bakhshis, which varies rather rapidly in space and time, but mainly offer an intriguing glimpse of it.

Turkmen folksongs

Genres

According to the available Turkmen literature and my own collections, the most important genres are work songs sung by women, ceremonial songs, songs of everyday life, lyrical songs, songs of children's games and religious songs.[9] The content of many of these songs is closely related to the everyday life of Turkmen people, their animal husbandry and agricultural activities.

Folk songs are sung mainly by girls and women, which may be partly explained by the fact that Turkmens rarely dance socially, so there is no singing associated with dance in many areas. An exception in this respect is the Balkan region, where I collected in 2011. Wedding toasts are also sung by women, although professional male singers are sometimes hired for this purpose. The other men attending the wedding, however, do not join in the singing.

Women sing simple milking songs (*re-re-do-do* / *re-do*) when milking cows or camels, and they also sing when grinding with a hand mill (6/8: *mi-mi-re mi-mi-re* | *re-re-ti do*) or weaving carpets. One of their ceremonial songs is the wedding *jar-jar* (sweetheart), which moves on the frequent Phrygian tetratony: *mi-mi-mi-mi-mi* | *re-re re* ‖ *re-mi-mi-mi-mi* | *re-do ti* ‖ *ti-re-re-do* | *mi-re-re-mi* ‖ *mi-re-re-re* | *do-ti ti* (*Ex. ~187h*). Similar melodies with similar structure, function and refrain occur in Uzbek, Kazakh and Azeri music.

An important ceremonial genre is the *lament*, which is known by virtually all Turkmen women. The lament tunes are also very simple and often consist of two short lines moving under each other on an Aeolian/Phrygian trichord (Ex. 187d). In some areas, such as central Akhal or the neighbouring Mary provinces, the women's repertoire is essentially limited to the lament and the lullaby.

Lullabies are sung by every Turkmen woman, some singing several different tunes. There are widely known types of lullabies (*Ex. 187c*), but on the whole, there is a great variety, and beneath the simple structure of the lullabies a complex set of melodies can be discovered, which has not been explored in detail until today.

The theme of the girls' songs called *läle* is love. There used to be more melodies in this genre, but nowadays almost only the *damak lälesi* 'throat läle' survives. When singing this song, the singers beat their throats, or at least imitate this movement, to create a tremolo effect. A typical tune is *la-la-mi-mi* ‖: *re-do-mi-re* :‖ *do-ti la* ‖ *re-do-mi-re* ‖: *do-ti-re-do* :‖ *do-ti la la la*, the most common melody being Example 187e.

The tunes of the *chuval kiz* ‘sacked girl' were well-known before Soviet times. The married girl was sent home to her parents until her husband presented the dower. Its melody is slightly more complex than the above, and is more distantly related to the 'small psalmodic’ tunes, e.g. 6/8: *mi-mi-mi mi-mi-so' | mi-mi-mi mi-re do* ‖ *mi-re-mi re fa | mi-re-do do-ti-la*.

Children's songs often move on two notes, for example the line *re-re-mi-re* | *mi-re re* is often repeated, and the melody ends with the motif *mi re-re* | *mi*. This song shows some affinities with the twin-bar songs that move around the middle note of the *mi-re-do* trichord.

[7] SLOBIN 1976.
[8] GULLIEV 1985, 2003.
[9] Sources: USPENSKY–BELIAEV (1928), BELIAEV (1975: Exs 1-15) and my own collection.

A simple structure characterises the *monjuk adti* incantations of the year-starter Nevruz festival (*Ex. 187h*), and the rain incantation sung to the deity Süyt Gazan, the saint of material goods and the controller of rain.

The religious songs are also sung by men, and the melodies of *Ya Ramazan* of the first day of the Ramadan fasting, were performed exclusively by young boys under similar circumstances to the Hungarian fertility custom of sprinkling women at Easter. Singers recalled that these songs used to be sung before Soviet times, as they are still sung today, for example, by Kazakh and Kyrgyz people. Nowadays, however, in many places in Turkmenistan, only the text is recited, the melody has not survived.

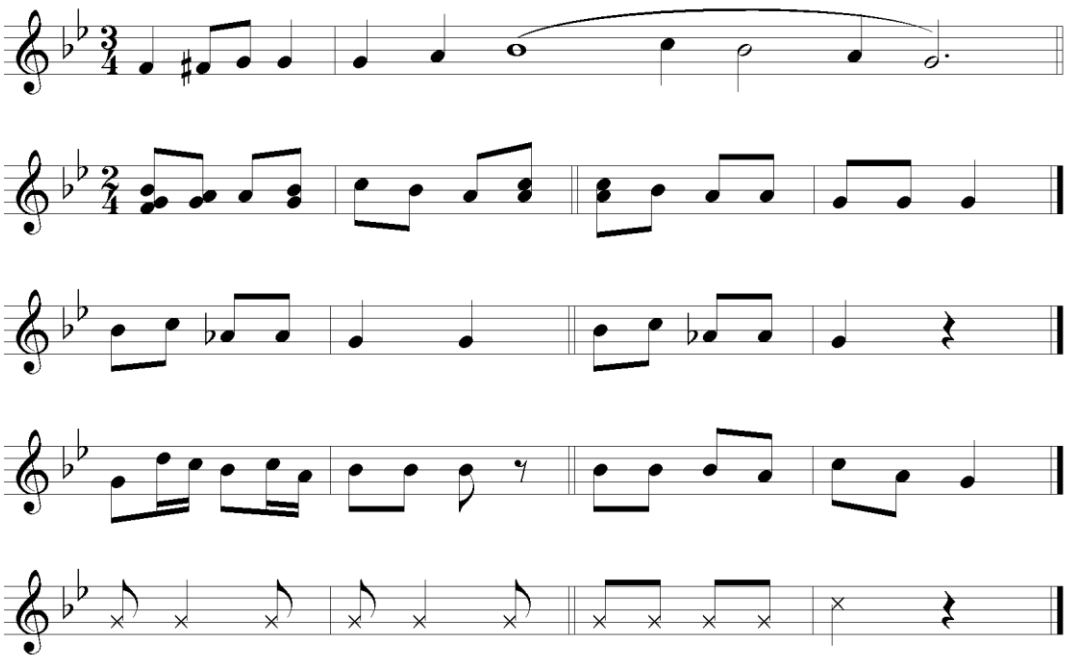
Dances, zikir, kushtdepti

The present form of Turkmen dance is a recent development. Around the beginning of the 21st century every village had to form a folk-dance company, and the resulting dance repertoire is often characterised by a certain stereotyped character. Fortunately, however, most ensembles include a few elderly people who, at least in Balkan province, help to keep some of the older dance traditions alive.

The dances are based on a series of ritual movements performed for healing, protection against the witch's glance, as well as in religious *zikir* ceremonies, which are traced back to old shamanic rituals by many scholars. During the ceremony, participants fell into a trance while swirling and singing religious poetry.

I myself have also collected in Sufi communities in Turkey, the North Caucasus, Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan, where the practice of zikir is still alive, albeit often forbidden and secretly performed. In Turkmenistan, I have not encountered functional zikir, but among the Yomut Turkmens living in the western parts of the country, the dance of the *kushtdepti* can be found. Its steps and melodies may have belonged to the zikir, but the performance has now lost its religious aspects altogether, and the lyrics of the songs have become secular. The dances are performed by men and women together, usually to the singing of a man or woman who is not dancing. The process of kushtdepti begins with a freely sung *divana* melody, followed by dances called *bir depim*, *iki depim*, *üç depim* (one step, two steps, three steps), the number and steps of which vary from area to area. The old religious tradition also preserves the peculiar bronchial exclamation of Allah's name during the dances *(hu-hu, Alla*), remembering that the word zikir originally means 'mention, reiterate'.

The musical motifs and melodic fragments that are played during the dance are shown in Example 186. The melodic sequence shown is typical, although it is not uncommon to deviate from it: melodies may be omitted and the number of repetitions of each melody part varies according to the dance. (In the second melody, *b* and b^c indicate the melody variants notated on a common stem.)

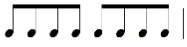


Example 186. Motives of kushtdepti tunes and a typical sequence

On the musical properties of Turkmen folksongs

The Turkmen folk songs are very simple, with only semi-professional and professional bakhshis having a greater variety in their repertoire. Nevertheless, the women's performance style, the special timbres, quarter tones, internal rhythms, etc., show a particular richness, and there is no doubt that this repertoire meets the musical needs of the community. Turkmen folk songs are characterised by a narrow ambitus, a fast-moving character, a melodic line descending from the highest to the lowest note, and a very simple form. The lines are short and the rhythmic formulas simple. A melody recited on one or two notes is not uncommon, and the ambitus of the more advanced pieces does not exceed a fourth. The only popular structural principle is the sequential descent of motifs by seconds, which is also common in Anatolian folk music, but is rarely found in the similarly simple music of Azerbaijan, for example.

In Turkmen folk music, the scales rarely exceed the limits of tri- or tetrachords, and within this range their character can be minor or Phrygian, or often somewhere in between (see below). Major scales are less common, and the *so'-mi-re-do-ti-la* scale of *la*-pentatonic character, which is popular among many Turkic peoples (e.g. in Anatolia), is rare. The key note often appears only at the very end of the melody. However, the performance style varies greatly from area to area, and quarter tones of fairly variable intonation are an integral part of live performance (even among Azeris), and are abundant in the performances of professional singers and female villagers alike (a similar situation is found among Turkmen singers in Afghanistan). This phenomenon is more Iranian than Turkic in origin, again suggesting a strong Iranian base in Turkmen music. A detailed comparative study of all this is absolutely necessary and is likely to be very instructive.

The most popular rhythmic pattern is  in 2/4, which also appears in 6/8:  . The seven syllables can be joined by an eighth, producing 3/4 metre:  . It is not uncommon to find a 5/8 time signature. By augmenting the syllables, the basic seven-syllable rhythm can be turned into longer lines, for example →  .

The four-line strophe is also predominant in Turkmen music: sometimes it is recited without rhymes, sometimes the couplets rhyme, sometimes all four lines. As with so many Eastern peoples, the basic rhyme scheme is a a b a, and there is a parallel in content between lines 1–2 and 3–4 of the text.

The forms of the folk songs are as simple as the melodies, rhythms and tonal scales. Despite the four-line stanza, the most common form is the one- or two-part half-strophe, and the four-line song form is rare. Sometimes an Aa Bb form emerges with refrains *a* and *b*, which is on the way to becoming a full ABCD musical strophe. Simpler forms can take on a more complex appearance (AAAA+aa) by adding short refrains.

Classification of Turkmen folksongs

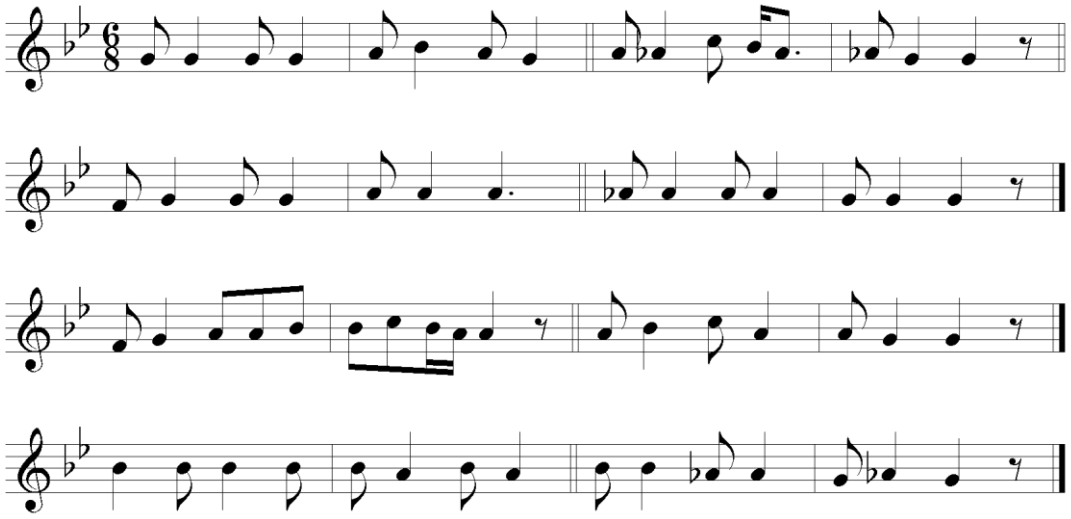
Female songs

The melody line of Turkmen folk and religious songs shows the same simple and unified picture as in Azeri folkmusic, as all available publications and my own collection of five hundred melodies attest. A general brief presentation of women's songs and *küshtdepti* tunes thus seems to be a manageable task. However, I can only present a few of the most important basic forms of the very complex repertoire of Turkmen bards, which has not yet been fully collected, and especially not yet recorded or comprehensively analysed.

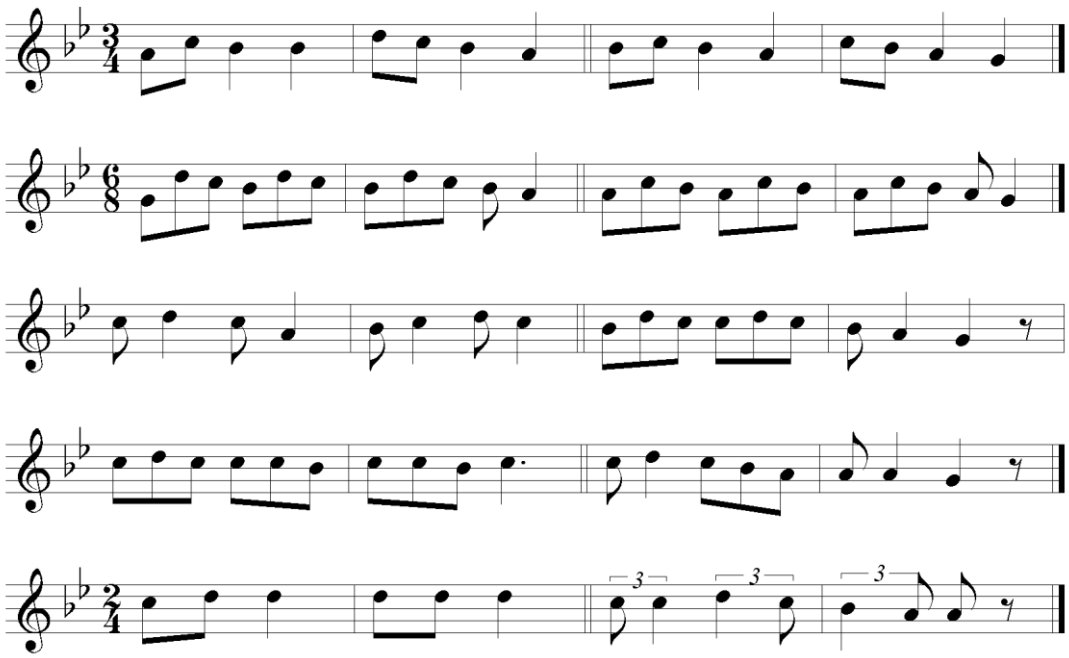
The Turkmen women's repertoire consists basically of very simple melodies moving on two, three or at most four notes, the most important types of which are presented in Examples 187–188 (the ones marked with * are rarer). I do not indicate the quarter tones in the notations.

Example 187 shows songs with two cores. These are often organised into a series of songs, and it is typical that the lines (especially the first line) are repeated several times (e.g., AAAB). An example of a melody series is a lament which begins with the lines of Example 187c, followed by a variant of Example 188a, and then continues with the melodies of Examples 187a,b and 188b.

a-d)



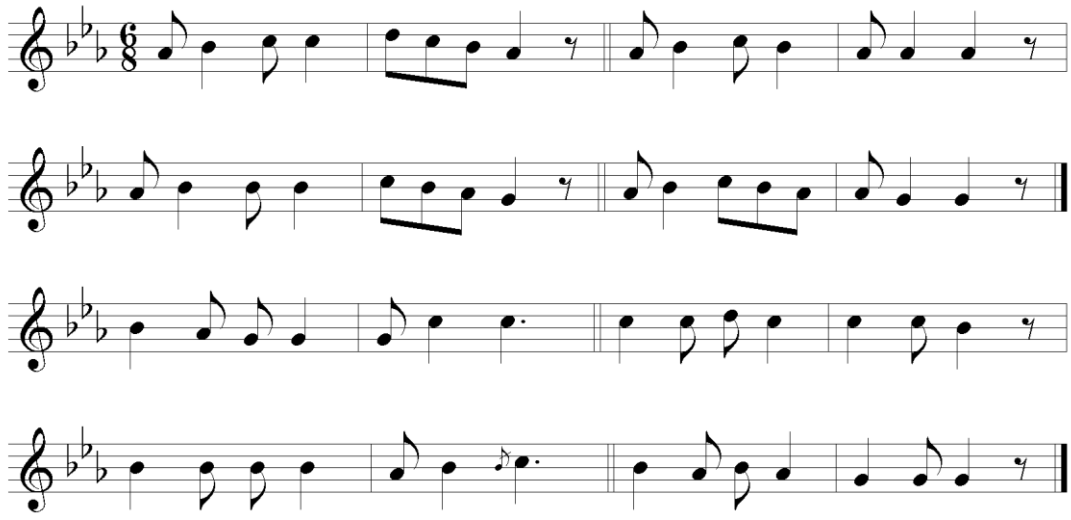
e-h)

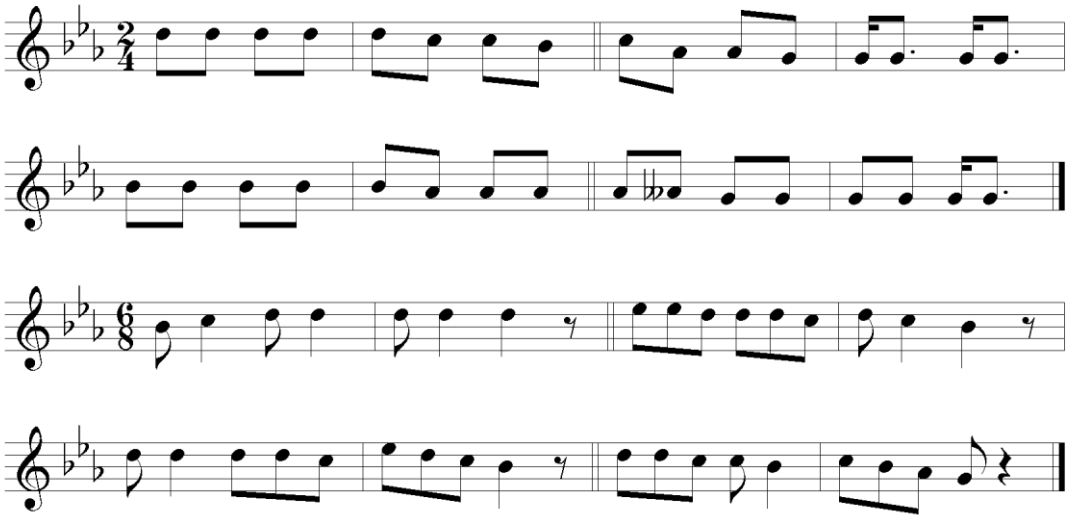


Example 187. Main types of Turkmen female songs (numbers of János Sipos's collection): a) lullaby (№ 177), b) läle (№ 77), c) lullaby (№ 127), d) lament (№ 179), e) läle (№ 174), f) läle (№ 71), g) läle (№ 256), h) monjuk adti* (№ 25)

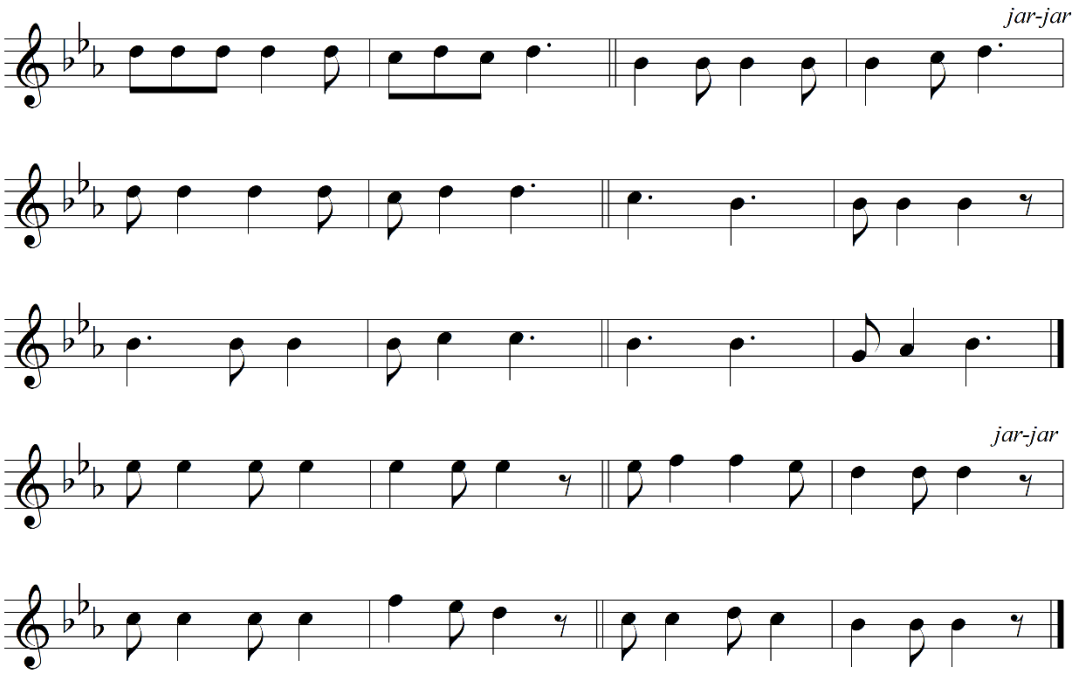
In Example 188 I list the main four-line songs. Some of these can still be directly linked to the two-liners (*Ex. 188a,c*), but exceptionally, especially among the *jar-jar* 'sweetheart' wedding songs, slightly more developed forms appear, for instance Example 188d, which shows links to the psalmodic songs.

a-d)





e-f)



Example 188. Four-lined female songs (numbers of Sipos's Turkmen collection) a) lullaby* (№ 85), b) wedding song (№ 19), c) wedding song* (№ 136), d) lullaby (№ 38), e) jar-jar* (№ 50), f) jar-jar* (№ 230)

Turkmen epic songs

Epic narratives and lyrical-dramatic *dastan*s are popular among Turkmens, including older ones such as Oguzname and Dede Korkut, and more recent ones from the 18th century. Their themes often coincide with the narratives of the peoples of the Middle East and Central Asia, sometimes somewhat individualized.

The Oguzname, which tells the story of the mythical ancestors of the early Oghuz tribal alliance, the Turks and the Turkmens, survives among the Turkmens in the form of destans. In the

Turkmen versions, the monologues and dialogues of the individual characters are sung in the same way as in the corresponding Kyrgyz, Kazakh and Uzbek genres.

A popular version of the Köroğlu epic story, dating from the 16–17th centuries, is known not only from the Turkmens but also in individual versions among the Azeris, Uzbeks and several peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus. The Turkmen form is an intermediate link between the Azeri and Uzbek variants.[10] (In this respect, the Turkmen form acts as a Trans-Caspian bridge connecting Turkic Azerbaijan, and through it the Turks of Turkey, with the peoples of Central Asia, especially the Uzbeks. It is not impossible that Middle Eastern elements of Turkmen folk music also arrived along this route.

Some of the folk poems from the 18th century are anonymous, but they also include poems from the classics of 18th-century Persian and Turkish literature. General oriental themes characterise, for example, the narratives of *Shasenem and Garif* or *Asli and Kerem*, and specific local themes appear, for example, in the narratives of *Hürlukga* and *Hemra* or *Sayatlı Hemra*. The latter, essentially folk narratives, have been elaborated by Turkmen poets.

About the Turkmen bakhshis and their art

An early key figure in the Turkmen epic tradition was the *ozan,*[11] who accompanied his narratives on a stringed instrument called the *kobuz*. Later, the Turkmens switched to the *gijak*, a fiddle that evolved from the Arabic-Persian *rebab-kemenche* type of instrument,[12] and the ozans were replaced by professional *bakhshis* who performed their repertoire with a *dutar* (two-stringed long-necked lute). The word *bakhshi* originated in China,[13] was in various uses among the Turkic peoples, and came to mean *professional singer* among the Turkmens, and shaman, seer, magic man among the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uyghurs, and Uzbeks and Tajiks settled in Turkestan, Afghanistan. Turkmens and Uzbeks also call epic singers bakhshis.

The Turkmen bakhshi is poet, singer and musician in one person. Although they do not have a shamanic identity today, many of their traditions are the same as those of shamans, for example, they receive their abilities in a dream, followed by a prolonged illness, and then suddenly they are in full possession of their craft. The bakhshis call their performance *jol* 'journey', which is also consistent with the shaman's journey. Vámbéry, in his book *Vándorlásaim s élményeim Persiában* [My Wanderings and Experiences in Persia], writes of the bakhshi initiation: 1One day the poet mounted his horse and suddenly fell into a deep sleep. In his dream he saw himself in Mecca, with the Prophet Mohammed and his four chief caliphs. The holy man approached him, lightly struck him on the head and blessed him. Magtumkuli woke up and from then on he became such a great poet that his art was surpassed only by the writing of the Qur'an.'[14]

In reality, the bakhshis learn their craft through a long master–disciple relationship, at the end of which the master *(halipha*) gives a ritual blessing *(pata*), which brings the disciple into the bakhshis' community.

Professional Turkmen vocal art developed in parallel with professional poetry, based on a culture that flourished in the old cultural centre of the present-day Turkmen territory, Merv, in the 12th and 13th centuries. The Turkic poets of later times, many of whom were also composers and singers, became the heirs of this culture. Professional poetry developed in two directions: the poetic elaboration of the dastan and the writing of new epic, lyrical and historical pieces.

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[10] CHADWICK–ZHIRMUNSKY 1969: 303.

[11] The Turkmen word *ozan*, used for epic singers, corresponds to the Armenian words *gushan* and Georgian *mboshani* 'storyteller'. It is possible that underneath these names and terms lies the Parthian *goshan* wandering singer tradition.

[12] The *kobuz/kobiz* term is applied by the Kazakhs to the horsehair fiddle, an instrument in limited use as a shamanic instrument among Uzbeks and Tajiks in Afghanistan, but no longer used by the settled Central Asian population.

[13] POPPE 1965.

[14] VÁMBÉRY 1867.

The bakhshis used the highly developed poetic forms developed by the peoples of Central Asia and the Middle East, especially the Arabic-Persian *aruz.* A Turkmen professional song is characterised by a complex poetic metre and a complex stanzaic structure. In this respect, the Turkmens are closer to Uzbeks, Tajiks, Azeris and Armenians, and further away, for example, from Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Karachay-Balkar and Anatolian Turks, who do not use such verse forms. This is an indication of the Kazakh-Kyrgyz isolation from Middle Eastern influences and defines the interim position of Turkmens between Central Asian pastoral nomadism and the Middle East. In BELIAEV 1928 he quotes one of Uspensky's informants as saying that there is a strong Middle Eastern influence in the art of the bakhshis.

The musical style of the Turkmen bakhshis can be described as individual, both in the range of the melodies and in the way the notes are sung. The style, called *aydim* (narration), is characterised by a strong emotional charge, with particularly expressive exclamations and long, sustained notes in the higher registers. All of this is further enlivened by the performance's distinctive timbre and the unique sounds of the refrains. Two types of refrains can be distinguished, one sung more softly on *gü-syllables*, the other more sharply staccato on *i-ki-ki* syllables. These modes of performance are probably relics of the old bakhshi tradition.

Over time, the tonal scales of professional Turkmen vocal pieces became so complex that the dutar had to be provided with full chromatic octave frets, and a major second added on top: *G-g+a.* The expansion of the tonal range also brought with it an enrichment of tonalities, and in addition to all the diatonic scales, a variety of chromatic scales and scales with augmented seconds appeared.

The bakhshis use a *dutar* as a musical instrument during the performance of the dastan, and the performance is usually accompanied by a *gijak*. If possible, another *dutar* player is also included, who plays an important role, because the bakhshi himself only plays the preludes or interludes with full intensity, resting his instrument while singing or playing it in a simple way.

On the vocal compositions of the bakhshis

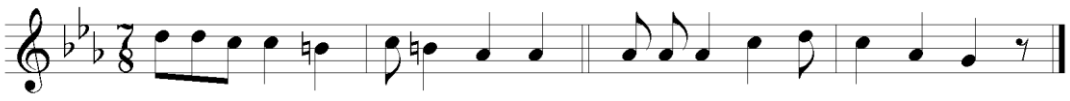
The melodies of the bakhshis are 7-, 8- or 11-syllabic, and the melodic structure rarely harmonises with the structure of the text. One of the characteristics of the performance is the variable, irregular rhythm, and there is also a frequent and abundant use of non-musical sounds. The presence of bakhshis is more frequent in some areas, such as Ahal Teke, and less frequent in others. The bakhshis learn from each other and when they hear a tune they like, they incorporate it into their repertoire, provided it is accepted by their audience.

A bakhshi performance has three movements. Because the instruments are tuned up a quarter or half tone at times in the course of the performance, each movement is about a third higher than the previous one. The melodies in the first movement are narrow-ranged, and each line ends on the base note. The melodies of the middle movement can be an octave wide, with a difference of three to four notes between the melody lines. Finally, the melodies of the last movement begin at or above the octave and descend only at the end of the melody.

The vocal pieces of the bakhshik are thus defined by the following tune types:

1) Narrow-range songs in deep register and tight rhythm

Their form is usually a low-moving pair of 7-8 syllabic lines. A typical example is an excerpt from the *Zohra and Tahir* destan. This is a simple, two-line Phrygian song similar to Turkmen folk songs, descending on the lines A = ‖: *la-la-la la-so-fa* :‖ and B = *la-ti-ti la-so-fa | so-fa-fa mi-mi-mi*, and its structure can be described as AB|ABB|CD|ABB (C = *ti-ti-ti re-do-ti | ti-ti-la ti-la-so*). The verse form of the text is a *muhamma* (five-line stanza) with identican rhymes. Another melody is Example 189, which has a similar form with longer lines.

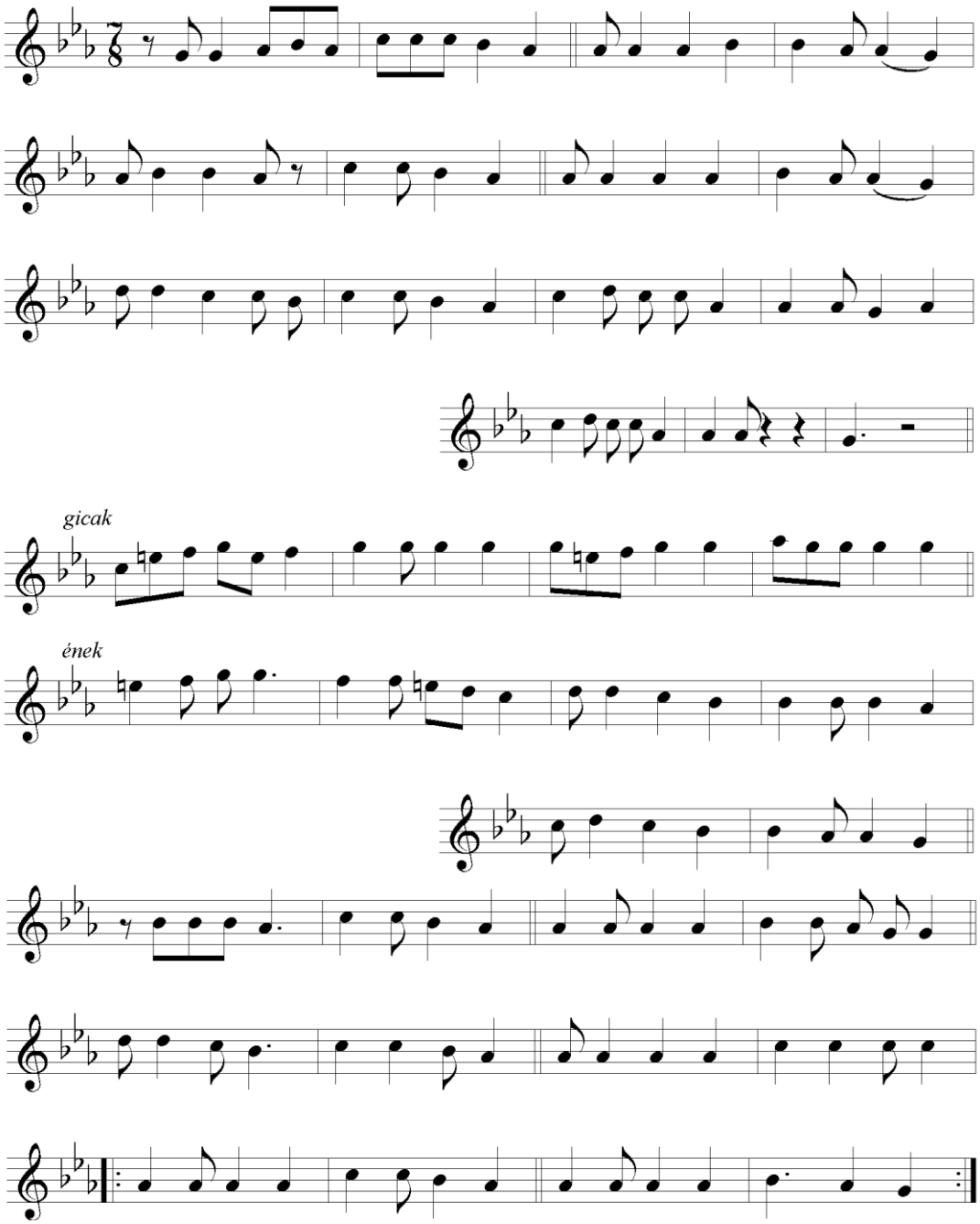


Example 189. Bakhshi tune moving in deep register (SIPOS Turkmen collection: № 209)

2) Higher moving, complex tunes

The more complex forms are sometimes introduced by the low-moving lines described in 1), which in many cases can be derived from, or are identical with, the second half of four-line tunes. The development of the strophic structure in these compositions is noteworthy, which can grow to a large scale as the text expands and refrains are added. A feature of textual declamation is the free treatment of lines with the abundant use of the exclamatory *ah*, *au*, *yar*, *aman*, etc.

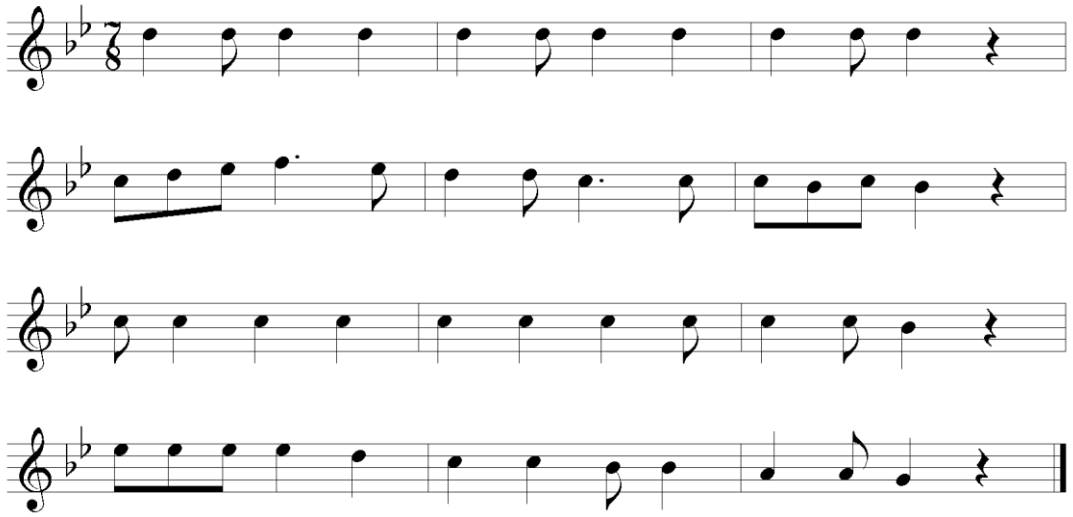
The cadential series b3 (2) 2 is frequent, but, as in Turkmen folk songs, the line endings are not always plastic, and there can be a collateral descent of few notes on a single syllable. Therefore, it is not always possible or worthwhile to distinguish between lines ending on b3 and lines descending on an additional syllable from the final note of b3 to the 2nd or 1st degree in the case of identical melodic progressions (*Ex. 190*).



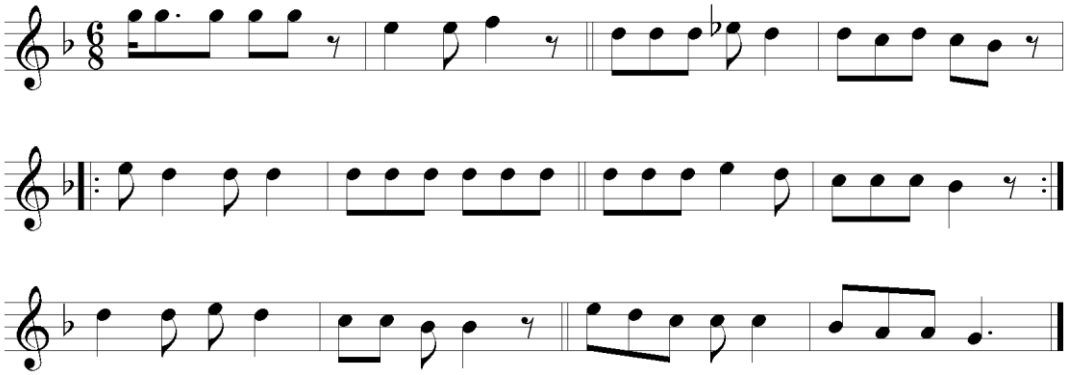
Example 190. Turkmen bakhshi performance with an instrumental interlude (SIPOS Turkmen collection: № 201)

The following are some typical psalmodic, conjunct and descending melodies and melody sequences. Example 191a is a typical tripodic psalmodic tune with 5 (b3) b3 cadences, and Example 191b is similar to the Anatolian melodies with 7 (b3) b3 cadences.

a)



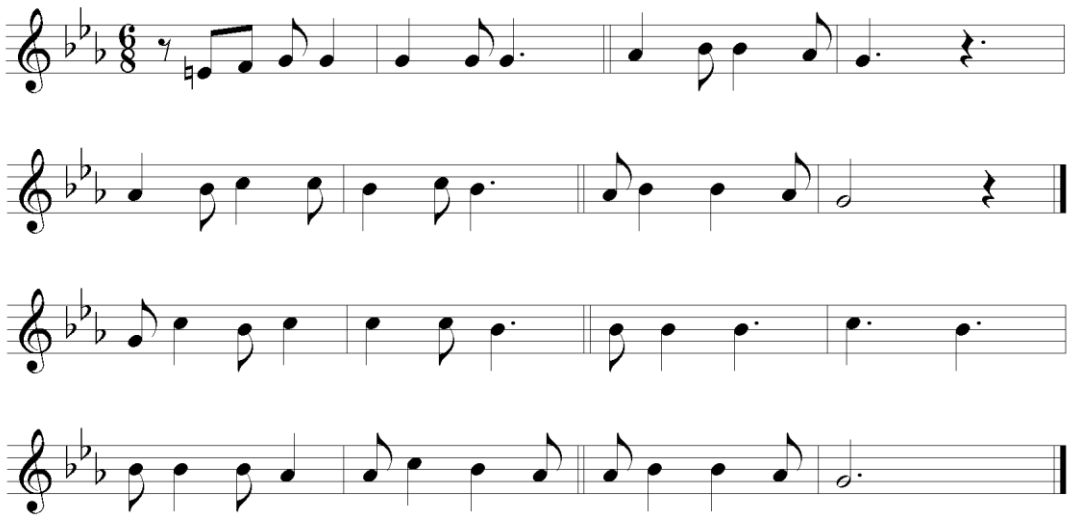
b)



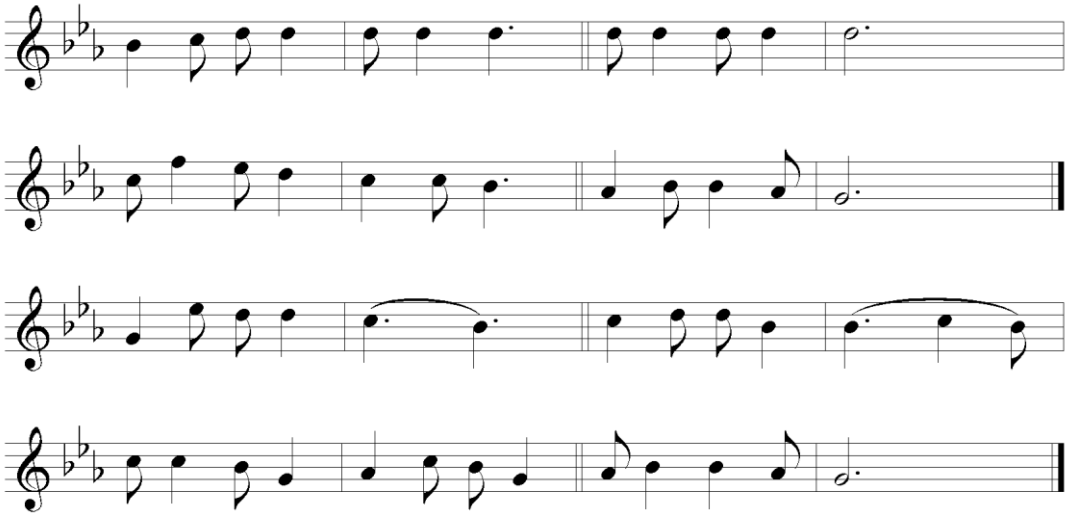
Example 191. Tunes of psalmodic character a) with longer lines (SIPOS Turkmen collection: № 211), b) with shorter lines and a more complex structure (SIPOS Turkmen collection: № 162)

Example 192 reveals an illumining process: after lines of low ambitus (*a*), a melody follows which shows connections to the psalmodic melodies (*b*). This is followed by a variant of line 2 of melody *b* (b_v), then comes a melody with a *disjunct* structure starting high (*c*). The cycle is completed by melody b_v. All this forms a nice, closed structure with a low-moving introductory melody, a melody with psalmodic character, and then a disjunct melody. Such a complex structure is typical of the performance of bakhshi singers.

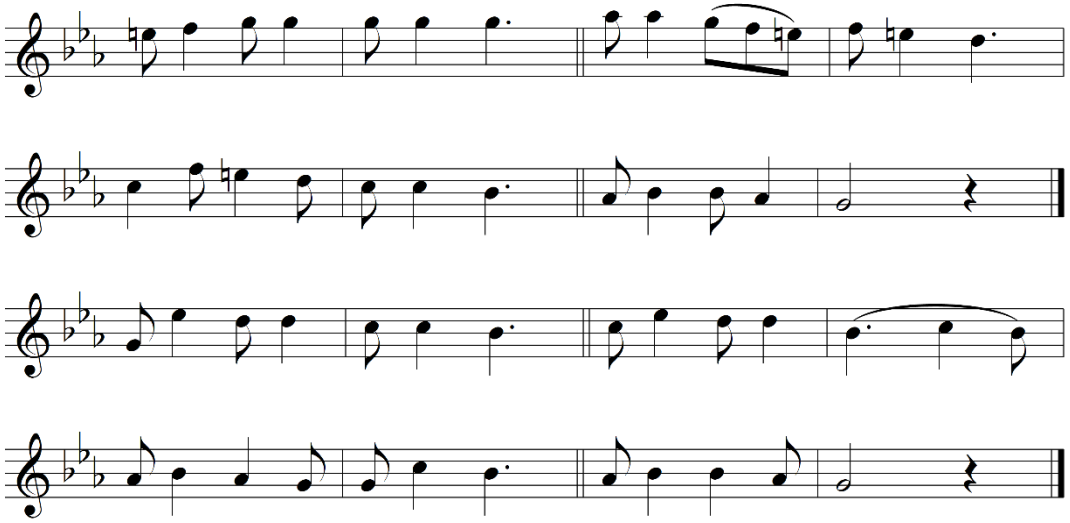
a)



b)

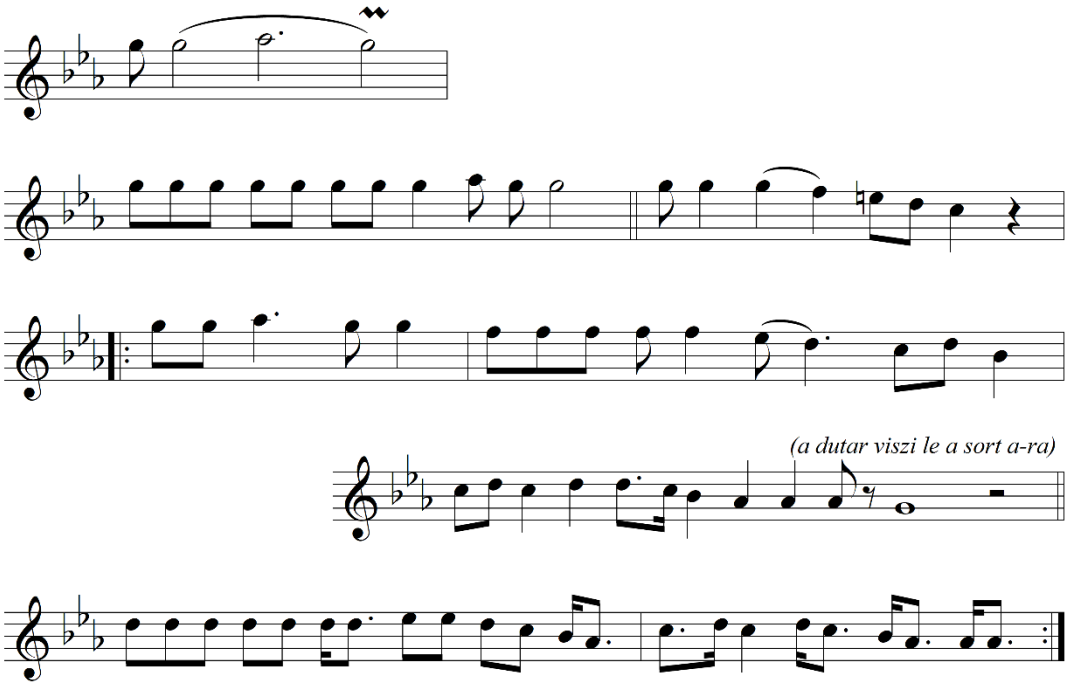


c-b)



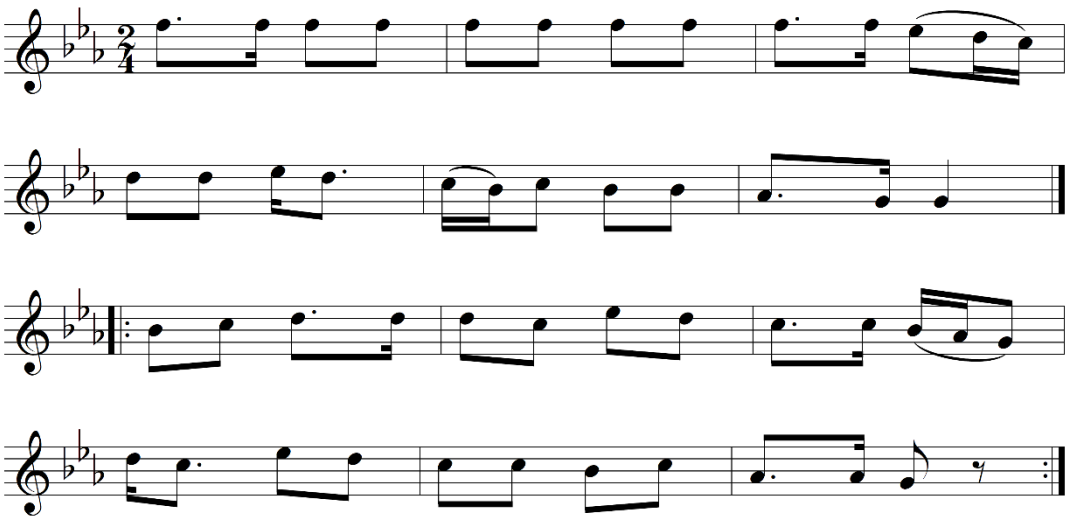
Example 192. A bakhshi tune sequence (SIPOS Turkmen collection: № 163)

Both long, often extended lines of several bakhshi melodies descend from high, the first line to degrees 3–4 and the second to the fundamental (*Ex. 193*). This structure is common in Anatolian long songs *(uzun hava*), including *turkmeni* (Turkmen style!) and other *bozlak* (plaintive) melodies from around Adana, although the latter often begin their descent from even higher, from degrees 10–11. These tunes are not isometric, and often show a continuous sequential descent of shorter units by seconds.



Example 193. Descending extended lines (SIPOS Turkmen collection: № 147)

There are many descending single or double-line *tripodic* bakhshi melodies, often organized into a melodic series. Example 194 shows two consecutively performed tripodic tunes.



Example 194. Two-lined tripodic tunes (SIPOS Turkmen collection: № 2)

Turkmen instruments and instrumental music

The stock of Turkmen instruments is similar to that of the nomadic peoples of Central Asia, but it also has its own unique characteristics. The instrumentarium consists of stringed *(gidjak*, *dutar*), wind *(tüydük*, *dilli tüydük*) and idiophone *(gopiz*) instruments.

The *gidjak* is a round-bodied fiddle, a variation of the Persian *kamancha*. The same definition is used by the mountain and urban Tajiks, as well as urban Uzbeks, for another type of violin. The term is derived from the Persian *ğich* 'squeak, whine' + *ak* diminutive suffix. The strings are tuned in fourths (D-G-C), which can be played chromatically from D to F. On the instrument, the Turkmens play monophonically or in two voices with parallel fourths. The gidjak pieces are usually close to folk music, but the particular use of ornamental tones gives them a unique character. Some pieces are programme music, with a similar theme and general content to other Turkmen instrumental pieces.

The *dutar* is a two-stringed, plucked lute tuned to a fourth. The scale is chromatic, with D,-F on the lower string, G,-G on the upper string, followed by an augmented second step. It is the most popular Turkmen instrument, used in solo pieces and in accompaniment. Dutar pieces form an important and interesting part of Turkmen folk music, a repertoire rich in content, artistic significance, imagination and masterly forms. The pieces are based on a three-part recurring form: 1) presentation of the main theme in a lower register, 2) middle part a fifth higher and 3) return to the original register. This structure results in similar tonal relations to Turkmen art music songs, but with a different general contour of melodies: vocal pieces descend and instrumental pieces ascend and descend.

The *tüydük* is a straight flute similar to the Kyrgyz *choor*, the Kazakh *shibizgi* and many other instruments of this type. Its special feature is the scale that can be played on it, which allows chromatic steps. The six holes, together with overblowing, give the following scale (which can be extended further on top):

f-g-a-b flat-b-c-d b flat)	basic register
c-d-e-f-f sharp-g	with overblowing

Figure 1. The tüydük scale

The *tüydük* tunes are often instrumental versions of vocal pieces of art music, which also preserve subtle details, names, structure and performance style of the vocal pieces. These descending recitative melodies of wide ambitus begin high and end with refrain-like melodic phrases.

The *dilli tüydük* is a clarinet-type reed whistle, similar in structure to the Russian *zhalayka* and other related instruments such as the Uzbek *sibizik*. These instruments are unique in that similar single-pipe, single-reed aerophones in the Middle East and the Balkans usually have double pipes. A dilli *tüydük* usually has three or four sound holes, but the player can extend the range to an octave. Originally a shepherd's instrument, it is mainly used to play folk songs and shepherd's songs, as well as pieces that approach the professional folk singing style in a more modest, simpler form.

Comparison of Turkmen and Azeri folksongs

The simpler songs of both peoples are sung mainly by women, while the (semi-)professional singers, the Turkmen bakhshis, Azeri ashikhs and the professional singers at weddings are typically men.

Both peoples have simple folk songs, ceremonial and religious songs with time signatures 2/4, 6/8 and *rubato* (sometimes *parlando*) performing style. The melody lines are short (7–8 syllables) and the structure of the songs can be reduced to 1–2 short lines. The range of notes rarely exceeds a fourth, and melodies moving on two adjacent notes are not uncommon. Although the

sounds of Azeri folk songs are not characterised by precise intonation, the role of the quarter tones in Turkmen folk songs is even more pronounced. The typical rhyme scheme in both peoples' music is a a b a, refrains are rare.

Almost all Azeri melody types have parallels in Turkmen folk music, and vice versa. The major difference is that Turkmen folk music has significantly fewer tunes moving on the Ionian tri/tetrachord. The simple Phrygian (sometimes Locrian) tri/tetrachords play an important role in both folk musics, and even in Uzbek and Tajik music, while in the highly complex Anatolian repertoire they appear in greater numbers mainly in the eastern parts of Anatolia. In SIPOS 2004 I have included a number of Azeri–Anatolian parallels.[15]

Azeri ashiks and Turkmen bakhshis

The repertoire of Azeri ashiks consists largely of folk songs or folk song-like tunies.[16] In the introductory part of their performance, Turkmen bakhshis also sing simple melodies, but often longer lines than folk songs, from which more advanced, more complex compositions often with a broader range of notes unfold. A further difference is that Azeri ashiks use the three-stringed bağlama, which is also well known in Turkey, while Turkmen bakhshis prefer the two-stringed dutar. Both the ashiks and the bakhshis may sing unaccompanied, accompanying their singing on their instruments, but they may also have a small ensemble. The instrumental combination of Azeri ašik ensembles is: bağlama to accompany the ašik's singing or to play interludes, zurna, or several zurnas and drums. In contrast, the Turkmen bakhshi ensemble includes one or two dutars and a gidjak. This latter combination, together with a wind balaban and drum, is typical of Azeri art music mugam (maqam) performance. Many Anatolian uzun hava tunes have parallels in the bakhshi repertoire. The corresponding Turkmen melodies, however, are characterised by greater variation, and sometimes only one of the melody variants in the performed sequence can be considered a counterpart to some Anatolian melody.

To conclude: the melodic line of Turkmen folk and religious songs is as simple and unified as that of Azeri tunes, and at the same time different from that of other Turkic peoples. A typical example is the narrow-ambitus Phrygian (less frequently Aeolian) melody, which is so common in the Azeri repertoire and consists of two short lines. The repertoire of Turkmen singers is characterised by a series of two-line tunes that gradually rise higher, not infrequently in a form reminiscent of psalmodic tunes.

[15] SIPOS 2004: 106–115.
[16] Ibid., 116–118.

Picture 11. Turkmen wedding

After an overview of Turkmen folk music, we are going to take a look at the folk music of two neighbours of the Turkmens, Turkic-tongued Uzbeks and Iranian-language Tajiks, which is also simple in terms of melody.

2. Central Asian or Aral-Caspian Kipchaks

The Kipchak tribal alliance played a primary role in the formation of a number of peoples, such as the Nogais, Bashkirs, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, and was also part of the formation of the Turkmens and Siberian Turks. The Kipchaks in the Golden Horde were later joined by Mongol tribes, which then became Kipchakized. Together, the Nogai Horde, the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz formed an ethnic mass that was subject to the administration of Abul-Khair, the Genghisid Khan (1693–1748). The main distinguishing feature of the groups was the proportion of each constituent element in them. Thus, in addition to the Kipchak and *Kangli* forces, we find Kipchakised Mongols in several, perhaps all, peoples. According to Soviet scholars, anthropologically speaking, the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz are very closely related, although they are at least partly formed from different ethnic elements. Russian sources have referred to the Kazakhs as *Kyrgyz-Kaisaks* and the Kyrgyz as *Kara-Kyrgyz*.

Kazakhs

Kazakhstan is bordered by Russia to the north and west, China to the east, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan to the south, and the Caspian Sea to the southwest. It covers an area of over 2,700,000 km^2, its capital is Nur-Sultan. It has a population of 18 million, of which 8.3 million are Kazakh, 6.4 million Russian, 1 million Ukrainian, 2.3 million German, White Russian, Korean, Polish, Moldavian, Jewish, Tatar, Uzbek, Uyghur, Azeri, Chuvash and Bashkir. The Kazakhs were therefore a minority in their own country, one of the main reasons being that the millions of Kazakhs who had emigrated or died during the Soviet kolkhozisation process were replaced by others, mainly Russians. There are more than a million-strong minorities of Kazakhs in the northern regions of China's Xinjiang province, within the Russian Federation, and in Uzbekistan. Smaller numbers of Kazakhs live in the Bayan-Olgii province of western Mongolia (100,000) and in Turkmenistan (80,000).

The territory of present-day Kazakhstan was inhabited by Sarmatian tribes in the 9–7th centuries BC and by Eastern Iranian tribes in the 7–4th centuries BC. The first wave of Huns reached the area in 47 BC and the second wave in the first century AD. The Huns ruled the area for almost three centuries before it became part of another nomadic empire, the Turkic Kaganate, from 552–554 AD. The Turkic tribes brought with them Mongolian elements, which were then further strengthened by the *Kara Kitay* and Mongol invasions. By the 13th century, the basic elements – Iranians, Turks and Mongols – were already present to form a new people: the Kazakhs.

The word *kazak* is first documented in Turkic tongues from the 14th century, in the meaning of 'independent, vagabond'. It later became the name of a political unit and then of an ethnic group: it was applied to the groups of the Uzbek tribal confederation that had migrated out of the confederation to the northeastern steppes of Turkestan.

The formation of the Kazakh people and language finally took place in the 15–16th centuries, with the incorporation of a significant number of additional Turkic and Mongolian tribes (including the Nogais). The three tribal confederations, the *Ulu Jüz* 'great horde' in East and Southeast Kazakhstan, the *Orta Jüz* 'middle horde' in Central Kazakhstan and the *Kichi Jüz* 'little horde' in Western Kazakhstan, were formed at this time.

The struggle with the Kalmyks in the 17th century led the three Kazakh tribal communities to accept Russian rule. For the Russians, Kazakhstan was important because as the gateway to Central Asia, it opened the way for further conquests. The Russians then imposed their rule on the Kazakhs with increasing determination amidst a strong process of Russification and conversion to Orthodox Christianity. Several rebellions broke out against tsarist Russia and then the Soviet Union, but the Kazakhs, fighting with rudimentary weapons and often divided, were no match for the colonial overlords. Russian became the official language, the Islamic religion was persecuted, the mosques were closed. Kazakh became an official language only after 1988. As a result, about half of the Kazakhs no longer speak their ancestral language fluently. Yet the Kazakhs of the former Soviet Union

have a strong *Jüz* ‘clan' identity, as well as a Kazakh national and supra-national Turkestanian identity.[17]

Islam arrived in different waves through the Genghisid era, the Sufis of the 15–16th centuries and especially through the Tatar and Uzbek merchants of the Russian conquests. Islam took deeper roots in the Soviet period and is an element of Kazakh national identity now.

About Kazak folk music research

Among the folk musics of the Central Asian peoples, Kazakh folk music has the most abundant bibliography next to Uzbek, in contrast to the very sporadic publications on Turkmen, Kyrgyz and Tajik music, for example. Some of the publications on Kazakh folk music are in Russian, others in Kazakh, with a small number of Western studies. In general, descriptive research in Kazakh folk music is dominant. Although many volumes contain transcriptions, they are generally not well documented. I have not come across any comprehensive monographic work, nor any analytical study of the folk music of a specific area, such as Mangyshlak in western Kazakhstan or the Kazakhs of Mongolia. Below are some of the more important publications on Kazakh folk music, without completeness.

Kazakh melodies were first published by Dobrovol'skij in the *Aziatskij muzykal'nyj žurnal* in 1816–1818. After that, two shibizgi tunes are mentioned by Levšin, and Pfennig also published several scores in his study *O kirgizskih I sartskih narodnye pesnjah*. The most important work on Kazakh folk music of the 19th century is Eichhorn's (1963b) volume *O muzyke kirgizov.* The material in this work was collected by the author from the 1870s onwards, and the volume contains important research, numerous musical examples and descriptions of valuable observations. Eichhorn completed the work in 1888, but it was first published in 1963 in Tashkent.

In the 20th century, new publications appeared, for example Ribakov's *Ljubov' i ženščin po narodnym pesnjam inorodcev in* 1901. Intense research into folk music began in the Soviet period, with Zataevič's works being particularly noteworthy, one of his most important basic works being *1000 pesen kazahskogo naroda*, a revised edition of the basic work of 1925. In it, some lyrics not yet included in the earlier edition, but which have since been printed, have been added to the songs, and the bibliography has been expanded. Žanuzakov's publication *Kazahskaja narodnaja instrumental'naja muzyka* provides a valuable overview of Kazakh instrumental folk music, using data from fifteen different archives. In *Pesennaja kul'tura kazahskogo naroda*, Erzakovič also attempts a kind of historical and musical classification of Kazakh song types, but only about a third of his 269 musical examples belong to the true folk music strata. The volume *Narodnaja muzyka v Kazahstane* (1967), edited by Dernova, is a collection of various valuable and less valuable articles; it also includes a bibliography. Beliaev's volume *Central Asian Music* is very useful and can be read in English. This valuable work, which includes notated music and a bibliography of 60 Kazakh melodies, also covers the music of the Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Turkmen, Tajik and Uzbek people. Erzakovich's book *Antologija Kazahskij narodnih ljubovnih pesen'* contains 206 love songs, but the contributors are almost invariably from the urban educated classes (opera singers, teachers, actresses, etc.) and the folk origin of some of the songs recorded seems doubtful.

I mention two books on the folk music of the Mongolian Kazakhs. One is *Mongolija kazaktarınıŋ halık änderi* (hereafter KA1), which contains 323 Mongolian Kazakh melodies. I was able to verify the authenticity of the melodies and the reliability of the recordings through the Mongolian Kazakh songs that we collected and recorded. This is one of the most useful books I have come across in my study of Kazakh folk music, although the data on the sources, genres and collection in general are incomplete here. There is no musical or textual analysis in the volume, and the melodies are arranged in a haphazard sequence. The instrumental folk music of the Kazakhs in the Bayan Ölgii area of Mongolia is dealt with in the *Bajan Ölgij kazaktarınıŋ dombra jene sibizgi kuileri* (hereafter BÖ1), which contains the notation of 119 tunes.

[17] BENNIGSEN–WIMBUSH 1986: 70–73.

Collecting trips, Hungarian connections

With the Kazakhs, research has moved towards Central Asia, and the study of the folk music of the Kazakhs living in the already well explored areas between the Volga-Kama-Belaya area and Anatolia has also provided a stronger basis for large-scale areal comparative work. Moreover, this people is of special interest from a Hungarian point of view, because a part of the Cumans settled in Hungary after 1239, while their groups that remained in Asia and mixed with Turkic and Mongolian ethnic groups, took part in the Kazakh ethnogenesis. In the Middle Ages, Cumans from the Golden Horde moved several times to the territory of Hungary. Research suggests that these settlers were still keeping their customs and language in the early 17th century, although by then the process of Magyarisation was well advanced.[18]

It would have been hopeless to tour the entire Europe-size Kazakh territory, but it seemed appropriate to examine the music of some minority Kazakh groups, since being a minority can strengthen the efforts to preserve identity and thus to facilitate the survival of older layers of folk music.

With the support of the Stein-Arnold Exploration Fund of the British Royal Academy, I have been able to carry out several research trips among the Kazakhs, which have given me an insight into the songs of their groups in Mongolia and South-West Kazakhstan. Below I will also attempt to compare the folk music of these two groups living some 3,000 kilometres apart. In addition, I will also point out the links with the musical styles of other Turkic peoples living in the areas under study, as well as with those of the Hungarian people.

My first step in Kazakh research was to travel to Almaty in the summer of 1995 for a memorial meeting in honour of the poet Abay Kunanbayev, the Petőfi of the Kazakhs. At that time, I had only made a small collection there, the capital city at that time, and had acquired a few basic books on folk music. In 1997, however, a major collecting fieldwork was carried out with Dávid Somfai Kara in Mangyshlak in southwestern Kazakhstan. In the same year my wife, Éva Csáki, collected among Mongolian Kazakhs in Nalajh near Ulan Bator. I also used a 1996 collection by Dávid Somfai Kara among Kazakhs in the Bayan Ölgii province of western Mongolia.

Kazakh folksongs

The Kazakhs use the word *en* for melody and *oleng* for song as a poetic-literary work. Thus, the *enshi* is the master performer of Kazakh folk songs, and the *olengshi* is the singer who composes both lyrics and melody.

The basic genres of folk music are similar among many peoples, especially those that still have a nomadic culture, or at least a memory of it. Like most peoples, the Kazakhs have very simple structures and melodic motion for laments, lullabies and children's songs.

The children fall asleep to the 'lullaby' of *besik jiri*, and children's play songs accompany their games. These genres are also characterised by simple tunes, such as this lullaby: *do do re mi mi re | do do do so' | mi mi re re | do do do*.

The girl to be married is bid farewell with *kiz sinsu* 'bride's lament', and the dead are bid farewell with *joktau/köris* 'lament'. The *kiz sinsu* is usually made up of two short lines of free performance, one below the other. The farewell songs are sung in a mournful mood, their lyrics often refer to the pain of forced marriages and their melody is the same as that of the lament songs. Lamentations are also short, expressive, melodious rather than recitative tunes that begin and end with sorrowful exclamations.

[18] MÁNDOKY 1993.

The wedding is a particularly rich occasion for singing here, too. The *toy bastar* 'wedding opening' songs are performed in rapid recitation similarly to the *terme* songs (see later). It is here that wedding-related songs are also performed, such as the *bet ashar* 'showing of face', in addition to the already mentioned bride's farewell, when the bride makes her way to the groom's yurt, or nowadays more likely to his house. These songs are used to give advice to the bride on how to behave in her new place, in her husband's family.

A typical wedding song is the *jar-jar* (bride's song), which is sung by groups of men and women during the wedding feast, singing in response to each other. Its lyrics vary widely, from congratulations to jokes, and it can also become a puzzle game or quiz between the bride's and groom's relatives. The typical  kolomeyka rhythm of the *jar-jar* melodies also has an important place in Hungarian folk music. These songs are built up of alternating 6- and 7-syllable lines (4+3|4+2), with the last two quarter-notes carrying the refrain syllables *jar-jar*, from which the song takes its name (the Uzbeks and Turkmen also have similar wedding songs).

Some of the ceremonial songs are linked to the highlights of the year, such as a prayer to the forces of nature, a rain song, thanksgiving for a successful job, a good harvest, etc. These also include songs related to healing. An old Kazakh healing ritual is the *bedik*, for example, in which girls and young women sit facing each other, close to the patient, and chant magic words.

The custom of singing *nevruz '*lunar new year' songs, a greeting for the New Year, referring to the Persian solar calendar, is also found in Central Asia and the Middle East. The prevalence of this custom, which is of Iranian origin, also indicates that Central Asia can be considered an area at least partly influenced by Iranian culture or having an Iranian substratum. Other notable festivals of the Kazakhs are the *oraza* 'end of fasting festival', the *sündet*, on which young boys are circumcised, and the *kurban ayt* 'sacrificial festival'. The *childe-khana* is the ceremony when strangers can first take a look at a newborn child after forty days of its birth.

Songs can be sung during work and during breaks from work. The main activities were related to animal husbandry and herding, and there are accordingly horse-herding songs *(jilkishi eni*) and shepherd's songs *(koyshi eni*). Dairy processing and housework are the responsibility of women, who sing while milking animals, producing dairy products, weaving, braiding, carpet making or grinding. The setting up and dismantling of the yurts is also a female task, often accompanied by singing. At the same time, both men and women were involved in melon growing, gardening and field work, traces of which are also found in the songs.

Like most Turkic peoples, the Kazakhs are Muslim, but like the Kyrgyz and, to some extent, the Uzbeks and Tajiks, they have retained many shamanistic and animistic elements in their culture. Among their religion-related songs, I myself have collected individual *jarapazan* (Ja, Ramadan) melodies and prayers of thanksgiving sung during Ramadan fasting.

As for the *terme* style, for now let it suffice to say that the epic melodies and related recitative forms are generally simple in rhythm and motifs, but complex and irregular in structure.

Songs that are not occasion-specific include lyrical songs *(kara en*), whose melodies and lyrics are usually more complex than those of epic songs. The humorous and satirical songs, such as the *aytish* 'dialogue', are simple in form and have a fixed rhythm. They are sung by groups of men and women in antiphonal exchanges, trying to outdo each other in cunning and ingenuity. An example: *do-ti la | do-re mi so' | so'-mi re | do ‖ mi-so' so' | so-'mi re do | la-la-la-ti | do-ti do la*.

Professional Kazakh and Kyrgyz *akin*s 'bards' also organise competitions between themselves. The form of dialogue is also very popular among the Kazakhs, mentioned as early as the 1870s by N. Gotovitskiy in his *O karaktere kirgizskih pesen.*[19] (Beliaev 1975: 67). Humorous and mocking songs are also close to the *aytish* with their simple form and isometric lines.

The genres are not sharply separated either musically or in terms of their lyrics; similar musical or textual motifs can be found in different genres. As we see in many other peoples' music,

[19] N. Gotovitsky, *O karaktere kirgizskih pesen.* See BELIAEV 1975: 67.

Kazakh laments and bride's farewell tunes are identical, and we even find lullabies of this character, and the basic musical motifs of laments can be gleaned from some lyrical songs, too.

The richest layer comprises the lyrical songs about love, family and nature, which are characterised by their advanced melodic and poetic features. Here, extensions and refrains usually play an important role and the songs often have a known author. Many of these songs have one or more of the characteristics of genuine folk songs. Several are included in Erzakovich's volume *Kazahskie liričeskie pesni*.

The majority of Kazakh folk songs are 7- or 11-syllabic. Work songs, ceremonial songs, lullabies, children's songs and humorous-mocking songs mostly have 7 syllables to the line. Lyrical songs and other songs with deeper lyrical content are 11-syllabic. In both the 7- and 11-syllabic lines, additional syllables, exclamations and even words are often inserted. These increase the number of syllables in the line and eventually create new prosodic forms (similar, but not as complex, phenomena are also seen in Kyrgyz songs). The 7-syllable lines are mostly trochaic, with a 4+3 division, which can be extended by inserting exclamations, for example 4+1|3 (+1). For 11-syllable lines, instead of the 6+5 and 4+4+3 divisions common in Anatolia, for example, we mainly find 3+4+4 and 4+3+4 divisions here.

In Kyrgyz and Kazakh folklore, the phenomenon of sound absorption is common, mainly between the final vowel of a word and the initial vowel of the next word, e.g. *kold'orama* < *kolda orama*.

Instruments, instrumental music

The men accompany their singing with the two-stringed *dombra* found in many places, often playing it with virtuosity. They also used to have a bowed instrument called the *kobiz*, which is no longer in use. The Kazakh folk instrumental repertoire is small, including the *dombra* (two-stringed lute), *kobiz* (horsehair violin), *sibizgi* (flute) and *shan kobiz* (Jew's harp). In addition, the *jetigen*, similar to the Siberian zither, was also used in the past.

Three types of Kazakh instrumental music can be distinguished in regard to conceptual layout and performance: 1) wind pieces performed on the sibizgi, 2) the folk and concert styles of kobiz and dombra, and 3) the military style of music tied to the instruments of Kazakh military bands.

The most important folk instrument is the dombra. It has two strings, usually tuned to a fourth, less often to a fifth. The instrument may have been a forerunner of the Russian balalaika. The Western Kazakh instrument is convex and has 14 frets, while the Eastern model is characterised by a triangular or spade-shaped body and 8 frets. The dombra is played with a plectrum, always with the two strings strung together. The range of the instrument varies from area to area. The following diagram shows the most important scales, which can be extended somewhat by playing beyond the frets.[20] Sometimes the frets of the minor and major thirds are replaced by a single intermediate fret, in which case a neutral third is played, as in Kyrgyz folk music and in many other folk musics of Central Asia.

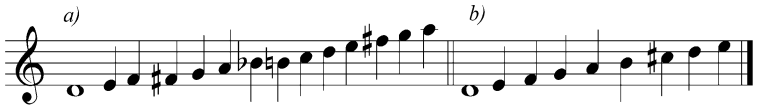


Figure 2. Typical scales of the dombra a) Western Kazakh, b) Eastern

The most important area of Kazakh instrumental folk music is the *dombra* repertoire. The dombra melodies are called *küy*, and Kyrgyz and Uzbek people also refer to their instrumental pieces in this way. These pieces are generally considered the pinnacle of Kazakh professional art, and indeed require a high level of technique, acquired through many years of practice under famous masters.

[20] ZHANUZAKOV 1963, *Grove*: 415.

Kazakh composers transform the dombra pieces into a two-voice style, in which playing parallel fourths or fifths plays an important role.

There is a great difference between playing the Kyrgyz komuz, Kazakh dombra and Turkmen dutar. The Kyrgyz dombra player usually presents a variety of structures with a varying number of voices, while the Kazakh dombra and Turkmen dutar player usually plays in two voices continuously. The structure of the music played is also fundamentally different among the three peoples. A simple polyphony is formed when the melody is played on the upper string while the lower string serves as a drone. Sometimes the melody is played on the lower string, in which case the upper string provides the bordun. The Kazakh dombra performance perhaps makes better use of the possibilities of playing on two strings than other similar Central Asian playing styles (on Uzbek, Turkmen and Karakalpak dutars, and Uzbek and Tajik dambura).

Kazakh dombra music contains complex, masterful pieces. A three-part form is common: 1) the introduction of a theme, which may be a self-contained structure, 2) a theme enters in the middle section a fourth, fifth or octave higher, and finally 3) the first theme returns. In addition, there may be an introductory overture and a closing coda. The structure is of course not always like this; there are short, single-tune *küys* and longer ones with many melodies.

The Kazakh *kobiz* pieces, like the Kyrgyz kiyak repertoire, are characterised by less developed, single-theme forms. At the same time, the instrument is capable of a depth of musical expression that plucked instruments cannot produce. The glissandi, vibrato, overtones and legato phrasing make the kobiz sound and performance similar to that of the Mongolian *morin khuur* and Kyrgyz kiyak. Nowadays, this instrument, which used to be so important in Kazakh music culture, is rarely played. It accompanied the performance of epic stories, the songs of the *akin*s (bards), and was also used as a solo instrument with a rich repertoire.

The *sibizgi* is a 4- or 5-hole shepherd's instrument. It is usually made from the stem of an umbellate flowering steppe plant, and is similar in structure, scale and range to the Kyrgyz choors and cross-blown flutes of other peoples. There are three types of *sibizgi* pieces. The first is related to the work of shepherds, of which there are no records. The second type are folk songs arranged for the sibizgi,[21] and the third are transcriptions of complex dombra pieces for the sibizgi.

The *shang kobiz* is usually used by children or women.

The fashion for the old Kazakh military band became obsolete in the 18th century. This band was similar to the military bands of Kyrgyz and other Central Asian and Middle Eastern peoples.

Collecting in Mangyshlak in Southwestern Kazakhstan

The area where Dávid Somfai Kara and I went in the autumn of 1997 is in southwestern Kazakhstan, north of Turkmenistan, between Lake Caspian and Lake Aral. István Mándoky Kongur, a Hungarian turkologist admittegly of Cuman origin, drew my attention to the fact that it was here, in the Mangyshlak area of Kazakhstan, that the traditional nomadic culture was best preserved. According to the most commonly cited etymology, the origin of the area's name is the Turkic *ming kishlak* 'thousand winter lodgings', others derive the name from the Turkic *mang* 'four-year-old lamb', suggesting that *mangyshlak* means 'winter lodging of lambs'. The Kazakh name of the area is Mangistau. This area one and a half times larger than Hungary is currently inhabited by the *Aday*, the largest tribe of the Kazakh *Kichi Jüz* 'small horde'.

In the beginning, the peninsula was inhabited by Oghuz tribes. According to Turkmen tradition, in the mid-14th century Mangyshlak was part of the Golden Horde. After the Mongols, the Karakum desert and Mangyshlak became the central territory of the Turkmens for centuries, who came under the rule of the Uzbek sultans in the 16th century, and then became independent again by the 17th century. An important trade route from the Volga basin to Khwarezm passed through Mangyshlak, which also served as the starting point of the sea route to Shirvan. In the late 16th and

[21] BELIAEV 1975: ex. 40, 41.

early 17th centuries, it was used mainly by Central Asian traders and Meccan pilgrims who wanted to avoid the dangerous route through Shiite Iran.

In the 16th century, part of the Turkmens left Mangyshlak because of the *Mangit* (Nogai) attack. Another reason for the emigration seems to have been the gradual desertification of the steppe, which began around this time. Later, in the 17th century, Kalmyk pressure had a similar effect. Some of the Turkmen tribes migrated voluntarily or were deported by the Mongols. Some tribes migrated to the Volga Basin and from there to the Caucasus, others fled towards Khwarezm. The Turkmens only left Mangyshlak permanently in the 1840s, but part of the *Chavdur* tribe has remained on the shores of the Caspian Sea to this day. During our expedition, we managed to collect from some Turkmen families living there.

In the mid-18th century, the Turkmens were replaced in the area by the *Aday* tribe of the *Bayuli* alliance of the Kazakh 'Little Horde'. For the Aday, Mangyshlak served mainly as winter quarters, while their summer pastures were spread about a thousand kilometres to the north. It was only after 1873 that the Russian Empire succeeded in finally annexing Mangyshlak. After Turkmenia was also defeated in 1881, the territory of Mangyshlak was incorporated into the newly formed Trans-Caspian region. After the 1917 revolution, Mangyshlak was then separated from Turkmenistan and annexed to Kazakhstan.

Since 1973, there has been a separate Mangyshlak Province within Kazakhstan. According to the 1978 census, the population of the county was 256 000, of which half (110 000) lived in the capital city of Shevchenko. Mangyshlak's current economic and strategic importance is due to its mineral resources, mainly oil, natural gas and uranium.

We chose Aktaut as the centre of our collection, and from there we went on expeditions to smaller settlements and nomadic yurt camps in the surrounding area. Our local companion, the singer Amandik Kömekov (Kazakh Kömekuli) and his family provided accommodations, meals, transport and also helped us to make people sing. The latter was no easy task. Recording songs, especially from women, is one of the most difficult collection tasks here. However, it is perhaps still more preferable for them to sing to strangers than to locals, since a stranger will leave and is not a subject to local customs to the same extent.

In this region, traditional folk music is in sharp decline, with only elderly people singing the older tunes. However, there is no need to fear that these songs are dying out, as it is these elderly men and women who look after the young children and, as we have often observed, they hum and teach them their own old tunes.

We toured the villages of the area, reached *the Üstyurt of* the old caravan routes and visited Fort Shevchenko. Towards the end of the fieldwork, more and more of the tunes we had already recorded were found, so we returned home with a collection that was, if not complete, hopefully representative. The two hundred or so songs recorded in the twenty villages were sung on tape by twenty-one men and twenty women.

Southwestern Kazakh tunes

As a result of the musical analysis, I divided the Mangyshlak tunes into the following blocks:

a) *terme* tunes,
b) narrow-range tunes tncluding laments and psalmodic tunes,
c) more ’melodious’ tunes of broader ambitus,
d) unique but apparently authentic melodies.

These blocks contain more or less musically coherent melodies, melody classes, except of course in the group of 'other' melodies. In determining the similarity of the melodies, I have taken into account the shape of the first line, the melodic motion, the tonal range and the line-closing

notes. Within a tune class, there are also melodies with different scales and different cadential tones, the reason for which I will explain later. First, let's get acquainted with the so-called *terme tunes*.

a) The terme songs and the Kazakh epic

The form of performance of the Kazakh heroic song was originally a sung narration without an instrument, as in Kyrgyz music today, and since the early 19th century the kobiz (horsehair fiddle), and later the dombra, has been incorporated into the performance.

The Kazakh epic is not a unified whole, like the Kyrgyz *Manas* cycle, but is broken down into a series of individual heroic stories in which romantic love plays an important role and details of everyday life abound. The texts have moved away from the epic character and have become lyrical, lyrical-dramatic or narrative.

This change from the early epic to the later epic, and from there to the romantic tale, also changed the form. The recitation of the epic story became an alternation of narration and sung verse accompanied by an instrument, the performance of which was enlivened by interludes on instruments. Episodes in verse were sometimes performed as recitative *terme*, sometimes in developed strophic form.

The historical basis of the Kazakh epic is mainly linked to the emergence of the Kazakh nationhood in the 15th century and the period of the fights with the Jungar Kalmyks in the 17th century. For example, there is a famous epic about *Kombar batir* who defeated the Kalmyk Karaman Khan. Among the epic narratives and lyric poems, *Kozi-korpesh* and *Bayan-shlu*, *Kiz-jibek* and *Aiman and Solpan* were very popular among the Kazakhs.[22] All three stories tell of tragic love, with many complications and unfulfilled love. The lyric poems Kozi-korpesh and Bayan-slu were even translated for Pushkin when he was working on the materials of Pugachev's peasant rebellion (1773–1775).

Akins are professional singers with a talent for poetry and poetic, musical improvisation. They are masters of their two-stringed instrument, the dombra, which they use to accompany their singing and to perform instrumental introductions and interludes. These singers do not usually invent new songs, as their audiences do not expect them to, and probably would not accept them, but they do vary and add colour to old ones according to their musical talent. Recently, for example, it has become fashionable for some singers to bundle together songs that used to be sung separately and at length.

The basic genres of the Kazakh akin are the *maktau* 'hymn of praise' and the instructional and admonitory *tolgau*, which are usually performed recitatively. The akins also sing more advanced songs in strophic form on lyrical and historical themes.

The Kazakh epic narrative is based on a continuous declamation consisting of seven (4|3), eight (3|2|3) or less frequently eleven (3|4|4) syllabic simple, narrow-range but highly variable motifs. The narration begins with an introductory musical exclamation in high register, followed by a recitation of the text on progressively lower pitches. However, this descent is not even, but it usually takes place in several stages. The stages of the performance end with more extended cadential passages. This form is not only used in epic performances, but also in terme or jeldirme songs. The latter name refers to the gallop of the horse, probably because of the lively nature of the musical performance. The rapid recitation is in a fairly regular rhythm, but over the steady eighth notes of the dombra, syllables are sometimes presented in triplets, and the singer may run slightly forward and then slow down, creating a special dramatic tension that both attracts and holds the attention. The lines of the terme are typically 7-syllabic, and the lines of the jeldirme are 11-syllabic. If the text is strophic, both the terme and the jeldirme may take on a strophic character.

The text of the termes is mostly educational. They often begin with an introduction of the singer's situation, and this part is not without a bit of self-praise. The central themes include the praise of old customs and the Islamic religion, a discussion of the state of ageing, a list of wrong acts and behaviours, and advice on appropriate behaviour. The wedding *betasar* tunes also belong here,

[22] CHADWICK–ZHIRMUNSKY 1969: 51–53, and WINNER 1958: Chapter 3.

not only because of their musical form, but also because of their educational lyrics: they teach the newly-wed bride the proper behaviour to follow in her new place.

Although terme melodies are not strophic, they can often be 'reduced' to a descending strophic melody. Generally, the first lines are the highest and the last the lowest, with an irregular alternation of lines in different registers. Some terme melodies deserve special attention for their simple, seemingly old-fashioned musical solutions. While most of the melodies in the area move on scales of minor character, a significant proportion of the terme melodies have scales of major character.

I have introduced abbreviations to show the structure of the terme processes. This was made possible by the fact that most of the melody lines move on or in the immediate vicinity of a main melody note, or descend on a few notes. Thus, a line can be identified by the sol-fa symbol of the note around which it moves or onto which it descends. The basic forms of the lines of termes reciting on *do* or centered on *do* are as follows:

sign	*line motion and example*
Do	the line moves on *do* leaving it towards *re* once at most (e.g. *do-re-do-do*|*do-do do*)
Do’	descent from *fa/mi* to *do* (e.g., *mi-mi-mi-re*|*do-do- do*)
Do	notes beneath *do* are also involved (e.g., *la-ti-do-do*|*do-do do*)
Do˜	*do* is circumambulated (e.g., *re-do-ti-do*|*re-do do*)
Do^c, Do_c	Do^c lines move on or around *do*, but close on a higher note (e.g., *do-do-do-do*|*do-do re*). This line-ending note is hardly ever higher by a (major)second than the principal note of the line. Do_c indicates similar lines except for the closing note being under the principal note *(do-do-re-do*|*do-do ti)*
Do^	ascending line (e.g., *do-do-do-re*|*re-mi mi*)

Table 2. Basic forms of *Do*-centred terme sequences

I marked the lines moving around, and descending to, the notes *la, ti, re, mi, fa, so'* in a similar way. In the description of the structures, I have marked the melodic formulas ending on *la* with La_{cad}, and the introductory exclamations that start larger musical units with *. The general movement of the individual terme melodies can be well described by these signs.

I have grouped the terme melodies according to the tonal range their lines move in. The melodies of each group are musically related and it would not have made sense to divide them into further subgroups. Since a terme melody contains lines with different syllable counts, they could not be arranged by this feature. Similarly, it would have made no sense to group them by final tone, since, for example, ending on *la* is often accompanied by a refrain that descends to a different tone, separately to some extent from the terme process. At the same time, however, even in what are called broader-ambitus terme melodies, there are lines and even longer units that constitute the narrow-range terme melodies, so in this sense the groups are not sharply separated.

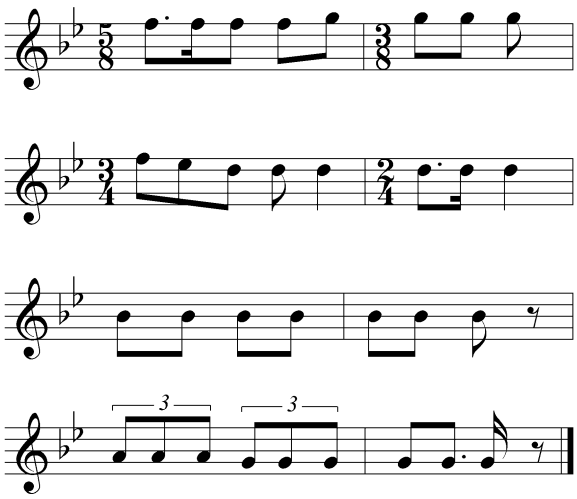
The *narrowest-ambitus (1–b3/4) terme melodies* mainly use different variations of the Do element, i.e., they move on and around the *do* note. In these tunes, *re* and *mi* may also appear, but never as the backbone of the motive. Here too, however, it is common for higher notes to appear in the introductory phrase or in the final refrain.

The *medium-ambitus (1–5/6) terme melodies* differ from the above melodies in that some of their lines move on the 5–6^{th} degrees in lengthier sections. For this reason, we find here more song-like forms instead of the clatter on a few notes of something like twin-bar tunes of the previous group. However, even here there is no definite song form. The melodic line of the short lines is mostly contingent, and the succession of lines is also very much due to chance, to the singer's mood at the moment. The lines follow each other in a gradually descending sequence, but there are also some terme melodies that start low and rise higher to end low again. It is noteworthy how common

the *fa*-centered melody line is. I refer here to the fact that some bride's farewell and *jarapazan* songs are also made up of similar lines, i.e., terme melodies are also musically closely related to folk songs and some folk religious tunes. However, while the lines of the termes are also variable depending on the performer's inspiration, the lines of the folk songs are in more regular, fixed structures. It seems likely that the unregulated structure may have been the older one, and from this the more regular forms evolved. In any case, what we have here is a common musical idea appearing in different, flexible or more solid forms.

The two-part terme tunes (higher first and lower second part) are divided into two parts, so that the two bands of recitation touch at no more than one note. Many (disjunct) melodies descend to the lower tonal range after a long recitation at degrees 7–8.

It requires some practice to follow the formulas precisely, but they allow a concise description and analysis of the descending tendency of a melody line. For example, a typical melody will have the following descent: So-So^{c}-Mi'-Fa^{c}-Mi / * Mi~-Ti'-Ti^{c}-Ti' / La^{c}-La+La$_{c}$. We can toy with the idea of how we could reduce this sequence of melody lines into a four-line melody form. It is obvious that the end result will be a descending melody. Among the many possibilities, one can imagine a four-line La-Mi'-Do-La descent, and such melodies do occur in the pentatonic fifth-shifting layers of Hungarian folk music (*Ex. 195*). This, of course, does not prove a genetic link between such Kazakh and Hungarian tunes, but it is nevertheless thought-provoking to see how such an old-fashioned recitative form can open up so many avenues of melodic development.

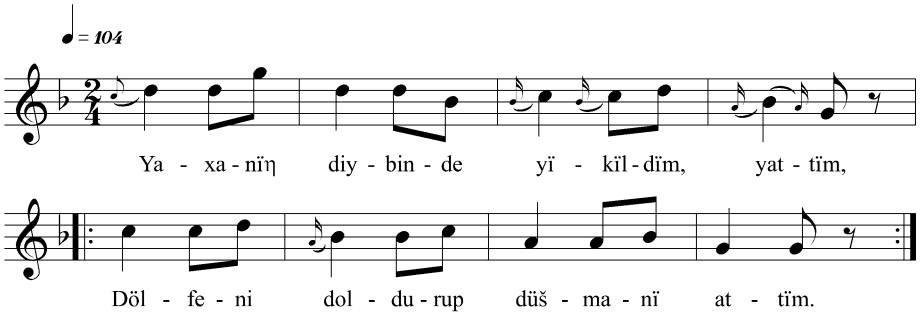


Example 195. A broad-compass terme tune reduced to a four-line form (its Hungarian analogy is Mulik Ilony lepedője [Ilony Mulik's bedsheet], type no.: 18-018-00-00)

Songs of other peoples

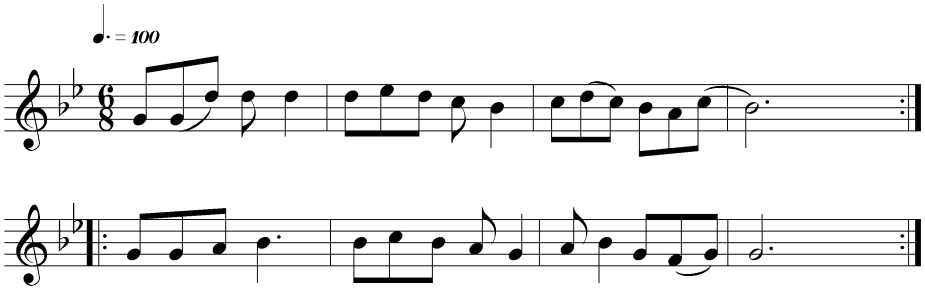
Some Turkmen families also live in the Mangyshlak area. We visited some of them and collected many of their songs. Example 196 shows a melody similar to one I found in Anatolia among Turkmen tribes there.[23]

[23] SIPOS 1994: № 138.



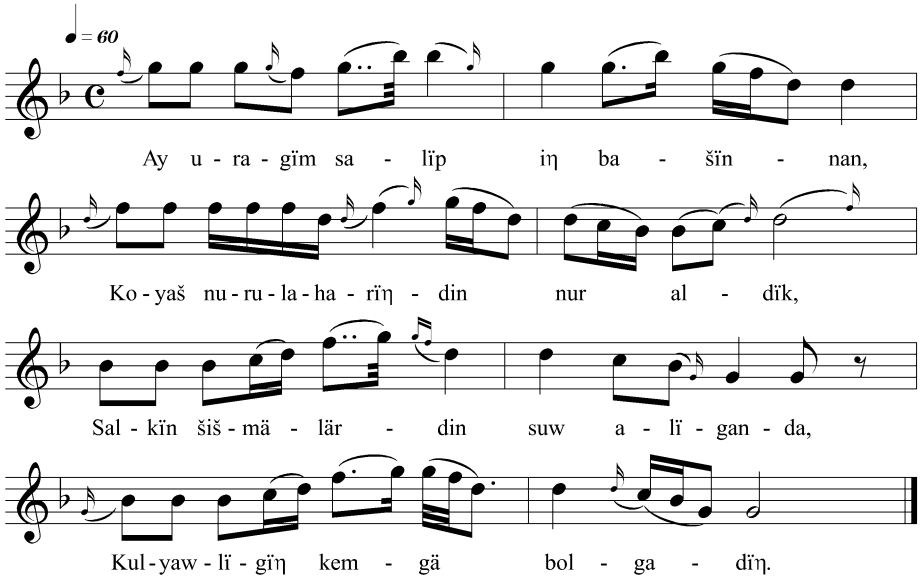
Example 196. Turkmen tune

Azeri tunes were sung by our Kazakh escort Amandik, who learned them as a child in Turkmenistan. The melodic line and 6/8 pulsation of Example 197 is similar to some Azeri folk songs, as can be seen in many of the tunes of SIPOS 2004.



Example 197. Azeri tune

I heard a *Tatar* melody from the hostess of a Turkmen family I visited. The woman's mother was Tatar who had been married to a Turkmen man in Astrakhan at the beginning of the century in exchange for a dowry of sheep**.** Our singer learned the song from her mother. This descending pentatonic song with its high ambitus contrasts sharply with the Mangyshlak melodies and is an instructive example of how different the songs of different Turkic peoples can be (*Ex. 198*).



Example 198. Tatar tune

It is an intriguing question to what extent the Mangyshlak folksongs resemble the folksongs of the Mongolian Kazakh people speaking the same tongue but living some 3000 kms away from here. Let us get acquainted with the music of the Kazakhs in Mongolia.

Tunes of the Kazakh people in Mongolia

Beyond the eastern side of Kazakhstan's vast territory, there are Kazakhs in Mongolia and China, with more than a million in the Kazakh autonomous districts of Ile, Tarbagatai and Altay in China's Xinjiang province. Until the 1870s they lived in a somewhat autonomous way, governed by their own elected judges. Later, they came under the direct administration of the Manchus, and were governed by leaders appointed by Manchus. When Outer Mongolia became independent from China in 1921 as Mongolia, the Kazakhs living there separated from their Jungarian brethren.

Some 100,000 Kazakhs live in Mongolia's westernmost county, which has existed since 1940 as Bayan-Ölgii, and it is no coincidence that the province is also known as *Khasag aimak*, or 'Kazakh County'. The Kazakhs of Mongolia are closely related to the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan linguistically, culturally and historically, although only a part of them are Sunni Muslim. The Kazakhs and the Tuvans, the Turkic peoples living in the Bayan-Ölgii area, preserve their traditional nomadic herding lifestyle and still live in yurts, which is not uncommon in Mongolia. A book on the music of the Kazakhs of Mongolia, *Mongolija Kazaktarinin Halık Änderi*, has been published in recent years, and shows that a few unique, relatively clearly describable and characterisable folk music styles dominate the area.

In addition to the material collected in Bayan-Ölgii, it seemed necessary to study the music of a Kazakh village in Mongolia too. The choice fell on Nalaikh, a mining town with a mixed Kazakh–Mongol population, situated near the Mongolian capital, to the south-east of it. The Kazakhs who live in the village come from the Bayan-Ölgii province, one and a half thousand kilometres away. In line with the socialist ideals of the time, hundreds of Kazakh families were settled here in the 1950s, alongside the local Mongolian population, allegedly in need of a busier hand. The kulaks from Bayan-Ölgii were resettled here, although some came voluntarily.

According to the August 1997 collecting trip, the folk music of the Kazakhs in Nalaikh and those in the Bayan-Ölgii province in western Mongolia have similar styles. In addition to the Mongolian Kazakh melodies I have recorded, I have studied hundreds of Bayan-Ölgii melodies collected and published by local folk music researchers to confirm my conclusions. At the same time, there were important genres, such as lamentations, of which we have samples only in our own collections.

I will discuss the conclusions on certain musical features (scales, ambitus, forms, etc.) in more detail later in the comparison of the music of the Southwestern Kazakh and Mongolian Kazakh areas, but for now I will only summarise the most important findings.

The tunes of the Mongolian Kazakhs mostly move in the anhemitonic *la'-so'-(fa)-mi-re-do do*-pentatonic scale or on parts of it, with pien notes outside the pentatonic scale only occurring in unstressed roles. Most frequent are the single- or double-core forms (AB, A^cA, A_vA), and the repetition of bars in melody lines is not uncommon. The strophic form of four equivalent melody lines is exceptional, but a simple four-line pattern can be discerned in several songs of A_cARefr.A or ABRefr.B form. The mode of performance is dominated by *parlando*, *rubato* and *tempo giusto* in 2/4. The most typical syllable count is seven (4|3), eight (3|2|3) and eleven (3|4|4). First lines most often trace a convex or concave arc, but one can also find up-and-down undulating lines.

Some of the few *so*-pentatonic tunes are two-lined, and similarly to *do*-pentatonic songs, extension with a refrain is common. The tonal range of *so*-pentatonic tunes is mostly VII–7/8, but in

contrast to *do*-pentatonic tunes, there is no striving towards higher registers. This is in accord with the general octave or smaller gamut in the area. The above applies to *la*-pentatonic tunes as well: their ambitus is almost always 1–7/8, *ti'* can occasionally enter as an upper decorative note, in which case the ambitus expands to 1–9. I discuss the few types of *so*- and *la*-pentatonic tunes together with the majority *do*-pentatonic melodies.

Based on the melody outlines of the first lines, the following are the main melody groups[24]:

a) descending first lines – the laments,

(b) 'melodious' first lines (hill-, hill-and-vale- and valley-shaped line forms),

c) first lines leaping on tri- or tetrachord notes,

d) other.

Comparison of the music of the two Kazakh areas

I compare the folk music of Mangyshlak in southwest Kazakhstan with that of Bayan-Ölgii and Nalaikh in Mongolia in two stages. First, I compare the general musical features (tonal scales, ambitus, form, rhythm, cadences, syllable count and melodic line), followed by a more complex analysis comparing tune types, with occasional references to relevant Anatolian and Hungarian aspects.

General musical characteristics

In the vast territory of Kazakhstan, local tune styles have also developed, and no one has yet attempted a full comparative analysis or even an analytical description of them. According to Beliaev,[25] these melodic styles are based on a common national basis and are specific realisations of the general Kazakh national melodic character, while Slobin disagrees.[26] In any case, it can be said that, in addition to regional styles, a great variety of tunes, a richness of expressive detail and a connection with living speech are characteristic in many areas.

Scales

The range of many a Kazakh tune including the majority of ritual tunes is smaller than a minor sixth. In more advanced strophic structures, an octave or ninth range may also be found. It is true in general that the scale only rarely exceeds the octave in these areas.

The heartland of Kazakhstan is dominated by diatonic scales of major (Mixolydian and Ionian) and minor (Aeolian, Dorian and Phrygian) character. There, the pentatonic scales are rare, as they are mainly in use in the eastern regions of the vast territory of Kazakhstan where the influence of Tatars, Bashkirs and first of all the influence of Mongolian pentatonic music cannot be ignored. In this area lots of Kazakh folksongs move on anhemitonic (quasi) pentatonic scales with pien notes appearing in unstressed places at most. Even in seemingly diatonic scales one can spot telltale pentatonic traces such as the *do-so* or *so-do* steps and some short pentatonic turns. The (whilom) importance of the pentatonic scales is also suggested by the fact that in many cases the 2nd or 6th degree missing from the *la*-pentatonic scales occur in the minor-character scales in 6–#6 or 2–b2 dual intonation. This uncertain intonation can be explained by the recent – hence still incomplete – incorporation of the notes into the pentatonic scales. Another phenomenon is the b3–3 alternation of the 3rd degree, and its uncertain intonation in some melodies. All these phenomena also occur in the music of the Kyrgyz, Anatolian Turkish, Hungarian and several other people.

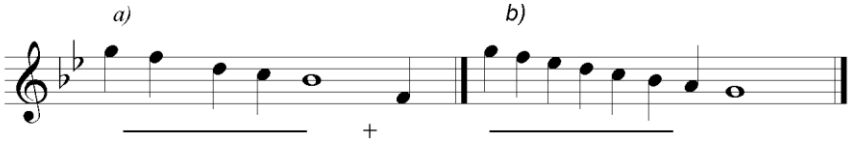
[24] For their detailed presentation, see SIPOS 2001a.

[25] BELIAEV 1975: 77–78.

[26] BELIAEV 1975: 123, fn. 21.

The fundamental difference between the scales of the two Kazakh areas studied is that while the folk songs of the Mongolian Kazakhs are mostly in *do*-pentatony, in Mangyshlak the minor scale predominates. True, in the broader-ambitus (1–7/8) Mangyshlak songs the 6th degree is often absent or appears only in an unstressed place, giving them a slightly pentatonic character. As a parallel phenomenon, it is not uncommon to find the tones of *ti* and *fa* in less important roles, such as in ornaments or other unstressed places, in Bayan-Ölgii. In both Kazakh areas, the Mixolydian scale is rare, but major or *do*-pentatonic scales play an important, though differently important, role.

The compass of the major-scale melodies of the two areas is mostly VII–7/8 or b3–7/8, but the difference between the two sets of notes is in this case only a *so-do'* or a *do'-so* jump at the beginning or end of a line. The highest note of the archaic tunes of the two areas is mostly the 7th–8th degree, regardless of the final note. This means that, apart from a possible jump to a *so*, the ambitus of *do*-ended songs is usually narrower than that of the *la*- or *so*-ended tunes with an octave or seventh range (*Ex. 199*).



Example 199. The most typical scales of a) Bayan Ölgii and b) Mangyshlak

In some melodies, chromatic tone sets also appear. It is not uncommon to have a lowered second degree (Aeolian→Phrygian) at the end of minor-key melodies, and the sixth degree is often uncertain (Dorian→Aeolian). Both phenomena occur in Anatolia, too.

Forms

Stichic melodies, and melodies consisting of three different lines, are rare in the Kazakh areas studied, and A_cA or A^cA forms are not very common. In both areas, however, there are a significant number of two- and four-line forms and their derivatives.

The most common of the two-line tunes is the half strophe (AB), in which the musical lines occur only once. A myriad of two-core subforms, such as AAB, AAAB, ABB, ABBB, etc. may emerge, by repeating the lines with or without variation. It is also common for the A and B kernels to be included in a song in different groupings and variations, such as AAB|AB, AB|ABB, AB|AB|AB_cB, etc.

In Central Asia, the Caucasus, among some peoples of the Volga region, Anatolia or, for that matter, among Hungarians, the four-line stanza with rhymes a a b a is popular. In some cases, two lines of text are performed to a single musical unit, but the melodic form divided into four equal parts is also common. Most frequent is the scheme of four different lines (ABCD), but these 'different' lines, which are of small range and often descend stepwise, are usually not very characteristic. Many four-line melodies contain line repetition, producing the forms AABC, ABAC, ABCC, ABBC, etc.

The use of twin-bars throughout the whole melody is rare, but in Bayan-Ölgii there is frequent bar repetition in the refrains and inside lines, especially within the first line. In the most typical cases, the first line is characterized by the bar scheme a a, a_c a or a b a. In melodies of the A_cA or A_vA form, the motives of the first line often reappear in the second line, so that the melody may be essentially built up from a single pair of bars. For example, let me mention the A_cA form melodies in SIPOS 2001d: ex.67, of which the bar structure of SIPOS 2001d: Ex. 67a.b. is characterized by a_c| a b, and the bar structure of SIPOS 2001d: Ex. 67d by b a|a b c.

Even a melody that appears to be a four-line structure can actually be constructed from a single pair of bars. An example is Sipos (2001d: ex.67e), which has the line structure A_cARefr.A and

the bar structure is a_c a|a_c b|x x|a_c b. Such a motive structure seems to be more characteristic of some pentatonic music, so it is not surprising that while some Hungarian styles with pentatonic character abound in such tunes, we find virtually none in the music of southern Turkic groups.

In Kazakh tunes, disjunct melodic structures are very rare, and hence quintal shifts do not occur either; Slobin has studied the phenomena of fifth shifting in Kyrgyz music in more detail.[27] In Kazakh folk music, there are also no stepwise descending lines.

Refrains

While laments, lullabies and generally the simplest songs with a narrow ambitus do not have a refrain, we often find them in the newer style tunes.

In one of the simplest forms of refrain, the singer repeats the final line with some variation. It is also common to have a one- or two-bar refrain that follows the closing line of the melody.

However, the refrains of Kazakh melodies are usually very long, and may even span whole verses. Four-line refrains can also be added to psalmodic songs, actual folk songs, as well as to jarapazan and terme tunes. The latter are usually concluded by a single- or double-line descent at a slowing tempo, usually starting from the vicinity of *so'* in the case of *do*-ending and of *mi* in the case of *la*-ending. Most refrains end on the same note as the melody to which they are attached. Finally, I reiterate that the structure of many songs can be characterized by the formulas ABRefr.B or A_cARefr.A, where the refrain line is usually composed of two identical bars or a pair of bars.

Some Kazakh melodies are preceded by introductory motifs, these musical exclamations are dominated by the insistent use of the sounds *so'*, *mi* and/or *do*. It is not uncommon for these notes to begin with a shorter, upward glissando and/or to be followed by a downward glissando. These high notes, usually sung long and loudly in response to words of anger, are used to attract the attention of the listener, as is the case in Anatolia and with many other peoples.

Rhythm, style of performance

In both Kazakh areas, the 2/4 time signature dominates with all syllable counts, as is testified by about half of the melodies. Less frequently, however, melodies with a mixture of 2/4 and 3/4 metres occur. Many of the melodies are performed *parlando* or *rubato*, characterised by freer rhythmic treatment and accented prolongation of some notes. The asymmetrical rhythms, which are perhaps the vigorous relics of a Byzantine heritage of Anatolia, are found almost exclusively in religious songs, and also crop up among several Turkic peoples and sporadically in some Hungarian areas.

Cadences

In some cases, the final notes are very informative, but in others, as in the case of very mobile pentatonic melodies, they may not be very significant. In Mangyshlak, the (b3) principal cadence is prominent, followed by degrees 1, 2 and 5 in frequency, with degrees 4 and 8 rarely and the other degrees hardly ever being used as the main cadence. In Bayan-Olgii, since the *do*-pentatonic scales predominate, it is not surprising that the lower main cadences of degrees 1, 2 and b2 are absent as the final note of the melodies is usually the lowest note. The most important main cadences are usually on degrees b3, 5, 7, 4 and 8, so the 7th degree as the main cadence, which is scarcely present

[27] SLOBIN 1969a.

in the other area, plays a significant role here. Typically, the main cadence of one of the most important Mongolian Kazakh melodic groups is also the 7th degree.

Melody outlines

In the Bayan-Ölgii area, apart from descending melodies, the first lines of the melody are mostly hill-shaped (convex), valley-shaped (concave), and hill-and-vale-shaped. Also frequent are various melody lines that move restlessly up and down, recite a few adjacent notes, or jump about on several notes. Although the second half of the Mongolian Kazakh melodies is deeper than the first half, only exceptionally do we see parallel motions between lines or even fourth / fifth parallels.

In contrast, in Mangyshlak, the most typical melodic contour of the first line of the minor-scale tunes is in the form of a hill, with a gentler form in the lamentations, in the psalmodic melodies and some of the narrow-range tunes. The first line of the broader-ambitus two-line *la*-pentatonic melodies, and even of the only tune group of major character is also in the form of a hill. It would seem, therefore, that the characteristic line shape which defines the unified image of the Mangyshlak melodies is a hill. There are few tunes here whose first line is distinctly descending, rising or hill-and-valley-shaped. The other 'melodious' forms are almost entirely absent. All this is a deviation from the pentatonic variety of Mongolian Kazakh melodies.

After an overview of the general features, let us try to compare the tune types of the two Kazakh regions on the basis of the melody lines, and especially the melody motion of the first line. Although it is not always possible to describe the exact shape of a melody line, it seems that for these simple, two-core melodies, usually of octave or smaller compass, the first line's melody contour is a powerful tool for revealing the complexity and affinity between melodies.

Because of their importance, I will deal first with the laments. These are followed by the 'melodious' melody motions, i.e., melodies whose first line describes a hill, a valley or a wave. Finally, the tunes whose first line is characterised by more agitated, leaping melodic motions are touched on.

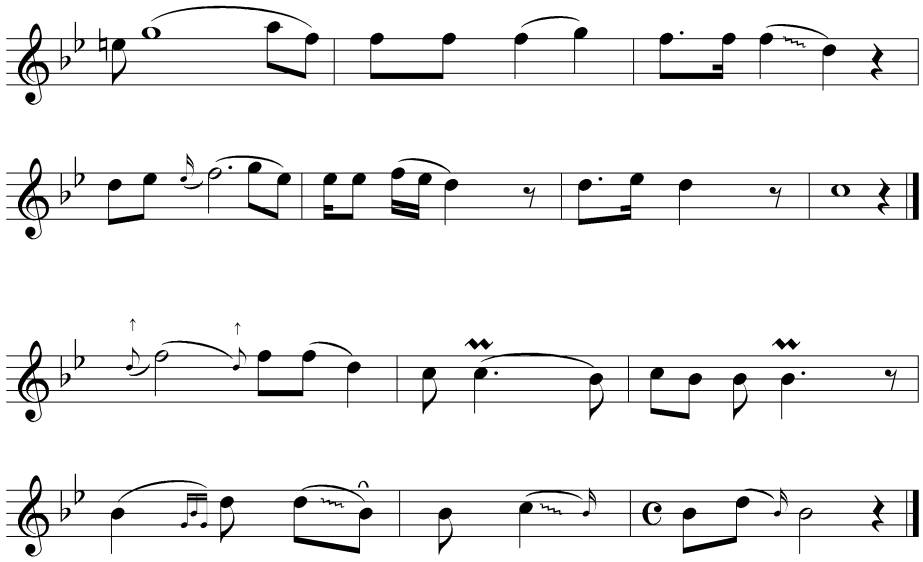
Lament tunes

The custom of lamenting is still alive in both Kazakh areas. The descending melody line of the Mongolian Kazakh lamentations is unique in a region that is in favour of broadly arched melodic lines, while the lines of the Mangyshlak lamentations with their slightly convex form blend in with the local melodies. The laments of the two areas show both similarities and differences.

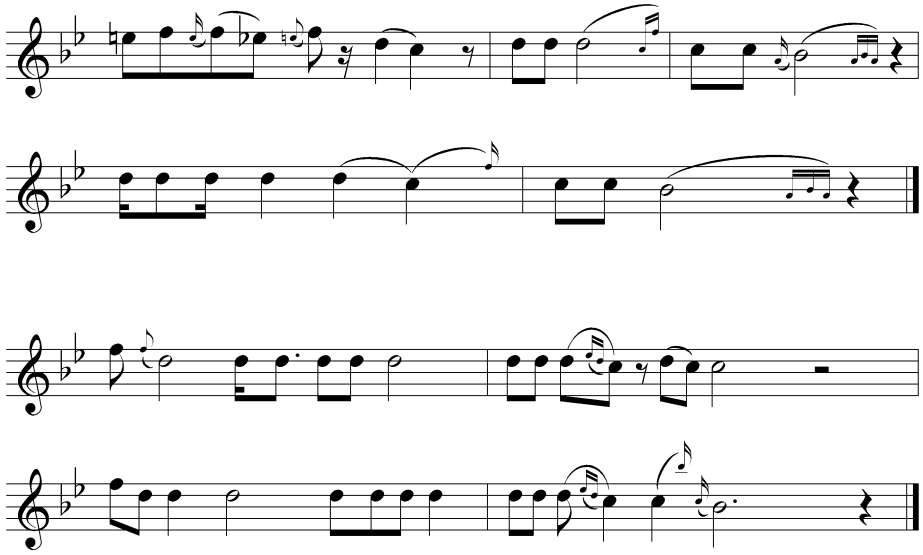
In the central form of the Mangyshlak laments, a first line with a *so-la-so-fa-mi* skeleton may be followed by a lower *fa-so-fa-mi + re* second line (*Ex. 200a*). In contrast, the central motif of the laments of the Bayan-Olgii area is a *so-mi-re-do* descent followed by a lower *mi-re-do* descent (*Ex. 200b*). The common structural feature of the lamentations of the two areas is the use of short, eight-syllable lines of 3 | 2 | 3 division, and the existence in both areas of a single-line lament form, which corresponds to the first line of the two-line form.

Is there any connection between the Kazakh lamentations on the one hand and the expressly similar Anatolian and Hungarian laments, on the other? The simplest Anatolian lament, like the Kazakh lament in Mongolia, is a lament that descends to *do* on the notes *so'-(fa)-mi-re-do* (*Ex. 200c*). The central form of Anatolian and Hungarian laments also descends most often on *so'-(fa)-mi-re-do*, but with two different line endings, one on *re* and one on *do* (*Ex. 200d*). I found only one such Kazakh lament, and that in Mangyshlak, where another lamentation structure dominates (*Ex. 200e*).

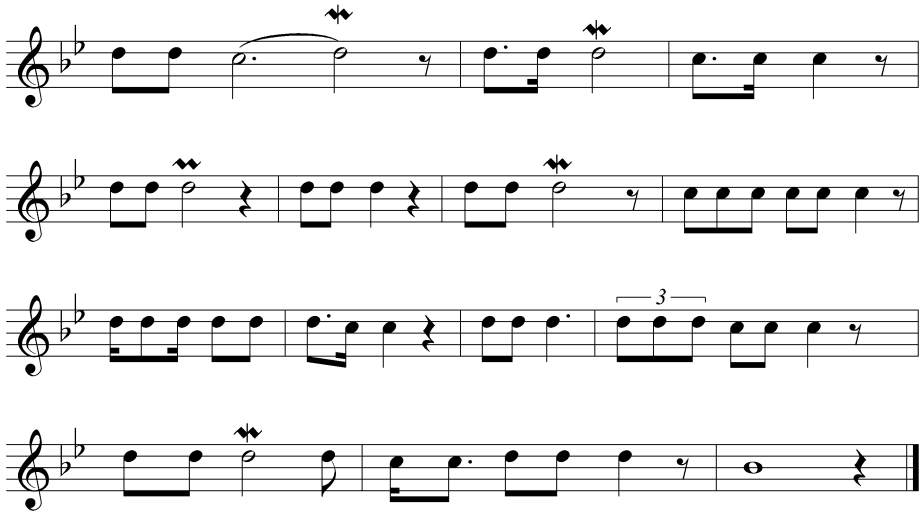
a-b)



c-d)



e)

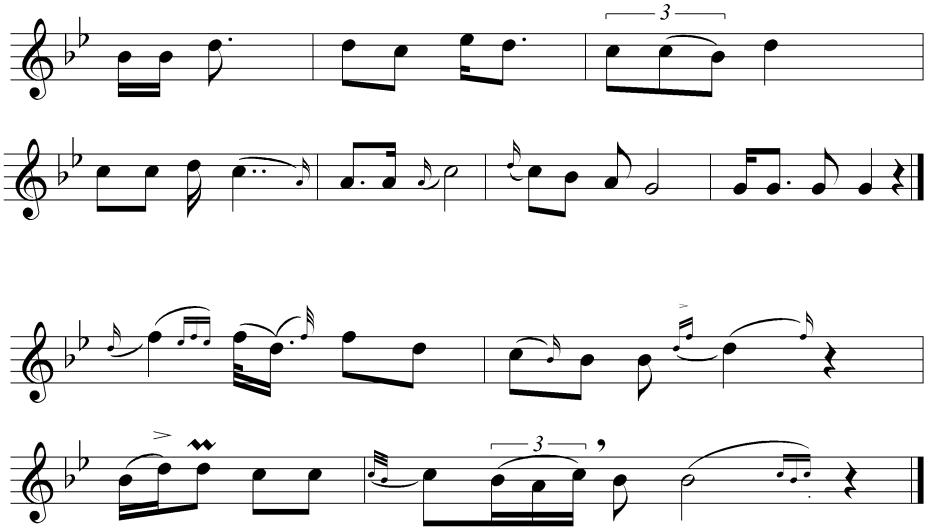


Example 200. a) one line + closing note – Mangyshlak lament, b) descending Mongolian Kazakh lament, c) single-line Anatolian lament (SIPOS 1994a: № 22), d) two-line Anatolian lament (SIPOS 1994ac: № 41), e) double-core Mangyshlak lament

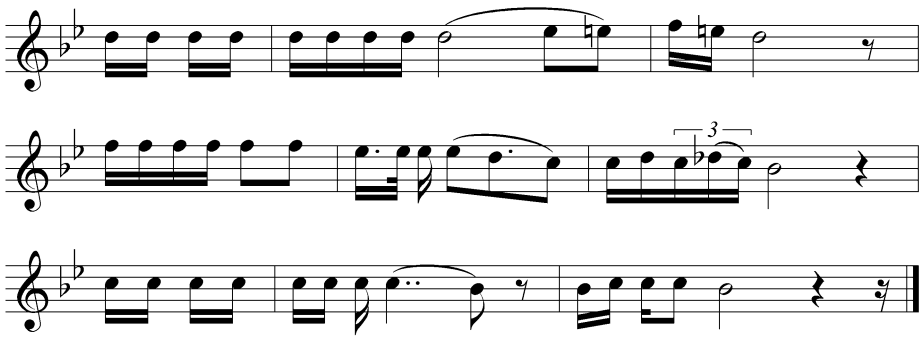
The first line of Mangyshlak laments may end, outside the more common 2nd degree (*mi*), at degrees b3, 4 or 5, while the first line of the Mongolian Kazakh two-line lamentation may only end on degree 5 besides *do*. Example 201a shows a (5) main cadence Mangyshlak lament, and Example 201b presents a Mongolian Kazakh lament with (5) main cadence. In Anatolia, too, it is not uncommon for the first line to stop at the 5th degree (*Ex. 201c*).

Despite the common features of small ambitus and two-line form, there is considerable variation between the laments of the two Kazakh areas. In contrast to the convex line of the Aeolian Mangislak melody, the first line of the *do*-pentatonic Mongolian Kazakh tune has a pronounced descent. The deviation of the second lines is even more marked. And the character of the first line of the Anatolian lament, stagnant at the 5th degree, is pregnantly different from both musical solutions.

a-b)



c)



Example 201. Laments with (5) main cadence a) Mangyshlak, b) Mongolian Kazakh, c) Anatolia

Let us draw the conclusions. The Mangyshlak and Anatolian (as well as Hungarian) laments show structural similarities with their two lines progressing below each other and ending on tones one under the other. However, their tone sets are different. The Mongolian Kazakh laments, on the other hand, have a similar tone set to the Hungarian and Anatolian laments, but their structures are different. These lamentations can be traced back to a combination of four descending or hill-shaped motives below each other. The motifs are from higher to lower: 1) *so'-la'-so'-fa-mi*, 2) *mi-so'-(fa)-mi-Re*, 3) *so'/re-mi-re-Do* and 4) *re-mi-re-do-ti*. From these motifs, the laments of each people are constructed as follows: a) Mangyshlak Kazakh: 1) and 1) + 2); b) Mongolian Kazakh: 3), c) Anatolian Turkish and Hungarian: 2), 3) and 2) + 3). Thus, the Anatolian and Hungarian laments are closest to each other, the Mongolian Kazakh lamentation is close to them, and the realm of Mangyshlak lamentations is different from them.

'Melodious' melody motions

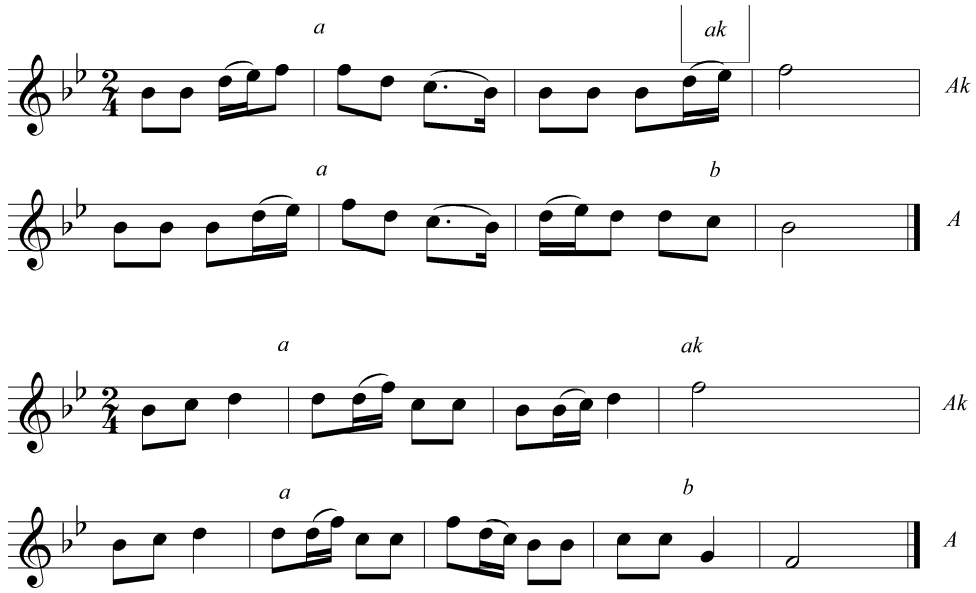
In both Kazakh areas, the first line of many tunes takes the form of a well-formed hill, valley or hill+valley. Such melody patterns are formed by more than two steps in one direction, followed by a change of direction. In the case of a descent or ascent a single step in the opposite direction can be ignored, as it does not usually change the tendency of the melody motiont. In the melody lines, a repeated or varied motivic bar structure can often be detected, for example, a wave line may be formed by the bars *a b a*.

Hill-and-vale-shaped first line

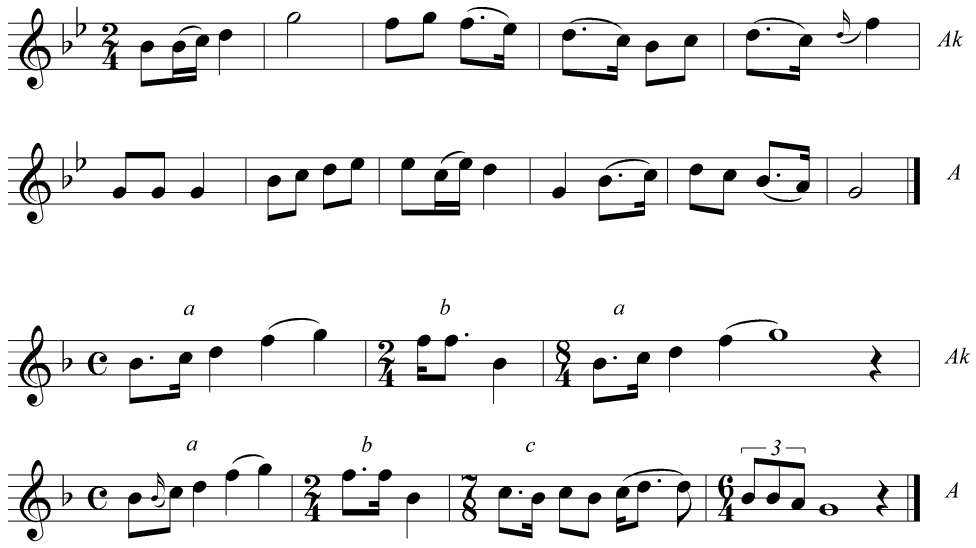
A popular solution in Mongolian Kazakh folk music is the wave- or hill-and-vale-shaped (rising-falling-rising) first line. This melody line is not only found among *do*-pentatonic songs, but it also forms a fairly significant tune group among the much rarer *la*- and *so*-pentatonic songs. This melody line also occurs in Mangyshlak, though rarely.

The following example shows tunes of different tonalities and structures, with a hill+valley shape in the first line. The *do*-pentatonic Mongolian Kazakh tune of the form a_c|a b (*Ex. 202a*) only differs in the closing section from the *so*-pentatonic Example 202b, and from the *la*-pentatonic Mongolian Kazakh wave-shaped Example 202c. Also tracing a *la*-pentatonic wave is a Mangyshlak melody (*Ex. 202d*, a rare specimen in the area), whose *do*-pentatonic Mongolian Kazakh counterpart is shown in Example 202e. This latter melody also sheds light on how an a_c a bar pair can evolve into a Mongolian Kazakh tune of a complete four-line A_cARefr.A, or more precisely a_c a | a_c b | x x |a_c b structure.

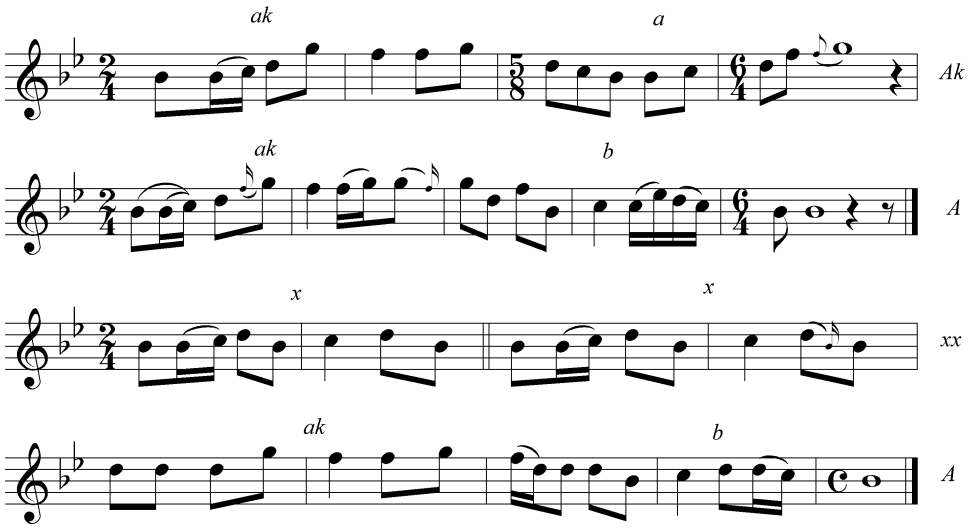
a-b)



c-d)



e)



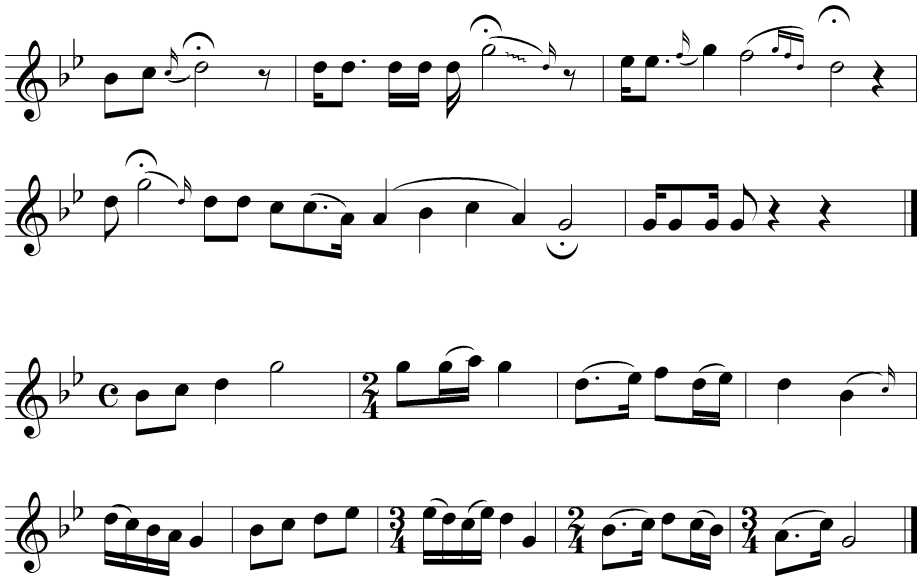
Example 202. a) Mongolian Kazakh tune with a a_c |a b structure, b) Mongolian Kazakh tune with a a_c | a b structure, c) Mongolian *la*-pentatonic wave, d) *la*-pentatonic wave from Mangyshlak, e) Mongolian Kazakh tune with A^cARefr.A line structure and $a_ca|a_cb|xx|a_cb$ bar structure

Hill-shaped first line

Tunes with first lines tracing a hill are strongly represented in the south-western Kazakh area. Even the narrow-ambitus lines of the laments here are hill-shaped, but hill-shapes can also be seen in the first lines of the medium-to broad-range *la*- and *do*-pentatonic Mangyshlak tunes, too. In contrast, in Mongolian Kazakh music, the convex form occurs only in the very rare *la*-pentatonic melodies of the region, and not even there very often.

Examples 203a and 203b show a Mangyshlak Kazakh tune and a Mongolian Kazakh melody, respectively, with a hill-shaped first line. Most typically, the Mongolian Kazakh song has had enough of the calm hill shape of the first line and begins to undulate violently in the second line.

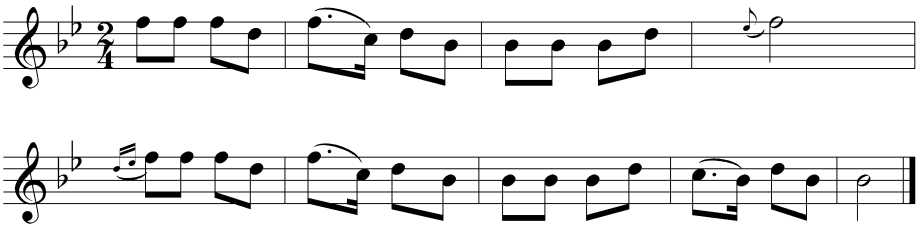
a-b)



Example 203. a) hill-shape from Mangyshlak, b) a (rare) hill-shape Mongolian Kazakh line

Valley-shaped first line

Valley-shaped first lines occur only in Mongolian Kazakh music, even there rarely, and hardly ever in a clearly defined form (*Ex. 204*). They may perhaps be regarded as a blurred version of the common hill-and-vale form, since apart from the first few notes these melodies are almost identical note for note to some tunes with a hill+valley form in their first lines.

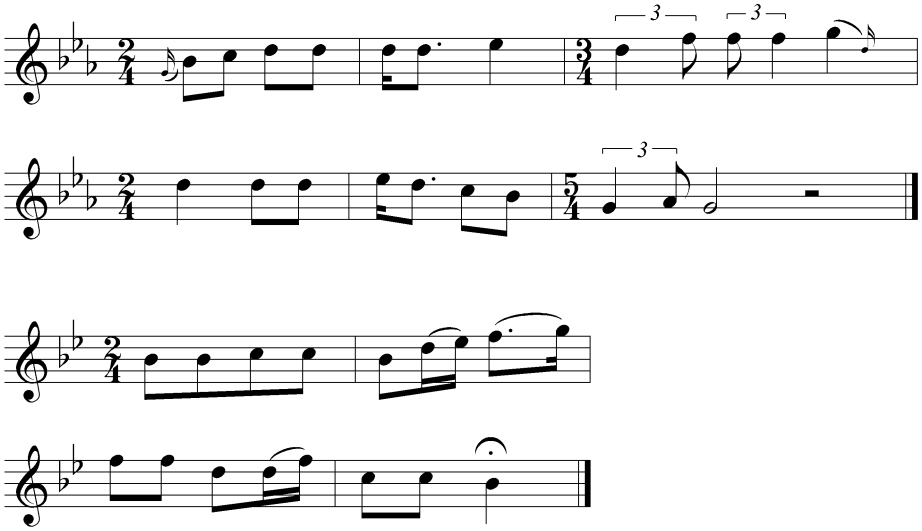


Example 204. A valley-shaped line from Bayan Ölgii

Ascending first line

Not too often, you may find rising first lines in both areas. This musical solution is not common in the folk songs of Turkic peoples. The rising first line is always followed by a descending line. This can be seen in the following example, first in a tripodic Mangyshlak tune followed by a Mongolian Kazakh melody with shorter lines (*Ex. 205a,b*).

a-b)



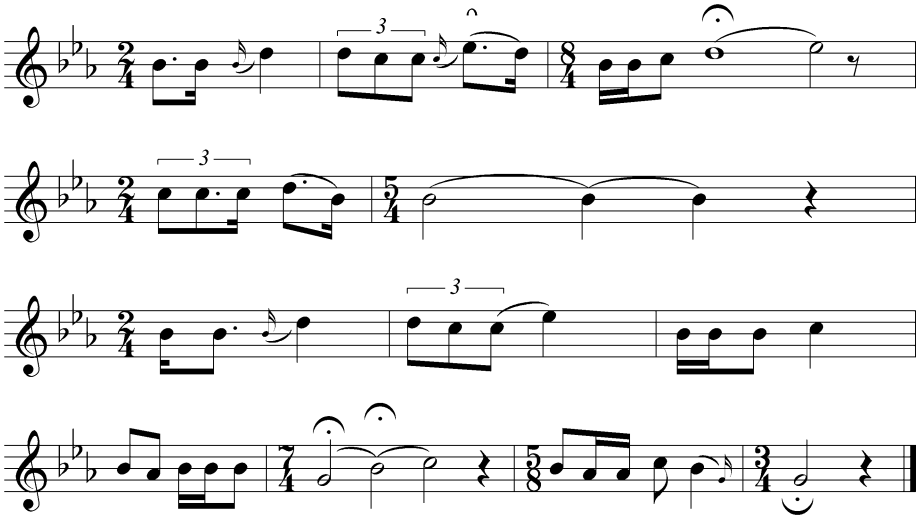
Example 205. Ascending first line, a) from Mangyshlak, b) from Mongolian Kazakhs

Recitative melody motion – psalmodic tunes

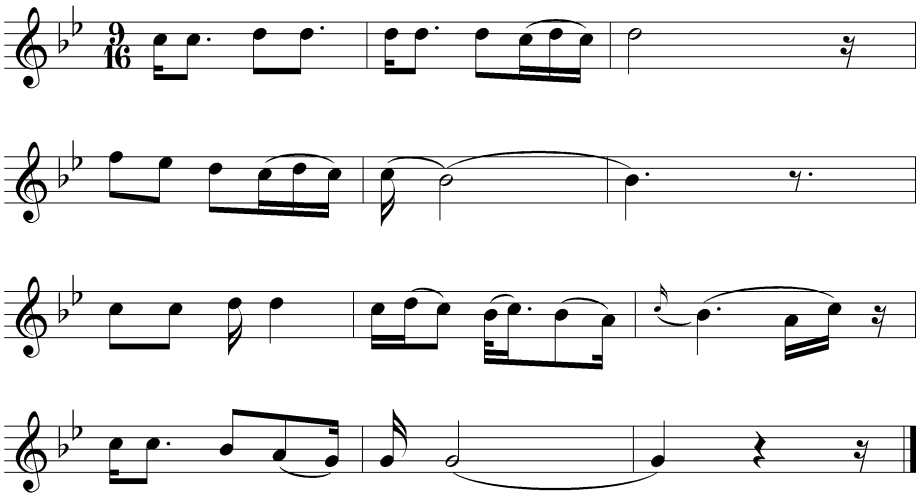
Many of the melody lines move on the notes basically of a bi-, tri- or tetrachord. That can happen without any particular plan, but there can also be a repetition of definite motifs. We see this, for example, in Mangyshlak's popular psalmodic melodies, which share the common features of rectation on the notes of the *do-re-mi* trichord, desceding tendency, and a cadential series of 5 (b3) 4. Such tunes occur in large numbers in Anatolian and Hungarian folk music. Example 206a is a

popular Mangyshlak melody, Example 206b is an Anatolian wedding song, and Example 206c is an old-style Hungarian song. The similarity of the tunes is indisputable.

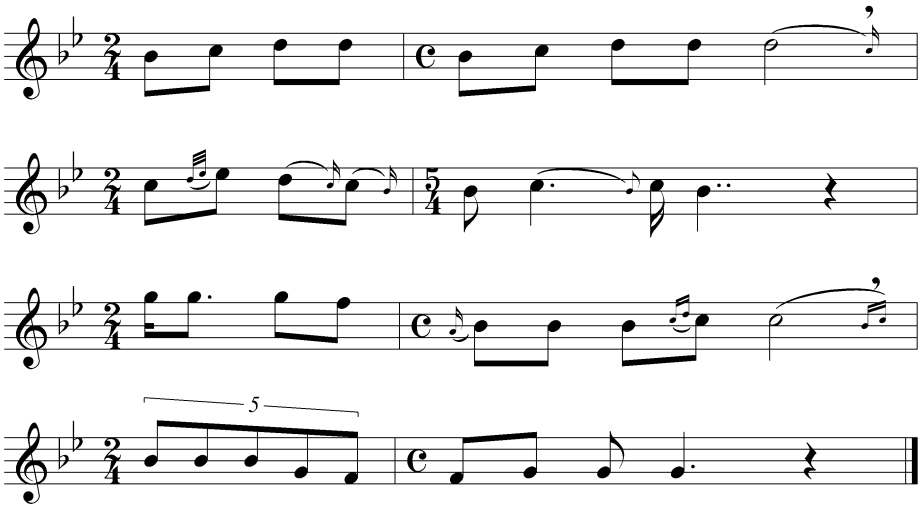
a)



b)



c)

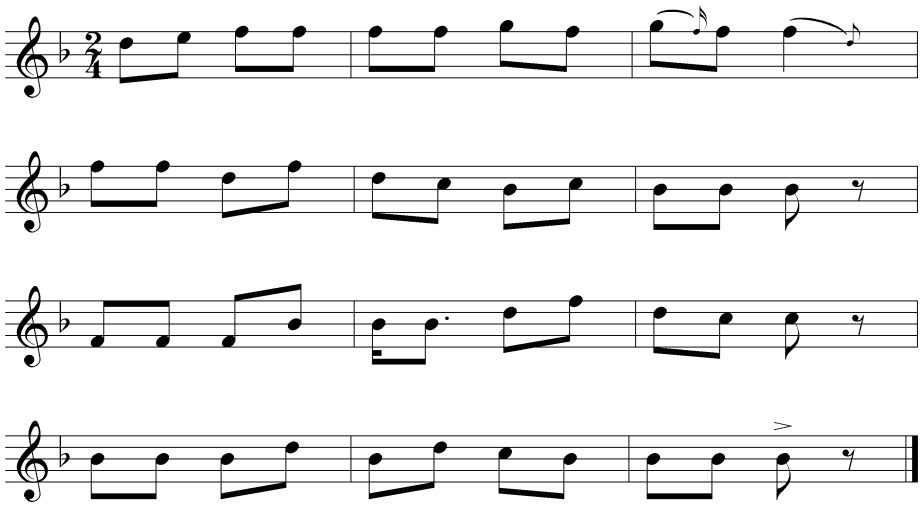


Example 206. Psalmodic tunes a) from Mangyshlak, b) Anatolian (SIPOS 1994a: № 127), c) Hungarian (KODÁLY 1976: № 176)

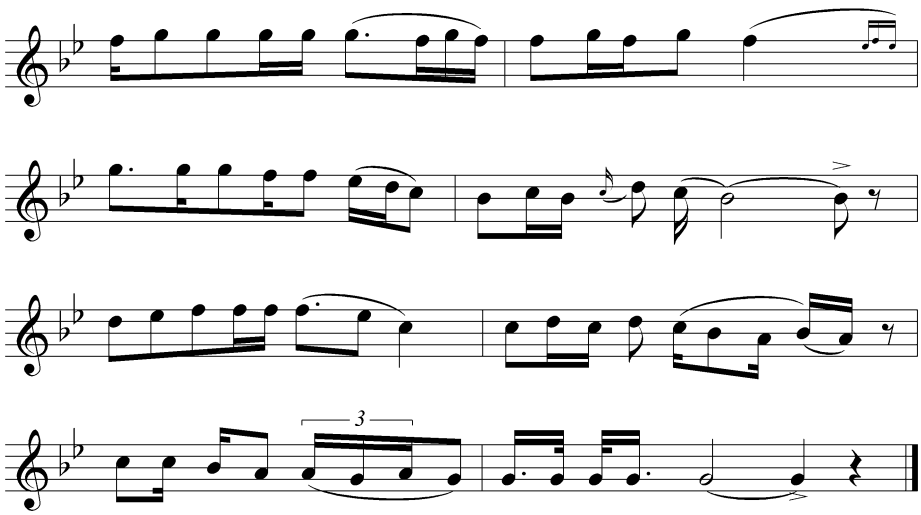
The reciting melodies include numerous Mangyshlak terme melodies, which are built up of lines that move on a few notes. Some of them remain on the *do-re-mi* trichord throughout the musical process, but some of them have a wider compass.

The Mongolian Kazakhs also have a type of psalmodic tunes whose first lines move in higher regions before they start the recitation on the *do-re-mi* trichord. Such a Mongolian Kazakh and an Anatolian tune is seen in Example 207, the Hungarian parallel is given in SIPOS 2001d: Ex.72. In addition to the similar melody motion, the tunes are linked by the cadences 7 (b3) b3/4, but their tonalities are different.

a)



b)

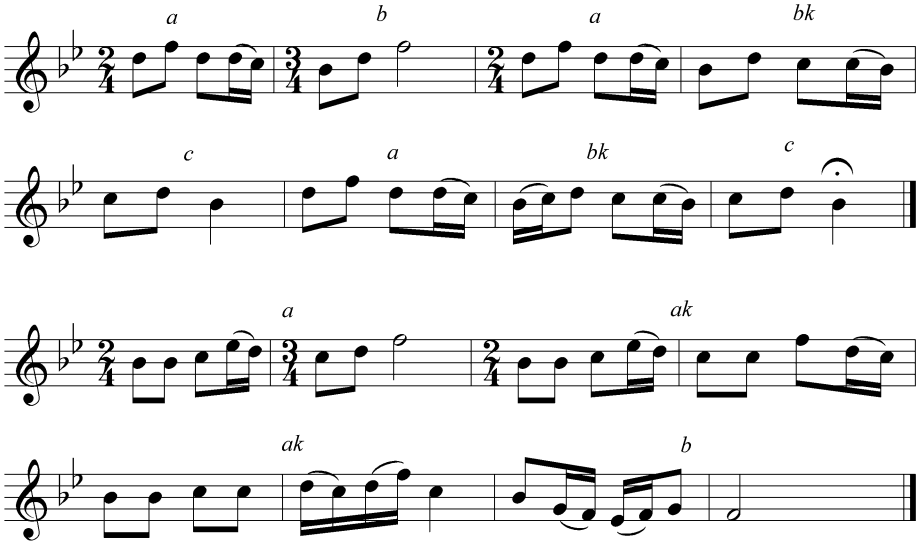


Example 207. Psalmodic tunes in higher register a) Mongolian Kazakh, b) Anatolian (SIPOS 1994a: № 114 – Hungarian analogy KODÁLY 1937-1976: № 133)

Other lines moving on tri- or tetrachords

Many of the Bayan-Ölgii tunes have a first line moving up and down on a tri- or tetrachord. The frisky impression is caused by the pentatonic steps, it is therefore understandable that while this phenomenon is typical of some Hungarian pentatonic layers, it is not very common in Anatolian and Mangyshlak melodies.

The melody motion consists of up-and-down steps on a (quasi)pentatonic set of notes of the range of a fourth or fifth. Here, too, it is not uncommon to find varied repetition of twin bars within a line, or even to have almost the entire melody built up from a single bar. It is important to note that such a structure is often found among Mongolian Kazakh religious melodies and in the more recent tune style in Mangyshlak. Example 208 shows two such Mongolian Kazakh tunes. Because of the similar motifs, there is a strong connection between the two melodies despite the tonal difference.



Example 208. Tunes hopping on tri/tetrachord notes a) *do*-pentatonic tune from Bayan-Ölgii, b) *so*-pentatonic tune from Bayan-Ölgii

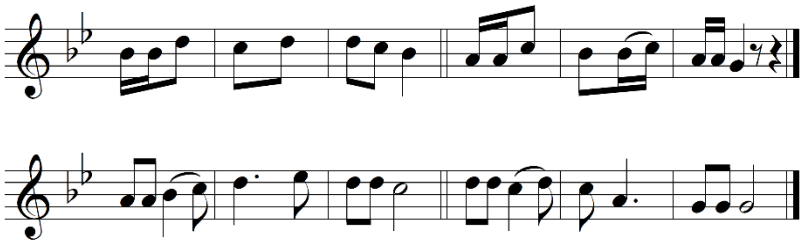
Kazakh songs from other areas

My Kazakh collections were recorded among the Aday Kazakhs of Southwest Kazakhstan and the Kazakhs of Western Mongolia. At the same time, we also find important publications on Kazakh music, and some contain certain musical analyses as well. I have looked through several volumes, but unfortunately the most important works (e.g., ZATAEVIČ 1925 and 1931) do not publish the texts of the songs. Few are the isometic Kazakh tunes, and almost always they contain longer or shorter refrains, so their structure can only be determined and analysed by knowing their texts.

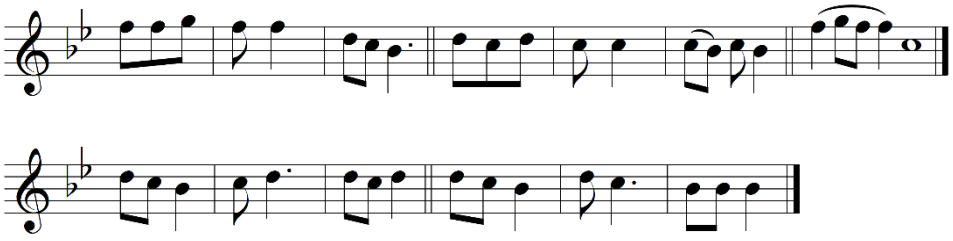
Eventually, I chose Bekhožina's work (1972) to look at the rest of the Kazakh territory.[28] The volume contains songs by Kazakhs living in Semipalatinsk (now Semey), East, North, South-East and North-West Kazakhstan, Karakalpakstan and around the Caspian estuary of the Volga. In many cases, the songs were difficult to decipher even with lyrics, because Kazakhs like to make use of the insertion of a single note or longer refrains, or to lengthen one or another value in similar phrases, which almost explodes the often ultimately isometric basis. The 200 tunes were analysed, classified and compared with the Mongolian and Southwestern Kazakh repertoire. It immediately became clear that in this enormous area, tunes of the Ionian scale was the most common, Aeolian and Phrygian were fewer, Mixolydian were very few, and only traces of pentatonic scales could be found. Below I review them by structure, form.

Unfixed structure. There are terme tunes with free structure, similar to the terme tunes I have collected.

Two short lines. Aeolian lament and lullaby tunes consist of two short, hill-shaped or rising lines, the first line usually ending at b3 or 4 (*Ex. 209a,b*). The major-character laments and lullabies are also characterized by two short lines of 4+3 or 3+2+3 division, the first line most often descending to *do*, rarely to *re*, or rising to *mi* or *so* (*Ex. 210a,b*). There is no Mixolydian tune of two short lines.



Example 209. Minor-character laments a) (b3) cadence, b) (4) cadence



Example 210. Major-character laments a) lines descending to *do*, then exceptionally a *re* close, b) first line ending on *mi*

[28] BEKHOŽINA, *Kazaktıŋ 200 eni* [200 Kazakh songs], Kazakh Academy of Sciences, Almati, 1972

Two long lines. The vast majority of tunes, regardless of key, have two long lines. The first lines are typically in the form of a hill or hill+ascent. The bulk is in full harmony with the two-line Mongolian Kazakh songs.

Four long lines. Some of the four-line tunes can be retraced to two-line forms (AABC, AB/CB, A_cABB), often with a first line that moves uncertainly up and down within a narrow tonal band, and less often with a beginning that is typical of two-line melodies. In major melodies, the 7 (b3) 7 cadential series is common, they are variants of the Jarapazan melodies I have collected. There are many individual melodies in each mode, but the notes reveal that they were collected from conservatoire-educated singers, songwriters, etc., i.e., from less authentic sources.

Songs of the Soviet times. At the end of the volume there are 34 songs from the Soviet era, as their lyrics confirm. Of these, 6 are terme-like and 13 fit into the folk song category (4 are of the hill+rise melody type). 11 songs, however, are more strongly different from the more typical Kazakh melody types and do not form melody groups. The domed structure of the Hungarian New Style can also be detected in 4 tunes, but the notes suggest that these are art songs with a known author.

This material from a larger area confirmed that most of the important Kazakh melody types are included in the Mangyshlak and Mongolian collections.

Summary

Considering the Europe-size territory of Kazakhstan and the complexity of the ethnogenesis of the Kazakh people, it was easy to foresee that we would encounter different musical dialects in Kazakh-inhabited areas. And indeed, while the Kazakh language was surprisingly unified despite the dialects, the musical differences were significant.

According to BELIAEV 1975, there are three main musical dialect areas. The melodies of South Kazakhstan (the Semirechie, the Aral Plains and the Syr-Darya Basin) are characterized by formal simplicity and rhythmic regularity. In the west, beyond the Urals and on the Caspian coast, lyric solutions predominate with sweeping melodies of a broad range on the one hand, and the terme and recitative forms are common, on the other hand. In the central regions of Kazakhstan, there is a unique richness of tunes, with advanced melodies and complex verse forms.

The typically *do*- and *so*-pentatonic melodies of the Mongolian Kazakhs are closer to the pentatonic Mongolian–Turkic melodic style, while most of the West Kazakh melodies are on scales of minor character so popular in Anatolia and the Hungarian regions. There are many indications that the music of the Kazakhs living in China also resembles that of the Mongolian Kazakhs, and there are many variants of these melodies in different areas of present-day Kazakhstan. In the two Kazakh areas studied more thoroughly, a more closed ethnogenesis is noticeable, which is probably the cause of the relatively fewer, more homogeneous musical styles. This contrasts sharply with the highly diverse folk music of Anatolia or Hungary.

We found complex relationships in the lament tunes. Some threads link the Mangyshlak lament, others link the Mongolian Kazakh mourning songs to the Anatolian counterparts. However, there is only one Mangyshlak lament, which shows almost complete identity with the Turkish and Hungarian lament. It is an important observation that the psalmodic tunes are popular in Turkic music cultures, not only in Anatolia (and in some Hungarian areas), but also in Mangyshlak. Many of the other similarities and differences are closely linked to the fact that while the *do*-pentatonic scale predominates in Bayan-Ölgii, in Mangyshlak the diatonic minor-character scale is most common. Here, too, pentatony goes together with the mobility of the melodies, which is a decisive factor in determining their character. In this respect, the folk music of the Mongolian Kazakhs is also similar to Chinese, Mongolian, Volga-Kama-Belaya-region and some Hungarian pentatonic styles, while Mangyshlak's music is closer to Anatolia.

On the basis of the above, and the available Azeri, Turkmen and Kyrgyz folk music, one might suspect that there is a large areal divergence. The upper, pentatonic zone extends from China (Uyghur) through Mongolia, the Siberian Turkic groups and the northern territories of Kazakhstan to the Volga-Kama region, and then tapers off to the Magyars, while in the southern territories, Kyrgyzstan, South Kazakhstan, the land of the Uzbeks (Tajiks), Turkmens and Azeris as far as Anatolia, pentatony only exists in traces, if at all.

The folk music of the south-western Kazakh region has little in common with the Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir or even Siberian Turkic, Uyghur, Mongolian and Chinese broad-compass melodies, which usually use a pentatonic scale. Here, modest forms predominate, and relatively informal, pre-strophic solutions are common. It is also striking that there are very few melodies performed *tempo giusto*, probably due to the surprising fact that Kazakhs do not dance. However, within the world of pentatonic music, Mongolian Kazakh folk music has its own particular colour. A detailed comparison of the Mongolian, Tatar and Mongolian Kazakh pentatonic tunes remains to be made, but we need only look carefully at the Tatar melody published in SIPOS 2001c: Ex. 36 to see the differences.

Now, not only has a new step been taken to explore the folk music of the Turkic-speaking peoples between the Volga-Kama-Belaya Basin and Anatolia, but the folk music of the Mongolian Kazakhs living further east has also been included in the comparative analysis.

Picture 12. A Kazakh bard singing and playing

Karakalpaks

The Karakalpaks are one of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, currently numbering less than 600,000. 80% of them live in the Karakalpakstan region of north-eastern Uzbekistan. Those living outside the Karakalpak areas have merged with other peoples or are in the process of assimilation. At present, there are two main groups: *on tört uru* (Kitay, Kipchak, Keneges, Mangıt) and *kongrat* (Suuluk, Jaungır), which would suggest an eastern Kipchak environment. Their language is very close to Kazakh, some even consider it a dialect of Kazakh.[29]

Their history began when the Huns, arriving in the Aral steppe from the east in the 2nd–4th centuries, intermingled with the local population, and then the area was occupied by Turkic tribes in the 6–7th centuries. Soviet Karakalpak expert Ždanko assumed Oghuz-Pecheneg elements in their ethnogenesis. He presumed that the ancestors of the Karakalpaks were christened and then became part of the eastern Nogai Horde in the 14–15th centuries. Anthropologically, we see them as a mixture of an Iranian substratum with South Siberian and Asian Mongol types.[30] They first appear in written sources in the 16th century as a people in the lower reaches of the Syr-Darya, and in the 17th century Abul Gazi mentions them in the same place: 'Sir boyında olturgan qara qalpaq' [Karakalpaks living at the river Syr].[31] At that time, they lived a semi-nomadic life, raising cattle and horses, but they were also known for farming and fishing. In the 16th and 17th centuries, under the rule of the Burahan khans, they began to settle, or at least to become semi-nomadic. The Jungarian invasion and the subsequent Kazakh pressure caused them to migrate from their old settlements by the mid-17th century, and some elements of them became part of the Khiva Khanate.[32] In 1823, the Khiva Khanate ceded Karakalpakstan to the Russian Empire. During Soviet rule, Karakalpakstan was an autonomous region, and in 1936 it became part of Uzbekistan.

Karakalpak folk music[33]

Their language is closer to Kazakh, their music to Turkmen. They also have two musical layers: the folk songs proper and the songs of the bards, but there are points of contact between the two, as illustrated by examples below.

Folksongs

Karakalpak folk songs are as simple as Azeri and Turkmen songs (*Ex. 211*). The central melodic form of the women's songs, which is built up of two short lines with (b3) main cadence and often sung in 6/8, is prominent in the material studied (*Ex. 211b*). Bards develop long compositions from two similar short lines, the two basic lines of which are shown in Example 211c. There is also a low ambitus Phrygian melody, also popular with Azeris and Turkmens (*Ex. 211d*). Less frequently, more complex folk songs can also be heard which can also be traced back to two lines, such as Example 211e with the AABB structure. Example 211f has four lines, and there is also a 4 (5) 1 cadential version.

a)

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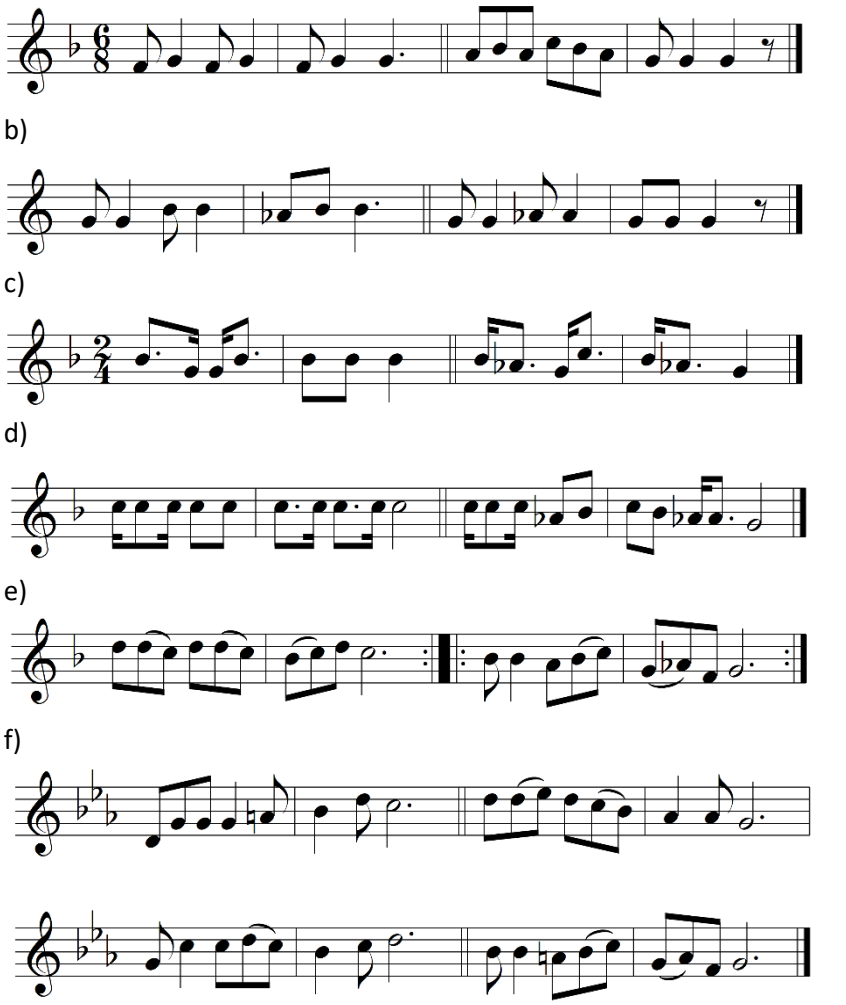
[29] MENGES 1968: 85–86.

[30] OSHANIN 1964: 29–35.

[31] ABUL GAZI 1958: 290.

[32] NURMUHAMEDOV 1971: 18–27.

[33] Sources of the cited tunes*:* Frédéric Leotar, *Asie Intérieure, vol. 1:* Karakalpakistan: La Voix des Ancêtres, Buda Records, Paris, 2008, 3017797 and Jean During, *Uzbekistan: Musical Tradition of the Karakalpaks*, Smithonian Folkways Recordings, 2013.



Example 211. Typical Karakalpak folk songs

Songs of the bards

The bards (*jiraw*) sing the heroic poems (*destan*), the termes and the tolgaws. The terme belongs to the didactic genre of 'wisdom and advice' and is sung in the form of short songs, usually 25–30 verses long. The now forgotten tolgaw (historical poem) is a longer song of up to 100–150 verses about a historical event.

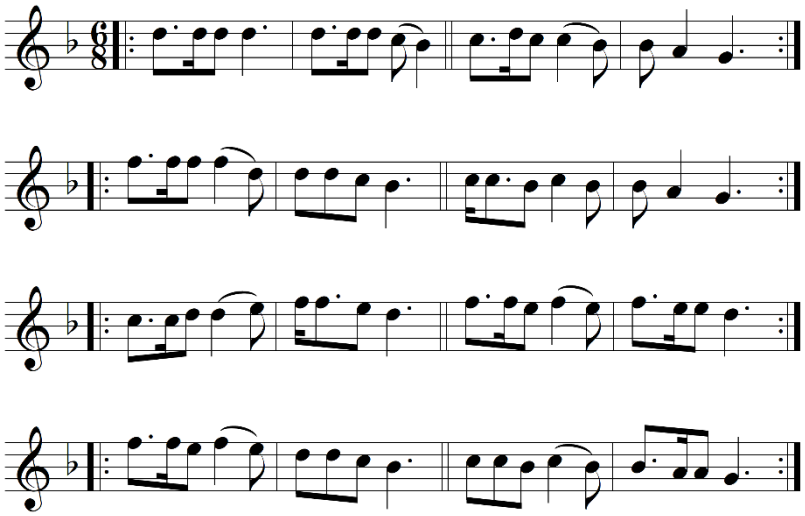
Another type of Karakalpak bards is the *baqshi*, whose songs usually revolve around topics of love and emotion. In addition to lyrical verse, their repertoire also includes poems by classical authors, occasionally using the sophisticated system of the metric verse (*aruz*) based on long and short syllables. The baqshi genre has two styles: northern and southern.

In the old days, the apprenticeship of a bard lasted for years, during which time the apprentice even did housework for his master. The master would examine him from time to time, and when he was close to perfection, he would give his blessing (*patiha* or *fatiha*) to become a jiraw or baqshi. This formal event took place before a gathering of experts. Today, many of the contemporary bards are trained in an academic setting, and accomplished artists also enrol in universities to expand their knowledge in various fields related to bard culture.

The following examples of two baqshi performances are illustrative of how increasingly complex forms are introduced as the performance progresses. The two-line melodies of Examples 212a,b are similar, but the first line of Example 212b starts from a higher position. Example 212c has

four lines with the same second part as Example 221b. Here, therefore, the simple two-line form, reminiscent of folk songs, evolves into a four-line melody with a larger range.

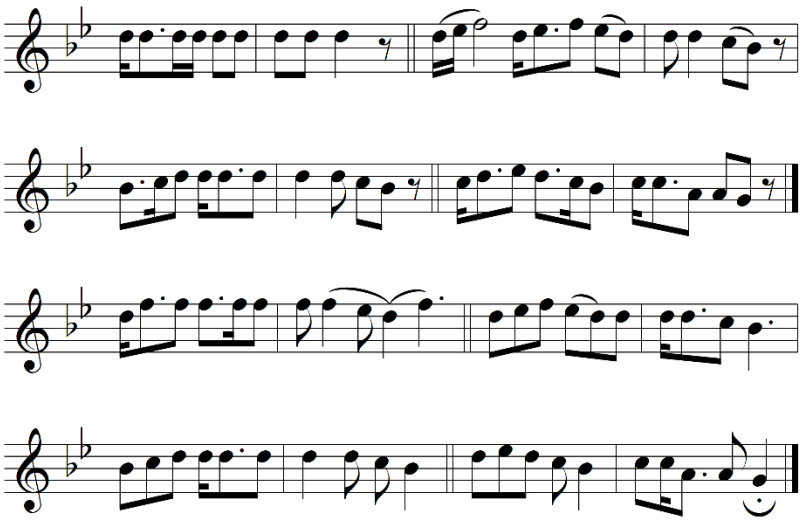
a-b)



Example 212. Melodic development in the bards' performance

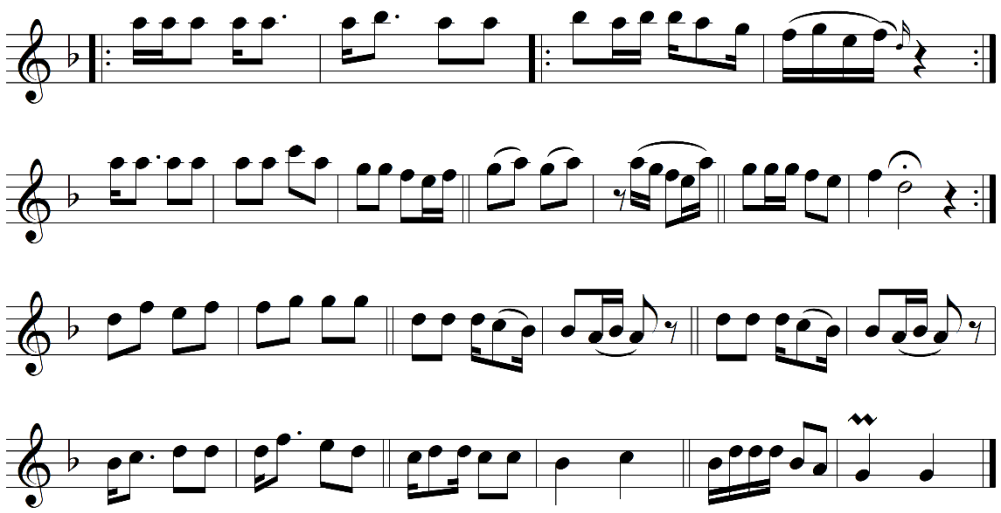
Both songs in Example 213 have four lines. Example 213a is characterised by 5 (b3) b3 cadences, ABBC form and 1–5 ambitus, while Example 213b starts higher, with 7 (b3) b3 cadences and a refrain-like ending. It is noteworthy that both forms have a psalmodic character and are thus related, among others, to Hungarian and Anatolian psalmodic tunes.

a-b)



Example 213. Melodic development in the bards' performance

Finally, I present a wider-range baqshi melody of very long lines from the *Garip* epic. It is characterized by the cadential series 7 (5) b3 and a disjunct structure A^5B^5AB, in which the first half of the melody is essentially a fifth higher than the second (*Ex. 214*).



Example 214. Excerpt from the *Garip* epic.

The repertoire of baqshis and jiraws also includes a number of other melodies, but a more detailed description of these would be beyond the scope of this study. For the moment, I will only list the most typical common features of these melodies: a) in the course of the performance, the bards move from simpler forms to more complex ones with a larger range (*Exs 212–213*), b) the structure is often more informal, with many (varied) repetitions (*Ex. 211c*), c) the melody is built up of short lines of 7–8 syllables, (d) the melody lines of the individual units descend, and d) the final note is also the lowest note of the melody (exceptionally, degree VII also occurs).

Kyrgyz people

Kyrgyzstan lies in the heart of Central Asia, bordering Kazakhstan to the north, China to the south-east, Tajikistan to the south-west and Uzbekistan to the west. It has a population of 4,574,100 and covers an area of 198,400 square kilometres. Its major cities are the capital Bishkek and to the south Osh. The country is divided into six administrative units and the capital.

Kyrgyzstan is a multi-ethnic country, the majority of its inhabitants are Muslims, the largest ethnic group being the Kyrgyz, who make up half of the population and speak a Kipchak Turkic language very similar to Kazakh. Russian is the language of communication in the country, alongside Kyrgyz. As was the case in other Soviet republics after 1990–1991, many of Kyrgyzstan's Russians migrated to Russia, found no place there and returned, but no longer as privileged citizens of the empire. Apart from Kyrgyz and Russians, there are 13% Uzbeks, 3% Ukrainians and 2% Germans. Other important ethnic groups comprise Tatar, Kazakh, Dungan, Uyghur and Tajik elements.

The Kyrgyz were traditionally nomadic pastoralists. They were gradually forced to settle after the arrival of the Russians, and since then most have been farmers, with two-thirds of the population living in villages, although recent economic difficulties have led to an accelerating migration to the cities.

Nomadic Kyrgyz are organised according to tribal rules and traditions, the most important units being the clan, extended family and tribe. The clan and extended family are organised on the paternal line, with members descended from a common ancestor and bound to a territory, whether they live there or not. The head of the extended family is one of the elders (*aksakal*), usually the head of the village. When a problem arises, the council of the aksakals gather and discuss how to

solve it. The tribe is a conglomerate of many clans, which is divided down to the clan level into sub-tribes, sub-sub-tribes, etc.[34] During the collection process, I always asked the singers to which tribe and clan they belonged.

Contemporary Kyrgyz people are divided into two tribal groups: the *otuz uul* and the *ichkilik* (inner). The *otuz uul* are divided into the *ong kanat* and the *sol kanat* (right and left wing). Several of their tribal and clan names also occur among their neighbours (e.g., Kitay, Kushchu, Kipchak, Nayman, Kungrat). In the northern part of the country, there are only a few major tribes, the most important of which are the Solto, Saiak, Saribagish and Bugu. In contrast, in southern Kyrgyzstan there are many small tribes. It is intriguing that Kyrgyz people do not vote by party platforms, but according to the tribal affiliation of the party leader: important elements of ethnic organisation survived in the Soviet era and live on even today.

Over the last one hundred years, the country has undergone rapid modernisation. Factories, roads, airports, power stations have been built, and the education system has reached even the most remote villages. Today Kyrgyzstan is probably the most democratic republic in Central Asia.

On Kyrgyz ethnogenesis

The Kipchak tribal confederation played a crucial role in the formation of a number of peoples (such as the Nogais, Bashkirs, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz), and played a slightly less important role in the formation of the Turkmens and the Siberian Turks. The Kipchaks in the Golden Horde were later joined by Mongol tribes, which then became Kipchakized. The main distinguishing feature of the different groups was the proportion of the different elements involved. Thus, in addition to the Kipchak and Kangli forces, we also find Kipchakized Mongols in many, if not all, peoples (Nayman, Kungrat, Mangit, Jalayir, Kerey, Duglat).

The first sources about the Kyrgyz appear in Chinese chronicles written in the 2nd millennium BC. The formation of the people involved many ethnic groups living in the vast territories of southern Siberia and Central Asia. In the 4th–3rd centuries BC, the ancient Kyrgyz were involved in the formation of a powerful nomadic tribal confederation that posed a serious threat to China. The construction of the Great Wall of China also began at that time. In the 2nd–1st centuries BC, some of the Kyrgyz tribes migrated to the Yenisei and Lake Baikal, where they founded the Kyrgyz Khanate, which existed in the 6–13th centuries. This was the central place where the Kyrgyz people and culture developed, and where their first written works and runic inscriptions on stone monuments appeared.

From the mid-9th to the early 10th century, the great Kyrgyz Khanate included southern Siberia, Mongolia, the Baikal, the upper Irtysh, parts of Kashgar, the Issiq Köl and Talas. By the 11–12th centuries, however, the Khanate had been reduced to the area around the Altai and the Sayan. The last phase of the Kyrgyz ethnogenesis was associated with the Mongols, the Oyrats, the Naymans and other Central Asian peoples. Until the 18th century, the Yenisei Kyrgyz lived under the rule of the Golden Horde and later the Oyrat Jungar Khans.

The question has been raised as to whether the Kyrgyz of today are related to the earlier Yenisei Kyrgyz. The relationship implies migration, language change, as well as ethnic and physical change, because unlike today's Kyrgyz, the Yenisei Kyrgyz had a dominant Europid component. However, a major change over the centuries would not be extraordinary. Johanson (2001: 30) opines that the *Fuyü* Turkic population living in China today is the intermediary link.[35] Their endonym is Gïrgïz, which can only refer to a connection with the Yenisei Kyrgyz.

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[34] HVOSLEF 1997: 96–108.

[35] JOHANSON 2001: 30.

Soviet anthropologists date the beginning of Mongol admixture to the Hun period (late 3rd century BC – 4th century AD). In their opinion, the Mongolid anthropological type became predominant in the Genghisid period.[36] According to them, the physical difference between the Yenisei and the Tienshan Kyrgyz would not mean discontinuity, but only mixing with other peoples.

More recent theories emphasize that there may be at most a marginal relationship between the two peoples. Kyzlasov considers the Khakas to be the result of the intermixture of the Yenisei Kyrgyz and the Turkified Palaeo-Siberian people.[37] He traces the ancestry of the Tienshan Kyrgyz to the Kipchaks and other tribes who in ancient times lived in the area between the Altai Mountains and Xinjiang. He believes that the Tienshan Kyrgyz may be descendants of the Kyrgyz of Inner Asia, a Turkic group that took the name Kyrgyz as a political name and who in the early Genghisid period were not around the Yenisei but in northern Mongolia, from where they migrated to their present location.

Abramzon also interprets in the name of the Tienshan Kyrgyz as a political rather than an ethnic name. In his reconstruction, East Tienshan, rather than the Yenisei, serves as the unifying crucible of the present-day Kyrgyz people. According to him, the Kyrgyz people emerged in the 14–17th centuries, merging local Turkic tribes of the former Turkic, Uyghur, Yenisei Kyrgyz and Karahanid states with groups from southern Siberia and Inner Asia, as well as Mongol and eastern Kipchak (Kazakh-Nogai) tribes. In his opinion, the various migrations were caused by the Mongol invasion, some migrations may have occurred even earlier, and there was no mass Kyrgyz migration from the Yenisei.[38] Petrov holds a similar view, but attributes a greater role to the Yenisei area.[39]

Following Kyzlasov's theory, Soucek sees the Yenisei Kyrgyz as a Turkified Samoyed and Ostyak population. They were dominated by Turkic Kyrgyz who may have spoken a Kipchak tongue. The Tienshan Kyrgyz, on the other hand, emerged in the 13–16th centuries from nomadic elements that migrated into the area during the Genghisid period, absorbing the earlier Iranian-Sogdian settled population and the Islamized Turkic peoples. According to Soucek, it was not Genghis but the Oyrat pressure that displaced the Kyrgyz from their ancestral homeland of the Irtysh-Yenisei area. It is unclear how much role the Yenisei Kyrgyz played in this, and whether their ethnic name spread as a political name adopted by other groups or whether they themselves migrated. Either way, the Kyrgyz of the Yenisei had disappeared by the 18th century, and Soucek believes that modern Kyrgyz are largely a creation of the Soviets.[40]

The problem remains unsolved. There is no evidence that masses of Kyrgyz migrated from the Yenisei to Tienshan, but the Kyrgyz name somehow made its way from the Yenisei group to its current bearers. Was it a true ethnonym or just a political name, it is impossible to say for sure. However, an ethnic link between the two groups cannot be ruled out.

The linguistic link with the Altay Turks may suggest an old Siberian Kipchak base, where Kipchak-speaking peoples may have come into contact with the Yenisei Kyrgyz. Other explanations are possible, but the connection with the eastern Kipchaks of Genghisid times is indisputable; it can be observed in tribal names, clan names and language. According to Menges, the Kipchak character of the Kyrgyz language is the result of close coexistence with the Kazakhs after the Kyrgyz settled in the Tienshan areas.[41]

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[36] Abduşelişvili et al. 1968: 5, 34.
[37] Kyzlasov 1960.
[38] Abramzon 1963: 21–70.
[39] Petrov 1963: 23–32.
[40] Soucek 2000.
[41] Menges 1955.

My folk music collecting trips among the Kyrgyz people

Hungarian researchers have long been studying the relatives of the Hungarian people and culture in the East. Several of them have visited the territory of present-day Kyrgyzstan, such as Ármin Vámbéry, György Almásy and Gyula Princz, and later myself, too.[42]

In 2002 and 2004, I collected songs in three large areas, mainly songs that the Kyrgyz people attributed to their own folk culture. These included laments of great antiquity, religious songs and Soviet hits, the latter of which I have included and presented for contrast. Adjacent to the centrally located Issyk-Kul, Naryn region is one of the most isolated, poorest and, accordingly, best preserved traditional areas of Kyrgyzstan. Talas in the north is more strongly influenced by Kazakhs, while Tajik and Uzbek influences prevail in the south.

The first fieldwork took place in September 2002 around the village of Barskoon by the Issyk-Kul, from where we started collecting songs in the surrounding villages, precisely 220 songs from 54 respondents in 25 locations. The majority of the songs were traditional folk songs, but also included newer songs from the Soviet era. Instrumental songs, information about the songs, pictures from village life and interviews complete the collection. Subsequently, I made two more collections in Bishkek: one from a woman from the Osh region and one from the kobuz and vocal artist Nurak Abdirahmanov. The southern Kyrgyz population around Osh being of particular interest because of their stronger Islamic faith and different culture, I later added to this southern material melodies from the collection of Dávid Somfai Kara. In the poor, closed Naryn provine relatively free from external influence, I chose the village of At-Basi, near the Chinese border, as my centre and worked there, and in the surrounding villages. The situation in terms of folk music collection in this area was better than in the area along the Issyk-Kul, as the quantity and especially the musical quality of the 330 songs collected showed. I collected the songs from 86 men and women in 10 villages, and in the yurts of summer quarters.

The continuation of the Kyrgyz collection was made necessary by the fact that, despite the large number of melodies recorded, until the last day of the collection, previously unknown melodies kept turning up. First, I returned to Naryn province, then I went to Talas and made a very good collection in villages, again with a daily crop of around 70 tunes. The 2004 trip was even more productive and useful than the one in 2002, with 576 tunes recorded from 216 singers in 22 locations. The strong variability of the songs, a fundamental characteristic of Kyrgyz instrumental and vocal music culture, was again evident. It cannot be a sign of decline or oblivion, because it is also a characteristic of the performance of excellent folk singers and professional instrumentalists.

In Kyrgyzstan, the sharp decline of popular culture began in the 1930s, during the period of colonisation. At that time, many things (such as headgear) were banned, but not folk songs, which lost their life-giving milieu. It is a wonder that in so many places they have survived into the early 21st century. Those who were children in the 1930s and ‘40s still encountered a living culture, or at least strong memories of it. The next generation had hardly any, blown away by communism. Apart from the lament, the more traditional tunes were known only by those over 65–70, but even from their weakening memories one could only coax out the tunes with persistent, painstaking work. Here we are truly in the final hour. In a few decades, this generation will die out, and with them the memory of the old layers of Kyrgyz folk music will disappear. Of course, we have only been able to collect the relics of the past, but this is the only possible way to add to the earlier collections, to document and scientifically present the current village melodic repertoire and to try to reconstruct the folk songs of this once nomadic people. The value of the research is enhanced by the fact that no collection of this kind, which is areal and takes into account tribal music, has been carried out in Kyrgyzstan before.

[42] VÁMBÉRY 1867, ALMÁSY 1901, 1903 and 1904, KUBASSEK 1993, and MÁNDOKY 1993.

The material recorded can therefore be used not only to draw musical conclusions but also to draw linguistic and cultural inferences.

On earlier Kyrgyz folk music research

PFENNIG 1889 published several Kyrgyz folk songs in his study *O kirgizskih i sartskih narodnye pesnjah*. Also important is LACH's 1952 volume of songs by prisoners of war of World War I, including Kyrgyz informants. ZATAEVICH 1934 published a relatively large and reliable collection of lamentations, epic passages, Islamic religious songs for the fasting month, love songs, dirges and many pieces with fanciful names. Although the dynamic signs in the musical scores, among other things, often suggest that the singers were not always simple people, the material is undoubtedly valuable. A not insignificant problem, however, is that the Russian Zataevich did not speak Kyrgyz, so there is little text underneath the melodies. In the case of isometric melodies, evaluation would not be an insoluble problem, but the majority of Kyrgyz folk songs are not isometric. In addition to Azeri, Turkmen and Kazakh folk music, an overview of Kyrgyz folk music is given in the works of BELJAJEV 1962 and BELIAEV 1975, but only twenty examples of Kyrgyz folk music are included.

Finally, among the most recent works, the book co-authored by DUŠALIEV–LUZANOVA 1999 about traditional Kyrgyz music culture should be highlighted. The volume contains sheet music for 48 vocal and 13 instrumental melodies. Although the book contains some musical analyses, no classification or comparative analysis has been made. Further bibliographies of Kyrgyz folk music can be found in BELIAEV 1939, 1952, 1954, 1962; DUŞALIEV–LUZANOVA 1999, 238–245; EMSHEIMER 1943b, 34–63; SLOBIN 1969a, 2005; WATERMAN ET AL. 1950, and LACH 1952.

My own material includes 1500 collected, transcribed and analysed Kyrgyz melodies, of which 426 have been published in Sipos 2014. The large amount of this personally collected material allowed for deeper musical analysis, classification and comparative evaluation.

Genres

The Kyrgyz name for song is *ir* or *obon*. Within this, several genres are related to the traditional Kyrgyz pastoral way of life, such as the *bekbekey* song of girls and women guarding their lambs from wolves at night, or the *shirildang* song of shepherds leading their herds to pasture. The tunes of both genres are characterised by narrow ambitus, simple A^cA form and undulating melodic progressions.

We know of the *Op maida* threshing song, which belongs more to the southern regions, but it did not occur in my collection, its melodic pattern (6/8): *do-re-mi mi-re | do-re-do ti-so | so-so do-do*. As we shall see, the typical *do-ti-so* and *so-do* turns of the song are common in many other melodies of Kyrgyz folk music, including laments. There are also weaving and spinning songs, as well as melodies sung for churning butter, weaving carpets, hand-milling, milking, etc.

In everyday life, there are lamentations, farewell songs, lullabies, children's songs, girls' songs, lyrical songs, mocking songs and humorous songs. The repertoire of lyrical songs is the richest, mainly on themes of love, family, nature and animals. The most important genres are *seketbay*, *küygön* (about passionate love) and *arman* (a plaintive, sad song).

Laments and bride's farewell songs are characterised by a well-described musical form in the music of many peoples. Kyrgyz lamentations, for example, have two basic forms. The first is a hill-shaped variable line, with a possible fourth leap up at the beginning of the lines and a leap down at the end: *(so)-do-re-mi fa | re-re-mi-fa-mi-re do-(so),* and less frequently the same melody on a scale of minor character: *(mi,)-la-ti-do re | do-re-do-ti la-(mi,).* The other form of the lament is characterised by lines moving on a major (or minor) hexachord and ending on adjacent notes; in this respect, and in terms of its genre and its free-rhythm, improvisatory delivery, the tunes of this Kyrgyz melodic style are similar to the most typical (small) forms of Hungarian, Anatolian and Azeri lament.

The Kyrgyz lamentations are closely related to the *kiz uzatuu* 'bride's farewell' songs, and, as one of the most important groups of Kyrgyz folk music, this musical form is also found among other

genres of Kyrgyz folk songs in smaller and larger forms, with longer and shorter lines, and in a variety of ambituses and scales.

The *lullaby* is also an important genre, both for its ancient features and for its impact on the people's musical world, since the impressions made early in life remain of great importance later in life. Like lullabies of other peoples, Kyrgyz lullabies are mostly simple. However, they are also quite varied, as is shown by the fact that this genre is found in different classes of Kyrgyz folk song systems. I will mention in particular a popular Phrygian lullaby type, similar melodies to which are also found in large numbers among Azeri and Turkmen tunes, also in the lullaby genre.

The repertoire of *lyrical songs* is the richest, including love songs (*seketbay, küygön*), *arman* 'plaintive' song and songs about family, nature and animals. Their melodies represent the most developed and varied forms of Kyrgyz folk music (see, for example, the position of love songs in the most diverse tune classes).

The Kyrgyz are Muslims, but Islam only began to spread more intensively among them in the 17th and 18th centuries. Therefore, like the Kazakhs and, to some extent, the Uzbeks and Tajiks, they have preserved many shamanistic and animist elements, and many pre-Islamic customs have survived among them. During the fasting month of Ramadan, they sing their religious songs called Jaramazan (Ya, Ramadan or Ay, Ramadan), which, although different in structure and metrics from most traditional Kyrgyz melodies, are closely related in many details.

Classification of Kyrgyz tunes

In presenting the types, groups, classes and styles of Kyrgyz folk songs, I have tried to move from simpler to more complex forms: motivic twin-bar tunes are followed by single- and double-line melodies and their derivatives, and then come the four-line melodies. Within each group, the melodies generally follow each other in the order of ascending cadences.

The lines of Kyrgyz folk songs are typically built of 7-, 8- or 11-syllabic lines, and 7- and 8-syllable lines and their extended forms may alternate within a melody. Given similar melodic lines, I have therefore not distinguished melodies with 7- and 8-syllable lines in the classification. The decidedly longer and mostly tripodic 11-12-syllable or extended 8-syllable songs, on the other hand, were placed in a separate group, after the group of 7- and 8-syllabic tunes that are similar in terms of melodic progression and cadences.

I have ranged the tunes in minor- and major-character modes (mainly Ionian and Aeolian) in separate blocks. I have not separated melodies with pentatonic features from those with diatonic scales, because the former are very rare in Kyrgyz folk music. However, I have treated the religious Jaramazan melodies separately because of their distinctive structure and their specific musical content.

Together with the two-line (AB) melodies, I present those double-core tunes in which the consecutive variations of one line are followed by the consecutive variations of another line (ABB, AAB, AAAB, ABBB, AABB, AABBBB...). For the purposes of the arrangement, I also consider songs in the form AB|CB, which rest in the middle of the melody on the final note and end there, as two-lined or two-core tunes. In contrast, I have classified the songs in the form AB|AC as four-lined.

The melodies were arranged in five blocks of different size and importance:

1) Twin-bar tunes: a) bouncing on the *do-so* bitony, b) moving around the middle note of a trichord, c) the *bekbekey* group and Phrygian tunes, d) beginning with a descending or hill-shaped line, and e) jumping off at the end of a line.

2) Tunes of major character: a) one- and two-line lamentations and their relatives, b) two-line melodies with main cadence (5), (6), (7) and (8) and their four-line counterparts, and c) 'true' four-line tunes,

3) Tunes of minor character: a) single and double-line laments and their relatives, b) tunes with (4) and (5) main cadence, c) four-line tunes, and d) valley-shaped, ascending or undulating first lines,

4) Jaramazan melodies: forms of major and minor character, and

5) Dome-shaped melodies.

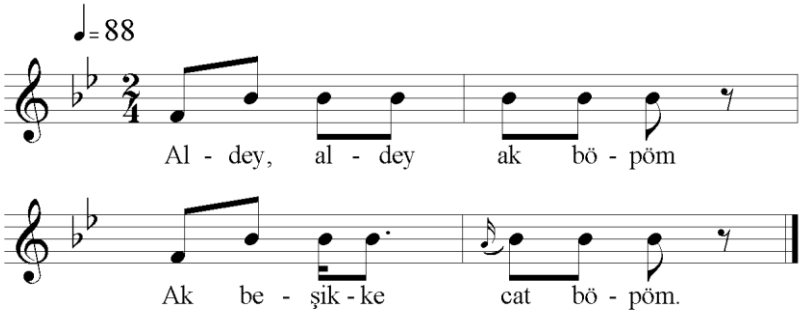
Let us review the blocks, illustrating the main groups with a typical tune each.

1) Twin-bar tunes

Songs with a motivic structure are found in a wide variety of folk music, and if they may have fallen out of the repertoire by now, they most likely existed in the past. In classifying them, attention should be paid to the fact that a small form amplifies differences in a melodic line, and small musical gestures that might seem secondary in a wider-ambitus four-line tune may be significant here. In terms of melodic motion, Kyrgyz twin-bar tunes can be divided into three classes: 1) those that bounce up and down on a few notes, 2) those that move around the middle note(s) of a tritone/trichord or tetratone/tetrachord, and 3) those that form descending or hill-shaped lines.

1.1. Group of twin-bar tunes based on the do-so bitone

The simplest melodies of Kyrgyz folk music include epic songs (such as those of the *Manas* epic), lullabies, swaying songs (*selkinchek*) and some instrumental melodies. The most elemental of these are also the *so-do* bitony forming twin-bar tunes of *so-so-do-do | do-do do* outline (*Ex. 215*), to which a longer, freely performed final formula may be attached. The *so-do* interval occurs in many pentatonic or pentatony-based folk songs, and, as we shall see, lament lines in Kyrgyz folk music, which is essentially not pentatonic, often begin and/or end with this step.



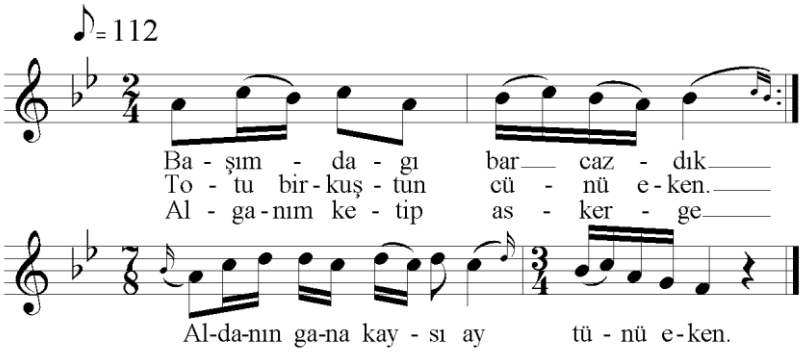
Example 215. Twin-bar tune moving on the *so,-do-(re)* bi/tritony

1.2. Twin-bar tunes based on a rotating motion

The melodic line around the middle notes of tri- or tetrachords is quite common in the music of many Turkic and non-Turkic peoples. The genre of these songs is often archaic, for example in Anatolia or in the Hungarian regions, such as children's play songs, rain magic songs, etc. Unlike the former group, this is a form of music that is foreign to pentatonic music. The intonation of the notes is also often uncertain and varies during the performance, so that the movement around the middle note of the minor third can alternate with the rotation of a major third or recitation on two tones.

1.2.1.Twin-bar tunes rotating on the *re-Do-ti* trichord. In Kyrgyz folk music, the rotating motifs most often move on the notes of the *re-Do-ti* trichord. This nucleus is common in the recitation of the *Manas* epic, and the *do-re-re-re/re-ti-do* motif that evolves from it seems to be one of the basic motifs of Kyrgyz folk music. This musical form is also found, if not as frequently, in other Turkic musics, for example, similar movements characterize the lines of some Kazakh terme tunes.[43] Lines revolving on the *re-Do-ti* core often end with more freely performed *mi-re-so* or *re-ti-so* descending on a tritone (*Ex. 216*). I will present the pentatonic motifs descending on the *so'-mi-re-do-so* notes in more detail later.

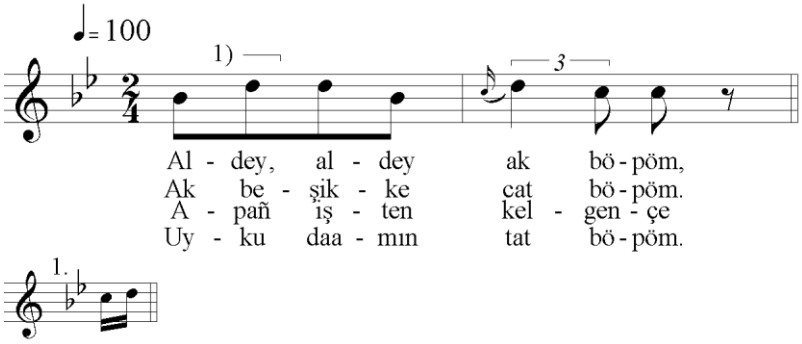
[43] SIPOS 2004: 35–43.



Example 216. Twin-bar tune built on rotating motifs

1.2.2. Twin-bar tunes rotating on the middle note of the *(fa)-re-Do-la tritone.*
A single tune of this kind has been found.

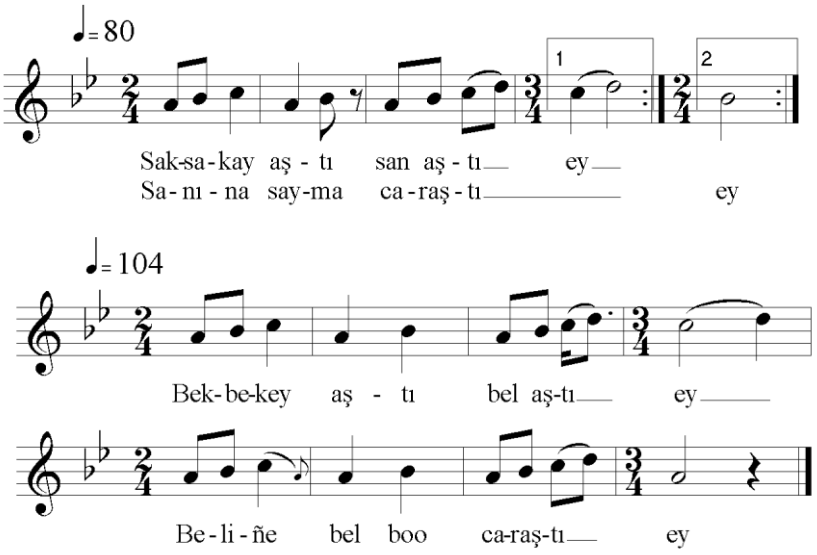
1.2.3.Rotating motion on the *mi-Re-do* trichord. It occurs among the twin-bar tunes of many Turkic and other peoples. Apart from Example 217, there are hardly any such Kyrgyz melodies, and those that exist differ considerably. These few simple melodies, which can hardly be classified elsewhere, rather illustrate how atypical the movement around the middle note of the *mi-re-do* trichord is in Kyrgyz folk music.



Example 217. Twin-bar song rotating on the *mi-Re-do* trichord

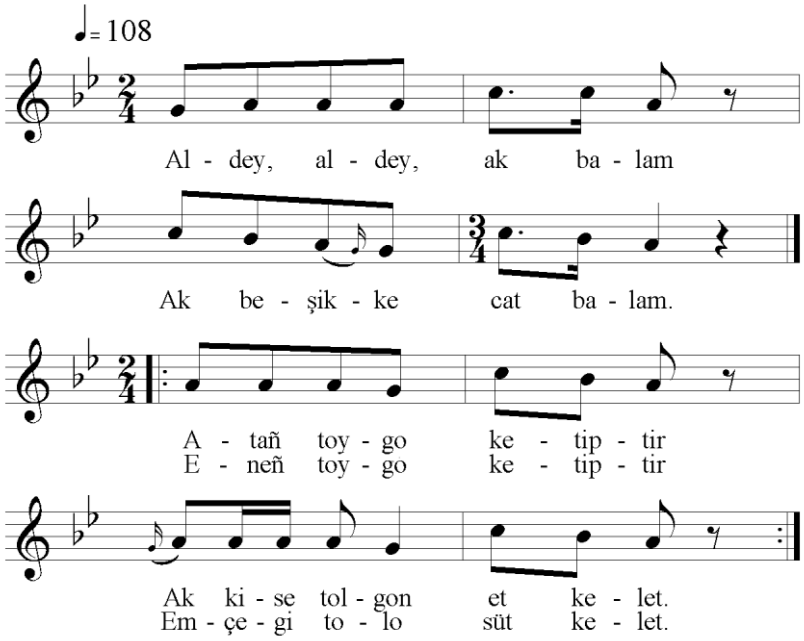
1.2.4. Two-lined ‘bekbekey’ songs. The bekbekey melody, still popular in Kyrgyzstan today, moves on the Phrygian *ti-do-re* trichord and ends on *do* (*Ex. 218*). The structure of the melody is a^c |a a_c (a = *ti-do re* | *ti do*), which is why it is included in the motivic song group.

a-b)



Example 218. Two-lined Ionian and Phrygian bekbekey songs

1.2.5a. There is also a Phrygian-cadence version of the two-line bekbekey melody (*Ex. 218b*), which also shows some connections with the twin-bar tunes revolving around the middle note of the *re-do-Ti-la* trichord (*Ex. 219*). The importance of the latter is shown by the fact that many lullabies are also of this construction. Although one of the central tetrachords of Azeri folk music is the Phrygian, the lines of Azeri melodies are never rotating, but descending or in the shape of a hill.



Example 219. Single-core tune rotating around the middle note of the *re-do-ti-(la)* tri/tetrachord

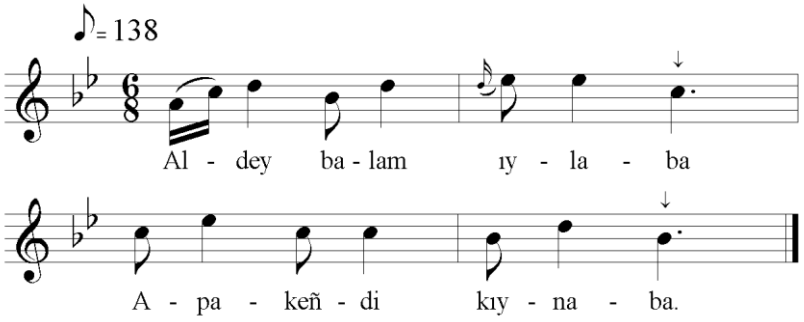
Two sub-groups of *tempo giusto* tunes with  rhythmic patterns, mostly consisting of two short lines, follow. I discuss these melodies here because of their similarity to Phrygian *bekbekey* songs, since most of them move on a Phrygian tetrachord. The tunes of the two groups show strong similarities to populous Phrygian Anatolian, Azeri and Turkmen song groups. It seems

that we are dealing here with an old layer of Central Asian Turkic folk music, which is confirmed by the fact that many of the group's songs are lullabies.

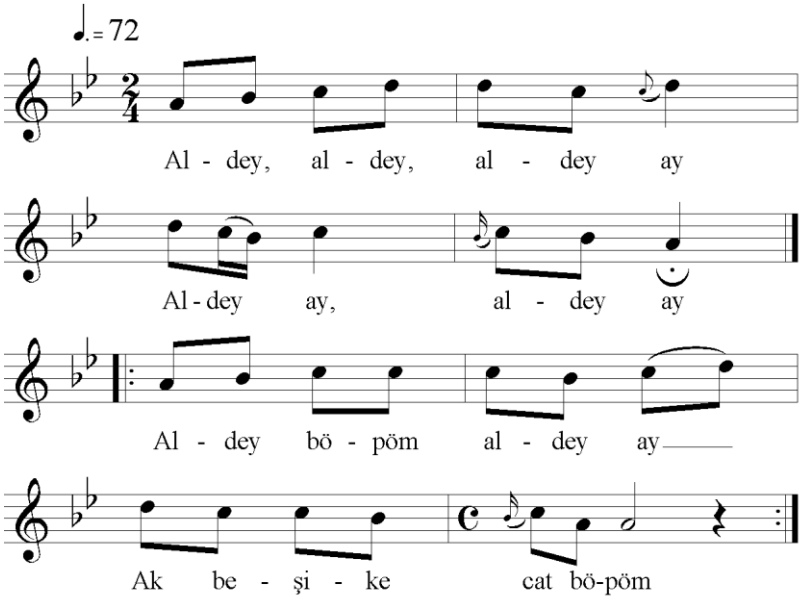
1.2.5b. Phrygian tunes with two short lines and re or ti cadence. The melodies of this subgroup are similar to those of the shorter lines of the two-note lament, only they end one note lower, on a *ti* instead of a *do*. Example 220a has ABBB structure.

1.2.5c. *Phrygian tunes with two short lines and mi cadence.* The distinctive feature of the melodies in this subgroup is that their first line rises to *mi*. Here, too, there are several different forms, but all of them are convincingly reducible to two-lime AB forms: the form of Example 220b is ABA_vB.

a)



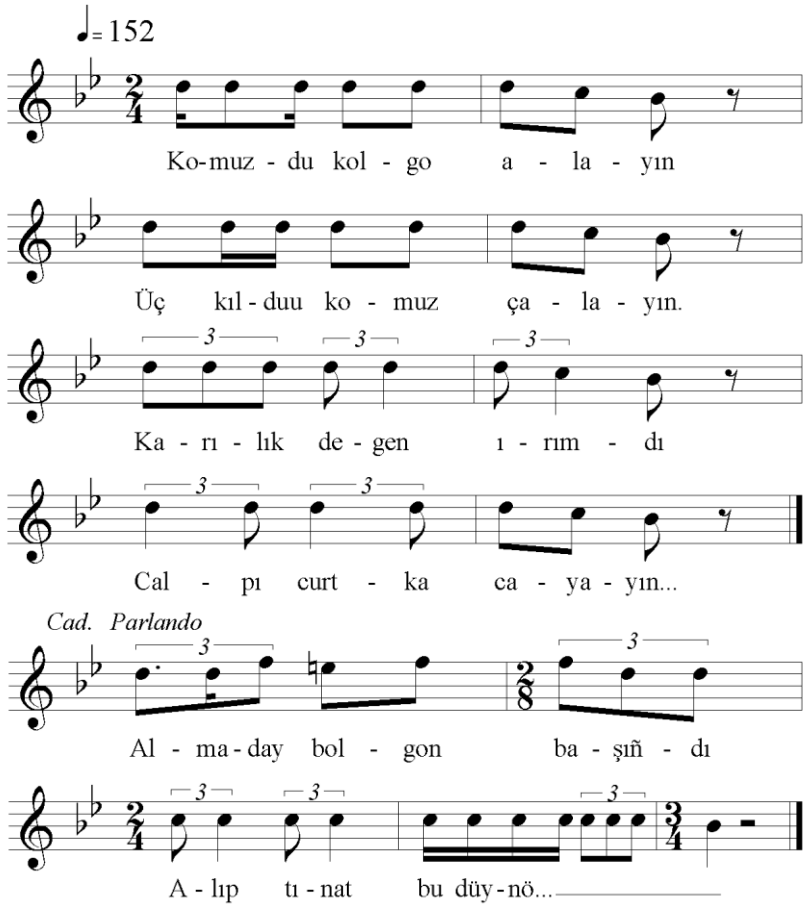
b)



Example 220. Phrygian tunes with two short lines

1.3. *Twin-bar tunes with descending or hill-shaped lines*.

Descending or hill-shaped lines are a feature of many Kyrgyz melodies, so it is not surprising that many twin-bar songs have them. The most common is the *(so')-mi-re-do-so* descent or the *do-re-mi-(so') -mi-re-do-(so*) hill form, the latter of which is exemplified by 221, which ends with a two-line cadence. Melodies of similar character are common in the folk music of other peoples, including the Turkic groups. Where they occur, they often form larger groups of tunes, as we see in Kyrgyz folk music.



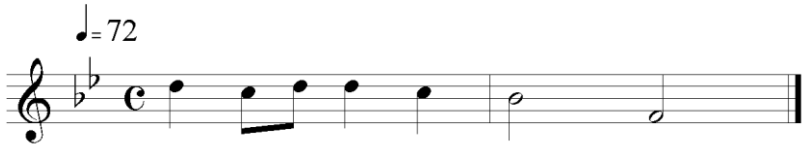
Example 221. Song of twin-bar character with descending lines and refrain

1.4. Minor- and major-character motives with a downward jump at the end of a line

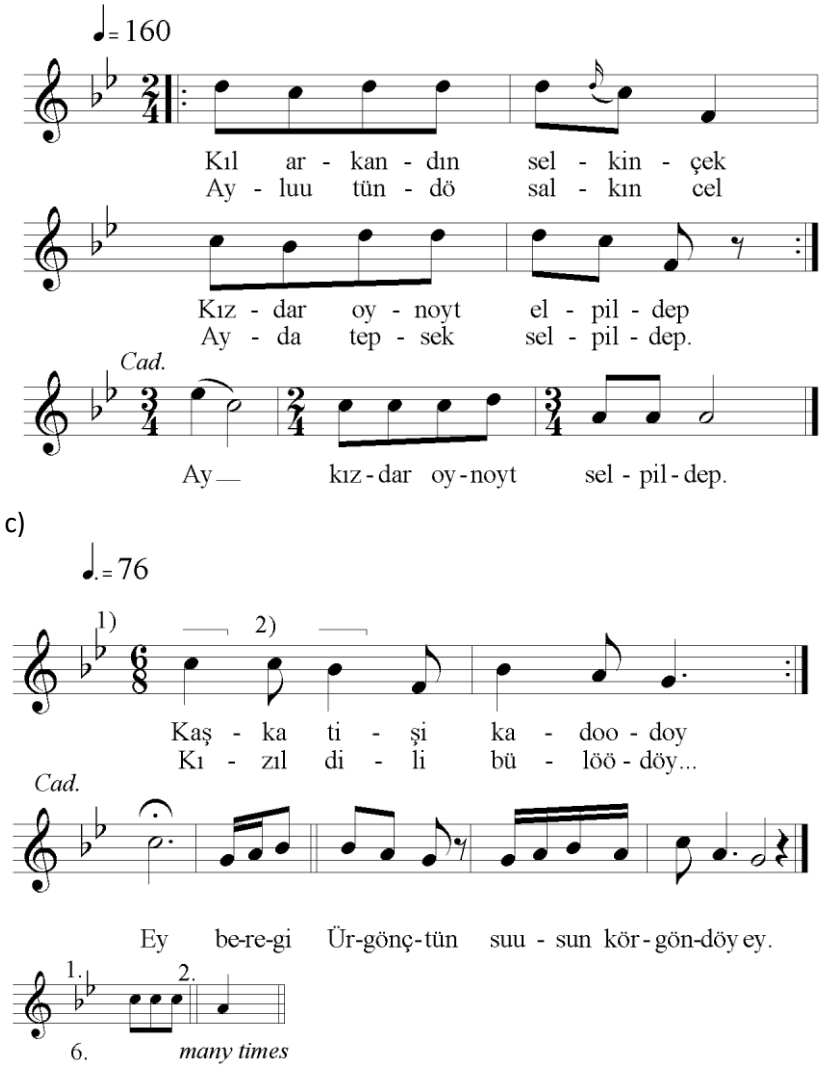
1.4.1. *Do-so close of the line*. The *do-so* step at the end of the melody line and the *so-do* at the beginning of the melody line are popular in Kyrgyz music. In addition to the *do-so* jump, the line ending can also take the form of *re-so*, *mi-re-so* or *re-ti-so*. One of the simplest examples of a *do-so* line ending is Example 222a played on the kiyak. We also find a *re-so* interval at the end of the lines in Example 222b, where the main melody ends with a Phrygian(!) refrain. As we have seen earlier, Kyrgyz folk songs can be followed by refrains that differ from them in a number of ways. In this subgroup, for example, melody lines ending on *so* may end with a cadential series ending on *do*.

1.4.2. *Closing of the line with a re-la fifth leap or re-ti-la descent.* Similar line endings to the above also occur in minor-character twin-bar songs, but here the first half of the lines also move in deeper register. Such melodies are also found among the Anatolian *bogaz havasi* (throat songs), which are exceptional in that non-pentatonic musical world. There are also motivic tunes of minor characger with a *do-so* leap in the middle of the line, and the song ends with *do-la, do-ti la*, or occasionally *re-ti-la* (*Ex. 222c*).

a)



b)



Example 222. Motives of minor and major character with a jump down at the end of the line

1.5. Motive sequences

In the performance of epic poems, short melodic lines alternate, and single- or double-line forms, often of a twin-bar nature, can be organised into five- six- or more-line forms. The recitation often begins with one of the motifs *do-do-ti-la*|*so-so-so* or *mi-mi-re-re*|*mi-re/do-so*, which may be followed by later lines descending from a higher level. The overall picture is quite similar to that seen in the performance of Kazakh terme songs.[44] For illustrative purposes, I will now describe only some typical process patterns.

1.5.1. It is common for the recitation of a motif to be followed by the repetition of another motif. It also happens that the valley or hill-and-vale (sine wave) motif is followed by a descending line or (less frequently) an AAAB refrain.

1.5.2. In other cases, a more definite (e.g., dome-shaped) structure emerges in the process, with the recitation starting with lower lines, continuing higher, and ending low.[45]

[44] SIPOS 2014: 35–42.
[45] Ibid., № 53.

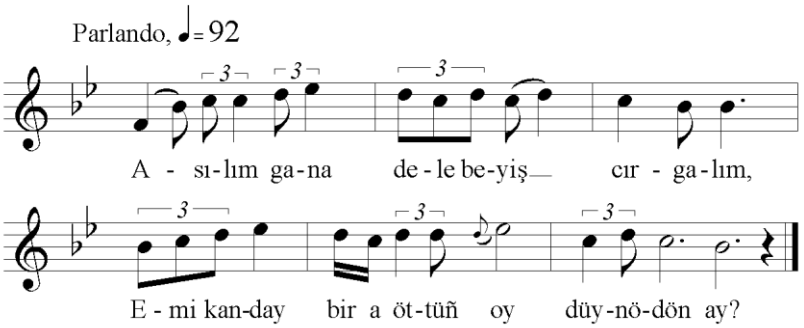
1.5.3. It is common for the melody to recite from the first, or at least from the second line onwards, around the *so'*, and then the subsequent lines gradually descend towards the last line ending in *do.*[46]

2) Tunes moving on major scales

2.1. Laments and their relatives

Lamentations are an old layer of folk music, perhaps the genre that is most resistant to time. In the first class of the second block of Kyrgyz melodies, there are laments, as well as tunes such as bride' farewell songs that might be classified in this class on the basis of their melody progression, structure and genre. The latter, like the laments, are built up of two descending or hill-shaped lines, ending on adjacent notes, and are characterised by free, improvisatory performance, or at least by traces of it. As in the case of twin-bar melodies, the intonation of the notes in Kyrgyz lamentations is not precise; the third in particular can vary in position, being major, minor or neutral. Still, in most cases it is possible to determine which third quality is predominant in a given lament performance. In any case, there is a strong correlation between laments of minor and major character, and they could even be discussed together.

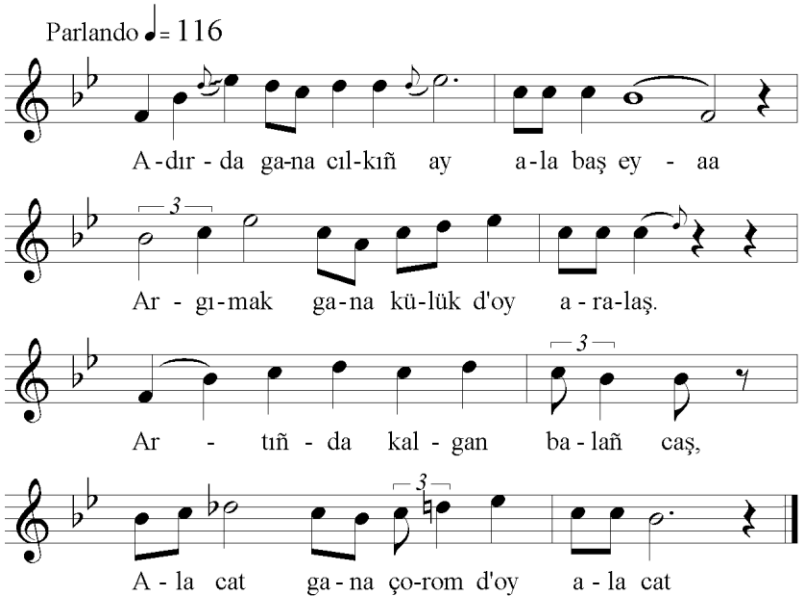
2.1.1. Single-line major-character laments and its relatives. The simplest form of Kyrgyz lamentations and brides' laments is characterised by a single, freely performed major line and its variants. The lines form a *do-re-mi fa | re-re-mi-fa-mi re | do* outline, which may be preceded by a *so,-do* jump up, or closed by a *do-so,* jump down (*Ex. 223*).



Example 223. Single-line lament of major character

2.1.2. and 2.1.3. Lament-like tunes with b3 (b3/4) 4 cadences. The *(poco) rubato*, *parlando* performed tunes of its subgroups include lullabies, songs about one's life, and other traditional genres besides lamentations. The opening and closing lines of the songs are similar to those of a one-line lament, but the second or third line ends on *re*, less often on *mi*. This brings them closer to the two-line lament, in that here too they are followed by convex lines ending on *re* and *do*, albeit in a slightly more characteristic ABAA(A), ABBA or AABA strophic form (*Ex. 224*).

[46] Ibid., Ex.11.



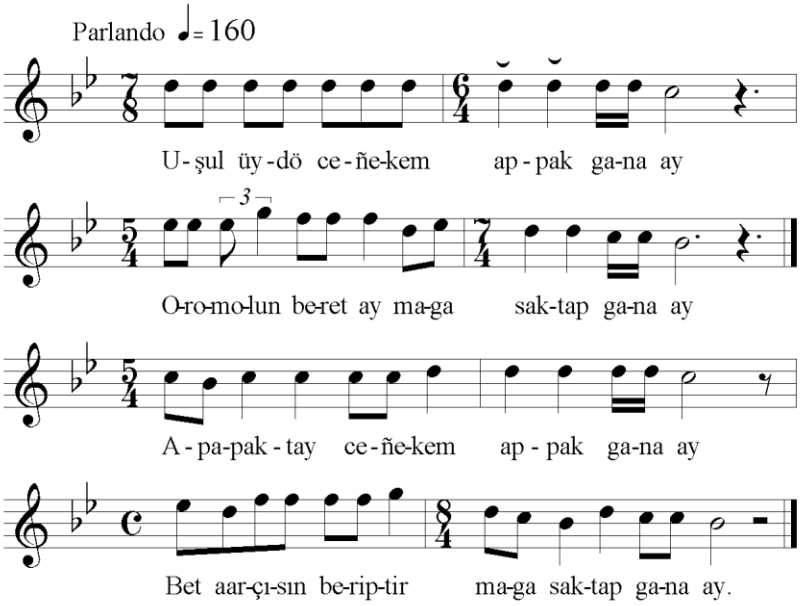
Example 224. A tune resembling laments with b3 (4) b3/4 cadences

2.1.4. Two-line major-character laments and their relatives. The double-core form of Kyrgyz laments is characterized by longer, descending or hill-shaped lines closing on *re* and *do* and performed *parlando rubato*. The lament sections usually close on *do*, some on *re*. This compares them well with the small form of the Anatolian, Azeri and Hungarian laments.

2.1.5. The lament tunes with 4 (4) 4/b3 cadences are closely related to the two-line lamentations, such as the Kyrgyz melody *Toktogul's response*, which descends to *so* at the end of the melody and bears a strong resemblance to the extended forms of Hungarian lamentations (*Ex. 225b*).

On the basis of their structure, their main cadences and their improvisatory, free-performance characteristics, many of the tunes, which form a significant group of Kyrgyz folk music, show more or less similarities with the above two-core laments. Some of them are performed *poco rubato* and *parlando*, but the tighter *tempo giusto* is more typical. Their lines are shorter than those of the lamentations mentioned above and are often (quasi) isometric. Some of their melodic lines also deviate slightly from the usual turns of a lament.

a)



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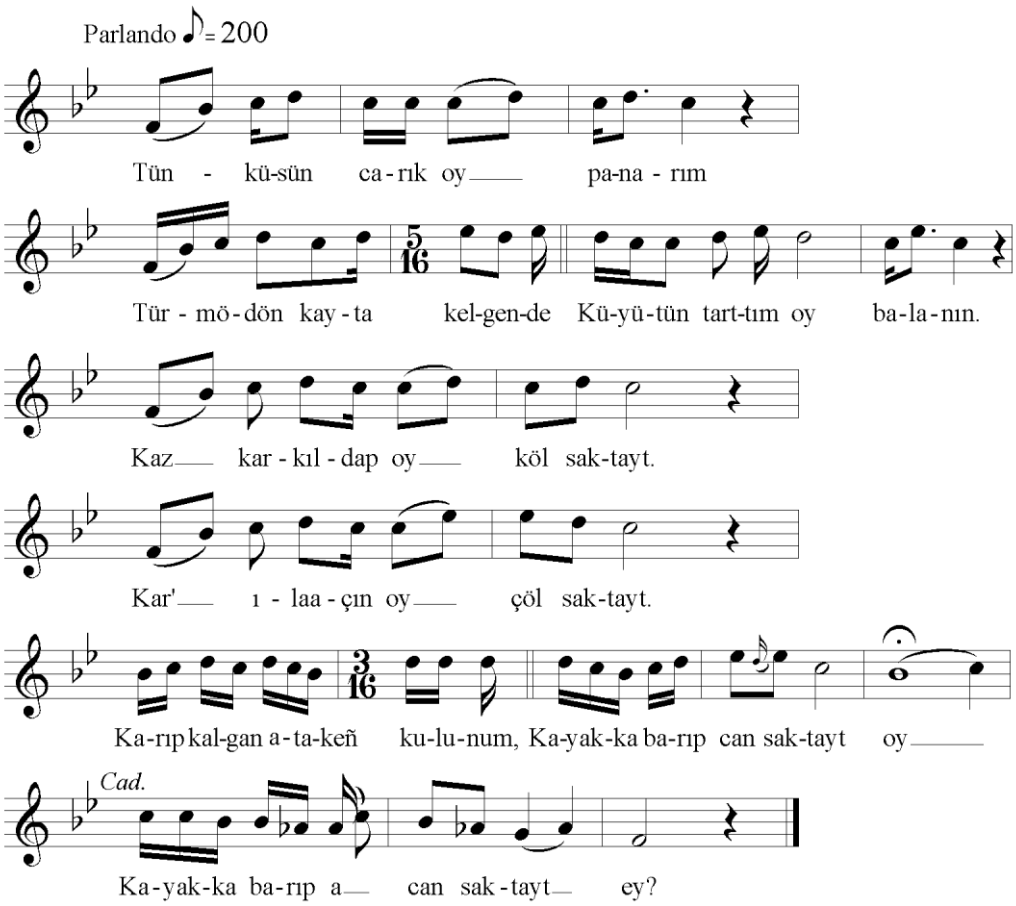
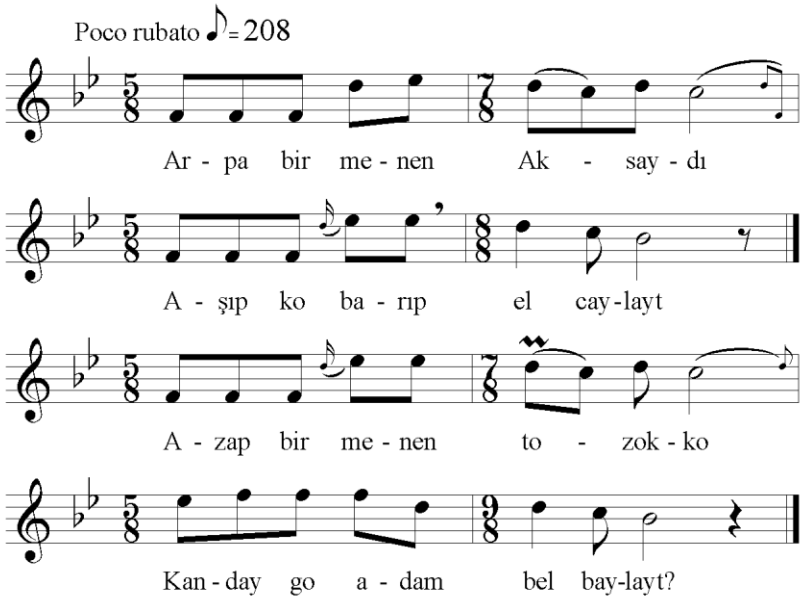


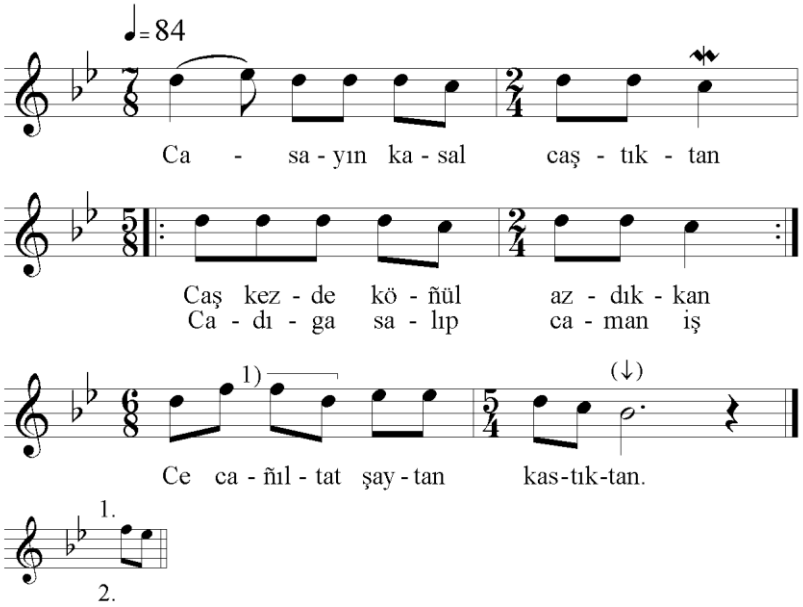
Example 225. Two-line major-scale lament and its relatives

2.1.8. Isometric shorter lines, 4 (b3) 4 cadences (*Ex. 226*). In the basically shorter lines of these tunes of AB and AB|A_vB_v form with the typical features of the two-line lament, the *poco rubato* performance is also frequent, under which, however, a more distinct rhythmic pattern can now be discerned. Here, informal recitation is rare, but so is a rigidly fixed rhythmic scheme.



Example 226. Shorter isometric lines with 4 (b3) 4/b3 cadences

2.1.9. Shorter lines with 4 (4) 4/b3 cadences. Here are also songs in AAAB and AABC form in *parlando-rubato* and *giusto* performance, for example some Manas epic recitatives and lullabies (*Ex. 227*). In this group, too, descending or hill-shaped lines of *re* and *do* cadence follow each other. The only difference between the melodies of the previous and the present group is that in the former the characteristic *re-do* cadences of the lamentations occur in lines 2 and in the present group only in lines 3–4. At the end of the lines, a sliding up to the 6th is not uncommon, and the end of the third line is particularly variable. In terms of their structure and melodic progression, these tunes can be classed alongside the two-note Kyrgyz lamentations.



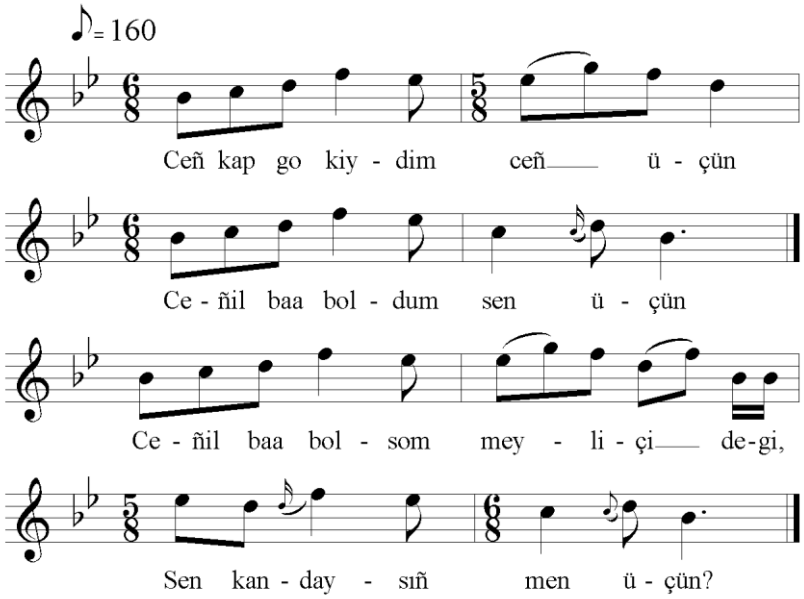
Example 227. Shorter lines with 4 (4) 4/b3 cadences

2.1.10. Lament-type tunes beginning around degrees 8–10. Tunes beginning with short lines around the 8th–10th degrees are not common in the traditional Kyrgyz folk song repertoire. However, since the higher register of the opening line is quite frequent in the Hungarian and Anatolian lament style, I present some of these melodies in the anthology of the Kyrgyz Folksongs volume.[47]

2.2. Two-line songs with higher main cadence and their four-line relations

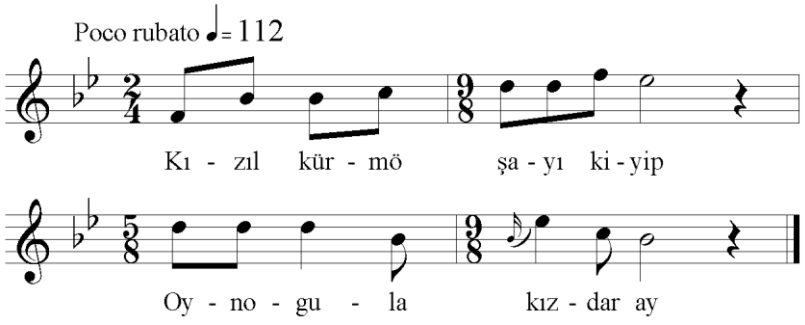
2.2.1. In the major subgroup of two short lines with (5) main cadence several kinds of melodic motion can be observed. In one group, the first lines undulate on the *mi-re-do* trichord. In the other subgroup of tunes with degree (5) as the main cadence, the first line forms a higher hill with a *so'/la'* peak, within which a minor undulation is not uncommon (*Ex. 228*).

[47] SIPOS 2014: Nos 110–113.



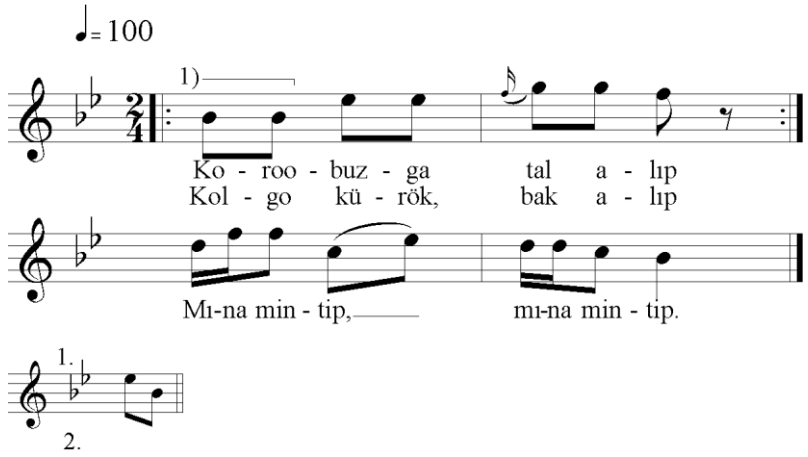
Example 228. Tunes with (5) main cadence and higher lines with a *so'/la'* peak

2.2.2. Double-core tunes and their four-lined variants with (6) main cadence. Unlike most Turkic peoples, it is not uncommon for the Kyrgyz to have the note *fa* in a cadential or even a principal cadential position. Sometimes *fa* 'substitutes' for *mi*, but at other times it has a truly independent life (*Ex. 229*). Among the tunes with (6) main cadence, the exact two-line AB form is rare, the forms ABB_vB, ABA_vB_v or AB|CB that are retraceable to two-line forms are predominant. The first line of the majority of the songs is rising, less often it traces the shape of a tall hill, and there are also starting lines that adhere to the 7th–8th degrees quite lengthily.



Example 229. (6) main cadence

2.2.3. Songs wih (7/8) main cadence and their four-line versions are much more common. The melodies whose first line-ending jumped from 5th to 7th degree were discussed among the tunes with (5) main cadence. In the present group, we include melodies whose first line rises steadily to the 7th degree, perhaps, as in Example 230, forming a small hill. A separate subgroup is formed by songs with four lines that begin high and can be traced back to two lines.



Example 230. Two-lined tune with (7) main cadence

2.3. Four-lined major-scale tunes

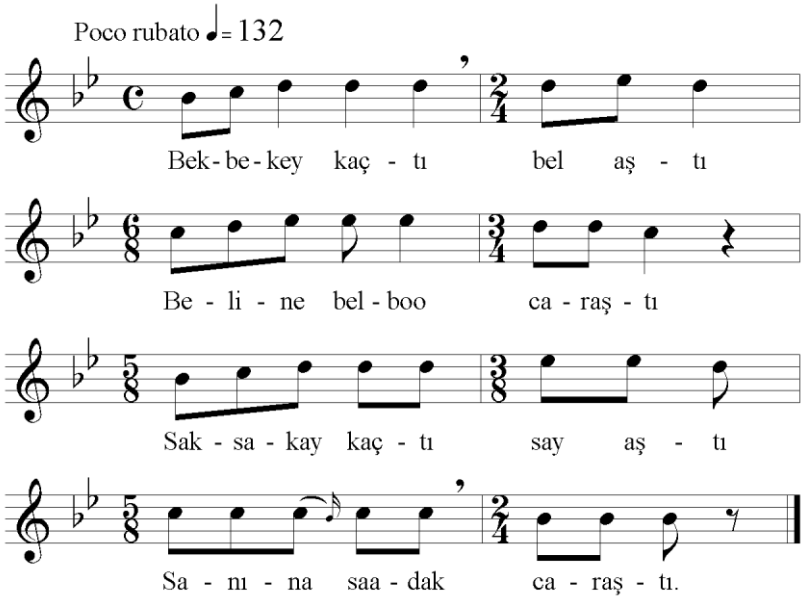
Some major melodies have a definitely four-part structure, although the relationship of AB|AC forms, for example, with two-part forms is undeniable. However, since the AB|AC-form tunes – unlike the tunes of AB|CB form – remain open at the end of the second line, they can be classified as four-line songs.

2.3.1. Tunes with 5 (4) x cadences, several of which has AB|AC form. The third line usually closes on degree 4, b3 or 5 (*Ex. 231a*).

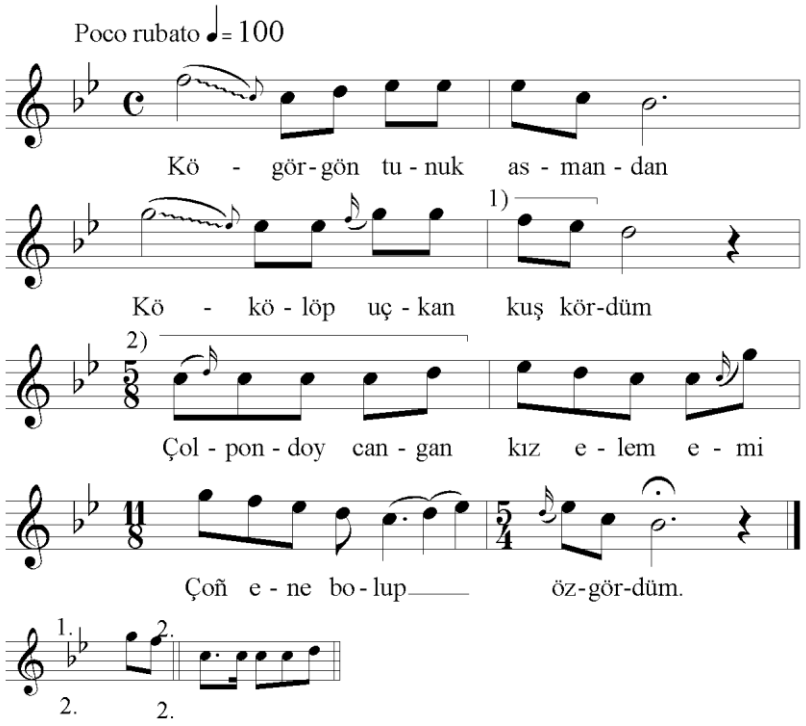
2.3.2. Tunes with b3/4 (5) 5 cadences. Their first line ends typically deeper than the second. Nevertheless, they do not produce the impression of a domed melody, but rather reminds us of a group of Karachay-Balkar jir melodies of similar cadences (*Ex. 231b*).

2.3.3. Tunes with 5 (5) x cadences. Several have a similar first and second line, their form is AA_vBC. Here, too, we see the 5th degree being modified to the 7th or 6th degree in cadential position. The backbone(s) of the first line defining the melodies are degrees 5 and 5–6. The tunes with 5 (5) 5, 5 (5) 4, 5 (5) b3, and 5 (b3) b3 cadences, whose form is usually AAAB, ABA_vB, AABB, and ABBB, respectively, show a strong affinity with the two-line tunes with (5) cadence.

a)

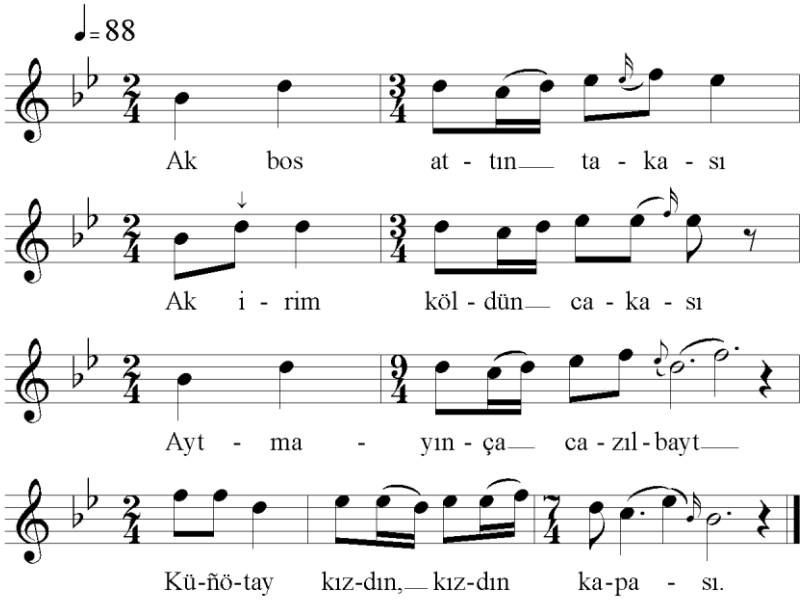


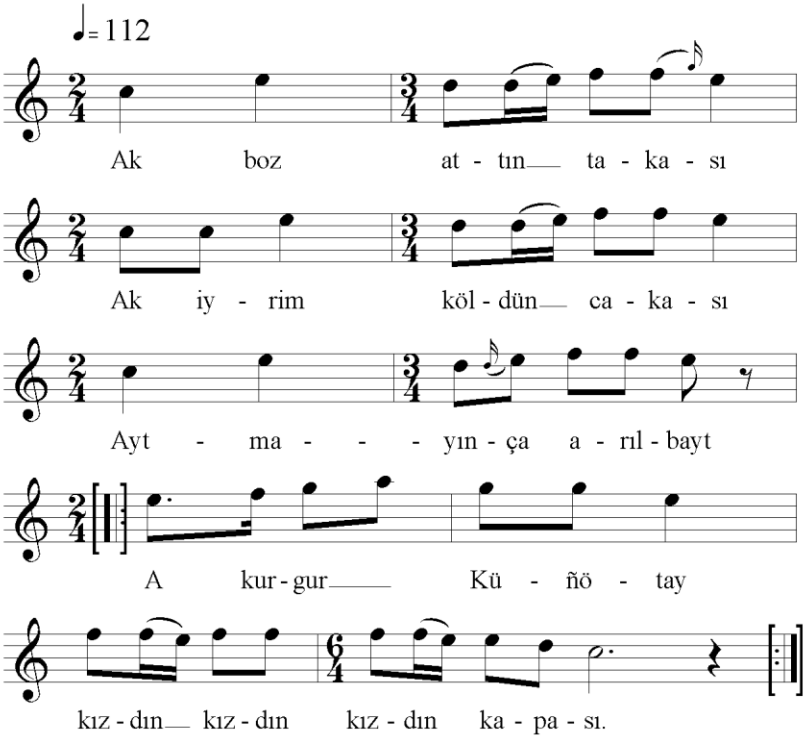
b)



Example 231. Four-lined tunes of major character

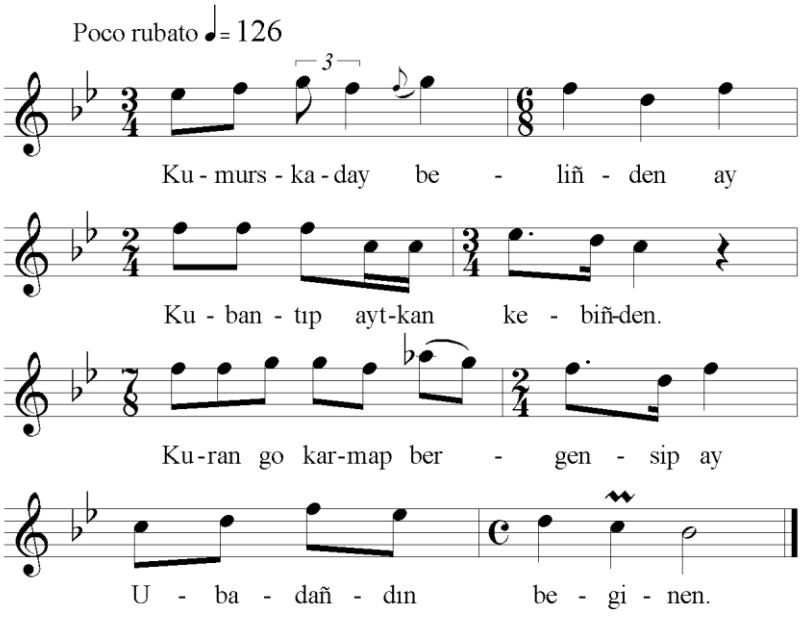
2.3.4. Tune variants with 6 (6) 5 and 5 (5) 5 cadences. We also find tunes with 6 (6) 5 and 5 (5) 5 cadential versions. This is another example of how in some groups of Kyrgyz folk music the 6th degree can be substituted for the 5th degree (*Ex. 232a,b*).





Example 232. Melody variants with 6 (6) 6 and 5 (5) 5 cadences

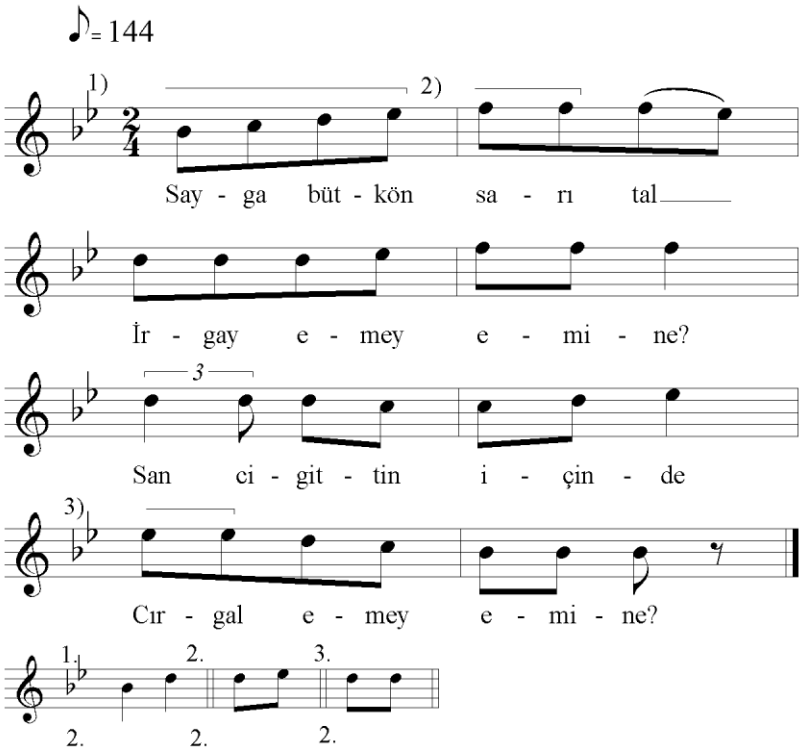
2.3.5. Tunes with 7/8 (4) x cadences. In a subgroup, the first line of these four-line tunes ends higher, at degrees 7–8, and their third line usually starts higher. AB|AC structures also occur here. The opening lines are mostly ascending, less often hill-shaped, and there is often a slight rise at the end (*Ex. 233*).



Example 233. A tune with 7/8 (4) x cadences

2.3.6. Four-line tunes staying fairly long in a higher register. They are characterised by a higher register that is exploited for a longer time and a main cadence of degrees 7–8. Most of the

tunes are characterised by short, isometric  lines. Although their higher first part and their isometric lines seem to distinguish them from other Kyrgyz melodies in major keys, they are an authentic tune group of Kyrgyz folk music, with genres such as *jaramazan* and *shirildang* (*Ex. 234*).



Example 234. Wide-compass four-line tune with a high main cadence

2.3.7. A few extremely wide-ranged (b3–10) tunes*:* they are on the 'periphery' of traditional Kyrgyz folk music.[48] There are also some dome-shaped major four-line Kyrgyz melodies of recurring structure (ABCA), which I will discuss later, together with the other domed tunes.

3) Tunes of minor character

3.1. Laments and related tunes

3.1.1. Single-core laments and their relatives *(Ex. 235a*). In the first subgroup, I have placed the lamenting and plaintive melodies ending on the fundamental, descending or forming a hill in each line. The beginning or end of the lines may be a fourth jump up or down. These tunes show a strong affinity with the previously seen laments in major modes. It is noteworthy that the 3rd degree is (also) often uncertain in the lamentations, which further enhances the similarity between laments in major and minor keys. At the same time, the markedly minor-character lament is less frequent.

3.1.2. A single tune with 1 (1) 5/6 cadences has been found, which can be seen as a relative of the most common single-core major lament.[49]

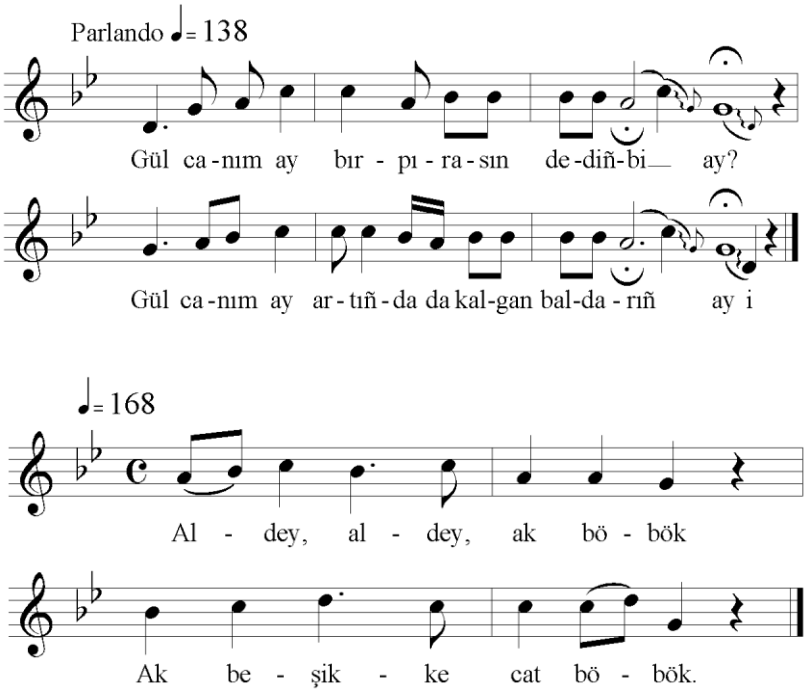
3.1.3. Tunes resembling minor liments but built of shorter lines in giusto rhythm. There are many such tunes, even among the motive-built, twin-bar tunes with unique interval leaps. These

[48] Sipos 2014: № 162–164.
[49] Ibid., № 170.

melodies form a kind of bridge between the minor-character lamentations and the twin-bar tunes (*Ex. 235b*).

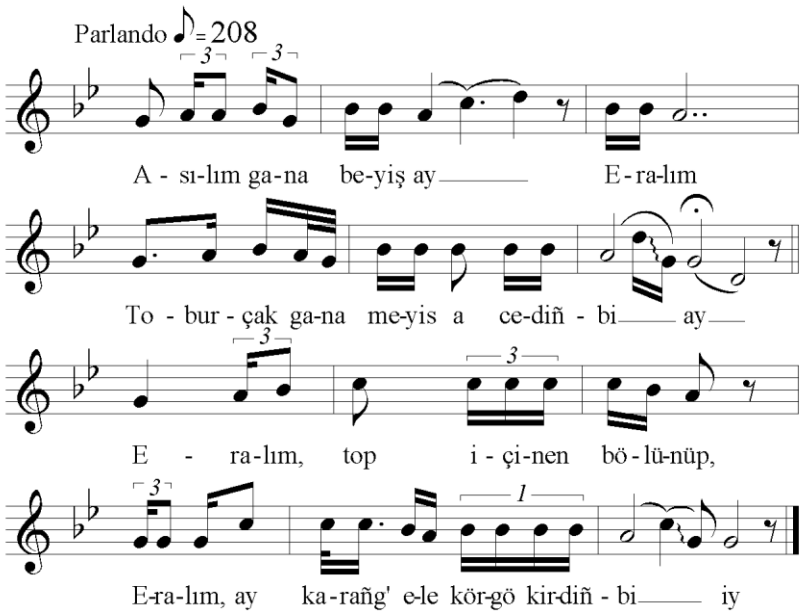
a)

b)



Example 235. Minor-scale lament and its relative with shorter lines

3.1.4. Two-line laments and their relatives with two long lines ending at degrees 1 and 2 *(Ex. 236).* Like their major counterparts, they may have a fifth leap at the end of the line. In contrast to the major case, I do not divide the individual forms into smaller groups, because few melodies belong here and they do not form distinct groups. Where their musical structure has justified it, I have also included melodies that are not laments by genre.



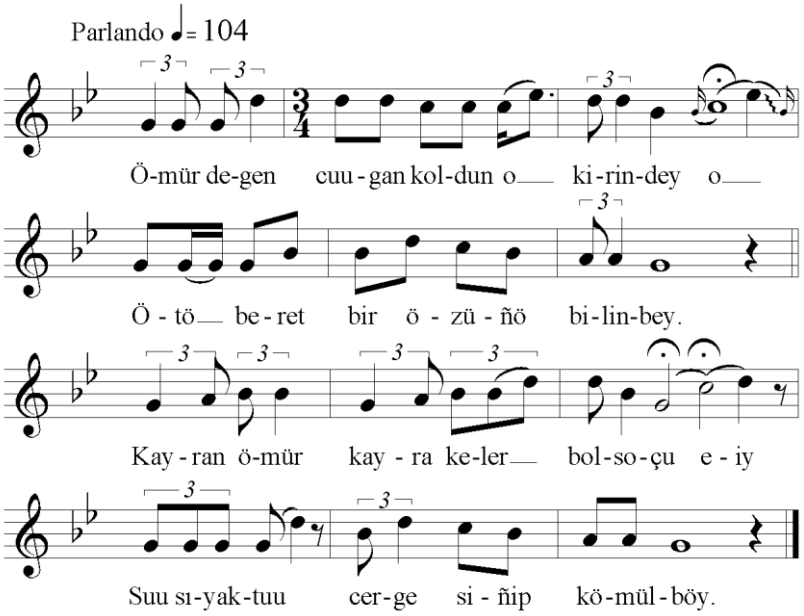
Example 236. Two-lined lament of minor character

3.1.5. Folksongs that can be linked to two-line laments. The strong embeddedness of the above form in Kyrgyz folk music is confirmed by the fact that there are many folk songs with short lines and a tighter rhythm, which are similar in structure and more or less in melody outline to the two-cadence lamentations.

3.2. Two-line minor-scale tunes with higher main cadence

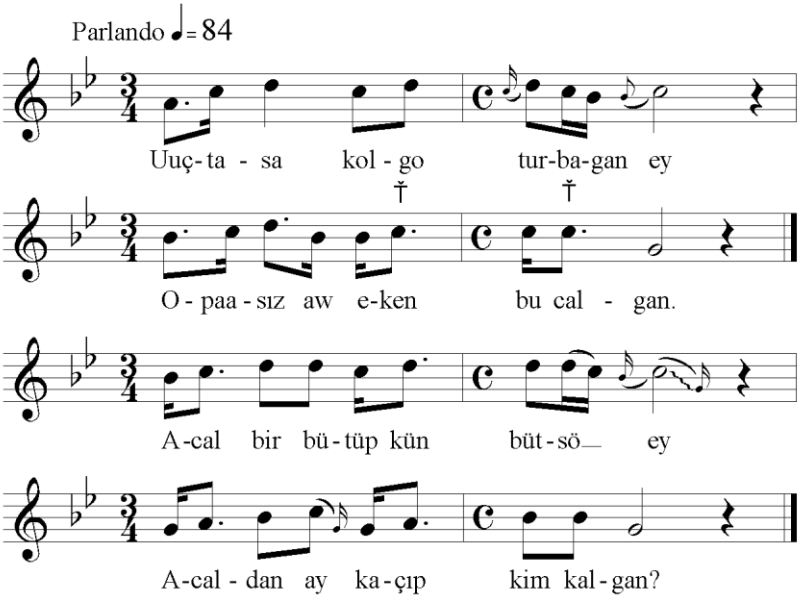
These melodies are presented on the same principles as the major-character tunes, but since the number of melodies moving on minor scales is smaller, I will now group together several melodies that were in separate groups in the major cases.

3.2.1. Lament tunes with (4) or (5) main cadence. This group contains laments and musically similar tunes of two long lines wih (4), less frequently (5) main cadence (*Ex. 237*).



Example 237. Lament tune with (4) main cadence

3.2.2. Songs of shorter lines in tighter rhythm, with (4) or (5) main cadence. In the majority of these melodies, the first line and the beginning of the second line are recited on the *(do)-re-mi/fa* scale, only the end of the melody jumps down to *la*. This suggests an ancient Kyrgyz form, and the melodies under discussion are also related to the large material of the major class cadencing on (4). Example 238 presents tunes with (4) main cadence.

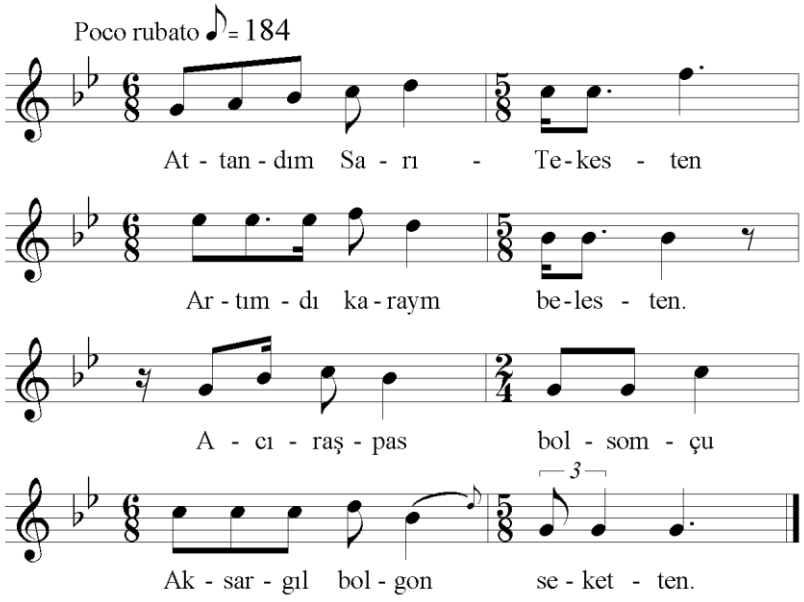


Example 238. Giusto song with (4) main cadence and shorter *lines*

3.3. Four-line minor tunes

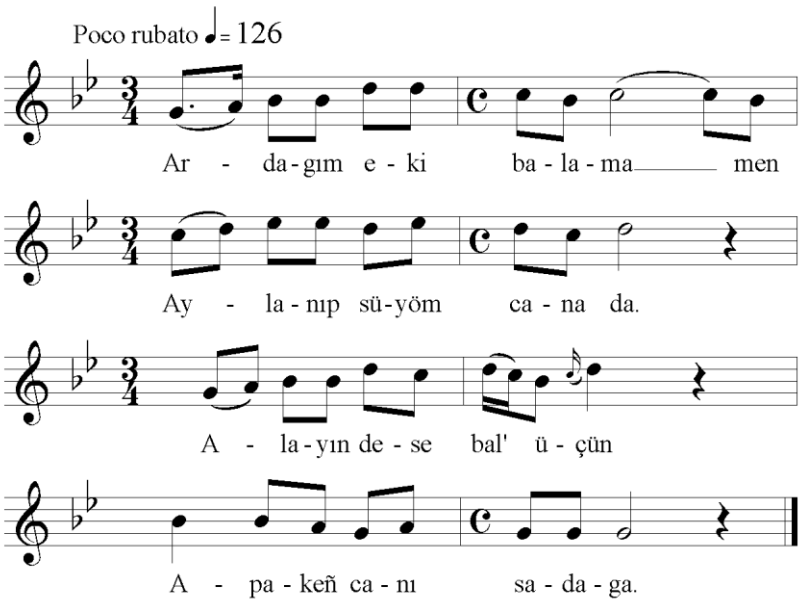
The first line of these melodies is recited in a narrower band or is in the form of a hill, less often ascending. (The melodies that waver up and down in their first line, while also touching the fundamental, will be presented later in a separate class.) With a few exceptions, I have placed the tunes in sequence according to their cadential series.

3.3.1. Tunes with 5 (2) x and 5/7 (b3) x cadences. The first half of the tunes with (2) main cadence corresponds to some of the Phrygian two-line songs, the connection between them also confirmed by the lullaby genre of some of the songs. The songs with (b3) main cadence are similar to some of the extreme cases of *psalmodic* melodies, which are otherwise scarcely found in Kyrgyz folk music (*Ex. 239*).



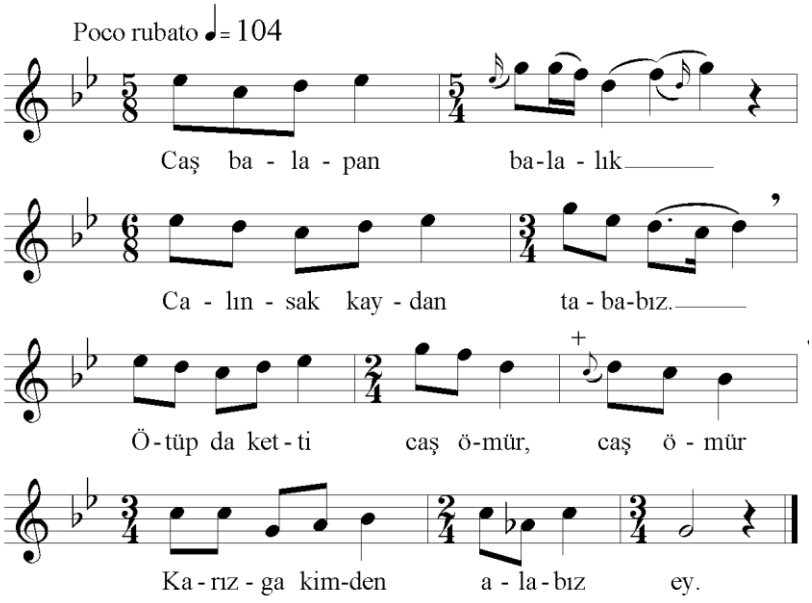
Example 239. Tune with 7 (b3) x cadences

3.3.2. Tunes with 4 (5) x cadences (*Ex. 240*). Because of their second line ending higher than the end of the first line, and their general melodic movement, some of these melodies are reminiscent of similarly cadencing Karachay-Balkar melodies.[50]



Example 240. Tune with 4 (5) 5 cadences

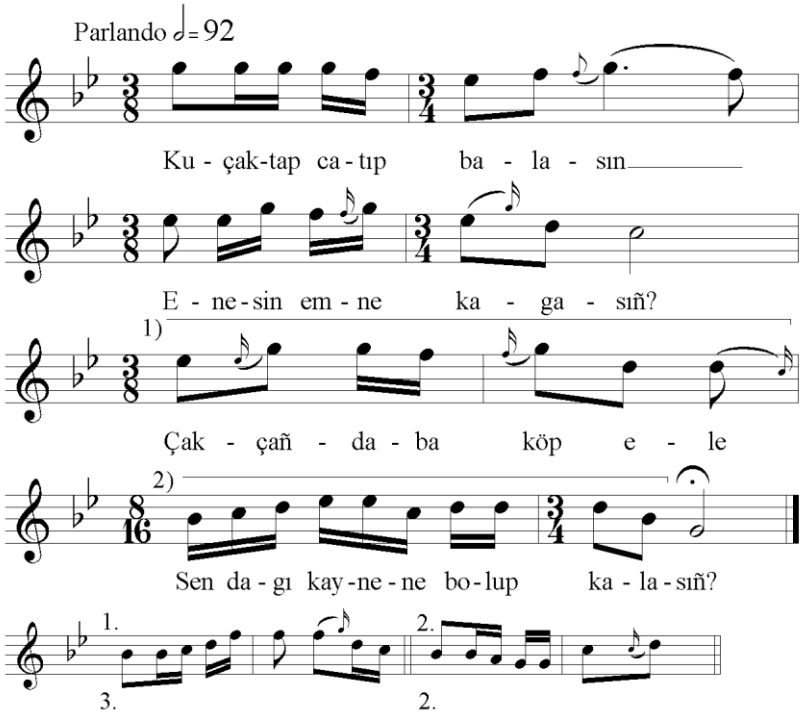
3.3.3. Tunes with 4/5 (4) x and 5/6 (5/6) x cadences. One finds here mostly descending melodies, fewer with 4/5 (4) x cadences and more with 5/6 (5/6) x cadences. The typical form of the latter is AABC, which also shows that the ending notes of these songs can be modified secondarily to the 6th and sometimes 8th. The cadential tone of the third lines is often b3 (*Ex. 241*).



Example 241. Tune with 5 (5) b3 cadences

[50] SIPOS–TAVKUL 2012: № 109.

3.3.4. tunes with 7/8 (5/4) x cadences. As can be guessed from the cadences, in most of these tunes the first part of the melody moves high, and in some melodies a disjunct and even the fifth-shifting structure appears. However, the 3rd line can also be high, see Example 242 with the form AB^4A_cA.



Example 242. Tune with 8 (4) 5 cadences

3.4. Ascending, undulating or valley-shaped first line

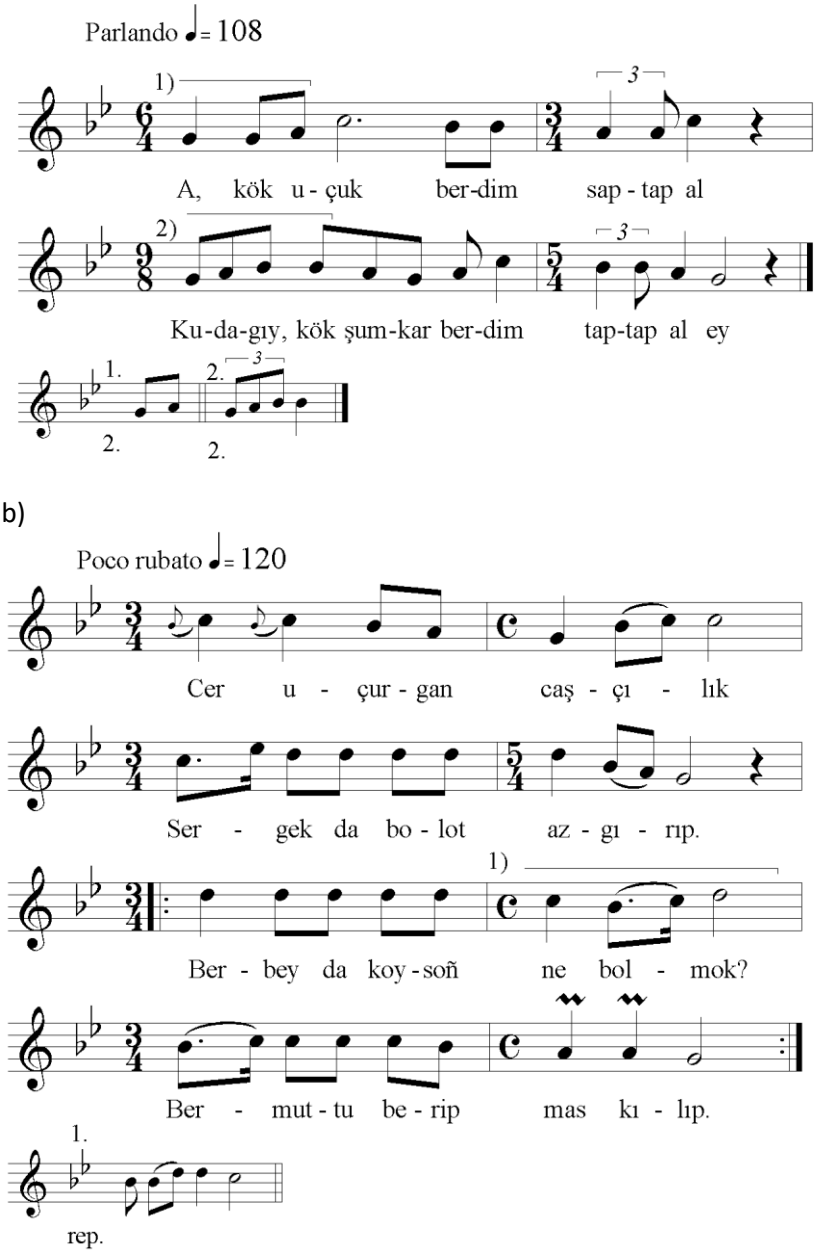
As we have mentioned several times, the lines of Kyrgyz songs are mostly hill-, hill+valley-shaped or descending. In addition, especially in the case of twin-bar tunes, but also in some lines of other melodies, there is also some progression around the middle note of the tri/tetrachord, jumping up and down. The first line of the tunes of the present class is valley-shaped, rising, or waving up and down touching the root note in the middle of the line. These features characteristically separate them from other Kyrgyz songs, which justifies their separate treatment. Undulating lines are also abundant in Kazakh material, and this is one of the defining features of an important melodic style of the Mongolian Kazakhs.[51] Let us now consider the larger subgroups.

3.4.1. Two-line minor-scale tunes with an undulating first line and (4) cadence. As we find laments among them, this alludes to the authenticity of the form and its connection to old tunes (*Ex. 243a*).

3.4.2. Tunes with 4 (1) x cadences. Their AB|CB character is undoubted, especially as the third-line cadence is often (4). The coherence of the melodies in this formally rather complex subgroup is obvious (*Ex. 243b*). Other melodies belonging to this group are SIPOS–TAVKUL 2014: № 228–229.

a)

[51] SIPOS 2001c: 58, 71–81.

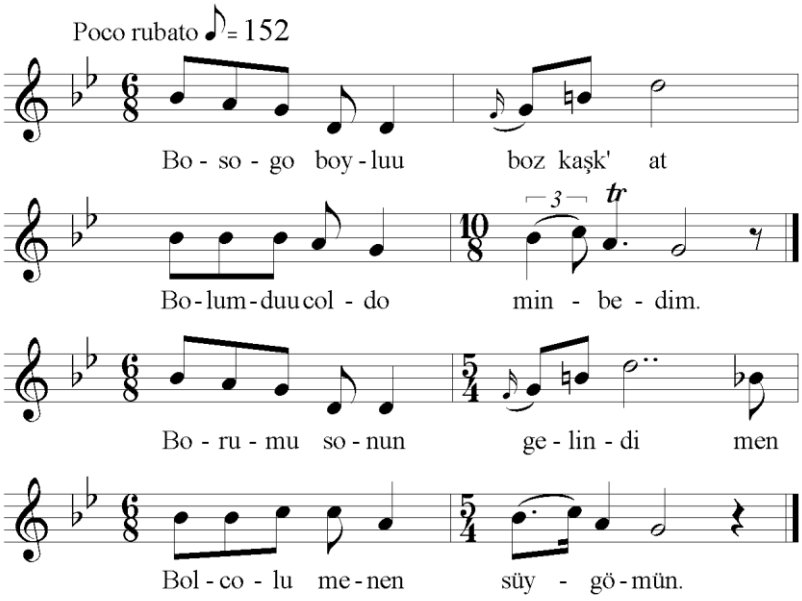


Example 243. Two-line tunes of minor character with (4) cadence and their relatives

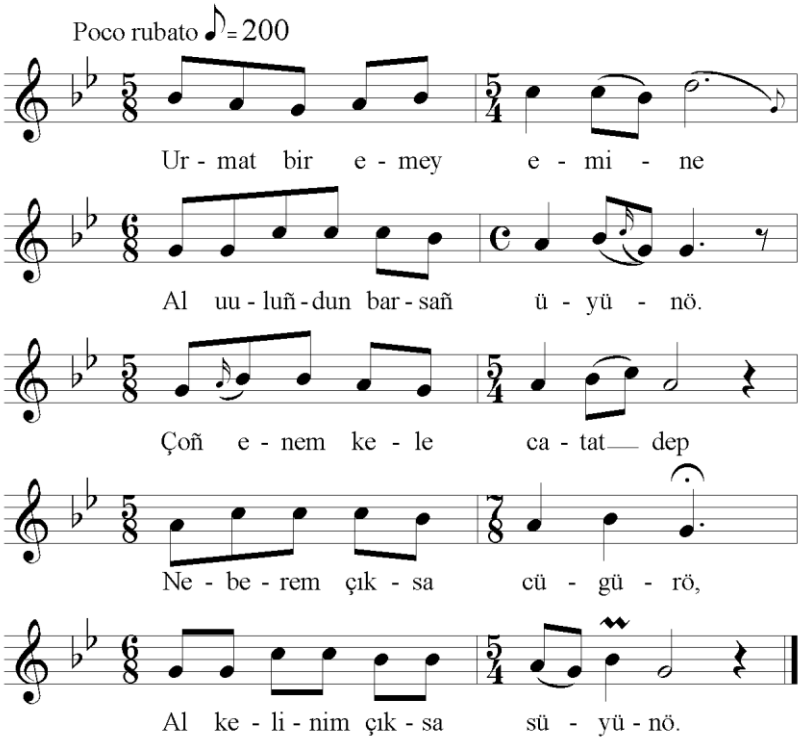
3.4.3. The minor-scale tunes of two lines with (5) cadence are loosely conected to the tunes of the previous group, although there are no laments among them. The form of Example 244a is AB|AB.

3.4.4. Minor-character tunes of several lines with (5) cadence. They can be extended to four or more lines in such a way that, on repetition, the end of the first line is modified, or the second line is repeated several times and varied, the form here being ABCBB (*Ex. 244b*).

a)

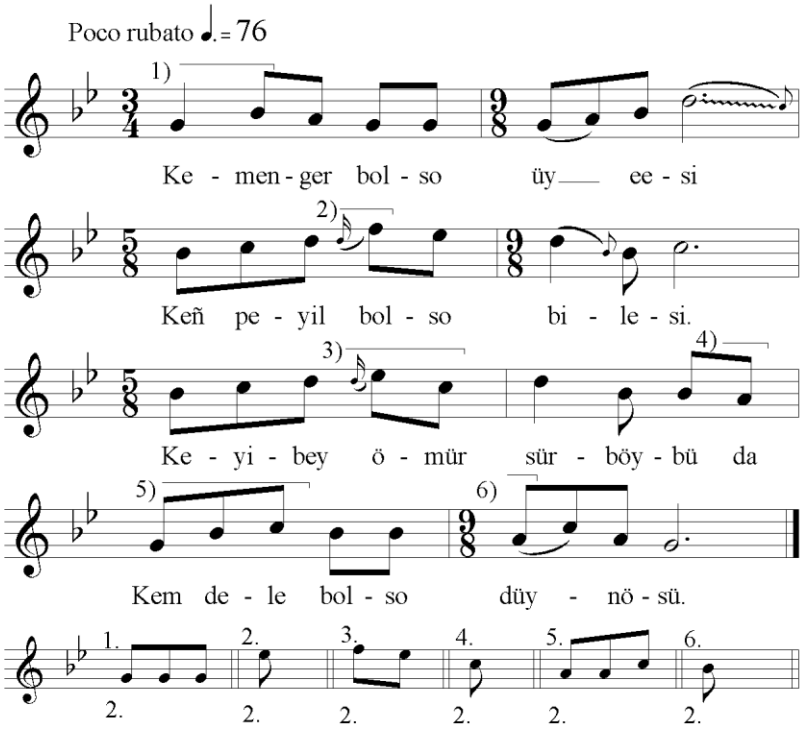


b)



Example 244. Tunes of minor character with (5) cadence and their variants

3.4.5–7. Four-line tunes starting with an undulating line. Its subgroups are united by their undulating or valley-shaped first line, descending to the fundamental or the 2nd degree in mid-line, and their partly descending melodic structure. Of these, the 4/5 (b3) x cadences form a small mixed subgroup, the 5 (4) x cadencing group being the largest and most coherent (*Ex. 245*), to which the 5/4 (5) b3 cadences are also fairly close. In the second and third subgroups, the cadence of the third line is often b3.



Example 245. Four-line tunes with valley-shaped or undulating first line

4) Jaramazan religious tunes

Long under Soviet rule, the Kyrgyz still keep the traditions of the fasting month of Ramadan, when they pray, read the Qur'an and fast. These traditions are similar to those of other Muslim Turkic peoples, but they also have their own distinctive features.

For the Kyrgyz, the approach of Ramadan is a real holiday, and one that they look forward to with excitement. The day before the holiday, on *Arapa* (Arefe) day, especially in rural areas, villagers or street dwellers divide into two groups, go from house to house, eat and drink together, and say prayers for the people of the houses they visit. In some Kyrgyz groups, they visit the graves of their loved ones and place on the graves the favourite dishes of their dead.

People older than middle age fast until the end of Ramadan, while younger people fast only at the beginning, middle and end of the month. When the fast is broken at sunset, the table set and the visit of guests is important. Fasters wake up for a meal before sunrise, but there is no tradition of wake-up drumming here as in Turkey, for example.

The tradition of reading the Qur'an is widespread, at which time a rich table is laid and lamb is always slaughtered. The head of the lamb is usually given to an imam, who reads the Qur'an. In Kyrgyzstan, imams are not paid by the state, but by the people. During the month of Ramadan, donations are collected and given to the imam, who distributes them to the needy.

The night of the decree (*kadir gedjesi),* the holiest night of *Ramadan*, when the Qur'an descended from the seventh heaven, is considered holy by the Kyrgyz. On this day, the people light fires in the streets and party until morning.

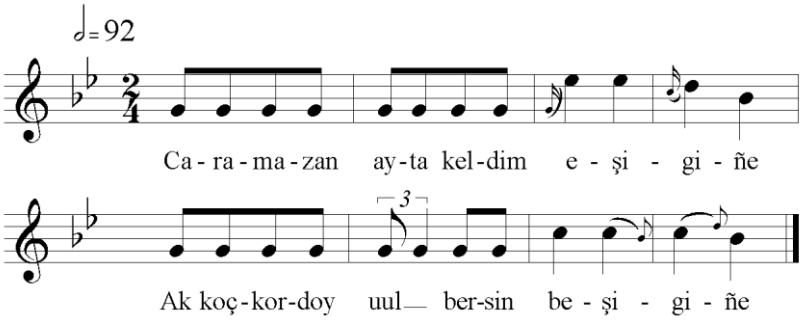
Perhaps the most important, but certainly the most colourful element of Ramadan traditions is the singing of Ramadan songs (Jaramazan). Children go from gate to gate singing songs and collecting donations of money, sweets, seeds, fruit, etc. This centuries-old tradition also has an important place in Kyrgyz literature. Children are not let go empty-handed, it is believed, otherwise they would be cursed. Although not with the intensity seen among the Kyrgyz, Ramadan traditions are also observed by Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Akhishka Turks, Uyghurs and Anatolian Turks.

The following is a review of the Kyrgyz Ramadan songs.

4.1. Jaramazan songs of major character

4.1.1. Two-lined major Jaramazan motives. I list the main motives of the single- or double-line, major-scale Jaramazan melodies with (b3) main cadence according to the peak of the hill shape in their first line. These, like the minor-character Jaramazan melodies, are composed of several variable motifs. Often one or only a few tunes dominate the whole process; I list below these basic melodies. This subgroup is held together by its unique rhythmic pattern.

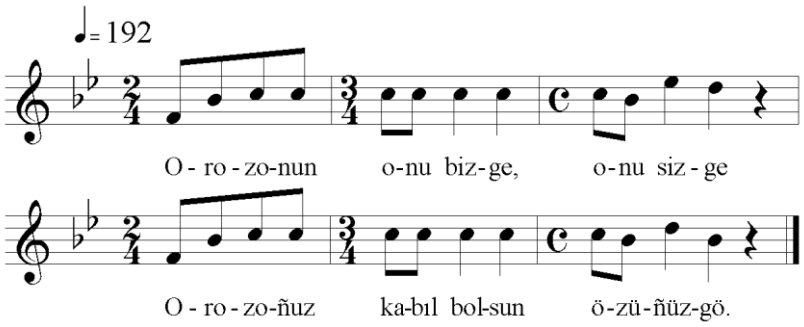
Two-line tunes	*middle of first line (degree)*	*skeleton of first line*	
1)	1.	*la la la la*	*| fa fa mi do*
2)	b3	*so do do do*	*| mi re do*
3)	4.	*so do do do*	*| re mi do*
4)	5.	*do do re mi*	*| re mi do*
5)	6/7.	*so do re fa*	*| mi re do*



Example 246. A two-line Jaramazan tune of major character

4.1.2. The four-part major Jaramazan tunes are also presented in the rising sequence of their cadences. The four parts often appear in 7, 4, 7, 4 syllables (*Ex. 247*).

	cadences	*lines 1-2*		*lines 3-4*
1)	b3 (4) x	*do do do do | do re re*	*|*	*ti ti ti re | do do do*
2) ⎫	4/5 (4) x and 6 (4) x	*do re re re | do re re*	*|*	*do re mi mi | do do do*
3) |	(4) and (b3)	diverse tunes		
4) ⎭	4 (5) x	*so, do re re | re fa mi*	*|*	*do re re re | re mi do*
5) ⎩	4 (5) x	*do re re re | re fa mi*	*|*	*fa so mi mi | re fa mi*
6)	5 (5) x - Phrygian! and 6 (5) x	*re mi mi mi| re mi mi*	*|*	*re re re re | do do ti*
7)	6/7 (6) y	*do fa fa fa | mi fa fa*	*|*	*do fa mi re | do do do*
8a)	6 (7) y ⎫	*do fa fa fa | mi fa so*	*|*	*mi fa mi re | mi do do*
8b)	7/8 (7) x ⎩	*do so so so | so so so*	*|*	*re so so fa | mi re do*



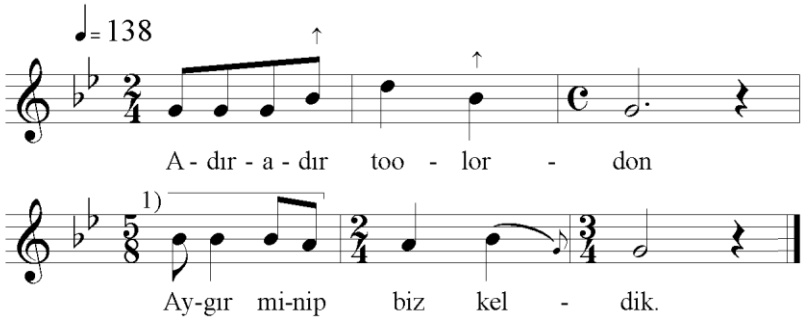
Example 247. A four-part *Jaramazan* tune of major character

4.2. Minor-character Jaramazan tunes

The minor Jaramazan songs are widely diverse and do not coalesce into larger homogeneous goups.

4.2.1. Two-line minor-scale Jaramazan tunes. I start with songs with a strong motivic structure, in which several kinds of motifs or series of motifs occur. Particularly noteworthy is SIPOS–TAVKUL 2015: № 308, which stands alone in the entire Kyrgyz material with its (VII) main cadence, and the song is followed by a major-character close of (4) main cadence. The subgroups of the two-line Jaramazan melodies are as follows:

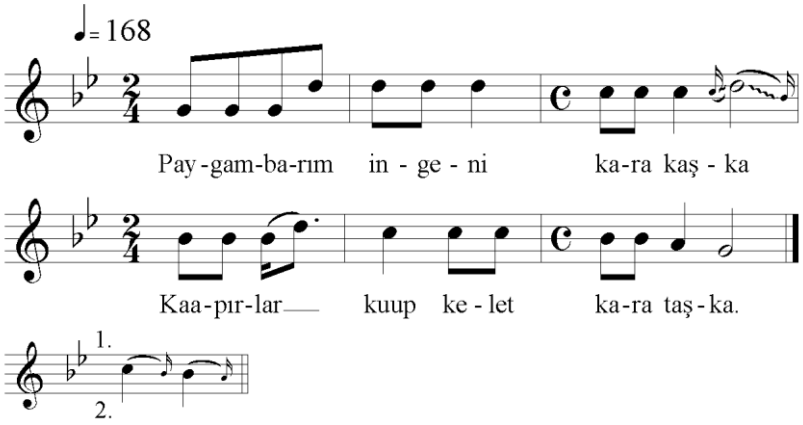
	main cadence	*scheme of line 1*
1)	(1)	*la la la do | mi do la*
2)	(b3)	*mi la ti do | ti ti la*
3)	(4)	*la re do re | ti ti la*
4)	(5)	*re mi mi mi | re do la*



Example 248. A two-line *Jaramazan* song of minor character

4.2.2. The four-part minor Jaramazan tunes divide into three subgroups according to their cadences. The lines have again 7, 4, 7, 4 syllables.

	cadences	*melody backbone*
1)	5/6 (b3) 4/7	diverse songs
2)	4/5 (4) x	*do re re mi | mi re re/mi ‖ do mi re re | do ti la*
3)	4/5 (5) y	*la mi mi mi | re mi mi ‖ do mi re re | do ti la*

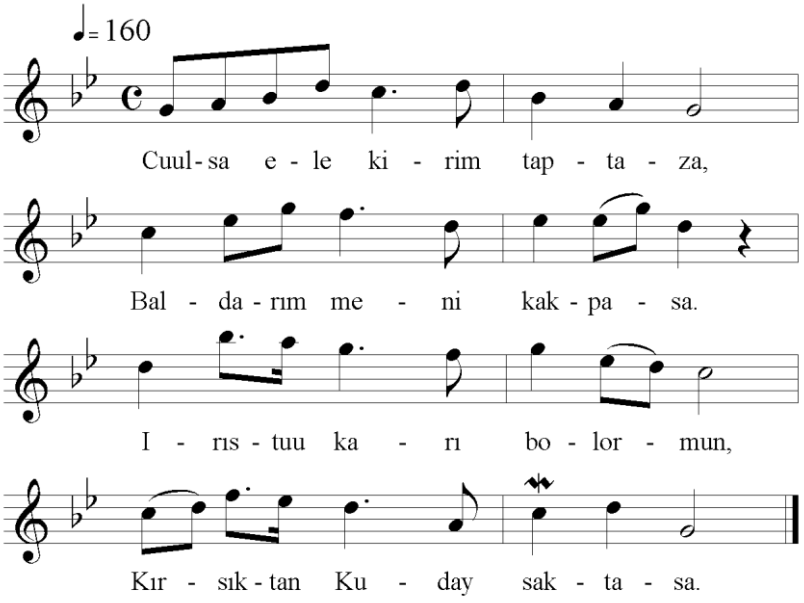


Example 249. A four-part *Jaramazan* song of minor character

5. Tunes of domed structure

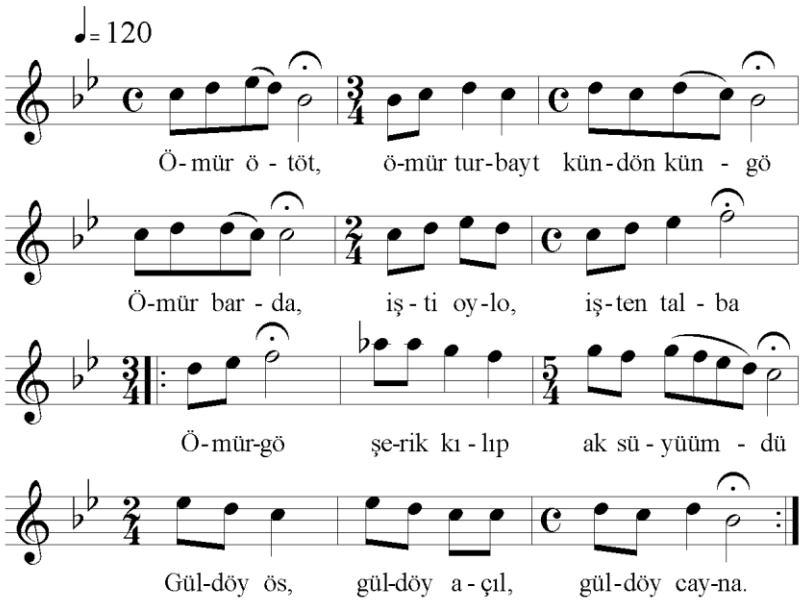
Earlier, we have also seen melodies whose first and fourth lines progressed lower and ended lower than their second and third lines. In the earlier examples, however, the middle lines and their final notes were only a few notes higher, and the melodies were basically in keeping with authentic Kyrgyz songs. Below are a few examples where the middle lines and cadences are a fourth or a fifth higher than the outer lines. This type of structure, however, is not found in the old styles of Turkic peoples and suggests a more recent origin.

5.1. Domed minor-scale tunes. These melodies usually have a cadence of 1 (5) 5/4, so the second and third lines end high. The second line is a higher-ending version of the first line, or moves in a higher register. The latter is the rarer form, and also differs significantly from the form of typical Kyrgyz folk songs, while it is more closely related to, for example, Hungarian 'new style' tunes (*Ex. 250*).



Example 250. Dome-shaped melody of minor character

5.2. Domed major melodies. The cadences of the four individual melodies are b3 (7) 4/5/7 and most of them have melodic motives that differ from traditional Kyrgyz melodic motives. One of them can be seen in Example 251.



Example 251. Dome-shaped tunes of major character

Characteristic features of Kyrgyz folksongs

As with many other Turkic peoples, Kyrgyz folk songs are based on four-line verse, and the a a b a rhyme scheme, popular in Anatolia, the Caucasus, the Volga Turkic peoples and Central Asia in general, is typical. As is also common in Mongolian and Turkic folk song, Kyrgyz lines are often not rhymed but connected by a series of asonants. In successive sections, identical or similar themes or images follow one another, in varied or unchanged form.

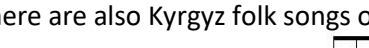
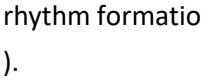
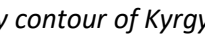
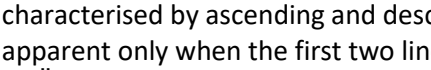
In the more traditional genres of Kyrgyz folk music, the musical lines are only exceptionally repeated note for note, the exact repetition being characteristic of the newer style of songs. The very strong tendency to variation goes hand in hand with the *poco rubato* performance typical of many Kyrgyz folk songs. Strict isometry is rare, and even in epic recitatives, the insertion of one or more eighth notes occur in the most unexpected places, breaking up the rigid, tight performance and attracting and sustaining the listener's attention.

Form. From a formal point of view, the simplest melodies are those with two short, more distinct bars, but here too there is a great deal of variation. The stichic form is also popular. In these, the short musical line, reminiscent of a pair of bars but less distinctly divided into two motifs, varies greatly during the performance, and in the single-core forms, which are made up of long lines, there is even greater scope for melodic development. The two-line AB form occurs in all genres, with a number of sub-forms: ABB, AAB, AA|BB, AB|A$_v$B, etc., and within the double-core formal realm we see a real variety of melodies, the two musical lines may follow a rising-descending pattern, the first line may descend, undulate or even (less frequently) move around a ridge-note. A four-part AB|AC form is also common, but still with a two-line base. The complete strophe is not uncommon either, with several sub-forms in addition to the ABCD structure, which is different in each line. Many unique forms can also be seen in Kyrgyz folk music, such as 3-, 5-, 6- or multiline melodies, motif sequences and Jaramazan sequences. Although many Kyrgyz melodies are descending, fifth alternation is essentially absent, and disjunct melodic structures are generally very rare (Slobin 1969a examined the phenomena of the quintal shift in Kyrgyz music in more detail.) For a detailed description of the forms of Kyrgyz songs, see SIPOS 2014a: 396–397.

Ambitus. The majority of Kyrgyz songs are in minor-character keys, with the fifth being the most common range in all keys, followed by the fourth and sixth, and then the seventh. In addition, there are several octave-compass minor-scale tunes and third-range major-character tunes.

Cadences. Most common are the (4), (b3) and (5) main cadences, followed by degrees (1), (2) and (7), and then (5) and (6). (The large number of stichic major and minor melodies must also be taken into account wih degrees 1 and b3.) Moreover, there is a very wide variety of cadential series, of which only b3 (b3) 4, 4 (4) 4 and 5 (5) b3 occur more than four times.

Scales. The basic scales of the oldest Kyrgyz musical layers, such as the ritual songs, laments, lullabies, epic songs, etc. are *(fa)-mi-re-do + so, or (re)-do-ti-la + mi.* These double tetrachord structures with their seventh range are similar to the basic scales of, for example, the northern Slavic peoples: melodic activity above the upper tonic (*do* or *la*), and an often empty fourth interval between the lower and upper tonic. There is practically no purely pentatonic Kyrgyz melody, the melodic motion is conjunct within and between lines, i.e., it is essentially on adjacent or contiguous notes. The 6th degree plays an important role in many melodies, sometimes even playing a cadential role as a substitute for the 5th degree. However, in many cases pentatonic details are found, which link Kyrgyz folk music to Eastern Turkic and Mongolian folk music. Even the *so-do* and *mi-la* steps of the above-mentioned basic chords have a pentatonic character, and as mentioned above, this fourth leap occurs in many tunes at the beginning or end of a line. Nor is the *mi-do-la, re-do-la* or *mi-do-re-so* motive uncommon, usually at the end of lines. At the same time, the semitonal pentatonic motive *re-ti-la* (=*so-mi-re*) tritone is found in the endings of several laments and other genres. In wider-ambitus songs, the *fa* note is omitted in some melodic passages from between the *so'* and *mi* notes, lending a pentatonic character to them. The former greater role of pentatonic scales may be suggested by the fact that in the minor-character scales it is precisely the 2nd or 6th degrees missing from the *la*-pentatonic scale that often occur with double *fa/fi* or *ta/ti* character within a tune. Perhaps even more so, we can speak of an uncertain microtonal intonation, which may be caused by the later incorporation of these notes into the pentatonic scales. A slightly different phenomenon is the double-face or uncertain intonation of the 3rd degree: b3–3 in some melodies. An important addition to the latter is the fact that the Kyrgyz replace the frets of the minor and major thirds on the komuz with a single intermediate neutral third fret. All these phenomena occur, albeit in varying proportions, among several Turkic peoples of Central Asia, the Anatolian Turks, the Hungarians and elsewhere. Rarely, chromatic scales are also found in some Kyrgyz tunes, but the intonation of chromatic notes is usually very uncertain. In sum, the most frequent scales are: Ionian (290), Mixolydian (13), Aeolian (135), Locrian (24), Phrygian (11) and Dorian (11).

Rhythm formulas. The seven-syllable trochaic rhythm () is common, and is often combined with an eight-syllable  rhythm, resulting in an 8+7-syllable compound  rhythmic formula. It is not uncommon for an additional syllable to be inserted after the fourth syllable of a seven-syllable verse line, and the result is essentially the same as the 3+2+3 () arrangement of eight-syllable lines popular among Kazakhs and Kyrgyz. Less frequently, there are also Kyrgyz folk songs of eleven syllables of 4+4+3 (). The most common rhythm formations are 7 (), 8 (), and 11 ().

The melody contour of Kyrgyz folk songs. A significant part of Kyrgyz folk songs is characterised by ascending and descending lines. This melodic movement is sometimes more apparent only when the first two lines are joined, for example in the rocking song *do-re-mi-fa | so-la so ‖ so-mi-fa-fa | mi-re do*. In other cases, for example in laments, but also in many popular art songs, the ascending-descending melodic progression is clearly visible in the first line. The *so-do* or *mi-la* ascending or similar descending fourth-leap at the beginning or end of the lines of a Kyrgyz lament also occurs in folk songs, sometimes partially filled in with intermediate notes, sometimes slightly modified (*do-ti-so* or *do-re-ti-so*). Such a phenomenon can be seen in several folk musics, mostly among the Turkic peoples who prefer pentatonic scales, but also in Hungarian, Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian traditional music.[52]

[52] VARGYAS 2002: Pt. 203, 205, 227, 293–296, 475–476.

In Kyrgyz melodies, a syllable is often paired with a single note. It is also quite frequent for performers to recite at a fast tempo on equal notes, in which case only the last note of a line is lengthened. The recitation is usually based on a seven- () and an eight-note () rhythm pattern. Similar declamation also occurs at slower tempos, especially in melodies with longer than average lines. More ornamented passages correspond to the exlamations interpolated in the text lines before or in the refrains. These melismatic vocal interludes are organically integrated into the melodic progression, forming a coherent whole with it. There are mostly 7-syllabic work songs, many ceremonial songs, lullabies, children's songs, and humorous-mocking songs. Some lamentations and some lines of lamentations, lyrical melodies and other melodies with 'deeper' meaning in their lyrics are 11-syllabic. In both the 7- and 11-syllable lines, the insertion of additional syllables, exclamations and even whole words is common, increasing the number of syllables in the line and creating new prosodic forms.

Let us finally get a brief overview of the Kyrgyz epic art, the Manas epic, and the greatest Kyrgyz bard, Toktogul.

Kyrgyz epic art, the Manas epic

The Kyrgyz epic tradition occupies an intermediate position in time between the older forms of narrative of the Eastern Siberian peoples and the newer forms in the music of the peoples of Central Asia. Its content has obviously changed a lot over the centuries, but this oral tradition is still alive today, and almost all Kyrgyz can recite longer or shorter excerpts from the *Manas* epic.[53]

Like the epic art of many peoples, Kyrgyz epic is also heroic epic. Its central hero is the great Kyrgyz warrior Manas, after whom the epic cycle is named. He united the Kyrgyz tribes and led them back to the territory of the Altai, from which they had once fled to escape the Mongols. The epic chronicles the actions of the ancestors of the Kyrgyz and their descendants, recounts their struggles against external and internal forces, and calls for unity among the divided tribes. The text of the Manas epic is also available in Hungarian translation.[54]

It does not only contain historical events, but also reflects on the human, social, economic and political background. The Manas epic has three parts: Manas, Semetei (son of Manas) and Setech (grandson of Manas). The second and third parts describe the period after the death of Manas. Together, the three parts are about twenty times longer than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined(!).

Although many singers have a written version, this epic poem has traditionally been performed by the very popular professional or semi-professional Manas epic singers, without musical accompaniment and often in a trance, at social gatherings, community and family celebrations such as weddings, funerals and concerts specially organised for this purpose. The Manas performances lasted from evening until dawn, during which time the Manas singers would perform a huge amount of poetry by heart to the rapt attention of the crowd. The story always changed slightly and the series of performances could last up to thirteen days. The many local versions of the epic have in common the simple melodies tailored to the story and the characters, the merry didactic tales and a concise, pithy text, some of whose phrases have been absorbed by the everyday language.

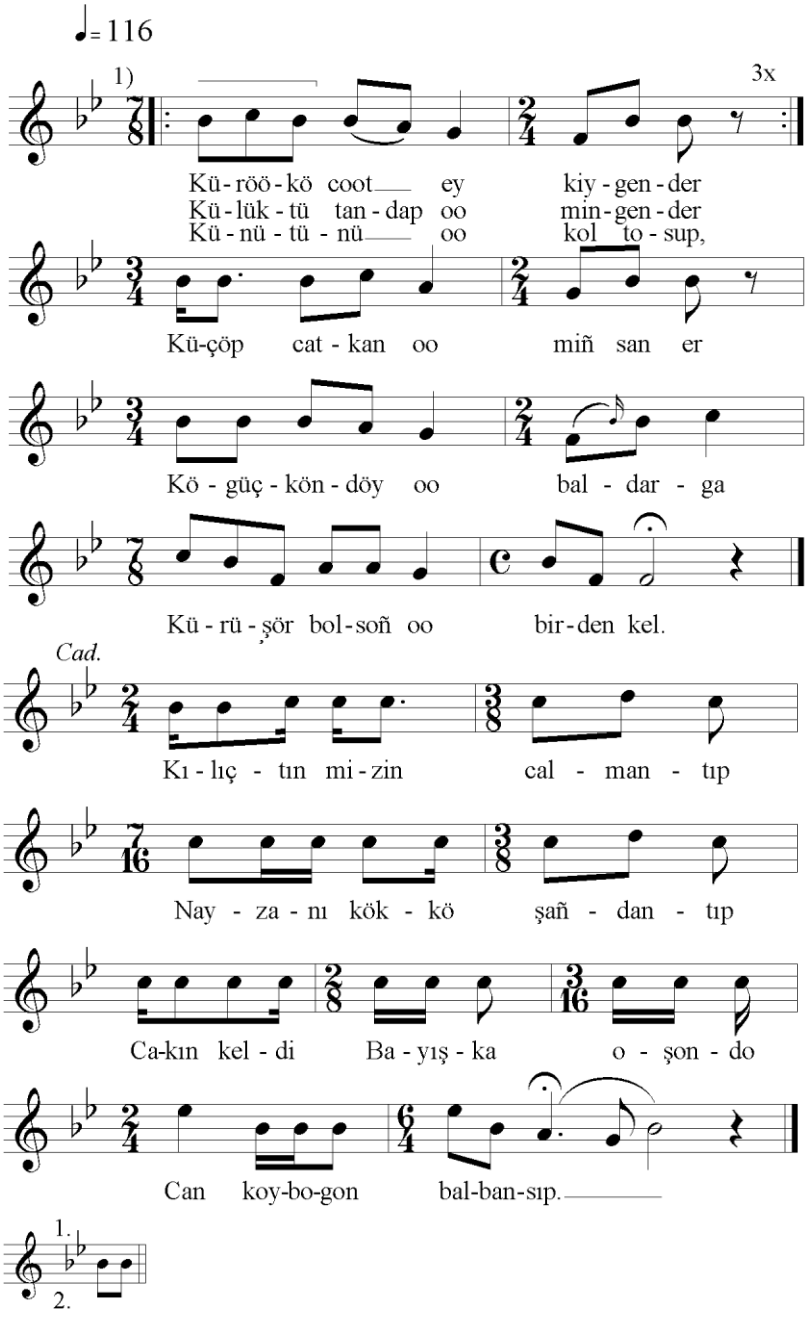
The Manas performance is a solo recitation without instrument, based on the seven-syllabic trochaic line and its variants. As in other Kyrgyz texts, alliteration is frequent. The numerous lines that follow each other are sometimes unrhymed, sometimes the rhymes are irregular, but it also happens that at the end of six to ten consecutive lines the same rhyme or even the same word is uttered. The descriptive episodes are characterised by the variation of the seven-syllable rhythm pattern, and the expression of great emotion is achieved by the rapid recitation of successive lines, which the performer breaks up by elongating the last syllable of the longer lines. Most singers use

[53] CHADWICK–ZHIRMUNSKIY 1969.

[54] See *Manasz. Kirgiz hőseposz* [Manas, a Kyrgyz heroic epic], trans. SOMFAI KARA Dávid, Molnár Kiadó, Budapest, 2017.

their own musical motifs, which rarely exceed a third or fourth range and often end with a fourth leap down from the fundamental. The register gradually rises during the long performance (*Ex. 252*).

Apart from the Manas, the Kyrgyz also have heroic epics and heroic poems of later origin. In these, prose passages describing conditions and circumstances alternate with recitative-like melodies sung and accompanied on the komuz.



Example 252. Excerpt from a Manas performance

The Kyrgyz akins (bards) and Toktogul

Simple people can invent 'new' texts within the traditional framework, but they can only modify the melodies as much as their memory's uncertainty forces them to. Not so the bards of the people, with

their outstanding poetic talent, who can improvise poems and create new melodies. Kyrgyz instrumentalists with a high level of musical and poetic improvisation may have existed as early as the 6th or 8th centuries, and we have concrete evidence of instrumental contests a century ago.[55]

The basic genres of the bards are: *maktoo* 'panegyric' (=Kazakh *maktau*), *sanat* or *nasiat* (*nasihat* in Arabic) 'teaching song', *kordoo* 'mocking song', and the teaching song called terme and another group of mocking songs, the *tolgoo* (=Kazakh *tolgau*). The bards also use more advanced, strophic forms for their songs on lyrical, historical, etc. themes, and their songs have often become popular among the people, almost like folk songs. Music-and-poetry lessons performed in the spirit of folk wisdom are often performed in the commonly used *terme* or *jeldirme* form, a complex composition that changes freely from one theme to another. The text is not strophic, the text and musical performance being fairly close to the structure of epic performance.

The rivalry between the bards (*aytish*) is a contest of craftsmanship as well as an ideological battle.[56] Aytish competitions were in fact contests between clans and tribes, with bards serving khans, *manapos* 'landlords' and *bay*s 'tribe chiefs' praising their patrons, singing the praises of their racehorses, singing lamentations at the death of respected people, and composing mocking songs for rival singers and rich people disliked by their patrons. The singers took it in turns to sing, the winner being the one who stood the ground the longest.

The most prominent of the Kyrgyz bards are the poets and thinkers who are the fathers of Kyrgyz written literature today, Togolok Moldo and Toktogul Satilganov. Toktogul grew up in a simple, poor environment, without books or contact with intellectuals. His first master was his mother, Burma, the famous *kosokchi* 'wailer', who is credited with many lamentations and who taught her son lots of stories and songs. At the age of twelve, Toktogul was already an accomplished shepherd and played the komuz well, and even dabbled in songwriting, adding to the melodies he had learned from his mother the songs he had learned from Kyrgyz shepherds. He also took every opportunity to meet famous singers and komuz players to further expand his repertoire, improve his performance and enrich his style. He took part in more and more competitions, became more and more popular, was often invited to festivals and weddings, and gradually became independent of the khans and landlords.

His real claim to fame was his accusing song against the famous bard Arzimat, a protégé of the powerful landlord Dikanbay, in which he compared the plight of the bards who glorified the powerful with his own independent existence. Landlord Dikanbay and his four brothers persecuted Toktogul, and the persecution only intensified in 1894 when he wrote the song of *Bes kaman* 'Four Boar' against the four brothers, which made him popular throughout the country overnight. The melody of Bes kaman illustrates the strong connection of Toktogul's melodic world with Kyrgyz folk music, its main theme being a Kyrgyz lament consisting of a single hill-shaped line with a fourth leap at the end, and its variations.

Another example of Toktogul's art is the terme form, which is also commonly used by the Kazakhs, whose musical declamation is close to the diction of live speech.[57] In his composition *Toktogul greets Alimkul*, Toktogul greeted Alimkul, who was later to become his outstanding pupil, in the recitative, speech-like manner of the early Kyrgyz terme at their first meeting.[58] The text of the greeting is close to the structure of epic narratives, characterized by free rhythm, abundant use of asonances and a melodic movement that rises at the beginning and descends at the end. Here again we see a direct application of the Kyrgyz-Kazakh folk tradition.

Vinogradov has published a number of songs by Toktogul and his pupils,[59] from which two large groups of music stand out. One group is closely related to the Kyrgyz laments, characterized by improvisatory *parlando-rubato* performance, and most of the songs vary one or two lines in major tonality. As we see in the Kyrgyz lamentations, the first line traces a *re—fa—re* hill shape, the second

[55] RADLOFF 1866–1907.
[56] One of its western chroniclers is EMSHEIMER 1956.
[57] SIPOS 2001c: 35–42.
[58] BELIAEV 1975: ex.40.
[59] VINOGRADOV 1961.

traces a *re—fa—do* arch. This group of melodies also testifies to the strong folk roots of Toktogul's art. The second, larger group contains seven-syllable single- and double-line *tempo giusto* songs moving on major scales. The typical motif of the one-liners is *mi-fa-fa-mi / fa-mi do*, while the first line of the two-liners usually reaches the 4th, 5th, and less frequently the 6th or 7th degree in the form of a hill. These songs also have many folk song parallels.

Toktogul's creative and performing talents were particularly versatile. Zataevich speaks of Toktogul's astonishing originality, his refined musicality, breadth of phrasing, freshness of melody, and 'at certain moments in some of his works, his definite inspiration and captivating quality'.[60] Zataevich's notes demonstrate his wide range of creative and performing talents in many genres.[61] His instrumental compositions, such as *singrama*, *kerbez* and *kambarkan*, programme music pieces, song transcriptions and other works are noteworthy. His interest also extended to Kyrgyz epic poetry, and he even elaborated a version of the legend of Kedey Khan, a well-known legend among the peoples of the Altai and Central Asia. He excelled in the maktoo genre, mocked the oppressors of his people in the kordoo genre, and encouraged his people to creative work and moral perfection in the sanat/nasiat genre. The latter musical-poetic lessons are often in the form of termes or jeldirmes, and he also used more advanced strophic forms for his songs on lyrical, historical, etc. themes.

Many of his songs became well known among the people, as his art was closely related to the style of both the people and the *akin*s (bards). He sometimes performed the older forms almost unchanged, but often expanded them and added new content. Toktogul's art became known not only in Kyrgyzstan, but also in Kazakhstan, further contributing to the rapprochement between the cultures of the two peoples: Kazakh songs spread among the Kyrgyz, and vice versa. Toktogul was well acquainted with famous Kazakh songs and instrumental compositions, Russian revolutionary songs, and was also interested in the music of neighbouring peoples. His art, however, is first and foremost Kyrgyz art born on Kyrgyz soil, inextricably intertwined with the musical traditions of his people, feeding on them, developing them and inspiring those who came after him by creating a unique sound. The Kyrgyz State Conservatory, streets, villages, schools bear his name; his portrait and statue can be seen in many places. His poems have appeared in numerous publications, and his life and works have been researched by historians, musicians and writers.

Apart from Toktogul, there were many other important folk musicians and musicians connected to Kyrgyz folk music.[62]

With this overview of Kyrgyz folk music, I have completed the description of my collections from 1987 to the present. In the next chapter, I will draw on the results of other Hungarian researchers and include the music of the peoples of the Volga-Kama-Belaya region in the comparative study.

[60] ZATAEVICH 1934.

[61] See also VINOGRADOV 1961b and SLOBIN 1969a.

[62] For a detailed list see: DUŞALIEV–LUZANOVA 1999, but their presentation is beyond the scope of this work.

Picture 13. A Kyrgyz couple

3. Central Asian Turkis

This group includes Uzbeks, modern Uyghurs (Eastern Turkis), Salars, Dolans and Yellow Uyghurs. Their literary language has evolved from dialects of the politically dominant elements of the Turkic, Uyghur and Karahanid states.[63] In West Turkestan, i.e., in present-day Uzbekistan and East Turkestan, the language or dialects of the Karluk tribal confederation probably served as a basis.

Uzbeks and Tajiks

Uzbekistan is located in Central Asia and is the most populous state with a population of 34 million. Its capital is Tashkent. Its neighbours are Kazakhstan to the north, Turkmenistan to the south-west, Afghanistan to the south, Tajikistan to the south-east and Kyrgyzstan to the east.

The Uzbeks speak a Turkic language and the Tajiks have an Iranian tongue, the two peoples having lived and still living side by side, often in the same areas, and the majority of the population speaking both languages. Their folk music has similar melodic, tonal and rhythmic bases, and it is typical that lots of tunes may have both Tajik and Uzbek lyrics. The musical instruments used in Tajik valleys and towns are also Uzbek instruments, and Tajik art music forms have been crystallised through the joint efforts of Tajik and Uzbek singers and instrumentalists. At the same time, some areas, such as the Pamir Mountains and the western mountainous region (Garm, Kulab and Hissar), i.e., the inaccessible mountainous areas of Tajikistan, have preserved long-standing traditions. In the following, I will focus mainly on the folk music of the Turkic-speaking Uzbeks, but I will also make frequent reference to melodies and certain phenomena of Tajik folk music.

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[63] MENGES 1968: 60, more recently JOHANSON 2001: 19–24.

About the Uzbeks

An Uzbek tribal alliance of eastern Kipchaks and Kipchakized Mongol tribes invaded Timurid Transoxania in the early 16th century. In his study of Turkistan, Mahmud b. Wali writes that 'the inhabitants of the area have had their special names and nicknames in every era'.[64] The people living in the area were called Turks until the era of the Mughal Khans, after the consolidation of the Mughal Khan's power the name Mughal was applied to them, and from the establishment of the Uzbek Khanate they have been called *Uzbak*s to this day. However, the inhabitants of other areas have always called them *Turan Turks*.

Just like in other parts of Central Asia, there has been a multi-layered process in this area, heavily influenced by modern administrations. Uzbekistan and neighbouring Afghanistan (where there are also Uzbeks) have been the meeting point for the old nomadic and settled Iranian populations, as well as of the Turkic nomads since Hun times. Some Uzbek scholars try to minimize the Iranian element and place the presence of the Turkic ethnicity well before the 1st millennium A.D.[65] In any case, from the 6th century onwards, the Turkic Kaganate saw a large increase in the rate of Turkic elements, and the Turkification of the area is still not complete.

The Uzbeks are basically made up of three ethnic elements: 1) a Turkified ancient Iranian Sart population, originally a composite population of Iranian (Saka, Sogdian, Khwarazmian, Kushan-Baktrian) and Arabic people, 2) a composite population of pre-Uzbek Turkic nomads, some elements of which may date back to the Hephthalite period or even earlier, certainly including the Karluk, Yagma and other tribes of the Eastern and Western Turkic Kaganate and then of the Karahanid state, as well as the Oghuz, Kangli-Kipchak and several Turkified Mongol tribes (Barlas, Jalair, etc.), who came to the area during Genghis's conquest and the Timurid era. These were often referred to as Turk/Turki or Chagatai, and finally 3) the East Kipchak–Uzbek union, sometimes called Taza Özbek (pure Uzbek).

The rapid expansion of the local Iranian population speaking Sogdian and other Iranian languages (Persian, Dari, Tajik) probably began in the Karahanid and Seljuk periods. Turkish influence in Khwarazm had already been felt immediately before the Mongol conquest and became even stronger after the Genghisid times. It was followed by a long bilingual period, which can still be observed in some areas, especially in the cities.[66]

The much-disputed terminology of 'Sart', previously used by the nomadic Turks to refer to the settled Iranian population, was applied by the nomadic Uzbeks to the settled population, including the Turks. Over time, 'Sart' came to refer to the settled Turkic population, separating them from the Tajiks who spoke only an Iranian tongue. The term was used mainly in the regions of Khwarazm, Fergana, Tashkent and, less frequently, Bukhara.[67] In the Khanate of Khiva, the term was used to refer to the population living in the southern areas of the Khanate, who were predominantly descendants of the old Iranian population. This population had become Turkified by the 16th century, although it appears that bilingualism continued until the 19th century. Turkification became consummate only when the northern Uzbek population had settled down. These Sarts speak a Turkic tongue heavily studded with Turkmen elements, which makes it different from northern Kipchak-Uzbek. Some Uzbek groups (e.g., Kurama, Kipchak, Kangli) maintained their tribal consciousness until the 20th century.

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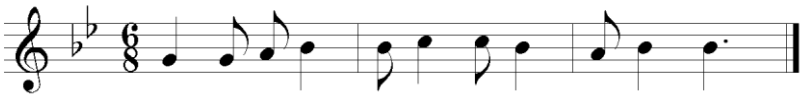
[64] Mahmud b. WALI, *Turkistan*.
[65] ERMATOV 1968.
[66] BENNIGSEN–WIMBUSH 1986: 57–58.
[67] BREGEL 1978: 120–122.

Uzbek has two main dialects: 1) southern or central (Karluk-Chigil) mainly in the cities (Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara, Katta-Kurğan, etc.), which has lost its vowel harmony and has been Persified to varying degrees, and 2) northern, which has no Iranian influence (further divided into north-western and southern), and also there are Kipchak and Oghuz/Turkmen dialects here. These three groups (Turkic, Kipchak and Oghuz) are also found among the Uzbek-speaking Turks of Afghanistan, too.[68]

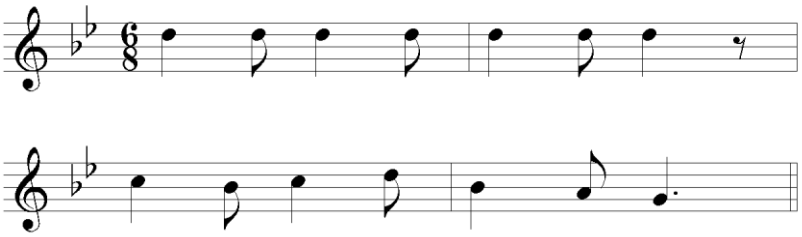
Previous studies on Uzbek folk music

The first to be mentioned is August Eichhorn, a well-educated violinist and composer who came to Tashkent in the 1870s to lead the military orchestra. Eichhorn recorded many Kazakh, Uzbek and other Central Asian folk songs, and also showed great interest in the theoretical, artistic and historical aspects of Central Asian folk music. In addition to the melodies of military bands, he wrote down, among other things, the song of *Lëyzangul* (*Ex. 253*), which is still sung in Azerbaijan.[69] In the melody we see both a rotation around the middle note of a trichord and a melodic motion in the form of a *hill + rise*.



Example 253. Lëyzangul Uzbek folksong

Another melody of Eichhorn is also known as a lyric song and military march in Bukhara and other Uzbek cities, and even in the Middle East, Central Asia and the Caucasus. The popular name of the march is *Iskender march* after Alexander the Great. Here again we see a musical form familiar from the southern Turkic world (*Ex. 254*), and several Azeri versions of the melody are mentioned in SIPOS 2004a.



Example 254. (6/8) Iskender march (BELIAEV 1975: 310, Ex.48)

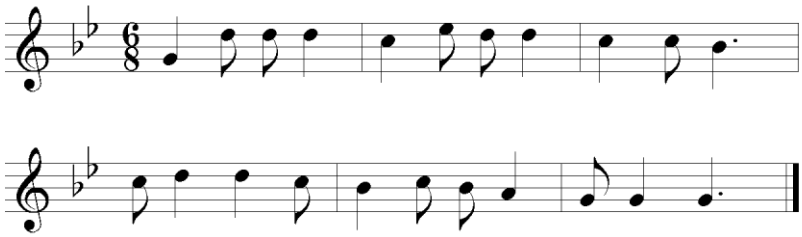
The first Uzbek folksong publication is by Dobrovol'skij,[70] and we should also mention Uspensky (1879–1949), who played a prominent role in the recording of Uzbek folk and professional music. In the bibliography of this work, I list further related publications.

Genres and types of Uzbek folk songs

Uzbek folk songs are quite diverse in their musical content and structure, ranging from the simplest forms to the most advanced. Some lyrics are based on texts by famous Uzbek poets.

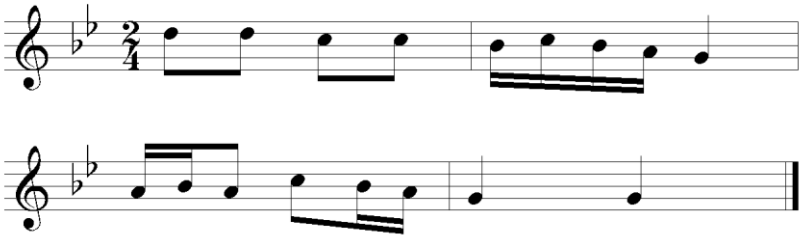
[68] KAKUK 1992: 97–98, 100–102.
[69] SIPOS 2004a: № 63.
[70] *Asiatic Musical Journal* (1816–1818).

Example 255 is a simple weaving song, for which I have collected parallels from Eastern Anatolia[71] and I recorded its counterpart in Azerbaijan, too.[72]



Example 255. A popular tripodic tune among the southern Turkic peoples (BELIAEV 1975: Ex.3)

Among the ritual songs, wedding songs and lamentations play an important role. A wedding song is, for example, the simple *jar-jar* (sweetheart) song of Example 256 (for a discussion of *jar-jar* songs of different Turkic peoples, see HALIKZADE 1997).

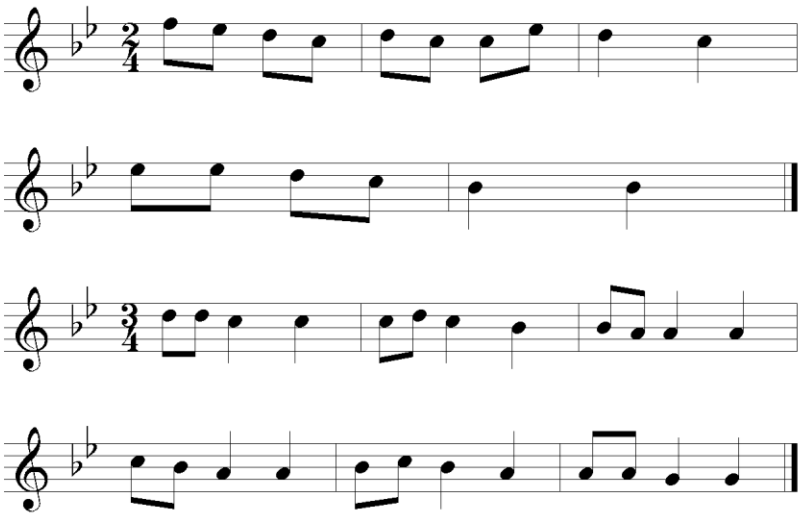


Example 256. Jar-jar tune (BELIAEV 1975: Ex.5)

The Uzbek major lament of Example 257a is improvisatory in nature, and its scale, melody line and cadences are somewhat reminiscent of the Hungarian–Anatolian major hexachordal laments with two cadences. Example 257b, sung by a professional mourner, is a melody reminding one of the Hungarian two-line minor-character mourning form: the performance is informal recitation and the lines end on adjacent notes. At the same time, the Uzbek melody is dominated by the stepwise descent of a single varied 'a' bar ($a^4a^3a^2 \| a^2a^2a$). The melodic lines of a Tajik wandering song (*ğáribi*) and the tulip blossom (*Guli lola*) also recall the small form of the Hungarian minor-scale laments: *mi-mi-mi-mi mi-re mi| re do-re do ti ‖ la-ti-do-re do ti-do | ti-la la*.[73]

a-b)

[71] SIPOS 1994a: № 45, № 49.
[72] SIPOS 2004a: № 318.
[73] BELIAEV 1975: 189.



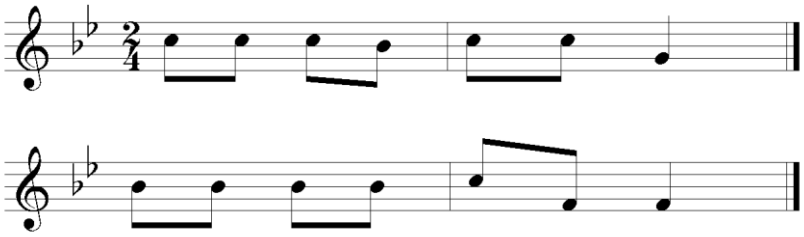
Example 257. Uzbek lament tunes a) major-scale lament (BELIAEV 1975: 262), b) minor lament

Twin-bars

Uzbek lullabies and children's songs are very simple. Similar motivic melodies, sometimes moving on the *mi-re-do-la* tetratone, are also common in essentially non-pentatonic Kyrgyz[74] and Anatolian[75], and, less surprisingly, in Hungarian[76] folk music, which has pentatonic layers, and in the entirely pentatonic Chuvash and Tatar folk music.[77] Another Uzbek lullaby consists of the *re-do re* motif and the somewhat ad hoc alternation of the lines *so-fa-mi-fa re re* | *la-so fa so* and *fa-mi re mi* | *so-fa-mi-fa re*. In Example 258 we see two lullabies, one of which moves on the *re-do-la* tritone(!).

The Uzbek counting-out rhymes of the spring rain magic are recited rhythmically on varied forms of the *do-do-do-do*|*re-so-so* motif, not always on precisely intoned pitches (*Ex. 258b*). Motifs and even melodies based on the *re-do-so* tritone are common in many Turkic folk musics, while they are less frequent in Hungarian traditional music. These melodies refer to an old, pre-pentatony layer of Uzbek folk music (*Ex. 258a*).

a-b)



Example 258. Tritonic Uzbek songs

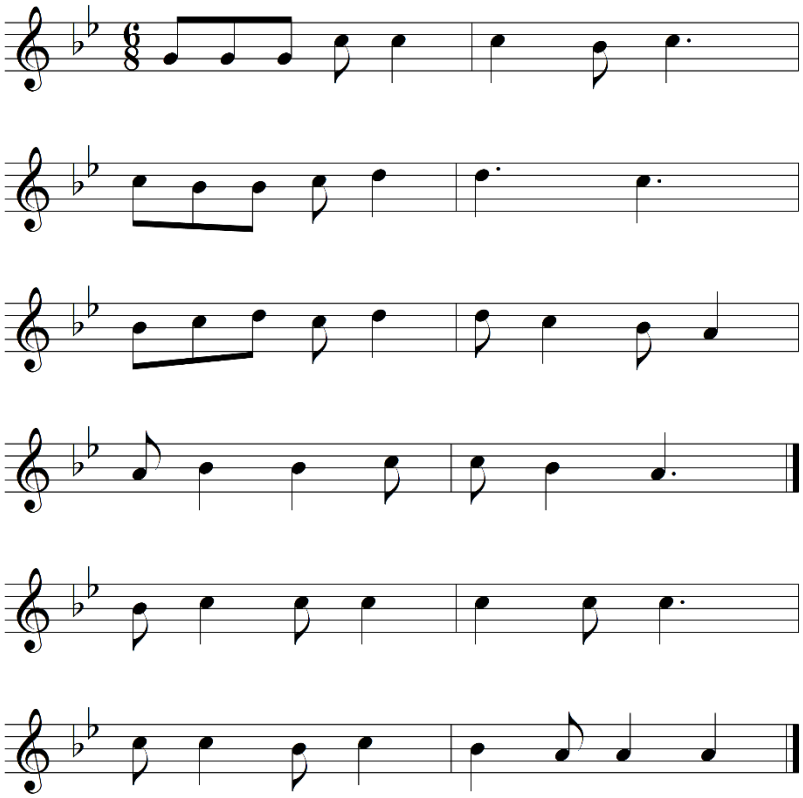
Phrygian tetrachordal tunes

[74] SIPOS 2014a: Ex.8.
[75] SIPOS 1995: 79–80.
[76] VARGYAS 2002: 0148.
[77] VIKÁR 1993: 107–108.

The group of lyrical songs is also the richest among Uzbeks, including love songs, songs with lyrics inspired by the beauty of nature, contemplative songs and others. *Uzgenche* is a typical representative of the love songs, the first two lines of which correspond to the typical two-line Phrygian Azeri melodies AB = *mi-fa-so-la | fa-so-so* ‖ *mi-fa-so-la | fa-mi mi*. Though the short C line descends lower (*re-do-mi-re | do*), but the performance is dominated and closed by the lines A and B: ABB|CC[8]|BBBC|AB.[78] A similar Azeri song can be seen in Sipos (2004a: Ex.8a). In the song commemorating the earthquake in the city of Andijan, the Phrygian tetrachord also appears, this time as part of a more complex melody.[79]

As has been suggested earlier, this musical form, together with the simple Azeri, Turkmen, etc. forms described in detail earlier, most probably represents an Iranian substratum of Turkic folk music. This is also indicated by its popularity in Tajik folk music. Even with its 6/8 rhythm, the Phrygian Tajik song 'From the potters' (*Az koshagoran*) (*Ex. 259a*) is very close to the popular two-line *do-re re re | re re re re* ‖ *re-re do re | do ti ti* Azeri type (*Ex. 259b*), although its structure is more complex. Many Tajik songs are related to animal husbandry and domestic chores, the latter activities being performed mainly by women. The first half of the weaving song in Example 260c is again reminiscent of a popular Phrygian song type, and then it continues in a similar manner to another two-line Phrygian Azeri song.[80] The old Tajik wedding song of Example 260e, 'A bride has come to the house,' is also very similar to the simplest Azeri songs,[81] and Example 260e, which survives from the Tajik Vose peasant uprising of 1885, also moves on this Phrygian tetrachord.

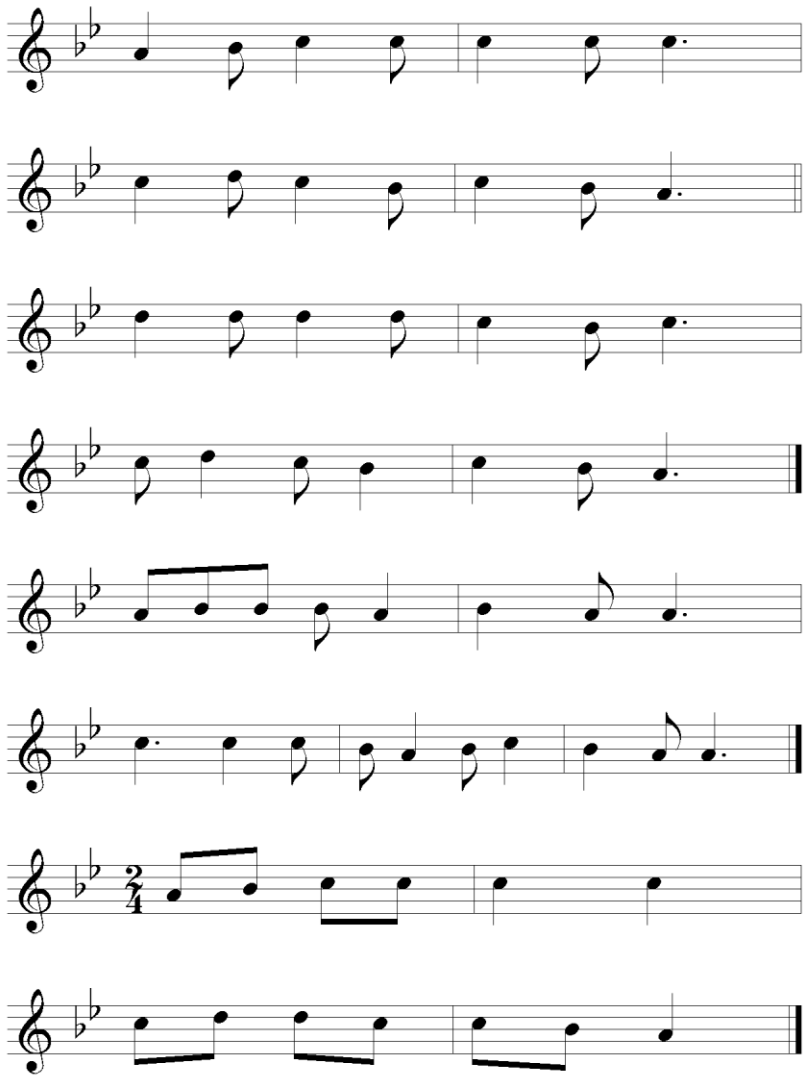
a-b)



Example 259. Tajik and Azeri Phrygian songs a) Tajik (BELIAEV 1975: 176–177), b) Azeri (SIPOS 2004a: № 151, 168)

[78] BELIAEV 1975: 267.
[79] Ibid., 278–279.
[80] SIPOS 2004a: № 171, 175 etc.
[81] Ibid., № 145.

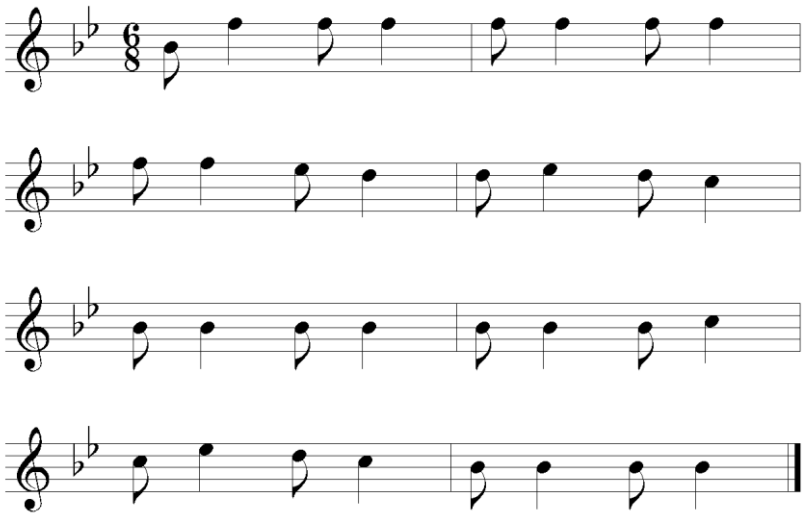
a-e)



Example 260. Tajik Phrygian songs c) Tajik (SIPOS 2004a: № 153, 155, 163 etc.), d) Tajik (BELIAEV 1975: 182–183) and e) Tajik (BELIAEV 1975: 246)

Another typical form is seen in the Uzbek song in Example 261, a four-line song with 7 (4) 4 cadences and ABCD form descending on a major pentachord.[82] The song is also sung in CD/ABCD form.

[82] BELIAEV 1975: 270.

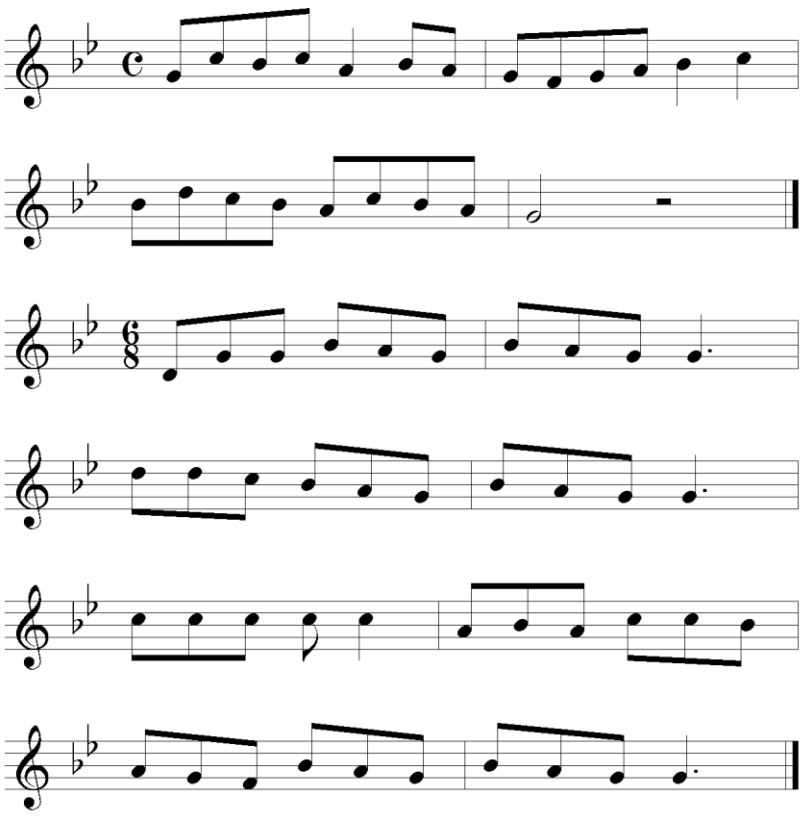


Example 261. Major-character Uzbek tune of four descending lines

Undulating lines and 'small-domed' tunes

In Uzbek love songs there are sometimes undulating or valley-shaped melody lines (*Ex. 262a*), and there are also small-domed Uzbek songs in the form AABA, AAA_cA, AA_vBA_v, with low 1st, 2nd, 4th and slightly higher 3rd lines (*Ex. 262b*). (Similar Tajik melodies are seen in BELIAEV 1975: Exs 44–45). After the Russian conquest, the Uzbeks began to become acquainted with Russian folk songs and, mainly through the influence of military bands, with Western European music. During this period, many songs of the so-called *asula* genre were written to poems by poets such as Muqimi (1851–1903) and Furqat (1858–1909). Lots of of these melodies are characterised by a kind of domed structure: a lower beginning, a higher part in the middle of the melody and a low ending.

a-b)

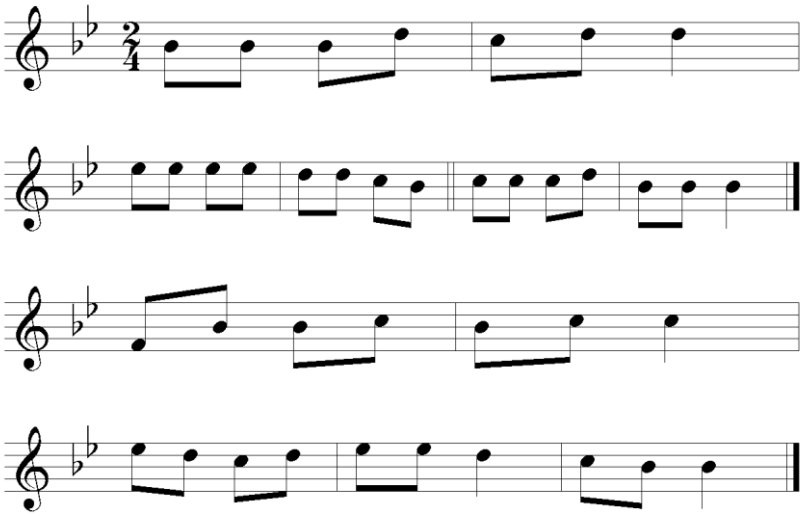


Example 262. a) Undulating first line, b) small-domed form

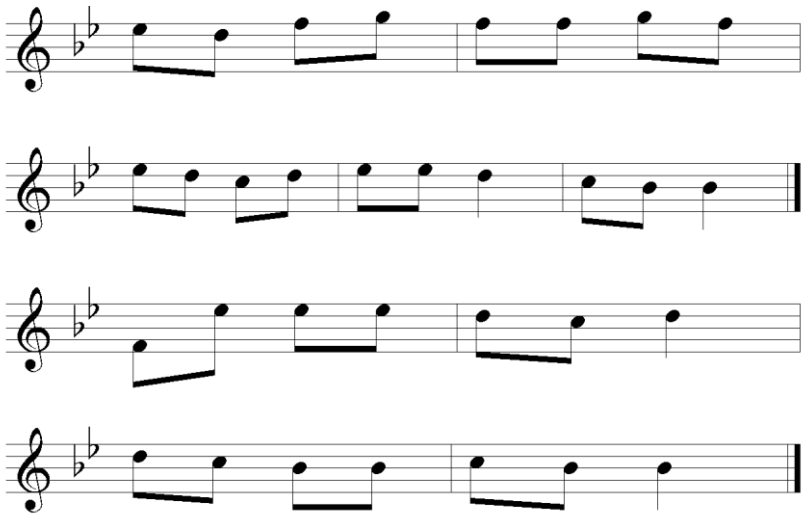
Antiphonal tunes

As with many other Turkic peoples, the Uzbeks and Tajiks have a fashion for singing melodies alternately (*lapar*). These songs, which take the form of 'word duels' between boys and girls, are humorous expressions of love, similar to the dance songs also sung antiphonally during harvesting, cotton-picking, spinning and weaving. In keeping with the responsive performance, the melodies are mostly of a question-and-answer structure. Participants sing either a whole verse, or the first half of the stanza is sung by girls and the second half by boys. The songs are typically on a major scale in the range of a fourth or fifth, and their short lines often form an AAB(B) structure. Example 263 shows a sketch of three such songs.

1, 2a)



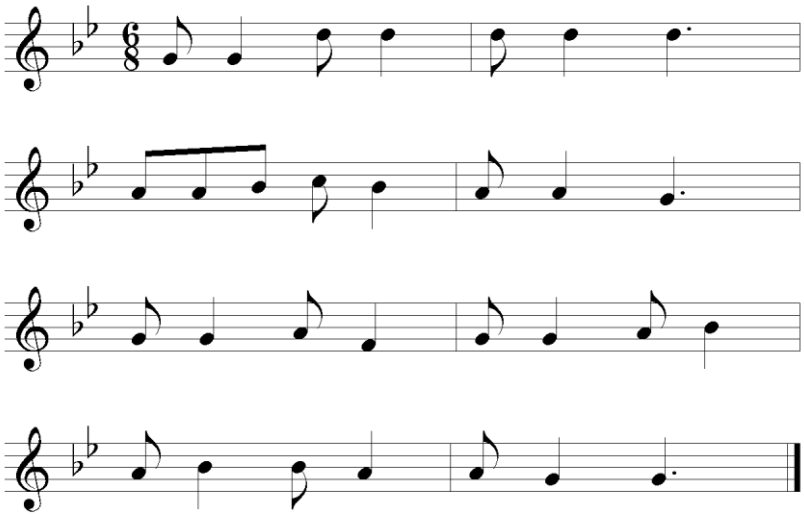
2b, 3)



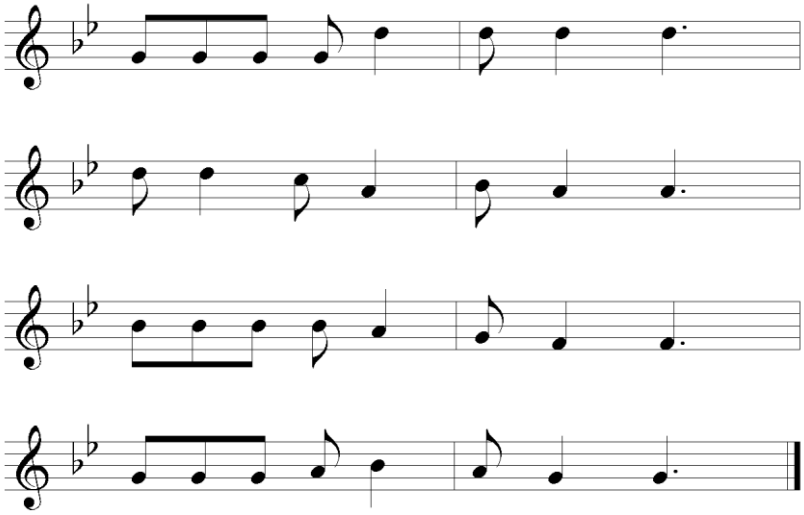
Example 263. Short two-lined dance tunes. 1) Uzbekskie narodnie pesni, Vol. 1: 160, 2ab) Uzbekskie narodnie pesni, Vol. 1: 158 and 3) BELIAEV 1975: 275

In the Uzbek puppet theatre, similarly simple songs add colour to the performance. Example 264 presents two minor-scale tunes of the kind, of which Example 264b would fit into the Hungarian psalmodic melodies, if its main cadence were b3 (such a cadential sequence has been seen in other Turkic folk musics).

a)



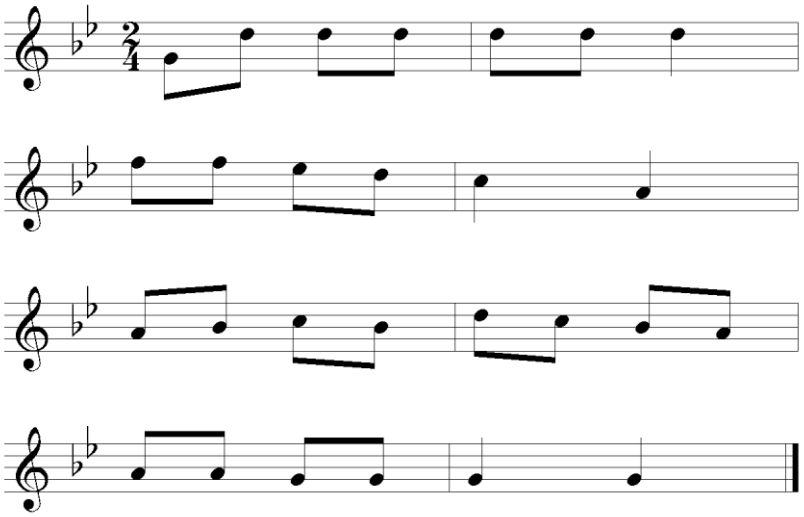
b)



Example 264. Songs sung in an Uzbek puppet theatre (BELIAEV: 1975: 277–278)

Tajik psalmodic tunes

Among the (Iranian) Tajiks, the above peculiar variant of psalmodic melodies also appears, though rarely: the *lapar* song of Example 265 is similar to some psalmodic songs, except that its second and third line ends on the 2nd degree instead of b3. Such songs are also found among other peoples, such as Anatolian Turks, Kyrgyz and Karachay-Balkars, while they are hardly found in Hungarian folk music.



Example 265. Four-line form with main cadence on A.

Dance tunes

Tajik dance songs are usually characterised by the repetition of a short motif in duple and then triple time (*proportio*), for example *la-ti-ti-ti* | *ti-ti la* and then the same in 6/8.[83] Another example is *do-re-do-ti* | *la-la la* ‖ *so'-so'-fa-fa* | *mi-mi mi* and then the same in 6/8.[84]

Disjunct melody construction

A rare disjunct structure also occurs in Tajik(!) folk music, such as MIRONOV 1936 A^4B^5AB structure of the *Zarra-Gul* melody. Among Uzbek lyric melodies there are also several more complex tunes of apparently recent origin, which will not be dealt with here.

Melody contour of Uzbek and Tajik tunes

In the lines of Uzbek and Tajik songs, there are basically two types of melodic contours: 1) descending (often after a jump from the key note at the beginning of the melody to the highest note of the line), and 2) ascending-descending. Less frequent is the undulating line, a Tajik example being the first line of the melody *la-ti-do-ti* | *la-ti do* ‖ *re-re-do-ti* | *la-la la*.[85] The melody mostly proceeds in up and down steps. Both melody lines are found in simpler tunes and in those of a more complex structure.

Scales of Uzbek folk music

As in Tajik music, Uzbek folk music uses mainly minor and major diatonic scales (Aeolian, Dorian, Phrygian, as well as Ionian and Mixolydian, resp.), with the Lydian mode occurring less frequently. In some tunes, one or another of the 2nd, 3rd, 6th or 7th degrees within a given tonic are usually played in a raised or lowered position, apparently chromatising the scale. Among the Tajiks in the Pamir

[83] BELIAEV 1975: 188.
[84] Ibid., 189.
[85] Ibid., 190.

Mountains, this has resulted in a scale with an augmented second step between the 2nd and 3rd degrees. Sporadic pentatonic traces are also found in some Tajik(!) tunes.

Rhythm of Uzbek folksongs

Although the structure of Uzbek and Tajik languages is different, in terms of syllables and verse structure, both use the same metrics, and the types of rhythmic declamation are similar. The most common rhythmic forms of Uzbek and Tajik songs are 1) the eight-syllable trochaic tetrameter (), 2) its shortened seven-syllable form () and 3) the extended form of the eight-syllable line to eleven syllables (). The seven- and eight-syllable lines are usually in duple time. I should mention here that Uzbek songs are characterised by syncopation, especially at the end of lines.

Forms of the basic rhythmic formulas in 5/8, 3/4, 6/8, 7/8 and 5/4 times are common, and the rhythmic patterns vary as a result of the diverse syncopation and adaptation to specific text lines. This also applies to the rhythms of Uzbek songs with five to seven or more syllables (nine to sixteen or more). The unique alternation of six- and seven-syllable lines ( and ) in the *jar-jar* tunes can also be observed in the wedding tunes of other Turkic peoples.[86]

Uzbek prosody, like its Tajik counterpart, can be of two types: *barmak* (finger-counting) and *aruz*. Barmak is used in short, 5–8-syllable lines of simple folk songs, while aruz is associated with more complex verse lines and learned professional music by Uzbeks, Tajiks, and other Iranian and Turkic peoples.

Barmak prosody texts are usually associated with four-line folk stanzas (*rubái*) and are associated with the rhyme scheme a a b a. Aruz texts are usually characterised by continuous rhyme formations such as *ğazal*, *murabba* (four-line) and *muhammas* (five-line), which are, however, essentially derived from folk rubái. The aruz style is also occasionally found in some more complex folk songs.

In addition to the above, Tajik folk music has many unique verse lines and rhythmic structures. Due to the infiltration of literary texts into folk music, four- and five-syllable metrical feet have appeared in folk practice, and various structures of fifteen, sixteen or even more syllables have developed. Some examples of individual metres are: 11-syllable lines with 5+4+2 divisions, 13-syllable lines with 3+4|3+3 divisions and 15-syllable lines with 5+5+5 divisions and accented bar-closing notes.

The change from duple time to triple time has been of great importance for the development of musical rhythm among many Eastern peoples, including the Caucasian peoples, especially the Azeris and Armenians. In Turkey, it occurs in greater numbers only in the eastern regions, and is rare in the Karachay-Balkar, Kazakh–Kyrgyz, or the Hungarian material.

Forms of Uzbek and Tajik folksongs

In Uzbek and Tajik folk music, the two-part half strophe with two text lines (AB) and the two-part full strophe (AB|CB) predominate. Slightly more complex forms are formed by longer verses of 5-6 lines, and by the repetition of lines of verses with different melodies. The three-part ABABA chain form is a national Uzbek and Tajik characteristic.[87] The lyrics of Uzbek tunes are strophic, and the stanzas are often independent in content and can be associated with different melodies. The Uzbeks call simple

[86] HALIKZADE 1997.
[87] BELIAEV 1975: Ex.13.

recited melodies consisting of one part or two short parts a *terma*. This terminology shows the connection between Uzbek songs and those of their Kazakh and Kyrgyz neighbours.

The first half of many Tajik folk songs is ascending-descending, and the second half usually descends from the 5th degree, starting higher than the end of the first half. Since in this case the first, second and fourth lines move low and the third line moves high, the form is often AABA or even AAA^{5}A.[88] There are also some other forms, and the forms are sometimes extended by refrains or introductory formulas.

Uzbek and Tajik musical instruments

The Uzbek and Tajik instrumental repertoire is quite rich. It can basically be divided into two: the stock of mountain Tajiks and that of the Uzbek and Tajik populations living in the valleys and towns.

The mountain Tajiks have relatively few and simple musical instruments: wind instruments are the *tutik* and the *koshnai*, stringed instruments are the *ghijak*, *dombrak* and the *Pamir rubab*, and percussion instruments are the *doira* and the *tavlak*. The tutik is a shepherd's flute with 2–3 sound holes. The koshnai is double pipe with one reed and equal number of holes. The ghaijak is a type of fiddle with three or four strings, usually tuned to a fourth. The dombrak is a two-stringed lute without frets, tuned in fourths and used as a solo instrument or as an accompanying instrument when reciting an epic. The Pamir rubab is a fretless lute, played with a pick. It has three melody strings, the topmost of which is doubled, tuned to fourths. The doira is a rattling drum with a series of metal rings inside the frame and finally the tavlak is a drum with a pot-shaped body on which some skin is stretched.

The instruments of Uzbeks and Tajiks living in the valleys and cities is similar, and it also contains the predecessors of all the instruments of a symphony orchestra. The wind instruments are represented by the *nai* (transverse flute), the *surnai* (oboe) and the *koshnai* (clarinet). Brass instruments are the *karnai* (bass horn), percussion instruments the *doira* (tambourine), the *nagra* (timpani), the *kusuk* (spoon castanets) and the *kairas* (stone castanets). The stringed instruments are the *ghijak* (violin), *dutar*, *tanbur* and *rubab* (plucked lutes) and the *chang* (cimbalom). The Turkic elements of the instrument set are represented by the horsehair violin called *kobuz*, related to the Kazakh kobiz and the Kyrgyz kiyak. The dutar is a two-stringed fretted lute with its silk strings tuned in fourths or fifths. It is also used as a solo instrument, and is accompanied by a dutar-doira duo in folk songs. Uzbek women also play the dutar, which is not common in other parts of Central Asia, where women's instruments are more likely to be tambourines and Jew’s harps. The tanbur is a fretted three-string lute, the metal strings of which are played with a pick. It is an accompaniment instrument for professional singers, but is also used as a solo instrument. Its tuning depends on the piece being played, for example g-d,-g, g-c,-g and g-f,-g. Depending on whether the sixth fret of the tanbur is set low, neutral or high, the upper (melody) string will have the scale g-a-b-c-d-e-(bf/#f/neutral f.[89] The tanbur's high frets are made of thick gut, which allows for vibrato. A tanbur with one or more double strings is called chartar (four-stringed), panjtar or shashtar (five-stringed). The rubab is a three-stringed fretted instrument played with a pick. The upper (gut) strings are doubled, the strings are tuned to a fourth and a chromatic scale from G to A' can be played, which is further extended by the notes B'-C'-D'-Es'-F'-G' of the higher registers.[90] The lower octave of the rubab has a number of metal vibrating strings tuned to the diatonic scale corresponding to the piece being played. The chang is a cimbalom-like instrument, with three superimposed stops at distances

[88] Ibid., 191.
[89] Ibid., 207. Ex. 50.
[90] Ibid., 207, Ex. 51.

of a seventh. The kairak is a kind of castanets, consisting of two bone or stone plates held between the fingers. The nagara is a small clay drum.

With the exception of the surnai, karnai and nagara, which are also used in military bands, the above instruments belong to folk music and are used for vocal and instrumental pieces.

Uzbek and Tajik folk instruments, like those of other peoples, are not tuned to a tempered scale. The scales of stringed instruments approximate to the Pythagorean tuning, while wind instruments have neutral pitches (e.g., neutral third), which may be related to the fact that the sound holes are placed at roughly equal distances. The tanbur scale may also contain neutral pitches. Apart from the neutral third, the other intervals of Tajik folk instruments are close to the intervals of the tempered scale.

The excavations have unearthed terracotta sculptures of musicians playing the now lost instruments of their Tajik ancestors. These included straight flutes, pan pipes, drums of various shapes, lute-like instruments and harps. Statues have also been found of animals playing instruments. Of particular interest is a frieze from the area around Termez at the Amu Darya, dating from the 1st–2nd centuries AD, depicting musicians. They include drums in the shape of barrels and hourglasses, cimbaloms, double whistles, harps and rubab. The latter is identical in structure to the modern Tajik rubab, testifying to the high musical artistry of the ancestors of the modern Tajiks, the Bactrians.

Uzbek instrumental music

Uzbeks also use musical instruments in everyday life, during public celebrations and at dances. The dance tunes are called *reks*, and are usually performed on a *surnai* (zurna), while at other times the dances are accompanied only by rhythmic clapping and singing. Instrumental music includes tunes from various sources, the origins of which are difficult to trace, but simple melodies are also included. Among the instrumental tunes, we also find narrow-range Phrygian tunes so popular with the southern Turks, for example *mi re re-do-ti-do re* ‖ *mi re-do-ti-do ti* Pamir Tajik shepherd's song played on a zuzik.[91]

The repertoire of the dutar includes pieces for two voices, the melody is played either in parallel fourths or fifths, or the melody on the upper string is accompanied by a bourdon on the lower string. Instruments capable of sustaining notes (gijak, kosnai, nai and surnai) are used in everyday life, in ceremonies (e.g., weddings) and especially during dances. An example is the *mi-mi-re-mi / re-mi-re-do / ti-do do* melodic scheme *Larzin gul* [Trembing rose] performed on a surnai.[92] This 6/8 melody has been popular in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan since the end of the 19th century.[93]

All vocal and instrumental Tajik melodies are accompanied by a percussion instrument (doira or nagara). The often quite long and complex rhythmic patterns sounded by the drums are called *usul*, a word meaning 'rule' that came from Arabic via Persian. Usuls are made up of low and high notes, and various mnemonics are used to denote them. The use of mnemonics to mark drum patterns and the extensive use of drum accompaniment clearly show the Middle Eastern connection of many Uzbek and Tajik musical genres. By contrast, in Turkmen, Kazakh and Kyrgyz music, we find a complete absence of membraphones, with the exception of military drums.

It is noteworthy that among the tunes played for the tightrope walker and performed during the horse game called *gulak*, some disjunct tunes of a fourth or fifth shifting character appear: *la-re-*

[91] Ibid., 208.
[92] Ibid., 209.
[93] Sipos 2004a: № 63.

re-la | la-so--so-fa | so-fa-mi-re ‖ *mi-re-re-mi-fa | mi-re-do-la | mi-re-do-la | la*.[94] The dombra repertoire was described by KAROMATOV 1962, but there are practically no publications or even transcriptions on dutar music.

Uzbek epic

The Uzbeks call their epic art *dastan* or *daston*. There are two types of dastan: 1) those recited throughout, and 2) those in which the monologues and dialogues of the characters are sung and only the descriptions of the action are given in prose. Uzbek epic singers accompany their performances with the dombra, an instrument closely related to the Tajik dumbek. Early Tajik epics were performed without an instrument; today, the singer of the Gur-oğli epic, the *gur-oğli-gu*, accompanies his singing on a dumbrak, a version of the dutar. He plays a small prelude before each episode, followed by the narration with rhythmic declamation, which is concluded by a slow coda.

In a dastan variety, verse lines are not always grouped into stanzas, and the music is a varied repetition of a single melody line corresponding to a line of text. Parts of the epic narrative end with individual cadenyas performed at a slower tempo. The most popular Uzbek dastan consists of the cycle of *Gur-oğli* heroic songs already mentioned, and is similar to the narratives of similar name and content (*Koroğli, Guroğli, Köroğlu*, etc.) that are widespread in Central Asia and the Caucasus. The narrative preserves the memory of the Uzbek struggle against the Arab conquerors, with the protagonist being a brave fighter for his people and defender of national independence. As an example, I recall an excerpt from the repertoire of the famous poet and epic singer Islam-şair (b. 1872). It is the recitation of a single line, varied on an Aeolian tri/tetrachord: 6/8: *la-ti-do do-do-do | do-do-re do-ti-la*, a variant of which is, for example, *mi-mi-mi re do | do-do-mi do-ti-la*.[95]

Another kind of dastan belongs thematically to the epic-narrative form, which approaches the genre of the novel. These include *Farhad and Shirin*, *Leili and Majnun*, *Tahir and Zuhra*, *Shahsenem and Garib*, and others. Some of the themes of these dastans can also be found among other oriental peoples. Let us take an excerpt from the Tahir and Zuhra narrative. The melody is based on the well-known Phrygian tetrachord, and takes a form that is popular, for example, in Azerbaijan in courtly mugam music and among folk songs. Another example from the narrative of Shahshenem and Garib is musically more complex, but the Phrygian tetrachord plays an important role here, too: 2/4 ‖: *re-re re | re-re-do-ti* :‖: *ti-do-ti-mi | re-re re* :‖ *mi-mi-mi-mi | mi-mi mi* ‖ *so fa-mi | mi-re-do-ti* ‖ *ti-do-re-mi | re-re-do | ti-ti ti*.[96] The simplest Uzbek folk songs resemble the simple forms of terma and chublama that can be traced back to epic recitation. With their more complex genres, folk songs may have been strongly influenced by the epic-romantic dastan.

Let's summarise the links with other Turkic peoples and Hungarians. The majority of the melodies have narrow ambitus and descend in minor-character scales, with descending or hill-shaped short lines. (The rising–falling–rising first line also appears, but always in a low register.) Tunes based on the Phrygian tetrachord are strongly represented in Uzbek and Tajik folk music. Similar forms to psalmodic melodies, but with (2) cadences, are more common only among Iranian-speaking Tajiks. From among the old-style narrow-range group III (1) of Dobszay–Szendrei's system, tune types 3, 5, 9 and 13, as well as the so-called small-domed melodies, are also found scattered.

After the basically very simple Azeri, Turkmen, Uzbek (and Tajik) folk songs, we now look at the melodic world of the Uyghurs, and especially the Yellow Uyghurs.

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[94] BELIAEV 1975: 281.
[95] Ibid., 289, Ex.36.
[96] Ibid., 291.

Uyghurs and Yughurs

The Uyghurs live in China's western Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region numbering some ten million people as the largest minority, but there are thirteen other ethnic groups living in the province. There are strong tensions between the Uyghurs, who want to secede, and the Chinese, who are fiercely opposed to this ambition.

The ancestors of the present-day Uyghurs certainly included the Turkic tribes of the Uyghur states of the Orhon and the diaspora, to which other Turkic tribes (Karluk-Karahanid, Yagma, etc.) and tribal elements were added in the turmoil of the Genghisid and Timurid times. The Turkified Iranian and Tokharian populations of East Turkestan may also have been an important element in their ethnogenesis.

The name Uyghur fell out of use in the 16th century. This may also have been related to the strong Islamising character of the Chagatai period, because the Uyghur ethnic name, with its distinctly non-Islamic historical, cultural and religious connotations associated with infidels, did not seem an appropriate name in a strongly Islamic context. Just as elsewhere in the Turkic world, Muslim became the general designation here, supplemented by a place name such as turpanlık (Turfan), kaskarlik (Kashgar) or simply yerlik (local). The eastern Turkic-speaking groups in the Ili valley, for example, were alluded to as Taranchi (farmer). The Uyghur ethnonym was revived by Turkestani intellectuals and political figures at a congress in Tashkent in 1921, and by the 1940s the name had gained widespread acceptance.

Modern Uyghur dialectology is relatively young. Kakuk (1976) gives the following classification: a) the two main groups: the southern (western and northern parts of the Tarim Basin) and the northern (eastern and northern parts of the Tarim Basin), and b) the separate, isolated dialects of Lobnor (Lop Nur) and Xoton (mid-south).[97] Tenišev divides the more recent Uyghur dialects into central, southern and northern kinds (Lobnor).[98]

The Salar (Salir) language is spoken by 70,000 Muslim Turks living in the Quinghai province of China. Some see it as an isolated neo-Uyghur dialect, others associate it more with Yellow Uyghur. Ming-era Chinese sources date the migration of the Salars into China to the 14th century. Salar traditions suggest that they originated in Samarkand and are related to the Turkmen Salurs/Salors. Although it is not impossible that the Salars were originally an Oghuz-Turkmen group that later became Uyghurised, the available linguistic data, especially with regard to long vowels, are rather contradictory and require further investigation. The Salars have been exposed to heavy Mongolian, Chinese and Tibetan influences.

Uyghur (not Yellow Uyghur) folk music, like the Uyghur people today, is very complex, and reflects to a large extent Persian and Arabic traditions, commingled with Chinese elements. It is characteristic that the Uyghur volumes of the comprehensive folk music collection by the Chines covering the entire country contain very few folk songs, but instead we find the melodic sequences of the justly famous Uyghur courtly makam music. Pentatony is hardly discerned among Uyghur songs. Some pentatinicism of Turkic and Mongolian origin can rather be found in Yellow Uyghur music.

Yellow Uyghurs (Yughurs)

The ancestors of the yellow Uyghurs (Yughurs) were the Uyghurs. The Uyghurs' vast Turkic empire in what is now Mongolia was brought to an end by the Kyrgyz in 840 AD, after which the Uyghur tribes

[97] KAKUK 1976.
[98] TENIŠEV 1984: 4.

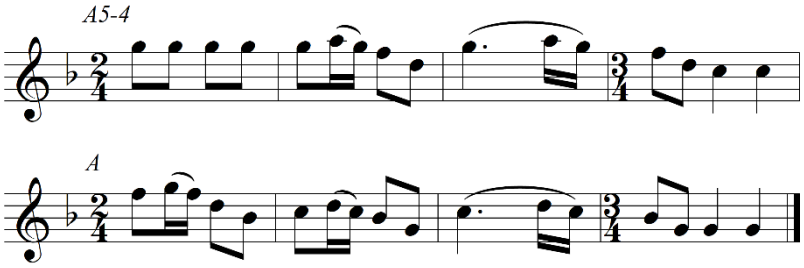
dispersed. Some fled to China and were absorbed there, while others went to the Kuku-noor and Nan-san regions and settled in what is now China's Gansu province. These Uyghurs from Gansu later adopted Buddhism and are mentioned in sources as Yughurs or Yellow Yughurs from the 11th century onwards. To this day, a few thousand of them still live in China, calling themselves *Sari Yughurs*, or Yellow Uyghurs, but few speak their original Turkic language. The Yellow Uyghurs are the only group to have retained the Uyghur name. They are in the Central Asian Turkic group along with the Uzbeks, modern Uyghurs, Salars and Dolgans.

In the European scholarship of the 1800s, many eminent scholars held that the name of the Hungarians used by foreigners could be related to the Uyghur ethnic name, and that the Uyghurs may have had a direct link to the ancient history of the Hungarians. According to 20th century research, although the names Hungarus, ungarisch, Hungarian, etc. are derived from the Onogur ethnonym, Onogur has no direct connection with the Uyghur name.[99] Körösi Csoma had also hoped to discover Hungarian traces in East Turkestan and Mongolia, but in Kashmir he met the English government envoy William Moorcroft, who inspired him to start investigating the hitherto unexplored Tibetan language and culture, and thus he became the founder of Tibetan studies in Europe. Tragically, his premature death foiled the Uyghur research project.

About Yellow Uyghur folk music

Some say that Yughur folk music bears similarities to Hungarian folk music, as it is said to contain many tunes that involve fifth shifting. Perhaps the first to report on Yughur songs was the Hungarian-born orientalist Aurél Stein: 'Their songs sounded very melodious to me, and often reminded me strongly of the melodies I had heard on the roads and rivers of Hungary long ago.'[100]

I have read the accessible articles and lectures by Kodály's student, the Chinese musicologist Zhang Rei, and analysed about two hundred yellow Uyghur melodies recorded in Chevé notation.[101] I found only a few songs in the publications and audio materials in which a change of fifths could be detected, one of which is shown in Example 266.[102] The high start at the beginning of the second part of this melody is also common in other peoples' fifth-shifting tunes, but the end-of-line fourth response contradicts the regular fifth response in the middle of the line.



Example 266. Yellow Uyghur partial fifth shift (ZHANG 1985: Ex.5)

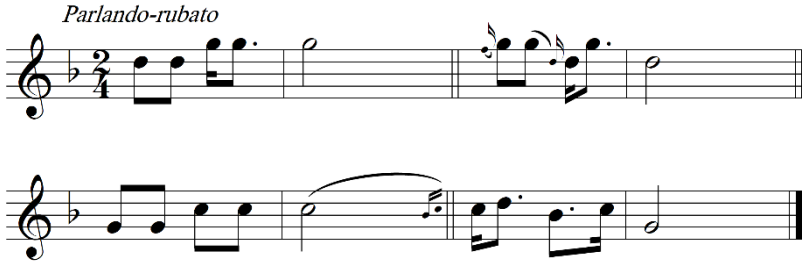
A former teacher at the Beijing Music School, Du Yaxiong, having learned about Zoltán Kodály's and Bartók's discoveries of Hungarian pentatonic folk music, has himself collected Yughur folk songs in Gansu province. In his study *A magyar és a kínai népzene összehasonlító kutatása*

[99] RÓNA-TAS 1996: 217–221.
[100] BÁRDI 1993: 169; CSAJÁGHY 1998: 132.
[101] ZHANG (1985), GONG (1995) and YUG. I thank Gyula Décsi for showing me during the Permanent International Altaic Congress of 1996 Du Yaxiong's article submitted for the *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 1996. The argumentation of CSAJÁGHY 1998 with Hungarian–Yughur melodic parallels does not seem convincing.
[102] It is informative that this is the only fifth-shifting tune on the Yughur cassette deposited in the HAS Institute for Musicology, and presented in Zhang Rei's article.

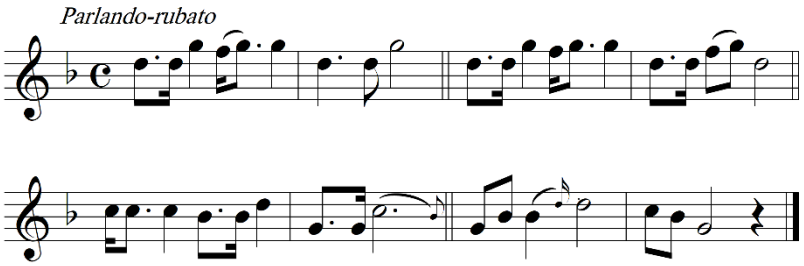
[Comparative Research on Hungarian and Chinese Folk Music],[103] he gives some Hungarian–Yughur and some Hungarian–Chuvash and Hungarian–Cheremis parallels, noting that the pentatonic scale of Yughur music, the phenomenon of the fifth change and the dotted rhythm establish a close link between north Chinese Turkic and Hungarian pentatonic tunes. Of the examples given in the article, only one melody described as a 'Chinese minority's song' was convincing as a pentatonic fifth change. The examples showed more or less similarities to some parts of the Hungarian melodies, at most.[104]

In 2018, I travelled to Beijing for a photography exhibition organized by MMA Hungarian Academy of Arts, and for a Chinese–Hungarian lecture at the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The speakers for the latter were myself and Du Yaxiong. Mr Du presented the same songs at both venues, illustrated by singers. Compared to his previous publications, this time he included 3 Evenki and 2 Mongolian pentatonic fifth-shifting songs, which were in full agreement with the Mongolian and Evenki styles described in Chapter 4. At the same time, two previously unheard Yughur songs (*Ex. 267a.b*) were also presented.

a)



b)



Example 267. Yughur fifth-shifting tunes

Both songs are indeed fifth-changing, bringing the total number of pentatonic fifth-shifting Yughur songs to four, which is, if not many, remarkable. Perhaps the only thing that makes one wonder is that the Chinese scholar had been collecting on the site for ten years, and that during this fieldword he was already aware of the similarities between Hungarian and Yughur songs, yet only four unquestionable pentatonic fifth-answer tunes could be found.

At a 1986 concert of the Hungarian band Téka in Beijing, the Yughur singer Yingxinji noticed similarities between Hungarian and Yughur songs. At the Hungarian Embassy in Beijing, István Kiszely

[103] Buenos Aires, 1985. Ősi gyökér.

[104] Examples of the article: 1) *so*-pentatonic Sichuan song of AB^{5}AB structure, 4(5)4<VII> cadences, 2) two-line *mi*-pentatonic max. patially fifth-shifting tune from Hebei *so mi mi re | so mi mi re do ‖ do mi re-do la | re-do do-la mi*, 3) *la*-pentatonic fifth-shifting tune from a minority (Mongolian?) of China: *mi-la-so-la | la mi la zo ‖ la-la-so-la | la-re so mi ‖ mi-re-do-re | mi la re do ‖ la-re-do-mi | mi-la do la*, 4) Yughur song somewhat reminiscent of the first part of *Éva szívem, Éva* [Eve darling, Eve], 6) Yughur tune slightly resembling lines 1-2 of *Túrót eszik a cigány* [The Gypsy's eating curd], 7) Yughur tune somewhat reminiscent of the first two lines of a Hungarian tune *la la la so | mi mi so la | la si mi*. In addition, he cites a Yughur and a Zakhur tune wobbling on the *do-re-mi* trichord.

made audio recordings with her, which were sent to the Institute for Musicology. I transcribed and analysed the songs, but found no really convincing Yughur–Hungarian melodic parallels. György Csajághy also reviewed the melodies and published a good number of them in his book. It seems, however, that the tunes he has selected do not provide sufficient evidence for a close Hungarian–Yughur musical connection. [105]

What conclusions can we draw from this? In contrast to the extensive pentatonic fifth-shifting melodic styles of Hungarian, Mongolian and Evenki music as well as music on the Cheremis–Chuvash border, few fifth-shifting melodies have emerged among the Yughurs (at least so far). The Buddhist Yellow Uyghurs have been strongly influenced by Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese culture, they are intermingled with these peoples, their languages are widely used among them, while their own is being rapidly lost. Mongolian influence cannot be excluded in the pentatonic Yughur tune stock, so the fifth-changing melodies could also be of Mongolian origin.

There is no doubt that some pentatonic, descending Yellow Uyghur melodies are closely related to Hungarian pentatonic fifth shifting tunes moving in short lines. However, the overwhelming majority of these Yughur melodies (like the Evenki tunes) consist of two short lines. In the Yughur melodic world, the tetratonic range is common, as is the *so*-pentatonic scale. Common to the two folk musics, however, are the frequent *la*-pentatonic scale, the descending, disjunct melodic world, and the *parlando-rubato* performance.

Perhaps we may conclude as much that the descending, pentatonic Yughur melodies are as similar to Hungarian pentatonic songs as the music of the Tatar and Chuvash peoples of the Volga-Kama-Belaya region (except for the fifth-shifting Cheremis–Chuvash border!). The typical Yughur melodic world is thus related to Hungarian pentatonic tunes, but dominated by simpler forms. However, in contrast to the music of Hungarians, the Cheremis–Chuvash border and the Mongolian–Evenki areas, the explicitly fifth-alternating structure is rare among the Yughurs. It is known that some of the Yellow Uyghurs are strongly Sinicized, while others are under strong Mongolian influence. If the pentatonic Uyghur melodies originate from the Mongolised area, then Mongol influence in the pentatonic Uyghur melodic world cannot be excluded.

[105] CSAJÁGHY 1998 put forth the following parallels: Ex.150) repetition of the *do-re mi | re-do la* tetratonic motíve, Ex.210) the *do' so | mi-so-mi-do* detail of the Hungarian folksong *Szélről legeljetek* [Graze on the edge] compared with the Yughur song dal *do-la-do-la so | la-so-mi-re do*, Ex.211) *Elmegyek, elmegyek* [I'll go away] Hungarian folksong compared to the repetitive Yughur motif *la-do-re mi | re-mi do la*, Ex.212) the Hungarian song *Hol jártál az éjjel* [Where have you been] compared to the fifth-shifting ‖*:la-ti-la la mi :*‖*:re-mi-re la:*‖, Ex.213) the Hungarian song *Októbernek, októbernek elsején* [On the first day of October] compared to the short two-line fifth-shifting tune ‖*:la-la la so | la-so mi :*‖*: re-re re do | re-do la:*‖ and another Yughur song of two longer lines *la-so-la-so so-la-la-so | so-la-mi-re re | re* ‖ *so-so-so-la mi re | do-re-re-la so*, Ex.215) *Megösmerni a kanászt* [You can tell a swineherd] compared to the Yughur *la-la-la-la la-la-so-mi | la so-mi re re* ‖ *so-mi-so-la re-mi-do-la | re do-do la la*.

Picture 14. Turkmen wedding