

NOTES ON BUKHARAN MUSIC IN ISRAEL

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The present paper describes the findings of a six-week research trip to Israel in May-June, 1971¹. Having specialized in the music of Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia, I was attracted by the possibility of finding survivals of Bukharan traditions in Israel, particularly in the area of secular music. This interest was stimulated by the observations of Israeli scholars, who have remarked that "basic research... should begin immediately, before the loss of those few who still remember Bukhara in all its splendour" (Lancet-Müller 1967: n.p.). Although the scope of the inquiry was limited by a serious dearth of musicians among the Israeli Bukharans, the data collected nevertheless afford a glimpse into the past and present state of Bukharan music among Central Asian Jews.

The origin of the Central Asian Jews (collectively termed "Bukharan Jews" by western scholars) is unclear; the evidence on the history of settlement patterns is contradictory and ambiguous. According to V.V. Bartold (quoted in Kalontarov 1963:611), there were more Jews than Christians in eastern Iranian lands (Khorasan, northern Afghanistan, Transoxania) in the tenth century A.D. However, the same authority (*ibid.*) indicates that most of the Central Asian Jews immigrated to Transoxania from Iran during the vast ethnic upheavals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Tamerlane's capital, Samarqand, seems to have been the original area of settlement for Jews, who reached the Ferghana Valley and the highland Tajik areas only in the nineteenth century (*ibid.*).

The most useful census of Central Asian Jews dates back to 1934, coincidentally a period of interest for the present paper². At that time there were

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2. Exact information is lacking as to the current number of Central Asian Jews since recent censuses have not distinguished European from Asian Jews. The best guideline available in the 1970 census (Wixman 1972) gives a figure of 25,000 for Jews residing in Central Asia who give Tajik Persian as their native language. An estimate given me in 1968 by a Jew of Bukhara cited 10,000 Jews for that city, or about 10% of the total population.

some 24,000 Jews in Soviet Central Asia, with the largest concentration of population in Samarqand (5750) and Tashkent (3340; Amitin-Shapiro 1938:54). In addition there was a small group of "semi-Islamized" Jews who maintained both Jewish and Muslim traditions and practiced endogamy (Babakhanov 1951). Ethnographic data on the traditional way of life of Central Asian Jews is quite limited, with the most accessible and extensive studies being those of Amitin-Shapiro, particularly his 1933 monograph on customs relating to pregnancy, child-birth and early childhood. While concentrating on distinctively Jewish customs, most writers also stressed the extensive adoption of the traditions and languages of the principal groups among whom the Central Asian Jews lived: The Tajiks and the Uzbeks. The Tajiks are an Iranian people speaking a variety of eastern Persian dialects and represent the old Persian cultural continuity of Central Asia. The Uzbeks, on the other hand, are recent arrivals (c. 1500 A.D.) and reflect the strong Turkic component of the region. Together, Tajiks and Uzbeks formed a shared culture in those cities of Transoxania which also served as focal points of Jewish population. This urban way of life featured a high degree of bilingualism (including sharing of both lexical and syntactic features; see e.g. Menges 1967), joint holidays, considerable intermarriage and other traits of cultural fusion. To a certain extent this situation has persisted to the present (e.g. Sukhareva 1966), though the Uzbeks and Tajiks now form two titular ethnic groups in statistics and patterns of social organization.

Thus, it is not surprising that the local Jewish population made its own contribution to this milieu of cultural sharing despite ghetto walls and restrictive laws. In the realm of music particularly Jews in Central Asia—as in several regions of the Near East and North Africa—became renowned for projecting their talents beyond the Jewish quarter into the surrounding Islamic community. As in the Arab world and Iran³, Transoxania boasted a large contingent of highly popular Jewish performers of the local secular classical court musics. In the case of Central Asia, the regional style consisted principally of an extensive cycle of six suites known as the *Shashmaqām*, or six *maqāms* (meaning both modes and forms), and, as one writer has put it, "national Jewish singers (*hāfiz*) were praised as among the best performers of the classical melodies of the *Shashmaqām*. The

3. Information on this point was gathered in conversations with Dr. Bathja Bayer and Amnon Shiloah of the Jewish Music Research Centre, Jerusalem, and Dr. Laurence Loeb, Lehman College, New-York.

names of the best pre-Revolutionary singers were famous across all Central Asia..." (Kalontarov 1963:629). This situation has not changed; in 1969 performers of the *Shashmaqām* in Tashkent told me that Jews make up at least 30% of the present contingent classical musicians in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Central Asian Jews continue to make their mark in other areas of the arts as well; to cite just two examples, the much-honored film director Kimiagarov and the artist Eliezerof (Kalontarov 1963:630), who both carry family names found also in Tel-Aviv.

Jews made their musical contribution not only in the rarified sphere of the *Shashmaqām*. Traditionally, Jewish performers were active at all levels of the music culture, from court patronage to street performance, from public holidays to private festivities, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Of some significance in understanding the local music culture is the often subtle interplay between Jewish religious music on the one hand and secular music, both Jewish and Islamic on the other, a topic to which I shall return below, as Kalontarov (*ibid.*) points out:

"The folklore of the Central Asian Jews borrows much from their neighbours, the plains Tajiks and Uzbeks... Shared melodies were related to the cycles of secular music and were usually performed at family festivities and holidays as entertainment for guests... there were also their own national motives which accompanied religious singing and prayers."

It is apparent from the available evidence that musical acculturation flowed in two directions: On the one hand, Jewish performers were instrumental in the creation and maintenance of a basically non-Jewish secular court music tradition, while at the same time the tunes and practices (instruments, forms) of the non-Jews filtered back into the area of domestic Jewish music-making.

It is the surviving elements of this cultural background that I hoped to find in Israel today, in a milieu untouched by the Soviet process of modernization which has so deeply affected Bukharan music in its home area. I soon discovered that to a large extent Bukharan music has also been modernized and even lost in Israel; this is only to be expected given the fact that Bukharan families arrived in Jerusalem as early as the 1880's and have taken an active part in the growth of a national music culture in Israel. All roads of inquiry led me to one family of musicians, the Eliezerofs of Tel-Aviv, who have maintained the older Bukharan repertoires. Talks with Dr.

Bathja Bayer of the Jewish Music Research Centre indicate that the reduction of a given Jewish community's musical storehouse to a handful of carriers is not an unusual occurrence in Israel. The data included in the present paper derive only from the Eliezerofs, the prime (perhaps the only) exponents of traditional Bukharan secular music in Israel today.

There are two Eliezerof brothers, Mashiah and Menahem, who with their wives (Adina and Berachah respectively) represent Bukharan music. The "representation" aspect of their careers is quite important: For example, at *Yôm Yerûšalayim* (Jerusalem Day) 1971, Menahem and Berachah together with their son provided Bukharan flavour for the festivities. Israeli radio and television has featured the Eliezerofs, and they can be heard on tapes dating back many years in the National Sound Archives. Bukharan Jews themselves invariably hire the Eliezerofs on the somewhat infrequent occasions when traditional music is required at weddings. The family's repertoire includes older and newer Israeli favorites as well as the music of their area of origin.

The Eliezerof's biographies are of considerable interest in providing concrete examples of the recent history of Bukharan Jewry. In their early sixties today, the brothers represent the first post-Revolutionary generation of musicians. Trained at first in the oral tradition by relatives and then by professional musicians, Menahem and Mashiah were later (early 1920's) integrated into the newly-created group of state-supported performers. The new ensembles were part of an extensive Soviet program to build "modern" Central Asian music cultures (for varying points of view on Central Asian musical change see Vinogradov 1967, Spector 1967 and Slobin 1971). Similarly, the Eliezerofs' wives became members of the new women's troupes, at first greatly despised by the local Islamic populace but gradually accepted as a part of the emergent socialist society. The "local-Jewish concert-ethnographic troupe" of which they formed a part was organized in 1932, with twelve performers, and grew by 1934-35 to an ensemble of 45 with a budget of 100,000 rubles (Amitin-Shapiro 1938:59), indicating the importance temporarily placed by the authorities on the fostering of Bukharan Jewish culture. The "Local Jewish State Musical Theater of Uzbekistan", as it was called, played a repertoire of some 300 works to both Jewish and Uzbek-Tajik audiences (*ibid.*) at its height, but was gradually subsumed into the more general Uzbek performing arts structure. It was in this latter phase that Adina Eliezerof became a co-performer with Tamara Khanum, the almost legendary prima donna of Uzbek popular music in the

early post-Revolutionary period, a fact Adinah remembers with pride even today.

Meanwhile, Menahem Eliezerof was chosen to become one of the early members of the Musical Institute in Samarqand, where he began to study music according to Western conservatory methods. He met N.N. Mironov, the noted Russian musicologist who pioneered in Central Asian music research, and the latter encouraged him to continue his studies. However, despite the seeming acceptance of Jewish performers as an integral part of performing groups and of conservatories, the Eliezerofs found the atmosphere uncongenial in the 1930's. As the son of a rabbi, Menahem was singled out as a *mullabacha* ("mullah's son") or *bāibacha* ("rich man's son"), unfavorable titles in the new proletarian society. He was put on trial and, he says, was only saved by Mironov's intercession on his behalf. At one point Menahem was attacked and nearly killed by a band of ten Muslim students of the Musical Institute.

It was shortly thereafter (c. 1935) that the Eliezerofs fled the Soviet Union by means of a dangerous raft journey across the Oxus River to Afghanistan. They arrived at the town of Andkhoi, then teeming with Uzbek and Turkmen refugees, and were promptly arrested as Bolshevik agents by the Afghan authorities. The Eliezerofs' description of the Jewish communities in northern Afghanistan in 1935 is of considerable ethnographic interest since so little data is available on the topic. According to Afghan regulations, the Eliezerofs had to be supported by their co-religionists in Andkhoi while imprisoned; and judged the Jewish population to number about one hundred⁴. From Andkhoi they were moved to Maimana, thence to Aqcha, Mazar-i-Sharif and Tashqurghan. They were fortunate in finding helpful Jews in those towns, as Jews were expelled from northern Afghanistan shortly thereafter by order of the King.

As has been the case of Samarqand, the Eliezerofs were rescued from distress by a musical connoisseur, in this case none other than the deposed Emir of Bukhara, then residing in Kabul in exile. The old Bukharan potentate longed for the music of his homeland and interceded with the Afghan authorities to obtain the Jewish musicians' release so that he could be properly entertained.

4. This would seem reasonable in the light of Gunnar Jarring's informant's figure of one thousand for "Afghans, Hazaras, Tajiks, Arabs, Persians (Irani), Qirghizes, Qazaqs, Jews and others" (1939:75), though it is a bit surprising that Jews would have amounted to as much as 10% of such a large list of ethnic groups.

This aspect of the Eliezerofs' story is supported by Shukria Raad of Kabul (personal communication), the youngest daughter of the late Emir, who says that her mother still speaks warmly of several refugee Jewish women whose husbands had performed for the Emir.

Despite the Emir's generosity and almost two years of playing Bukharan music in Kabul, the Eliezerofs began to feel restless and decided to leave for Palestine. Following the usual devious route of Kabul-Peshawar-Karachi-Basra, they managed to obtain visas and entered Palestine in late 1936. It was at that time that Mashiah obtained the extraordinary Bukharan *tanbūr* lute he still plays, bought from a Bukharan late-nineteenth century emigre. It features handsomely-carved depictions of Jerusalem scenes and provides unique material evidence for the lengthy presence of Bukharan music on Israeli soil. Today the Eliezerof brothers live in the Florentine Quarter of Tel Aviv in reasonably spacious and well-furnished apartments. They are proud of their musical repertoire and skills, and charge high fees for performance, e.g. Mashiah's opening request to me for 100 Israeli pounds (then 35 US dollars) for one hour of taping.

Let us turn to an examination of the Eliezerofs' repertoire and its implications for traditional Bukharan Jewish music as a whole. One is immediately struck by the breadth of coverage, in terms of strata of Transoxanian music culture. Beginning with liturgical music and household Jewish songs for festivities the repertoire ranges throughout music for general (Jewish and non-Jewish) entertainment including the theater music of the nineteen-twenties and thirties and the classical court music of the *Shashmaqām*, thus corroborating the assertion that Jews were deeply entrenched in Bukharan musical life. Our first example is of a Bukharan Jewish wedding song, sung by women during the toasting of the bride and groom. The verses are supposed to be sung in a question-and-answer style by soloists (Ex. 1).

The language of Example 1 is straightforward Modern Persian. In structure and content the text is clearly non-Jewish in approach (note particularly the references to Venus and Jupiter) and even suggest a source in classical Persian poetry, yet the Eliezerofs clearly indicate that the song was used for Jewish festivities.

A good example of a purely Uzbek entertainment song in the Eliezerof repertoire is the song *yār, yār, ainalai* ("dear, dear, sacrifice"), relating to a large genre of light Uzbek songs generally sung by women at celebrations and containing refrains with the words *yār, yār*. A song of similar structure with the *yār, yār ainalai* refrain can be found in E.E. Romanovskaia's

Example 1. Bukharan wedding song (Menahem Eliezerof)

ei dust rah-mān- ai tu mon sho-dī man tu sho-dam man tan sho

dam tu jūn sho-dī tā kas na-gu-yad bad az in- man dī-

gar-au tu dī-gar-ī ei dust har-giz na yad dar na- zar su-rat

z ru-yat kub- tar sham-sī na-dā-nam yā qa-mar yā zuh-ra-ī yā muzh-tar-ī

vā rax- mā- nā- ī

(1957:83) anthology of Ferghana Valley women's songs collected in 1931; the difference in texts and tunes can probably be attributed to regional stylistic variance between Katta Kurghan, the Eliezerofs' home town, or Samarqand and the Ferghana Valley. Songs of the Uzbek theater days that remain in the Eliezerofs' memories include such numbers as *Talqum* and *Irāq-i Tashkent*. These fall into a genre that might be called "semi-classical" or "light classical" by analogy to similar works in Western European music; pieces that reflect the structures and idioms of classical music yet are considered lighter in mood and content.

Turning to the items of the *Shashmaqām* in the Eliezerof repertoire, a good example might be their rendition of *Talqin-i bayāt*, from the *maqām Navā*. Interestingly, the text sung by Mashiah and Adinah is a variant of the "official" version as published and recorded by Tajik and Uzbek *maqām* ensembles in recent years. Though the poem—Hilāli—is the same, the Israeli version is entirely different save for the *ya-la-la-la-la* refrain at the very end of the poem. Similarly, the melodic treatment differs somewhat from the current Central Asian style in that the same melodic lines appear in a different order in the two versions of *Talqin-i bayāt*. Thus, the three tunes that occur in 1-2-3 order in the Eliezerof version (Example 2) appear in 1-3-2 sequence in the Tajik version (Example 3). Also significant is the

fact that the Eliezerof variant does not contain the elaborate *auj* sections, or climactic passages in higher register, which characterize the published and recorded versions of both Uzbekistan and Tajikistan ensembles. The opening sections of the Eliezerof and Tajik versions are given below (Examples 2 and 3).

Example 2. "Talqin-i bayāt" from Maqām Navā (Adina & Mashiah Eliezerof)

♩ = 77

voices
b'ya chun dar jam-i mai di-dam rux-i gul-fam-ra

* sim. throughout

voices
aks-i tu-yat chesh-ma-i xur-shid me-sa la jām rā

tanbur
voices
b'ya chun dar

jan-i mai di-dam-rux-i gul-fām-rā

tanbur
voices
aks-i-ru-yat

chesh-ma-i xur-shid me-sā-la jān-rā

* "bum" (bass) and "bak" (treble) strokes respectively

Example 3. "Talqin-i bayāt" from Maqām Navā (Beliaev 1957:52; Tajikistan version)

♩ = 122

voices
tārqi yā-ri kar-di-u man ham-chu-nān yār-am tu-rā

sim. throughout

voices
dush-man-i iān-i-u az jān dus-tar da-ram tu-rā

tanbur
voices
ger be sad xa-ri ja fā ā-zur-da sā-zi

xa-ter-am ā yā ra-ma

It is difficult to account for the discrepancies between Examples 2 and 3. Two explanations come to mind: Either the Eliezerof version represents a tradition no longer maintained in the Transoxanian homeland, or their tradition is a regional one not reflected by the available recordings. These possibilities are not mutually exclusive, and it should be noted that a high degree of regionalism pervaded traditional Uzbek and Tajik performance of *maqāms* in the past.

Perhaps the most striking (to me, at least) aspect of Bukharan Jewish music is the relation between liturgical Jewish music and the melodies of the *Shashmaqām*. To illustrate the affinity between these two stocks of melodies it is useful to turn to the oldest available recording of Bukharan chanting in Israel, as documented by Johanna Spector in 1951⁵. Here is an excerpt of Psalm 144 as chanted at a funeral service in Tel-Aviv in 1951 by older members of the community; beside it is a sample of the song *Giryā* ("Weeping") from the *maqām Segāh*, as performed by the *makomisti* ensemble of Tashkent (Examples 4 and 5).

The similarities between the two Bukharan excerpts can be seen in several areas: 1) Identical tempo; 2) similar duration (35" and 40" for Examples 4 and 5 respectively), indicating strong affinity in the sense of pace and timing for sections of generally similar structural significance; 3) the persistent rhythmic figure of ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ and its variants which runs through both; 4) similarity of approach to ornamentation of key pitches, agreement in the occurrence of these and appearance of rests after important notes; and 5) the general slow descending contour of each phrase, which begins near the top of the range. Taken together, I feel this set of structural convergence indicates strong stylistic carryover from one repertoire to another. Other characteristics, not present in the transcriptions, link the Psalm and *Giryā* performances. The voice quality, including the timbre and type of vibrato, is very close, and the method of presentation is identical: a chorus sings a section of text in unison, after which a soloist attacks the following lines in the higher registers; two or more soloists may alternate in this fashion, eventually bringing the tessitura down to the level of the chorus once again.

5. Excerpt is from Tape Y94 of the National Sound Archives of the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem. I am grateful to the staff of the National Sound Archives and the Jewish Music Research Centre for allowing me to listen to and transcribe from the collections.

Example 4. Psalm 144, excerpt (Bukharan Jews, Tel Aviv 1951)

* A- du-nāi [unclear] mā dām va tei rā aihā ben en
 ā- sh va-ta-cha-she ve- hu ū dam le'ei ei vel dā
 mā yā māv k' tzal ā vel

∧ = longer than notated
 \ = glissando

Example 5. "Giryā" from Maqām Segāh (Tashkent *makomisti* Ensemble; Melodiya 019228)

∧ = longer than notated
 ... = pulsating vibrato
 ~ = upper neighbor turn

As an historical sidelight to the examples just discussed it is noteworthy that A.Z. Idelsohn transcribed a Bukharan performance of the same psalm over fifty years ago with strikingly different results. First, he notes that the psalm is sung "at the exit of the Sabbath before the evening prayer", and adds that "in Bukhara the cantor sings this song alone, without the whole community singing along in unison, as is customary among Jews everywhere" (Idelsohn 1922:49; translation mine). We have noted that in the Spector tape, the psalm was used as a lament, and that the soloists (more than just one cantor) alternate with unison chorus. Second, Idelsohn's melody is considerably different from that taped in 1951. Here is the passage of Example 4 as it appears in Idelsohn's transcription (Example 6).

Example 6. Psalm 144, excerpt (Idelsohn 1922:60)

*a- du-noj mo o- dom wa-te do- e- tu ben e-nuš wa- te-
 ha- se- we- hu o- dom la-hel-wel do- mo jo-mow ke- tzel u-wer

*Text as found in Idelsohn.

The only feature common to Examples 4 and 6 is the tendency towards long ornamented tones just before key cadential pitches. It is possible to explain the discrepancies between the two psalm performances by the passage of time, involving change in the Bukharan style, but this would seem contradicted by the later performance's closer affinity to basic Bukharan secular style. Again, regional differences might have come from a quite different region of the general area called "Bukhara" (a rather broad designation in 1922) than did Spector's informants.

Returning to the stylistic similarities of Examples 4 and 5, how are we to understand such parallels in music belonging to sphere as unrelated as Biblical cantillation and classical Islamic love songs? Asking this question of the Eliezerofs I received contradictory answers, though they affirmed the close ties between the two musical spheres of activity. On the one hand, Mashiah felt that the Bukharan *maqām* derived from the singing of King David. Menahem cited a more recent Jew, one Ustad Jelal Chalā, who converted to Islam, as the source of Jewish tunes in the *maqām* literature; thus he sees the *maqām* as borrowed Jewish music. On the other hand, Menahem spoke highly of another brother, a hazzan and composer of liturgical music, who adapted the *maqām rast* for the chanting of the Zohar, a religious text dear to the Bukharans. Menahem identifies specific sections of the Zohar used for lamenting the dead as belonging to definite *maqāms*; thus, the sections read during the first year of mourning belong to the *maqām bayāt* while those introduced after the anniversary of death belong to the *rast* mode.

Such interrelationships of Jewish and non-Jewish repertoires are not unique to the Bukharan world. Talks with various scholars (see note 3) indicate that similar situations are current throughout the Near East and are

directly connected to the extensive participation of Jewish musicians in secular entertainment that we noted earlier. Regarding the adoption of the non-religious music for liturgical purposes Amnon Shiloah has observed (n.d.: 1):

“The Jews, consciously or unconsciously adopted songs which belonged to their environment while successfully keeping their original character by means and methods of their own. The guiding principle to these alternations was that of changing the initial purpose and function of the borrowed songs: usually, the change was from the Profane to the Holy.”

Or, as Johanna Spector has put it, “Jews... have always tried to keep the music of the synagogue free of outside influences. That they have not always succeeded is another matter”. (Spector, 1972:11).

Finally, what is the future of Bukharan music in Israel once the generation of the Eliezerofs has departed from the scene? A good prognosis can perhaps be found among such families as the Bukharim (a pseudonym) of Jerusalem. The father of the three Bukhari brothers died recently. He was a gifted singer, as witnessed by a tape recording of an extensive section of the Central Asian Biblical-based tale “Yūsuf and Zuleikhā” in Persian. The range of the brothers’ interest in their musical patrimony is clearly divided according to age level. The oldest of the three shows a strong attachment to his father’s tradition and maintains the family custom of singing sections of the Zohar on the Sabbath. The middle brother is proud of this custom and can still speak the Jewish dialect of Tajik Persian but seems much less enthusiastic about the practice. The youngest brother, in his early twenties, does not know the language of his father’s homeland shows little interest in traditional musical practices. Thus, while Bukharan music will continue to survive for some time in Israel, it will most likely merge into the mainstream of Israeli musical life. Certainly such remnants of older traditions as the performance of the *Shashmaqām* will probably vanish with the Eliezerofs.

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TEXTS OF EXAMPLES

Ex. 1. Bukharan wedding song

Ei dust, rahmānai	Oh friend, mercy
Tu man shodi	You became I
Man tu shodam	I became you
Man tan shodam	You became the body
Tu jān shodi	I became the soul
Tā kas naguyad bad az in	So that henceforth no one can say
Man digaram, tu digari.	You are one, I am another
Ei dust,	Oh friend,
Hargez na'āyad dar nazar	Never will I see
Surat 'z ruyat xubtar	A figure fairer than your face
Shamsi nadānam yā qamar	I know no other moon,
Ya zuhrai, ya mushtari.	Or Venus, or Jupiter.

Ex. 2. "Talqin-i bayāt," (Hilali), Eliezerof version

Bāz chun dar jām-i mai didam rux-i gulfāmrā
Aks-i ruyat cheshma-i xorshid-mesāla jānrā.

In the wineglass I see a rosy cheek
The picture of your face and sun-like eye, dear

Ex. 3. "Talqin-i bayāt" (Hilali), Tajikistan version

Tarq-i yāri kardi u man hamchunān yāram turā
Doshman-i jāni u az jān dustar dāram turā
Gar be sad xori jafā āzurda sāzi xāteram, yaram.

You left your love and I am still your love,
You are my soul's enemy, but I love you more than my soul.
If you cause me a hundred cruel sufferings...

Ex. 4. Psalm 144 excerpt (3-4)

Adonay, mah adam wat-teda^c ehû ben enôš wat-teḥašševêhû
Adam la-hevel damah, yama(y)w ke-zel ^côver

Lord, what is man, that Thou takest knowledge of him?
Or the son of man, that Thou makest account of him?
Man is like unto a breath;
His days are as a shadow that passeth away.

(Translation: *The Holy Scriptures*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955, p. 878-9)

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ABBREVIATIONS

קיצורים

Adler, *HWCM* ראה אדלר, כתבים עבריים
 המכון לתצלומי כתבי יד, בית הספרים הלאומי
 והאוניברסיטאי בירושלים
 ריס"מ ראה *RISM*

<i>Adler, HWCM</i>	I. Adler, Hebrew Writings Concerning Music in Manuscripts and Printed Books, from Geonic Times up to 1800, München, 1975
<i>Cat. Margoliouth</i>	Margoliouth, G., Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum
<i>Cat. Neubauer</i>	Neubauer, A. Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library
<i>Cu</i>	Cambridge University Library
<i>EI²</i>	The Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed. Leiden, 1960-
<i>EJ²</i>	Encyclopaedia Judaica, Jerusalem, 1971-72
<i>Erlanger</i>	Erlanger, R. d', La musique arabe, Paris, 1930-1939
<i>HUCA</i>	Hebrew Union College Annual
<i>IMHM</i>	Institute of Microfilms of Hebrew Manuscripts, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem
<i>JA</i>	Journal asiatique
<i>JJS</i>	Journal of Jewish Studies
<i>JMRS</i>	Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, Mass., 1967
<i>JNUL</i>	The Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem
<i>JQR</i>	Jewish Quarterly Review
<i>JRAS</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>KS</i>	Kiryat Sefer; Bibliographical Quarterly of the JNUL
<i>Lbm</i>	London, The British Library

Mbs	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
<i>MGWJ</i>	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums
Mus. pass.	Passage(s) concerning music
Njts	New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America
Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
<i>REJ</i>	Revue des études juives
<i>RISM</i>	Répertoire international des sources musicales
<i>Tb</i>	The Babylonian Talmud