Choreographing the Self: Staged Folklore and Popular Music in Rural Tajikistan

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Abstract
This article discusses the influence of staged folklore and popular music upon the musical life of a Central Asian rural community – that of the Dashtijum mountain valley in Tajikistan. I trace the musical history of the Dashtijumis across the late-Soviet and post-Soviet periods, following their experiences of migration away from and back to the mountains. In the process, I highlight how the cross-fertilization between grassroots musical practices, and staged and mediated traditional and popular musics, has offered a terrain for the articulation of collective identifications, memories and everyday lifeworlds among the Dashtijumis, illuminating more broadly their position and response vis-à-vis changing historical, technological and ideological frameworks.

Keywords
Soviet and post-Soviet Central Asia; rural ethnography; popular culture; memory; migration.

Introduction

The disbanding of the Soviet Union in 1991 represented for Tajikistan, as for all other former Soviet countries of Central Asia, a crucible of momentous transformations.[1] Since then, Tajik society has had to balance two seemingly contradictory forces. On the one hand, it has needed to redefine itself in the political, economic and cultural domains. On the other hand, it has been required to accommodate the persisting and concomitant legacy of the Soviet past in the same domains. This has been and continues to be a process (often a difficult, if not traumatic one) experienced and dealt with at all levels and in all corners of society. That is, in the public as much as in the private spheres; in state or emerging corporate institutions as well as in the everyday lifeworld; at the level of ideology and values as well as that of practices and material transactions; in urban centres as well as in rural locales. While this has been a common situation in all former Soviet republics of Central Asia, Tajikistan was particularly ill-equipped economically and politically to live up, quite abruptly, to the challenges of independence. The result was the social and political upheavals of the Tajik civil war, which raged with different intensity in different parts of the country between 1992 and 1997.[2]

The position of musical life in this scenario, and particularly its contribution to the dynamics and interplay of Soviet and post-Soviet modernities, remain issues of focal importance. This is especially so for an understanding of the socio-cultural and political relevance of music in former-Soviet Central Asia. These issues form the broad, underlying themes of this article. In particular, I aim to address the transition between Soviet and post-Soviet musical experiences in the context of one rural community, that of the Dashtijum mountain valley of southern Tajikistan. I consider the history of this community both in the second half of the twentieth century and in the present. I intend to probe the significance of such a focus on rural locales for a general understanding of Tajik musical history and contemporary musical developments. Conversely, I explore the broad and complex network of material, social and ideological forces within which, I contend, rural communities in Central

Asia need to be situated ethnographically and historically in order to fully appreciate the meanings and implications of their musical experiences.[3]

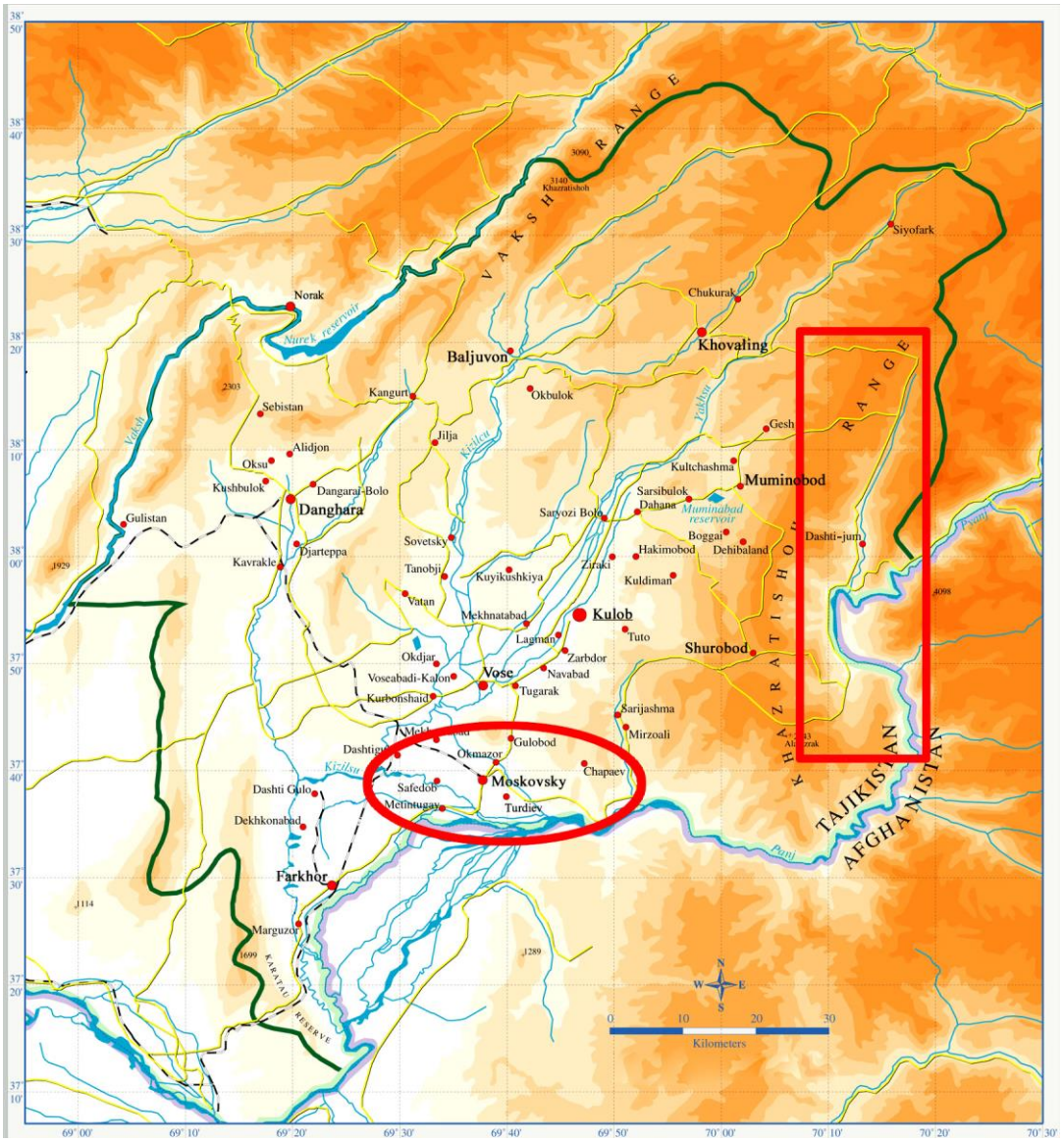

Figure 1 – The Kūlob region, with the areas of Moskovsky and Dashtijum.

Migrations: old and new

Starting from the 1950s, the population of some forty mountain villages in the Dashtijum valley of southern Tajikistan was transferred by the Tajik Soviet authorities to the farms of the newly-founded district (Tajik *nohiya*) of Moskovsky, located in the plains southwest of the town of Kūlob (see Figure 1).[4] Migration caused the near depopulation of the valley, with the exception of a few major settlements such as the villages of Dashtijum, Oingaron and Yol. Population transfers of this kind were part of a large-scale program undertaken by the Soviet authorities to reclaim the lowlands of the south and the southwest, and boost the development of intensive industrial agriculture, especially cotton monoculture. Resettled mountain communities came to form the social composition of collective and state farms (Russian *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* respectively).[5] Olivier Roy (2000) has argued that population transfers added significantly to Soviet administrative divisions in cementing regional loyalties.

In relation to the political climate conducive to the Tajik civil war, Roy has observed that:

> Regional tensions are exacerbated not in the original zones of derivation of the various groups, but in the areas where they are forcibly placed into contact with each other and find themselves having to share land. At that point, there is a reactive effect of a crystallization of identities relating back to their valleys of origin. Population transfers reduce the oppositions between lineages and consolidate essentially geographical identities (one's place of origin) as primary identities. Paradoxically, transfer reinforces territorial identity. (2000:96-97)[6]

A process of identity consolidation characterized also the resettlement of the Dashtijumis to Moskovsky. By "relating back to their valley of origin", Dashtijumis found a principle of self-identification, a means to structure themselves as a social unit in the new environment, and a resource for cultural expression, coming to elaborate what I label, in the wake of Oliver Roy's arguments, as "homeland ideology".

In the climate of perestroika,[7] the freedom of movement was granted to all relocated communities by the central authorities in 1989. After that date, a considerable number of Dashtijumi families, including the descendants of early migrants, initiated a wave back to the mountains and repopulated many abandoned villages, providing a clear indication of the continuing strength of their territorial affiliation. My ethnographic investigation into the experiences of these returnees speaks against interpreting their choice in terms of anti-Soviet sentiments. As Alexi Yurchak (2005) has pointed out with regard to the "last Soviet generation", a critical reading of everyday life in the Soviet Union should emancipate itself from evaluative assumptions embedded in commonly used interpretive dichotomies such as:

> oppression and resistance, repression and freedom, the state and the people, official economy and second economy, official culture and counterculture, totalitarian language and counterlanguage, public self and private self, truth and lie, reality and dissimulation, morality and corruption, and so on. (2005: 5)

These binary categories are not only steeped in a Cold-War vocabulary or in certain politically-laden, retrospective post-Soviet interpretive frameworks. They also run the risk of portraying the people who lived in the Soviet Union as deprived of active social agency and thereby of disregarding the complex, and indeed "seemingly paradoxical" (2005: 98) nesting of centralized authoritative discourse and diversified everyday practices, of formality and creativity, of rhetoric and engagement that were integral to Soviet life.[8] In Yurchak's terms, the hypernormalized, formulaic authoritative discourse of late Soviet socialism – that which followed Stalin's death in 1953 – was at once formulated and reproduced through the direct participation of the greatest majority of Soviet citizens. At the same time, it was subjected to a performative shift, a "deterritorialization", whereby the reproduction of institutional forms, rituals and directives – rather than being interpreted in strictly constative terms – often enabled new, alternative, and creative meanings and pursuits in everyday life. These were as much unanticipated and unmoored with respect to the authoritative formulation as they were not necessarily – and were actually seldom – understood as incompatible with Soviet socialist values.

The migrations of the Dashtijumis are a case in point. For one thing, despite or perhaps because of the considerable travail demanded of them as a consequence of their massive relocation to Moskovsky, many Dashtijumis felt genuinely invested in the implementation of the Soviet socialist project, including collectivism and social equality, progress and modernization, interethnic brotherhood and internationalism. They also actively took part in the formulation of their homeland ideology, one that was constructed as part and parcel of Soviet life - and that, as will be shown below, was cultivated and promoted not least through musical practices. This had made

room by the late 1980s for the unintended consequence of prompting an actual migration back to the homeland – a creative and strategic repositioning of authoritative discourse that in many ways mirrors Yurchak's performative shift in Soviet life, rather than an opposition to or a subversion of it (2005). By eliciting comments among members of the returnee community in Dashtijum in respect of the motivations of their migration, I could ascertain that their homeland ideology fuelled existentially meaningful perceptions of belonging for both Dashtijum-born returnees and younger individuals. Besides place (the village, the mountains), this homeland ideology reflected a specific occupation and socio-economic position (agricultural labor; mountain peasantry) as well as cultural and musical practices. Adding to this, while the homeland ideology appears as the main factor encouraging early repatriations at the end of the 1980s, other, specifically post-Soviet determinants became increasingly important incentives in the 1990s, especially the deteriorating economic conditions in Moskovsky with the demise of the Soviet Union, the social unrest and the violence of the Tajik civil war, as well as unrewarding experiences of urban migration to the town of Kūlob and to the capital, Dushanbe.

By setting the following discussion against this historical and interpretive backdrop, I examine music in the Dashtijumi community as it has interacted with a variety of social and ideological processes across the Soviet and post-Soviet eras. First, I trace the impact of modernity on the musical developments that occurred in Moskovsky in the years following migration. Here, I discuss instances of folklorization, professionalization and institutionalization of traditional music in the Soviet period. Second, I focus more extensively on how, in the contemporary revived mountain settlements of Dashtijum, long-declined rural musical genres have been recuperated by returnees. I show how they often re-enact aesthetic clichés derived from Soviet and post-Soviet folklore performances and choreographies as a means to relate back to the roots of rural community life. Here, the role of mediated consumption in the recovery of a number of rural genres will be highlighted and compared with the concurrent adoption of a variety of popular musics in grassroots amateur repertoires. The processes of reception, re-signification and re-appropriation of staged and mediated musics discussed in this article provide, I contend, a key to interpreting the position and response of rural musical communities vis-à-vis wider historical, technological and ideological frameworks in post-Soviet Central Asia.

Moskovsky: Musical Changes

In parallel to the political and social transformations induced by the migration of the Dashtijumis to Moskovsky, the musical life of the resettled community was greatly affected by an increase in music professionalization and institutionalization. These processes had already been under way since the establishment of Soviet power. For instance, a House of Culture (Tajik *Khonai Madaniyat*), including a professional musical ensemble, opened in Dashtijum in the 1930s and a number of Dashtijumi musicians had reached national renown by the early 1940s.[9] However, the period after relocation coincided with their acceleration and intensification. It was at this time that the overwhelming majority of musicians with traditional performance skills within the Dashtijumi community increasingly gravitated towards state institutions, with many of them joining the occupational group of state employees in the arts. Central to this process were the establishment of the People's Theatre (Tajik *Teatri Mardumī*) in the town of Moskva,[10] and the growing reputation of its founder and principal artistic figure, Odina Hoshimov (1937-1994).[11]

A native of Nimdara, a village in the Dashtijum valley, Odina Hoshimov was born into an established musical family. After studying from 1955 to 1959 at the School of Music in Dushanbe (then named Stalinabad), he was appointed director of the House

of Culture in Dashtijum but soon moved definitively to Moskovsky. There, he founded an amateur music ensemble, soon turned professional, based in the *kolkhoz* “Lenin”, where his family had been assigned. Thanks to the familiarity with urban professionalized musicianship that he had acquired in Dushanbe, Hoshimov was in an ideal position to realize the priorities of local cultural policies. These priorities focused on the establishment of formalized and bureaucratized cultural institutions among the newly settled communities. The ensemble of Odina Hoshimov rapidly became well known in the Moskovsky district and moved in 1960-1961 to the premises of the House of Culture in the town of Moskva. Following the nationwide stage performance contest among district musical ensembles held in Dushanbe in 1963, the House of Culture of Moskva gained national recognition. It was upgraded to the level of People’s Theatre and secured an enduring position as a major centre of musical activity in the country.[12]

One aspect of Odina Hoshimov’s activity that is worth emphasizing is his leading role in training musicians and setting out rigorous work plans for rehearsals and concert programs. Much of his work for stage performances was grounded on collecting and standardizing the repertoire of grassroots performers from the community of Dashtijum as well as from the larger area of Kūlob. Fayzalī Hasanov (b.1947), one of Hoshimov’s closest disciples and long-time director of the People’s Theatre in Moskovsky after Hoshimov’s death, recalled the activities he had undertaken together with him:

> We used to go around among the people and it was from old men and women that we used to learn the precious art of the people and their melodies. Having taken that, we used to perfect it and develop it… before handing it over again to the people… We made their music richer and more vigorous with all the Tajik instruments available and, once perfected, we performed at concerts and recorded for the radio and the television. What we’ve done has remained among the people, until today (Interview, 2 April 2003, translation from Tajik by the author).

The collection of grassroots repertoires as material for professional music making is a known procedure of musical modernization, one that formed an important trope of Soviet authoritative musical discourse. This also included the reworking of traditional music through expedients such as ensemble performance, stage performance and choreographic techniques, and the standardization of local or individual variants. These were undertaken in the environment fostered by Odina Hoshimov. He and his collaborators indeed embraced the modernizing ethos whereby traditional music had to be “perfected” as well as discovered, documented and redisplayed. That is, it had to be transfigured into *folklor*.[13] At the same time, they remained integrated in grassroots rural musical life by participating in community rituals such as *tūy*-s (weddings and circumcision parties) and indoor gatherings. I should point out, again with Yurchak (2005), that this situation bore, in fact, no contradiction or duplicity. Rather than navigating what may appear as two contrasting spheres –- the official and the unofficial, the public and the private, the modernist and the traditional, the dominant and the resistant/subversive –- musicians articulated the interpenetration and symbiosis of the state ideology and cultural apparatus which they sustained, and the everyday community lifeworlds and social networks of which they continued to be part.

This situation indicates that the performative reproduction of Soviet authoritative discourse, which, as Alexei Yurchak has illustrated, was constitutive of the Soviet polity at multiple levels and scales, had the characteristics of a veritable hegemonic process. In Antonio Gramsci’s formulation (2001), hegemony is a power formation that relies on the consent given to (and the reiteration of) its ethical-political and moral values as well as constitutive social relations. In this, hegemony is clearly distinct from domination, which is rather predicated upon the sheer exercise of

force.[14] What is more, hegemony is intrinsically open-ended, incomplete and porous. This is so precisely because it is established by means of reiteration – and therefore change – within and through real, mobile and unstable social and existential conditions, relations and subjectivities.[15] Indeed thanks to, rather than in spite of, their skillful participation in the reiteration and promulgation of authoritative musical discourse, musicians such as Odina Hoshimov and his affiliates were concurrently in a position to think and behave creatively in ways that were not entirely defined or always foreseen by such a discourse.

For example, they certainly contributed in important ways to the consolidation of the interlocking spheres of identification mandated by Soviet authoritative cultural policies. Paramount in these policies was the definition and reiteration of cultural and musical signifiers that corresponded to the structural units of Soviet administrative practice and its bureaucratic edifice: the district (Moskovsky) and the region (Kulob), as well as the master signifiers of the nation (Tajikistan) and of the Union. Through the performative reiteration of staged programs, tours, contests and festivals at all levels of the Soviet cultural apparatus, professional musicians in Moskovsky framed local grassroots repertoires within the notion and public display of regional folklore and, further, within the discursive fields of national culture and Soviet international brotherhood.[16] Here, one further and most enduring contribution of Odina Hoshimov was the cultivation of original compositions set to classical Persian or learned contemporary Tajik poetry (*ghazal*s). These were key developments in his emergence as a prominent musician at a national level, connecting him – and the local musical tradition of which he became a major representative – with the poetic heritage that was deemed and promoted as emblematic of Tajik national culture. In this way, Odina Hoshimov and his environment mediated a growing intersection between locality, and broader ideological and social networks. They actively took part in the deployment of Soviet institutional structures and in the workings of Soviet authoritative discourse, thus operating as "organic intellectuals" in the Gramscian sense. This framework, however, enabled also the emergence of musical trajectories of identification not directly contemplated by authoritative discourse, thus illuminating the porousness of the Soviet hegemonic process, the relative semantic ambiguity of its master signifiers (in this instance, that of nationality), and the instability/openness of subject formation under these conditions.[17] For one thing, Odina Hoshimov's use of classical Persian poetry opened up a discursive space that branched out to the cultural traditions of a Persian-speaking world that included Iran and Afghanistan in particular, that is, beyond not only the confines of the nation, but also of the Soviet Union itself. This discursive field and space for the imagination of heritage was unanticipated and partly viewed with caution from an authoritative policy perspective, but was all the same hatched from within it and even lead to the organization of state-sanctioned concert trips by Odina Hoshimov to Afghanistan in the 1970s and Iran in the early 1990s.

At the other end of the spectrum of identifications, Odina Hoshimov and his acolytes contributed importantly to the musical articulation of a distinctly Dashtijumi cultural territory, the one I term homeland ideology. They did so not only by thematizing Dashtijumi identity markers in musical style and lyrical content, but also by cultivating close community ties and networks of patronage at all levels of social transactions, from institutional events, to participatory family and community rituals, to informal sociality. Here too, the formulation of this homeland ideology was facilitated by and congruent in principle with the segmentation of administrative units and the resulting consolidation of local social formations implemented by the Soviet system, not least through the population transfer programs. But, in Soviet Tajikistan at least, this process unfolded in ways that partly escaped state-sanctioned plans and proclaimed directives: it was taken up and reinterpreted by local cadres of the

Soviet political and cultural establishment, including musicians, through the practice and perpetuation of long-standing clan allegiances and infra-community solidarity networks (a process known as "localism"; Tajik *mahallgaroyī* or *mahallchigī*)[18] and through an overemphasis on locality and community cultural affiliation.

A quite unique convergence of these centripetal (Dashtijum community-oriented) and centrifugal (Persian world-oriented) trajectories of identification is exemplified by a folk quatrain that was often sung by Odina Hoshimov – and that was taken up subsequently in the standard repertoire of other popular Dashtijumi traditional music artists, such as Gulchehra Sodiqova. Quatrains of this kind are part of the large repository of anonymous folk poetry employed in the musical genre known as *falak*, one of the most characteristic genres of Tajik mountain music traditions in general.[19] This quatrain in particular has been specifically identified with Dashtijumi traditions, not least thanks to Hoshimov's canonization:

Raftum sari Nawranga didum Rogha
Dar sinai reshi khud bimondum dogha
Guftam namram yak bor bubinum Rogha
Murdem raftem digar nadidem Rogha

("I climbed to the top of Nawranga and I saw Rogh
My heart wounded, I remained dazed with grief
I said: I will not die until I see Rogh once again
But I passed away and did not see Rogh again.")

The quatrain makes reference to the Nawranga mountain, one of the most iconic landmarks of the Dashtijum valley. It refers nostalgically to Rogh, a Persian-speaking town and district of Afghanistan located just opposite Dashtijum across the Panj river, that is, on the other side of the Tajik-Afghan border. In pre-modern times Dashtijum and Rogh had been long connected by trade routes and family ties across the Panj river. The allusion in the quatrain is to people from Rogh who remained stranded on the Tajik side of the border, most likely when this was closed off with the tightening of Soviet power in the 1920s.[20] It thereby memorializes a distinctive chapter in the history of the Dashtijumi community. In recapturing this quatrain and inscribing the memory it conjures up in the canonical repository of professional traditional music, Odina Hoshimov effected a cultural operation that creatively blended hyper-localized and transnational identifications. This layering of identity formations, as we have seen, was at once born within the logic of the Soviet system, and related ambiguously and in somewhat uncharted ways to it.[21]

The activities of the People's Theatre of Moskva under the direction of Odina Hoshimov contributed to establishing the type of state-supported professionalized and mass-mediated traditional music known in Soviet Tajikistan as *musiqii khalqī* ("people's music"). Its development redefined significantly the relation of professional musicians to the community at large. Complementing or sometimes replacing their traditional performance expertise, they underwent formal institutional training and became skilled in structured stage formats. Thus, the disparity in perceived musical proficiency between professional and grassroots amateur performers widened. The expansion of public events and the media also meant that professional musicians acquired a relative monopoly of performance roles. State venues became central to music making, and the presence of professional musicians also increased in life-cycle performance contexts. At *tūy*-s, for instance, professionals encroached upon

rituals that were traditionally managed musically by members of the family or the neighborhood. These included the *burdani arūs* (the bride's procession), the *sartaroshon* (the groom's haircut) or the *shuyak-shuyak* (the bride's hair-wash). Similarly, heightened professionalization coincided with the retreat of a number of genres from their original performance settings and their virtual disappearance from communal social occasions. This was particularly the case with genres linked to outdoor contexts and seasonal work; for example, the harvest song known as *mandogh* (lit. "I am grieving"), which was traditionally performed by farmers in the fields during wheat reaping.[22] A decisive factor for the demise of this song was the transformation of the regime of work, which characterized the transportation of mountain farmers to the agricultural sites of the plains. This transformation was characterized by cotton monoculture, which replaced wheat cropping to which *mandogh* was associated. This transformation was also accompanied by a development in musical life where public sonic spaces featured a redistribution of musical roles and, in particular, the growing primacy of professional musicianship. Grassroots communal performance genres such as *mandogh* were replaced by the proliferation of concert programs in district towns and farms. They were also replaced by staged performances that used to take place in the fields before audiences of workers in the period of cotton picking which were often organized in connection with expeditions of propaganda collectives (Tajik *brigadai agitatsionī*).[23] The impact of this redistribution is exemplified by the fact that, while grassroots *mandogh* performances thinned out, they were transposed on stage as part of the folklorized representation of rural life in theatres and the media. A similar fate characterized the genre known as *falaki dashtī* (lit. "*falak* of the plains"), a term commonly used for solo-voice performances of *falak*, as distinct from accompanied *falak*s. *Falaki dashtī* continued to be performed indoors, especially by women, as a form of lamentation.[24] However, at the same time as it became part of stage performances, the genre declined in outdoor contexts such as mountain pastures or the harvest fields outside villages. When I visited a number of villages in the Moskovsky area in 2003-2004 and again in 2012, music amateurism involving a range of traditional genres continued as a significant feature. It flourished predominantly in the domestic sphere, in connection with certain phases of *tūy*-s conducted among relatives and guests, and in the context of indoor gatherings and family life. However, *mandogh* and *falaki dashtī* were no longer part of grassroots performances. Instead, they continued to be perceived within the community as constitutive of their cultural heritage, their memory being perpetuated in vernacular discourse and through the representation of mountain music conveyed by folklore troupes, which maintained an important position in the national media. Although the activities of the People's Theatre of Moskva had decreased with respect to the Soviet period due to the economic predicament following the end of the Soviet Union, concert programs continued to be regularly organized.

Dashtijum: A Rebirth

The following discussion builds upon fieldwork conducted in the Dashtijum valley in 2003 and 2004.[25] At that time, the valley comprised about forty villages, half of which had been rebuilt in the course of the 1990s by returnees (early migrants and/or their descendants) from the cotton plains of Moskovsky. As these revived settlements were uninhabited during the last decades of the Soviet period, they did not undergo the infrastructural development that characterized other rural areas of southern Tajikistan. For a number of them, electricity supplies and carriage roadways remained to date absent. People depended on subsistence agriculture based on wheat, vegetables and fruit, and small scale herding. By contrast, other villages,

which had not been completely depopulated by labour transfers in the 1950s, were inhabited by both returnees and people (or descendants of people) who had lived there all along. Although infrastructures had suffered severe erosion since the beginning of the 1990s, these settlements generally had electricity and roads. Their economy, which was predominantly based on agriculture and herding, was sustained by a wider net of commercial activity and transportation.

Musical life in the valley of Dashtijum comprised a wide range of activities. Weddings and circumcision parties (*tūy*-s) were major musical events. Here, ceremonial phases featuring family or neighbourhood performers alternated with performances (especially the evening dancing party called *bazm*) dominated by professional wedding bands most often hired from surrounding districts or even from Dushanbe. The repertoire of wedding bands typically featured synthesized Tajik popular music, where electrified traditional instruments, synthesizers and loud amplification were essential ingredients of their aesthetics.[26] The lack of electricity in a number of revived villages did not prevent locals from booking such bands for their celebrations. Often instruments and speakers were carried on horseback to the village, and electricity for amplification and synthesizers was provided by a petrol-powered generator. Musical activity in the valley was also carried out by amateur performers in the context of private gatherings and domestic life. Where electricity was available, music was mediated by means of audio-cassettes, radio and TV.

Figure 2 – The Dashtijum Valley

One particularly significant aspect of the musical life of the valley concerns a number of amateur performers in revived villages. Villagers, who had recuperated rural musical genres that had long receded from the grassroots community life in Moskovsky, had brought them back into outdoor performances connected especially with harvesting. During an initial period of fieldwork spent between the villages of Dashtijum and Khirmanjo, I heard of a man named Abdurahim Ibrohimov (from the village of Rūykash) who was known to perform *mandogh* in the fields during harvest time. As it was July and wheat reaping was under way in many parts of the valley, I decided to head out to Rūykash, a village on the eastern slopes of the valley that had been rebuilt by returnees and was accessible by footpath. Abdurahim Ibrohimov was born there in 1941, had moved to Moskovsky when he was about fifteen, and came back to his "homeland" (Tajik *vatan*) together with his and other five families in 1990. In the following years other families joined the migration back to Rūykash and by the time I visited the village its population counted twenty households (around 300 people).

Abdurahim Ibrohimov and his son-in-law Zayniddin Nasriddinov (b. 1973) were among a number of amateur musicians in Rūykash (both women and men) who could sing or play the *dumbra* (small fretless long-necked lute), the *doyra* (frame-drum), the *tablak* (hourglass single-skinned drum) or the *tūtūk* (small fipple flute). They used to sing to the accompaniment of these instruments on informal occasions of domestic life or in their courtyard, where people from other households would often join the gathering. They performed a repertoire of songs that included various genres of traditional music, such as *falak*-s, *ghazal*-s and dance songs whose stylistic features were considered locally as common to the performance style of the Kūlob region. What was unique to these performers in the context of other rural communities in Dashtijum was that they performed *mandogh* in the harvest fields. Their performances used to take place occasionally and spontaneously, usually in the evening at about the end of the working day. Ibrohimov and Nasriddinov would sing a cappella standing in the *khirman* (the dirt floor area where harvested bundles are gathered) while other members of the community either continued their work or stopped to listen. *Mandogh* (lit. "I am grieving") is a song of lamentation that speaks to the hardship of work and the sorrowful condition of workers away from their village and their beloved ones. It features a sequence of popular quatrains that alternate with a refrain containing an invocation to Allah. Quatrains and refrain are set to two distinct and characteristic melodies.[27] What follow are the text of the refrain and the first quatrain of *mandogh* as sung by Abdurahim Ibrohimov and Zayniddin Nasriddinov:

Ey Alloh, Ey Alloh yor(e)
man dogham yor dust.

Gandumaki khudrūi darav mekardam (e)
In yoraki rahdurira yod mekardam (e)
In yoraki khabardor nashud
Sar to sari yolaho guzar mekardam (e)

("Allah, beloved Allah
I am grieving, beloved Friend.

I used to harvest wild wheat
I longed for my beloved one gone far away
Of my beloved one I heard no news
I roamed about from crest to crest")

It emerged from my discussions with Abdurahim Ibrohimov and Zayniddin Nasriddinov that they had begun to sing *mandogh* following their migration to Dashtijum and that they regarded its performance as integral to the mountain lifestyle which they had decided to embrace. As those who migrated back to the mountains set about rebuilding villages and community life, it seems that they perceived the "old songs" (*surudhoi qadima*) as contributing to regaining the homeland. These songs were part of the returnees' imagination of how the homeland should sound. Central to this process of musical re-appropriation, it became apparent that the musical resources provided by their consumption of professionalized folklore performances (both staged and recorded) served as a means to sustain memory and to transmit musical repertoire. Familiarity with staged or recorded folklorized musics was gained predominantly before migration through exposure to TV and radio programs. It was also acquired by attending concerts mainly organized by the People's Theatre of Odina Hoshimov in Moskovsky. After migration, these experiences were complemented by occasional trips to district towns and to Dushanbe, and by mediated consumption (including cassettes) on occasional visits to neighbouring villages where electricity was available in the valley.[28]

Abdurahim Ibrohimov and Zayniddin Nasriddinov pointed out that they derived their models in matters of vocal style and poetic repertoire from the renditions of established professionals active in institutional centres of music-making and appearing on the media and cassette releases. Similarly, Sharif Ibrohimov (b. 1970), who recuperated outdoors performances of *falaki dashtī* in the adjacent revived village of Lov, noted the influence of contemporary Kūlobi professional singers of nationwide renown such as Davlatmand Kholov and Muhammadsafar Murodov on his performance style. Also, my examination of these and other grassroots performances suggests that bodily gestures of performers replicated the aesthetic conventions of staged choreographies. These included the resting of a sickle on the shoulder during *mandogh* performances or the holding of a cupped hand to the ear while performing *falaki dashtī*. These gestures were consciously adopted as marks of authenticity.[29]

Figure 3 – Zayniddin Nasriddinov and Abdurahim Ibrohimov (Rūykash, Dashtijum valley).

It may be argued that, besides providing a stylistic canon, the stereotyped image of the mountain peasantry encoded by folklorized performances and scenarios has served rural amateur performers as the perceived repository of the authentic features of rural musical life, and as a point of reference for self-representation and collective memory. Here, genres such as *mandogh* and *falaki dashtī* have consistently featured as important ingredients. This grassroots re-appropriation of rural genres speaks to the experience of engaging with sonic memories of the homeland that are purposefully revitalized through performance. But, as a result of the interruption of grassroots performance transmission in Moskovsky, it is professional folklore and technological mediation that have articulated and framed the symbolic universe of imagination and sonic memory of the homeland. They have also provided the means for a circular trajectory of musical practices and identities. Rather than referring back to "original" practices, the homeland ideology of Dashtijumi returnees has thus become implicated in the politics of representation. Particularly, it has been implicated in discourses about the Tajik nation which were sustained by Soviet musical folklorization and which have been vigorously recaptured by centralized state music ensembles in the nationalist cultural politics of the post-Soviet era (especially in the aftermath of the Tajik civil war).[30]

Such discourses have typically codified essentialist associations between musical genres and rural lifestyles. In doing so, they have endorsed state projects aiming to forge cultural symbols for rural masses that would, at once, inscribe those masses in the national community and reinvent their everyday practices as part of a national heritage. By playing back on themselves and by re-embodying the notion of musical authenticity constructed by staged and mediated *folklor*, Dashtijumi returnees in Rūykash and Lov demonstrated that they were significantly connected with, and receptive to the discursive arena of national ideology,[31] while at the same time deflecting such compliance towards their distinctive engagement with history and memory. In particular, the "same" music and notion of authenticity were invested with

a different social meaning. They played into the very process of migrating back to the homeland, reshaping mountain rural community life and retelling or re-actualizing the past. This process suggests that institutionalized cultural meanings were here both accommodated and actively reinterpreted for localized purposes, albeit from a peripheral and disadvantaged position.[32]

Dashtijum: Multiple Musical Pathways

Professionalized repertoires and mediated consumption had a considerable impact on other aspects of musical life in Dashtijum. While the recuperation of *mandogh* and *falaki dashtī* seemed to belong to very localized initiatives in Rūykash and Lov (and, reportedly, also in the village of Kavluj), on a more general level, the repertoires of numerous grassroots performers around the valley exhibited the co-existence of pieces learned through transmission in familial or community life, and others derived from the repertoires of influential professional artists and acquired mainly through mediated musical experiences.

Given the considerable role of Odina Hoshimov in the musical history of Dashtijum and the Kūlob area at large, it was not surprising to find that his repertoire featured frequently in the performances of virtually all the male grassroots performers with whom I had the chance to work. This was especially so during occasions of intimate leisure or ceremonial gatherings (*ma'raka*) which were usually attended by a small circle of relatives and community members. Such performances included accompanied *falak*-s with formal and stylistic features informed by the versions which had been standardized by Odina Hoshimov (and commonly named both locally and on the media as *falaki Odina*). They also included a number of his compositions set to learned poems from the classical Persian literary tradition. On the one hand, Odina Hoshimov's eminent position in championing musical institutionalization and professionalization gave him an almost unparalleled symbolic and artistic authority within the Dashtijumi community. This was such that, even after his death, his music continued to conjure up, in the perception of performers and audience alike, a quintessential element of Dashtijumi identity. On the other hand, the ongoing recognition of Odina Hoshimov at a regional (Kūlob) and a national level was a vehicle for Dashtijumis to connect musically with a wider national cultural space.[33] This is exemplified by the views of Davlatalī Kucharov (b. 1951), a returnee who joined the farming in the village of Dashtijum and who was an experienced singer and *dumbra* player. Kucharov foregrounded the contemporary relevance of imitating Odina Hoshimov. He stated that this artist brought the mountain music of Kūlob – and of Dashtijum in particular – before the admiration of the nation. Thanks to him, Dashtijum would be known and remembered by all Tajiks. Furthermore, the concerts performed by Odina Hoshimov in Afghanistan in the 1970s and in Iran at the end of the Soviet period were alive in the memory of many Dashtijumis. These events seemed to have acquired an almost legendary status, nourishing a sense of pride that witnessed the perceived participation of this peripheral rural community in the symbolic cultural space of a wider Persian-speaking world. These concerts, extolled in the national press and in a few publications on the life and artistry of Odina Hoshimov,[34] have been further memorialized and popularized by national broadcasts and releases of recordings that have reached the valley from Dushanbe. In discussions with Dashtijumis, I realized that Odina Hoshimov's settings of Persian classical poetry were particularly reified, allowing residents to frame and conceptualize the musical culture of the valley in terms of wider scapes of cultural authority and legacy, involving especially Iran.

Besides professional staged and mediated folklore (*folklor*) and the traditional popular music epitomized by Odina Hoshimov (*musiqii khalqī*), the percolation of

synthesized pop music (*estrada*) into the musical life of the Dashtijum valley was also notable. It is worth emphasizing here that official taxonomies, recapturing Soviet antecedents and endorsed by the Tajik state media and cultural institutions, formally distinguish between "traditional music" (*musiqii sunnatī*, including *folklor* and *musiqii khalqī* as well as the art music tradition of the northern Tajik *maqom*-s) and "pop music" (*estrada*) as separated domains of Tajik cultural identity. This distinction is understood in the context of a wider differentiation between tradition and modernity as separated functions of nationhood. By contrast, traditional and pop musics have increasingly become intersected in the practices of numerous musicians of the post-Soviet era, especially in the decentralized contexts of the wedding circuit and the local independent record industry. The multiple resources employed by these artists have significantly blurred stylistic boundaries and also encouraged flexibility in terminology and conceptualization.[35] By the same token, notions of musical genres appeared to be quite permeable in Dashtijum, calling into question any analytical attempt to detect rigid symmetries between musical styles, cultural identities and social functions.[36] In the remainder of this article, I will employ interchangeably the labels "electrified popular music" and "pop" to indicate a constellation of idioms that lie at any point along a continuum. This continuum ranges from synthesized renditions of traditional music to musics that are more receptive to international pop aesthetics.

In addition to the trajectory of traditional forms across an array of contexts and uses already explored in this article (involving stage folklorization, institutionalization and mediation, and grassroots re-appropriations), electrified popular music was similarly caught in a plurality of settings, modes of experience and uses. The widespread use of audio recordings, especially cassettes, was here a significant aspect. Consumption was predominantly oriented towards Tajik music, especially music with recognizable regional features rooted in the Kūlobi idiom. It also included Afghan (mainly Ahmad Zohir) and Iranian popular musics.[37] But the main vehicle for the propagation of electrified popular music was undoubtedly the thriving circulation of wedding bands, whose performances participated directly in lived social experiences, activating and perpetuating community rituals. Furthermore, I observed instances in which the repertoires of Tajik pop musicians were being appropriated by village performers. In this way they became ingrained in the fabric of informal, grassroots communal performances. For example in the village of Safedob, I became acquainted with Bibigul Kholiqova, who was apparently the most appreciated singer of the village. She was born in 1978 in the adjacent village of Vaghlel and had moved to Safedob upon marrying. She used to perform in domestic contexts among female and male relatives. She also performed at women's indoor gatherings and ritual celebrations (generally called *bazmi zanona* which took place, for example, during wedding preparations). In addition, she was also invited to sing at weddings, generally for ritual phases such as *shuyak shuyak* (the bride's hair-wash) or *burdani arūs* (the bride's procession) for which professional bands were rarely hired in Safedob. Bibigul Kholiqova knew and performed a large repertoire of songs. These comprised traditional genres such as lullabies (*alai modar*), *falak*-s and a number of ritual and dance songs (*surudi raqsī*) that she had learned in the family environment or through the repertoires of popular singers of the Soviet period. She also learned songs from contemporary Kūlobi pop icons such as Manizha Davlatova or Sodiq Kholov. This composite corpus blended on several performance occasions. While individual ceremonies at weddings required specific ritual songs, traditional and pop songs were performed in a continuum during domestic performances or *bazmi zanona*-s. On these occasions singing was either carried out a cappella or with the accompaniment of a *doyra*. Here, pop songs were, in fact, stylistically "traditionalized". In addition, Kholiqova had creatively manipulated the melodies of

some existing pop songs and she had also composed a few songs of her own.

It emerged from my discussions with Bibigul Kholiqova and other community members that music harboured for them several interrelated levels of meaning and perceived cultural affiliation. Traditional songs most clearly conjured up a sense of continuity with the community's past – paralleling the situation encountered in Rūykash, professional folklore troupes were often mentioned here as sources of validation. However, both traditional ritual songs and pop songs were associated with experiences of village community life. Both were deemed constitutive of memories that nourished territorial and social belonging. Pop songs also spoke to the villagers' participation in the regionalist reading of local identity prevalent in contemporary urban-based Tajik popular music. In this context, synthesized repertoires infused with regional music vocabulary (and cultivated predominantly in the domains of wedding music and independent record production) sustain the aesthetic preferences and social interactions of community networks articulated along regional lines. [38] Concerning the prevalence of Kūlobi popular music in cassette consumption, wedding music and, also, grassroots performances (as in Safedob), research among several communities of the Dashtijum valley highlighted "Kūlobi music" as a notion by which Dashtijumis engaged with and underscored discourses of political and cultural affiliation within the regional space of Kūlob and, further, with Kūlobi urban enclaves in Dushanbe. At the same time, multi-layered signifiers in Kūlobi popular music allowed for wider connections with transnational constituencies, evoking at times references to Indian film music (especially through string arrangements and aspects of instrumentation) or, more frequently, to Afghan and Iranian popular musics (mainly through language, melodic features and singing styles).[39]

Figure 4 – Bibigul Kholiqova (Safedob, Dashtijum valley). Photograph courtesy of Stefano Triulzi.

Epilogue

The historical and ethnographic account considered in this article demonstrates how music in the Dashtijumi community has been engulfed, during the Soviet and post-Soviet eras, in complex spheres of cultural transactions, imagination and power that amply transcend the boundaries of localized community life. Musical experiences in Dashtijum have grown into everyday dealings with frames of reference for musical practice and identity that simultaneously implicate local, regional, national and transnational cultural spaces, exemplifying a situation common to several rural locales in Central Asia. In the context of my research experience, such diffuse connections and expanding horizons have added complexity, both spatially and temporally, to the very notion of locality as the focus of ethnographic quest. This has occurred to the extent that the viability of my ethnographic project has been linked to tracing the multiple forces that play into contemporary rural musical life, both along historical and socio-cultural axes. It was also dependent upon being prudent about conceiving of rural communities as self-contained cultural and musical sites.[40] While staged folklore, the legacy of Odina Hoshimov and other exponents of institutionalized traditional music, and Tajik or international popular musics provided the doorways to perceived connections between the Dashtijumi community and wider cultural spheres, all these musical trajectories also played into "the language of land and roots" (Augé 1995: 35). That is, they responded to local ways of engaging with territorial affiliation, memory and migration, and thus demonstrated the interpenetration of –- rather than the tension between – locality and regional, national or transnational spaces.[41]

In this respect, the role of mediation and media technology in the articulation of contemporary rural musical cultures in Tajikistan can hardly be underestimated. By being integral to, complementing, or even forming the preconditions for grassroots music making, mediation and technology have been part and parcel of lived musical experiences and processes of musical signification in the Dashtijumi community across the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. Such interrelation between mediated and grassroots practices – at the levels of music genres, modes of experience and transmission – confound such seemingly distinct notions as traditional/modern, folk/popular, ritual or community-based/mass mediated. Although such notions are traditionally deep-seated in ethnomusicological discourse, they appear in fact to collapse into one another in Dashtijum.[42] Of relevance to other ethnographic studies in Central Asia, my research suggests that rural communities are sites that, far from enshrining the key to authentic, immediate (non-mediated) musical experiences, are caught in multiple nets of representation (including self-representation, cross- and re-appropriations). In this respect, my ethnographic enterprise is one of many existing and possible readings; one whose agenda and purposes intersects at some level with the interests and motivations of many Dashtijumis.[43]

A case in point was my use of field technology. Although very few people in Dashtijum owned or operated video and audio recording equipment, even fewer seemed to be short of ideas about how such technology, and my work with it, could serve their interests. As a concluding example, I shall refer to my experience of filming *mandogh* performances in Rūykash. My ethnographic filming met Abdurahim Ibrohimov's and Zayniddin Nasriddinov's conscious interest in self-representation. It was perceived as a means to memorialize and thereby validate the act of recuperating the sonic fabric of the homeland. Their performances before my camera were extremely self-aware, almost choreographed, "at once history and story, at once act and representation" (Faubion 1999: 90). Their performances were molded on a folkloric imaginary which, far from being simply mimicked, constituted a powerful

identity and practical resource for them to retrace their past. Besides stylistic features, they included the very notion of technological mediation, re-presentation and re-display as means of validation. Ibrohimov and Nasriddinov asked me to prepare a video recording and take it to Moskovsky, where some of their relatives would store the recording for the future. On this occasion as in several other circumstances, field technology, rather than positioning me at some observational distance from the people with whom I worked, became integral to my participation in their everyday life, motivations and struggles, and quite evidently implicated my ethnographic work in local engagements with memory and transmission.

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[1] Tajikistan emerged as a distinct political and territorial entity within the framework of the Soviet Union, first as an Autonomous Province in 1924 and finally as a Union Republic in 1929. Before then, the territory of Tajikistan constituted the eastern limbs of the Emirate of Bukhara (1785-1920) and, after the advent of Soviet power, of the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic (1920-1924). Russian political and military ascendancy in the region dates back to the second half of the nineteenth century.

[2] On modern and contemporary Central Asian politics and society see, among others, Allworth 1989, Bremmer and Taras 1993; Roy 2000; Sahadeo and Zanca 2007. Specifically on post-Soviet Tajikistan and the Tajik civil war see Roy 1993; Djalili et al. 1998; Akiner 2001; Wennberg 2002; Chatterjee 2002; Jonson 2006.

[3] Ethnomusicological literature on the music-politics-society nexus in Tajikistan is not abundant. See During 1993: 35-39, 1998: 156-157; Spinetti 2005, 2009. Useful comparison can be drawn from the somewhat more prolific literature on Uzbekistan. See for example Djumaev 1993, 2005; Levin 1993, 1996, 2002; During 1998; Merchant 2015.

[4] At the time of migration, Dashtijum and Moskovsky were both districts within the administrative province (Tajik *viloyat*) of Kūlob, with its centre in the town of the same name. The political map of these areas has changed considerably over the years, with Dashtijum having ceased to be an autonomous district already in 1957 and Kūlob having joined the newly established Khatlon province in 1993. Despite this administrative reshuffling, Kūlob continues to be largely perceived as a distinct geo-cultural (regional) unit in contemporary Tajikistan. On the migration of the Dashtijumis to Moskovsky and for details of the modern history of Dashtijum see Jalilzoda 1985 and Ghoibov 1998: 4-6.

[5] See Lipovsky 1995. On the organization of *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* in Tajikistan see for example Herbers 2001: 370-371.

[6] On Soviet population transfers in Tajikistan, including their impact on identity formation and the Tajik civil war, see also Ferrando 2011 and Sodiqov 2013.

[7] The Russian word *perestroika* (literally "rebuilding") is the umbrella term used to indicate the

reforms to the Soviet economic, political and communication system introduced and promoted in the late 1980s by the General Secretary of the Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev.

[8] Yurchak points out the widespread use of such binary categories, and their related implicit or explicit evaluative assumptions, in "much academic and journalistic writing today." (p. 5) Ethnomusicological literature, I should add, is no exception here.

[9] See Jalilzoda 1985.

[10] Moskva was and still is the largest town and administrative centre of the district of Moskovsky.

[11] The development of professionalized and institutionalized music making as a dispositive of modernist political and social ordering within the framework of nation-state ideology and bureaucratic structures was implemented along similar paradigms throughout the USSR and socialist Eastern Europe. For useful comparison see Kosacheva 1990; Rice 1994: 169-233; Buchanan 1995 and 2006: 3-223; Mukhambetova 1995; Levin 1996: 10-14, 45-51; Slobin 1996b; Naroditskaya 2002: 91-110; Olson 2004: 35-67; Tomoff 2006; Merchant 2015: 8-13; 83-100; Tochka 2016: 21-54.

[12] For an account of the life and musical activities of Odina Hoshimov see Jalilzoda 1985; Asoev 1988; Hodizoda 1988.

[13] In Tajikistan as in virtually all other Eurasian socialist and post-socialist polities, the notion of *folklor* designates a supra-genre musical category that encompasses all that musically encodes a pristine rural lifeworld and the ancestral cultural expressions of a pre-industrial peasantry. A function of heritage construction within the framework of the nation-state paradigm and its attendant codification of regional segmentations, *folklor* as a practice typically refers to organized, choreographed, scripted and narrativized state-sanctioned performances that recast rural signifiers in the context of a modernist re-imagination of cultural authenticity. For useful comparison see Silverman 1989; Porter 1997; Slobin 1996a; Olson 2004.

[14] Without underplaying the forms of control, regulatory enforcement and repressive policing familiar to Soviet governance, I shall state clearly that the reading I adopt here speaks against any facile account of the Soviet system as a one based on outright domination or oppression.

[15] On the cognate nature of the notions of performativity and hegemony, see Judith Butler's remarks in Butler et al. 2000: 13-14, 41.

[16] The modernist project of the nation-state and the dynamics of cosmopolitan, national and local musical identities therein have been amply studied in ethnomusicology. A few exemplary discussions relevant in the context of this article include Stokes 1992: 20-49 and 1994; Sugarman 1999; Turino 2000; Askew 2002; Olson 2004; Biddle and Knights 2007; Bohlman 2011. For Central Asia and the Caucasus see especially Djumaev 1993 and 2005; Frolova-Walker 1998; Harris 2008: 29-43; Huseynova 2016.

[17] See Butler at al. 2000: 5, 57, 70.

[18] See Roy 2000: x**-**xi, 13**-**15, 85ff., 94**-**5, and passim.

[19] See Qurbonion 2006; Spinetti 2006a, 2009, 2011; Azizi 2016. With specific reference to Kūlobi *falak* traditions see Abdulloeva 2002; Spinetti 2006b: 151-165. For *falak* in Tajik Badakhshon see Berg 2004: 146, 350-356; Koen 2006, 2009: 117-120.

[20] For a lengthier discussion of the pre-modern history of Dashtijum, as well as of this and other related *falak* quatrains, see Spinetti 2006b: 130-138.

[21] Here and in the remainder of this article, my exploration of musical memorialization among the Dashtijumis resonates with a wider field of scholarly investigations of collective and cultural memory (see for example Erll and Nünning 2008: Erll and Rigney 2009), a field that has increasingly witnessed the contribution of music scholars and ethnomusicologists. See in particular Shelemay 1998 and 2006; Bithell 2006; Buchanan 2010; Romero 2001; Momcilovic et al. 2011; Cohen 2013; Hofman 2015; Pogačar 2016: 115-149. With specific reference to Central Asia, including the experience of migration, see Daukeyeva 2010 and 2016; Post 2007 and 2014; Harris 2004; Um 1996 and 2000. On the role of mediation in music transmission and memory see in particular Shelemay 1998: 43-45 and Sugarman 1999: 436.

[22] On *mandogh*, and the related genre *Allohi darvozī* in the Darvoz area, see Dansker 1965:

230-232.

[23] See Jalilzoda 1985: 24.

[24] These forms of solo-voice lamentation songs are also known locally as *falaki motamī* "*falak* of mourning", or *falaki ghamgin* "sorrowful *falak*."

[25] Complemented by further observations and exchanges conducted in 2012.

[26] Electrified wedding music and the incorporation of features of traditional music and rituals therein, as well as the mobility of professional performers between state ensembles and wedding bands, factor in several ethnographic accounts of musical life across the late socialist and post-socialist periods in Central Asia and beyond. See for example Levin 1996: 44-45; Rice 1994: 237-260 and 1996; Buchanan 1995 and 1996; Merchant 2005 and 2015: 156-169; Beissinger 2007.

[27] Both song form and text as performed by A. Ibrohimov and Z. Nasriddinov are consistent with the general features of *mandogh* as described by Dansker (1965) in his ethnographic study of the music of the Darvoz area in the 1960s. They are also consistent with those standardized by professional stage performances and recordings. Dansker notes that *mandogh* used to be sung when the last sheaf of wheat was harvested and categorizes it as a ceremonial song rather than a work song (1965: 191). Such ceremonial association has not been retained in Rūykash.

[28]Relevant here and to the following discussion, the impact of mediated musics (including professionalized traditional music and popular music) and technologies of mediation on grassroots music making, as well as the attendant creative appropriation of these for localized practices, meanings and purposes have come under ethnomusicological scrutiny in a variety of contexts. For discussions of particular interest for the situation in Dashtijum, see for instance Manuel 1993; Langlois 1996; Rasmussen 1996; Lee 1999; Greene 1999, 2001 and 2005; Harris 2002 and 2005; Wong 2003; Hilder et al. 2017.

[29] Particularly relevant to the situation described here are the considerations about the influence of professional folk ensembles on rural community performance practices, and their attendant construction of notions of authenticity, advanced in Shay 2002: 16-17 and Olson 2004: 176-220.

[30] For an exploration of state cultural politics in the domain of music in contemporary Tajikistan, see Spinetti 2009. More broadly, musical nationalisms, revivalisms and neo-traditionalisms have mushroomed in a variety of locales across the late-socialist and post-socialist periods. See for instance Wanner 1996; Olson 2004: 68-137; Buchanan 2006: 227-338; Daughtry 2006; Baker 2010. Specifically on Central Asia, see Levin 1993; Merchant 2005, 2009, 2013 and 2015; Rancier 2009 and 2016; Syrdybaeva 2016.

[31] This is highlighted, for example, by the widespread perception in Dashtijum that both the poetic and musical repertoires of mountain rural areas constitute the roots of Tajik literary and musical national culture. The ways in which this discourse has been articulated and endorsed in institutional cultural politics are discussed in Spinetti 2009.

[32] See Ang 1996: 239-243.

[33] While conducting fieldwork in Dashtijum in summer 2003, I returned for a brief period to the town of Kūlob, where a music festival in honour of Odina Hoshimov was being held and featured stage performances of some of his prominent disciples. The concert was subsequently broadcast on the Tajik national TV channel.

[34] See for example, Jalilzoda 1985 and Khatlonī 1994. During my fieldwork, it was not uncommon to find copies of these publications in the households of Dashtijum and Moskovsky.

[35] See, Spinetti 2005 and 2016. For relevant discussions of popular music in other post-Soviet Central Asian contexts, see Rancier 2009; Merchant 2009 and 2015: 131-155; Klenke 2016.

[36] See Shelemay 1998:148-149.

[37] Ahmad Zohir (1946-1979) is the most acclaimed and influential recording artist of Afghanistan, who has continued to be widely revered also after his assassination in 1979.

[38] See Spinetti 2005.

[39] The integration of these elements in the music of Kūlobi singer Manizha Davlatova, for example, is discussed in Spinetti 2016.

[40] See Augé 1995: 32-35; Marcus 1998: 50-54, 62-64, 70..

[41] See Ang 1996: 246; Armbrust 2000:1.

[42] See Augè 1995: 12, 41; Ang 1996: 244, 251; Shelemay 1998: 9-10; Lysloff and Gay 2003: 2-5.

[43] See Marcus 1999: 18, 23-25.