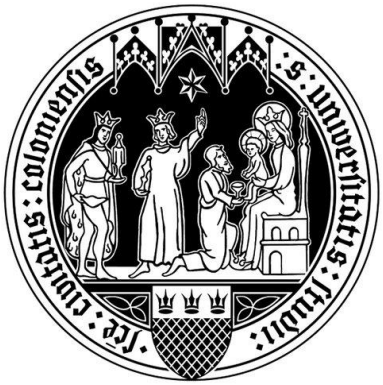

Iranian Classical Music Since the 1970s: The Discourses of Tradition and Identity

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the perception and practice of two major concepts—namely tradition and identity—in Iranian classical music since the 1970s. The 70s saw a blossoming of traditionalism in the intellectual and musical spheres in Iran, while also embracing the critical sociopolitical transformation which culminated in the Islamic Revolution in 1979. I explore these concepts (tradition and identity) through interviews with pivotal musicians and musicologists, as well as through relevant literature and musical analysis of selected pieces. This thesis argues that the overall perception of tradition in Iranian society, and specifically in Iranian music, has been polarized. One pole, the traditionalists, emphasizes the preservation of canonized Qajar musical traditions, while in contrast, the avant-gardists consider tradition detrimental to progress.

This dissertation attempts to synthesize an intellectual framework for a recontextualization of tradition within Iranian classical music, adapted for new social circumstances and the new quest for social change. Hoping to foster the latent potential of *dastgāh* music, I herein challenge the constraints inherent to the current discourse on tradition and identity—as established by both the traditionalist and avant-gardist schools of thought—by employing important philosophical and sociological studies on the notion and function of tradition. In addition to this discussion of the perception of tradition, this dissertation explores the relationship between music and collective identity, in relation to the sociopolitical circumstances of various eras since the 1970s.

To my dear mother Katayun for her unconditional love,

and to my dear father Jamal for his encouragement.

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Transliteration table of Persian to English

Transliteration	Persian Letters		Transliteration	Persian Letters
d	د		a	ـَ ، عَ
z	ذ، ز ، ظ، ض		e	ـِ ، عِ
r	ر		o	ـُ ، عُ
zh	ژ		ā	آ ، عا
sh	ش		u	او ، عو
gh	غ، ق		i	ای کوتاه
f	ف		b	ب
k	ک		p	پ
g	گ		t	ت ، ط
l	ل		s	س ، ص ، ث
m	م		j	ج
n	ن		ch	چ
v	و		h	ح ، ه
y	ی		kh	خ
’	ع و همزه غیراول			

Note: Some well-known names (e.g. Iran, Tehran) have been written with their common English spellings rather than following this system of transliteration.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 1. Introduction

Since the beginning of the 20th century, Iran has undergone extremely significant sociopolitical and cultural transformations. Two of the major events which affected the country and its society—in different aspects and respects—were the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 and the Islamic Revolution of 1979. Each of these events, as well as their geneses and consequences, have transformed various spheres of Iranian society. Music, as an important cultural aspect, is one of the areas most significantly affected by and involved with the aforementioned transformations in contemporary Iran.

While studying for my Master of Arts degree at the University of Tehran, the sociopolitical and cultural changes of the Constitutional era, and accordingly, the ways these have affected the development of Iranian classical music, drew my attention and motivated me to write my final thesis with the title, "The Impacts of the Constitutional Revolution and Modernization on Iranian classical Music" (2013). During my research, I realized how extensive the influence of constitutionality and modernization was on the construction of national identity and on the approach of society and the elite towards traditions in Iran. It also became obvious to me how dramatically these issues are reflected in Iranian music. One major influence of constitutionality was a cultural decentralization, shifting the locus of culture from the court (and related aristocratic institutions) to more public spaces. Specifically for our subject, we see the beginning of public concerts as a means of distribution of music (Sepanta 2003, 153; Kalantari 2004, 45).

Furthermore, one of the issues that drew my attention as an academic as well as a performer of Iranian classical music, from the early days of my musical activities (in

the late 1990s) within the milieu of Iranian classical music was the issue of tradition and modernity in Iranian music, and the manner in which they interact with each other. Therefore, discussions and debates among Iranian musicians about tradition and modernity—about old and new—in Iranian music have always intrigued me, and most specifically: the interaction between Iranian classical music and concepts of identity and tradition in various eras; how tradition has been perceived and practiced by Iranian musicians; the dynamics of change in traditions; and the nexus involved in the construction of collective identity. Therefore, I decided to examine and analyze the development of these relationships since the 1970s for my doctoral dissertation. The reason I chose this specific time period is that the 70s, together with their preceding few years, were a fundamentally transformative decade in the sociopolitical conditions of contemporary Iran.

Starting in the early 1970s, according to the will of Mohammad Reza Shah, Iranian society experienced an increasing process of modernization, while simultaneously developing a stronger Iranian national identity (Abrahamian 1982, 426-434). Since the mid 70s, revolutionary movements against the monarchy blossomed, finally resulting in the fall of the Pahlavi regime and the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979. In 1980 the Iran-Iraq war began, lasting eight years. The Revolution and the war dramatically changed the face of Iran politically, socially, economically, musically, and culturally in general (Mahdavi 2011, 95-97). As a result of the sociopolitical atmosphere of these years, the normal flow of musical production and performance was interrupted, and in its place the state cultivated a genre of music bound up with the political and religious ideologies of the new regime. Even the very word "music" was demoted in favor of the term *sorudhāy-e enghelābi* ("revolutionary chants") to conform better to the new rulers' cultural agenda

(Movahed 2003-2004, 89). Thus "normal" musical activities as we saw before the Revolution were prohibited until the end of the war. Beginning in the late 1980s, we see a more relaxed policy towards musical activities in Iran, but restrictions on concerts, musical productions, and music education remain today.

The late 1990s ushered in a discourse of reformation to the sociopolitical milieu of Iran, cultivating a novel atmosphere in the Iranian cultural scene[1] (Semati 2007, 6). Since the protests regarding the presidential election in 2009, Iran experienced an erratic situation in various respects. Although the first years of revolutionary Iran had already passed and the war was over, the tension regarding the political and social circumstances of Iran was not over. This instability is observable in various areas of society, most notably in the conflict of power among major political currents, demonstrations both big and small of various social castes as consequences of myriad economic and political problems, and the unstable relationship between Iran and the West. Yet throughout the aforementioned eras of Iran's contemporary history, modernization persisted within the body of Iranian society according to its specific historical requirements.

Accordingly, in each period tradition found its specific function, both in general society and in music. Specifically, in the case of the advent of the Islamic Republic, this issue of the relationship between modernization and tradition, and of their societal functions, takes on special importance. For centuries Iran had been a kingdom, and hence this long standing order had legitimized tradition as natural. The precipitous fall of the Pahlavi kingdom and establishment of a republican system with Islamic

[1]For a clearer understanding about the situation of culture and arts in Iran in various eras after the Islamic Revolution, see Semati, M(Ed). *Media, Culture and Society in Iran: Living with Globalization and the Islamic State (*2007). The book contains fifteen articles written by authors of various disciplines, such as music, cinema, media, literature, etc, analyzing the situation of the respective cultural or artistic fields within the specific sociopolitical atmosphere of Iran.

ideology fundamentally overturned the traditional ruling system, while the phenomenon of the "Islamic Republic" constituted a modern phenomenon not only in Iran but also throughout the world.

Meanwhile, in every era both civil society and the state continuously tried to construct a national or societal identity according to their respective desires, and this identity has found various distinct expressions throughout Iran's history. For instance, in the early 1970s *Irāniat* (Iranian-ness) was the chief element on which the identity was based, yet after the Revolution, the concept of *Eslāmiat* (Islamic-ness) gained more currency in the construction of identity in Iran. Some other key principles through which the notion of identity have been expressed and engendered in Iran throughout history are the Persian language, the Imperial civilization and its artistic symbols (e.g. in architecture), Zoroastrian cultural heritage, and Shi'ism (Saleh 2013).

These various concepts have also been reflected in Iranian music, like other cultural aspects, throughout the different periods since the 1970s. For instance, in the early revolutionary years of the late 1970s, some young musicians initiated the *Chāvosh* music program, consisting chiefly of *tasnif-hā* (ballades) with revolutionary and patriotic themes, in accordance with current sociopolitical circumstances. The creation of the *Chāvosh* genre reflects the quest for a new identity in Iranian society, and it ultimately influenced many social and practical aspects of Iranian classical music. We will explore various aspects of *Chāvosh* and its impacts on Iranian music in the main body of this thesis.

1.1 Purpose of this Study

The first goal of this study is to analyze the discourse of tradition in Iranian classical music since the 1970s throughout Iranian society and specifically through Iranian musicians' perception of tradition, as well as the way tradition has been practiced in Iranian music. I will place a body of theory—along with key studies in philosophy, social anthropology, sociology, and ethnomusicology—in dialogue with my findings about the concept and function of tradition in Iranian society and music, to explore whether and how they apply. In this process, I hope to contribute to the body of scholarship regarding the social situation of Iranian classical music. At the same time, the ultimate purpose of this study is to find a means for practitioners of Iranian classical music to adjust their perception of tradition, and practice of music, in relation to current scholarly discourse on tradition and its change of dynamism in exposure to sociopolitical changes such as modernization, globalization, revolution, etc.

This research does not claim to disclose all the angles of the above mentioned issues in Iranian classical music, but at least it can be noted as an academic endeavor in order to create an intellectual pattern for the recontextualization of tradition within the body of Iranian classical music, adapted for new social circumstances and a new social quest for change. In other words, this project aims to challenge the restrictions and constraints within the current discourse on tradition and identity in Iranian classical music, as established by both the traditionalist and avant-gardist schools of thought, by employing major philosophical and sociological studies on the notion and function of tradition. Accordingly, the other problem of this study will be to analyze the relationship between tradition and innovation in Iranian classical music. Finally,

one additional objective of this research is to examine the nexus between Iranian classical music and identity, as one of the factors in social function of tradition, in various time periods since the 1970s.

1.2 Significance of this Research

The primary significance of this research lies in the fact that it contributes to the scholarship of Iranian classical music by taking into account both native Iranian and non-Iranian viewpoints regarding tradition and its related issues. The other significance of this research is that analyzing the discourses of tradition and identity in Iranian music since the 1970s will be very critical for the future and destiny of Iranian classical music. In the introduction, I briefly mentioned that Iran since the 1970s has faced many fundamental sociopolitical changes, some of which—such as the Islamic Revolution and the war—completely transformed various aspects of Iran. Music is one area deeply involved in these transformations, especially when we note that the Revolution was an ideological movement, and the dominant ideology has specific ideas and guidelines regarding music (for instance see Khomeini 1998, 204-205 and 157-158). For instance, the Revolution went so far as to change the mainstream musicians. Many musicians who had been considered the mainstream—such as Golpa, Iraj, Abdolvahab Shahidi, Parviz Yahaghi, and many female singers—were either banned from musical activities, or isolated. As a result, a new generation of mainstream musicians such as Shajarian, Lotfi, Alizadeh, Meshkatian, Kiani, and others became the new mainstream, a transformation which we will return to in more detail in subsequent chapters. In this situation, it becomes clear just how seriously these sociopolitical transformations have affected the path and destiny of Iranian music at the present time, as well as how it can affect the future of this music culture.

As the first years of the Revolution passed, and the Iran-Iraq war ended, the story did not end, and today the society is still transitioning politically, economically, culturally, and socially. Iranian classical music, as an important cultural element, is equally facing instability, experiencing a form of "passage" very much steeped in tradition, modernization, and identity. For this reason, I find it vital to attempt a precise analysis of the relevant discourses in Iranian music, for the current and future of this music genre.

An important distinction of this research lies in creating an academic theoretical framework for a novel approach towards tradition, and its relationship with modernity in one instance, and construction of national identity in the other. The common discussions on the issue of tradition and modernization in Iranian music have been primarily interested in the presumed "conflict" of the two concepts. Asadi explains it well as "an [inconclusive] conflict between the old and the new" (Asadi 2007, 209). The conflict exists primarily due to the "traditional" way of perceiving tradition. By analyzing the viewpoints of Iranian musicians—both traditionalists and avant-garde movements—we observe that the dominant perception of tradition considers it as a set of immutable, transmitted elements.

The traditionalist stream believes in practicing tradition unquestioningly, and the avant-garde believes in its dysfunctionality and sees it as an obstacle to progress. Thus, these approaches have prevented examining the actual relationship between tradition and novelty, as well as between authenticity and innovation in Iranian music. In this situation, it is critical to find academic possibilities to update the perception of

the discourse of tradition in line with current, pervasive thinking in various disciplines such as philosophy, sociology[2], and specifically, ethnomusicology[3] around the world.

In summary, this research charts an academic roadmap for Iranian musicians and subsequent researchers using key scholarly intellectual frameworks—from both within Iran and without—to rethink and redefine the function of tradition and its nexus with identity in Iranian music in this liminal "passage" time period. This intellectual roadmap can assist us in realizing unfulfilled potentials in the tradition of Iranian music and its *dastgāh* system, by adapting transmitted practice to the current zeitgeist.

1.3 The Modernization Project and Tradition in Iran: an Overview

When we speak of modernization, we allude to the many changes in various aspects of a society which can contain other processes of change, such as Westernization or globalization. Modernization, according to Giddens, is the presence of "modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence" (Giddens 1990, I). Although Giddens reveals that modernization is closely affiliated with modernity, whose wellspring was Europe, it does not mean modernization necessarily and only occurs through Westernization (Lal 2000). Some scholars have even criticized the Western way of modernization, which involves notions such as imperialism (see Schiller 1976).

[2] For instance, the discourse of the invention of tradition developed by Eric Hobsbawm and five other scholars in the compilation *The Invention of Tradition* (first published in 1983).

[3] See the arguments in Coplan's "Ethnomusicology and the Meaning of Tradition" (1993), Waterman's "Our Tradition is a Very Modern Tradition: Popular Music and the Construction of Pan-Yoruba Identity" (1990), and Nettl's *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-Three Discussions* (Third edition, 2015).

Regarding the issue of tradition and its dynamics of change, there are various viewpoints and disputes on how and in what cultural, historical, theoretical, and practical conditions the old *maghām*-based music transformed into today's *dastgāh*-based music, which as a markedly different system requires different musical criteria such as different instrumental fretting and interval divisions (see Kiani 2013; Hajarian 2014; Asadi 2004 and 2010).

We do not intend to analyze the theories regarding the formation of *dastgāh,* since it requires separate scholarly analysis (e.g. Talai 1993; Vaziri 2003; Khaleghi 2018; Kiani 2013; Asadi 2004; Farhat 2009). We can, however, conclude that the current *dastgāh*-based form of Iranian classical music came to exist at a specific historical moment as a "novel tradition" of Iranian classical music. In this dissertation, we are focusing on the different aspects of Iranian music from the last fifty-odd years, while the previously mentioned *dastgāh* transformation goes back centuries (see Hajarian 2014; Karami 2018). Therefore, we choose as our "zero" point the establishment of *radif*[4] by the Farahani family[5] as an organized compiled repertoire of *dastgāh* music, during the rule of Naseraddin Shah Qajar (During 1984, 124-131).

The first hint of Western music in Iran appeared in the context of military music. Although military music had been mostly separate from the main body of Iranian classical music, they shared some connections[6]. In fact, not only is military music

[4] For detailed definitions and explanations of *radif* and *dastgāh,* see chapter 3.

[5] A very famous musician family who played a foundational role in compiling *radif* and canonizing *dastgāh* in Iranian music. The most well known musicians of the family are Ali Akbar Farahani (1821-1858) and his brother Gholamhossein Farahani. Next are Ali Akbar's sons Mirza Abdollah (1843-1918) and Mirza Hosseingholi (1851-1915), and finally the latter's son Ali Akbar Shahnazi (1897-1985) and the son of Mirza Abdollah, Ahmad Ebadi (1906-1993).

[6] For instance, the music branch of the *Dārolfonun* School, as the first academic and systematic school of music in Iran, was primarily established in order to train conductors for military music groups. The institution evolved to become the Advanced Academy of Music (*Honarestān-e Āli-e Musighi*) which is one of the most important music academies in Iran. Moreover, some musicians with a military music

considered an independent and new genre of Iranian music, it also proved influential in subsequent changes in Iranian music (Mashhoon 2001, 439-441). In 1856 two advisers of military music[7] came to Iran and established the Royal Music Band. Later in 1867, the Frenchman Lemaire[8] came to Iran as a military music adviser (Darvishi 1994, 29). Lemaire had a significant influence on Iranian classical music, primarily because he established the military music branch of the *Dārolfonun*[9] School, introducing Western musical concepts such as solfege, harmony, and orchestration, to Iranian students for the first time. He also composed the first Iranian national anthem, intertwining elements of older Iranian classical repertoire with a Western flavor (ibid, 31-35).

Later in the Constitutional Era, the relationship between Iranian intellectuals and Western culture increased significantly. Consequently one of the main goals of the Constitutional Revolution, in addition to the quest for freedom, was modernization (Abrahamian 1979, 399-414). We see a pervasive quest for modernization in the various endeavors to modernize the educational, industrial, and market system, as well as the establishment of Parliament as a means to modernize the political structure (ibid).

Alinaghi Vaziri (1887-1979) is a pivotal figure in Iranian classical music, having birthed a pervasive trend of modernization and avant-gardism through his work in classical music (see Khaleghi 1999, Vols. 2 and 3). He studied music in Europe and learned about music such as harmony, counterpoint, solfeggio, and orchestration. I

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background such as Gholamreza Minbashian were later appointed to policy and educational institutions (see Khaleghi 1999 Vol.1, 210-238; Mashhoon 2001, 433-441).

[7] Bosquet and Rouillon.

[8] A French military music advisor who lived and worked in Iran from 1867 until 1909.

[9] *Dārolfonun* was established in 1851 as the first modern institution of higher learning in Iran.

have mentioned that these concepts had been introduced by Western musicians in *Dārolfonun,* but it was Vaziri who integrated this knowledge into Iranian music, and accordingly created a deliberately novel trend in Iranian classical music (Yousefzadeh 2005, 421). He attempted to theorize *dastgāh* music under the framework of Western music theory. This was significant because Iranian classical music historically had known many rather serious and scientific theoretical discussions, since at least a thousand years ago (e.g. Farabi 1996; Maraghi 1987; Safi Addin Urmavi 2003). However, in the Safavid era these subsided, and by the Qajar dynasty Iranian music was primarily concerned with "practical" aspects, resulting in a scarcity of writings on music theory. Thus Vaziri's work rehabilitated the tradition of written music theory, simultaneously satisfying the "internal need for change within a musical system" (Nettl 2015, 277-281), and exposing that system to other musical cultures.

Some other major changes that his work introduced into Iranian music are as follows:

- Using Western notation in order to write Iranian music and *radif;*
- Applying harmony and counterpoint, and thereby creating a polyphonic texture for melodies based on *dastgāh* music;
- Establishing academies exclusively for music study, and clubs exclusively for musical performance.

Some of these changes are intertwined with the *zeitgeist* of the Constitutional Era. For instance, the idea of gatherings to listen to music is associated with certain major musicians such as Darvishkhan (1872-1926), who had joined the constitutionalists and used to perform for their gatherings. Also, the ongoing decentralization of power from the court—one of the major goals and achievements of constitutionality—gave rise to programmed public concerts; such concerts had previously been rare, as top

musicians had been chiefly dependent on the power centers, especially the court[10]. One other major influence of constitutionality as an important sociopolitical phenomenon was the invention of the musical form *pishdarāmad,* which had not previously existed in the tradition (see Khazraei 2004; Asadi 2006).

As mentioned previously, national identity, and different approaches towards it in various eras of contemporary Iran, is a central concern of this dissertation. One significant evolution in the Constitutional Era was notion of *mellat* (nation) and, accordingly, Iranian-ness (Tavakoli-Targhi 1990). This concept was strongly reflected in the music (as well as in other spheres), and for the first time a national *(melli)* sub-genre was born within Iranian classical music. As Aref Ghazvini (1880-1934), one of the pioneers of *melli* (national) songs, expressed, "I composed patriotic songs when only one in a thousand Iranians even knew what 'homeland' (*vatan*) meant. They had only imagined homeland as the city or village where one was born" (Ghazvini 1963, 333).

After the fall of the Qajar Dynasty, and the establishment of the first Pahlavi Dynasty in 1925, the process of modernization of Iran accelerated under the deliberate Westernization program of Reza Shah. This also severely affected Iranian music in that the classical music, along with its transmitted tradition, was shifted to the margin and replaced by Western music styles heavily supported by the major policymakers for arts and culture (Khaleghi 1999, Vol3, 30-36). The trend was so extreme that even some musicians such as Vaziri, who was considered to be a pro-West musician in the world of Iranian classical music, were removed from policymaking positions in music institutions, due to their Iranian music background. Instead, some other musicians

[10] To read about the issue of dependence of the musicians and chief musical streams upon the power institutions (especially the court) in various eras see (Farmer 1929), (Mashhoon 2001, 37-431) and (Meisami 2012).

who were entirely against Iranian music came to dominate these positions (Darvishi 1994, 35-42).

During the second Pahlavi period, and especially since the 1970s, Iran (like most other societies of the world) came under the influence of globalization. Additionally, they again instituted a deliberate program of modernization and Westernization in various aspects of Iranian society (Keddie 1983, 588). Yet it is noteworthy that simultaneously, the Shah was attempting to revive ancient Iranian national power, and accordingly, traditions (as coherent cultural elements). *The 2,500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire* was a clear example of this dynamic. Along with that came an improvement in Iran's economic situation, resulting in a prosperous culture and art scene. Notably, some of Vaziri's pupils and successors carried on the avant-garde movement which he had founded decades earlier.

We see an example of this trend in the *Golhā* music program, which began its life on Iranian national radio in the mid 1950s. The bulk of the program was based on *dastgāh* music, which was then a novel tradition and style, based as it was largely on the concepts that Vaziri had introduced. Some musicians such as Rouhollah Khaleghi (1906-1965) were using big ensembles using combinations of Iranian and non-Iranian musical instruments, as well as using polyphony in compositions, which didn't exist in the older Qajar musical traditions. Meanwhile, generally the expansion of radio radically increased public access to music, thereby creating a much larger audience.

This all demonstrates the significance of the *Golhā* program, and the musical style it introduced in specific, as well as other music which was broadcast on the radio in general. The music style thus introduced was recognized as *musighi-e rādio'i* (radio music) among Iranian musicians, and it was largely disparaged by musicians, who believed firmly in preserving older musical traditions of Iranian music. The

traditionalist line of thought considered the changes introduced by radio music as distortions of the authenticity of Iranian music (Karimi 2001, 142), and established the *Markaz-e Hefz va Eshā'e-ye Musighi-e Iran* (Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music, hereafter referred to simply as *"Markaz"* or "The Center") chiefly to revive older Iranian musical traditions (Mosayeb Zadeh 2003, 83).

This music institute, along with the music department of the University of Tehran, was the two most influential institutions. The approach of these centers and their chief directors and policymakers, such as Nour Ali Boroumand (1905-1977) and Dariush Safvat (1928-2013), toward different aspects of Iranian music—especially tradition and modernization—was highly influential in both the perception and the practice of tradition in Iranian music from the 1970s onward, chiefly due to the fact that a generation of influential Iranian musicians were trained within these schools.[11] The establishment of such institutions, with their focus on "returning" to assumed traditions, can be interpreted as a defensive response to the changes in Iranian music (Asadi 2007, 213).

The trend of modernization in Iran did not cease with the Islamic Revolution; instead, it continued with specific adaptations. Mahdavi argues: "the Revolution was not a transition from a modern, open system to a traditional, backward Islamic culture. Indeed, the transition took place within the context of modernity itself. The discourse and politics of Islamist authenticity in Iran sought to bring about modernity, not to return to the past" (Mahdavi 2009, 281). However, the revolutionary ideology aimed to construct a more Islamic—rather than Iranian nationalist—identity, in part by positioning itself in opposition to the West and Westernization (Arjomand 1986, 403;

[11] Very significant musicians such as: Mohammad Reza Shajarian, Mohammad Reza Lotfi, Hossein Alizadeh, Dariush Pirniakan, Parviz Meshkatian, Davoud Ganjei, Dariush Talai, Majid Kiani, Jalal Zolfonoon, Ali Akbar Shekarchi, Mohammad Ali Kiani Nejad, Mohammad Ali Haddadian and some others were trained in one or both music institutions.

Moshiri 1991). The era of the Islamic Revolution and the subsequent war is especially significant, both sociopolitically and culturally, as the era of rebirth of collective identity in Iran (Rose, 1983).

Regarding the reflection of cultural identity in music, I have touched on the *sorudhāy-e enghelābi* (revolutionary chants) which played a large role in the *Chāvosh* music program during the period of the Islamic Revolution in the 1970s. The program began in 1978 (the year of the Islamic Revolution) and continued till the mid 1980s during the war with Iraq. *Chāvosh* can be considered a novel musical tradition within Iranian classical music.

After the Revolution, music in its various genres was considered *harām* (forbidden) by *fatwā* (religious decree) of Imam Khomeini. In this atmosphere, the freedom to create and produce music ceased, and many top musicians who had worked in *Golhā* and other radio programs either left the country or were banned from producing music. Women singers were completely banned from performing music because, according to religious doctrine, listening to women's voices was (and still is) considered *harām*. Instead, the *Chāvosh* musicians became the dominant figures, and in fact the mainstream, of Iranian classical music. The fact that the majority of these musicians were educated in the *Markaz* and the University of Tehran, with their traditionalist educational context, made this transformation yet more influential in the general musical milieu, and specifically in its relationship with tradition and identity.

The late 1990s birthed a reformist discourse and saw the rise of the reform-minded Khatami as president, hinting at a rather freer atmosphere in Iranian musical life and other respects. Yet although Khatami's government attempted to create a more permissive environment, the Ayatollah and his aligned hardliners (influential clergies, the *Basij* and Revolutionary Guard—which outrank the president and his

ministers) had always had a suppressive approach towards music, since the beginning of the Revolution. Surprisingly, however, this attempted repression backfired and the popularity of playing musical instruments, both Iranian and non-Iranian, has dramatically exploded. Today there are more than 500 music institutes only in Tehran[12], with almost every district home to one or more music schools, while before the Revolution barely any had existed.

Moreover, many families are encouraging their children to learn music, and in the last few years, sites such as YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, etc. showcase a huge wave of Iranians of various ages and genders playing both Iranian and foreign instruments quite skillfully. This increasing interest in music education, as well as the popularity of concerts—which usually take place only through official channels—indicates a significant change in general attitudes towards the social status of being a professional musician, in spite of the hostile attitude of the state's dominant power.

We can trace this thread of the relationship between identity and music in the Constitutional era, Pahlavi period, and the early years of the Islamic Revolution into the current time as well. In recent years, the official powers tend to support musicians and composers who are aligned with the state's purposes; in other words, the state endorses musical activities which promote the sort of identity the government seeks, to the detriment free music productions. One good example of this is symphonies such as *Imam Reza, Prophet Mohammad, khalij-e Fārs* (Persian Gulf), *Damāvand* (by Shahin Farhat), and *Khorramshahr* and *Enghelāb* (revolution) (composed by Majid Entezami). These pieces, however, are composed to reveal symbols of religious or national identity that have not been popular in society, in contrast to the *Chāvosh*

[12] I was looking for the precise statistics of active music institutes in Tehran but did not find any reliable reference to that. At last, I asked Hamid Reza Atefi, the deputy manager of *Iranian house of music*- and he provided me with this information.

patriotic songs of the Constitutional era and revolutionary songs during the Islamic Revolution.

All these issues are merely highlights among the broader changes in the corpus and social milieu of Iranian classical music in relation to various sociopolitical circumstances, in order to contextualize the importance of the stated two chief issues of this dissertation: national identity and tradition in relationship with specific sociopolitical and cultural conditions of each era since the 1970s. We also thus preview the method by which this research will analyze various aspects of Iranian classical music. We will analyze all of these introductory issues in detail in the next four chapters of this dissertation, in relation both to general Iranian society and to Iranian music specific.

In the current decade, the usage of new social networks and online platforms such as Instagram and Telegram in Iran has grown dramatically. This change has directly affected the music itself, and in turn the innovations arising from new media have influenced many social and practical aspects of Iranian music. The innovative styles evolving and appearing through these new media represent a new frontier in the tradition of Iranian classical music. Some key influences of social networks on Iranian music and its nexus with tradition will also be briefly explored in chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation.

1.4 Research Questions

According to the main focus of this thesis I have divided the research questions into two main questions each one containing some sub-questions -interrelated to the core concerns of the chief questions- to follow. The first main question is:

How have Iranian musicians, of various major musical trends since the 1970s, discussed and practiced authenticity and tradition?

This question is followed by four secondary questions:

1. Which are the elements in Iranian music about which musicians and theorists have discussed and contested the concept of tradition?
2. Do Iranian thinkers and artists consider tradition and authenticity—in general and as applied to music—as a static or dynamic phenomenon?
3. What are the main musical trends which Iranian musicians refer to, according to their perceptions about *radif* and Qajar musical traditions?
4. What is innovation, in the perception of Iranian classical musicians, and how is innovation effected in the traditions?

The second chief question of this research is:

What functions has tradition socially served, and accordingly, what have the relations been between Iranian classical music and the construction of national identity?

The following questions examine various aspects of this second main question:

1. What are the dynamics of change in traditions in Iran, in society in general, and specifically in music?

2. What is the nexus between tradition/authenticity and the construction of national/public identity in Iran?
3. To what extent is the term "national" music used, and what elements distinguish the genre from traditional music?
4. What has been the attitude of the state towards classical music, in the construction of an ideologically desired identity?

This research explores these issues among Iranian musicians across the spectrum from very traditional/faithful to "authenticity," to very avant-gardist. Accordingly, we will explore various musical styles within the world of Iranian classical music.

1.5 Research Methodology

According to the chief goals of my research, and depending upon the nature of the above mentioned research questions, I will conduct the primary body of my research through a qualitative research method, and I will answer the research questions through inductive reasoning. As described in the introduction, in addition to exploring specific music related concepts, I also include such concepts as tradition, modernization, globalization, and identity. Hence, I will rely on various disciplines to cover the goals of the research, and to answer the questions—disciplines such as ethnomusicology, sociology, philosophy, political science, and history. I will collect relevant research data chiefly in two ways: (l) drawing from the relevant literature in the mentioned disciplines, and (2) following an ethnographic approach.

To round out the research with a more practical approach, in chapter 5 I will analyze some pieces of music from various eras since the 1970s. In performing this analysis I aim to illustrate the practice of tradition and identity in the performative sphere of Iranian music, supplementary to the theoretical discussion of notions and

functions of tradition and identity. Moreover, the musical analysis will explore the relationship between tradition and creativity in the performative sphere of Iranian music since the 1970s.

According to the aforementioned disciplines relevant to the various aspects of this research, the literature I have referenced for this dissertation falls into the following categories:

- The systematic, theoretical, or practical aspects of Iranian music.
- The socio-cultural situation of Iranian classical music, whether in a specific period or as a general consideration.
- The history of Iranian music.
- The combination of the above three, concerning the analytical practice or theory of Iranian music within a given historical or sociopolitical milieu.
- Repertoires of Iranian classical music, in the format of notation and transcription.
- General concepts, such as tradition or identity, analyzed through the disciplines of philosophy or social science.
- Such general concepts and their functions in ethnomusicology.
- The sociopolitical situation of Iran through the specific eras of this research.
- Interviews, dialogues, and narratives regarding various aspects of Iranian music.

I will extract the main body of my research and analysis from academic and semi-academic literature. I will refer occasionally as well to writings from outside academia which—through memories, anecdotes, or dialogue—illustrates specific

issues. Additionally, I refer to significant audio or video recordings regarding various aspects of Iranian music, providing useful and illuminative information available only from oral or visual sources. Some examples of such sources are: performances of Iranian music by various musicians (in video or audio), documentaries on historical or technical aspects of Iranian music, and online recordings and videos from YouTube, Instagram and Telegram, which provide useful data about the practice of Iranian music.

I will apply an ethnographic approach, primarily through these two methods:

1. Exclusive interviews planned for the purposes of this dissertation with relevant musicians and musicologists.
2. Observations from musical life in Iran concerning the ways the central concepts of my research apply to the role of Iranian classical music within Iranian society.

One main reason I chose an ethnographic approach to data gathering for my research is that a dominant way culture has been transmitted, throughout the history of Iran, is the oral transmission of tradition. Specifically in Iranian classical music, *āmoozesh-e sineh be sineh* ("chest to chest" teaching) has been the chief way of learning music; still today some music masters believe—despite the existence of notation in Iranian music—that the chest to chest method is still more effective and necessary, since other ways do not transmit all the details of Iranian music.[13] Therefore this ethnographic method will certainly provide a great deal of illuminative

[13] Although today the meaning and importanct of "chest to chest" teaching has changed due to pupils' easy access to vast archives of Iranian classical music in written and audio formats, still some music teachers believe, to varying degrees, that chest to chest teaching is more effective (e.g. During 1984, 32-33). I have observed in the music classes of Majid Kiani and Mohammad Reza Lotfi, that this is their chief teaching method.

and useful information, as well as analytical viewpoints extracted from conversations with major musicians and musicologists active in Iranian classical music.

I have opted for these approaches for reasons closely connected to the objectives and questions of this research; as I have said, one of the central concerns of this research is the way in which the concepts of tradition and identity have been perceived and practiced by musicians in Iran. Certainly, analyzing the literature will inform us about the debates over these issues, and also shed some light onto the perception of the subject by Iranian musicians. Simultaneously, having conversations about the specific issues certainly gives us a more detailed and precise understanding of how the concepts are perceived. Also, observing the participants of various musical events in Iran will supplement our research, revealing how tradition and identity, as practiced within musical life, relate to the current sociopolitical atmosphere.

I have been closely engaged with musical activities—namely concerts, album productions, music festivals, music publications, as well as teaching at music institutes and institutions—for many years in Iran. My experience in these areas has helped me greatly to better understand and interpret, and my observations in the field also show me the overall position of Iranian classical music in relation to the social circumstances in Iran, and illustrate its dynamics of change.

1.5.1 Interview Framework

I have chosen a qualitative method for my interviews, with questions divided into two chief categories:

1. Primary questions, either exactly the research questions of this dissertation, or questions which paraphrase central issues of this research.

2. Follow-up questions relevant to the primary issue under discussion, normally asked whenever the interviewees come up with a novel idea, and chiefly to clarify the various aspects of the issue.

The primary questions I have devised for all the interviewees are as follows:

1. What does *sonnat* (tradition) mean to you in general, and how do you perceive it in Iranian music?
2. How do you perceive the nexus between authenticity (or tradition) with innovation in Iranian music?
3. What elements do you consider to be the basic constructive elements of tradition and authenticity in Iranian music?
4. What has been the relationship been between music and national identity in various periods in Iran since the 1970s?
5. What is your opinion about labeling *dastgāh* music as traditional, classical, and authentic music?
6. How do you apply traditions to your practical work or teaching?
7. How do you perceive the relationship between Iranian nationality and Iranian classical music?

The followup questions are essentially to clarify ambiguities in the interviewee's responses, as well as to address areas in which the interviewees have special achievements, such as music productions, theoretical aspects, or publication.

1.5.2 Choosing the Participants

It is crucial in field work to target appropriate figures of the population, in order to extract more precise data. In this research, I have selected the interviews based chiefly on the following criteria:

1. Their significance in and influence on Iranian classical music, through their practical or theoretical achievements.
2. The time period in which they were active relevant to my main focus, since the 1970s.
3. The musical trends and schools of thought to which the interviewees belong, and accordingly, their didactic and educational background.

There are a large number of active musicians in Iranian classical music who have been more or less influential and popular in Iran. However, according to the above mentioned criteria, I have decided to choose seven musicians and two musicologists as my main interviewees for this research. I will now introduce them and their achievements within the realm of Iranian classical music, as well as their roles in the field of Iranian musicians, considering the three criteria above. Thus we will be able to assess the relevance and accuracy of the information contributed to this research through their interviews.

1. Hossein Alizadeh

A virtuoso in playing the *tār* and *setār*, and professional composer, known for his innovations both in orchestral compositions and in solo performances. He has been nominated for a Grammy award three times, in 2003, 2005 and 2006. Alizadeh also studied music composition in Berlin for some years starting in 1982. His publications

on Iranian music, especially on teaching methods, is considered a leading repertoire for music students and teachers. Along with a large discography, he has been a very successful film music composer, having won the first prize of film music, composing four times for the *Fajr* film festival, which is an outstanding accomplishment. He was also very active in the aforementioned *Chāvosh* program and revolutionary music around the years of the Islamic Revolution. Alizadeh is one of the chief pioneers of the *Iranian House of Music.* Although Alizadeh is one of the most significant figures in contemporary Iranian classical music, he does not involve himself in executive responsibilities; instead dedicate his time to composing and performing music.

2. Majid Kiani

A professional *santoor* player and researcher in the realm of Iranian classical music. He was a pupil of both the music department of the University of Tehran, and the *Markaz-e Hefz va Eshā'e-ye Musighi-e Iran*. He is widely known for his "traditionalist" approach to performing and teaching music, and among Iranian musicians he is known as the chief pursuer of Qajar music traditions. His major accomplishment is his book, *Haft Dastgāh,* expressing his views on theoretical and socio-cultural aspects of Iranian music, and the continuity of *dastgāh* music with older traditions. He has been the head of the *Markaz* since 2000, and is a retired associate professor of Iranian music at the University of Tehran. He was also active in significant executive positions related to Iranian classical music.

3. Dariush Talai

A *tār* and *setār* virtuoso, and scholar of Iranian classical music. His learned chiefly at both prominent music institutions (the music department of the University of Tehran, and the *Markaz*). He completed a PhD in ethnomusicology at the

University of Nantes in France; along with his studies, he also organized concerts and seminars to introduce Iranian classical music to non-Iranians, in France from 1979 until 1992. His publications on theoretical aspects of Iranian music, and his formulations of modes in Iranian classical music in his book *Negaresh-i Now be Te'ori-e Musighi-e Iran (A New Approach Towards the Theory of Iranian Music)* (1993) are considered a seminal contribution to the theory and practice of Iranian classical music. He has also published a book in 2015 entitled *Tahlil-e Radif (The Analysis of Radif),* very much applauded, which he claims to be the "grammar of Iranian music" (Talai 2015, 11) and which won the Award of the Year in 2017. He is currently an assistant professor of Iranian music at the University of Tehran, and was formerly head of the department.

4. Dariush Pirniakan

A virtuoso of *tār* and *setār*, and a well known composer. He was also a student at both University of Tehran's Music Department and the *Markaz*, and subsequently taught in those institutes. He has taught at the University of Tehran since 1996, and currently is an assistant professor there. Pirniakan is notable for basing his work on the wellspring of Mirza Hosseingholi and his son (and musical successor) Ali Akbar Shahnazi. The dominant teaching methods at these two institutions (and by extension, in the broader milieu of musicians and masters, due to the influence of these schools) are based on the ideas of Mirza Abdollah; this is chiefly because Nour Ali Boroumand and Dariush Safvat, the institutes' two major directors, adhered to the *radif* of Mirza Abdollah, establishing it as the basic pedagogic repertoire. In contrast, Pirniakan remained firmly faithful to the musical style and *radif* of Mirza Hosseingholi and Ali Akbar Shahnazi. Mirza Hosseingholi, as Mirza Abdollah's brother, has his own

version of *radif*[14] with its own technical and practical features; meanwhile Ali Akbar Shahnazi has compiled a new *radif* including several novel musical features.[15] Pirniakan has also held significant executive positions in the *Iranian House of Music*.

5. Keivan Saket

A virtuoso *tār* and *setār* player, and professional composer. He has developed a rather novel musical style distinguished by the techniques, sonority, and musical pieces he has played on both *tār* and *setār*. One of his first innovations which drew the attention of the community of Iranian musicians was performing Western classical pieces—of Mozart, Albioni, Brahms, Paganini, Vivaldi, Bach, and other universally recognized composers—accompanied by piano (listen to Saket 2001). In the late 1990s this was surprising and was considered quite unconventional. However, his innovative style was not limited to playing non-Iranian pieces with Iranian instruments; we find it in Saket's own compositions and improvisations as well.

The most immediately noticeable aspects of his performance style are very fast yet accurate fretwork; a coupling of large "vertical" jumps on the neck of the instrument to use various tonal registers, accompanied by fast horizontal movements across the neck; and a distinctive sonority of his *tār* and *setār*. This distinctive musical style has been both applauded and criticized among Iranian musicians. He has been very active in performances all over Iran, from capitals to small towns, as well as in teaching many pupils. He has also laid out a novel teaching method for the tār and setār in several books, thirteen in total. His books are very popular across Iran, among both

[14] See *Radif of Mirza Hosseingholi.* Interpreted by Ali Akbar Shahnazi, compiled by Dariush Pirniakan. Mahoor Publications, Tehran 2009.

[15] See *Advanced Radif of Ali Akbar Shahnazi.* Transcribed by Habibollah Salehi, compiled by Dariush Pirniakan. Mahoor Publication, Tehran 2011.

music teachers and students. Saket also teaches music at *Āzād* University of Arts in Tehran and Shiraz.

6. Mohsen Hajarian

Hajarian is an important ethnomusicologist with a vast body of fundamental research on various aspects of Iranian music. Notably, his studies have spanned various disciplines in the humanities, namely geography, anthropology, etymology, and ethnomusicology, at various universities around the world. His final degree was a PhD in ethnomusicology from the University of Maryland, for which he presented a dissertation entitled *Ghazal as a Determining Factor of the Structure of the Iranian Dastgāh* (Hajarian 1999). He has additionally published a large number of research articles, in Persian and English, on different aspects of Iranian music. He, along with Mohammad Reza Lotfi (1947-2014), have been the heads of *Ketāb-e Sāl-e Sheida* (The Annual Book of *Sheida*), which publishes research on different aspects of Iranian classical music.

One of his most significant books is *Maktabhā-ye Kohan-e Musighi-e Iran (The Ancient Schools of Iranian Music),* in which he expresses a novel theory on the socio-cultural and historical causes of the formation of *dastgāh* and *radif* in Iranian music, which offers a critique of previous common theories on this issue. Hajarian argues that the process of formation of *dastgāh* and *radif* goes back at least 7 centuries, to when the Mongols invaded Iran. He cites various historical, cultural, and musical evidence (Hajarian 2014, 180-280); in contrast, the previously dominant view was that the formation of the *dastgāh* system in Iran goes back no more than 300 years (Kiani 2013; Asadi 2010; Farhat 1990). Another of his significant books published in Iran is *Moghaddame'i bar Musighi Shenāsi-e Ghowmi (An Introduction to*

Ethnomusicology, 2008). This book is significant in that prior to its publication, there had never been a book published by Iranian scholars exclusively on ethnomusicology.

7. Hooman Asadi

Asadi is one of the most prominent and well known Iranian ethnomusicologists, who has endeavored to analyze various aspects of Iranian classical music in a scholarly context. He is currently an associate professor at the University of Tehran and teaches various courses regarding the theoretical, historical, and social aspects of Iranian classical music. One of Asadi's noteworthy points of focus is the concept of *dastgāh,* and the transformation and transmutation of modes and other musical elements which led to the formation of Iranian music, along with the historical usage of *dastgāh* in various historical eras in Iran. Notable works on these topics include "Historical Background of the *Dastgāh* Concept in Persian Musical Manuscripts" (Asadi 2010), and *"Az Maghām tā Dastgāh: Negāh-i Musighi Shenākhti be Janbehā'i az Seir-e Tahavvol-e Nezām-e Musighi-e Kelāsik-e Iran"* ("From *Maghām* to *Dastgāh:* a Musicological Approach to Some Aspects of Change in the System of Iranian Classical Music," Asadi 2001).

His ideas on fundamental elements of Iranian music—such as the functions of tones and their definition as primary concepts, as well as how they function in various modes; the formation of musical modes, the formation and structures of *gushe;* and the nexus between various modes and the methods of analysis—are fundamental in the realms of both analytical and practical theory. He has also held prominent executive positions, such as the presidency of several cycles of youth music festivals, membership in the editorial board of *Mahoor Music Quarterly*, and membership in the specialists' board of planning for music education.

Since this study includes the present time, I have chosen also to discuss the central issues of this research with a new generation of musicians, namely Babak Rahati and Peyman Khazeni, pupils of several interviewees listed above. They were both born in the early 1980s and have studied music academically. The musical trend they pursue fits into a different spectrum, in regards to their attitudes toward tradition in Iranian music.

Rahati performs and composes music employing the *Qajar-i* traditions and *radif* -based practice. He has focused primarily on analyzing and practicing the musical styles of older masters such as Mirza Hosseingholi, Neidavood (1900-1990), Darvishkhan, and others. Accordingly, his Bachelor of Arts thesis was entitled, "Analysis of the Technical Structure of *Tār* Performance of Master Morteza Neidavood" (2007). We can observe Rahati's adherence to traditional styles in his albums *Delkash* and *Goshāyesh*, which demonstrate several identifying factors, such as unison texture, the selection of musical instruments, and the *radif* based logic of the composed and performed pieces.

In contrast, Khazeni exhibits a more nontraditional approach, for example in his *tār* playing on his album *Shukhi (Humor),* as well as in his orchestral composition. For example, on his album, *Be Yāde-e Man Bāsh (Remember Me),* he employs a polyphonic texture while the basing core melody on *dastgāh* type melodic movements. In this sense, Khazeni's musical style shows similarities with the musical style which began with Vaziri and was pursued by his successors, and he also exhibits various elements reminiscent of the *Golhā* program.

I had also hoped to interview Mohammad Reza Shajarian[16] when I started my dissertation in 2015, since he is undoubtedly one of the most influential figures, not only in contemporary singing, but also in the general atmosphere of Iranian music. However, unfortunately when I was attempting to arrange a meeting with him, he had fallen ill, and since that time his disease has become progressively worse. Therefore, there was never an opportunity for me to meet with him in person and to interview him. However, I have attempted to include his perspectives relevant to this research, by reviewing written references reflecting his views on different elements of Iranian classical music as well as audiovisual recordings of his interviews.

Given the prominent position of these interview subjects in the general milieu of Iranian classical music, as well as the fact that the interviewees come from different positions of the spectrum of Iranian classical musicians—ranging from a tradition oriented approach to its opposite, avant-gardist extreme—the data drawn from the field work will contribute greatly to the central concern of this research. Moreover, the fact that a majority of the informants, across the spectrum, come from similar educational backgrounds (sharing certain music institutions and musical masters, with a given approach toward tradition/innovation, influential during the time period under consideration) gives the selection of the interviewees even greater importance. We will thus have the opportunity to analyze the perceptions of significant musicians—from similar didactic traditionalist backgrounds—on tradition *(sonnat)* and its functions in Iranian music, as well as its dynamics of change. We will also observe how these different perceptions have led to a diverse spectrum of relationships to *sonnat* among Iranian classical musicians. The result of the interviews with these

[16] Shajarian was born in 1940 in Mashhad, and is one of the most significant current singers of Iranian classical music.

informants is more than 12 hours of recording, which has been transcribed in the original language (Persian) and then has been thematically categorized.

1.5.3 My Position as an Observer and Interviewer in the Field

One significant issue throughout the history of ethnomusicology has been the position of the researcher in the field. The ethnomusicologist plays the role of the primary transmitter of a musical culture into the world of scholarship. Therefore, it is crucial that the researcher be aware of the complex whole of the culture being studied, and apply appropriate field techniques (Nettl 2015, 201) to accurately represent the cultural image drawn by the ethnomusicologist for the academic world. Accordingly, there have been ongoing debates on the advantages and disadvantages of the position of the researcher as a cultural "insider" or "outsider" (for instance, see Clifford and Marcus 1986, Rice 1996, Nettl 2015). There are many critiques of the approaches of cultural outsiders toward other music cultures (Agawu 2003, Shankar 1999, Daniélou 1973). On the other hand, scholars such as Burnim and Hood have argued that both cultural insiders and outsiders can contribute to the body of scholarship on a music culture (Burnim 1985, 445; Hood 1983, 374).

Meanwhile, the role of the real "insider" has not been seriously questioned or denounced in such discussions of ethnographic research. On the contrary, Nettl implies that being a "true insider" within a music culture under study is an advantage for an ethnomusicologist. In the recent edition of his book *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, Nettl expresses concern for the "intellectual problems that face outsiders" (Nettl 2015, 158), for the "foot prints" after their departure (ibid, 159), for the potential reluctance of the informant to enlighten the outsider (ibid, 163), and for a possible lack of trust (ibid, 164). He emphasizes the importance of being guided by

the "concept of the complex whole of a culture," and remaining aware of the researcher's own conceptions of cultural and personal identity. Yet, an important question arises: who is a true insider, and what qualities do they have? I ask this not only for myself, in order to understand the general concept of a true cultural insider in ethnomusicology scholarship, but also to clarify my own position in this research as an observer and researcher on Iranian classical music.

I was born in Tehran, the capital and biggest city in Iran, and have always resided there. I finished my high school studies and then my Bachelor and Master of Arts in Tehran, as well. Naturally, my native tongue is Persian of standard dialect. This is important because the chief subject of analysis in my research is Iranian classical music, which is considered "urban music." The primary currents of Iranian classical music are observable in Tehran, because the majority of the masters, institutions, and large concerts have been centralized in Tehran. On the other hand, if I wanted to conduct fieldwork, for example, in northern Khorasan on the folk music of a specific city or village there, I could be considered as an "outsider" in that culture, with my Tehrani dialect and different musical background and life experiences, even though we would all be from Iran (see Nettl 2015, 165).

I began to study Iranian classical music in 1997 by learning to play the *tār,* and have continued my education in music ever since. Hence, at first glance it seems that I am a complete insider within the musical culture of Iranian classical music (as the primary urban music in Iran), because I meet the relevant criteria: living in the geographical location of the music culture under study, speaking and understanding the common language with those I learned from, and having the requisite knowledge of the music culture I am observing and researching in the field. These features are adequate to be considered classically as an insider to Iranian classical music. Yet, as

Nettl argues, such factors as the development of the world into a global village, musical homogenization, and political issues such as colonization and industrialization have made the concept of the cultural insider and outsider more complicated (Nettl 2015, 162-163).

Nettl also advocates that the concept of the complex whole of a culture should be the guiding principle of a researcher performing ethnographic research in the field. Meanwhile, Timothy Rice, in his exposure to Bulgarian music, finds that entering the horizon of a tradition and then mediating between insider and outsider is more helpful in the field, rather than categorizing a researcher who is in dialogue with a specific culture as insider and outsider (Rice 1996, 109-112).

Thus, Nettl and Rice prompt us to seek a set of skills and qualifications in the musical tradition we plan to investigate, in order to boost the quality of our ethnographic research. According to my musical background, together with my observations of Iranian classical music, I can consider this musical culture my "backyard" as a research area, according to Nettl (Nettl 2015, 201). The area I study, along with my research methods and chosen theoretical framework, is a clear example of doing "ethnomusicology at home" (ibid, 202-203).

I've mentioned Nettl's concern about trust between the researcher and informants. Nettl also asserts that "informants want to know what of real value they will receive in return for having provided a unique service" (ibid, 163), and that informants are concerned about the possibility of misinterpretation of what they share with the researcher (ibid, 164). Fortunately, my musical background has been of great benefit to me during my fieldwork, and in fostering trust in planning and conducting interviews.

I began music lessons with Keivan Saket in 1997, and attended his classes once a week for more than ten continuous years, and I also taught music to beginners at his institute for a period of time. Therefore Saket, whose work I studied untiringly during my research, came to be my first and most extensive music teacher. Accordingly, there was never a question of trust between us, and he generously assisted in my fieldwork. Others of participants, including Pirniakan, Asadi, Hajarian, Talai, and Kiani, have been masters in various fields of Iranian classical music at the University of Tehran.

I have maintained a close relationship with Pirniakan, Asadi, and Hajarian since I completed many of their courses at university, and all seem to have been satisfied with my studies, according to the marks they gave me. I also unofficially attended some classes with Talai and Kiani. Generally speaking, all these participants are well known musicians and musicologists in their fields, and all have great scholarly backgrounds as well. Thus, if I had not myself possessed the requisite knowledge and the recognized background in Iranian music, it is possible that they would not have agreed to discuss these various issues of Iranian music with me.

The conditions around arranging a meeting with Hossein Alizadeh were more cumbersome. He is one of the most recognized *tār* and *setār* players and composers, and he receives daily interview requests from journalists and researchers active in the field of music. Also, I did not have a personal connection with him. However, my connections in the Iranian musical society benefited me greatly in obtaining an audience with him, and I managed to have a constructive conversation—in the form of a one and a half hour interview—with him while he was in Cologne during his European concert tour in 2016. Interestingly, at the conclusion of the interview he seemed quite enthusiastic about our conversation, and he himself suggested another

meeting in Tehran. Months later, I met him in his office in Tehran for another two-hour interview. As you can see, these interviewees showed great trust in me as a researcher, chiefly due to my extensive background in the practical and intellectual aspects of Iranian classical music.

As I have said, the beginning of my musical activities was with Keivan Saket, who has non-traditionalist approach to Iranian music, and this tendency is clear in his musical practice. When I was a teenager, I was very interested in the features of this musical style. However, when I entered the music department at the University of Tehran, I embraced a much more classical approach toward both the practice of Iranian music and its intellectual aspects. I played the entire *radif* of Mirza Hosseingholi, with Dariush Pirniakan through the eight semesters of my Bachelor of Arts studies. Yet I also played *tār* in the Vaziri Orchestra, conducted by Saket, for many years. The structure of the orchestra, the repertoire, and the musical texture of the pieces were not "traditional," and generally were closer to the avant-garde musical style which Vaziri pioneered, and his successors developed.

Some years later I joined the Shahnazi music ensemble directed by Dariush Pirniakan, which followed a much more traditional / classical vision of Iranian music. The instruments were all Iranian, the pieces were composed in a unison texture, and the forms of the chosen pieces were closer to *Qajar* music traditions—*pishdarāmad, tasnif, saz va āvāz, chāhārmezrāb,* and *reng*[17]. In total, I participated in both the ensembles in more than 40 concerts in various cities in Iran. I was fortunate to experience both of these disparate music styles, during both my studies and my professional music practice. I have also attended countless concerts and music conferences as an observer.

[17] These terms are explained in Chapter 3.

In most of these events I have participated in or attended, I have seen a conflict between tradition and modernity, and between old and new. There have been countless discussions on this subject—ranging from informal conversations between musicians to formal academic discussions—in which some musicians have criticized others for their non-traditional style, labeling their work as improper, distorting innovations within the tradition; meanwhile some other musicians have criticized the traditionalists for their lack of knowledge and boring repetition.

Therefore, one of the primary issues which drew my attention, since my earliest musical experiences, was the issue of tradition and modernity in Iranian music. The issues I have referenced in the introduction are deeply related to the way musicians conceive of tradition and its dynamics of change in the process of modernization.

I have also participated in the *Fajr* Music Festival with the Vaziri Orchestra for several years. This festival is the most significant music festival in Iran since the Islamic Revolution, and is a showcase of Iranian music. Consequently, my observations are not limited only to this dissertation, and have been an ongoing process since I began performing music professionally. However, my research for this dissertation has been much more purposeful, precise, and concentrated.

1.6 Literature Review

The literature review of this thesis is organized thematically, due to the variety of themes involved. Although I have tried to maintain the chronological order of the written sources within the thematic categories, sometimes the priority of the thematic approach causes a break in the chronological order.

The first category of sources primarily concerns tradition in Iranian music, including the following:

Jean During, in his article *"Mafhoom-e Sonnat dar Musighi-e Mo'āsser-e Iran"* ("The Concept of Tradition in the Contemporary Music of Iran," 1991), discusses issues such as the change in dynamism of tradition, and its relationship with nationalism. The central concern is to explore the aspects through which certain music is labeled as traditional, and how current so-called "traditional" music—namely *dastgāh*—is related to older traditions.

During, Safvat, and Mirabdolbaghi published a collection of various articles on Iranian music in 1991. In addition to general information on the system of Iranian classical music, there are some explicit and implicit discussions of tradition. Specifically the ideas of Dariush Safvat are significant to this dissertation, since he, along with Nour Ali Boroumand, played a significant role in the development of Iranian classical music, and in defining how Qajar musical traditions are perceived and practiced. Also During, in his book *La Musique Iranienne: Tradition et Évolution* (1984), sheds light on the concept of tradition and change in Iranian music through his examination of its basic elements. The elements through which he analyzes tradition and evolution fall into a few categories, namely: the socio-cultural context of Iranian music; musical instruments and their performance techniques; music theory; and

performance aesthetics. Although he addresses the issue of tradition in theoretical concept and practical function, the book presents more of a comprehensive, general introduction to Iranian music rather than a detailed, analytical inquiry into tradition in Iranian music.

Majid Mir Montahaei (2002) has compiled a collection of interviews with some distinguished Iranian musicians—Hossein Alizadeh, Farhad Fakhreddini, Kambiz Roshanravan, Dariush Talai, Majid Kiani, Mohammad Reza Lotfi, Mohammad Reza Shajarian, Parviz Meshkatian, and Jean During—focused significantly on the issue of tradition and modernity, as well as that of identity. Specifically, the book deals with the tendency of Iranian socienty to consider tradition and modernity as two essentially contrasting concepts. Shahrnazdar (2005) also has compiled interviews with Mohammad Reza Darvishi, Dariush Talai, Majid Kiani, and Hossein Alizadeh into four separate books, largely concerning the issues of tradition, identity, and innovation in Iranian music. Some of the questions asked by the interviewers are similar to mine, and as such I consider these interviews to be supplementary sources. These interviews contribute significantly to my ethnographic research, providing interviews with notable musicians who I did not have the opportunity to interview, such as Lotfi and Meshkatian (who had passed away before the beginning of this research), and Shajarian who had become severely ill before I started my data collection.

Hooman Asadi, in a 2007 article, explores the changing dynamism of tradition through the contemporary history of Iranian music. He argues that, as time has gone by, tradition has become more solid in Iranian music. He also takes *dastgāh* and *radif*—as two essential concepts related to the notion of tradition in Iranian classical music—into consideration, and expresses the idea that although *dastgāh* is

intrinsically a flexible phenomenon, *radif* has been treated and practiced as a solid and immutable concept.

Ali Khaksar (2009) speaks of the distinction between *musighi-e sonnati* (traditional music) and *sonnat-e musighā'i* (musical tradition). He argues that while the musical tradition has ceased to produce novel ideas since the Qajar era, traditional music has continued to exist as a musical genre, and accordingly, has embraced changes related to each specific era. The idea of distinguishing these terms, and of calling for a reformation of the disrupted relationship between them, contributes to the core concern of this dissertation. Khaksar's bases his arguments chiefly on philosophical ideas regarding tradition, and extracts his ideas primarily from the traditionalist school of thought.

The second category in my literature review concerns sources centered on technical and social aspects of *dastgāh* and *radif*. Two of the key concepts through which tradition in Iranian classical music is debated—from various angles—are *dastgāh* and *radif*. I find three main approaches to the formation, function, and related issues of *dastgāh* and *radif:* (1) a systematic, music based approach; (2) a socio-historical approach; and (3) a combination of these two.

Asadi (2001) explores the transformation from *maghām* to *dastgāh,* primarily through historical evidence, and concludes that the beginning of the twelve *dastgāh* system in Iranian music is traceable to no earlier than 300 years ago. Also Asadi (2010) analyzes the presence of the term *dastgāh* in various old prescriptions and treatises, and categorizes the evolution of *dastgāh* music into four chief periods. His analysis is quite detailed and provides an original interpretation of the formation and evolution of the *dastgāh* system in Iranian music. In general, Asadi's argument supports Farhat's idea of the cultivation of *dastgāh* as a verified musical system in

Iranian music, in the Qajar era of 1787-1925 (Farhat 1990); this is also Kiani's view (Kiani 2013, 25).

In contrast, Hajarian (2014) expresses an alternative theory on the formation of *dastgāh* and *radif* starting approximately 700 years ago, based on several socio-cultural and historical findings. Asadi (2004)—in addition to providing a short historical background on *dastgāh*— specifically analyzes the concept of *dastgāh* through basic musical concepts such as various modes and the function of tones.

Vaziri was the first figure who attempted to theorize *dastgāh* in a modern context, approximately 80 years ago. He approached the structure of *dastgāh* as 8-tone cycles (Vaziri 2003)[18]; he seems to have adopted this approach from classical Western music's formulation of major and minor scales within an octave. Vaziri also analyzed the *gushe-hā* of each *dastgāh* in his theory. Vaziri's musical successor Rouhollah Khaleqi (2018)[19] also talks about some theoretical aspects regarding *dastgāh* in an approach reminiscent of Vaziri. Meanwhile, Dariush Talai (1993) presented an alternative theory, extracting eleven chief tetrachords. He argues that various modes in *radif*—the seven *dastgāh-hā* and five *āvāz-hā*—are constructed by the combinations of these chief tetrachords.

Farhat (1990) analyzes the twelve *dastgāh-hā* and their related *gushe-hā* through the functions of the tones in each *gushe*. Kiani also dedicates a great deal of his book to the analysis of various *dastgāh-hā*, using a mixed theoretical framework (Kiani 2013) which employs some terms from old treatises on Iranian music yet applies them to the current thought on *dastgāh* in Iranian music. He also combines acoustics-related mathematical calculations, resembling old treatises of Iranian music, with new

[18] Originally published in 1935.

[19] Originally published in 1938.

elements such as specification of tonal functions, in his analysis of various *dastgāh-hā* and related *gushe-hā*. Hossein Alizadeh also presented a brief analysis of the seven *dastgāh-hā* in his didactic book for *tār* and *setār.* The main focus of this analysis is on introducing the constructive tetrachords of each *dastgāh* with their respective intervals, and extracting the common tetrachords and intervals of various *dastgāh-hā* (Alizadeh 2003).

Since *dastgāh* and *radif* are two closely integrated concepts, in the majority of the literature on *dastgāh,* a discussion of *radif* is inevitable; the reverse is also true. Hence there also exists a large proportion of literature on *radif*, its concept, and function within the tradition of Iranian music. Zonis (1973) and Tsuge (1974) were the first Western scholars who took various aspects of Iranian music into academic consideration. Both of their research is largely dedicated to a socio-historical approach toward the formation and function of *radif*. In both references, however, there is a marked lack of clear vision toward the nexus between *dastgāh* and *radif,* with the terms too interwoven to be able to clearly distinguish the concepts. Zonis' approach toward *radif* and *dastgāh* appears to be more of an introduction to illustrate the general atmosphere of Iranian music, while Tsuge's approach also seems to be an introduction, in order to be able enter the issue of *āvāz* in Iranian music.

Nettl (1980) combines musical and sociological features in an attempt to distinguish certain features of Iranian society reflected in Iranian classical music, specifically *radif*. He introduces four prevalent qualities in Iranian society, namely: (1) extensive hierarchy; (2) individualism; (3) unpredictability; and (4) differing order of appearance of important persons or acts in ordinary versus formal situations (Nettl 1980, 130). (That is, in informal situations, the most important entity comes first, but in more formal situations, he is preceded by something introductory.) Nettl then

reveals these features within the structure of *radif.* This was a novel approach in the 1980s, to examine a direct relationship between *radif* and society.

Nettl (1987) dedicates a whole book to *radif,* the first detailed reference on *radif* written by a Western ethnomusicologist. He chose a comprehensive theoretical framework for *radif,* employing socio-historical and cultural facts and debates around *radif,* as well as its musical aspects—its structure, and the distinction and analysis of various *radif-hā*. He also demonstrates a clearer understanding of the nexus between *dastgāh* and *radif.* Although Nettl suggests that it is not known how *radif* had been practiced historically, he relates the formation of *radif* with pedagogic aspects and the idea of a didactic "fixed repertoire" (Nettl 1987, 5). Thus we can conclude that *radif* was created after the formation of *dastgāh,* as a collection "designed" by the potentials of *dastgāh.* Talai also supports this idea (Talai 1993, 11-16), while Hajarian argues that *radif* and *dastgāh* are inherent to each other (Hajarian 2014, 243).

Kiani also supports the idea that *radif* and *dastgāh* were introduced at the same time (Kiani 2013, 25). Kiani sees *radif* as equivalent to *sonnat*, and considers it the only serious artistic musical style in Iranian music (ibid, 15-16 and 20). Mohammad Reza Lotfi attempts to extract the theoretical issues which underlie the "language of *radif"* in Iranian music, such as mode construction, chief tetrachords, melodic progression, and tonal functions (Lotfi 2010). In another article he (2011) expresses the significant, unique function of *radif* within the musical culture of Iran, and explains the fourteen elements through which *radif* is constructed.

In a recent study, Talai (2015) has analyzed all seven *dastgāh-hā* and five *āvāz-hā* of *radif* in great detail, in what can be considered the most analytical approach towards the structure of *radif*. He analyzes all the *gushe-hā* in various aspects, namely modal structure, tonal functions, rhythm, melodic movements, as well as the

"anatomies of *gushe-hā"* (45). He has analyzed the anatomy of each *gushe* individually, thus making his work unique among other research in the structure of *radif*. Thus we can consider it the grammar of *radif* in *dastgāh* music.

One significant focus of this dissertation the relationship between tradition and innovation in Iranian classical music. *Radif,* and the attitudes toward its functions, play an undeniable role in this analysis. Laudan Nooshin (2015) analyzes various aspects of the discourse of creativity in Iranian classical music, most importantly: the perception of creativity, the role of improvisation in the discourse of creativity, and the relationship between historical traditions and creativity. She posits *radif* as the chief factor "disciplining creativity" (Nooshin 2015, 55). Hence, she dedicates a vast proportion of her study to various debates around the definition, concept, and function of *radif*. Finally, she discusses the role of *radif* in the issue of nationalism in Iranian classical music (ibid 89-91).

The issues of creativity and its relationship with traditions, as well as the role of composition and improvisation, are complicated issues in the study of Iranian music. Nooshin's previously mentioned book, and her three other studies on the subject of creativity in Iranian music (Nooshin 2013, 2008 and 2003), create a rather transparent and comprehensive context in order to understand the discourse of creativity. Nooshin also explores the didactic aspects of *radif* and improvisation as a prominent factor in the discourse of creativity.

The other category of sources cited deals with the dynamics of change of Iranian music in relation to the sociopolitical and cultural circumstances of Iran. Owen Wright (2009) implicitly analyzes the discourse of tradition and identity in Iranian classical music through a case study of vocalist Touraj Kiaras. Kiaras was educated in music in the 1960s when, according to Wright, there existed a mixed atmosphere

influenced by both tradition and Westernization. Generally speaking, the book collects useful information on the discourse of tradition and creativity in the life of a professional Iranian singer. Naturally, Wright also presents some ideas about *radif* and *dastgāh* in his analysis of these discourses and of Kiaras' musical practice.

As stated, Jean During pointed out the close connection of tradition and identity in Iranian music. As a result, much literature on the relationship between tradition and modernity in Iranian music is also relevant to the issue of identity. Moreover, research with a sociopolitical approach to post-1970s Iranian music often deals with the relationship of identity and music, as well as attitudes toward modernization and tradition. Therefore, different scholarly research on the socio-cultural aspects of Iranian music within a specific era contributes, explicitly or implicitly, to the core concerns of this dissertation.

Bruno Nettl (1970) discusses the nexus of Iranian music and society, examining the various views of Iranian in general, as well as the attitudes of professional musicians who lived in Tehran in 1969; the participants in his research he categorizes as both "educated" and "unlettered." The primary focus of the article is on the distinction in interviewees' perceptions between Iranian and non-Iranian music. What he has accomplished in this study is a good starting point, since it gives highly detailed information regarding the social status of Iranian music a year before 1970, and we can observe the changes since then; however, this study notably lacks proper consideration of the middle class, and of other urban areas besides Tehran.

In another study nine years later, Nettl (1978) analyzes the major processes through which Iranian classical music faced changes, namely in the realms of (1) musical life; (2) theory and composition; and (3) musical performance. He also introduces the processes which had catalyzed change in Iranian music—urbanization,

Westernization, and modernization. These two studies by Nettl contribute enormously to my main concentration, the exposure of Iranian classical music to sociopolitical phenomena such as modernization and Westernization. It must be noted, though, that both studies focus primarily on Tehran, considering the capital the origin of significant changes in Iranian classical music since many years ago. It is, of course, extremely critical to explore the musical life in Tehran as the largest urban district in Iran. However, a comprehensive study on the socio-cultural aspects of Iranian classical music must not neglect other major urban districts such as Isfahan, Shiraz, Mashhad, Tabriz, and Rasht.

William O. Beeman (1976) discusses four matters: (1) which musical elements (such as modes and instrumentation) have been most vulnerable to change, in four existing Iranian musical traditions; (2) the growing communication between Iran and Western cultures, and the influence of western culture in changing music traditions; (3) the significance of governmental institutions (e.g. the Ministry of Culture), art, and broadcast media in changing the musical culture; and (4) the distinctive gap between rural and urban culture, and the ways innovation occurs where these two systems share common features. The article explores in detail the interaction between Iranian music and society, as well as the dynamics of change in different elements of Iranian music, and the importance of the state's role.

According to Nettl (1978), the processes of modernization and Westernization became more intensive in the 1970s, in comparison to the early 1900s. However, as explained in my introduction, their pervasive influence on Iranian music traces back to the time of the Constitutional Era; we can clearly see these trends in the work of Vaziri and his musical successors. Therefore, in our analysis of mainstream

approaches to tradition, modernization, Westernization, and innovation, we must review the historical background of the processes of change.

Mohammad Reza Darvishi (1994) brings a noteworthy approach to this question, focused on both the social and systematic changes of Iranian music, in connection to their exposure to Westernization and modernization. He dedicates a large proportion of his study to Vaziri's musical activities, and the specific train of thought he established.

Sasan Fatemi (2014) explores the penetration of the West into Iranian music during the Qajar era. He emphasizes the word "penetration," and notes specifically that it should not be mistaken for simple "influence." His study focuses on the Qajar era and the period before the Constitutional Era. He argues that the chief effect of Westernization during that era, unlike Vaziri's later activities, exhibits not in systematic aspects, but instead in the intellectual aspects and the culture of Iranian music. Also Hossein Alizadeh (1995) presents a comprehensive analytical history of modernization in Iranian music since the Qajar era.

These six studies together (Wright, Beeman, Nettl, Darvishi, Fatemi, Alizadeh) cover the dynamics of change of various aspects of Iranian classical music, in exposure to such sociopolitical processes as modernization and Westernization, from the Qajar era up to the Islamic Revolution of 1978.

Lotfi (1995) attempts to categorize musicians since the Constitutional Era into four different streams, based on their approaches toward Iranian musical traditions and Western styles, and their "commitment" to each. The article was written in 1993 (about four years after the end of the Iran-Iraq war), when the situation of Iranian music was quite chaotic. He analyzes these streams primarily in order to reorganize Iranian classical music in accordance with the existing practical trends.

As Yousefzadeh mentions, the presence of various genres of Iranian music in national occasions such as the Festival of Culture and Art *(Jashn-e Farhang-o Honar)* and the Anniversary of the Royal and National Revolution *(Enghelāb-e Shāh va Mellat)* expanded in the early 1970s, due to the state's growing attention to nationalism and Iranian cultural heritage (Youssefzadeh 2005). Musical life changed dramatically after 1979, of course. The Revolution's powerful Islamic ideology created a decade of prohibition of music. Yousefzadeh (2000 and 2005) discusses the elimination of music from public life, and the moving of Iranian musical life into the more informal realm of "the family circle" (Yousefzadeh 2000, 35). However, she does not consider the role of music in shaping the new dominant Islamic identity, through the creation of a new genre, *sorud* (revolutionary songs). This music not only played a socially motivational role during the Revolution and the Iran-Iraq war, but also itself influenced the novel national-religious identity.

Movehed (2003) examines the approach of musicians and musicologists towards musical scholarship, during the period of anti-Western ideology and socio-cultural transformation after the Islamic Revolution. She aims to "investigate the understanding and purpose of musical scholarship among contemporary indigenous scholars of Persian music, in order to explore the intellectual manifestations of a struggle that is caught between extinction by internal religious supremacy and endorsement by anti-imperialist political nationhood" (ibid, 85). To achieve this goal, Movahed analyzes fifteen musical works written between 1979-2002 under three time periods according to three sociopolitical approaches.

1. 1979-1989: "Policy of Isolation" and the Obliteration of Persian Music.
2. 1990-1994: "Resistance against the Cultural Invasion of the West" and the Return to Authenticity.

3. 1995-2001: "Search for a National Identity" and the Endorsement of Persian Music.

Through her representation of the mainstreams of Iranian musicians and musicologists, according to the new socio-cultural and political atmosphere, Moheved illuminates some important aspects of the terms “national identity,” “authenticity,” “Westernization,” and “Easternization” in musical scholarship after the Islamic Revolution.

Jean During (2005) details his 2004 scientific journey to Tehran, to compare the current situation of music and musicians to that of the 1970s, when he had lived in Iran for approximately ten years, working in Iranian classical music. He first remarks on the chaos in naming specific musical concepts such as traditional *(sonnati),* authentic *(asil),* art *(honari),* learnt *(elmi),* serious *(jeddi), dastgāh*-based *(dastgāh-i), radif*-based *(radif-i),* etc. He then observes cultural—and specifically musical—changes, in transformations in sub-genres of Iranian classical music, musical tastes of both musicians and the public, innovative musical styles, new aesthetics, and in short, a new musical life in Iran. The changes that During observes, as a Western musicologist intimate with Iranian classical music, illustrate the approach both of the Iranian people and musicians on one hand, and of the government and media on the other hand, toward various genres and musical styles in contemporary Iran.

Wendy S. Debano (2005) mainly discusses the situation and role of women in the musical life of contemporary Iran, and the attitude of the state and religious leaders regarding this issue. She focuses mainly on various musical festivals held for women. In her case study, Debano analyzes different issues such as national identity, musical material, social perspective, musicians, and audience in these festivals. Debano concludes that “while it is true that more and more concert venues and music festivals

are opening up to and featuring women and that many of these venues are held in very high regard (take the *Vahdat* Hall for instance), the less visible roles that women play as teachers and music advocates also merits further investigation" (462). Her accuracy and comprehensiveness about the life of female musicians in Iran since the mid-1970s sheds light on gender relations and power issues in Iranian society and music, and accordingly shows us a heretofore missing element in the socio-cultural situation of Iranian music since the 1970s.

Ann Lucas (2006) examines the effects of music on sociopolitical issues since the Islamic Revolution. She identifies three main categorizes in Iranian music—classical, folk, and popular—and explores each one's sociopolitical function and audience. She explores the everyday life of Iranian people from different social strata, for whom playing music has an important role; she also examines the role of music in different occasions. Finally, she describes the attitude of the government toward each genre, seeking to answer two questions: (1) to what extent does the Islamic government in Iran allow and support music; and (2) to what extent does the government prohibit and ban music? Most other research on Iranian music explores music inside of sociological, political, or cultural issues. In contrast, this article examines "the unique contribution music can make in discussions regarding social and political issues in Iran" (79).

Next I will list some sources which directly discuss the relationship between Iranian music and construction of collective identity in Iran. Chehabi (1999) explores the nexus between music and the construction of national identity primary in the Constitutional era, and also in the Pahlavi. His discussion of the relationship between patriotic songs with the construction of identity in various eras contributes to the identity-concentrated segments of this dissertation. However, he oversimplifies the

categorization of more recent nation-related music in Iran. For instance, he writes, "today Iranians in and outside Iran enjoy a variety of musical styles, in terms of the construction of a 'national music.' It is the intimate and refined art music inherited from the royal courts of yore that is now widely considered to be *musiqy-yi asil-i irani,* 'authentic Iranian music,' and not Vaziri's syncretistic style or even folk music" (ibid, 151). This explanation of the complex sociopolitical and cultural relationship between Iranian classical music and national identity is too simplistic, in categorizing Iranian classical music only into authentic and westernized styles.

Ghazizadeh recognizes "ordered governmental symphonies" which are composed by a couple of specific musicians supported by the state budget (Ghazizadeh 2011). Those symphonies, such as *Prophet Mohammad* and *Nuclear Symphony,* attempt to manifest an identity coinciding with the ideology of the Islamic Republic. Significantly, though, Ghazizadeh fails to explore why only the symphony form is accepted and commissioned by the government, despite consisting of more or less Westernized concepts and elements, with a seemingly contradictory relation to Islamic-Iranian nationality.

Behrooz Vojdani (2016) analyzes the discourse of identity and its relationship with Iranian music. Focusing primarily on the construction of identity in Iranian society through music, he then examines how identity shapes musical practice in the realms of improvisation, solo performance, and composition, as well as the nexus between music and daily life in various districts of Iran.

Masoud Khamsepour (2017) explores the usage of the term *musighi-e melli* ("national music") through history in specific schools of musical thought. Today we hear musicians use the term, but the characteristics of this "national music" are not clearly specified. The term itself carries a strong meaning of identity and nationalism.

Hence, it is crucial to understand how the concept has been used by various musical streams, under what sociopolitical condition the term was created, and what specific identity is intended. Khamsepour offers a clearer understanding of the commonness of the term in various eras in answer to these questions.

The majority of the literature I cite focuses on Iranian classical music and related issues. However, my main goal is to analyze the discourse of tradition and identity in Iranian classical music, with respect to specific socio-cultural circumstances of different time periods, and accordingly, the different nexus between music and the construction of identity. To understand better the dynamism of change in Iranian society in relation to music production and consumption, it is illuminating to take a more holistic approach towards music (rather than to focus on a specific genre) and its exposure to various socio-cultural situations, in relation to the construction or imagination of identity in Iran, before and after the Revolution.

Nettl (1972) investigates the position of popular music in Iran in the 1960s, the presence of Western musical elements such as polyphonic texture and harmony, and the social consequences of the expansion of popular music in Iranian society. Nettl describes mainstreams and styles with their specific features as follows:

1. "The 'mainstream' style is somewhat closely related to the most common popular music in Arabic countries, particularly Egypt, and consists largely of songs accompanied by orchestra.
2. "The second main style category of Persian popular music may be described as the Westernized style, and in essence, in some of its manifestations it is an adaptation of certain traditional Persian principles to styles of Western popular music, usually those current before the 1960s.

3. “A third style group consists of pieces derived from or closely related to Persian classical music. The history of this art in the last fifty years appears to have been a growing popularization and involvement with the mass media.
4. “Folk songs or songs derived from rural folk styles are a fourth important category of popular music, which appears to be far more popular in provincial cities other than in Tehran.
5. “A modest but significant number of recordings are based on the music of nations neighboring Iran. Thus, a fifth style category is really a conglomeration of styles derived from non-Western cultures outside Iran.”

Although the article is not about Iranian classical music, it is useful for its discussion of music production and consumption in Iran, as well as illustrating the importation of musical culture to Iran in the late 1960s.

Gay Breyley (2010) explores the circumstances of Iranian popular music and musicians active in the 1960s, seeking a logical relationship between the sociopolitical and cultural events of musical life in Iran. Breyley compares relevant aspects of popular music in the 1960s and 1970s, focusing mostly on such popular musicians such as Googoosh, Hayede, Aghasi, Susan, Pooran, Vigen, and others, and exploring their musical characteristics and the social situation of their audience. Importantly, he also examines the cultural imports and the presence of Western or Eastern elements in Iranian popular music. Finally, he discusses how the will of the Shah, in his attempt to modernize and Westernize the country, affected Iranian popular music. This article is valuable for its comparisons of different eras of musical life, in various aspects of Iranian popular music, and its relationship to Iranian society, thus helping us understand the changes of musical life in Iran from the 1960s until the 1970s.

One of the new frontiers which several major Iranian musicians such as Hossein Alizadeh, Keyhan Kalhor, Keivan Saket, and others have explored is intercultural, or fusion, music. During the last two decades, this genre has contributed many creative, innovative features to the body of traditions of Iranian classical music. In chapters 4 and 5 I will discuss key features of this genre and its relationship with tradition and the conception of cultural identity. According to Rastovac, Iranian musicians have developed fusion music (as well as underground music) primarily in order to demonstrate a modern national identity in dialogue with the entire globe (Rastovac 2009, 59). Although his research chiefly relates to musical styles which have not been allowed by the state, it contributes to some of the goals of this dissertation, notably to the exploration of imagination of a collective identity through intercultural or international music.

In addition to the literature on sociopolitical, cultural, and systematic aspects of Iranian music, some references with primarily historical approaches toward Iranian music also contribute to the goals of this dissertation.

Rouhollah Khaleghi (1998)[20] records in three volumes the major events of Iranian music, mostly from the Constitutional era (1906) through the first decade of the second Pahlavi period (almost 1950). Khaleghi is a significant musician, who was directly involved in the majority of musical events in Iran.

Hassan Mashhoon (2001), meanwhile, presents a history of Iranian music from the ancient era until the mid-Pahlavi era. Although the book embraces quite a long period, this helps us understand the general milieu of music in Iranian society within various periods. Sasan Sepanta (2003) also assumes more or less the same approach toward the history of Iranian music.

[20] The first volume of this book was originally published in 1954, and the second volume in 1956.

Earlier in this introduction, I explained that the institutionalization of Iranian classical music has had an undeniable role in the perception and practice of tradition, as well as identity. I discussed the influential role of the *Markaz*[21] in the 1960s and 1970s on the perception and practice of tradition, and its relationship with national identity in Iranian music. Einollah Mosayeb Zadeh (2003 and 2004) explores the intellectual and practical currents leading to the founding and subsequent activity of the *Markaz*, through documentation and interviews with twenty-five significant figures of the institution. In addition to musical aspects, he analyzes various socio-cultural and political currents of the institution, thus illustrating the approach of one specific line of thought towards tradition, *radif*, and innovation in Iranian classical music, chiefly in the 1970s.

In addition to literature concerned primarily with music, I also draw from analytical references on the social and political circumstances of Iran in the relevant eras, as these circumstances have affected dramatically the relationship of Iranian classical music with traditions and identity. As mentioned, the booming trend of modernization in the Constitutional era manifested in Iranian music as modernized musical movements and the institutionalization of Iranian music. Regarding the relation of nationalism and identity with Iranian music, we spoke of the creation of patriotic *tasnif* (ballades) at that time. Also both before and after the Islamic Revolution, we see a close connectivity between the sociopolitical situation and the dynamics of change in Iranian music. Below I list relevant sources on the sociopolitical situation of contemporary Iran in various eras, tracing the connection between the musical developments of each era with its respective sociopolitical

[21] *Markaz-e Hefz va Eshā'e-ye Musighi-e Iran* (Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music.)

events, and exploring the dynamics of change in traditions of Iranian music in the project of modernization.

Ervand Abrahamian (1982) chiefly explores three issues from the 1900s through the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

1. The historical background of modernization in Iran, and the political, social, and cultural elements which led to the Constitutional Revolution, as well as the sociopolitical status of Iran during Reza Shah's regime.
2. Changes which occurred after the fall of Reza Shah, the currents which led to Mohammad Reza Shah's autocracy, and the approach of the new king to modernization and nationalism in Iran.
3. The socio-economical and political elements between 1953 and 1979 that resulted in the eruption of the Islamic Revolution.

Abrahamian paints a rather general yet analytical picture of Iranian society since modernization, showing the attitudes both of the Iranian government, and of different strata and parties (especially the *Tudeh* party) toward modernization and tradition. Due to the broad time span, the book may lack adequate detail in its exploration of the socio-cultural situation. However, it is useful in understanding historically the Islamic Revolution and its relation with modernization.

Hamid Algar (1983) explores various sociopolitical factors, along with the cultural and religious context, which together brought about the Islamic Revolution. As the years leading up to the Revolution and the atmosphere of Revolutionary Iran play a significant role in this dissertation, Algar's work contributes to the understanding of the intellectual aspects of the majority of the society relating to various issues.

Said Amir Arjomand (1986) presents a comparative analysis of the teleology of the Islamic Revolution, focusing mainly on political dynamics, as well as on the radical changes in Iran's social structure which are the major significance of the Islamic Revolution. He compares Iran's revolutionary movement with Western ideological movements and revolutions, analyzing:

- The collapse of the monarchy;
- The state, hierocracy, and civil society in Shi'i Iran;
- Integrative social movements as reactions to social dislocation;
- The political and moral motives of the supporters of the Revolution, and the minor significance of class interest;
- Moral rigorism and the search for cultural authenticity;
- The revolutionary ideology and its adoption by latecomers;
- The old and the new in revolutionary traditionalism, and the teleological irrelevance of progress;
- The teleological relevance of religion.

Arjomand's analysis of revolutionary ideologies in Iran, and comparison of similarities and differences between the Islamic Revolution and other classical revolutions, reveals a proper socio-cultural perspective of Iran at the time of the Islamic Revolution.

Karen Rasler (1996) examines the effects of repression, concessions, the bandwagon, and spatial diffusion on critical events leading to the collapse of the Shah and the victory of the Islamic Revolution. She takes a generally quantitative approach, and through various tables and diagrams seeks meaningful relations between a given variable—conflict variables such as violent and nonviolent protests, spatial diffusion, government concessions, government repression, and government inconsistency—and

the collective escalation of rebellious actions culminating in Revolution. Although the bulk of her research is quantitative and statistical, her analysis of the data illustrates the relation of the radical clerics, *bāzāri-hā* (Bazaar market owners), liberal politicians, and the working classes with the Shah and his government in the 1970s. She provides useful facts regarding conflict and challenges between governmental and non-governmental actors in Iran.

Again, most historical sources since the 1970s discuss, explicitly or implicitly, the issue of modernization and modernity as a perpetual undergoing phenomenon. Ali Mirsepasi (2000) extensively analyzes this discourse from various perspectives; most relevant to this dissertation being: first, the influence of Western culture, and the approach of the West towards modernity and towards other cultures; and second, the process of politicization of Shi'ite ideology, and its relationship with modernization; and third, exploration of Islam as a "modernizing ideology" in Iranian society.

As previously explained, the variety of disciplines involved in the discourse of this dissertation, as well as the breadth of my research area, I will introduce and analyze literature from other fields of scholarship in appropriate places, to maintain the cohesion of this work.

Mojtaba Mahdavi (2008) examines democratization and its relation to structural and agential factors in Iran, chiefly exploring the following issues relevant to the Revolution:

- The nature of the Iranian state;
- Iran's uneven developments;
- The global structure of power;
- Leadership capability;
- Organizational arrangements.

Mahdavi accurately examines the possibility of, and obstacles to, democratization after the Islamic Revolution, on political, socio-economic, international, individual, and institutional levels. Although he does not directly target cultural issues, focusing instead on explorations on different political currents, the analysis is informative regarding the cultural situation in Iran since the 1970s in consequence of each current.

Mahdavi (2011) explores post-Islamism as a socio-intellectual movement in Iran, explaining its formation among Iranians and its effects on political authority in Iran. His concept of post-Islamism includes such political changes as the birth of a reformist discourse and the victory of president Khatami in 1996, as well as the formation of the "Green movement" after the controversial presidential election in 2009 (the most severe opposition movement since 1980). Moreover, he explores the ideas and theories of Ali Shariati—the creator of the ideology of post-Islamism—and the popularity of the ideology among different strata of society. Since post-Islamist ideology has been the most powerful opposition against hardliners in Iran, along with the fact that political circumstances deeply affect the socio-cultural issues in Iran, due to the ideological nature of its regime, this work of Mahdavi is invaluable to understand changes in Iran's socio-cultural situation in the last 20 years.

Chapter 2. Philosophy, Social Science and Ethnomusicology: Some Principal Discussions about the Notion and Function of Tradition

2.1 Tradition, a General Scope

As elucidated in chapter 1, tradition is a central concept throughout this thesis; thus we must first analyze the debates on the quiddity, notion, and function of tradition. Accordingly, the chief purpose of this chapter is to explore the approaches towards tradition firstly in disciplines such as philosophy and social science, as a general perspective, and secondly the way tradition has been treated in ethnomusicology. I will analyze key studies regarding the concept and function of tradition in relevant disciplines to create a theoretical framework for the main concern of this thesis, namely an exploration of the perception, function, and practice of tradition, and its dynamics of change in contemporary Iranian classical music.

Performing specific music, accompanied by specific body movements, in *Zār* rituals in some parts of Africa and the Middle East; eating turkey on Thanksgiving Day in the United States and Canada; the celebration of Christmas; or the ritual Friday prayers in many Islamic communities—these are just a few examples of the countless human ceremonies in different geographical areas, ranging from very small villages to an entire country, or even on an international scale. Although these ceremonies might sound unrelated to each other, in general, they are either considered, or related to, tradition. In what ways are these varied activities attached to tradition, and what do the disparate activities have in common despite their different appearances? And, more significantly, what trains of thought and interpretive themes, what motivations

and purposes, have urged thinkers, historians, and policy makers to construct and define the notion of tradition?

There have been many attempts to define the term "tradition," in order to understand the concept clearly and thereby to distinguish it from other concepts. Since the term is an abstract term, and since tradition itself plays countless roles, it is difficult to give a comprehensive, concise definition of the quiddity and entity of tradition. For this reason, it is like the notion of art, about which there have been many debates in order to define it comprehensively.

Leo Tolstoy endeavors to define the notion of art comprehensively in *What is Art* (Tolstoy 1995). He begins with a recognition of a couple of art's central concepts—such as beauty, pleasure, and truth—and examines the meaning and function of art through relation of these sub-concepts to art itself. This approach can also help us in exploring the concept of tradition. His framework suggests that, in order to define and describe such abstract notions as art or tradition—which apply to countless human activities—it can be illuminating to examine the societal roles of art, to see it in practice and see how it is discussed, rather than rely solely on abstract discussions of their essence and quiddity. In addition, as Handler and Linnekin mention: "tradition cannot be defined in terms of boundedness, givenness, or essence" (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 273).

There have been countless discussions about tradition in such fields as philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and art studies, from various viewpoints. Accordingly, we find extensive literature on the function of tradition, in every field of study. In this chapter, I will shed more light on the notion and function of tradition, by exploring the critical theories in the growing literature on tradition in these fields. Answering the following questions, using them as a context in which to explore the notion of

tradition, can help illuminate the concept. This deeper understanding across intellectual fields will contribute to our core concerns—to comprehend the concept of tradition within Iranian music, from different angles and disciplines, in order to seek ways of redefining and rethinking of tradition in Iranian music.

- What is the terminology of tradition, and what does the terminology reveal?
- How is the nexus between tradition and time conceived by scholars and thinkers?
- What kinds of functions does tradition serve in societies?
- How have scholars and thinkers perceived the relationship between tradition and modernity?
- What are the attitudes of mainstreams toward the dynamic and notion of tradition?
- How does tradition react to changes and transformations?

If we analyze the word linguistically, we find that its root is the Latin verb "tradere," to deliver or to hand something down (Ben-Amos 1984, 97). Therefore, the first impression of tradition is that it has to do with "transmission" of something. Extremely classical definitions chiefly rely on this idea in which transmission is central. Quillet gives this definition, "the transmission of knowledge, religious doctrine or, by extension, of human knowledge, of facts, customs etc. from generation to generation" (Vansina 1989, 289).

According to Nardin's understanding (which many later scholars have adopted), the word entails both customs and beliefs transmitted from one generation to the next, as well as the **process** of this transmission (Nardin 1992, 6). Along these lines is Kroeber's classic definition in anthropology, as the "internal handing on through time of culture traits" (Kroeber 1948, 11). Although Kroeber does not explicitly mention

process in his definition, clearly the handing on cultural traits through time implies some process, not sudden transmission. Ben-Amos holds that one of tradition's chief meanings and functions in American Folklore has been the process of handing down of cultural heritages (Ben-Amos 1984, 117).

When we examine tradition from various perspectives, we must observe how tradition reacts through **time,** since time is a vital element in the notion of tradition. Accordingly, there have been many efforts to examine the nexus between tradition and time. Moreover, if we follow the preceding definitions, tradition, as the things handed down, and the process of their transmission from past to present, is necessarily connected with the notion of **continuity.** Thus, continuity is one of the chief elements shaping a process through time, which has also been thoroughly discussed in related literature.

Hammer considers these perceptions of tradition and argues that "traditions exist between individuals and that there is a prescriptive element within tradition [which] should not raise significant controversy. So, too, that tradition has to do with continuity is rarely a point of debate" (Hammer 1992, 557). Shils also strictly relates the notion of tradition to "continuity," suggesting that any action which demonstrates continuity can be considered tradition (Shils 1981).

In contrast, Eric Hobsbawm argues that "'traditions' which appear, or claim to be old, are quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (Hobsbawm 1983 a, 1). At first glance, he might seem to be wholly rejecting the function of continuity within the structure of tradition. However, we must understand Hobsbawm is speaking chiefly about the "modern" form of tradition, primarily the product of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (ibid). Therefore, his idea does not apply to all traditions throughout history. Moreover, he explicitly states: "The past, real or invented, to

which they refer imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices, such as repetition" (ibid, 2). Thus Hobsbawm reveals that traditions automatically indicate continuity with the past, through formalized repetition, while simultaneously demonstrating the need to examine tradition in the context of time and continuity. Although the issue of continuity is not a point of debate, the quality of continuity—and accordingly the chance for change and transformation in the handing down—has been a point of dispute among scholars and thinkers. Exploring the literature reveals different conceptions of time, continuity, and dynamism of change, thus delineating varied understandings of the concept of tradition. In other words, different approaches towards time, continuity, and dynamism of change, result in different perceptions of tradition.

Fred Dallmayr recognizes three common approaches to the interface of tradition and modernity, which respectively perceive time and continuity as follows: "First, 'traditionalism' that shows a tendency to return to the past; second, 'modernism,' which appreciates the principles of modernity, and accordingly, is willing to detach from the past; and third, 'critical appropriation' which attempts to find a way to keep coherence of the past to the future through an assessed tradition in a critical way" (Dallmayr 1993, 204). The idea of distinguishing the three dominant types—traditionalism, modernism, and critical appropriation—is primarily based on philosophical thinking. Hence, for the purpose of this chapter, we will need to adjust it to encompass sociological viewpoints on tradition.

2.1.1 Sacred or Redundant? : Major Approaches towards Tradition

Employing Dallmyr's core categorization of the different mainstream approaches, we can triage disparate views on tradition and related issues, as follows:

1. Classic approach toward tradition;
2. Modernist approach toward tradition;
3. Critical appropriation/reflective approach toward tradition.

It is noteworthy that "traditionalism" as mentioned by Dallmayr creates for us a problem, in that by allowing for this categorization, we would exclude such scholars as Shils, Kroeber, and others in the field of classic sociology and anthropology, who hold not necessarily traditionalist views towards tradition. Thus I choose the term "classic" or tradition-oriented, instead of "traditionalism," to obviate this specific problem. Moreover, "classic" is a bigger frame, able to contain traditional insights as well.

Bruns states the classic outlook on transmission through time thus: "The classicist […] thinks that things come down to us from the past, and that, unless everything goes to pieces, the future will be a version of what has proven itself over time, something to live up to or shoot for. Such things as come down to us in this way are normative and binding" (Bruns 1991, 3). Employing this perception of time, Shils calls anything handed down from past to present as tradition (Shils 1981, 12), provided that they should last for at least three generations to qualify as tradition (ibid, 14).

Scares argues, "Shils presents a broad argument in favor of viewing everything with a coherent history and identifiable orientation as a tradition. Religions, scientific disciplines, and political movements are all for Shils examples of traditions" (Scares

1997, 13). For Scares, Shils' explanation of tradition is too broad to distinguish traditions from other social activities. Also contrary to Shils, Hobsbawm distinguishes between tradition, custom, ritual, and habit: "Custom is what judges do; 'tradition' (in this instance invented tradition) is the wig, robe and other formal paraphernalia and ritualized practices surrounding their substantial action" (Hobsbawm 1983a, 2-3). One alternative to classic thought is the way modernists comprehend tradition in the context of past, present, and future.

The Enlightenment was a significant turning point in various aspects of thought, and accordingly, in social modes of life, first in Europe and subsequently in other parts of the globe. During that period, radical changes occurred in approaches toward history in the context of time and continuity, and accordingly in the perception of tradition. Thinkers of the time felt a strong instinct for renewal in various aspects, and began to see themselves (as representatives of humanity) in historical terms as separate from the past. Bruns describes Descartes' insight: "he sees himself in history as a solitary subject, an alien, […] turns his back on what comes down in tradition in order to secure the subject against subtexts or false consciousness (elevating alienation into a method)" (Bruns 1991, 6). Hence, modernism, rooted in the ground of Enlightenment, arouses a radical objection generally against whatever was delivered from the past to the present, and more specifically to tradition.

"The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living" (Marx 2003, 12). Karl Marx's view of tradition is expressive and informative, despite its brevity. Bruns argues that the modernists see the direction of history from future to present, and the things coming from the future pass through the present and then into the past. Therefore, the things that belonged to the past simply

gather together, and there are an insufficient number of museums or junkyards in which to keep them (Bruns 1991, 2).

These ideas reveal how modernists perceive and judge tradition. Museum-piece theories of tradition, as Bruns mentions (ibid, 7), demonstrate the negative judgment of modernists towards the role of tradition in societal development, and advocate eradicating traditions from social activities and maintaining them in a museum. This, of course, is contrary to the way tradition performs in traditional societies or modes of life, as well as to the way traditionalists think about the role of tradition in society.

According to Giddens:

> *In traditional cultures, the past is honoured and symbols are valued because they contain and perpetuate the experience of generations. Tradition is a mode of integrating the reflexive monitoring of action with the time-space organization of the community. It is a means of handling time and space, which inserts any particular activity or experience within the continuity of past, present, and future, these in turn being structured by recurrent social practices* (Giddens 1990, 37).

Anthony Giddens observes tradition's different functions in social reflexivity in traditional and modernist modes thus:

> *With the advent of modernity, reflexivity takes on a different character. It is introduced into the very basis of system reproduction, such that thought and action are constantly refracted back upon one another. The routinisation of daily life has no intrinsic connections with the past at all, save in so far as what "was done before" happens to coincide with what can be defended in a principled way in the light of incoming knowledge. To sanction a practice because it is traditional will not do; tradition can be justified, but only in the light of knowledge which is not itself authenticated by tradition* (ibid, 38).

When we compare the modes of life and thought before and after modernity, it appears as if it is modernity and modernist ideology which "recognize" tradition, examine its conception and role in society, determine it to be contrary to critical elements of modernity such as rationalism and individualism, and then oppose it.

Given that before the advent of modernity (and accordingly, modernism), people living traditional modes of life did not need to recognize something as tradition, because traditions were everywhere and inseparably mixed with the everyday life and social activities of the people. Giddens argues that "In oral cultures, tradition is not known as such, even though these cultures are the most traditional of all" (ibid, 37); thus people who live in tradition cannot, or at least do not, feel a necessity to recognize tradition.

It is also critical not to confuse traditionalism for tradition, since traditionalism seems chiefly a defensive reaction to modernism. Before the advent of modernity, the process of handing down and transmitting social actions and values had continued naturally and unconsciously. However, once modernity appeared in opposition to traditional social values, the people began to feel a danger of losing their traditional heritage.

For instance, as Graburn suggests:

> *A multi-generational dance is an item of custom, a performance, and at the same time, such a dance is an occasion for the passing of the technique and the feeling of the performance from older to younger generations. Until recently, this handing on was a natural, unselfconscious part of the dance. Until the continuity was threatened, until the possibility of the inability to hand things down arose, people were not so self-conscious of the process of the handing on of tradition* (Graburn 2000, 6).

Hence, when the former unconscious continuity of tradition is threatened by a strong force such as modernity, it creates resistance and a will to maintain heritage and continuity in a conscious manner. Accordingly, this preservation of heritage, continuity, and tradition becomes a value in itself, and appears as traditionalism "in which everything transmitted from the past is held to be sacred and unchangeable" (Chan 1984, 424).

For such a tradition oriented or traditionalistic viewpoint, Dallmayr echoes Leo Strauss' ideal governing model strongly aligned with Plato's *polis* (Dallmayr 1993, 205). He explains the same tendency in the realm of philosophy as follows: "A prominent example is Alasdair MacIntyre's insistence that philosophical arguments generally are plausible or intelligible only within the confines of a tradition, and not in the abstract no-man's land of universal principles or ideas. To this extent, modernity itself—or modem liberalism—can be seen as one tradition among others" (ibid). Enlightenment thinkers agree that continuity and historical coherence are the main characteristics of tradition, but as Hammer suggests, they consider it to be a consequence of powers outside human control (Hammer 1992, 566). This idea of historical coherence being imposed from outside creates a prejudice against tradition in the discourse of the Enlightenment.

As an alternative outlook, Oakeshott considers tradition patterns in human activity which encompass the notion of obedience, and in contrast to the above he considers traditions "not a superimposed pattern, but a pattern inherent in the activity itself." He believes tradition gets its continuity from a pattern in "activity" itself, and not from inflexible patterns imposed upon the subject (Oakeshott 1962, 105-6). According to Hammer, in this sense, continuity of tradition entails "practical knowledge" transmitted from one generation to the next (Hammer 1992, 553). On the other hand, Handler and Linnekin argue that, although there is no doubt that tradition refers to the past, it is represented in the present, and therefore the relationship between the past and the present is not a natural relationship, but instead is symbolically mediated. Thus, a tradition encompasses both continuity and discontinuity (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 287).

As previously mentioned, we can trace the discussion of tradition by exploring possibilities of change, and doing so helps us investigate logically how continuity and historical coherence are interpreted in relation to the dynamism of change. We can see the above referenced idea of prejudice, as connected to tradition by Enlightenment thinkers, in a modernist outlook which perceives tradition to be a constraint and phenomenon bound up with power.

We see this point in Ziarek's interpretation of T. S. Eliot:

> *For Eliot, tradition works as an ideal and timeless order, in which masterpieces retain, or repeatedly regain, their value by virtue of being rearranged with respect to genuinely new works that enter the canon for the first time and find new places of inscription by adjusting, if only slightly, the transmitted knowledge and culture. The tradition thus grows through means of a linear repetition, admissions of new additions and reordering, without changing or altering the timeless substance of what is repeatedly handed down* (Ziarek 2004, 112).

Max Weber considers tradition to be the sum total of human activities which are performed without any self-consciousness. Such activities thus lack innovation and are repeated continuously with no sign of deliberation (Weber 1950, 355). In contrast to the modernist rejection of tradition as a constraint, resistant to change and renewal, Shils argues that tradition constantly changes "in the process of transmission as interpretations are made of the tradition presented" (Shils 1981, 13). Yet in spite of this changeability, Shils still considers there to be "essential elements" for tradition (ibid, 14). Shils and Kroeber both consider tradition to be a central force in the construction of societies; Kroeber, by considering tradition a core of traits, (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 274) and Shils, by basic society's existence on a "duration" provided by tradition (Shils 1981, 167). Shils considers the essential elements of tradition to be unchangeable; however, he allows that other (non-essential) elements

of tradition can change (ibid, 14). In this sense, Shils' understanding of the changeability of tradition appears to be more dynamic than Kroeber's.

Strauss divides societies into "cold" and "hot" societies, based on their approaches towards tradition and change. In cold societies, every generation recreates the past, cyclically; in contrast, hot societies consciously choose to move forwards instead of backwards (Levi-Strauss 1966, 233-34). Giddens finds it unthinkable that tradition is impervious to change; instead, traditions can change either gradually or suddenly (Giddens 1999, 40). For example, Islamic traditions (which can be considered as very firm beliefs and traditions) contain core prescriptions which have remained unchanged for centuries, but through history various interpretations of this core have led to divergent practices. Thus "there is no such thing as a completely pure tradition" (ibid, 41).

Waldman discusses five examples of contemporary countries in which tradition is deeply rooted in Islamic faith, and functions as a "modality of change." Specifically, he discusses women's dress codes: *Shar'i* in Egypt; *Bālto* in Sana'a, Northern Yemen; *Abā'a* in Saudi Arabia; *Burqa* in Sohar, Oman; and the *Chādor* in Iran. All these codes of dress were formerly followed, pursuant to Islamic traditions of the given countries, but all were also banned or disused at some point, for various reasons. Today, these countries are either modernized or in the process of modernization, and women again wear the contemporary dress of their respective country. Each dress code has become common among the vast majority of women in each country, but appropriately altered to be suitable for "today." According to Waldman, in all these cases faith and tradition function as a reference for change (see Waldman 1986).

According to Giddens, Enlightenment thinkers' objections to tradition, and endeavors to eradicate the societal role of tradition, were only partially successful.

Despite these efforts many traditions remained strong in modern Europe, and even grew stronger in the rest of the globe. Also, in the modern world, numerous traditions were "re-invented," and others were "newly instituted" (Giddens 1999, 42). Thus we see that old traditions, which had been suitable for traditional modes of life, must be adapted or reinvented to suit the new atmosphere of modernity. How was this adaptation possible, to adjust traditions rooted in traditional society in pre-modern conditions, to square with the rationalism and individualism of the Enlightenment and modernity? It was necessary to reconceive of tradition with a new outlook, one that is neither classic/tradition-oriented nor modernist.

This is the perfect opportunity to examine the ideas of **critical** or **reflective appropriation of tradition,** as alternatives to both classic and modernistic approaches. Philosophically, an examination of the perception of tradition draws from a close relationship with hermeneutics. Handler and Linnekin prioritize the interpretation of tradition in the present, rather than an exploration of its essence, in regarding the continuity or discontinuity of tradition. In interpreting tradition rooted in the past but alive in the present, the role of philosophical hermeneutics gains significance.

According to Bruns, Petrarch presented a hermeneutical approach to tradition; Bruns' rationale for this is Petrarch's letter to Boccaccio. "Petrarch enters into tradition in a mutual appropriation. We can call Petrarch's appropriation of tradition dialogical, that is, it is an event of mutual belonging from which it is no longer possible to extract and objectify either the monumental text or the pure thinking subject, much less a message passing between the two" (Bruns 1991, 6). Thus Petrarch opposes the modernist, museum-piece theory of tradition. Notably, Petrarch recognized concepts of "self" and "subject" long before the Enlightenment,

and in a non-modern atmosphere. The referenced appropriation can only be obtained through the ability of self or subject to think and rethink. However, it is important to see how Petrarch's "self" differs from later thinkers', such as Descartes, since in Petrarch's conception the role of self plays a vital role in the interpretation of handed down tradition:

> *Descartes imagines himself able to be deceived only from the outside in, not from the inside out. Descartes repudiates all that is not intelligible in terms of his self-certainty, but Petrarch's self-certainty is always open to question by the mediation of tradition, that is, by the discourse of the other or of what has otherwise been said. The discourse of Descartes is a discourse of world-making predicated on the exclusion of the uncontainable* (ibid, 9).

As I have mentioned, according to Enlightenment thought and subsequent modernism, tradition is very much connected to historical coherence; hence, in the discourse of modernity, tradition exists as systems of power-bound repetition in the course of history. From this viewpoint, whatever belongs to the past cannot play a useful role in contemporary societies, due to their novel features and requirements. In contrast, we see that Petrarch considers tradition to be transcendental rather than historical, and as a refuge for humans (ibid, 7). In this sense, Petrarch's interpretation is more tradition-oriented than latter modernist views.

We see the first sparks of hermeneutics in the works of Petrarch, when hermeneutics was in its infancy. Its further development was driven by the scholarly efforts of thinkers such as Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), and especially Martin Heidegger (1899-1976) in his major work *Being and Time* (1927). However, it was the publication of Hans-Georg Gadamer's *Truth and Method* that brought hermeneutics to maturity as a philosophical discourse

and a globally pervasive approach. Gadamer's chief question in *Truth and Method* is how hermeneutics can do justice to the historicity of understanding by disentangling itself from the scientific concept of objectivity (Gademer 2004, 268). He endeavored to rethink and rehabilitate tradition and with many other concepts. Gadamer's rethinking was a critical alternative, helping tradition to weather both the modernist's harsh rejection, and the traditionist's uncritical adoration seeking a return to the past.

I have mentioned that prejudice was a chief method by which Enlightenment thinkers disgraced tradition. Gadamer argues that even though Modern Enlightenment claims the necessity of eradicating prejudice, the essence of Enlightenment is in itself defined by a "prejudice against prejudice." He continues that the notion of prejudice is not necessarily negative, though by the advent of Enlightenment it was judged negatively (ibid, 272-73). Gadamer discusses the concept of "openness," which is required for the audience to discern meaning. When someone is exposed to a text, there are various routes to understanding the meaning. These stem from the reader's personal "fore-meaning" (that is, essentially, prejudice), which create a specific bias toward the text. Thus in order to prevent false understanding, we need a "hermeneutically trained consciousness" which allows for a "sensitivity toward the text's alterity" (ibid, 270-71).

According to Gadamer, instead of running away from prejudice (as the Enlightenment attempted), we must acknowledge the inevitability of prejudice and motivate it correctly—through a hermeneutical consciousness. Both understanding and human's relationship with the past are related to and affiliated with tradition:

At any rate, our usual nexus to the past is not characterized by distancing and freeing ourselves from tradition. Rather, we are always situated within traditions, and this is no objectifying process—i.e., we do not conceive of what tradition says as something other, something alien. It is always part of us, a model or exemplar, a kind of

cognizance that our later historical judgment would hardly regard as a kind of knowledge, but as the most ingenuous affinity with tradition (ibid, 283).

Here Gadamer asserts that, as prejudice is intrinsic to understanding, tradition is inseparable from one's being. Thus, unlike modernists who flee tradition, Gadamer embraces it.

Another related issue is the role and conception of authority. "Any reflection on the nature of tradition entails a corresponding need to work through the nature of authority" (Bruns 1991, 18). Accordingly, Gadamer pays special attention to the relationship between authority and tradition. He constructs his argument by discrediting the Enlightenment definition of authority. He suggests that Enlightenment has distorted the meaning of authority by considering it in opposition to freedom and reason, hence equating to "blind obedience" (Gaddamer 2004, 281). This opinion of authority is another reason Enlightenment thinkers oppose tradition. In contrast, Gadamer believes that the essence of authority is "knowledge" or "acknowledgment," not blind obedience (ibid).

These contrasts between Gadamer and the Enlightenment on prejudice and authority lead to contrasting understandings of tradition in relation to freedom and the dynamism of change. Gadamer, unlike modernists, considers tradition an element of freedom. He argues that, "even the most genuine and pure tradition does not persist because of the inertia of what once existed. It needs to be affirmed, embraced, and cultivated. It is, essentially, preservation, and it is active in all historical change" (ibid, 282). Chan explains, "what Gadamer is trying to show [In contrast to the modernist view] is that there is no intrinsic opposition between reason and tradition" (Chan 1984, 424). Regarding continuity, Chan argues that past and present are not separable for Gadamer, and what unifies those two is the experience of understanding. In fact,

Gadamer believes that past experiences can be re-experienced in the present, as what he calls "effective history" (ibid). Gadamer, contrary to modernists, does not consider tradition to be a static phenomenon. Tradition is not just related to the past, but is alive today. Therefore, for the present time, tradition requires appropriation; appropriation of the past in a critical, conscious way, through effective history.

2.1.2 Tradition as a Means of Novelty

In *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger lay out a novel concept of tradition and its functions in societies. At first glance, the term "invention of tradition" might seem strange, since according to common sense, tradition has to do with antiquity and the transmission of things from the past. Thus, its combination with "invention" sounds disparate. However, in this book they provide concrete examples from various societies, to establish the idea of invention of tradition in social theory. Their chief conclusion is that, especially in the past two decades, many "traditions" have appeared in various societies which, in contrast to common belief, are not ancient nor even old. These traditions are considered invented, and "are in fact responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their past by quasi-obligatory repetition" (Hobsbawm 1983a, 2).

In actuality, these "traditions" are primarily invented as in response to various social transformations, such as revolutions and progressive movements which break with the past. Hobsbawm suggests that these have been created in the last two decades, on the one hand to suit new social situations, and on the other hand to "structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant"

(ibid). In Hobsbawm's concept, the inventing of traditions for new societal situations accords with Gadamer's concept of critical appropriation of tradition through effective history, since invented traditions adapt old uses to new conditions and old models to new purposes (ibid, 4). Such adaptation requires interpretation, re-experience, and eventually critical appropriation of the past in the present.

Trevor-Roper provides one example of an invented tradition, that of the Highland tradition of Scotland. He points out that wearing a kilt woven in a tartan, which is considered a significant national symbol in Scottish national celebrations, is unrelated to long term traditions of Scotland. In fact, the wearing of kilts began as recently as the eighteenth century, as a result of industrialization. This novel type of dress was introduced into the Highlands by an English industrialist, both to create a distinct identity for the Highlanders, and also to provide them with proper clothing for factory work. To cultivate this novel tradition, wearing old-style clothes was banned for men after the age of fifteen. The noteworthy point in this process is that elaborate historical forgeries were created in order to give the invented tradition legitimacy (see Trevor-Roper 1983, 15-41).

In another article, Prys Morgan discusses the nascent eighteenth-century movement of "revival" and myth-making in Wales. The goal of the movement was to create an honorable past for the Welsh people, so as to assist them to identify themselves as a recognizable nation. This invention of tradition occurred through a systematic, ongoing effort to create a long-term history of myths and heroic culture, complete with a related literature (see Morgan 1983, 43-100).

In addition to these examples, several other articles provide concrete historical examples of the creation of traditions. In one, Cannadine explores the invention of pageantry, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as a tradition in the British

monarchy (Cannadine 1983, 101-163). In another, Cohn discusses the inventions of the Imperial Assemblage and Imperial Durbar in India, as well as changes in the use of ritual idioms, first under the authority of British rulers of the nineteenth century, and then under the authority of twentieth century Indian national movements (Cohn 1983, 165-210). Additionally, Ranger demonstrates how many customs which are recorded as the "African past" are, in fact, traditions invented under the influence and authority of Europeans in colonial Africa (Ranger 1983, 211-262). Finally, in his last chapter Hobsbawm discusses the mass production of traditions in Europe from 1870 to 1914. He explores how many traditions, such as "old school ties," Bastille Day, the *Internationale,* and the Olympic Games, were invented in response to social changes, under the influence of novel socio-political conditions (see Hobsbawm 1983b, 263-307).

In all these examples, the role of authority, usually appearing through institutions, is undeniable. Hobsbawm argues that all this invention of the past two centuries occurred both officially (political) and unofficially (social). Both the invention and practice of traditions reflect "the profound and rapid social transformations of the period." All these traditions were deliberately and consciously created, especially the traditions related to politics (ibid, 263).

When inventing tradition for a large number of people, both success and failure are possible in practice. Hobsbawm argues that those invented traditions to which people were able to adjust their social lives gained more success in practice (ibid). Significantly, Hobsbawm distinguishes between "genuine" and invented traditions, and argues that when the old, genuine traditions lose their applicability to new social situations, new traditions are invented deliberately (Hobsbawm 1983a, 8). On the other hand, Giddens argues that even the traditions which predate the modern period

were invented traditions, because even those traditions were created in a deliberate way for various reasons (Giddens 1999, 40).

If we combine these last two ideas of Hobsbawm and Giddens, we see that the life of all traditions, whether genuine or invented, depends on their functions in societies. They will be practiced and thus transmitted as long as they remain relevant to people's social lives. When traditions face social transformations—especially rapid ones—if they can adapt, they survive, albeit with alterations; and if can not adapt to or remain applicable in the new conditions, they disappear, to be replaced by new, more convenient, more suitable traditions.

As I have suggested in chapter one (and which I will revisit later), major thinkers in Iranian society and music have held a bipolar approach towards tradition. While traditionalists have emphasized preserving the "honorable" past and traditions, another school of thought has tried to demystify and delete tradition as much as possible (Asadi 2007). These attitudes parallel the modern and tradition-oriented philosophical and sociological schools which I have discussed previously in this chapter. In this situation, tradition and modernity always remain enemies. Meanwhile, I have also discussed in this chapter a third approach, the appropriation of the past for the present. In this approach, Hobsbawm argues, tradition can even function as a means of innovation. This third way has not been much developed in Iranian music; however, I will try to show how this philosophical, socio-anthropological theory may perhaps apply to Iranian music, by analyzing the debates on tradition and modernity.

2.2 Some Aspects of Tradition in Ethnomusicological Studies

The general purpose of this thesis is to study tradition and related issues in contemporary Iranian classical music. Since this is a non-Western musical culture, we

approach it from an ethnomusicological perspective. We must therefore first explore the notion and function of tradition in ethnomusicology in general, in order to elucidate the concept and function of tradition in Iranian music specifically; simultaneously we will seek Iranian music's place within ethnomusicology, while maintaining the integrity of its distinguishing features and characteristics.

Ethnomusicology, like many other humanities, has explored deeply with the notion of "tradition," and has examined various ways of engaging with the notion and function of tradition in the course of studying musical cultures. As most ethnomusicological studies are concerned with musical traditions around the globe, so countless studies have employed the term tradition, treating the term in varied ways. In this section I analyze some key ethnomusicological studies dealing with this notion, in order to establish the theoretical basis for my exploration of tradition in Iranian classical music.

Shelemay argues that ethnomusicology is a combination of "historical musicology" and "anthropology" (Shelemay 1996, 36); Nettl also suggests the significance of historical aspects in ethnomusicology (Nettl 1958, 518). The primacy of history in the essence of ethnomusicology reveals the significance of tradition within the discipline, since tradition is necessarily mingled with history (whether real or imagined), and also plays an undeniable role in the construction and activity of societies. The chief purpose of this section is to explore two main issues:

1. How the notion of tradition has been applied in the theory of ethnomusicology.
2. Ethnomusicological studies on the relationship between tradition and the practice of music in various musical cultures, with attention to their socio-cultural contexts.

2.2.1 Their Traditions Are Very Modern Traditions

As I've said, tradition plays a critical role in various social activities, so our domain of inquiry is large—regarding tradition both as a general concept, and as applied to ethnomusicology. Adding to the complexity, scholars concerned with tradition have "preferred to shift and twist the meanings for their own theoretical and methodological purposes" (Ben-Amos 1984, 124). These difficulties preclude discussing tradition in a homogenized, comprehensive way. To simplify this issue, we will examine ethnomusicologists' existing approaches regarding tradition. Generally, we can explore two types of ethnomusicology literature; one includes references whose exclusive theme is the study of tradition, and the other includes studies of other themes which supplementarily touch on tradition from various aspects. This second type is more numerous than the first.

In section 2.1, I explained the close relationship between tradition and such concepts as continuity, historical coherence, dynamism of change, institutions, and the degree of consciousness in creation of traditions. I also laid out various views on the relationship between tradition and time, and on the origins of traditions. Most ethnomusicological literature on tradition is chiefly based on the above issues, borrowed from sociology, anthropology, and philosophy. Yet these borrowings are also relevant to and valid in studies of tradition in musical cultures.

Coplan in *Ethnomusicology and the Meaning of Tradition* seeks a "bridge" between historical aspects and ethnomusicology through which to appropriately interpret and translate meaning (Coplan 1993, 46). Coplan's ideas are based on the hermeneutical approach, in which the past functions as a historical reference for tradition, and current traditions should be interpreted in the context of the present. He applies the socio-philosophical concept to ethnomusicology and argues: "Tradition,

that old red herring, also represents the immanence of the past in the present, linking modes of musical communication to the forces that have shaped them, and revealing the intervention of expressive culture in popular consciousness" (ibid, 47). He also borrows the idea of invention of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) to clarify the status of traditions in South Africa. He argues that different traditions have been deliberately invented, or at least "objectified," by both colonial officials and the colonized people, each for their own purposes. As an example, he talks about the creation of Lifela songs by Bosotho migrants who had been forced to leave their homes to work in mines. Coplan considers this tradition a tool against white apartheid, to demonstrate that the "Basotho were there before the white man arrived, survive as a nation now, and will be there when the present system is gone" (Coplan 1993, 47).

Waterman's *Our Tradition is a Very Modern Tradition* supports this idea, by pointing out the falseness of the unquestioned historical references of some traditions (including musical traditions). Waterman cites Ranger's argument (1983) that it is unrealistic to consider tribal traditions in Africa as genuine and authentic traditions which refer to pre-colonial time. Accordingly, Waterman is most interested in the dynamism of change in traditions, specifically musical performance styles, musical experience and its relationship to social identity, and distribution of power in post-colonial Africa (Waterman 1990, 367-379). He focuses specifically on the Yoruba community as an "imagined community" (Anderson 1983, 16). He argues that Yoruba popular music is "a privileged medium for the imaginative modeling of Yoruba society" (Waterman 1990, 372). While he does not fully reject any propinquity between current Yoruba music and the pre-colonial past, he does distinguish some elements in contemporary Yoruba music which are consequences of colonization.

"Hierarchical values are embodied in the aural structure of Yoruba popular music" (ibid, 374). We observe these hierarchical values, induced by novel social status, in the format and instrumentation of the Juju ensemble.

This perspective represents a significant rehabilitation of the notion of tradition in ethnomusicology, since the idea of non-reflexive monitoring of traditions had sometimes led ethnomusicologists to an extremist historical approach toward given musical cultures. We see this approach especially in early ethnomusicologists' studies. As Waterman mentions: "ethnomusicologists concerned to demonstrate the depth and authenticity of the traditions they study have often projected contemporary patterns of identity into the past" (ibid, 367). Such an approach would cause a misunderstanding in the analysis of both the past and present socio-musical status of a musical culture under study. In particular, Coplan's and Waterman's rethinking discredit the viewpoint (in ethnomusicology, as well as in ethnology and folklore) that tradition as "something immutable, a structure of historical culture fundamentally immune to history" (Coplan 1993, 36).

Further, from the arguments of Coplan and Waterman we can conclude that musical tradition can be defined and recognized by changes, re-inventions, as well as inventions, in response to the desire of its creators to construct of an artificial community with specific characteristics. Both Waterman and Coplan express a "consciousness" in the manipulation and adjustment of traditions.

McDonald's discussion of tradition generally agrees with Waterman and Coplan, even in the ideas of existence of tradition in time (past or present). What distinguishes McDonald's argument is his precision in employing the concept of tradition—specifically in how he distinguishes tradition from culture (see McDonald 1996, 106-130). In my search of relevant literature—in Anthropology, Folklore studies, and

ethnomusicology—I find no satisfactory endeavor to distinguish the two terms. For instance, Shils' definition (1981), anything or any action that shows continuity; Okeshott's idea that tradition is patterns in human activities (Oakeshott 1962, 105-6); Kroeber's definition of tradition as "core of traits" (cited in Handler and Linnekin 1984, 274); these and others all demonstrate ambiguity in isolating notions of tradition and culture.

Glassie tries to distinguish between tradition and culture by defining tradition as a "temporal" concept intermingled with history and time, and culture as a phenomenon which "resists time" (Glassie 1995, 399). McDonald, however, does not find this distinction convincing and accurate, since for him culture contains a "sense of radical continuity with the past" (McDonald 1996, 108). And specifically in ethnomusicology, the same difficulty exists. I have observed closely the usage of "tradition" in scholarly ethnomusicological writings in order to determine the approaches towards this concept. Many writings employ a "common sense" notion of tradition. In most cases, a name qualifies the word "tradition;" this may be the name of a place (country, city, village, and ethnicity) or of a specific musical style, or adjectives like new, old, and modern, which somehow define the tradition. For example we hear of Surla and Tapan tradition (Rice 1982, 122), Turkish and Greek tradition (ibid), Ottoman tradition (O'Connell 2005, 180), Cairo-based tradition (El-shawn 1984, 271), Arab-Andalusian tradition (Davis 1997, 2), State tradition (Stokes 1992 a, 214), among other examples.

The common-sense conception sees tradition as specific patterns of activity or practice. Clearly, this conception does not distinguish tradition from culture. Along these lines, Nettl views the concepts of tradition and culture as one and the same (Nettl 2015, 294-295). Therefore McDonald's chief concern is to isolate the two

concepts; he considers tradition a transcendental phenomenon which "involves personal relationship, shared continuation — out of the past, and into the future — of both the practices and the particular emotional/spiritual relationship that sustains them" (McDonald 1996, 119). He distinguishes tradition from culture in seeing tradition as a potential within the culture which can be "invoked," or not. To support this idea, McDonald cites the musical examples of Jim Lowe and the Archibalds family, both of whom come from aboriginal Australia at the same time, from the same kinship group and social position; yet "the Archibalds have chosen to 'invoke tradition' in their musical and social relationships, while Jim Lowe did not" (ibid, 115). Therefore in this sense, tradition is a matter of "personal choice" and "decision making;" one can choose to have "commitment" to the potentials (traditions), while another chooses not to, even though both come from the same culture.

2.2.2 Music, Tradition, and Dynamism of Change

I have pointed to the importance of continuity in shaping traditions. Regardless of the chosen definition of tradition, repetition and coherence of actions are essential. And as we have seen, continuity does not mean continuing ancient actions in the present without change. Thus, according to the socio-cultural and political conditions of societies, and what people need from tradition in the current time, various things can happen to traditions. Some might continue with little change; others might survive with adaptations resulting from the appropriation of the past for the present, and the interpretation of the past in the present. Some traditions might cease to be performed for a period due to specific social situations, only to reconvene their "continuity" later in new conditions. Others might disappear permanently, substituted by newly evolved

traditions. Many ethnomusicological studies have illustrated these possibilities; we will discuss some of these here as well.

We have discussed the significance and dynamism of changes within tradition. This is vital to determine how a tradition has evolved through time, and what elements have been added to or omitted from the body of the given tradition. Many ethnomusicological studies have focused significantly on observation and analysis of the changes in musical cultures throughout time. Nettl suggests, "in ethnomusicology and in anthropology, one of the principal ways of associating past to present has been through the concepts of cultural change and musical change—the idea that something that a society maintains and shares can change in character or in detail and yet remain essentially the same" (Nettl 1996, 1).

Kaemer focuses on musical changes in sociocultural context, starting with devising a "music complex" as "a set of musical events having the same goal, conceptualized in the same way, and supported by the same social group" (Kaemer 1980, 63). He analyzes musical change via "change of complex" or change "within complex" according to the specific case (ibid, 63). We can compare this categorization to Nettl's idea of "central" and "peripheral" changes in music (Nettl 1996, 2). Central changes—in Nettl's view—refer to transformations of the whole musical system; this is more or less the same as Kaemer's idea of change of complex. Nettl's peripheral changes affect minor musical parameters (such as a substitution of musical instrument) while the main body of the musical system is neither abandoned nor transformed; such peripheral changes resemble Kaemer's idea of change within the complex.

Yet notwithstanding the similarities in Nettl's and Kaemer's views, on closer exploration we find an important difference. Kaemer assumes musical changes to

depend upon the sociocultural situation, while Nettl considers music and its related changes to be more independent. Nettl argues that on some occasions, musical changes move in an opposite direction from cultural moves; sometimes when a culture changes, its related musical culture remains unchanged, or vice versa. According to Nettl, "maintenance of a singing style has no more to do with cultural continuity and change than vowel shifts in medieval English" (ibid). In contrast, Kaemer holds that musical changes—in characteristics, culture, and even style—are exactly the consequence of changing musical complexes. The idea that "as long as traditional music complexes continue to exist, the traditional musical styles will be more likely to continue" (Kaemer 1980, 69), along with the fact that the concept of a musical complex is strictly bound to society and culture, reveals how he binds the musical changes to sociocultural changes in comparison to Nettl.

Kaemer argues that "change within a complex, or intra-complex, is more likely to occur as the result of individual innovation" (ibid). This idea partially supports McDonald's aforementioned view of personal choice to invoke tradition or not; yet Kaemer immediately subjects this individual innovation to society's approval or disapproval (ibid). At first glance, we may see an essential opposition between tradition and innovation, but Schramm argues that there are empirical situations in musical cultures in which not only do tradition and innovation not oppose each other, they in fact complement each other and co-occur (Schramm 1986, 99).

It is also noteworthy to point out different views on the relationship between innovation and musical change. Nettl and Kaemer considered innovation to be either musical change itself, or at least the chief way through which musical change can occur. Blacking, however, offers an alternative ethnomusicological theory: "the innovations reported as changes strike me as being completely within the traditional

structure of the musical system, and therefore not examples of change but of innovative variation" (Blacking 1977, 15). Blacking's central concern in *Some Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Musical Change* is to develop a theory in ethnomusicology that would be exclusively applicable to "musical behavior;" for this theory the way musical changes should be treated by ethnomusicologists is crucial. As seen clearly above, he tends to isolate the concept of musical change from actual innovations made within musical traditions. For him, innovation is an important element in musical change; but innovation does not necessarily indicate a musical change in a tradition, as "truly musical change should signify a change of heart as well as mind" (ibid, 3).

Glassie argues that while many writers consider change and tradition to be opposites, this is only true if the scope of change is great enough to totally alter the old tradition, such that it becomes impossible to interpret the new tradition as an adapted version of the old one (Glassie 1995, 395). Notwithstanding Blacking's rejection of the free adoption of anthropological and social theories of change to our context of musical change (Blacking 1977, 2), Glassie's idea about dynamism of change in traditions seems completely applicable to ethnomusicology, since it does not oppose the major relevant ethnomusicological theories derived from empirical cases.

In the previous section I mentioned two lines of thought: one which devalues tradition as an obstacle to necessary progress in societies, and another which retains and preserves traditions as repositories handed down from older generations. The same dichotomy appears in music. Blacking criticizes both traditionalist purists for not caring about the "dead weight of traditional routines," and the modernists (syncretists) for endorsing "fashionable changes." As a result, both schools do not

properly comprehend the relationship between sociocultural and musical changes, nor the dynamics of change (ibid, 3).

As we saw in Hobsbawm, an important element in the transmission of tradition is "institution." Institutions are generally somewhat authoritarian, and accordingly they shape traditions according to their policies. Institutions can be vast or small, official or non-official. Of course, institutions with more authority (for example, the courts or the state) naturally have greater effect; accordingly, institutions with authority in music influence musical traditions. According to Cohen, "institutions, then, may foster their own important processes of musical transmission: not just in terms of the institutions themselves, but also in how they relate to the social and political forces that use and shape them in order to maintain musical viability within the life of a community" (Cohen 2009, 323). There are countless examples from different musical cultures in which specific institutions have affected and shaped musical traditions in specific ways.

For our central concern, Iranian classical music, two institutes are most influential: *Markaz-e Hefz va Eshā'e Musighi* and the Fine Arts Faculty of the University of Tehran. These have deeply affected the direction of Iranian music, primarily by preserving and cultivating certain Qajar musical traditions. Although Tehran University, as a significant musical institution, has attempted to preserve continuity with past Iranian musical traditions; it is simultaneously an academy along basically Western lines, and its methods break continuity with the previous oral pedagogic tradition. We will thoroughly explore the role of these two institutions in Iranian contemporary music later; I mention them here simply as examples of the institutionalization of Iranian music, and of "institution as hidden tradition" (ibid, 321).

2.2.3 The Ethnomusicologist and Oral Traditions

Many musical cultures and traditions studied by ethnomusicology are chiefly oral traditions. Even those that are not entirely oral have been transmitted primarily through oral and aural methods, rather than compiled written materials. Therefore, let us examine the peculiarities of oral traditions and how to treat and analyze them in ethnomusicology.

According to David Cohen, "'Oral tradition' has become the tag of the enterprise with two meanings: one referencing the material available and one the process by which such material came into our present" (Cohen 1989, 9). For scholars, the main problem in using oral material in scholarly research is the accuracy and reliability of the data, since it is chiefly based on narratives presented by informants from the given culture, which might be colored by prejudice.

Despite the difficulties, Vansina suggests, there is no longer a question of whether we can trust oral tradition, nor of whether oral tradition should be used (Vansina 1971, 464). In fact, oral tradition is indispensable in reconstructing the history and cultural identity of oral tradition based communities such as in Africa; there is simply no better alternative. As Vansina argues, "the attitude of members of an oral society toward speech is similar to the reverence members of a literate society attach to the written word. If it is hallowed by authority or antiquity, the word will be treasured" (ibid, 442). Therefore, scholars must accurately gather and strictly analyze data from oral resources. Testimony related to a tradition is transmitted through a "chain of witnesses;" accordingly there is the possibility of rumors, plagiarism, and personal invention, as well as one word "distortions" in the process of transmission from the first observer to the last. Thus, strict attention and precision are required to assure the accuracy of testimonies (ibid, 445).

In ethnomusicology, the chief sources of musical material and data are testimonies and musical performances, and thus the necessity for accuracy applies equally to ethnomusicology. But the relationship between performance, tradition, and music in these types of cultures is also noteworthy. Bowen suggests that in jazz, as a more flexible, oral tradition than Western classical music (which is fundamentally a written musical tradition), there is a recognizable distinction between "performance" and "musical work" (Bowen 1993, 140). Hence, a musical work—especially in an oral musical tradition, or a tradition which does not notate the work in detail—might vary greatly from one performance to another. For this reason, often ethnomusicologists deal with varied versions of a specific musical work. Bowen suggests that there are two ways to present such diverse recorded performances: one is to choose the most reliable version and disregard the others, and the other is to try to make one coherent version of the performances, not exactly the same as any of the versions, but containing the elements they share (ibid, 158).

Since the main concentration of this section is to explore the relationship between tradition and ethnomusicology, we must explore the attitudes of ethnomusicologists toward the musical traditions under study, many of which are oral traditions. In many studies, the ethnomusicologist goes beyond being a simple researcher of the musical tradition; his/her role becomes more significant, as one not only studying the tradition, but also influencing both its actual transmission and the process of that transmission. According to Shelemay, the success of the ethnomusicologist's dealings with a musical culture depends upon the depth of the relationship with the tradition under study, and with the carriers of the tradition (Shelemay 1996, 51). He argues that "ethnomusicological activity in the transmission of tradition appears to draw on

longtime musicological commitments to the preservation of musical tradition" (ibid, 39).

Rice has concerns about the issue of "learning" in the study of musical traditions, and criticizes most ethnomusicological and folk projects for studying "about music" rather than studying the music itself (Rice 1995, 261). Since the learning, and the approach towards it, can affect the relationship between "self" and "other," Rice believes that "the very concept of learning challenges notions, given to us by our objectivist epistemologies, of fixed boundaries between cultures, or of a radical break between self and other, or between mind and body" (ibid, 273). He continues, "the self is implicated in every study of the other, and furthermore that understandings of the other are ultimately released as self-understand" (ibid). This issue becomes even more significant since "the study of a tradition becomes part of the life of the tradition itself." Accordingly, the ethnomusicologist serves not only as a formal researcher, but also as a preserver, memorizer, and mediator of the musical tradition (Shelemay 1996, 46), and even to some extent, as an inventor of tradition (see Burstyn 2015-16, 124-140).

I have spoken of the commitment of ethnomusicologists to preserve and transmit musical traditions under study, and of the debates on whether being an insider or outsider is advantageous in the field studies (for example, see Clifford and Marcus 1986, Nettl 2015; Barz and Cooley 2008). Burnim considers his empirical experience in the study of the Gospel music tradition, and concludes that neither an insider nor an outsider necessarily has a guarantee of success in the field, since there are issues within the tradition, such as being considered in-group or out-group, the degree of objectivity, and "one's ability to translate adequately from music discourse to the

speech discourse," which depend on the ability of ethnographer or ethnomusicologist to manage (Burnim 1985, 445).

2.2.4 Tradition, Self-Reflection, and Ethnomusicology

One important function of tradition in general, and specifically in music, is its relationship with "identity." Giddens shows how tradition and customs influence and even construct the idea and meaning of "self" and identity (Giddens 1999, 47). The continuity and coherence of the human activities which we refer to as tradition—and especially newly fabricated traditions—are significant factors in construction of identity. As we have seen, many traditions have been fabricated or manipulated, and histories forged to justify them, in order to construct specific desired identities. Such constructed identities can refer to different kinds of groupings, ranging from a small ethnicity in a village, to a whole country as a nation, or even encompass an international identity.

For example, the tradition invented in the German Empire in the nineteenth century was a result of "aspiration of the secular national aspirations of German people," and therefore is linked with German nationalism and the construction of modern German national identity (Hobsbawm 1983b, 274). In another example, the tradition of celebrating May Day became a part of international workers' identity (ibid, 284-285). These authors have provided numerous examples of the invention of tradition in order to construct specific identities, and to define a group's own features and characteristics.

Coplan and Waterman demonstrate the role of musical traditions in the construction of identity and imagined community, citing the empirical cases of the Lifela tradition in relation to the construction of Basotho identity, and the Juju

tradition in the imagination of a Yoruba community. In turn, social interactions influence musical traditions; thus, the study and analysis of how and in what context musical traditions interact with identity is significant in ethnomusicology. Bohlman explains the significance in ethnomusicology in the following manner:

> *This juxtaposition [of the past and the present] parallels in many ways the interaction of traditional music and cultural identity that is so essential to the function of paradigms in the history of ethnomusicology. Indeed, I think it safe to say that we stand at a critical moment in our history at which the past has become a richer font for traditional music and the present offers an understanding of cultural identities in ways far more diverse than ever before* (Bohlman 1988, 38).

Wade adds:

> *This is not to say that the process of imagining communities, national or otherwise, is a random process. Imaginings are part and parcel of the social relations one lives and are as structured as they are. The point is that music can be a process of imagining and thus living different sets of social relations, rather than just representing them* (Wade 1998, 16).

An extensive ethnomusicological literature examines the interaction between musical cultures and the construction of identity in various regions, and analyzes the reciprocal relationship between musical traditions and the sociocultural situation of their communities. This literature outlining relevant empirical cases contributes to the central debate of this thesis.

Thomas Turino in *Nationalism and Latin American Music* explores how music functioned in Latin American identity to fulfill the demand for national independence movements in countries such as Peru, Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina (Turino 2003, 169-209). These movements required certain essential things, such as popular political support, more industrial workers, more domestic consumers, and above all "modern progress;" when taken altogether these elements can shape a nationalistic unity. This

movement was chiefly triggered and led by populists, with the significant cooperation of the lower castes of the society. In order to achieve their goals, they needed to teach people—especially poorer people and those high risk of illiteracy—and to make them aware of their new movement. To this end, the populists used popular music as a tool to spread their demands for socio-cultural reforms, to lead their countries toward national independence. Music was able to play this role for the following reasons:

> *(1) its strong indexical connections to, and established popularity among, specific regional and subaltern social groups; (2) as a short repetitive form, it provided an effective 'teaching' tool without depending on literacy; (3) songs were relatively cheap to mass produce; (4) music fit well with radio, the most important 'popular' medium for much of the twentieth century, especially in countries with less capitalized culture industries and low literacy rates* (ibid, 202).

As an example, Turino cites the lyrics of a popular song composed by order of the Department of Press and Propaganda in Brazil; the lyrics are designed to encourage people to work (ibid, 188). More broadly, in Latin American countries popular and regional musical traditions have been used to deliver messages to lower castes, in order to catalyze the sociocultural change required for independence and to institute a novel national identity.

Meanwhile, Peter Symon explores the importance of distinctiveness in the relation between national identity and musical tradition in Scotland (Symon 1997, 203-216). The concept of distinctiveness is necessary to identity, and sometimes this distinctiveness gets tarnished for different reasons. When this happens, a socio-political demand to regain the lost identity may arise. Scotland lost its distinctive identity and traditions in this way for many years, due to a deep mingling of Scottish life with both English and Welsh identity. As I mentioned in the previous section, even wearing kilts was considered an authentic, genuine tradition in the Highlands,

while in fact this "tradition" was created by Englishmen in Scotland (see Trevor-Roper 1983, 15-41).

In the 1970s a wave of nationalism grew into a movement to rehabilitate the "lost" Scottish culture (Symon 1997, 208). Musicians in Scotland tried to revive the "forgotten" Scottish folk and traditional music. To this end, they adapted the music to sound different from both English and Welsh music, thus contributing to Scottish cultural distinctiveness and identity. Symon suggests that this revival of Scottish folk music was primarily motivated by the sociopolitical desire for distinctiveness, rather than remaking the music only its own sake (ibid, 214). Therefore this transformation was more sociopolitical and cultural than musical.

In comparison, however, to the aforementioned dynamic in Latin America, in Scotland the musical tradition itself was much more influenced. In Latin America, the political movements' chief goal for music in the movement was to deliver messages to the masses. But in Scotland, while the pop-folk music was again used to transmit messages, the actual body of musical tradition and practice was seriously affected due to the then-current sociocultural movement. We see these changes in the use of instruments in ensembles, performance of music, and the musical ideas themselves. Hence, the degree of reflective interaction between musical traditions and the sociocultural movement to construct a new identity appears stronger in the case of Scotland than in Latin America.

John Baily, in *The Role of Music in the Creation of an Afghan National Identity, 1923-73*, analyzes the relationship between musical traditions and identity in Afghanistan, a country with severe ethnic and cultural fragmentation, as well as a war for political power (Baily 1994, 45-60). The musical traditions of numerous ethnicities reflect the country's cultural diversity, the chief traditions being Pashtun,

Tajik, and Hindustani traditions. In the 1930s a nationalistic trend was born in Afghanistan, necessitating a "common history" to resolve the ethnic fragmentation into a cohesive national identity. This commonality was created by creating a shared history, defining all people of Afghanistan to be descended from the "same Aryan stock" (ibid, 55). We see most obviously the reflection of this nationalistic tendency and national identity in music in the cultivation of the Afghan national music genre, which according to Baily, "synthesized elements of the music cultures of the two main ethnic groups in Afghanistan, 'systematized' and 'improved' in the light of Hindustani theory and practice" (ibid, 52).

More than 40 years after this nationalistic movement, in the 1970s, the war between Mujahidin and Marxist forces fragmented society and led to a crisis of national identity. This brought a surge in the popularity of the national music among Afghans around the world, which, Baily concludes, "provides another reason why people should want to perform or listen to genres of music long after the circumstances that gave rise to these genres have passed" (ibid, 58). One noteworthy point in the case of Afghanistan, compared to Latin America and Scotland, is that the Afghan official powers were less intentional in their use of musical tradition in creating an identity or imagining a community. For example, we can compare the Brazilians' radio broadcasts of popular music in the service of national independence, with the broadcasts of Afghan national music; Baily considers music's role "unintentional" in the creation of Afghan national identity (ibid).

Many other ethnomusicological studies also explore the role of musical tradition in representing and constructing identity and in imagining communities, and the ways musical traditions have changed as a result, in response to movements and

evolutionary direction of societies (e.g. Turino 1984; Wade 1998; Rice 2002; Davis 1997; O'Connell 2005; Post (ed.) 2006, 225-272; Stokes 1992; Spinetti 2005).

Chapter3. Iranians, Music and Tradition

3.1 Iran, Music and the Perception of *Sonnat* (Tradition)

When discussing tradition and its functions in Iran, the concept of tradition is generally encapsulated in the notion of *sonnat*. Thus, to speak of tradition in Iran we must recognize the three different meanings of the term *sonnat:* (1) the Islamic theological meaning; (2) the understanding of the traditionalist school of thought; and (3) the commonsense understanding of *sonnat* in the social sciences, philosophy, arts, and others. Significantly, except for the Islamic usage, in the other aspects it has stood as a translation of "tradition." Nasr argues that "various languages before modern times did not use a term corresponding exactly to tradition, by which this premodern humanity itself is characterized by those who accept the traditional point of view. The premodern man was too deeply immersed in the world created by tradition to have the need of having this concept defined in an exclusive manner" (Nasr 1989, 63).

Combining this argument with Giddens' assertion that oral traditions do not know tradition as such, it seems there was no precise word for the concept in Persian, and the word *sonnat* came to be accepted as equivalent to tradition. Therefore, in this thesis we will not consider there to be any meaningful difference between the two terms. Meanwhile, the first definition is related purely to Islam and theology, and chiefly refers to the speeches and actions of the either the Prophet Mohammad or his *asshāb* (companions) in Sunni doctrine (Damirel 2011, 248-249), or of the Prophet, his daughter Fatemeh, and the twelve Imams, in Shi'a doctrine (ibid. 249-250).

Although the second, traditionalist, meaning is intertwined with religious belief, it is not the same as the first, purely theological meaning, and integrated mystical beliefs as well. In chapter 2.1, we discussed traditionalism as a specific school of thought, with principal philosophers René Guénon, Ananda Coomaraswamy, Frithjof Schuon,

and Hossein Nasr. These philosophers come from various religions, yet all of them, to some extent, trace the concept of spirituality and the sacred to tradition and wisdom (e.g. Schuon 1984; Guénon 2004; Nasr 1989; and Coomaraswamy 2004). The Islamic branch of this school has been mainly nourished by Nasr, an Iranian-American traditionalist whose ideas have been influential in various fields, specifically arts and music in Iran. Nasr argues that:

> *Tradition as used in its technical sense in this work, as in all our other writings, means truths or principles of a divine origin revealed or unveiled to mankind and, in fact, a whole cosmic sector through various figures envisaged as messengers, prophets, ... the Logos or other transmitting agencies, along with all the ramifications and applications of these principles in different areas, including law and social structure, art, symbolism, the sciences, and the embracing, of course, of Supreme Knowledge, along with the means for its attainment* (Nasr 1989, 64).

Khandaghabadi suggests that for the traditionalists, *sonnat* is a means through which man can reach God. That is why we call it tradition, meaning something that has been transmitted to us directly from God and without manipulation (Khandagh Abadi 2000). In this understanding, the dynamics of change in tradition are entirely different from those we described in regards to the invention of tradition. For the traditionalists, tradition is a transcendent phenomenon, and therefore people, thinkers, and policymakers should not create, transform, or adjust traditions to suit socio-cultural needs; instead, tradition transmits knowledge, wisdom, and spirituality, and is immutable and static. This conception has been rather dominant in Iran and among other philosophers, such as Dariush Shayegan, who more or less follow this conceptualization in their work (e.g. Shayegan 2012).

I have noticed the direct impact of the traditionalist ideology on Iranian classical music, especially around the 1970s and prior, when traditionalist viewpoints were adapted to the realm of Iranian music. A "traditionalist movement" was born in

Iranian music beginning in the late 1960s, chiefly directed by Dariush Safvat and Nour Ali Boroumand. This movement was mainly characterized by a quest for "preservation" of musical traditions transmitted from the Qajar era, and for the cultivation of spiritual, mystical, and ethical ideas. When we analyze their words and actions, we see the similarity of their ideas about tradition and change, to the traditionalist school.

Safvat often mingles the ideas of tradition and authenticity in Iranian music with spiritual, ethical, and religious concepts; for instance, he argues that the essence of Iranian authentic music is spiritual and mystical (Safvat 2013, Vol.1, 177). Elsewhere, he expresses twenty-five principles for an authentic Iranian traditional musician, almost all of which belong to the ethical realm, including *asl-e pāki* (cleanness), *asl-e āzādegi* (liberty), *asl-e narmesh* (flexibility), and *asl-e sedāghat* (honesty), among others (Safvat 2014, 89-114). Broumand also demonstrates his unassailable traditionalist approach regarding the practice of Iranian music, via his strong emphasis on preserving and pursuing the traditions transmitted from Qajar musicians, and his opposition to the novel styles such as that of the radio musicians (see Karimi 2001, 142).

Majid Kiani, a student of Safvat and Broumand and one of the most significant musicians of the contemporary traditionalist school, explicitly suggests that it is the theological concept of *sonnat* that is closest to what we consider tradition in Iranian music. "In theology, the speeches of prophets and Imams are called tradition, and in music when we speak of 'traditional music,' we mean a type of music which transmits the past methods and the ceremony of music to the next generation" (Shahrnazdar 2005b, 16). Kiani also says that tradition in traditional music encompasses two principal meanings: 1. the words and actions of master musicians, and 2. ethical rules

such as patience, generosity, and thankfulness. He emphasizes that most of these traditions are not changeable (ibid).

Thus we see that the traditionalist stream in Iranian classical music is strongly affiliated with the traditionalist philosophy of *sonnat;* both focus on the transmission of certain sacred, transcendent, and immutable rules and concepts. In the next chapter, I will discuss in detail the major schools of thought in Iranian music since the 1970s, introducing the traditionalist stream and analyzing their views and practice more carefully. Additionally, the similarities of the musical stream and the philosophical branch of traditionalism in various aspects, specifically tradition, will be more precisely elucidated.

The third understanding of tradition is that common to such fields as philosophy and sociology, and is not related to specific geographical borders, instead referring to human knowledge all over the world; we discussed this in chapter 2.1 rather comprehensively from various angles. Hooman Asadai explains this realm as follows:

> *Tradition has an old, historical, Islamic philosophy and religious meaning, and on the other hand, there exists a common concept which applies to different socio-cultural aspects. When we say tradition of an ethnicity, it is associated with an old concept, and is affiliated with terms like: being historical and authentic. But when we talk about whether the tradition is intrinsically a dynamic or static phenomenon, or the debates about its amplitude, it has been treated fallaciously. But if we want to take it into consideration as a social concept, we all have an image of tradition in our minds; it is like when we want to talk about the definition of art, in that case we have to write thousands of books to define it, but imagine if this room is on fire now, we do not have time for philosophical debates about the notion of art, and we do not think for example this hat can be considered as an artistic object; we know this painting is important [as an artistic object] and the musical instruments in the corner of the room, so we take them and run away. The same is about the notion of tradition; there have been many arguments and debates about it, but there is a social concept in every body's mind about it* (Asadi 2015, Interview with author).

Regarding the theological definition of tradition, almost all the interviewees came up with the idea that traditions, in general, are some specific set of rules, rituals, and beliefs, which are rigid and not changeable by any means. Therefore the interviewees, some of whose narratives I will discuss later, tended to talk about tradition (and its concept and function) primarily relating to the third and second definitions.

Now that we have laid out these perspectives on the notion and functions of tradition, we will explore how tradition is conceived, debated, and practiced by Iranian musicians and musicologists. There are few sources which explore centrally the notion and the concept of tradition in Iranian music, yet many references use the term *sonnat*. Most of these use *sonnat* as an old phenomenon confronting or conflicting with something new, specifically *tajaddod* (modernity, modernism, and modernization), evolution, or innovation. We see this in one of the few references on *sonnat* in Iranian music, a compilation of conversations with some experts in Iranian music entitled *Sonnat va Modernism dar Mousighi-e Iran (Tradition and Modernism in Iranian Music)* (Mir Montahaei 2002).

Despite the widespread usage of the term *sonnat*, there doesn't seem to be a clear, unified perception of the concept. Jean During examines the ambiguity of the terms tradition and traditional in Iranian music, and the "discordance" about the notion among Iranian musicians (During 1991, 370-372). Hooman Asadi implies that the term exists only to separate an older manner from a newer one, in "an endless conflict of the old and the new" (Asadi 2007, 209), and then criticizes both those advocating imitation of the West and those who err in their rigid approach to tradition (ibid). During exhibits a tendency to polarize old versus new in his book *La Musique Iranienne: Tradition et Évolution.* He introduces the instruments, cultural texture, theory, and performance aesthetics of classical and traditional Iranian music (During

1984), and contrasts traditional "old" forms of each with newly transformed versions. He applies this contrast in his categorization of various genres or types of Iranian music (ibid, 22-23). Thus, while the book gives useful information on Iranian "traditional music" and "evolutionary music," the author's evaluative bias is undeniable, thus undermining the book's usefulness.

In other sections, During shows appreciation for the old masters' and their traditions, and criticizes the new, avant-garde approaches. For example, he argues that "currently there are few musicians and singers at the same level of [the Qajar musical] masters" (ibid, 213). He continues: "When there was no musician to present the 'pure tradition' with the same verve and ability as old masters, then 'modernists' and scholastic musicians appeared and imposed their music to a lowbrow audience" (ibid).

In one segment During focuses directly on the Iranian music tradition, referring to it as *radif*. Specifically, he talks about the advent of *radif*, and the common belief that it was invented by Ali Akbar Khan-e Farahani (and his successors) in the Qajar era, as a tradition reflecting "public consensus" (ibid, 130). Yet, the idea that *radif*—the primary reference of musical tradition—was invented or shaped by a person or family (even, as it were, with the blessing of "public consensus") contradicts During's concept of tradition, which depends on "oldness."

In contrast to During, Talai argues:

> *It is not possible to think that an individual has invented* radif. *This cannot be the work of a person or even a generation. For sure, there have been various tastes involved; as you see, the musical tastes of Mirza Abdollah and Mirza Hosseingholi, two brothers who learnt music from the same reference, were different. And Mirza Hosseingholi's son [Ali Akbar Shahnazi] had a completely different taste… The truth is in the essence of tradition and* radif (Talai 2015, interview with author).

Although we can recognize and understand tradition as an alternative to modernity, according to the reflexive and hermeneutic approaches (as discussed in chapters 2.1 and 2.2), essentially they do not contrast or conflict. Accordingly, in this chapter I have conceptualized tradition in Iranian music beyond the common contrast between old and new, borrowing such ideas as Coplan's "bridge" between history and ethnomusicology which allows us to reinterpret the term "tradition" (Coplan 1993, 46); Waterman's invalidation of the idea that traditions necessarily reference the past; and McDonald's argument that tradition is a potential to which individuals can choose to commit or not.

Musical Reformation (Khaksar 2009) endeavors to illuminate the concept of tradition and traditional music of Iran from a more contemporary angle. Notably, its central point is to separate the terms "Iranian traditional music" and "tradition of Iranian music," along these lines: (1) Iranian traditional music and the tradition of Iranian music are two different things, neither of which has developed in a manner balanced with the progress of time and society, and (2) "musical tradition" refers to the ways in which music is constructed in a culture—no matter which culture it is (ibid). However, since my primary concern is to scrutinize tradition in Iranian classical music, I found the existing references inadequate and too generalized, though sometimes useful; therefore, I decided to interview some musicians and musicologists directly about these issues.

From my interview with Dariush Talai on tradition in Iranian music:

> *Tradition in music, as a part of culture belonging to ethnicities and nations, contains some information and materials transmitted orally through generations in different times. It is most similar to a transmitted collective memory. Although some personal and individual perceptions are involved, the main thing is to maintain and transmit the repository, true to what the ancestors knew* (Talai 2015, interview with author).

Majid Kiani adds:

> *An oral culture is more associated with changes through time; in our case, all Iranian arts, including music, were not written until 100 or 150 years ago, having previously been transmitted orally from teacher to students. Our theory of music was written in manuscripts and treatises, but actual music practice was awkward to write, since musicians wanted notes containing all the musical details. We had neither musical scores nor audio recordings. Thus, there was no other way to pass it on, except orally and narratively. Each master had his own narrative. In ancient cultures like ours, traditions of music—which are living patterns of music—are like a repository in the hands of the musician; the musicians have a moral obligation to keep them unchanged till they themselves become masters, experts. Only then can they make relevant changes, according to the times* (Kiani 2015, Interview with author).

In this excerpt, we see the issue of transmission through history, which we discussed in chapter 2.1; additionally, other interviewees agreed that transmission is the essence of tradition. However, the significant point is how we conceive of tradition in relationship with change. Talai, in an interview with Shahrnazdar, argues that tradition is not a static phenomenon (Shahrnazdar 2005 c, 21), yet does not present any clear conception of the dynamics of change of tradition, in general and in music. Moreover, he contrasts tradition and modernity, that traditions have functioned through time from the past until now, while modernity is a mandatory consequence of a new lifestyle (ibid, 21-23). Thus it seems that he considers tradition and traditional modes of life superior to modernity.

Kiani, also in an interview with Shahrnazdar, argued that *sonnat* is the words and actions of the old masters of Iranian music, and that this is the same concept of *sonnat* that we find in theology, representing the speeches and acts of the Prophets and Imams (Shahrnazdar 2005 b, 15-16). Yet Kiani claims that tradition is not static. When asked to explain the relationship between tradition and evolution, he describes a process in music wherein a student passes through three steps, namely: (1) *shari'at*,

traditions learned from a master; (2) *tarighat* (doctrine), the committing of the learned traditions to memory; and (3) *tafakkor* (thinking) which constructs faith (ibid-17-18). The way Kiani conceives of tradition and change aligns with the traditionalist school and its belief that tradition is immutable and transcendent (ibid, 17-21).

Kiani and Talai thus see tradition as a precious transmission of repositories, and though they do not repudiate the variability of tradition, they approach it conservatively. In contrast, we have Hooman Asadi who argues:

> *In Iranian music, tradition means the things that have been formed throughout history which have roots and authenticity. It has defined structures, yet they are not unchangeable; it is not like a packet of religious study, or the Quran—which are not changeable at all. For instance, about thirty years ago Mr. Alizadeh performed "*Torkaman*." Though it was inside the system of Iranian classical music, it did not really fit the tradition, and was considered an innovative and modern piece. But today, it has perhaps become tradition, and many musicians perform* setār *with those techniques and styles. Now, it is uncertain whether or not the many innovations that Iranian musicians apply today will remain part of tradition. This will be recognized in fifty years. But this current includes things which suit the basic aesthetics, philosophy, and thought of an ethnicity or culture, and also have been filtered through the tradition of Iranian classical music* (Asadi 2015, interview with author).

Keivan Saket, again, is a current influential and celebrated musician, simultaneously criticized especially by those who try to remain faithful to traditions and old values. He holds that tradition is intrinsically unchangeable, and we have two means in which to face it: we can either be committed to it, or preferably, not committed (Saket 2015, interview with author). His ideas recall both the modernists' about the inflexibility of tradition (see chapter 2.1), and McDonald's (see chapter 2.2) regarding the choice to commit (or not) to tradition's cultural potential (McDonald 1996, 115).

Hossein Alizadeh considers tradition the "roots" that define the authenticity and identity of a people and their culture. Regarding dynamism in changing of tradition, Alizadeh is more moderate:

> Sonnat *is a term that is used quite wrongly in Iran, as a retrogressive thing that we should flee from. The detrimental approaches toward tradition are to either wholly depend on it, or flee it. Tradition and social habits in every society make the roots of the society; when a tree has roots it can adjust to the external atmosphere, and even reshape itself. For instance, if a tree is far from the sunlight, we can see it turn towards the sun. Here, the sun symbolizes the current time, and when a tree is rooted in the ground it is not afraid to face the sun (*Alizadeh 2017, interview with author).

Alizadeh also considers tradition and change complementary phenomena, rather than conflicting, and argues that we should find a transparent way in which to integrate the two (Shahrnazdar 2005 a, 38-39). Darvishi agrees about the relationship between tradition and evolution, though he points out that there is a difference between "change" and "evolution." Change in tradition, in his viewpoint, usually refers to reckless and hasty transformation, while evolution is something natural, logical, and positive (Shahrnazdar 2005 d, 25-26). Farhad Fakhreddini[22] believes that we have recognized neither tradition nor modernity, and for this reason there exists confusion in our music. His main goal is to clarify the reasons to emphasize tradition, and whether or not we want it to respond to the needs of contemporary life. He argues that everything should be adjusted to the thoughts and lifestyle of the current time, and that we have forgotten to do so in this case. He considers these issues more important and useful than the specific quiddity of tradition and modernity. (Mir Montahaei 2002, 20).

[22] Born in 1937 in Tabriz. He is a very well-known composer and has been the conductor of Iran's national orchestra since 1998 in various time periods.

In chapter 2.1, I discussed the social science discourse on the invention of traditions, along with the philosophical analysis of tradition from a hermeneutical perspective. In addition, chapter 2.2 listed some examples of these issues from the ethnomusicology literature. In fact, the debates of that latter chapter were, to some extent, the musical illustrations of the theoretical frameworks introduced in chapter 2.1. By focusing on Parviz Meshkatian's views on of tradition and innovation, we see how close his insight is to the discourse of invention of tradition, and to the hermeneutic of the past in the present. He answers the question of the concept of tradition and modernity in Iranian music as follows:

> *In my opinion the first tradition maker was the first innovator too; otherwise there would be no tradition…. The advent of tradition refers to collectivity and not to an individual…. In fact, for every movement the existence of tradition is necessary. Also, to recognize the present, a recognition of the past will be illuminating. As I mentioned, tradition is not the consequence of individuals, but is a social process. So, a society cannot accept innovation and invention through an order or verdict* issued (Meshkatian in Mir Montahaei 2002, 137-138).

Previously, I introduced and analyzed the discussions of the concept, function, and historical background of *radif*, along with various theories and speculations on its historical development. Yet no matter how precise and realistic the theories may be, it is undeniable that the Farahani family, in Qajar times, played a central role in gathering, or at least standardizing, *radif* as the primary reference of *dastgāh*-based music.

3.2 The Discourse of Iranian Dastgāh-based Music and Its Related Terms

The purpose of this section is to define the central scholarly terms relevant to Iranian classical music and to the everyday life of that music. These are key concepts in this thesis for our exploration of tradition in Iranian music, so it is important to define them clearly. These fundamental concepts are:

1. *Dastgāh*
2. *Radif*
3. *Gushe*
4. *Āvāz*
5. *Tasnif*
6. *Chāhārmezrāb*
7. *Reng*
8. *Pishdarāmad*

This chapter will employ scholarly and semi-scholarly literature on these concepts, in addition to my participant interviews, and my observations as a performer, student, and listener of Iranian classical music.

In chapter 3.2.1 I will more comprehensively discuss *dastgāh* and *radif*, in addition to some existing disputes about them, since they are fundamental to the tradition of Iranian music. Accordingly, the way in which they are perceived, both directly and comprehensively, affects the central issues of this thesis, such as tradition and identity. For the remaining terms, I give a brief but fairly clear overview based on existing definitions and descriptions.

Gushe ("corner, section, piece"): According to Farhat, *gushe* is "the generic term for individual pieces, other than the *darāmad,* which make up the repertoire of a *dastgāh"* (Farhat 2009, 22). The *gushe-hā* vary in terms of length, importance, and characteristics. Furthermore, the number of *gushe-hā* of a *dastgāh* can vary in different versions of *radif*.[23] Scholars such as Zonis (1973), Tsuge (1974), During (1984), Nettl (1987), Farhat (2009), Lotfi (2011), and others have discussed the characteristics and features of the *gushe-hā,* and here I will categorize some according to their characteristic features, drawing from this scholarly literature and my experience as a performer.

1. The *darāmad* is the key *gushe* of each *dastgāh,* which is necessarily used often in performing its host *dastgāh*.
2. Certain *gushe-hā* present a different modality from their host *dastgāh*. For instance, *Delkash* presents a different modal character with *dastgāh Māhoor.*
3. Some *gushe-hā* imply specific rhythmic pulses, often related to a prosodic meter. Examples include *Kereshmeh*[24] (in various *dastgāh-hā)* and *Chāhārpāreh* (*Morādkhāni*) in *dastgāh Māhoor.*
4. Certain *gushe-hā* present specific metric patterns. While most *gushe-hā* are free-metric, a few, such as *Gereyli* in *dastgāh Shour,* imply a specific meter.
5. There are *gushe-hā* with specific melodic or melismatic patterns, such as *Khosravāni* in *Māhoor*, and *Bastenegār* which in various *dastgāh-hā* or *āvāz-hā,* such as *Bayāt-e Kord*, *Bayāt-e Tork*, *Segāh,* and *Chāhārgāh*.

[23] For instance compare the number of *gushe-hā* of each *dastgāh* in the respective *radifs* of Mirza Abdollah (Talai 2013) and of Mirza Hoseingholi (Pirniakan 2009).

[24] *Kereshmeh* can be performed in various *dastgāh*-s such as *Shour*, *Māhoor*, *Segāh*, *Navā,* and *Chāhārgāh* (see Talai 2013).

6. Some major *gushe-hā* can be considered independent modes (sub-*dastgāh*) themselves, such as *Shooshtari* in *Homāyoun* and *Kord-e Bayāt* in *Shour*.
7. Lesser *gushe-hā* which do not imply any of the aforementioned features may be played in just one *dastgāh,* or more than one. Such *gushe-hā* mostly function as passageways from one more functional *gushe* to another; examples include *Mollānāzi* in *Shour* and *Bidād-e kot* in *Homāyoun*.

Āvāz: From both the literature on Iranian music and the daily conversation of musicians, we deduce that the term *āvāz* is used to mean three things:

1.In vocal music, *āvāz* refers to performances with one or more singers, whether they are accompanied by musical instruments or not.

2.In either vocal or instrumental contexts, *āvāz* can refer to free-metric performance of pieces *(gushe-hā).*

3.The third meaning of *āvāz* (and the one we will use most often) is similar to that of *dastgāh*, and means a small, brief *dastgāh*. (Jafarzadeh 2001). One major factor through which we can differentiate *āvāz* from *dastgāh* is, according to Mohafez, that "*āvāz-hā* usually contain one single mode; it means all the *gushe-hā* of that are in the same mode and modulation is very rare in *āvāz-hā*." On the other hand, "*dastgāh-hā* contain several modes, and modulation is one of the main elements in performing a *dastgāh*" (Mohafez 2011, 111). According to the categorization accepted by most Iranian musicians, *dastgāh* music has five *āvāz-hā: Dashti*, *Abuatā, Bayāt-e Tork, Afshāri*[25], and

[25] *Dashti, Bayāt-e Tork, Abuatā,* and *Afshāri* are subsets of *dastgāh*-e *Shour*.

Esfahān[26] (Fakhredini 2015, 60). In most of this thesis, when we speak of *āvāz* we refer to this meaning.

Tasnif, chāhārmezrāb, reng,* and *pishdarāmad are four major metric forms. As mentioned in chapter one, the advent of *pishdarāmad* is more recent, since the beginning of the 20th century. According to Farhat, "*pishdarāmad* is a composed rhythmic instrumental piece which is sometimes performed at the beginning of a *dastgāh*" (Farhat 2009, 22). Two of the major figures in the invention and development of *pishdarāmad-hā* are Darvishkhan and Rokneddinkhan Mokhtari (see Khaleghi 1999, Vol 1, 309-311).

The only vocal form among these four is *tasnif* (ballade); *tasnif* has been significant in the construction of identity in Iran, chiefly due to their patriotic or national lyrics (see Chehabi 1999). We will analyze the nexus between *tasnif-hā* and construction of collective identity in eras in subsequent chapters.

According to Farhat, "a *reng* is an instrumental piece in duple or triple meter in a moderately fast tempo. It is intended as a dance piece but does not necessitate dancing. There are a few traditional *reng-hā* dating back to the nineteenth century or possibly before. There is a large body of twentieth century *reng-hā*, composed by known composers" (Farhat 2009, 22).

Chāhārmezrāb, according to Zonis, incorporates "a rapid tempo and ostinato figure, the *pāyeh* (foundation or base) which is established at the opening of the piece and continued throughout. Almost always the *pāyeh* contains a pedal tone, and over the *pāyeh* a melody is sounded" (Zonis 1973, 131). Generally, a *chāhārmezrāb* is faster than a *reng*.

[26] *Esfahān* is a subset of *dastgāh*-e *Homāyoun.*

Traditionally, the *radif* contains some *reng-hā* and *chāhārmezrāb-hā*, but they are limited in their compositional techniques (see Talai 2013), and have unspecified composers. But since the early 20th century, composing *reng-hā* and *chāhārmezrāb* has grown dramatically, so that today we have many quite innovative *reng-hā* and *chāhārmezrāb-hā* in the repertoire.

3.2.1 *Dastgāh* and *Radif:* Central Concepts

The primary concept in Iranian music is the concept of *dastgāh*. Farhat suggests that *raga* in Indian music and *makam* in Turkish and Arabic music can be considered as counterparts of *dastgāh* of Iranian music (Farhat 2009, 19). However, various features of *dastgāh,* such as the ways modes combine, are unique to Iranian music. *Dastgāh* theory is complex, and various discussions on its theoretical and practical aspects are still ongoing. Of course, the theory and its discussions fall under separate academic research; however, I will discuss these theories as appropriate later in this chapter.

In addition to Farhat's book on *dastgāh,* many other scholars have tried to define *dastgāh* and its various features (e.g. Zonis 1973; Nettl 1987, 21-24; During 1984, 105-121). Asadi's definition of *dastgāh* is relatively condensed: "*dastgāh* is a multi-modal cycle, a combination of melody models which are organized by the modal foundation within a cyclic outline" (Asadi 2004, 46). The first thing we notice is that all of these sources on *dastgāh* include "combination of musical modes." Hajarian suggests that the advent of *dastgāh* goes back to when individual modes became intertwined (Hajarian 2014, 243). The system generally accepted today contains seven *dastgāh-hā* and five *āvāz-hā* (subsidiary *dastgāh*), each containing some number of *gushe-hā* (Zonis 2016, 638).

At this point we are focusing on *dastgāh*-based urban music; in calling it *dastgāh-based,* we are suggesting a specific musical "system" (Farhat 2009, 5) which has (like all other musical systems around the world) specific, recognizable musical features. Exploring the literature on *dastgāh-based* music, concentrating on the historical aspects of the system's formation, we find a discordance. The ambiguity about the formation of *dastgāh*-based music has its origin in the scarcity of relevant written resources. Hooman Asadi argues that:

> *As we do not have as many notations as Western music, we cannot explicitly talk about [the historical practice of dastgāh]. After the musical pieces for oud written by Kendi, all the notation we have was written by Safi-Aldin, Abdolghader [Maraghi], Ghotb-Aldin, and Banaei. Among these, only what Ghotb-Aldin wrote was actual notation of musical pieces; the others were only samples illustrating the potential of the music, and even these were written by the authors themselves, as examples and samples. So, most of them were not complete musical pieces. Even if we consider them complete musical pieces, it is still not possible to understand much about the system of music from just a few pieces…. Some features [of dastgāh-based music] have been continuous, and some others have changed, but we don't know the exact quantity of them.* (Asadi 2015, interview with author).

Although the goal here is not to explore this historical issue in depth (which would require a separate dedicated project), it is enlightening to take a glance at the current ideas on this issue. Kiani holds that:

> *What we know as our official music in Iran is the* dastgāh-*based music of* radif*, which, according to my research, is based on our old* maghams; *in meter,* igha' *(rhythm), and the division of intervals. However, at the end of either the Safavid or Karimkhan era, the names changed and became known as* dastgāh-*based music* (Kiani 2015, interview with author).

Regarding the historical reference of the tradition of *dastgāh* music, Dariush Talai believes that:

There are some musical elements that have accumulated on top of each other. Some of them might date back 3000 years, such as the harmonic intervals. Nevertheless, it is certain that a vast portion of the oral repository is from the Qajar time. Also, different traditions in timing, melisma, and poetry have come from different regions, such as Azerbaijan, Shiraz, Isfahan, and so on, which demonstrate varied tastes (Talai 2015, interview with author).

On the same issue, Asadi argues:

I have already mentioned that, from the middle of the Safavid era through the Qajar, many fundamental transformations happened in the aesthetic of Iranian music. As a result, musical forms became transmuted; rhythms faced non-metric and free-metric metamorphoses; the modal-melodic system changed from a maghām-*based to a* dastgāh-*based logic, which again is rooted in* maghām *and how to connect various* maghām *together; instruments like* oud *and* qanoon *disappeared and instead* tār *and* setār *appeared. Composition became less prominent, and instead improvisation with free-metric and solos became prominent instead.* (Asadi 2015, interview with author).

Asadi further develops, in written form, his argument about the historical aspects of the formation of *dastgāh* (Asadi 2010, 33-62).Mohsen Hajarian, however, finds it "totally unacceptable to say [the advent of] *dastgāh* and *radif* refer to 200 years ago" (Hajarian 2017, interview with author). He offers an alternate theory, that *dastgāh* was shaped in relation to the development of the *ghazal* poetic form, the rise of the Shi'a current in Islam, and the concept of modulation which forms the basis of *dastgāh* and *radif*. These elements were common primarily in the western parts of the country, while in the east other musical systems were prevalent. According to this theory, the genesis of *dastgāh* goes back approximately 700 years, to the Mongol invasion of Iran (see Hajarian 2014, 180-280).

With all this uncertainty about transformations in Iranian music during various historical periods, it makes sense for us to focus our attention on *dastgāh* music "as it is now," instead of "how it came to be." For this purpose, Asadi suggests that we

explore it directly through its primary current features and repertoire (Asadi 2004, 46); we can do this by means of the existing recordings from the Qajar period, made in the early 20th century. Additionally, the chief repertoire which has remained from that time is *radif*, and the written and oral sources show us that *radif* is inseparable from *dastgāh* music.

Although *radif* and *dastgāh* are two different phenomena, as Hajarian states "*radif* and *dastgāh* were created together and are intrinsically integrated" (Hajarian 2014, 243). Nettl briefly defines *radif* as a repertoire of assembled melodies which were assembled by music masters, primarily as a pedagogic repertoire (1987, 5). Nettl also touches on the historical ambiguity of the status of *radif* in the practice of music (ibid), and we can extrapolate this historical ambiguity to the contemporary role of *radif*.

I have previously mentioned During's ideas about the strong connections between tradition and *radif*. Farhad Fakhreddini adds that tradition in Iranian music in fact means "the oral transmission of *radif-hā*" (see Mir Montahaei 2002, 12). And all the literature exploring the construction of *dastgāh* traditions necessarily places *radif* in a central role. We see this attitude toward tradition and *radif* in the work of both Iranian and foreign scholars, and in early references and more recent ones, including Zonis (1973), Tsuge (1974), Nettl's entire 1987 book, and Wright, who wrote that: "it is generally accepted that the core of the tradition, the essential part that any proficient musician must master as a prerequisite to being accorded credibility as a classical performer, is made up of a set of pieces, […] that are globally known as *radif*" (Wright 2009, 26). Meanwhile, Nooshin dedicates a whole chapter to aspects of *radif* in order to better conceptualize creativity in Iranian music (Nooshin 2015, 55-91).

These are just a sample of the vast literature on the relationship of *radif* and tradition. It is extremely significant to understand the role and function of *radif*, as well as how it is perceived by various musicians. For some it is only a "repository of possibilities," assembled samples of melody in different *dastgāh-hā* primarily to transmit the tradition of *dastgāh* music; for others it serves as an "unchangeable reference" to be utilized by musicians of succeeding generations. In this latter sense, *radif* is notably connected with tradition; accordingly, which of these approaches we choose informs our understanding of the dynamics of change in tradition. Asadi argues that as time has gone by, *sonnat* in Iranian music has become rigid, and this rigidity has resulted in the freezing of *radif* (Asadi 2007, 217-218).

Talai argues that:

> *The problem of many who talk about* radif *is that they have not passed the primary learning level. When you pass the elementary level, you should reach the chief essence of* radif. *At that point you will understand, for instance, that* Gharache (Goushe) *is not just what Mirza Hosseinqholi played, or what Zelli or Taherzade has sung.* Gharache *is a* gushe *with specific features according to different narrations…. Unfortunately, since the time recording and notation came to Iran, they have put* radif *under a magnifier and only looked at one point, only considered one specific recording or notation* (Talai 2015, interview with author).

This is not the place to discuss which musical trend a given musician belongs to, because I will cover this issue more thoroughly in the next chapters. However, as *dastgāh* and *radif* are two very basic concepts, it is important to recognize their position within the circle of musicians and musicologists in Iran, so that we can later use these terms with more clarity. This understanding also contributes to various issues of the next chapter: tradition, the main musical trends in different eras, and innovation.

Here the goal is not to categorize attitudes towards *radif*, because it is not possible to label a musician or musicologist as traditionalist or progressive, even specifically on the issue of *radif;* one quotation or action does not suffice to specify all the attitudes of a musician. Therefore, it is not my intention to draw a firm line between viewpoints. Rather, it is my desire to extract the noticeable resemblances and differences in how *radif* and its role is perceived within the discourses of Iranian music and tradition by some of the influential current musicians in Iran.

Hossein Alizadeh views *radif* as follows:

> Radif *is the literature of Iranian music, and we can use it as we wish. One function of* radif *is the transmission and teaching of the skill of playing; but if we take a look at* radif *creatively, it can be used both in composing and improvisation. If one only learns the skill of playing* radif, *he repeats that over and over. But if we are aware of* radif *with proper cognition, then we can extract desired ideas from that. So, if we are not able to use it, it means the teaching was not right. When we talk about it in society, some people tell me, "you are against* radif," *and others who do not believe in* radif *at all call me a traditionalist or retrogressive* (Alizadeh 2017, interview with author).

Lotfi adopts a similar idea, and considers *radif* the chief pedagogic repertoire with which students learn both the skill of playing and the spirit of Iranian music. In his view, *radif* for musicians resembles the context of Iranian literature for poets (Lotfi 2011, 316 and 320). In this sense, *radif* sounds like a "potential" through which musicians can reach innovation and creativity. Yet if we explore further the commentary on *radif*, we find some who appear more strictly bound to *radif*, not only as a teaching material and potential, but also as a target and a goal itself. For instance, we see this in Jean During's categorization, in which he values *radif*-based music higher than non-*radif*-based music (During 1984, 129-130). During expresses

concerns regarding what he refers to as "entertaining music," and the weakening of *radif* in the future (ibid).

We see virtually the same viewpoint in the comments of Kiani. Although he claims that *radif* is a dynamic phenomenon and can be considered a pattern for musicians in performance and improvisation (Shahrnazdar 2005 b, 98-101), in his categorization of Iranian music he only credits *radif*-based music as art, and discredits other styles based on improvisation, entitling them as *musighi-e tafannoni va shirin navāzi* ("entertaining music and sweetened style"). He considers *radif* music the only serious, thoughtful music (Kiani 2013, 140-146, and 123-126). Also, in his performance and teaching he emphasizes (in the extreme) *radif* and the inherence of the past, thus demonstrating that he values *radif* above other forms. Dariush Safvat also emphasizes the significance of *radif* (Safvat 2013 Vol.1, 104-109), tying it to various technical, practical, and spiritual spheres.

We see in the work of these traditionalists a mystified, "spiritual" attitude towards *radif*. In contrast, Keivan Saket does not show this mystical respect for *radif*. In our interview, he said that many musical pieces from the Qajar era are too old for today's taste. He has even clearly declared that "I am fighting the music of Qajar era."[27] In practice, he generally does not teach the *radif* in the way of Mirza Abdollah, Hosseingholi, and others, even being a master of music at *Azad University of Arts;* this is remarkable, since most music masters and professors at Iranian music universities unquestionably teach one of the well-known *radif* systems. Instead, he has published a set of teaching books for *tār* and *setār*, choosing to use *"radif"* as a secondary title (Saket 2011 and 2013); such a naming is unprecedented in recent

[27] See the interview with Keivan Saket on http://afarideh4.blogfa.com/post/53

years. The first *radif* was that of Mirza Abdollah in Qajar times, and the last one was published by Faramarz Payvar (1933-2009) in 1980. None of the recent well-known masters (Shajarian, Lotfi, Alizadeh, Meshkatian, Talai, Pirniakan, etc.) have claimed to compose their own *radif;* they have taught the older *radif-hā*. Thus Saket's titling of his books with the word *radif* is quite noteworthy.

According to During, *radif-hā* are canonized through a "consensus" regarding the work of an extraordinary musician or group of musicians (such as what happened to the *radif- hā* of Mirza Abdollah and Hosseingholi). No musician has claimed to compose a traditional *radif* in our time, because no such extraordinary contemporary musician (or group) has attained the necessary public consensus (During 1984, 130). Historically a certain number of instrumental and vocal *radif-hā* have gained the consensus of musicians, and some of these, such as those of Mirza Abdollah and Hosseingholi, have a stronger and more pervasive consensus than others, such as the *radif* of Payvar.

This idea of a public consensus comes primarily from Islamic theology (ibid); this fact implies that the traditionalists' notion of tradition is, to some extent, connected to that of Islamic theology[28]. During's argument about public consensus demonstrates a "mystification" of the process of composing *radif,* at least for those extremely loyal to the traditions of Iranian music. In my view Saket, in publishing his *radif-hā* in addition to the explanations of the *dastgāh-hā* and *āvāz-hā*, is (either consciously or unconsciously) demystifying and challenging the spiritual and mythical aspect of *radif,* and thereby trying to eliminate the stigma against creating new *radif-hā* (Saket 2015, Interview with author).

[28] In chapter 4 the relationship between the perception of tradition in Iranian music and in the Islamic theology will be illustrated.

I have mentioned Kiani's categorization comparing traditional musicians and *Shirin Navāzi,* whose performances are based on *dastgāh* and *radif* but characterized by a freer approach towards *radif.* Kiani does not consider *shirin navāzi* as transcendent as the traditional way. One example is Hassan Kassai (1928-2012), one of the most influential masters of the Isfahan school (a variant school of urban *dastgāh* music). Kassai has published his own narration of *radif,* which demonstrates a more flexible and fluid approach to *radif* than we find in the traditionalist stream. As a specific example, in *dastgāh*-e *Māhoor* he sings and plays *Shekasteh* and *Delkash.* These modes open the possibility of a modulation into *dastgāh-e Shour;* he then extends his modal progression, entering some *gushe-hā* belonging to *Shour* (but not *Māhoor)*, such as *Razavi*. Such an extended modulation is not common according to the traditional *radif* in Tehran (listen to Kassai n.d, recorded in 1975).

In the following chapters, I will more thoroughly analyze how tradition is interconnected with the perception of *radif* and *dastgāh*. I will also look at how the main musical trends in Iranian music during the past fifty years have perceived *radif*, and accordingly, how those perceptions of *radif* have played a major role in shaping the various musical trends.

3.3 Traditional Music and Musical Traditions

As I mentioned in the introduction, tradition—and its function in Iranian society and music—plays a significant role in this thesis. We first need to distinguish the concepts of "traditional music" and "music traditions." In the term "traditional music," tradition is used as an adjective to distinguish a specific sort of music, with its own features and coordination. Meanwhile, "music tradition" chiefly refers to the elements and heritage passed down from one generation to the next. Khaksar argues

that musical traditions can be considered the "methods" or "ways" that create the identity of a specific type of music. Thus musical tradition is a general concept not exclusive to Iranian music. In contrast, "Iranian traditional music" is a specific sort of music which claims to be based on specific musical traditions with a specific historical background (see Khaksar 2009, 173-174).

Here it will be useful to analyze the meaning and usage of the term "traditional music," since it has been largely used to refer to a specific musical style. If we pay close attention to the daily conversations of Iranians, we will observe that they use the term "traditional" in different ways among the various social strata. In everyday conversations, the adjective "traditional" means something with specific features, as if the concept tradition/traditional is self-explanatory. However, the question here is how Iranians actually understand the terms.

When people decide to go out to a restaurant for dinner, they ask each other whether they should go to a traditional restaurant (*sofre khāneh*) or a modern one (or pizza shop), or if they want traditional ice cream *(bastani-e sonnati)* or Italian ice cream *(bastani-e mive'i).* We see that the adjective "traditional" is not confined to music; it suggests features which distinguish an older concept from a newer one to which people have been more recently exposed, or a new, imported phenomenon or trend.

Iranian *dastgāh* music is known as the urban, official kind of music and is largely labeled "traditional music" (though mostly by non-specialists, while musicians and musicologists prefer the term "classical music"). There are certain superficial features that, at first glance, convince people to refer to this music as traditional; primarily this is the instrumentation—including *tar, setār, santoor, ney, oud, kamānche, tombak,*

and *daf*—frequently accompanied by a singer, who together perform a couple of suites with typical Iranian pieces.

Similar to our examples of traditional vs modern restaurants and ice cream, "traditional music" often refers to a style of music which does not include Western or modern musical instruments or influences, or in other words "non-altered" Iranian music. Thus in regards to music, "tradition" serves to distinguish an older sort of music from more novel styles. Accordingly, one axis of the common understanding of tradition is the temporal dimension; that is, traditional music is expected to fundamentally show continuity with old music traditions, even while dealing with modernity. Also, the way Iranian thinkers and musicians discuss tradition, and use the term "traditional music," demonstrates the importance of temporality in constructing the notion of tradition in Iranian music[29].

At the same time, Waterman's writing on popular Yoruba music and its significance in reviving Yoruba cultural heritage reminds us that tradition, through time, does not necessitate that musical practices be immutable in their transmission from the past. Instead, to some extent they can be symbols or practices which foster "connection" with the past and cultural heritage (Waterman 1990). Moreover, Coplan's and Waterman's work (previously discussed in chapter 2.2.1) on the nexus between musical traditions and construction of collective identity, in Basotho and Yoruba respectively (Coplan 1993; Waterman 1990), present a second axis in understanding tradition: the geo-cultural axis.

Specifically regarding Iranian traditional music, Jean During discusses the close ties between the term "tradition" and nationalism (During 1991, 374). He elsewhere argues that: "in the Occident, the qualifier 'traditional' is generally reserved for minor

[29] Later in the current chapter, also in chapter 4 the ideas of Iranian thinkers and musicians about the concept, and function of tradition will be cited and discussed in detail.

and local cultures: folklore is traditional and regional, whereas art music, called 'classical,' does not proclaim to be from a national culture" (During 2005, 373). Yet he claims that continuity of musical heritage in Eastern cultures is stronger than in the West (ibid), and therefore these respective cultures distinguish differently between traditional and classical music; namely, that in Eastern cultures there may be less of a division between "classical" and "traditional." That might explain why he sometimes adopts the Iranian usage of "traditional music" to refer to *dastgāh* music (see During 1984 and 2005). We will also see the connections—both explicit and implicit—between traditional music and national identity, in the forthcoming interviews with important Iranian musicians.

It is not easy to find the origin of labeling *dastgāh* music "*sonnati*," because there has been no exclusive research on this usage. However, it is clear that, for instance, Qajar-i musicians like Mirza Abdollah and Mirza Hosseingholi would never have called their music *musighi-e sonnati*, since neither was ever exposed to an alternative style. According to Giddens: "in oral cultures, tradition is not known as such, even though these cultures are the most traditional of all" (Giddens 1990, 37). This is because for the people living in such cultures there is no need to recognize tradition, since it is everywhere and not separate from life. The same is true of old Iranian music masters; they were surrounded by tradition, and therefore did not need to recognize their music as *sonnati* in contrast to other new styles. Even when Vaziri and his avant-gardist successors tried to make various innovations in the old style of Iranian music, they did not label the old style as *musighi-e sonnati* (see Vaziri 2003; Khaleghi 1999).

Thus, it seems that the term *musighi-e sonnati* arose chiefly once musicians and musicologists needed to distinguish the original style of Iranian music from altered or

novel styles (especially since Vaziri's time). We can trace this trend back to the foundation of *Markaz-e Hefz va Eshā'e-ye Musighi-e Iran* created to revive the old Iranian musical traditions (Mosayeb Zadeh 2003, 83). To fulfill this goal, they translated the French *tradittionel* and English "traditional"—used in Western musicology and ethnomusicology—as "*sonnati*." Musicians such as Pirniakan, Kiani, and Alizadeh—trained by old masters as the heirs of Qajar musical traditions—confirm this idea. Pirniakan states:

> *Until about 70-80 years ago this term was not used in Iranian music. The people who studied musicology or ethnomusicology in the West came back to Iran and applied the word "tradition" to our music which has existed from ancient times* (Pirniakan 2015, interview with author).

Majid Kiani agrees, adding, "even when I worked with my masters, they did not use *sonnati* (ibid). Instead, they used *musighi-e asil* or *musighi-e Irani* or *radif*-i music" (Kiani 2015, interview with author). Alizadeh believes that terms like *musighi-e sonnati* have been used mostly as a general, rather than academic, concept, and that "'*musighi-e sonnati'* is the translation of 'traditional music,' which we [Iranian musicians] adapted to describe our music to foreigners, and gradually we started to use the translation in our own music" (Alizadeh, 2017 interview with author).

3.4 Iranian Music: Classical, Traditional, or Authentic?

Now I will explore and analyze, through the literature of ethnomusicology, the ideas of influential Iranian musicians on the labeling of Iranian *dastgāh* music. I mentioned before that the term *musighi-e sonnati* / traditional music is still widely used by the Iranian public, and it seems that the term was introduced and cultivated by musicians who wanted to introduce *dastgāh* music to the world, under the influence of

ethnomusicology and musicology. In concert promotions and music albums from the 1980s, as well as academic and non-academic writing, we find many references to "traditional music" to refer specifically to Iranian *dastgāh* music. Thus we see that the term has been common not just among the public, but also among more professional sources (e.g. Nettl 1972, 218; Massoudieh 1998; Azarsina 2000; Yousefzadeh 2000, 37, 39, and 40; During 1984; Farhat 2009, 21, and 23; and Kiani 2013, 19, 46, 136, 139, and 140).

We can examine the literature of ethnomusicology and history of various musics around the world to determine to which genres the term "traditional music" applies, and how they compare to Iranian *dastgāh* music. One main usage of the term "traditional music" is to imply or specify a genre's "oldness," usually (explicitly or implicitly) in comparison to a "modern" or "new" version of that style. For example, see "Preservation and Renewal of Traditional Music" (see Crossley-Holland 1964); "Traditional Music: The Stabilizer That Helps Us Cope with Change;" (see Mark 1974), or "Developing Contemporary Idioms out of Traditional Music" (see Nketia 1982).

The other primary usage we find in the literature is to refer to local or regional styles of music. In this usage, "traditional music" either means exactly the same as "folk music," or is closely affiliated with folk music. Examples include "Traditional Music of the Ga People" (see Nketia 1958); "The Group Dimension in Traditional Music" (see Magrini 1989); "The Study of Change in Traditional Music" (see Elbourne 1975); "The Classification of Repertoire in Turkmen Traditional Music" (see Żerańska-Kominek 1990); and "What Is Old and What is New in the Traditional Music of the Volga-Kama Region" (see Vikár 1996). If we observe the *International Council for Traditional Music*, an important organization to "further the study,

practice, documentation, preservation, and dissemination of traditional music and dance of all countries,"[30] we find that its *Yearbook for Traditional Music* focuses mostly on small, local musical cultures rather than major, national ones.

I asked my interviewees about the usage of "*musighi-e sonnati*" for *dastgāh* music, and almost all of them denied its suitability of the term, despite its common usage in practice, for reasons related to the above. For example, Talai observes the consensus between traditional and folk music, and argues that:

> *I have mentioned several times before that using* musighi-e sonnati *for Iranian* dastgāh *music is completely wrong, because all of our regional music styles are* sonnati *(traditional). All those musical cultures which exist as their* maghāms *and ritual repertoires are all various traditions* (Talai 2015, interview with author).

Pirniakan considers the dynamics of change in Iranian music, and concludes:

> *In my opinion we cannot call this music* sonnati *(traditional) at all, because any moment we perform it, we are changing it. Of course, we obey some instructions, but we cannot call it tradition, because it is changing. Even if we ask five masters to perform* dastgāh-e Māhoor *of* radif*, if we analyze the performances we can disclose many differences* (Pirniakan 2015, interview with author).

Saket also notes the "change" in Iranian music, and accordingly denies the properness of "traditional" for *dastgāh* music. He argues that this music has been transformed in many ways, primarily in instrumentation, melodies, scales, and sonority, rendering it not "traditional" (Saket 2015, interview with author). Asadi combines both of these issues, arguing:

> *Using "Iranian traditional music" is problematic. Because if we want to take its related meanings into consideration, which suggests a music that has strong historical and cultural roots and background, then our regional, local, and*

[30] See https://ictmusic.org

Zurkhāneh *music will be included as well. Even pop music has got its own tradition, though not very old* (Asadi 2015, interview with author).

According to the interviews and the literature I've analzyzed, it seems the majority of Iranian musicians perceive "traditional music" as having something to do with being "immutable," while the practice of classical music has constant innovation. So to call this music "traditional" is to emphasize a temporal continuity which doesn't necessarily reflect the creativity and innovation we observe in this music.

In some academic literature, especially before the 1970s, we find a heterogeneity in the categorization of Iranian musical genres. For example, Farhat considers Iranian traditional music a bigger plate, which contains both Iranian folk music and what he calls "urban art music" (Farhat 2009, 1). Accordingly, he uses the term "traditional music" in some places to refer to *dastgāh* music, but in other parts he uses the term "Persian classical music" for the same purpose, with no meaningful difference (ibid, 5).

Since the 1970s, which we can considere the onset of academic attention to Iranian music by Western ethnomusicologists, we find the term "classical music" in most academic writings when they want to address *dastgāh* music. It appears that the first academics who used the phrase "Persian classical music" were Nettle in a 1970 article and Zonis in his 1973 book. Since that time, the vast majority of the ethnomusicology literature on Iranian music, especially by Western scholars, has used the term "classical music" to refer to *dastgāh* music. Examples include Nettl 1970 and 1972; Tsuge 1974; Rastovac 2009, 65; Wright 2009; Nooshin 2003, 2013, and 2015; and many other writings.

This is comparable to other music cultures around the world considered to be "major" music cultures; we find them distinguished from local or rural musical

traditions by referring to them as classical music. Such is the case with the Indian music based on *raga*, which the ethnomusicology literature generally identifies as "Indian classical music" (e.g. Chatterji 1958; Nettl 1978, 8; AoS 1993; and Deshmukh et al. 2009). Yet unlike the academic arena, which accepts the term "classical music" for *dastgāh* music, we do not find unity on using this term in Iranian society, nor among professional and non-professional music-related figures. It is for this reason that we find various terms, such as "*musighi-e asil*" (authentic music), "*musighi-e sonnati*" (traditional music), "*musighi-e melli*" (national music), and sometimes evaluative qualifiers such as "*honari*" (artistic or art), "*jeddi*" (serious), or "*fākher*" (elegant). Fatemi, in his arguments in support of the term "classical music," affirms that classical music is a less evaluative term. "Other terms have such a stronger evaluative effect than 'classical music;' when they say 'this is serious music,' that means the others are jokes! When you say 'this is art music,' it means others are not; or when you say 'this is elegant music,' it means others are banal" (Khazraei 2009, 176).

One term which became popular in Iran before the Islamic Revolution was "*musighi-e asil*" (authentic music). Alizadeh argues that:

> *The public largely called Iranian music* musighi-e asil *before the Revolution, which meant an "old" music, and now it is less used. Interestingly enough, what people referred to as* asil *(authentic) was not really authentic, and was a sort of light chamber Iranian classical music. Anything performed by* tār, setār, *or other Iranian musical instruments used to be called "authentic" music* (Alizadeh 2017, interview with author).

Boroumand, an influential figure in contemporary Iranian music as a founder of the Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music, and music faculty of the University of Tehran, disparages the music based on non-professional

improvisation,[31] which Alizadeh calls "light chamber music." He opposes its being referred to commonly as "authentic music," preferring to reserve the term "*musigh-e asil*" for *radif* music which, like a thoroughbred horse with recognizable lineage, authentic Iranian music has recognizable and "privileged" background and features.

In my interview with Pirniakan, he considers Boroumand's idea reliable and trustworthy, and recommends using "authentic music" or "*musighi-e radif-dastgāh-i*" (Pirniakan 2015, interview with author).

On the contrary, Saket and Asadi reject the usage of "authentic music" for *dastgāh* music. Saket argues:

> *First we have to discuss authenticity and being authentic… for Iranian music we cannot use "authentic" because our music, like our language, has been influenced by other cultures. For instance, according to Khaleghi, the* gushe-ye Hejāz *originally belongs to Arabs, and they perform it much more passionately* (Saket 2015, interview with author).

Asadi also opposes labeling Iranian music as "authentic:"

> *I am against using "authentic music," too…. "authenticity" in the literature of musicology, philosophy of music, and performance interpretation has a very specific meaning; authenticity in performance has a specific philosophical meaning which has to do with performance, practice, and interpretation of art works in various historical eras. For instance, an authentic performance of Bach's music is to be played on harpsichord with a specific dynamic. In Iranian music we can assume that we want to perform the* Māhoor *overture of Mirza Hosseinqholi in his own style; this can be called an authentic performance, but it is still in the classical genre* (Asadi 2015, interview with author).

I have previously mentioned that the term "classical music" has been canonized in academic literature on Iranian music, especially in Western academic writings, since

[31] Listen to Boroumand's speech at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XAaXeEmmAhU

the 1970s. It is significant to analyze how this term is conceived and used by Iranian scholars and musicians. Asadi mentions, "I might be the one who has propounded the term 'Iranian classical music' more than anybody else in recent years in Iran. I can remember more than twenty years ago when I was a pupil of some of the music masters, I used to tell them when you perform concert abroad, do not call it traditional music; instead call it Iranian classical music" (Asadi 2015, interview with author).

We can barely find any writing in which a central issue is the naming of this specific genre of music. There is an article in *Mahoor Music Quarterly* which is a transcribed version of a roundtable of some important Iranian ethnomusicologists, namely Sasan Fatemi, Hooman Asadi, and Mohammad Reza Fayaz. They discussed the advantages and disadvantages of applying the term "classical music" to this genre. Asadi argues that "Iranian classical music" creates a more precise perception of what type of music we are talking about, even for non-Persians. Moreover, in academic musicology, it is not common to title a musical genre by the name of its "musical system." For instance, we do not refer to Indian music as "*musighi-e Rāgā'i*" (raga music); nor do we refer to Javanese "Pathet-i music." These are Indian Classical music and Javanese Classical music. The same is true of Iran's *dastgāh* music (see Khazraei et al. 2009, 163-164).

Asadi defines certain features of classical music which *dastgāh* music seems to satisfy: it should have an organized, written, *explicit* theoretical framework; it has a specific kind of the relationship with institutional power, primarily the court; there are musicians who professionally pursue the genre as a career; the music's pedagogy is institutionalized; and finally, classical music is usually listened to for aesthetic purposes (ibid, 165). Fatemi adds a few other features to the above: classical music utilizes the maximum potential of its system; it belongs to the elites of a society; and

finally, it is shaped and formed during an extremely long period of time (ibid, 166-167). Asadi and Fatemi thus generally recommend the use of the term "Iranian classical music" (though Asadi says that it might not be a perfectly illustrative term), as *dastgāh* music satisfies a majority of these features defining a classical genre.

On the other hand, Fayaz is ambivalent about the term. The main questions he raises refer to the semantics of the word "classical," which creates a vague and uncertain identity in Iranian music and society. Additionally, he points out that the notion of classicity has not been shaped "inside" Iranian society, but instead has been implied that since "your" music meets particular parameters, therefore it is classical (ibid, 164). Keivan Saket also rejects the term: "it is wrong to call Iranian music classical music, because 'classical' refers to a specific period with specific features and specific music, as well as specific painting, specific architecture, specific literature, and even specific clothes, which are all related to each other" (Saket 2015, interview with author). However, in answer to Saket Asadi argues, "Classic with a capital 'C' means a historical period between 1750 and 1820, and is different from classic with small 'c', which is a genre" (Asadi 2015, interview with author).

Thus we see that there is no consensus among Iranian musicians and musicologists on the various titles applied to *dastgāh* music. Both academic and semi-academic literature on Iranian music, as well as the ethnographic material, demonstrates negative and positive points to each particular term for this genre. Also, we have discussed the function and importance of *dastgāh,* and it is clear that the Iranian music "system" today is based on *dastgāh*. However, once it was based on *maghām* (Asadi 2015, interview with author). As the purpose of this thesis is to move forward on an academic path while simultaneously keeping intra-cultural consensus, I will choose the term "classical music" whenever I want to distinguish this specific

musical lineage from Iranian folk music or Iranian popular music, as many academicians have done. Also, whenever I want to specify the theoretical framework, I will use the term "*dastgāh* music."

3.5 Iranian Music and the Idea of Legacy; A Cultural Capital

One significant trend among Iranian musicians is to introduce themselves as true heirs of the musical traditions from the major older music masters. We find this among younger musicians, but also among the senior musicians who are themselves considered as masters of Iranian classical music. This attitude is similar to what we find in academia as well, in the way that a professor in a certain discipline may be proud to have been a student of another significant professor. In Iranian music, being personally or even existentially connected with an older music master, and being considered a carrier forward of their traditions, is a privilege and sign of status for musicians.

As a concrete example, we can speak of Dariush Pirniakan with whom I have personally worked; he is known as a significant Iranian classical musician, in both practical and academic aspects. Yet it is very honorable for him to introduce himself as a musical heir of maestro Ali Akbar Shahnazi and Shahnazi's father Mirza Hosseingholi. In doing so Pirniakan connects himself as much as possible to the traditions transmitted by these musicians. For instance, the chief pedagogic materials he employs in both his private classes and at university are the *radif-hā* and compositions of Mirza Hosseingholi and Ali Akbar Shahnazi. Pirniakan has also transcribed the *radif-hā* of Mirza Hosseingholi (2009) and Shahnazi (2011). He is thus known as one of the chief heirs of the Mirza Hosseingholi-Shahnazi musical tradition and legacy.

Pirniakan was personally a student of Shahnazi. On the other hand, Keivan Saket (with whom I also studied music) never personally attended Alinaghi Vaziri's classes, yet considers himself the heir of Vaziri's musical legacy. This implies a kind of existential connection with a specific older maestro. As for scholarly writings on Iranian music, we can consider the example of Owen Wright's book; Wright focuses on the musical work of Touraj Kiaras, a notable musician and carrier of tradition, because of Kiaras' educational background and the legacy he inherited from his masters (see Wright 2009, 4-18 and 23-29).

This idea of legacy is common among musicians, and is not limited to an affiliation to one or several specific music masters. However, to some extent the connection with specific music institutions or lines of thought is considered a privilege bestowing "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1996, 12) among their peers. For instance, most of the music masters who were once pupils, and later teachers, at the *Markaz* in the 1970s, consider their apprenticeship at the center as a great honor and privilege (see Karimi 2001). The master-student relationship is at once a function of tradition, and also a way of creating tradition, in the sense that it establishes a community and criteria whereby people are considered to enter, remain, or be on the margins or outside this community of the upholders of tradition.

This ideology—of inclusion and exclusion, and defining the social boundaries of tradition in Iranian music—is connected to what Pierre Bourdieu describes as cultural capital, through which different social groups distinguish themselves from others (Bourdieu 1996). The sense of legacy in Iranian music and the privilege of apprenticeship can be interpreted as "musical capital" through which musicians may enter the circle of elites and join the upholders of Iranian musical tradition. Thus legacy and connection, personal or existential, to a master (or more broadly, to a

certain trend's ideology and practice) are influential in the construction and practice of tradition in Iranian music.

3.6 Major Musical Elements around the Concept of Tradition

Because we have first musical recordings from Qajar times, and considering *radif* the fundamental reference and repertoire of Iranian classical music, we can confidently claim a coherence and continuity of tradition since Qajar musical traditions and *radif*, through Iranian classical music as we know it today. However, some (such as Kiani) have tried to demonstrate continuity with much older musical traditions. Asadi argues that these attempts, though noteworthy, lack the proper attention to the historical transformations of Iranian music and power, resulting in the "construction of an imaginary bridge to link the past and present of our music, from a point from several centuries ago to a point in today" (Asadi 2004, 45). If we consider the various conceptions of Iranian music tradition—whether a transmission of repository, or a potential within the musical culture, or the roots of culture, or an invention—along with tradition's ability to bridge the continuity of Iranian classical *dastgāh* music from (at least) the advent of *radif's* centrality in Qajar times, we find eight elements subject to debate regarding the concept and function of tradition as contested areas of tradition;

1. Melodic movement and modal constructions
2. Intervals
3. Dynamics and articulation
4. Tonal functions
5. Instrumentation and sonority
6. Meter and rhythm

7. Patterns (melismatic, rhythmic, melodic, and poetic)
8. Ceremony

Of course, the purpose of this research is not to thoroughly explore the quiddity and quality of these elements, nor to cover scholars' debates about them, since any one of them would require its own project for such a deep analysis. Moreover, some of these elements contain their own component elements which would also merit precise analysis of their roles. Also, some of these elements are of greater or lesser importance in the hierarchy of components of *dastgāh* music; some are more central and others more peripheral to the tradition. Finally, several of these elements have been more thoroughly studied and written about than others.

The first four elements are closely integrated with and connected to each other, though each element has its own, long-debated characteristics inside the tradition. The first issue, of primary importance, is melodic movement, whose domain and quality is a core element in the construction of *dastgāh*, *āvāz,* and modes in Iranian music. It is significant because our approach toward melodic movement, and the limitations we place on it, shapes the upcoming modes in a musical composition or improvisation. This means that different conceptions of melodic movement and related issues can result in enormous musical differences. This is why a majority of the theoretical discourses on Iranian music are dedicated to this topic. Since the early post-Islamic period, there have been many manuscripts and music treatises centered on the issue of melodic movement and the construction of modes (see Farabi 1996; Safi Addin Urmavi 2003; Maraghi 1987).

Some references which discuss (either exclusively or in other contexts) the first four elements above separately or in combination with other elements include: Wright 1978; Farhat 2009; Vaziri 2003, 85-214; Talai 1993, 20-55; Talai 2015, 12-36; Asadi

2004, 46-54; Lotfi 2011, 320-324; Kiani 2013, 26-47, and 171-209; During et al. 1991, 57-60; Nettl 1987, 29-30; Zonis 1973, 41-61; and Darvishi 1994, 212-263.

In my interviews, all of the interviewees attested to the significance of these elements in the construction of *dastgāh* music. For instance, Keivan Saket suggests melodic movement as an essential element: "the basis of Iranian music is scale. Some musicians mention that Iranian music lacks scale, but I oppose that. First, I should define what I perceive as a scale: a scale in Iranian music means a cycle of tones, in intervals of a 4th, 5th, or 8th, in which a specific *gushe* or *maghām* can be based on some degrees of the cycle" (Saket 2015, interview with author). This idea supports Vaziri's theory (Vaziri 2003, 85-214), and opposes those of Talai and Kiani, who consider the limitation of melodic movement in *dastgāh* music to be the tetrachord, not the octave (see Talai 1993, 20-55; Talai 2015, 12-36; and Kiani 2013, 26-47). Regarding the issue of musical phrasing, Dariush Pirniakan believes:

> *Musical phrasing is so vital; exactly the same as phrasing a literary text. It is so important how a performer phrases musical sentences and the logic of their connections and eventually the message they transmit to listeners. A singer or player can transmit the message by logical phrasing and sound balance* (Pirniakan 2015, interview with author).

Meter and Rhythm

Meter and rhythm—and the attitudes toward them—are also crucial elements in the coherence of the tradition of Iranian music and have been a central issue since early treatises (Farabi 1996; Safi Addin Urmavi 2003; Maraghi 1987). Iranian music is divided into two categories, according to rhythm and meter: 1) metric pieces, and 2) non-metric or free-metric pieces. A majority of the repertoire consists of non-metric/free-metric pieces in which the musician's "musical timing" is most significant and noteworthy. According to Dariush Talai: "The other significant element is the

nexus between music and rhythm—not meter—and how time is involved in the music. This timing can be in different styles. For example, timing can be in the style of Agha Hosseingholi, or it can be in the style of Jalil Shahnaz. There are various traditions about that, not only one tradition" (Talai 2015, interview with author).

Pirniakan also prioritizes rhythm as a basic element: "Meter and rhythm are so important. Musical work should be very strong in its rhythmic aspect, with a logical relationship between melody and rhythm. For example, we might perform a melody with a more dynamic rhythm which sounds terrible, but if we perform the same melody with a heavier rhythm it sounds excellent, and vice versa" (Pirniakan 2015, interview with author). Majid Kiani maintains his historical view of basic elements of Iranian classical music, and explains rhythm as follows:

> *Another element is rhythm and meter, which also comes from the circulation of stars and planets. Thus, it seems all events in Iranian music should be based on circles. That is why when we refer to old manuscripts and treatises, we observe that all the* maghām *cycles are illustrated with circle shapes. Interestingly, when I explore radif I find that its melodic movements and melodies are circular* (Kiani 2015, interview with author).

A few contemporary references on rhythm and meter in Iranian music include: Azadehfar 2011; Lotfi 2011, 326; Nettl 1987, 32-35; Talai 2015, 36-43; and Kiani 2013, 71-95, and 99-108.

Sonority

Sonority is another significant element in the Iranian music tradition. Although this issue of sonority of various instruments is better understood through listening to recordings and live performances, some written sources have discussed sonority,

including During et al. 1991, 101-147; Zonis 1973, 145-184; During 1984, 47-81; and Kiani 2013, 111-119 and 167-171.

Majid Kiani argues:

> *The sound of Iranian musical instruments should be the sound of Iranian ethnicity; I consider the sound transparent and crystalline, not soft and velvet. In the Sanskrit language,* light *also means* sound; *in other words, when there is plenty of light in a land, the sounds of that land are transparent and sharp like the light. That is why I do not use a* namad *(muffler) on my* santoor *plectrum; I think putting a muffler on the plectrum is an imitation of the Europeans in recent years. Previously it was not like this, and when they wanted to make the sound muted, they would have used a cloth. The interesting point is when we put a cloth on the* santoor*, the sound keeps its transparency and sharpness, unlike when we use a muffler, which makes the sound turbid and covered* (Kiani 2015, interview with author).

Keivan Saket also considers sonority important, but in describing specific features of the sounds, he expresses a totally contrasting idea to Kiani:

> *Iranian musical instruments do not have metallic sounds. The instruments, like the voices of most Iranians, have a nasal, dark voice. For example the* tār*, which has a membrane, should have a nasal voice which is a more of a bass sound* (Saket 2015, interview with author).

Pirniakan adds that "correct sonority is a significant element. Although taste can be involved in sonority, there are many aesthetic regulations" (Pirniakan 2015, interview with author).

Patterns

Iranian music has many patterns in the form of ready-made phrases, motifs, and melismas. These small phrases are frequently combined with other musical sentences in compositions and improvisations (see Tsuge 1974). For instance, in *radif* there are melismatic patterns including *Zarrābi*, *Mohammad Sādeghkhāni*, and *Sārbāng*;

plectrum patterns such as *Dotāyeki* and *Parvaneh*; melodic patterns such as *Bastenegār* and *Hazin*; and rhythmic patterns such as *Kereshmeh* and *Chāhārpāreh*. These patterns are drawn from the vocal *radif-hā* of Davami (Payvar 1996) and Karimi (Masoudieh 1998), the instrumental *radif-hā* of Mirza Abdollah (Talai 2013), *radif* of Mirza-Hosseingholi (Pirniakan 2009), *radif* of Saba for Violin (Badiei 2015), and *radif* of Maroufi (Maroufi 2009). They are also clearly examined in analytical references on *radif,* such as Dariush Talai, who identifies these melismatic, melodic, rhythmic, plectrum, and poetic patterns as the most significant patterns of Iranian music (see Talai 2015, 44-50).

Ceremony of Iranian Music

By "ceremony of Iranian music" I mean a wide range of codified, normative behaviors in the ways of performing and presenting Iranian music; the behavioral manners of the musician; the relationship between master and student; the atmosphere and appearance of the performance; and the physical, spiritual, and moral features of Iranian music. These aspects have been transmitted orally alongside the musical aspects of the tradition of Iranian classical music.

Pirniakan expresses a related idea that:

> *Our musical notation, specifically the notation of* radif, *is not very expressive. That is, somewhere we might write a quarter note, but in practice we perform it longer or shorter. These changes according to the musical atmosphere and the musician. Therefore, our music should be transmitted orally from teacher to student, otherwise neither the music itself nor the culture of music are transmitted correctly. "Culture of music" includes the way a teacher poses when playing a musical instrument, how he/she holds the instrument and the plectrum, how much pressure is on the plectrum and the instrument. In this way, the teacher's emotion is also transmitted to the student. Today, we know there are emotional exchanges between people; if now you*

and I remain silent and just look at each other for a while, we will still understand many of each other's feelings (Pirniakan 2015, interview with author).

The Ceremony of Iranian music is multi-faceted, and there are many references which explore the various aspects. Regarding the significant issue of the master/student relationship and the process of learning and transmission, see Wright 2009, 4-5; Karimi 2001, 82-87, 97-102, and 139-149. On the relationship between musician and audience, see Khaleghi 1999, Vol.3, 28-32; regarding the cultural context of Iranian music and the general atmosphere of its performance, as well as what is valued and what disparaged in the tradition of Iranian music, see During 1984, 19-36; Kiani 2013, 123-126, 130-135, and 139-164; During et al. 1991, 244-249; and Nettl 1987, 151-160.

In summary, the eight elements we've explored herein as areas of tradition under debate provide us a concrete and objective context through to analyze our central theme, the dynamics of change and evolutions of tradition in Iranian music since the 1970s, in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4. This Is What We Have Become Musically: Iranian Classical Music, Tradition, and Identity Discourse

In chapter 2, I examined the close affinity between traditions and construction of identity, focusing both on the larger cultural scope (2.1) and more specifically in ethnomusicology (2.2). Jean During suggests that when we use the term "traditional" for a type of music in Oriental cultures, we claim it as a "national" culture (During 2005, 373). We see this in Iran in the way that tradition is inextricably linked with nationalism and national identity. Also in chapter 2.1, we discussed the polar relationship of modernity and tradition, one pole considering tradition sacred, and the other believing tradition to be an obstacle to modernity which must be eradicated in order for human society to develop.

I also introduced a third alternative, which reinterprets and selectively appropriates past tradition in the present. In Iran this third way has been underdeveloped, and most debates have focused on the "conflict" between tradition and modernity. (E.g. Zibakalam 2000; Alamdari 2007; Katouzian 2004; Mehran 2003; and Jahanbegloo 2004). Also in chapter 2.1 we saw that tradition becomes most in the context of change and modernity, due to the fact that as long as people live traditional modes of life—with no alternatives around them—they cannot identify it as such. This is significant to our study of Iran, in that by determining when modernity appears, we find the moment at which tradition and traditional modes of life become distinguishable in contrast. Also, in regards to the fabrication of identity (both national and religious) in Iran, we would do well to analyze the discourse of identity within the period of modernization, as our discussion concerns a contemporary concept of identity—specifically a "state-sponsored identity"—rather

than “a traditional parochial system of identity, historical interpretation, and self-conceptualization.” (Vaziri, 1993).

4.1 Before the 1970s: Iran; Identity and Tradition in the process of Modernization; A Historical Trajectory

Since the turn of the twentieth century, Iran has experienced three major socio-political changes: the Constitutional Revolution, the fall of the Qajar Dynasty and establishment of the Pahlavi, and the Islamic Revolution. Hence I will present a brief, purposeful historical background of the appearance and development of modernity during contemporary Iran, primarily through the above three events and focused on identity and tradition, in order to illustrate the milieu in which Iranian classical music has evolved. Furthermore, a historical overview of the roots of modernization and the construction of collective identity in Iranian music during the same period seems necessary. The various schools of thought and practice regarding tradition and innovation in Iranian music after the 1970s are, of course, rooted in previous socio-political and cultural movements dating to the beginning of the 20th century. Therefore, let us dedicate a few pages to exploring these historical antecedents.

4.1.1 Constitutional Era: The Wellspring of Modernization

Although the first sparks of modernization and cultural importation ignited during Naseraddin Shah’s[32] rule (1848-1896), Iran still nonetheless maintained a rather traditional society and culture (Pirnia and Eghbal Ashtiani 2007, 867-870). The signs of modernization first appeared only in limited domains such as military and educational facilities, and thus modernization was not yet pervasive. For example, the *Dārolfonun* School was established as a modern academic institute, yet it was

[32] The fourth king of Qajar dynasty, born in 1831 and assassinated in 1896.

accessible only to elite academic society (Shahpari 2016, 7). Widespread modernity in Iran only finally appeared in the Constitutional Revolution (1906) and the Constitutional Era. The transfer of power created serious transformations in various aspects of industry, trading, power institutions, and other modes of business and trade (see Afray 1996). There exists a cause-and-effect relationship between modernity and other factors (which we will examine later in this thesis), due to the significant increase in interchange between Iranian intellectuals and Western culture.

Therefore one of the main aspects of this Revolution, apart from freedom of Iranians from absolute power, was modernization and cultural importation (Abrahamian 1982, 56-67). After the Revolution, Iran enjoyed a more permissive atmosphere which enabled a new cultural exchange between Iran and the West. The growing middle-class gradually became aware of a lack of sophistication in Iranian society in various areas (Abrahamian 1979, 394-395).

These transformations, which we can conceptualize as a unit entitled "modernity," resulted in a novel relationship between society and its traditions. Also notable in this era, we witness a new need in Iranian society to construct a clear identity, leading to a primacy of nationalism and "Iranian-ness;" these ideas had previously not been significant in Iranian society (see Ansari 2012). Nationalism—closely tied to modernization—in turn affected culture and arts, and specifically Iranian music. In subsequent chapters we will explore separately the nexus of identity and nationalism with Iranian music, and their mutual impact in various eras.

Since the Constitutional Era, the starting point of modernity in Iran in other socio-historical events, modernity has continued to exist, but with different features relevant to each period. Therefore, modernization is inextricably tied to other currents—such as Westernization, nationalism, globalization, and Islamism—which contributed to

Iran's modernization, and influenced Iranians' attitudes towards tradition. For instance, the most significant tradition influenced by the Constitutional Revolution was the absolute power of the court in ruling the country, which had been institutionalized for a very long time in Iran. The establishment of a parliament, as another locus of power (regardless of how successful it was), broke the court's absolute power for the first time in Iran's long history.

Since the victory of constitutionality and the establishment of a parliament, there were ongoing unrest which culminated in the bombardment of parliament by Liakhov, a Russian militant, in 1908 (Hairi 1977, 143). During those years, Iran was the battleground for supporters of constitutionality and those, especially the courtiers, who wanted to abolish constitutionality (Amirkhizi 1967). These battles, along with other social and economic circumstances, plunged Iran into chaos in various respects (ibid); this chaos is significant to understanding the establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty.

In the musical realm, Constitutionality was significant for breaking up the court's monopoly in learning and consuming music (Sepanta 2003, 153-154). For many years the court and other power institutions had dominated music, so that top musicians had long been dependent on the court (see Farmer 1929). The new atmosphere of the Constitutional Era presented the historical opportunity to diminish the court's dominance over music and musicians, in parallel to the decentralization of political power after several centuries in Iran. The first "public concert" in Iran was held in this period (1909) at the *Anjoman-e Okhovvat* (Brotherhood Association) (Sepanta 2003, 154).

The decentralization of control over music from the institutes of power had major consequences for Iranian music, as follows:

1. Being a musician began to be societally recognized and respected as an independent career; although musicians were not entirely free from the dominance of the authorities, they gradually began to work more independently. Until then, musicians had been considered the "property" of the king or other authorities. A famous anecdote concerns Darvishkhan[33], who had been in the service of the court of Sho'a'ol Saltaneh, the son of the King Mozaffaraddin Shah. After a while he wanted to work more independently, and began performing for other authorities' celebrations. When Sho'a'ol Saltaneh found out, he ordered Darvishkhan's fingers to be cut off (Khaleghi 1999, Vol.1, 303-304). This anecdote demonstrates the authorities' dominance over top musicians. This situation existed also in the realm of teaching and learning classical music, which had long taken place among a closed circle of authorities and their relatives, while the public had seldom been able to attend classes with top musicians (During 2002, 861). However, not long after some musicians—including Darvishkhan—managed to begin private music classes at their homes for non-aristocratic pupils (Khaleghi 1999, Vol.1, 304).

2. The very act of performing music for a more public audience had a significant influence both in the social sphere and also in the traditions of Iranian classical music. For instance, the creation and development of the metric form "*pishdarāmad*" can be considered the result of public performance of music by ensembles (Khazraei 2004, 54), and *pishdarāmad* has since been canonized into Iranian music. Many Iranian masters of different generations have composed *pishdarāmads* in various musical modes[34]. Moreover, the new public atmosphere of music performances at that time led

[33] A very well-known musician in Qajar era. Was born in 1872 and died in 1926.

[34] For instance see *pishdarāmad-hā* composed by Darvishkhan in Tahmasbi 2012. And *pishdarāmad-hā* composed by Rokneddin khan in Tahmasbi 2009. Or *pishdarāmad-hā* composed by Ali Akbar Shahnazi in *radif-e Āli* in (Salehi 2011) and in (Talai 2010). Other musicians such as Faramarz Payvar, Hassan Kassai, Parviz Meshkatian and others have composed famous *pishdarāmad-hā*.

to an opening up of the repertoire itself, resulting in the development of "pre-composed" pieces. We also see this for pre-existing forms such as *chāhārmezrāb* and *reng;* sometime around the Constitutional Era various masters started composing "independent" *chāhārmezrāb* and *reng* more commonly. Prior to the Constitutional Era, those musical forms had been simple pieces intended to vary the non-metric atmosphere of *radif;* generally the composers were not known, and the pieces were transmitted orally from one generation to the next. *Reng-hā* also seem to have served as music for dancing (Farhat 2009, 22).

3. Socio-political circumstances were reflected in music. While previously music had been a means to enjoyment in Qajar court celebrations (see Mashhoon 2001, 351-370), music now began to serve a social function. We see this in *tasnif-hā* (ballades), and specifically in their content and lyrics. Formerly *tasnif-hā* had included poems about love and nature, but in the Constitutional Era ballades with *enghelābi* (revolutionary), *vatani* (patriotic) and *melli* (national) themes emerged. Aref Ghazvini was the most prominent composer and poet of these sorts of songs, and his songs clearly reflect the socio-political events of the era (see Ghazvini 1963). In addition, these songs became famous, especially among those fighting for constitutionality and freedom. In short, music, for the first time in Iran's long history, entered into the service of a socio-political quest. This change also affected the style of composing *tasnif*, a major classical form, since due to the social relevance of the lyrics, poem gained prominence over melody. Thus, in contrast to former styles of composing *tasnif*, Aref would not interrupt the poetry for sake of melody (see Fatemi 2004, 6-7).

4. During the Constitutional Era, the increased connection of Iranian intellectuals and merchants with European countries resulted in a growing attention towards the West. Iranian intellectuals began to compare various aspects of Iranian society with

Europe, and in many cases, found a regression in Iran. This led them to imitate or extract elements from Western culture (see Adamiyat 1950, 112-121). During Naseraddin Shah's reign (1848-1896) military music had been imported by French musicians, and an institute teaching military music was even established (Darvishi 1994, 30). In this way, Iranian musicians were introduced to Western musical concepts. The influence of European music also appeared during this time within the body of Iranian classical music, apart from military music. For instance, some musicians, such as Darvishkhan, composed new music forms inspired by polka and march. Notably, Darvishkhan had a traditional musical background, but the new atmosphere allowed him the ability to experiment with Western-oriented music styles in Iranian music. Additionally, we find a combination of Western and Iranian musical instruments in the ensemble conducted by Darvishkhan at *Anjoman-e Okhovat*, a Constitutionalist association (Sepanta 2003, 154). This seems to be the first time that an Iranian master of traditional music performed music in the new style (Aryanpour 2013, 39).

4.1.2 Music and the State-Supported Modernization

Approximately eighteen years after the constitutionality order was signed (1925), Reza Shah Pahlavi officially confirmed the Pahlavi dynasty, replacing the Qajar. He ruled for approximately sixteen years; these years played a crucial role in Iran's modernization. He accelerated the modernization of Iran by force, and due to his extremism, many traditions were eliminated or transformed. One chief form of modernization during the first Pahlavi regime was industrialization and reconstruction, including a great deal of infrastructure such as railroads, roads,

bridges, and highways. The first modern university was also established (Matthee 1993, 314).

Reza Shah Pahlavi accomplished this rapid modernization primarily by suppressing Iranian traditions, especially religious ones. Two clear examples of this are: (1) the *kashf-e hijab* (unveiling), the law banning Iranian women from wearing the long-traditional veils (Chehabi 1993, 209-233); and (2) the prohibition of mourning for Imam Hossein in *moharram*, the anniversary of his martyrdom, which had been one of the most fundamental traditions of Iranian Shi'a. But Reza Shah's drive towards modernization also affected other traditions, not only religious ones, and remarkably affected the living conditions of the citizens. For example, tribes such as the Bakhtiyari were defined by their nomadic lifestyle. Reza Shah used military force to prevent their seasonal migrations, and despite their resistance, he succeeded in settling them and ending their nomadic life cycle (Matthee 1993).

We also find, in the first Pahlavi dynasty, a notable combination of Westernization and Iranianization (Vaziri 1993, 193). One significant development of the time was that the concept of "nation," already shaped in the Constitutional Era, developed to encompass Iran as an entirety and the people of Iran as a recognizable nation (Ghods 1991, 35-45); meanwhile the name "Iran"—an ancient Persian name—replaced Persia as the official name for the country (Yarshater 1989). In chapter 2.1 we saw that traditions are invented and created by people and authorities according to the relevant socio-cultural circumstances. Traditions which do not serve current needs are eliminated or modified. We see this clearly in the transition of power between the first and second Pahlavi dynasties in 1941. After the fall of Reza Shah Pahlavi, many aforementioned manipulated and suppressed traditions returned or reverted to their previous forms, which led to many of the newly conceived traditions disappearing.

Generally, most of the changes by Reza Shah were in the service of "unifying" the Iranian nation state, and we see this reflected also in music. The systematic establishment of music institutions goes back to this era, starting with the *Madrese-ye Musighi-e Dowlati* (Governmental Music School) established in 1928. Military music was eliminated from the school's program and replaced by Iranian music (Darvishi 1994, 35). This is the first time that we find Iranian music in a systematic institution under the direct supervision of the government. Another significant change during this period was the teaching of music to primary school students. Before the Constitutional Era music education was at once restricted to the upper classes and simultaneously stigmatized for everyday people, so the inclusion of music in primary school programs was quite significant.

This period is also significant to us for the conflicts between divergent streams of Iranian classical music, arising from the split in the traditional modes of music. As previously mentioned, Reza Shah wanted to demystify old traditions to help the country develop, and influenced music institutions to eliminate Iranian music from the curriculum, replacing it with Western music (Khaleghi 1999, Vol.3, 23-24). Meanwhile, the avant-garde current under the leadership of Alinaghi Vaziri aimed to modernize Iranian music through theoretical and practical reforms and by breaking with the traditionalists' canonical rules and repertoire.

Vaziri was originally a product of the traditional didactic context (see Khaleghi 1999 Vol.2, 43-47), but he went to Europe for five years where he studied various Western music systems (Sepanta 2003, 180). When he came back to Iran in 1925, he instigated a surge of reformation within Iranian music. Although Vaziri, unlike the Reza Shah's stream, did not wish to eliminate Iranian music from the conservatories, he did discredit many Iranian musical traditions (Mir Alinaghi 1998, 247-260). He

established the *Madrese-ye Āli-e Musighi* (Advanced Music School), which launched many changes in the social and didactic aspects of Iranian music, by training such influential musicians as Abolhassan Saba (1902-1957), Ruhollah Khaleghi, Mousa Maroufi (1889-1965), Javad Maroufi (1912-1993), Mehdi Barkeshli (1912-1988), and others (Sepanta 2003, 179). Generally, in most of the evolutions in Iranian music during this period, the footprint of Vaziri is clearly observable. Some of Vaziri's major changes include:

1. Transcribing important parts of the repertoire of Iranian music, specifically the *radif-hā* of Mirza Abdollah and Mirza Hosseingholi. Moreover, he canonized the method of notation, in line with that of the West and many other parts of the world.
2. Creation of a method for teaching the practice and theory of Iranian music, inspired by the methods of European music schools. To this end, he wrote various didactic books[35].
3. Developing pre-composed music. I have already mentioned that some earlier musicians, such as Darvishkhan, started this trend. But Vaziri composed and performed a large number of pre-composed pieces, in both traditional and novel forms (see Vaziri 1994).
4. Developing Iranian orchestral music. I have mentioned the efforts made by musicians of the Constitutional Era to play in ensembles, but it was Vaziri who arranged music for orchestras composed of both Iranian and non-Iranian

[35] Some of Vaziri's major didactic music books are: 1. *Dastoor-e Tār va Ta'limate musighi (Method for Tar and Music Education),* originally published in 1922 in Berlin. 2. *Musighi-e Nazari (Theory of Music),* originally published in 1934 in Tehran. 3. *Dastoor-e Violon (Method for Violin)* for beginners, originally published in 1936 in Tehran. 4. *Dastoor-e Violon (Method for Violin),* including *Āvāz-ha*, originally published in 1936 in Tehran.

instruments. In short, Vaziri was the figure who established "Iranian" orchestral music as a genre (Darvishi 1994, 91).

5. Strengthening the position of musicians as an independent profession in the society, and creating a context for routine public concerts.[36] These social activities were in their infancy in the Constitutional Era, and reached maturity due to the new socio-political atmosphere and the efforts of Vaziri.
6. Reviving written theory of Iranian music. Since the arrival of Islam in Iran, serious theoretical discussions had taken place and many treatises had been compiled throughout various periods. However, around the Safavid reign this habit gradually began to fade (Asadi 2004, 44). Vaziri rehabilitated the tradition of writing music theory in modern Iran (see Vaziri 2003).

Vaziri's vision was criticized by two musical currents. First, those Western-oriented musicians such as Gholamhossein Minbashian and Parviz Mahmoud (Darvishi 1994, 36-38) who, supported by the official powers, aimed to substitute Iranian music with European music in music institutions (Khaleghi 1999, Vol.3, 30-31). The opposition of policymakers to Iranian music went so far that they established in 1938 the organization *Edāre-ye Musighi-e Keshvar* (Office of the Country's Music), with the following announcement by the minister of culture: "According to the order of his majesty the king [Reza Shah], this organization is in charge of changing the music of country, to found it upon the rules and regulations of Western music scales" (ibid, 31). Vaziri's quarrel with this group isolated him and led to his dismissal from institutions of music policy (Darvishi 1994, 36-37). Meanwhile from

[36] Vaziri established music club exclusively for performing concerts. This was the first time in Iran's history that a place existed specifically for music performance, where the audience would go just to hear music, in contrast to musicians performing at the parties of authorities and wealthy people.

the other side, the second group which criticized Vaziri were the more traditional musicians who could not tolerate the changes Vaziri was instigating in the music.

These parallel oppositions to Vaziri's work began simultaneously with his activities, and have continued now for generations. In fact, one root of the ongoing conflict between tradition and modernity, old and new, Iranian vs. Western identity, traces back to these two streams' opposition to Vaziri. Aref Ghazvini, who was a contemporary of Vaziri, criticized him for challenging the traditions of Iranian music (see Haeri 1993, 125), while Dariush Safvat, representative of the next generation, also discredits Vaziri's innovations (Safvat 2014, 50-51). Moreover, Mohammad Reza Lotfi—the next generation of Safvat's school, and his student—also considers Vaziri's musical trend to be a deviation in the path of Iranian music (see Lotfi 2000, 22-24).

Regarding the function of music as a medium reflecting the socio-political situation, consider the song *Morghe Sahar*[37] ("The Bird of Dawn"), composed and recorded in 1927 in critical response to Reza Shah's kingdom and constitutionality (Abedi 2011, 103). This song has long been one of the most popular songs in Iran, and symbolizes the fight against absolutism. Also, in regards to the nexus between national identity and music during that period, the patriotic song *Ey Vatan*[38] ("Oh Homeland") of 1927 sings of the greatness of the ancient Iranian emperors. In 1944, concurrent to the occupation of Iran by the Allies in World War II, Rouhollah Khaleghi, a pupil of Vaziri's music school, composed the patriotic song *Ey Iran*[39] ("Oh Iran"). This song has been extremely popular among Iranians, inside Iran and in

[37] Composed by Morteza Neidavoud.

[38] Composed by Alinaghi Vaziri.

[39] The song is considered an unofficial national anthem of Iran (Aryanpour 2013, 213).

diaspora, and it is performed at a wide variety of gatherings as a national anthem of Iran. The longevity of the song, spanning almost 80 years across generations and political views, suggests the song's strong association with the collective identity of Iranians all over the world.

The project of modernization in Iran was pursued during the second Pahlavi dynasty (1941-1979). Mohammad Reza Shah, the son of Reza Shah, demonstrated an affinity for Westernization and, simultaneously, nationalism, as did the first Pahlavi Shah. The Second Pahlavi dynasty based their fabrication of Iranian national identity on "Persian language, Zoroastrian cultural heritage, and the imperial history and its civilization" (Saleh 2013, 58). However, unlike the first Pahlavi dynasty's coercive modernization through radical suppression of religious beliefs and traditions, the second Pahlavi showed more tolerance. Generally, the second Pahlavi ruled the country more democratically, especially from 1941 until 1953. But in 1953 there was a coup d'etat against Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh, which has been proven to have been instigated by Western powers (see Abrahamian 2013; De Bellaigue 2012; Bayandor 2010 and Kinzer 2003). The coup destroyed the free, democratic atmosphere created by Prime Minister Mosaddegh (Cottam 1970, 9). This coup was the West's first major impact on Iran during the second Pahlavi dynasty.

Subsequently, the shah showed more inclination toward the West, and thus, Westernization. During the second Pahlavi reign, the educational system was modernized by constructing many universities and academic institutions. Also, the sending of Iranian students to study in Western countries, which had already begun, became systematic during that time. One significant tradition abolished under the second Pahlavi reign was the lord and peasant system in rural areas. In 1963, the White Revolution brought feudalism to an end, and nationalized such natural

resources like jungles, pasturelands, and water. This Revolution had many other accomplishments as well, which together were quite significant to Iran's modernization (Ansari, 2001).

Technically, the second Pahlavi reign started in 1941 and lasted until 1979. As mentioned before, after Reza Shah's removal from power—primarily due to his affinity with the Axis powers in the Second World War—in September 1941, a more permissive and more relaxed socio-political atmosphere was created in Iran. Although the key principles of the first and second Pahlavi reigns were similar in the fabrication of national identity and in modernization, the second Pahlavi did not suppress traditions so furiously. This attitude allowed Iranian music evolves in a more natural way, rather than according to imperative direction. In this context, Vaziri was again called to take charge of prominent governmental music institutions, such as *Honarestān-e Āli-e Musighi*, (Advanced Music School), *Edāre-ye Musighi-e Keshvar* (Office of the Country's Music) and *Musighi-e Radio* (Radio Music) (Khaleghi 1999, Vol.3, 52).

During the second Pahlavi reign, events featuring music as a core activity increased dramatically, while if we survey the institutional music activities, ensembles, and festivals of the time, we see a gradual calming of the conflict between Iranian and Western music, with each music style finding its own appropriate context. So we see that, starting in 1949, the paths of Iranian music and Western classical music officially separated. The *Honerstān-e Musighi-e Melli*[40], the National Music School (Javadi 2001, 598-599) was established to focus on Iranian music, while the *Honarestān-e Āli-e Musighi* (Advanced Music School) primarily concentrated on Western classical music. This separation helped Iranian music to find its way in a

[40] Was established by Ruhollah Khaleghi in 1949.

more independent academic atmosphere. At the same time, many symphonic orchestras and philharmonic institutions for Western classical music were established, performing many concerts.

Now we will set aside Western music and continue our analysis of Iranian music during this era. To analyze the relationship between Iranian music and the issues of identity and tradition, it will be useful to study the life of Iranian music through major institutions and festivities.

Radio and Television

Radio and television were certainly crucial institutions in the public consumption of music, and they served an important function in shepherding public audiences' musical taste, especially given that radio and television were rather novel phenomena for Iranian people. In the second Pahlavi reign, Alinaghi Vaziri took charge of music production on the radio. At that time, the most skillful maestros of Iranian music, as well as some orchestras, would frequently perform music on radio programs (Aryanpour 2013, 213). However, after 1945 some great maestros abandoned performing music on radio due to "the [radio] policies which were deviating authentic music" as Aryanpour expresses (ibid, 214).

Sepanta believes that the overall circumstances of Iranian television and radio from 1953 until 1979 were not suitable for Iranian authentic music, and argues, "the majority of programs on radio and television were dedicated to spontaneous [not artistic], market-oriented popular songs" (2003, 16). Rouhollah Khaleghi, who became one of the policymakers for music on the radio in 1955, also strongly criticized poor performances of unskilled musicians on radio programs, as well as low quality ensembles which performed "unison" music (ibid, 304-305). This perspective,

along with Vaziri's thoughts on Iranian music ensembles, demonstrates the privileged position of polyphonic Iranian music for Vaziri and his successors. One can argue that Iranian music in this era was most characterized by the *Golhā* program, as well as the solo performances of certain maestros. The *Golhā* program is considered the most popular radio program of Iranian music.

Dariush Talai expressed to me in an interview:

> *In my opinion, the efforts that Khaleghi and Pirnia made in the* Golhā *program turned it into an Iranian and popular program and was more successful than other programs. It was designed so intelligently that firstly, they conceived the affiliation of music and poetry properly. Therefore, they would present the poetry through narration so that people could understand it. Secondly, they used* tasnif, *in the beginning of the program, which is a more popular form in urban music, and in order to keep it novel they used orchestration and arrangement. Once people had been attracted, the deepest part of the work was broadcast. For example, Ahmad Ebadi would play* setār, *or Ghavami or Banan would sing. It means that, both on the surface and on a deeper level, it was a successful program.* (Talai 2015, Interview with author).

Also, Hossein Alizadeh enlightened me about *Golhā*:

> *In the past, radio broadcast a lighter style of music, which affected other sorts of music. In my opinion,* Golhā *was an extremely serious and important program. If composers had developed in that direction, we would have modern* Golhā *music now.* (Alizadeh 2017, Interview with author)

Thus we see that *Golhā* served as an abstract of Iranian music in the 1950s and 1960s, and that an understanding of its musical elements helps illustrate the relation of Iranian music to tradition and identity at that time. This understanding will also help when we explore *Golhā's* effects on the next generation of Iranian musicians. *Golhā* was produced from 1955 until 1978, with many top Iranian composers, singers, and musicians participating in its productions. Also, many other types of artists, such as poets, authors, and others, provided intellectual support to the program. In total 850

hours of programming were produced[41]. The typical format of each *Golhā* program included a song performed at the beginning, instrumentally by the orchestra. This was followed by a narration of classical Iranian poetry, and then solo performances of various musical instruments, usually accompanied by *āvāz* (non-metric singing). Finally, the first song was again performed by the orchestra, but this time with a singer.

The show's production style was not always the same. In early shows, the ensembles would usually perform in a unison format. But later on, all the pieces performed by the orchestras were polyphonic, complete with harmony and counterpoint (Sepanta 2003, 307). And due to the program's long continuity, and the countless musicians who participated, we find different tastes in various programs.Dariush Pirniakan notes regarding the relationship between *Golhā* and tradition:

> Golhā *programs with different musicians performing had different levels of adherence to tradition. For instance, a program in which maestros like Ebadi, Ghavami, and Mahjoobi performed would contain more of an authentic and artistic view in comparison to a program of Golhā performed by Parviz Yahaghi, Farhang Sharif, Badi'i, Golpayegeni, or Iraj.* (Pirniakan 2015, Interview with author)

However, in general, the dominant musical style in the *Golhā* program was very close to that of Vaziri. Common features included polyphonic orchestral music, a new approach to the combination of music and poem, different response of orchestra to the vocalist's melody, and a combination of Iranian and non-Iranian musical instruments. These features, in fact, became more or less dominant in most popular music productions of the time.

[41] See http://www.Golhā.co.uk

Majid Kiani stated in our interview that when he graduated from university in 1970, he recognized two streams of Iranian music. The first, based on Vaziri's school, consisted mostly of radio musicians who tended towards a more "popular" approach. The second stream consisted primarily the minority of musicians who would not participate in public music events, instead trying to preserve authentic *dastgāh* music in a chamber setting (Kiani 2015, interview with author). Also, we observe the strong impact of Vaziri's style and its features in other ensembles, such as *Farabi, Barbad,* and *Nakisa*.

4.2 Since the 1970s: Modernization, Identity and the Discourse of Tradition

Starting in the 1970s (this dissertation's starting point), the process of modernizing and industrializing of Iran accelerated dramatically. The economy grew, which eased the project of modernizing the country. Simultaneously Mohammad Reza Shah had a strong desire to show off Iranian national power, which we see in some of his interviews with the foreign media. (For example, see his interview with Fallaci[42], and with the BBC in 1974 and 1976[43]).

A clear example of this tendency was the *2,500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire,* to which he invited the heads of sixty-nine countries to observe the dignity and high standards of the Iranian nation. Another prestige-building event was the *Jashn-e Honar* (Festival of Art) which took place in Shiraz each year between 1967-1977 under the direct supervision of the Iranian queen. The *Jashn-e Honar* provides a window into the state's policy toward modernization as a whole, and the drive

[42] See https://newrepublic.com/article/92745/shah-iran-mohammad-reza-pahlevi-oriana-fallaci

[43] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4bEhffsQNZ0 and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=imil1iIpIYA

towards Westernization and nationalism (which, to some extent, was contradictory); thus this event is quite relevant to our thesis, and we will return to examine these insights in more detail later.

This enmeshing of modernity and tradition seems to be a typical feature of the discourse of cultural nationalism. In the project of nationalism, the core issue is the construction of a national identity on the basis of an idealized past; at the same time, the nation needs to be modern and focused on the future (see Turino 2000). This dual nature of the nationalist project means that most cultural nationalisms in music entail a combination of tradition and modernity.

The second Pahlavi Shah showed an affinity for ancient Iranian symbols, and so in 1976 the state reset the start of the calendar, which had long been set from the Prophet Mohammad's immigration from Mecca to Medina, to the coronation of Cyrus the Great. Hence suddenly the year was changed from 1355 to 2535 under the "Imperial Calendar"[44], and the long-established tradition was broken and replaced with a newly invented one. I have mentioned that after the coup of 1953, the second Pahlavi regime became less democratic, and freedom of expression and political freedom were limited (see Mokhtari 2008, 485-488). On the other hand, the reforms and modernization implemented under the White Revolution changed the face of the country in many ways.

The signs of modernization were best observed in the big cities, especially in the metropolis of Tehran. Meanwhile, development in rural areas was not satisfactory, and this disparity created a growing class difference resulting in public dissatisfaction (Abrahamian 1980, 21-26). Also, modernization was happening rapidly without the

[44] See https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/middle_east-jan-june10-timeline

preparation of proper infrastructures. This rapid modernization of the second Pahlavi reign was therefore more superficial, and not well-rooted. Together these conditions, combined with other issues such as Islamic beliefs, sparked a growing number of protests and demonstrations which eventually resulted in the fall of the Pahlavi regime in 1979.

4.2.1 Revivalists' Tradition: The Idea of "Preservation"

One of the most momentous intellectual and musical currents in contemporary Iran was traditionalism. This era is crucial, both socially and in the evolution of Iranian classical music, and brought a wave of returning to traditions, and a redefining of national identity. The traditionalist current began a few years prior to the 1970s, but reached its peak in the 1970s (Asadi 2015, interview with author). During this time, governmental organizations organized several festivities with music as a core activity:

- *Jashn-e honar-e Shirāz* (Art Celebration of Shiraz), held annually from 1966 to 1977
- *Jashn-e Farhang-o Honar* (The Culture and Art Celebration), yearly from 1968 to 1977
- *Jashn-e Tous* (Tous Celebration) for four years, from 1974 to 1977

These three celebrations were similar in some ways. Amir Ashraf Aryanpour suggests that these culture and arts celebrations shared six fundamental goals:

1. Development of national culture;
2. Cognition of national identity, and preserving it;
3. Strengthening cultural bases;
4. Public participation in cultural activities;

5. Reviving authentic Iranian arts; and
6. Introducing people to the cultural symbols of Iran (Aryanpour 2013, 290).

When I speak of a new wave of national identity, I do not intend to deny Western cultural influence in Iran. On the contrary, in both Pahlavi eras we find a program of modernization using Western cultural elements, as I've mentioned. In this context, the traditionalist wave and the attention to national identity can be seen as a natural defensive response to the West's various existing socio-cultural impacts in Iran. The traditionalists' intellectual thread traces to anti-West discourse, such as we find in Jalal Ale Ahmad's *Gharbzadegi*[45] *(Westernization)* or Dariush Shayegan's *Āsiā dar Barābar-e Gharb*[46] *(Asia Against the West).* Both of those writings exhibit anti-West discourse and sharply criticize Westernization.

In the realm of music, Western classical music also had its own strong presence in music institutions and festivities. The programs performed at *Jashn-e Honar* and *Jashn-e Farhang-o Honar* included a great deal of Western art (see Aryanpour 2013, 289-301 and 302-339). However, generally there was a growing interest in native cultural elements, for the first time within the format of significant official celebrations. There were also lectures about the ancient culture and literature of Iran, and a focus on *Shāhnāme,* the main source of Iranian mythology and agonistic history. Also, local music and dances were performed more than ever in these celebrations.

Generally, since the 1970s Iran began to look to its own traditions and identity in its public festivities. In the third year of *Jashn-e Farhang-o Honar* (1970), Seyyed Hossein Nasr gave a lecture on "Sufism in Iranian music" (ibid, 292). Aside from just

[45] The book was originally published in 1962 in Tehran.

[46] The book was originally published in 1977 in Tehran.

the subject matter, the fact that Nasr is one of the major scholars of the "traditionalist" school in philosophy indicates the institutional focus on tradition and identity. Yet despite these efforts, there was still criticism that there was not enough attention on "our own" cultural elements, as we see in the following quote from one of the critics of the 11th *Jashn-e Honar* celebration in 1977:

> *The cultural policies of the celebration, while preserving its dynamism in order to adapt to the cultural evolution of the time, must not forget to represent authentic and traditional cultural elements of Iran. We are under cultural invasion by the West, and therefore we need defensive plans to preserve the light of our own values in the unrefined Western shadows. Certainly, no plan would be more protective than to focus on cultural authenticity and strengthen the roots of that authenticity*. Jashn-e Honar *must eventually reach an Iranian morality, even while broadcasting the most extreme manifestations of Western art* (Jamshid Akrami 1977; quoted in Sepanta 2003, 338-339).

According to Asadi, the traditionalist movement in Iranian music was created in reaction to the avant-gardist movement of the mid-1960s (Asadi 2007, 213), and it manifested and crystallized primarily in two music institutions:

- *Dāneshkade-ye Honarhā-ye Zibā* (Music Department of the Fine Arts Faculty of University of Tehran), established in 1965.
- *Markaz-e Hefz-o Eshā'e-ye Musighi-e Irani* (The Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music), established in 1969.

These two institutions interacted very closely with each other, and both were primarily directed by two figures, Dariush Safvat and Nour Ali Boroumand. (Mosayeb Zadeh 2003, 81-82). Almost all musicians of the new generation were pupils of one or both institutions,[47] which demonstrates the extent of these

[47] Very significant musicians such as: Mohammad Reza Shajarian, Mohammad Reza Lotfi, Hossein Alizadeh, Dariush Pirniakan, Parviz Meshkatian, Davoud Ganjei, Dariush Talai, Majid Kiani, Jalal

institutions' influence. We can classify the major impact of these institutions on Iranian classical music, and tradition and identity, as follows:

1. **Emphasis on maintaining the "authentic" tradition of Qajar masters**

By analyzing the ideas of the chief founders and conductors of the institutions, we see that they strongly believed that Iranian music was authentic before Vaziri's innovations.

Safvat argues:

> *Of course, there is no doubt that Vaziri was a genius, and I fully respect him. However, the problem is that this genius wanted to draw a line at a 2500-year music span, and instead present something of his own. Therefore, it was not accepted [by other musicians]…. The music he presented was considered of no value by both cultural figures and Iranian music maestros* (Safvat 2014, 50).

Elsewhere, Safvat argues:

> *Iranian music had been intellectually-based until a hundred years ago, and its purpose had been to have a deep influence on the audience's mind and feelings. This circumstance has changed from a hundred years ago, since some people went to Europe and studied there without understanding European civilization very well. They extracted a caricature of the appearance of European civilization, came back to Iran, and became totally alien to their own culture and civilization, thus causing the near obliteration of Iranian music. This continued until recently, when some wise people believed this was not a good situation and that it was a pity to observe the death of music. Consequently, a center was established and some actions taken to preserve that music…. The music which is the abstraction of 6000 years of Iranian history must not die* (Safvat 2013, Vol. 3, 26).

We see that Safvat believed the musical style of *Qajar-i* maestros such as Mirza Abdollah and Mirza Hosseingholi to have been a coherent, uninterrupted tradition, with roots going back 2500, or even 6000, years. We see this view also in the

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Zolfonoon, Ali Akbar Shekarchi, Mohammad Ali Kiani Nejad, Mohammad Ali Haddadian and some others were trained in one or the both music institutions.

commentary of some pupils of the center, such as Majid Kiani (Kiani 2013, 25). This line of thought, that Iranian music performance and teaching of the Qajar time was a tradition coherent with past generations, does not address the question of to what extent the musical system—that was initiated and developed primarily by Ali Akbar Farahani and his family—was itself a "new tradition" (During 2002, 860). Jean During notes that when Ali Akbar Farahani entered the Naseraldin Shah's court, most likely some older music maestros complained about disappearing "*Nobeh*," "*Pishrow*," and "*Basit*,"[48] and 32-beat or 24-beat rhythms, which were traditional elements of that time, while Farhani and others invented a new "tradition" (During 1991, 372). If we accept During's hypothesis, why did traditionalists choose the Qajar tradition as the basis for authenticity in Iranian music, and how were Farahani's innovations different from Vaziri's?

2. *Radif* as the main discourse of tradition

I mentioned the centrality of *radif* in the tradition of Iranian music in chapter 3. The traditionalist stream, which began in the mid-1960s and developed its ideas through the 1970s, confirmed *radif* as the heart of Iranian music (During 2002, 854). Let us briefly examine the historical trajectory of the advent and life of *radif*, and its cultural role. Since the compilation of *radif* in the mid-19th century, and throughout its development by the Farahani family (Asadi 2007, 215), music teaching and performance took place in the closed environment of the court, and was not generally accessible to the public. Starting in the Constitutional Era in the 20th century, the atmosphere opened up to the public consumption of music, and yet simultaneously the avant-gardists came to dominate Iranian music, especially in the music institutions. Therefore, although there were efforts to record the written version of the *radif-hā*,

[48] Old forms of Iranian music before the advent the of *dastgāh* system.

conditions were not appropriate for teaching and performing *radif* to a public audience, until the late 1960s and 1970s. Thus the 60s began the golden era for traditionalists to teach *radif* systematically in public academia, and to define it as the primary reference of Iranian music.

The establishment of the Music Department of the University of Tehran, and especially the Center for the Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music, where the maestros and students were provided adequate financial support and proper equipment (Mosayeb Zadeh 2003, 81), opened the door for *radif* to become the dominant version of Iranian music. Safvat and Boroumand, as the leaders of both the Center and the traditionalist movement, considered only *radif*-based music to be "serious, authentic, art" music (Mosayeb Zadeh 2004, 151-153). Majid Kiani explains the way *radif* became the core element in teaching Iranian music:

> *Before the establishment of the Music Department of the University of Tehran, traditional and* dastgāh*-based music was unknown in society. Generally, there were some unknown old maestros who knew the* radif-hā*, and Mr. Boroumand himself was the only person who learned the* radif *of Mirza Abdollah from Esmail Ghahremani. But nobody had access to [the maestros who knew* radif-hā*]. But with the establishment of the Music Department at the University of Tehran [mid-1960s], Mr. Boroumand became professor and began teaching the* radif *of Mirza Abdollah* (ibid, 149).

Mirza Abdollah's *radif* was taught into the 1970s at the Center, in an oral, "chest-to-chest" (*sineh be sineh*) way (ibid). In the mid-1960s, the written version of Mirza Abdollah's *radif,* which Vaziri transcribed, was (and still is) not accessible. This meant that the only available source of the *radif* was the tapes Esmail Ghahremani recorded to teach Boroumand (Karimi 2001, 31). Yet surprisingly, no one else had access to these tapes either. Therefore, what was taught as the "fixed" *radif* of Mirza Abdollah was in fact transmitted only through Boroumand and his mental filter and

interpretation. This version was later transcribed by Jean During, and has become the predominant reference of *radif* in music institutions.

3. Spirituality and mysticism

Jean During considered "mysticism" the key element in maintaining the continuity of Persian music; specifically, he saw the element of *hāl* (feeling) as "a privileged means of access" to the mystical domain (During 2002, 858-859). According to the literature, as well as the narratives of maestros of Iranian music, it was Dariush Safvat who most discussed the ethics and ideology of Iranian music. Hooman Asadi informed me that Safvat founded a specific ideological system at the Center (Asadi 2015, Interview with author). Also, a large proportion of Safvat's writings and speeches concerns the nexus between Iranian music and Sufism, spirituality, and ethics, rather than theoretical, practical, or technical aspects of Iranian music (see Safvat 2013 Vols. 1-3; Safvat 2014; and Safvat 2017). He often emphasized that Iranian music is intrinsically Sufi-based, and serves only to purify the self and know God. (Safvat 2017, 139). He focused significantly on *hāl* as the key element in Iranian music, which he considered opposite to, and at the same time a component of, *fan*, or technique (Safvat 2013, Vol 3. 63-65).

4. The reflexive relationship between traditionalists and ethnomusicologists

When such ethnomusicologists as Ella Zonis, Bruno Nettl, Jean During, Gen'ichi Tsuge, and Lloyd Miller began their studies, the system of Iranian classical music was quite unknown in ethnomusicology. They gathered most of their information on the fundamentals of the tradition from the channel of Dariush Safvat and Nour Ali Boroumand. Thus the materials they cited (some of which I have already introduced)

were from the viewpoints of the traditionalist stream. Some of them even spent years in Iran, learning Iranian music from Safvat, Boroumand, or their students.

We should analyze reflexively the relationship between the first generation of traditionalists (Safvat, Boroumand, etc) with these non-Iranian musicologists, and the influence this relationship had on Iranian music. On one side, the traditionalists informed the musicologists about various aspects of Iranian music; and on the other side, the scholarly texts on Iranian music written by the musicologists affected the situation of Iranian music. One famous example of this is the excessive centrality and weight the non-Iranian musicologists ascribed to *radif* as the "heart of Iranian classical music" in their writings, obeying the traditionalists' viewpoints. This scholarly attitude has been crucial in what Hooman Asadi calls the "freezing of *radif*" (Asadi 2007, 213). Of course *radif* has indeed been a central concept and major reference for Iranian *dastgāh* music, but there is no evidence that such significant music maestros as Ahomad Ebadi, Jalil Shahnaz (1921-2013), Hassan Kassai, Hossein Yahaghi (1903-1968), or other top improvisers viewed *radif* as a closed, immutable repertoire. Indeed, listening to their performances shows that they perceived *radif* as an open repertoire of potential material to create novel and innovative improvisations and compositions.

Another example of these reflexive impacts is Jean During's view of the significance of *hāl* (feeling) in the construction of the tradition of Iranian music. (During 2002, 855). *Hāl* is a Persian term with an extensive range of usage, both in everyday conversations and in regards to behavior. In fact, *hāl* is a very personal phenomenon. For instance, for one person listening to *radif* will create *hāl*, while for someone else it is arises in listening to Jalil Shahnaz improvise. Someone else may experience *hāl* while listening to a pop song. Clearly, discussing such a mystical and

at the same time ambiguous term as a central issue in a scholarly context seems paradoxical. During further discusses the nexus between Iranian traditional music and some other mystical ideas in *La Musique Iranienne: Tradition et Évolution* (see During 1984, 207-212).

In my view, the Western musicologists' presentation of the traditional ideas and ideologies of the traditionalists in some of their scholarly texts, can be interpreted as "contextualization of traditionalism," thereby giving traditionalism a respectable academic facade. This legitimization has led to the creation of what Asadi calls "rigidity of tradition in Iranian music" (Asadi 2007, 213). Moreover, Dariush Safvat and Nour Ali Boroumand actively introduced both the tradition and their codified traditionalist views abroad, through lectures and performances in European countries for this goal (Karimi 2001, 205; Safvat and Caron 2012, 9).

5. The categorization of styles arising from traditionalists' value judgments

I have mentioned that in the 1960s and 1970s *Golhā* was the most popular music played on the radio, and that this style was close to Vaziri's. The traditionalists strongly opposed the *Golhā* system, and even the idea of solo performances on the radio.

Dariush Talai suggests:

> *Mr. Safvat and Mr. Boroumand were strongly against the appearance of musicians on the radio, even great musicians such as Kassai and Shahnaz, and they persistently wanted to refer to Qajar music. Mr. Safvat was an extremist. When he used to say the phrase "*radio-'i*" it was like a swear word. He had an extremist ideology and used to integrate it with his specific theosophical ideas* (Talai 2015, Interview with author).

Majid Kiani, who has remained loyal to the traditionalist stream, argues:

The musicians of the radio wanted modernization, while others sought older, classic Iranian music. The first group of musicians were very much influenced by the piano and by Vaziri's style. Many intervals of Iranian music were distorted in their works. All the musicians of the radio had distorted viewpoints (Kiani 2015, Interview with author).

According to this ideology of the traditionalist stream, a categorization of music styles was cultivated, which categorized music styles into two primary groups: 1. *musighi-e elmi va jeddy* (serious, art music), and 2. *musighi-e tafrihi* (entertaining music) (Safvat 2013, Vol.1, 214). From this viewpoint, authenticity is a feature of art music based on *radif* (Safvat and Caron 2012, 259; Kiani 2013, 139-164). Meanwhile other styles—which embrace a wide range of styles of well-known masters such as Kasai, Shahnaz, Sharif and others—which lack authenticity are labeled *shirin navāzi* (sweetened style) or *tajaddod khāh* (modernized, avant-garde), and are implicitly categorized as entertaining music (Safvat 2013 Vol.1, 217-218; Karimi 2001, 142). Lotfi has criticized the expression s*hirin navāzi* (sweetened style) for its ambiguity in describing a specific music style (Lotfi 1995, 77). These traditionalist ideas and their expressions (such as sweetened style) have since permeated the scholarly atmosphere concerning Iranian music (During 2002, 862).

6. Freezing of Iranian Music

The idea of "preserving" the traditional elements of Iranian music in practice caused a "freezing" of Iranian music, specifically in the *radif* style. Asadi argues that the founders of the traditionalist stream managed to preserve the "body of tradition" in Iranian music, but that gradually resulted in a "rigidity of tradition" and "freezing of *radif*" (Asadi 2007, 213). Combined with the idea that tradition and *radif* are connected with holiness and mysticism, this rigidity and freezing of *radif* are the

primary reasons that the production of new *radif-ha* has been interrupted, so that no musician claims to have composed a traditional *radif* in our time (During 1984, 130).

Hossein Alizadeh expressed in our interview:

> *Safvat had enmity with the music styles other than* radif*, and due to his specific ideology, he took the idea that only through* radif *and by relying on tradition can we reach this goal. This ideology prepares the context of regression. The youth must always experience a revolution, and it must arise within them. Of course, they must have authenticity, but they should not become the soldiers of a belief. The Markaz-e Hefz-o Eshā'e, after training soldiers, did not continue its life to bring about other events* (Alizadeh 2015, interview with author).

Alizadeh talks about the practical aspects of the freezing of Iranian music in the teaching of the Center:

> *There were some classes in the Center in which pupils had to copy all aspects of the music performances of old masters. For instance, Mr. Boroumand used to say that in this session, Talai or Alizadeh must copy a performance of Mirza Hosseingholi or Habib Somaei. Everything had to be identical to the original performance. I used to comply with this, but with reluctance. I could not be absorbed by that. However, Talai used to do that job better than all of us. Boroumand liked him more than all of us for this reason. Also, Kiani, on* santoor*, did the same as Talai. Lotfi, used to do it but the feeling of Lotfi continued to exist in his work. However, I simply did that because I believed it was my duty to do so* (Alizadeh 2017, interview with author).

4.2.1.1 Enmeshing of Tradition and Modernity: Traditionalists as Modernists

As I have examined the ideology and actions of the traditionalists, I have understood that traditionalism can also be considered a modernizing force. Chief traditionalists Dariush Safvat and Nour Ali Boroumand were educated people who had been exposed to such tools of Western musicology as a written canon, theoretical and historical musicological writings, and conceptual writings about tradition and authenticity. Hence, their traditionalism was filtered through scientific ideas and the

concept of re-appropriating tradition by way of modern methods and ideas. They applied ideas grown from Western examples, such as notating a notated canon[49], and establishing universities and academic centers to preserve Iranian classical music traditions. In practice, the traditionalists did not return to the traditional musical life of the Qajar era, instead trying to keep the traditions alive in a modern context. Therefore, inside the work of the traditionalists, we find a core modernist ideology at work.

4.3 Islamic Revolution and the Nexus Between Iranian Music and the Construction of Collective Identity

Monarchic rule had dominated Iran for more than 2.500 years, even after the collapse of the Sassanid Empire and the arrival of Islam in Iran. But during the 1979 Revolution, the monarchy ended suddenly and was quickly replaced by Islamic leadership. The title of the novel regime was "Islamic Republic." Both "Islamic" and "Republic" were new conceptions of power for Iran, even though both Islam and Shi'ism had long been intertwined with various layers of society (Algar 1983, 6-23). Accordingly, Algar considers Khomeini "the embodiment of a tradition" (ibid, 24). This was the first time that an official regime claimed to rule a country subject to Islamic rules; meanwhile, it was also a Republic.

[49] As an example, the first complete notated *radif* of Mirza Abdollah was written by Jean During in the early 1990s. During was a Western ethnomusicologist who came to Iran in the 1970s and learned Iranian music chiefly from the channel of the traditionalists.

4.3.1 The Early Years of Post-revolutionary Iran, Music and the Question of Identity

From the beginning, the Islamic state in Iran based its policies on opposition to the West, Western culture, and ancient Iranian symbolism (Holliday 2011, 60; Abrahamian 2008, 162-181). The construction of the identity of the Islamic Republic was totally different from what we formerly saw in either the Constitutional era or the Pahlavi dynasty. The identity the new state desired was chiefly rooted in Islam and Shi'ite rules and tradition, rather than focusing on the nation (see Saleh 2013). We see this in the views of Imam Khomeini, the pioneer of the Islamic republic. Khomeini used the term *ummah*, which suggests a group with a shared ideology, rather than *mellat* (nation) in most of his speeches. Moreover, the new regime not only did not support ancient Iranian symbols, due to their association with kingdom and monarchy; the regime even blamed such symbolism in many cases (see Abrahamian 2008, 162-181).

Less than two years after the establishment of the Islamic Republic, the Iran-Iraq war began, lasting eight years. The war created an ideology based on two main elements: (1) a natural desire to maintain territorial integrity while being invaded by another country; and (2) a war between "right and wrong," represented by the Karbala incident and the martyrdom of Imam Hossein and his followers. As mentioned, the longstanding Shi'a tradition of mourning the anniversary of Karbala became, during the war with Iraq, a central motivating issue. In fact, the war created a context for a clearer embodiment of Shi'ism and the Karbala paradigm in Iranian society, and played a supplementary role for the ideologies on which Islamic republic was founded (Good and Good 1988, 56-63).

The war also entrenched opposition to the West, and moreover caused major damage to infrastructure built prior to the modernization of the country. Music was one core element influenced by this regime change, and it was a sensitive subject for Islamic religious orders[50]. The Islamic Revolution, along with the eight-year war, severely affected various aspects of Iranian society, and music and musicians also suffered deeply from the new policies. The Islamic rules at the base of new legislation and finally Iran's constitution led to a strong opposition to music in general, and especially certain kinds of music. As a result, almost all musical activity—album productions, concerts, and even broadcasting of both Iranian and foreign music—was banned for ten years, from 1979 until 1989. This period spans the victory of the Islamic Revolution through the end of the eight-year war between Iran and Iraq, and the death of Ayatollah Khomeini.

In these early years of the Republic and the war, the only music types the government permitted were military music and *sorud* ("chants"), songs with revolutionary and patriotic themes (Yousefzadeh 2005, 431). The state's attitude in these early revolutionary years towards *sorud* is interestingly paradoxical. On the one hand, the Islamic Republic, which identified as an anti-Western regime, accepted revolutionary chants (*sorud-hā-ye enghelābi*) as the only allowed music; yet on the other hand, this music was based largely on Western models. At the same time, the official powers suppressed regional musics, and forced musicians to produce music in accordance with the ideologies of the Revolution (ibid).

[50] Ayatollah Khomeini, the leader of the Islamic Republic, believed that music, like opium, corrupts youths and thus must be eliminated from society. For instance, see Khomeini 1998, 204-205 and 157-158.

The most significant musical trend in Iranian classical music in those days was the *Chāvosh* program[51]. Twelve such programs were produced from 1978 until 1984, including several revolutionary and patriotic songs which directly reflected the socio-political events surrounding the Revolution. Some of them, such as *Sepideh* (Dawn), composed by Mohammad Reza Lotfi, and *Razme Moshtarak* (The War Held in Common), composed by Parviz Meshkatian[52], still live today among Iranians as musical symbols of resistance to oppression and injustice. During this revolutionary period, Iranian music adopted a function similar to that of the Constitutional Era's *melli* (national) song, which shared a close relationship to the reconstruction of societal identity. *Chāvosh* productions, in addition to their relationship to identity in revolutionary Iran, were significant in that the majority of its producers, composers, and performers were pupils of *Markaz-e Hefz-o Eshā'e-ye Musighi-e Irani* and the Music Department of the University of Tehran, the two main traditionalist schools.

Hossein Alizadeh—a leader of the *Chāvosh* Center—discussed the relationship of *Chāvosh* to the *Markaz:*

> Chāvosh *was conducted by the musicians whose ideas were rooted in the same concepts as the* Markaz-e Hefz-o Eshā'e, *but who were not fundamentalists and were in close connection with society. The members of the* Markaz, *who escaped and hid in their houses after the first bullet was fired, were not the establishers of* Chāvosh. *Why was* Chāvosh *established? When the* Markaz-e Hefz-o Eshā'e *was closed,* Chāvosh *began its work but without those soldiers [the musicians who Alizadeh referred to as soldiers trained by the* Markaz], *but in line with the movement of society. If we place the events of that era next to each other, they clearly show the evolution of art [music] in society. Music had not historically been an evolutionary art in Iran; it had been an underdog. It had been so until the time it lost its theoreticians and there only existed*

[51] Mohammad Reza Lotfi established the *Chāvosh* Center in the 1970s, with the support of Hooshang Ebtehaj.

[52] Born in 1955 and passed away in 2009, Meshkatian was a very famous Iranian composer and *santoor* player.

some instrumentalists. In some periods, it had been considered a really low level job, not respected by society. Chāvosh *was one important factor in the evolution of music after the Revolution. We can search for the failures of* Chāvosh. *However, the outcome of the work of musicians in* Chāvosh *demonstrates an evolution of music. For instance, I composed the piece* "Hessār" *(The Barrier) for the political prisoners of 1987* (Alizadeh 2015, interview with author).

The *Chāvosh* Center, supported by Hooshang Ebtehaj as Alizadeh mentioned, affected various aspects of Iranian music in society. Music of the radio, under the dominance of *Golhā,* was one domain *Chāvosh* targeted to change.

During that period [the late 1970s], the current of musighi-e rādio'i *and* Golhā *was completely laid away. First because it didn't have enough authentic elements, and also the pace of radio music had become sluggish, like a narcotic. The music was not suitable for young listeners. I, as a youngster at that time, felt that* (Pirniakan 2015, interview with author).

Dariush Talai, a pupil of both the University of Tehran and the *Markaz,* who did not participate in the *Chāvosh* Center, comments on the situation of Iranian classical music in the 1970s until the Revolution:

I think the Markaz *did its job well the first five or six years, and then it was finished, because a center is not just a building. As long as Mr. Boroumand, Foroutan, Hormozi, Davami, Bahari, etc. were in the Center, they could revive Qajar music traditions effectively. Afterwards, the pupils, under the support of Mr. Ebtehaj in radio, began to smash the templates, in order to be free. Shajarian, Lotfi, Alizadeh, and others were active in radio in the beginning of the* Golchin-e Hafte *program, and then in* Chāvosh. *I did not participate in* Chāvosh *because I did not believe in its leftist ideology and the personal sensibilities I observed in it* (Talai 2015, interview with author).

The generation of musicians trained in the *Markaz* and the University primarily presented themselves through the radio program *Jashne Honar, Golchin-e Hafte*[53]

[53] A program which was broadcast on Iranian national radio from 1973 until 1978, in which Iranian classical music pieces were the chief material.

(Collection of the Week) and *Chāvosh*. In other words, music programs which attracted a large audience introduced the new generation of musicians to society. Moreover, due to new socio-cultural circumstances after the Revolution, the older generation of musicians who were famous in the 1960s and 1970s either were forced to leave Iran and live in diaspora, or were dismissed from the radio and other important music institutions. Together these reasons resulted in a dramatic change in the mainstream musicians of Iranian classical music.

Nooshin considers the movement created by the *Markaz* in the 1960s and 1970s, and the post-Revolutionary musical current of *Chāvosh,* as "two revivalist moments in Iranian classical music" (Nooshin 2014). In contrast, Keivan Saket strongly believes in the benefits of Vaziri's current, and criticizes the role of the traditionalist stream in Iranian music:

> *With the beginning of revolutionary events, unfortunately the flow of Iranian music was interrupted, and a new stream felt that they are making a renaissance and return in Iranian music. However, a return to what? We had not had an honorable past in our music. You can understand from the tapes of* Ganj-e Sookhteh *(Burnt Treasure) that everything we have in our music was founded by Vaziri and his excellent students. The result was an error which resulted in turning people away from Iranian music. For instance, the approaches of Mr. Boroumand and Safvat were examples of mistakes, though today many do not dare say that* (Saket 2015, interview with author).

Saket continues on the situation of Iranian music after the Revolution, which resulted in the substitution of a new generation of musicians:

> *In the beginning, a new wave arose because the great classic artists—such as Shahnaz, Sharif, Payvar, Banan, Marufi, and many others, all female and male singers—became passive and lived in isolation, except for Mr. Shajarian. Other musicians joined the new wave, but the new musicians could not preserve Iranian music well. First, because of conflicts and division between them, and second because*

they tried to cultivate just one viewpoint in all aspects, both in singing and playing styles. All singers imitated one singer, Mr. Shajarian. The expanse of sound colors and singing styles was reduced just to one style. Everybody had to play the radif *of Mirza Abdollah, or play* radif*-based music. We lost everything. In addition to missing the sound color of the women because of the Islamic Revolution, other sound colors turned into one style of singing. That was an unfortunate event that occurred after the Revolution and establishment of* Chāvosh *in Iran* (ibid).

I have already mentioned that after the Islamic Revolution the only pervasive serious music current was *Chāvosh,* which produced just twelve programs during the six years after the Revolution. It was small, but very influential. As a matter of fact, after the war ended in 1988 and then Ayatollah Khomeini died in 1989, Iranian music resumed normal life, in spite of restrictions posed by political and religious fundamentalists. Yousefzadeh claims that between 1988 and 1998, the production of Iranian classical music albums increased eighty percent (Yousefzadeh 2005, 432). The majority of composers, singers, and players in musical productions were of the new generation trained in the *Markaz* and at the University of Tehran, chiefly through the two ensembles *Aref*[54] and *Sheida*[55]. In this period the significance of *Chāvosh* and the *Markaz* in Iranian music was revealed. Specifically, *Chāvosh*-associated musicians connected the musical traditions with the body of society, and made music a part of Iranians' daily life. The cultural strength of music productions of this period was such that many newly-composed pieces penetrated into the classical repertoire, including the pieces *Khazān* (Autumn) by Parviz Meshkatian (1992) and *Shourangiz* (1990) by Hossein Alizadeh, which became famous and now are considered canonical classical pieces and required repertoire for students of Iranian music.

[54] A very well known Iranian music ensemble established in 1976 by Mohammad Reza Lotfi, which continued until 2014 (the year of Lotfi's death).

[55] Another well known Iranian classical music ensemble, established in 1977 by Hossein Alizadeh and Parviz Meshkatian, which continued performances and music productions until 2009, at Meshkatian's death.

In the early years after the Revolution, a vast number of scholarly writings on various aspects of Iranian music was published. Apparently, musicians and scholars took advantage of the ten-year stagnation in public musical practice in order to produce texts on the history and theory of the music. A study by Azin Movahed examines the written literature on Iranian music between 1979 until 2001, with an eye to how the subjects of the writings interact with the issue of identity (Movahed 2004). She recognizes three primary scholarly approaches to different aspects of Iranian music: 1. attempts to reconcile music and religion by employing Persian-Islamic treatises on music; 2. the anti-Western current which criticized Vaziri's and other West-oriented changes in Iranian classical music; and 3. the movement for "Easternization, represented through the quest for genuine musical idioms present in the music of folk cultures to represent Eastern phenomenon" (Movahed 2004, 102-103). The texts of this period (many of which I introduced in the literature review and elsewhere) attempt, through these various approaches, to establish a new cultural identity in Iranian music scholarship, in accordance with the identity that Iranian society was constructing after the Islamic Revolution.

The major music festival historically supported by the post-Revolutionary government is the annual *Fajr* festival. If we analyze the ways in which the festival has been held, and the government's attitude towards it in various periods, we discern the state's attitudes through various periods towards different music styles, and their relationship with identity. The festival first started under the title *Jashnvāre-ye Sorud va Āhanghā-ye Enghelābi* (The Festival of Revolutionary Chants and Songs) in 1986. As you might expect, there was nothing relating to "music," and it was only about revolutionary and war-related songs. Starting with the fifth anniversary, the festival became the *Fajr* Music festival. *Fajr* means Dawn, and it is a metaphor for the victory

of the Islamic Revolution. For this reason, the festival is usually held in January and February around the 11th of February, the day of victory of the Islamic Revolution. Since 1992, in addition to Iranian classical and regional music, a section of international music was added to the festival, focused on the music of other Muslim countries[56]. Thus we see a gradual policy of relaxation toward music through the years of the festival. We will examine the festival's evolution further in the following section of this chapter.

We can divide post-revolutionary Iran into three main time periods, according to modernization and the socio-political situation, and accordingly, attitudes of Iranians towards tradition and tradition's role in society:

1. Early revolutionary atmosphere and the war, 1979- 1988
2. Construction period, 1989-1997
3. Reformation and post reformation, 1998-present.

We have already analyzed modernity, traditions, and identity in the early revolutionary and war period. After the war's destruction, there was a dramatic need for reconstruction and re-modernization of the country, which led to low-tension connections with some other nation, and a more pragmatist policy (Mahdavi 2013, 25). Yet the overall socio-political and cultural atmosphere remained rather conservative.

In conclusion, we observe three main elements in forming identity in Iran: (1) reference to ancient Persian civilization and empire; (2) Islamic ideology, specifically Shi'ism; and (3) influence from the West. In the periods since the Constitutional Era, these factors have varied in their relative importance to Iranian collective identity.

[56] See the Website of the Fajr Music Festival http://fajrmusicfestival.com

4.3.2 Iranian Music and the Discourse of Political Reforms

The socio-political atmosphere of Iran shifted in 1997 when Khatami became president. His reforms began to break the hold of fundamentalism and radicalism, in both domestic policy through the development of "civil society" (Mahdavi 2008, 151), and also in foreign policy by pursuing decreased tension with the West (Mahdavi 2013, 25). It is not the goal of this dissertation to determine his government's success or failure in achieving these goals. However, in general his reformist approach led to a more permissive and democratic socio-political and cultural atmosphere, in comparison to the early years after the Revolution and during the war (Tezcür et al. 2012, 237).

In this atmosphere various music genres began to prosper, namely Iranian classical music, regional music (Yousefzade 2005, 438), and even the popular music prohibited after the Islamic Revolution (Nooshin 2005, 469, and Nooshin 2012, 7). The number of public concerts, music productions, and teaching music institutes increased notably during the reformation period (see Yousefzadeh 2005, 434-438). Women began again to appear in everyday musical life, whether as singers (as a solo singer for an all-female audience) or as instrumentalists, during this time. For the first time after about two decades of silence, women musicians performed in public at the *Fajr* Festival in 1997[57]. Then in 1999 the Jasmine festival was established exclusively for women, taking place in the *Vahdat* music hall which Debano considers "a hall that is always visually punctuated by images of nation and Islam" (Debano 2005, 446).

Another significant reform of this time, in the realm of foreign policy, was the introduction of the concept of *goftegooy-e tamaddon-hā* (dialogue among civilizations). "The central political theme of the Iranian government since President

[57] See the website of the Fajr Music Festival, http://fajrmusicfestival.com

Khatami's election in 1997 has been 'The Dialogue among Civilizations,' in which music is seen as fostering dialogue and friendship among people" (Yousefzadeh 2005, 417). Within this context, many European music ensembles began to attend the Fajr Music Festival starting in 1998.

Also significant was the establishment of the "Iranian National Orchestra" with the support of the government's Ministry of Culture and Guidance, which demonstrated the reformist government's practical endorsement of music as an influential means of dialogue. Looking at the instrumentation of the orchestra, we see a dominance of symphonic musical instruments, frequently joined by such Iranian instruments as *tār, santoor*, *tonbak*, and *daf*. This combination of instruments indicates symbolically the government's attempts to decrease international tension. The orchestra's musical significance, in relationship to tradition and identity, is that the instrumentation, composition, arrangement, and polyphonic texture was much closer to Alinaghi Vazri's style and that of *golhā,* than to the traditional ensembles promoted by the *Markaz* and *Chāvosh*. Although there were sporadic examples of music in that style, such as *Neynavā*[58], the Iranian National Orchestra was primary a rebirth of the more modern current. The National Orchestra continued uninterruptedly until 2009, performing many concerts in Iran and abroad as musical representatives of the Iranian government.

[58] A famous music piece composed by Hossein Alizadeh in 1983, with a quite novel compositional style. Among Iranian instruments, only *ney* appears in *Neynavā*, accompanied by an orchestra of chiefly symphonic musical instruments. Essentially, the piece is a concerto for *ney*.

4.3.3 Music and Political Conflict in the Post-reformation Period

In 2005 Mahmood Ahmadinejad, the candidate of the hardliners, became president. As expected, during his presidency musicians were dissatisfied with his government's attitude towards music. In Iran all public concerts require *mojavvez* (official permission) from the Ministry of Culture. In 2012, Ahmadinejad's final year as president, there were 924 such permits issued for concerts; the following year—the first year of Hassan Rouhani's presidency—this number increased to 2321[59]. These numbers reveal that during the Ahmadinejad's presidency music was heavily restricted. However, the restrictions of this period did not compare to those of the early revolutionary years, when music productions were totally suppressed.

The majority of the attention, energy, and money during Ahmadinejad's reign was dedicated to foreign policy and Iran's increasingly-radicalized conflicts with the West over its nuclear activities (Mahdavi 2008, 150). Meanwhile, the government approached culture and music with indifference, rather than suppression. During this period, various genres continued within the civil society which formed during the reform period. Nooshin argues that even alternative music styles grew quickly during Ahmadinejad's presidency (Nooshin 2012, 9).

The year 2009 was a year of heightened tensions in the form of the mass protests of the Green movement, which arose in response to alleged cheating in the presidential election in which Ahmadinejad was re-elected against Mirhossein Mousavi, the reformist candidate. Music became interconnected with current events

[59] See http://www.iranart.ir/موسیقی-بخش-5231/8-جدول-مقایسه-ای-خیره-کننده-از-کنسرت-ها-در-سال-پایانی-دولت-روحانی-نژاد-احمدی

during the Green movement campaigns both before and after the election. Several major protest compositions of the *Chāvosh* movement, such as *Razm-e Moshtarak* (The War Held in Common), were revived to become symbols of the Green movement, invoking a nostalgia for change and revolution among Iranians. Furthermore, Mohammad Reza Shajarian, one of the most famous singers of all time in Iran, strongly supported the Green movement, both through statements he made, and also through two new songs about the socio-political conflicts of 2009[60]. These actions made him into a significant symbol for the movement. Even youths who were not interested in Iranian classical music became fans of Shajarian, and thus became closer to the world of Iranian classical music.

4.3.4 Modernization, Reformation Discourse, and the Concept of Now

At this point, we should examine the concept of "now" in relation to the events which have either accelerated or prevented modernity and modernization of Iran. In examining the the past 20 years, I have chosen to define "now" as the period since 1998. A significant turning point in post-revolutionary Iran is the presidency of Seyyed Mohammad Khatami starting in 1997, and the subsequent appearance of the reformation discourse in 1998. Despite pressure from conservatives to maintain the early revolutionary atmosphere, the new discourse for reform led to massive changes, namely that modernization resumed after eleven years' suspension, and anti-Western rhetoric diminished. One significant catalyst for this shift was the appearance of the concept of a "Dialogue among Civilizations," in response to Samuel P. Huntington's theory of a "clash of civilizations" (see Huntington 1997).

[60] Majid Derakhshani's song *Tofangat rā Zamin Bogzar* ("Put Your Gun Down"), and *Ey Shadi-e Āzadi* ("Oh Delight of Freedom") by Keivan Saket.

Moreover, the nascent phenomenon of globalization motivated this new movement for modernity in the reformation period. Globalization was first discussed explicitly in sociology and anthropology in the late 1970s, and since the late 1980s it has developed into a political and intellectual discourse (Robertson and E. White 2007, 55). However, Iran at that time was reeling from Revolution and the war with Iraq, and was not prepared to engage with globalization.

Khatami, however, endeavored to reconcile Islamic-Iranian traditions with the achievements of other cultures, and especially the West (Vahdat 2005, 650-664). Accordingly, for the first time since the Islamic Revolution, under Khatami the official state authority accepted and supported globalization: "We must use all the positive achievements and civilizations of human beings wherever it exists." Khatami considered globalization the most significant current evolution, and both general society and intellectuals began to synthesize modernity, certain Western achievements, and current Iranian traditions.[61] In general, the eight years of Khatami's reformist government created a more permissive atmosphere, in both domestic and foreign policy, despite the pressures of the conservative authorities (Kamrava, 2008).

This new atmosphere strongly affected cultural aspects, primarily music and its place in society. We will examine these impacts later in more detail, but for now suffice to say that after the Islamic Revolution, not one popular music album was officially released, until almost twenty years later in 1997, under the permission of the reformist government. Similar to what I've mentioned about how tradition is recognized in contrast to modernity, in post-revolutionary Iran conservatism can be recognized and identified through its opposite, reform.

[61] See the text of the speech of Mohammad Khatami at the Conference of Dialogue among Civilizations, on the 2nd of May 1999, Tehran. Quoted in Vaziritabar 2013, 59.

In 2005 the reformist government ended and Ahmadinejad became president. He created a neoconservative government based on a revival of early revolutionary ideals, and notably a hostility to the West (Azimi 2010, 380-411). This hostility, along with other socio-cultural and economic policies, created an atmosphere of both international and domestic conflict.

One noteworthy contrast between Khatami's reformist government and Ahmadinejad's neoconservative regime is the alignment between official doctrines and the aspirations of broader society. While the reformists' ideas managed to form a level of convergence between the government and various strata of Iranian society, regarding such aspects as modernization and globalization, the neoconservative government failed to bring along the vast majority of Iranians, especially intellectuals, with its aspiration. Thus, the neoconservatives' policies took shape primarily in the governmental institutions, with the input of a small number of Iranian citizens. Meanwhile, most Iranians continued to live in the milieu that reformation had created, and the desire for modernity and openness to the West exploded in this period, in broader Iranian society. This fact is demonstrated by the social protests in response to Ahmadinejad's reelection in 2009. This movement, called the "Green movement," demonstrated that, despite the will of the authoritarians, the majority of Iranians, especially in urban areas, believed in reformation[62] and modernity (Mahdavi 2011, 106). Many of the leaders of this movement and like-minded figures were captured and detained.

[62] This does not mean that the majority of Iranians trust in the effectiveness of the "reformation trend" as directed by Mohammad Khatami. However, it suggests that many Iranians want reform of the main socio-political structures. We've seen this clearly in the anti-government protests of 2017-2018, in which protesters in various cities denounced both the reformists and the hardliners for current socio-political and economical circumstances.

Mahdi Karroubi, a chief leaders of the Green movement, wrote to the supreme leader Ayatollah Khamenei that, in spite of extensive interference by the guardian council to eliminate the main candidates, and thus to limit the people's choices, Iranians "stand in long voting queues to eliminate the candidates close to you [Khamenei]."[63] Thus we see that a majority of Iranians, despite all the restrictions, still believed in reformation and their ability to fight against the absolute power at the top of the government. And even after eight years of Ahmadinejad's presidency, reformists motivated the people to elect Hassan Rouhani, as a more moderate figure.

Many considered the election of 2009 to be fraudulent. Popular trust in the electoral system diminished dramatically, and many citizens were thereafter reluctant to vote. However, both Hashemi Rafsanjani and Khatami offered their firm support for Hassan Rouhani, and convinced people to turn out to vote for the moderate Rohani, to prevent another authoritarian government. The Internet and social networks were critical in delivering the reformists' messages efficiently, and in creating a network of diaspora Iranians to support Rohani. This international network again demonstrates the importance of globalization and modernization in Iranian society.

4.3.5 Now; Rapid Transformations

Notably, after the Revolution we find an astounding growth in the number of music students, and a commensurate increase in the number of music institutions. Although during the Pahlavi era there was no state suppression against music, and certain styles of music were even supported by the government, working as a

[63] See Karoubi's letter to Ayatollah Khamenei at https://ir.voanews.com/a/iran-opposition/4231054.html

musician as a primary career was not common. Many top musicians were employed in offices, banks, ministries and other offices. However, in recent years there has been a dramatic increase in musicians choosing music as their primary profession.

As I have mentioned, Hossein Alizadeh suggests that being a musician was at times considered low class. And anecdotally, in Qajar times even Mirza Abdollah's private music class in his home was famously attacked and the class discontinued (Sepanta 2003, 76). We can see the underlying belief in Iranian society that music was a lower class profession[64]. Thus it is surprising that during recent years, especially since 1997 and the reformation period, learning music has become generally valued and respected among a majority of families. I have worked as a music teacher in several music institutions in Iran, and I have seen families' enthusiasm to send their children to music classes.

Dariush Pirniakan expresses that:

> *Today, the families who do not send their children to music classes are very rare. This is due to the impact of the actions that my generation took regarding Iranian music. It is also due to the influence of the restrictions imposed by the state. I think the dream of Mirza Abdollah has come true. He said, "It is my wish to see a day when there will be a* setār *in every single home"* (Pirniakan 2015, interview with author).

I asked the media manager of the Iranian House of Music about the number of private (not governmental) music institutes in Iran. He told me that Tehran alone is home to 530 music institutions, and estimated that throughout the country there are around 800 music institutes. In the early 1990s, when there were only a handful, so the trend is clear. The number of government-supported music academies has also grown rapidly, and now in many cities, music is presented as a discipline in

[64] If one asks elderly people in Iran, they unanimously confirm this attitude even as late as the Pahlavi era.

dāneshgāh-e dowlati (governmental universities), *dāneshgāh-e āzād* (non-governmental universities), and *dāneshgāh-e elmi kārbordi* (scholar-practical universities).

In addition to the dramatic increase in both amateur and professional music education, we also find rapid changes in famous classical musicians' styles during recent years. Ann Lucas states that many current masters of Iranian classical music are completely aware of the original traditions, but choose to innovate with new styles in their performances, sometimes to an extreme "that would have been considered unacceptable [among top musicians] before the revolution" (Lucas 2006, 84).

She cites two of the best-known masters—Hossein Alizadeh and Keyhan Kalhor—who in recent performances have become rather distant from the codified traditionalist views about Iranian classical music[65] (ibid). Hossien Alizadeh now is in his late 60s and Keyhan Kalhor is in his mid-50s, so Alizadeh started his learning process in the 1960s and Kalhor in the 1970s. We have seen that the context in which Alizadeh studied music was completely classical and traditional; Kalhor also was more or less trained under the same didactic system. But the music they both perform in recent years is far from their traditional education and milieu, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 5. Therein I will analyze some samples of their performances, in respect to the chief elements of tradition and the ways these elements are altered in their works. The cases of Alizadeh and Kalhor, along with other examples like the *Kamkar* and *Dastan* ensembles (Lucas 2006, 84-85), illustrates the rapid, radical changes in Iranian classical music during recent years.

[65] One example is the album they produced with singing of Mohammad Reza Shajarian and Homayoun Shajarian; *Zemestān Ast (It's Winter)* in 2001. Other intercultural music albums are *Endless Vision,* produced in 2006 by Alizadeh and Djivan Gasparyan, which was nominated for Best Traditional Music Album in the Grammy awards; and the album *The Wind* produced by Keyhan Kalhor and Erdal Erzincan in 2006.

The internet (specifically, social networks and online platforms) has also influenced the position of Iranian music, especially among the younger generation. In next chapter I will discuss some aspects of the effects of virtual space on Iranian music, but now regarding the significance of this issue I bring Hossein Alizadeh's quote:

> *Formerly, when a musician wanted to create a piece of work, it had to be very well-qualified. It had to be qualified in order to convince the radio to broadcast it. Therefore, there existed some authorities regarding values and criteria of music. Currently with virtual facilities, these values and criteria have been obliterated, which means you can be on Facebook or Instagram and create a stream for yourself* (Alizadeh 2017, interview with author).

The virtual space not only enables the rapid spread of music styles, it also affects various elements of music itself. For instance, Instagram is a popular platform for Iranian musicians of different age groups to present their work. Since Instagram limits videos to one minute, we see a large number of short videos of music performances on Instagram. This affects the pacing of the music, which accordingly largely shapes the musical taste of the audience. Also, when musicians frequently upload musical performances, they might need to add or eliminate musical elements, techniques, or features to avoid repetition and to attract more followers. Finally, the ease of sharing leads to rapid diffusion of changes within the online milieu, so a new wave can involve and influence other musicians and audiences through an arithmetic progression.

Regarding tradition and identity in Iranian classical music today, Hooman Asadi argues that the first generation of traditionalists in the late 1960s did not focus enough on theoretical discussions. This oversight, along with the changes that led to the

second generation of traditionalists in Iranian music, consequently caused a "rigidity of tradition" and the "freezing of *radif*" (Asadi 2007, 213). He adds:

> *The establishment of the* Markaz *itself was like a revolution in the trend of Iranian music. After the Revolution of 1979, again some radical changes occurred. I was in close contact with the three generation of traditionalist musicians. The first generation, Dr. Safvat; the second generation, Mr. Kiani and musicians like him; and the third generation, who were my generation, and some of them were my classmates and are now my friends. I observe that the tradition has become more and more rigid from one generation to the next. It was like a cone. However, this tendency decreased both quantity and quality, and became more radical and more closed. Safvat told me himself, "my students act so conservatively, and I did not intend for that to occur." The second generation of traditionalists also say that they did not intend their students to be that radically conservative* (Asadi 2015, interview with author).

I argue that simultaneously with the increasing rigidity of traditions and traditionalists (and their decreasing popularity), at the other end of the spectrum, the non-traditional or avant-garde movement was also growing more radical. Thus over time, the line connecting traditionalism and progressivism has been stretched ever further. If, in the 1980s or 1990s, the most traditional end of the spectrum was Majid Kiani and the other end was Hossein Alizadeh, today the non-traditional end of the spectrum has grown far more distant from the eight traditional musical elements introduced in chapter 3.6.

As a concrete example, consider Homayoun Shajarian. He is a mainstream singer today, and as the son of Mohammad Reza Shajarian he was trained in traditional methods and *radif* by his father. He has performed many concerts with his father since he was a teenager. Yet now that he is pursuing his musical activities independently, his style and repertoire are quite distant from the traditional criteria of Iranian classical music, so much so that Hossein Alizadeh—once considered avant-garde—

publicly stated that "Homayoun Shajarian is performing pop music." He went on to advocate that musicians must not mix traditional music with other genres.[66]

Alizadeh's comments reveal that he does not consider Homayoun Shajarian's music traditional, nor inside the circle of Iranian classical music. We see a similar situation in the work of other famous singers, such as Salar Aghili, Mohammad Motamedi, and Alireza Ghorbani, and such composers as Ali Ghamsari, Keikhosrow Pournazeri, and others. These all come from a traditional musical background, but some of their recent works (which I will introduce later) raise serious questions about the genre and style of their music.

Jean During, writes about the transformations he observed in his trip to Tehran in 2004, compared to when he lived in Tehran in the 1970s researching Iranian music. He is surprised by the speed of the changes over the span of 30 years, specifically in the way music functions in everyday life in Tehran. He argues: "Classical music [in Iran] has already evolved much faster in a half century than its European counterpart has in one century. It appears that since then the speed of this evolution has increased" (During 2005, 374).

I would argue that now, even the speed of history—and accordingly, of transformations—is much faster than in 2004. The Influence of new media and the internet, the shifting music marketplace, pluralism in society, and the general socio-cultural and political atmosphere in Iran all seriously challenge longstanding notions and functions of tradition and identity in Iranian music.

[66] https://fararu.com/fa/news/206658/سنتی-نه-خواند-می-پاپ-شجریان-همایون-علیزاده

4.4 Iranian "National" Music; is it Really National?

Today some musicians and listeners use the term *musighi-e melli-e Iran* (Iranian national music) instead of traditional, authentic, or classical music. For instance, Keivan Saket in 2016 published a book titled *Gozide-ye Radif-e Kārbordi-e Musighi-e Melli-e Iran (Selected Practical* Radif *of Iranian National Music)*. In conversation, as well as in announcements of concerts and musical events, "national music" is used to mean a specific genre of Iranian music. This prompted me to look for the history of this term in Iranian music, the extent of its use, and what it means specifically.

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed that the pervasive usage of the term "national" in Iranian music started in the Constitutional Era, when the idea of nation and national identity was being constructed in Iran. It mainly appeared in the expression *tasnif-hāye melli-vatani* (National-patriotic ballades). This usage is directly connected with the construction of national identity (Chehabi 1999).

Meanwhile, starting in the first Pahlavi Era, the term "national Iranian music" began to be applied to a genre of Iranian music. As seen earlier in this chapter, in the first Pahlavi era there existed two currents regarding music policy making. The first—including Minbashian and Mahmood—opposed the presence of Iranian music in music institutions. The second trend was the avant-garde movement, which supported the presence of Iranian music in music institutions, while innovating its theory and practice. The major avant-gardist musicians were Alinaghi Vaziri and his successors, such as Khaleghi and Saba (Khaleghi 1999; Darvishi 1994). Judging from historical evidence, the term *musighi-e melli* was primarily used by the avant-gardists (Mir Alinaghi 1999, 291) and then became common to refer to the avant-garde style and musical activities (Khamsepour 2017, 112-115), as well as to distinguish Iranian from non-Iranian music. As an example, in the late 1940s the *Honarestān-e Musighi*

(Music School) became officially separated to two schools, the *Honarestān-e Āli-e Musighi* (Advanced Music School) which taught Western classical music, and the *Honarestān-e Musighi-e Melli* (National Music School) established by Rouhollah Khaleghi, which taught Iranian music (Javadi 2001, 598-599).

Also in the mid-1940s, Khaleghi established *Orkestr-e Musighi-e Melli* (National Music Orchestra) which combined symphonic and Iranian musical instruments,[67] and included polyphony in performance of Iranian music (Khaleghi 1999, Vol. 3, 79-109), in accordance with Vaziri's avant-garde style. Thus we see that the term "Iranian national music" had come to identify the avant-garde style, which contained the aforementioned musical features. In our time, musicians who still use the expression have carried this meaning from these first avant-gardists. For example, Iran's National Orchestra, established in 1998 by Farhad Fakhreddini, more or less employs the musical features created by the avant-gardists Vaziri and Khaleghi.

Given this historical background, we see that the term "national" does not necessarily imply a genre or music pieces reflecting national identity. In order to illustrate current musicians' perceptions of national music, in my field interviews I asked about the advantages of and reasons for the term. Keivan Saket, who strongly supports the avant-garde movement, replied:

> *In my opinion, National Music is a more appropriate term, because the melodies, songs,* gushe-hā *and* āvāz-hā *of our music have been taken from the music of various ethnicities inhabiting in Iran. For instance, when we say* Bakhtiāri *[a gushe in* dastgāh Homāyoon*] it belongs to* Bakhtiāri *ethnic group. Or when we say* Shooshtari *and* Dashtestāni*, they belong to the south.* Gilaki *belongs to the north.* Azarbaijāni, Bayāt-e Kord, Bayāt-e Tork, Bayāt-e Esfahān, Bayāt-e Shirāz, Bayāt-e Ajam, Neishāboorak, Esfahānak *and other names have been taken from various ethniticities in Iran. If you go to* Dashtestān *you clearly feel the nexus of their music with our*

[67] In that orchestra the symphonic instrumentation was dominant.

dastgāh *music. The same is about* Bākhtiari. *Or for instance, there exists a* gushe *in* dastgāh Shour *called* Āshegh Kosh. *It has entered from the music of* Khorasan *into our* radif. *Therefore, these components of the national music of Iran are taken from melodies and songs of various ethnicities inhabiting the geography of Iran* (Saket 2015, interview with author).

Hooman Asadi and Mohsen Hajarian disagree with Keivan Saket on the concept of national music. Hajarian argues:

When we say that radif music is the national music, it is very controversial, due to the fact that when we use "national," it refers to all Iranians. But in the mountains of Lorestān *or in* Sistān, Turkman Sahara *or* Elam *people do not know about* radif, *and they do not care about it. Because it does not belong to them, and they have their own music* (Hajarian 2017, interview with author).

Also, Asadi takes the idea that:

Generally I do not agree with using "national" as a term for music. Because nation, state, and terms like those have geopolitical meaning related to political geography. Baluchi *people,* Kurds, Turks, *and other ethnicities are parts of the Iranian nation. What is written in their passports? Iranian. Even in the best case scenario we cannot have Iranian national music. In Iran, with its huge cultural diversity, it is not possible. In the southeast there exist Indian-Iranian aesthetics, in the south Arabic, in the west Kurdish-Turkish, etc.* (Asadi 2015, interview with author).

Dariush Talai challenges the notion of national on a larger scale:

This term, "national," is an artificial term. When we say national, it does not imply a cultural border. It was made up in the 20th century and radio-television has developed it. Even in Europe, the Basques in Spain, or in France Normandy, or in Germany some states have their own culture. Generally, the notion of national has been made up by the radio-television (Talai 2015, interview with author).

Some interviewees also expressed opinions about the title "Iran's national orchestra,"[68] and its nexus with nationalism in Iran. Dariush Pirniakan argues:

[68] Founded in 1998 under conductor Farhad Fakhreddini, and dissolved in 2009. It was revived in 2011 and has since continued with various conductors.

We use symphonic musical instruments, and have called it national music. If it is so, the symphonic orchestra must be called national orchestra as well, because it performs in Iran. So, this is wrong to call that orchestra as national orchestra; instead it should have been called orchestral music of Iran (Pirniakan 2015, interview with author).

Majid Kiani correlates the various perceptions of national music to which schools of thought given musicians belong to, arguing:

In the view of the modernists (avant-gardists) this type of music and the orchestra are national. But in the view of older maestros, our dastgāh*-based music is national and authentic. The type of music which is labeled as national today, goes under the subset of hybrid music* (Kiani 2015, interview with author).

As for the new generation, we turn to the two participants which I introduced in chapter 1. Peyman Khazeni supports the usage of the term national music, but on specific conditions:

*Being "national" has not much to do with the issue of how many of the musical instruments are Iranian. However, it has to do with the genre and sort of the music. The other point is that I think when we speak of "national," specifically national music, it cannot be small. However, our country with thousands of years of civilization and 80 million population needs glorious formality for national music (*Khazeni 2015, interview with author).

Meanwhile Khazeni's contemporary Babak Rahati shows little interest in using the term national music, arguing:

When there is a big orchestra, it might be closer to the concept of "national" in comparison to a small ensemble of four players, even if they be the greatest maestros of Iranian music. But in reality the music is being performed by the Iranian national orchestra is not "national," and what Lotfi and Shajarian perform is in fact our national music (Rahati 2015, interview with author).

CHAPTER 5. An Analytical Approach toward the Practice of Tradition and Identity: The Question of Innovation

5.1 Tradition and Identity in Practice of Iranian Classical Music

In previous chapters, I discussed the functions that tradition has served in Iranian classical music, how tradition has been perceived and debated, the dynamics of change in musical traditions, and the role of Iranian music in the construction of national identity in Iran. In this chapter, I will examine practical examples which illustrated how tradition has been practiced and challenged in Iranian music; specifically, I will analyze selected Iranian music performances to this end.

Two recent studies on Iranian classical music take an analytical comparative approach toward Iranian music in practice, and will contribute to my analysis. Nooshin (2015) discusses the discourse of creativity in Iranian classical music, primarily focusing on the duality of improvisation-composition. She compares performances of specific *gushe-hā* by various musicians and examines their relationships to *radif* (Nooshin 2015, 95-161), and also analyzes some contemporary compositions (ibid, 162-177). Wright (2009) presents another relevant analytical study, this time of a performance by Touraj Kiaras with an Iranian ensemble supervised by Faramarz Payvar. Wright also employs a comparative approach, contrasting Kiaras' musical sentences, tones, and melodic movements with a performance of the same *dastgāh* sung by Mahmood Karimi (1927-1985).

These comparative approaches illustrate how creativity finds meaning in Iranian music. My goal in this chapter is also to compare performances (though not necessarily strictly of specific musical sentences, phrases, or melodic movements) with counterparts in *radif* or other performances. Yet, I prefer to take a more comprehensive analytical approach to this comparison. Depending on the pieces'

individual features and according their contributions to the classical repertoire, I will analyze the pieces mainly according to the eight general elements I introduced in chapter 3.6, the contested areas of tradition. Where appropriate I will also analyze other issues, such as innovations in musical style, instrumentation, novel techniques, polyphonic / heterophonic / unison modes, the combination of music and poetry, and other relevant elements.

It is extremely challenging to select just a few performances from among the countless productions of the past five decades. I choose these pieces according to the performances' (or performers') influence on other musicians, their popularity, and their potential to create novel musical trends. Accordingly, for each decade from the 1970s until the present, I choose to analyze one or two pieces through my framework.

5.1.1 Some Notes Regarding the Notation and Analysis of the Pieces

In notating the selected pieces, I have used the standard staff notation as is widely used today in Iranian music. Specific additional signs signify exclusive techniques, intervals, and dynamics of Iranian music which do not exist in standard staff notation, as follows:

1. *Koron* is usually shown by the symbol 𝄬

   Koron in Iranian music lowers the pitch by almost a quarter-tone (half of a semitone). This sign, like flat or sharp, can appear in the key signature or as an accidental.

2. *Sori*[69] is usually shown by the symbol 𝄰

   Sori in Iranian music raises the pitch by almost a quarter-tonej, and can again appear either in the key signature or as an accidental.

[69] The signs *Koron* and *Sori* have been initiated by Alinaghi Vaziri

3. *Panjekāri* (carving) is a common technique on the *tār* and *setār,* and is denoted by the symbol ☠ .This technique is performed chiefly by the left hand; either the middle finger or ring finger (or rarely, the pinky finger) hammers onto and then pulls off of the string .
4. *Tekiyeh* (leaning), denoted by the symbol ○ is a common technique on various string instruments. This technique is also performed by the left hand; an already-sounding note is raised in pitch by "hammering on" to the string with the finger.

I should note that there is more than one method of notating Iranian music. Various sources use different signs for relevant concepts and techniques, but I have chosen a fairly common system. Additionally, in Iranian music the intervals are neither tempered nor consistently intoned. I have suggested that *koron* and *sori* theoretically alter a tone by "approximately" a quarter step, while in practice they vary, depending on the specific mode and the taste of the performer.

In consideration of this intervallic variability, intonation differences and the innovative usage of intervals would be an interesting subject for further study. However, such an investigation would require a separate, acoustics-based approach. Therefore, my analysis in this chapter does not include intervallic variation or innovation, instead chiefly focusing on melodic movement and modal construction, dynamics and phrasing, tonal functions, meter and rhythm, instrumentation, patterns (melismatic, rhythmic, melodic, and poetic), and the appearance of the performance.

5.2 Performances of 1970s: The Passage Time

In chapter 4 I we examined two chief trends within Iranian classical music of the 1970s; the Avant-garde stream pursued chiefly by Vaziri's successors, and the

traditionalist stream led by Dariush Safvat and Nour Ali Boroumand. Aside from these movements, there were also independent styles among musicians who preferred to pursue a "personalized style," rather than subscribing to a specific label. Examples include such maestros as Jalil Shahnaz, Hassan Kassaei, Farhang Sharif (1931- 2016), Hooshang Zarif (1938), Akbar Golpayegani (1934), Hossein Khajeh Amiri (1933), and others. All these musicians and singers were prominent, and affected musicians who came after them. However, here I will focus on Faramarz Payvar[70], because his work goes beyond just a personalized music style, and instead is considered a pervasive, influential musical trend.

Among all the ways Payvar was influential; his way of organizing an ensemble is of primary importance to our analysis. Traditionally, ensemble and orchestral performance had been a minor tradition, until the Constitutional Era saw various endeavors to develop these types of performance. By comparing Payvar's ensemble performances over the course of decades, we see that he culminated in a specific style, with specific compositional, arrangement, and instrumentation features. This style was not completely true to the criteria of either the avant-gardists or the traditionalists, though it employed features from both streams while expressing itself as an autonomous style. The significance of his ensemble work chiefly lies in the effect that

[70] Was born in 1933 and died in 2009. He was a very active musician in various aspects of Iranian music. Some of his major activities chiefly through 5 decades of 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s can be explained as follows: compiling and writing books for Iranian music (more than 30 books), producing about 50 music albums in which he participated as composer, *santoor* player and supervisor. More than 1500 hours of live performance on stage with many famous Iranian musicians and singers; in majority of the performances, Payvar was the composer, band supervisor and the arranger of the pieces. He is also very famous among Iranian musicians for his highly disciplined characteristics.

his ensemble organization had on subsequent ensembles, such as the *Sheida* [71] and *Aref* [72] ensembles, and on the tradition of ensemble performance as a whole.

5.2.1 Tasnif of Hilat Rahā Kon Āsheghā (Abandon Your Deceit, O Lover)

To recognize the prominent features I have mentioned, we will analyze *Hilat Rahā Kon Āsheghā,* a *tasnif* in *dastgāh-e Segāh* with its *shāhed* (tonic) on **A** *koron*, as performed by *Gorooh-e Sāzhay-e Melli* (Ensemble of National Musical Instruments), supervised by Faramarz Payvar. This *tasnif* was composed to a poem of Rumi[73] and sung by Abdolvahhab Shahidi. It was performed both on the *Golhāy-e Tāzeh* radio program and on national television in the early 1970s. The ensemble includes *santoor, tār, oud, kamāncheh, tombak, ney*, *robāb, gheichak,* and alto *gheichak;* this is a rather typical classical instrumentation, except for the inclusion of *robāb* and *gheichak,* which are rare in the tradition.

The piece begins with an overture or *moghaddame* in a two-beat meter with an allegretto tempo. This type of overture for a *tasnif* is typical of Payvar's arrangements for ensemble, but is not found in older composed *tasnif-hā*. Traditionally, *tasnif* begins directly with the chief melody, with sung lyrics (see Payvar's compilation of over 180 old *tasnif-hā*, 1996). Even in the *tasnif-hā* composed by Darvishkhan and Ali Akbar Shahnazi, we do not find such introductions, and thus we see that an overture before the vocal *tasnif* is one of Payvar's stylistic innovations. He applied

[71] Supervised by Mohammad Reza Lotfi.

[72] Supervised by Parviz Meshkatian and Hossein Alizadeh.

[73] A renowned Persian poet of the 13th century.

this innovation to both his own composed *tasnif-hā* and his performances of the *tasnif-hā* of older composers. (For instance, listen to the *tasnif Amān,* composed by Aref Ghazvini, with an overture composed by Payvar.)

Notably, in the overture of *Hilat Rahā Kon Āsheghā,* the allegretto tempo combines with the short rhythmic cycle to create a feeling of movement and liveliness. The first phrase of the overture is as follows in Figure 1.1:

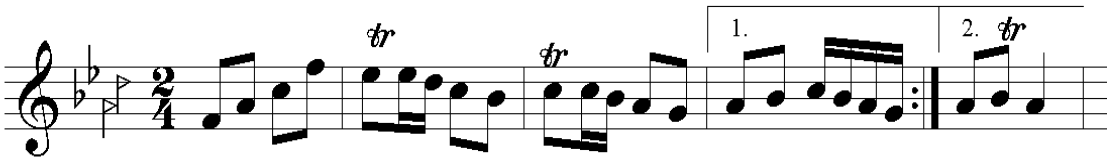


Figure 1.1 First phrase of overture of *tasnif* of *Hilat Rahā Kon Āsheghā,* composed by Faramarz Payvar

The piece begins with an arpeggio on the functional tones of *Segāh* (**F**, **A** *koron*, and **C**), creating the modal atmosphere of *Segāh*. If we look at traditional pieces and *radif,* we see that the arpeggio is not a common traditional movement; melodies chiefly move by conjunct intervals, rarely by this sort of disjunct motion. For instance, Figure 1.2 transcribes the beginning of the *Darāmad* of *Segāh* from the *radif* of Mirza Abdollah, demonstrating such conjunct intervals.

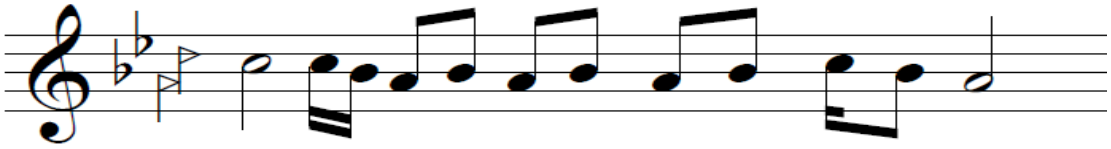


Figure 1.2 First phrase of *Darāmad-e Segāh* from *radif* of Mirza Abdollah

Arpeggios had been formerly used in Iranian music in some innovative pieces, like the Polka (which is originally a non-Iranian musical form) composed by Darvishkhan (Figure 1.3).

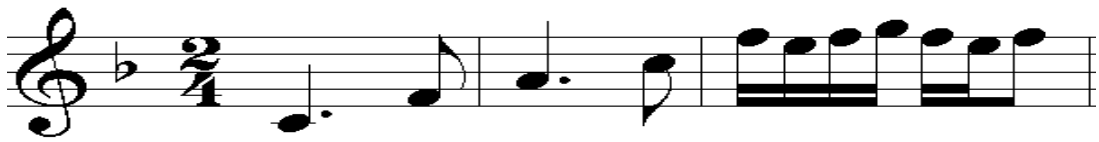


Figure 1.3 First phrase of Polka in *Māhoor,* composed by Darvishkhan

Thus Payvar's usage of this pattern in the overture of a *tasnif*—a traditional Iranian form—develops a remarkable dynamic liveliness. This animated overture is then followed by *tasnif* in a long rhythmic cycle; a six-beat meter and slow tempo are typical of composed *tasnif-hā* of the Qajar time (see Payvar 1996). These features create a dynamic contrast between the introduction and the vocal section.

Depending on a given *tasnif's* rhythmic cycle, the vocal melody may begin on any of the six beats of the first bar, as attested by songs of the Qajar and Pahlavi eras (ibid). In this *tasnif*, the vocal begins on the third beat of the first bar, completing the first rhythmic cycle at the end of the second bar, as shown in Figure 1.4.

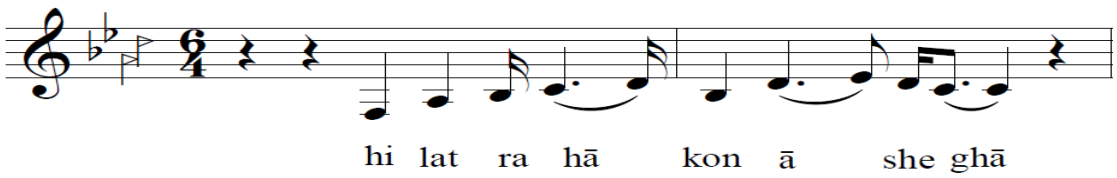


Figure 1.4 Vocal melody of first hemistich of *tasnif* of *Hilat Rahā Kon Āsheghā*

Another of Payvar's stylistic innovations in this *tasnif* is the way the ensemble responds to the vocal melody. As we've seen, traditionally the sung melody and the ensemble's response were either identical or minor variations. Meanwhile, Vaziri and his successors wrote significantly different ensemble melodies in response to the singer's phrase. This, of course, was within a polyphonic mode and ensembles with a combination of Iranian and non-Iranian musical instruments (such as violin, clarinet, flute, cello, piano, and contrabass). Payvar, however, applied this method to a more traditional classical instrumentation performing in a unison mode. In Figure 1.5 we see a melodic idea presented by the singer, Shahidi:

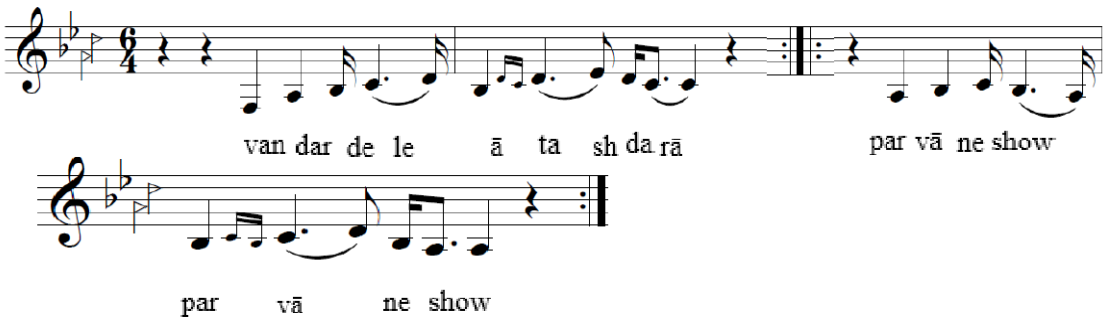


Figure 1.5 Vocal melody of second verse of *tasnif* of *Hilat Rahā Kon Āsheghā*

And the response of the orchestra to the above melody is as follows;

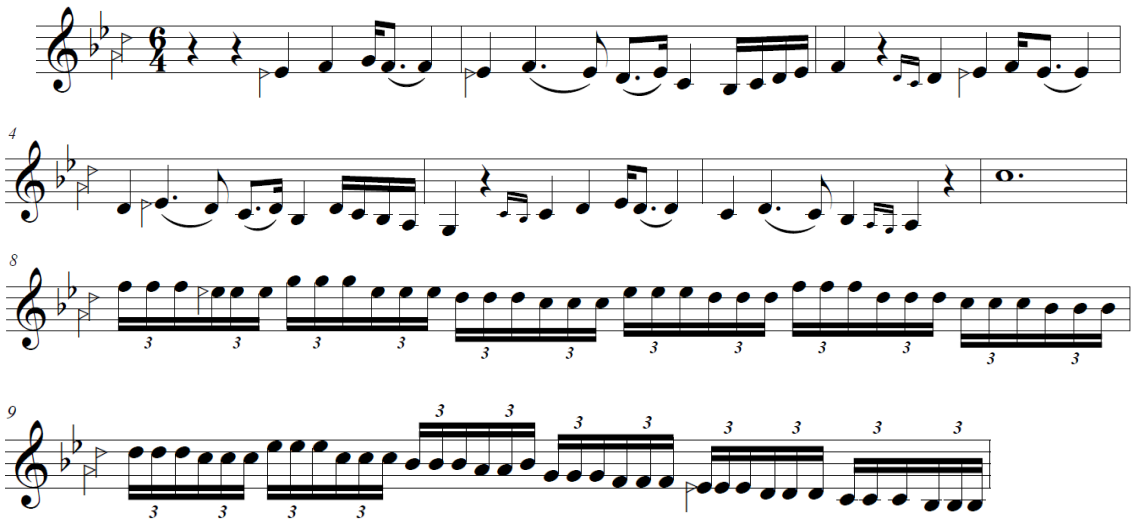


Figure 1.6 Response of ensemble to second verse vocal melody, *tasnif* of *Hilat Rahā Kon Āsheghā*

As we see in Figure 1.6, the first two lines follow similar rhythmic patterns to the vocal melody, but with a completely different melodic trend. Even the tone **E** flat alters to **E** *koron,* which is a common alteration in *dastgāh Segāh,* changing the modal atmosphere for a short time. But, from the third line the rhythmic and melodic patterns change entirely, with the appearance of many triplets. Consequently, the slow melodic pattern transforms into a much more dynamic trend.

At that time (the early 1970s) the mainstream music was the pop music performed by superstars like Daryoush, Googoosh, Ebi, Mahasti, and Sattar. In this context it was crucial for classical musicians to attract an audience and to pursue their musical lives in the media. Thus we find, in addition to the musical side, significant visual features in the televised performance by *Gorooh-e Sāzhay-e Melli*. The stage was set with mystical architectural constructions in the background, the foreground covered in

Persian carpets, and the musicians—both men and women—were costumed. Together these aesthetic elements made the performance more prestigious and attractive[74].

5.2.2 *Shabnavard* (The Night Passer)

In chapter 4, we looked at the *Chāvosh* music program produced around the time of the Revolution, along with its role as a reflection of the time's socio-political circumstances. Here I will analyze one of the first revolutionary songs produced for *Chāvosh,* entitled *Shabnavard (The Night Passer).* The piece was performed in 1979; the composer is Mohammad Reza Lotfi and the singer is Mohammad Reza Shajarian. The most significant element for its revolutionary-patriotic function is the lyrical content.

[74] See the video of the performance on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FEhgI1L4_cs

Transliterated lyrics	Translation
shab ast-o chehre-ye mihan siyāh-e	It is night and the face of the homeland is dark
neshastan dar siyāhi-hā gonāhe	It is a sin to stay in the darkness
tofangam rā bedeh tā rah bejouyam	Give me my gun so that I can find a way
ke harke āshegh-e pāyash be rāhe	Anyone who is in love is moving on the way
barādar bi gharāre, barādar sho'levāre,	Brother is restless, brother is angry
barādar dashte sinash lālezāre	brother's chest is a tulip garden
shab-o daryāy-e khofangiz-o toufān	The night, the fearsome sea, and the storm
man-o andishehā-ye pāk-e pouyān	I and my pure thoughts are like a bow and arrow
barāyam khal'at-o khanjar biyāvar	Bring a noose and a dagger for me
ke khoun mibārad az delhāye souzān	The hearts are bloody and burning
barādar nojavoune, barādar ghargh-e khoune	Brother is young, brother is bloody
barādar kakolesh ātashfeshoune	Brother's head is a volcano
to ke bā āsheghan dard āshena'i	You are sympathetic with lovers
to ke hamrazm-o ham zanjire mā'i	We are comrades, and we are chained together
bebin khoun-e azizān rā be divār	See my darlings' blood on the wall
bezan sheypour-e sobh-e roshanā'i	Play the bugle until the light of dawn

Figure 2 Table of transliteration and translation of lyrics of *tasnif* of *Shabnavard* [75]

This revolutionary *tasnif* (*sorud*), beyond just being patriotic, contains more radical revolutionary ideas than the national/patriotic *tasnif* of the Constitutional and Pahlavi eras which we have discussed. The revolutionary *tasnif* or *sorud* around the Islamic Revolution represents a new phase in the nexus between music and the construction of national identity, during the process of modernization (Chehabi 1999,

[75] The poet of this piece is Aslan Aslanian and the lyrics has been translated by the author.

151). The evolution appears not just in the meaning of the poem, but also in the composition and arrangement of the *tasnif*.

Shabnavard is both the first and one of the most memorable *tasnif-hā* of the *Chāvosh* program. The ensemble consists chiefly of Iranian classical musical instruments, including *tār, santoor, ney, kamāncheh,* and *tombak*, adding bass *tār* in counterpoint to the other instrumental and vocal melodies, maintaining a bass ostinato throughout. Using bass *tār* in the orchestra is one of Alinaghi Vaziri's innovations, but this contrapuntal function was a novel creative innovation of Lotfi in *Shabnavard*. We see this role in the sheet music[76] which illustrates the melodic motions of the bass *tar* in comparison to other instruments. Figure 2.1 contains the first 8 bars of the introduction:

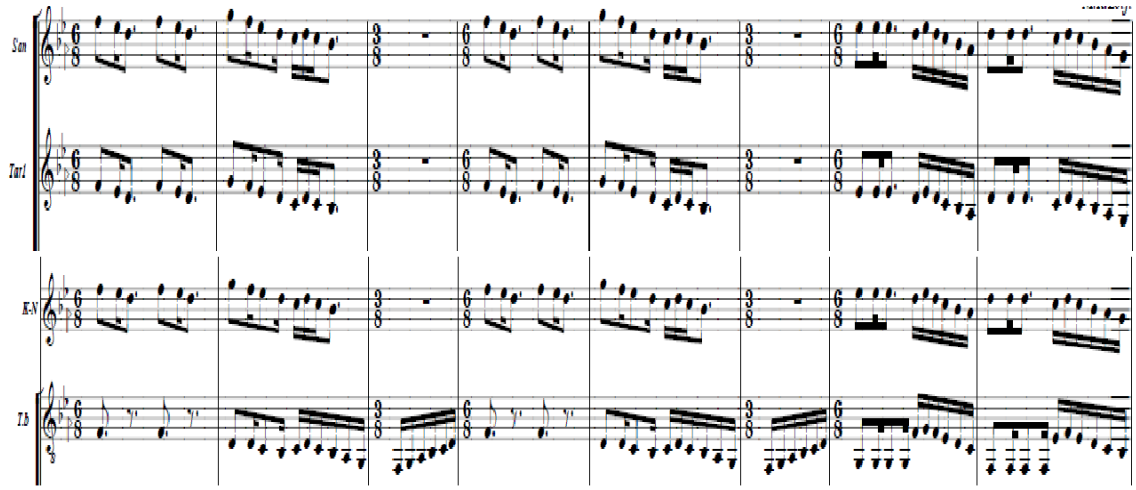


Figure 2.1 First eight bars of *Shabnavard*, by Mohammadreza Lotfi

[76] The sheet music has been transcribed by Alireza Javaheri. The first line, labeled "San" on the sheet, is the *santoor* melody, the second line *tār*, the third (K-N) goes commonly to *kamāncheh* and *ney,* and the last line (T.b) is the melody of bass *tār*.

As we can see, the bass *tār* serves the function of an ostinato, performing passages during other instruments' silences. In addition, when the singer is singing the *kamānche* and *ney* generally play unison with the singer, while bass *tār* plays counterpoint and the other instruments are silent, as seen in Figure 2.2.

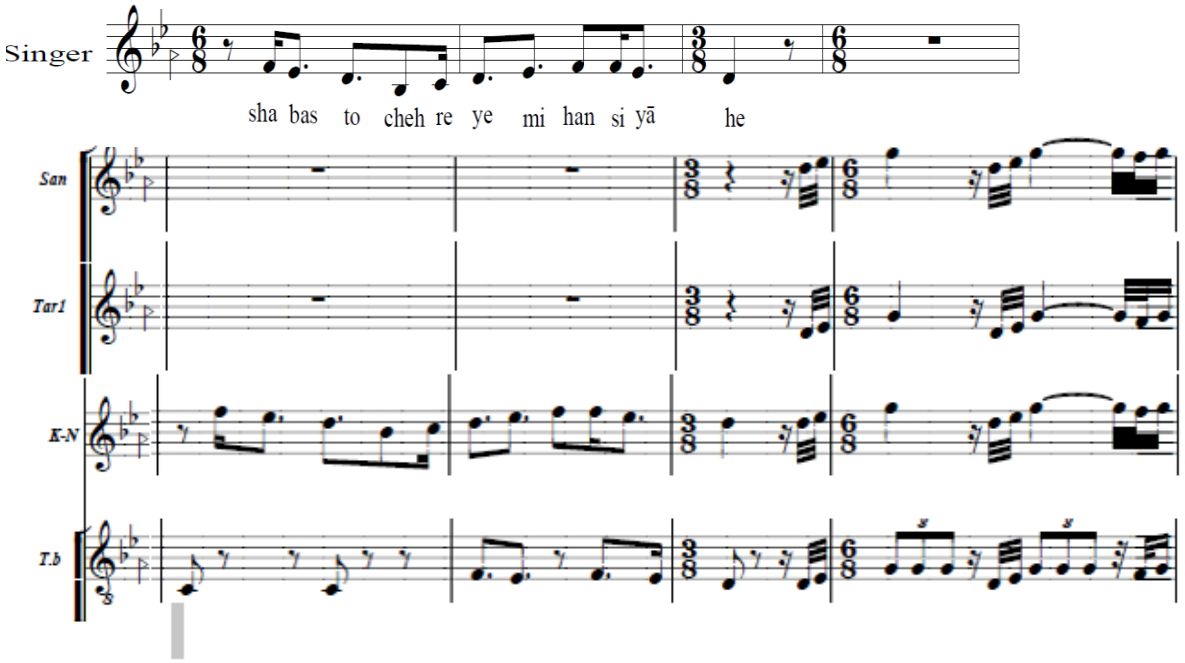


Figure 2.2 Vocal melody and ensemble accompaniment on first hemistich of *Shabnavard*

Notably this *tasnif* is composed in the mode *āvāz-e Dashti*[77]. Generally, *Dashti* is considered to create a sad, melancholic, regretful feeling (Safvat and Caron 2012, 95). Of course, each *dastgāh* and *āvāz* has the potential to create different feelings for different people, according to the variety of musical elements, but as the common conception of Western major and minor is respectively happier and sadder, so *Dashti* mode is deemed sorrowful. For this reason, composing a revolutionary, epic *tasnif* in *Dashti* mode might at first glance seem contradictory or even inappropriate. But, looking back at other patriotic *tasnif*-s in *Dashti*, such as *Ey Iran* by Rouhollah

[77] One sub-*āvāz* of *dastgāh-e shour*. The tonal center (*Shāhed*) of *Dashti* is the 5th degree of scale of *Shour*.

Khaleghi in the 1940s and *Ey Vatan* by Alinaghi Vaziri in 1920s, we find that *Dashti* is a possible mode for this type of piece.

This potential seems chiefly derived from Iranians' collective memory of *Dashti*. Various *gushe-hā* in various *radif-hā* [78] were inspired by local *āvāz-hā* from around Iran (Safvat and Caron 2013, 95). In this way *Dashti* (or similar *āvāz-hā*) appears in *Shur* in many regions, which allows *Dashti* to stimulate nostalgia for Iranians from various ethnicities.

The intervallic pattern of *Dashti* is as follows:

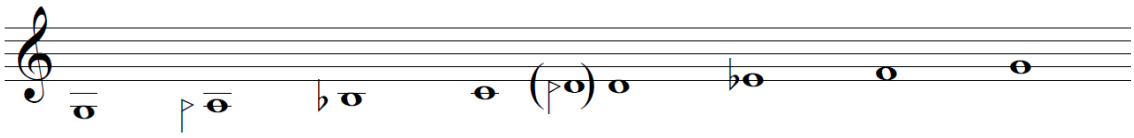


Figure 2.3 Intervallic pattern of *Dashti* mode

As shown in figure 2.3, the central tone (*shāhed*) of *Dashti*, here written as **D**, is normally natural, but frequently becomes *koron* and returns to natural. In various *radif-hā,* as well as improvisations of maestros, we observe this feature. For instance, in the beginning of *Darāmad* of *Dashti* in *radif* of Ali Akbar Shahnazi[79] (Figure 2.4), we observe this alteration of **D** to the lower microtone and back to **D** natural.

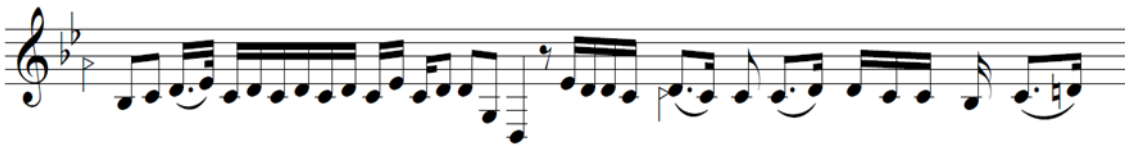


Figure 2.4 A phrase of āvāz-e Dashti from radif of Aliakbar Shahnazi

[78] Some *gushe-hā* such as *Gilaki, Deilamān, Dashtestāni, Bidegāni,* and *Hājiāni.*

[79] The tonal center (*shāhed*) of *Dashti* in *radif* of Ali Akbar Shahnazi is originally **A**, but here for a better comparison we have transposed it into **D** in order to be in the same modality in which *Shabnavard* was composed.

In *Shabnavard*, we find this alteration of the central tone again, chiefly in the ensemble's responses to the singer's melody. For instance, the singer presents the following melody:

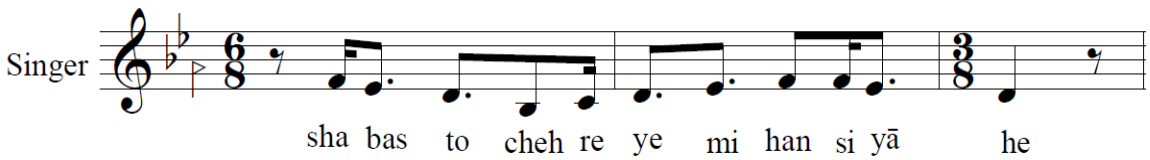


Figure 2.5 Vocal melody of the first hemistich of *Shabnavard*

To which the ensemble responds as follows:

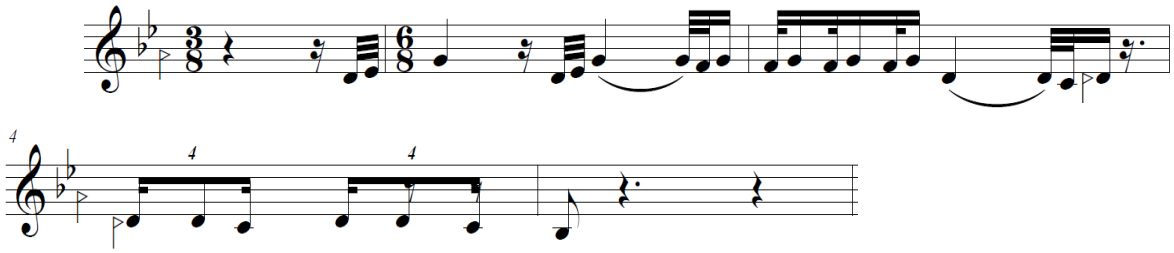


Figure 2.6 Ensemble's response to vocal melody of first hemistich of *Shabnavard*

Conversely, in the *tasnif* of *Ey Iran* we do not find this alteration of the central tone of *Dashti*, and the note **D** is always natural. This suggests that *Shabnavard* is to some extent more *radif*-based than its counterparts.

Shabnavard's rhythmic patterns, its melodic motion, and the occasional use of a military drum give the piece an overall sense of a march, but one based on these classical and *radif* features. In addition to its own specific historical role, and that of the *Chāvosh* program in constructing national identity, these musical features make *Shabnavard* a unique music piece in the repertoire of Iranian classical music.

5.3 Rebirth of Music Productions

In the previous chapters I explained that from the late 1970s until the late 1980s, musical productions and concerts (aside from *Sorud* and revolutionary music) were strongly restricted. However, starting in the late 1980s Iranian classical musicians renewed their activities, producing many significant albums and concerts. The major productions of the decade of late 1980s to late 1990s belong to the generation of musicians trained in the *Markaz-e Hefz va Eshā'e-ye Musighi-e Irani*. Among the many significant productions of this time, of various forms and styles, I have chosen two pieces to analyze, based on their exclusive features—*Torkaman* and *Chakād.*

5.3.1 *Torkaman* (Turkman)

Torkaman is an album produced in 1989 by Hossein Alizadeh, containing 14 tracks which are all solo *setār* performances; the last track is titled *Torkaman* like the album. Prior to this, no album of Iranian classical music had been performed just by one instrument. As we saw in chapter 4, vocal music had long been dominant in Iranian classical music, so this album is significant in part for developing instrumental music. Even in metric pieces like *chāhārmezrāb*—which was traditionally accompanied by tombak—there is no percussion accompanying to the solo *setār*.

The pieces' modal aspect is also noteworthy. Although each piece can be considered to be in an existing *dastgāh*-based mode, the way they are combined into a musical complex is rather novel. Traditionally according to *radif*, a performance begins in a specific mode, and modulates to other modes (*dastgāh* or *āvāz)* through specific melodic movements and specific tendencies of the tonal functions. But the tracks of *Torkaman* develop modally in a more independent way, partially obeying common traditional or *radif*-based modulations, and partially not.

For instance, the first six pieces are in various *gushe-hā* of *dastgāh-e Rāstpanjgāh,* along with a *chāhārmezrāb*—1. *Darāmad* 2. *Zang-e Shotor*, 3. *Chāhārmezrāb*, 4. *Zangouleh*, 5. *Naghmeh*, 6. *Rouhafzā*. This sequence is in accordance with the *gushe-hā* of *dastgāh*-e *Rāstpanjgāh* in the *radif* of Mirza Abdollah (see Talai 2013, 406-414). Track 7 is in *Oshāgh* and modulates to *āvāz Abu'atā,* which is also a common modulation in *dastgāh*, and track 8 is a *chāhārmezrāb* continuing in *Abu'atā.*

Then from track 9 to the end, the modal development does not conform to that of *radif*. Track 9 is in *Kord-e Bayāt,* which is considered an independent mode despite some similarities with *Abu'atā* and *Hejaz*. Track 10 is a piece inspired by a Kurdish folk melody, *Asmar Asmar,* in *Dastgāh-e Shour*. Track 11 is a *foroud* (descent) to *Rāstpanjgāh,* and track 12 is in *Rāk* mode which traditionally belongs to *Dastgāh-e Māhoor.* Track 13 is played in *Shooshtari,* which primarily belongs to *dastgāh-e Homāyoun,* while the last track, the piece *Torkaman*, is composed in *Arāgh* mode. These last four tracks demonstrate a freer, more independent usage of modes and modulation, in comparison to the initial tracks which bind closer to traditional *radif*-based modal development.

The most well-known piece of the album is *Torkaman*, which presents various musical elements which were novel to Iranian classical music. Alizadeh explains his concept for the piece as follows:

> Torkaman *is very abstract. I was abroad and I suddenly got sick. I had a high fever and I missed Iran like a child. In that high fever, I strangely heard Turkman music. Those sounds calmed me down. When I took* setār *to play the sounds, I realized I was not familiar with that style of playing* setār. *Nor was I familiar with the techniques, nor had those techniques been performed on* setār *by anybody else* (Alizadeh 2008, interview with Abol Hassan Mokhtabad).

The novelty in sonority and technique rendered the piece controversial. The well-known *setār* player Masoud Shoari claims that *Torkaman* was a shock to the style of *setār* playing at the time. He believes that *Torkaman* created a new style with a unique form and plucking patterns[80]. Alizadeh adds that "the style I used in performing *Torkaman* might be unacceptable for many musicians, but I used *setār* as a means of expressing my feelings and thoughts" (*The sixteenth session of music criticism of Shahr-e ketāb*, 2011).

Hooman Asadi in an interview with me suggested that:

> *30 years ago when Mr. Alizadeh performed* Torkaman, *although it was within the Iranian classical music genre, it did not fit within the tradition of Iranian music. It was modernized, avant-garde piece. But now, it has itself become a tradition and many others play* setār *in that style using those techniques* (Asadi 2015, Interview with author).

Listening to the piece, the first impression one gets is an image of local music—specifically the music of Turkman Sahara—but within the format of *dastgāh* music. As mentioned, this piece is in *Arāgh* mode, which is one of the common modes of *dastgāh*, with the intervallic structure as indicated in Figure 3.1:

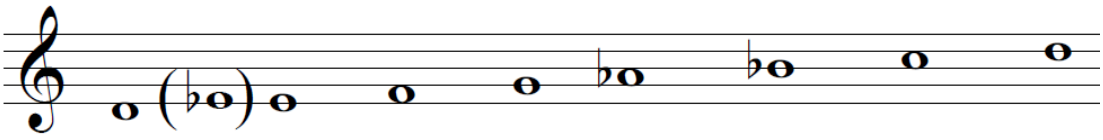


Figure 3.1 Intervallic pattern of *Arāgh* mode

Despite the modal features which connect this piece to *radif*, we find innovative musical elements inspired by local music of the Turkmen Sahara, which give *Torkaman* a unique character in the repertoire. One of the most highlighted elements

[80] See http://www.hamshahrionline.ir/news/66935/ قطعه-ترکمن-و-سه-نوازی-علیزاده-شعاری-بابایی

is the excessive repetition of tones, to which *panjekāri* technique is applied. Figure 3.2 [81] shows the first two lines, which are performed in free meter. The frames around the notes with the number on top show how many times the tones are repeated[82]. In this figure, we see the continuous repetition of the tones **A**, **G** and **F**, usually with *panjekāri* technique applied.

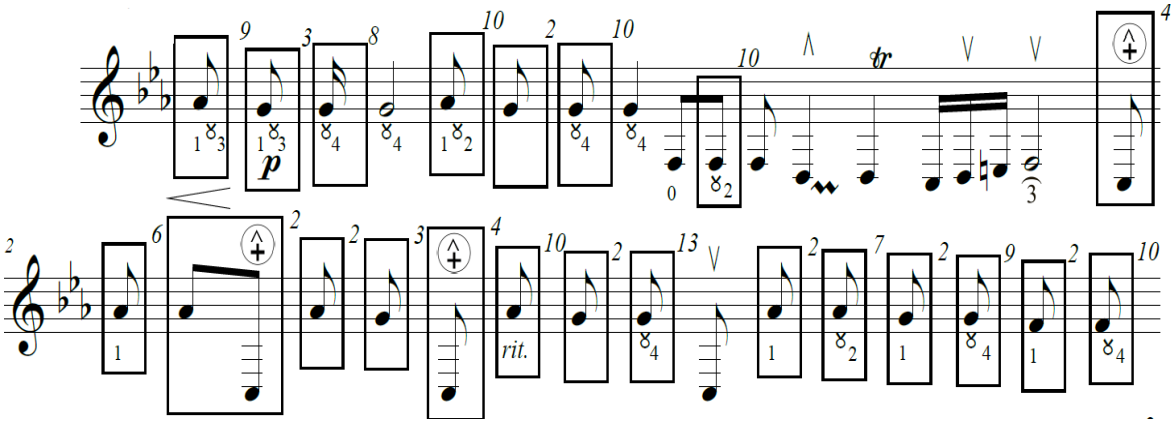


Figure 3.2 *Panjekāri* technique in *Torkaman*, composed by Hossein Alizadeh

It is not common to find so many emphatic repetitions of a tone with *panjekāri* in *radif* or traditional classical performances. Yet another noteworthy feature is the innovative usage of *panjekāri* itself, which is different from its classical form. Classical *panjekāri* uses the middle finger (or rarely the index finger) as the base finger, with the ring finger making *panjekāri* on the next tone. For instance, Figure 3.3 shows a common motif and its sequence used in classical repertoire with *panjekāri* applied, with the number of the finger involved in *panjekāri* written under the sign.

[81] The score of the piece has been transcribed by Nima Fereidooni.

[82] The frame around a tone or group of tones, with the number which shows the times they should be repeated, is a convention initiated by Dariush Talai primarily in transcription of *radif* of Mirza Abdollah (Talai 2013).

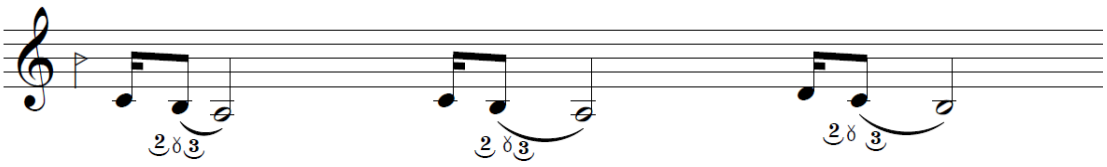


Figure 3.3 Classical method of *Panjekāri* using fingers 2&3

But the following figure (3.4), from *Torkaman*, reveals other finger patterns used for *panjekāri,* in order to create different effects.

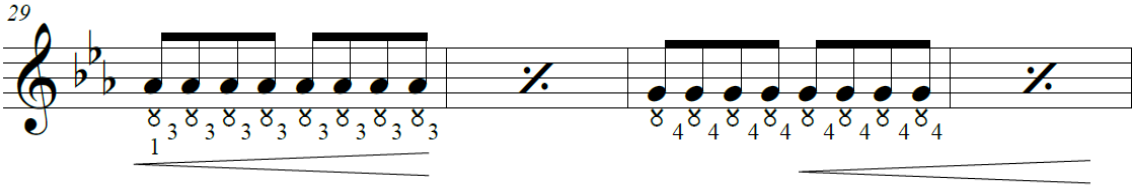


Figure 3.4 Innovative *Panjekāri* technique using fingeres 1& 3 and 1& 4 in *Torkaman*

In the following figure (3.5), the same finger pattern is used, but while the tone **D** is repeated, the *panjekāri* technique is applied to more distant treble tones.

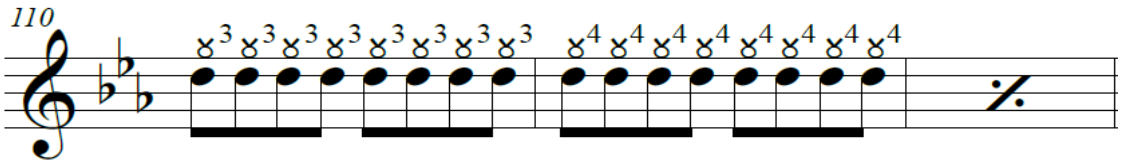


Figure 3.5 Several *Panjekāri* on one tone in *Torkaman*

This technique shown in figure 3.5 creates a unique effect which had not existed in *tār* and *setār* repertoire. The chief musical instrument with which the repertoire of Turkmen Sahara music is performed is *dotār,* which has a very different plucking system from that of *setār* in Iranian classical music. Thus, a noteworthy observation about *Torkaman* is that these effects, chiefly created by the left hand on *setār,* often

resemble the effects created by the right hand plucking system of the *dotār* in regional musics of Iran.

One other observation about *Torkaman* is its dynamic differences in comparison with classical solo *setār* performances. Throughout much of *Torkaman*, high force is used in plucking to create a forte sound. For instance, figure 3.6 is played with strong and dense plucking.

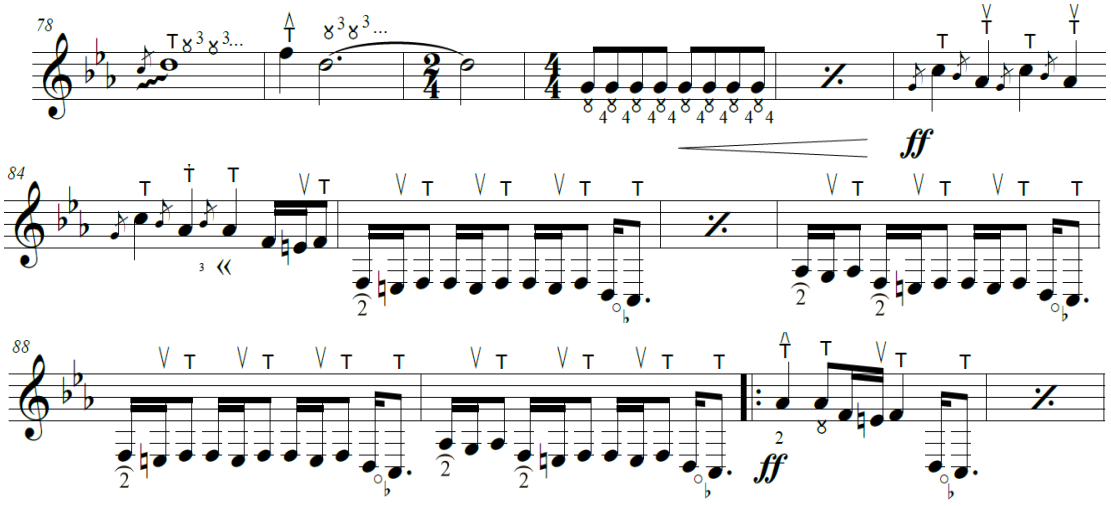


Figure 3.6 Bars 78- 91 of *Torkaman*

These phrases are followed by a *piano* dynamic as follows:

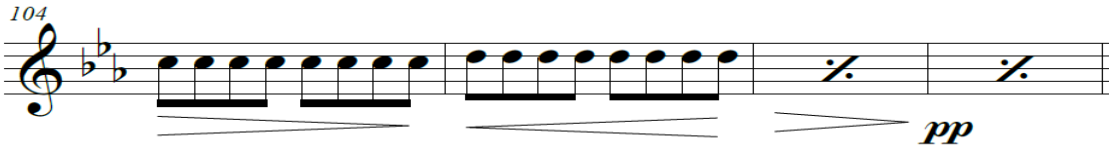


Figure 3.7 Bars 104-107 of *Torkaman*

The issue of dynamics in *radif* and *radif*-based performances is quite different from what we see here, such that usually the range of dynamic fluctuation in more

traditional *radif* performances is small, presenting a more monotonous dynamic than what we find in *Torkaman*.

5.3.2 *Chakād* (Summit)

Chakād is the first piece of an album entitled *Dastan,* produced in the late 1980s. The composer of the piece is Parviz Meshkatian. It is an instrumental performed by the well-known *Aref* ensemble. Aside from the historical dominance of vocal music, during the Revolutionary Era and the war vocal music grew even more important, as *tasnif* and *sorud* poems fed into the relationship between Iranian music and socio-political quests. In this atmosphere, *Chakād* is a significant turning point in the development of composed instrumental orchestral pieces in post-revolutionary Iran.

The instruments used in this performance are *tār*, bass *tār*, *santoor, kamāncheh, gheichack*, alto *gheichak, oud*, *ney,* and *tombak*. *Chakād* has a notable form, using neither the classical metric pieces (*pishdarāmad, tasnif, reng, chāhārmezrāb*) nor an overture for a *tasnif*. Instead, it is an independent instrumental piece performed by an Iranian ensemble. It is quite long, lasting over 10 minutes, in comparison to previous classical instrumental pieces. Given the variety of rhythms and modes featured, it can be considered an independent instrumental piece (rather than, say, an introduction to vocal music).

The primary mode of *Chakād* is *dastgāh*-e *Chāhārgāh,* with tonal center *(shāhed)* on **C** and the following intervallic pattern:

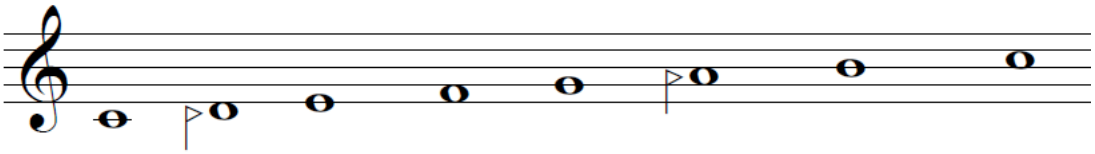


Figure 4.1 Intervallic pattern of *Chāhargāh* mode

The piece can be divided into three chief sections, according to rhythmic dynamism and modal features. The beginning has a three beat meter in andantino tempo in *Chāhārgāh* mode. The beginning melody is transcribed in figure 4.2.

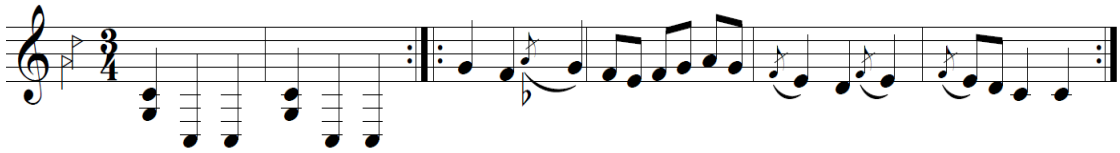


Figure 4.2 First phrase of *Chakād*, by Parviz Meshkatian

In the first 120 bars of the piece, no percussion is used. The second part starts with a modulation from *Chāhārgāh* to *Bidād*, which is a key *gushe* in *dastgāh*-e *Homāyoun* with the following intervallic pattern. The tonal center *(Shāhed)* is here written as **G**.

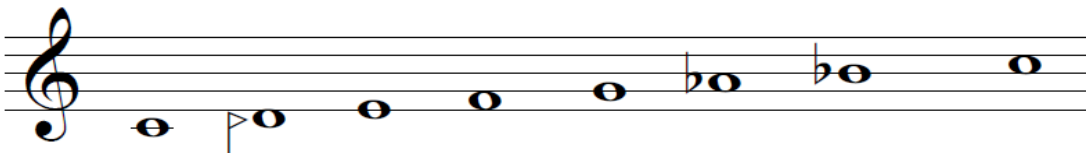


Figure 4.3 Intervallic pattern of *Bidād* mode

Comparing Figures 4.1 and 4.3, we see that the first tetrachord of *Chāhārgāh* and *Bidād* both contain the same intervallic pattern, which makes it easy to modulate between the two modes. The second tetrachord, though, is completely different. Thus the modes present completely different features and feelings. This method of

modulating from *Chāhārgāh* to *Bidād* was not previously common in classical Iranian music.

Right after this modulation, *tombak* enters for the first time in this piece. Although the meter and tempo remain identical to the beginning, the *tombak* increases the rhythmic dynamism in this second section. Figure 4.4 shows the first eight bars of this modulation and the entrance of the tombak.

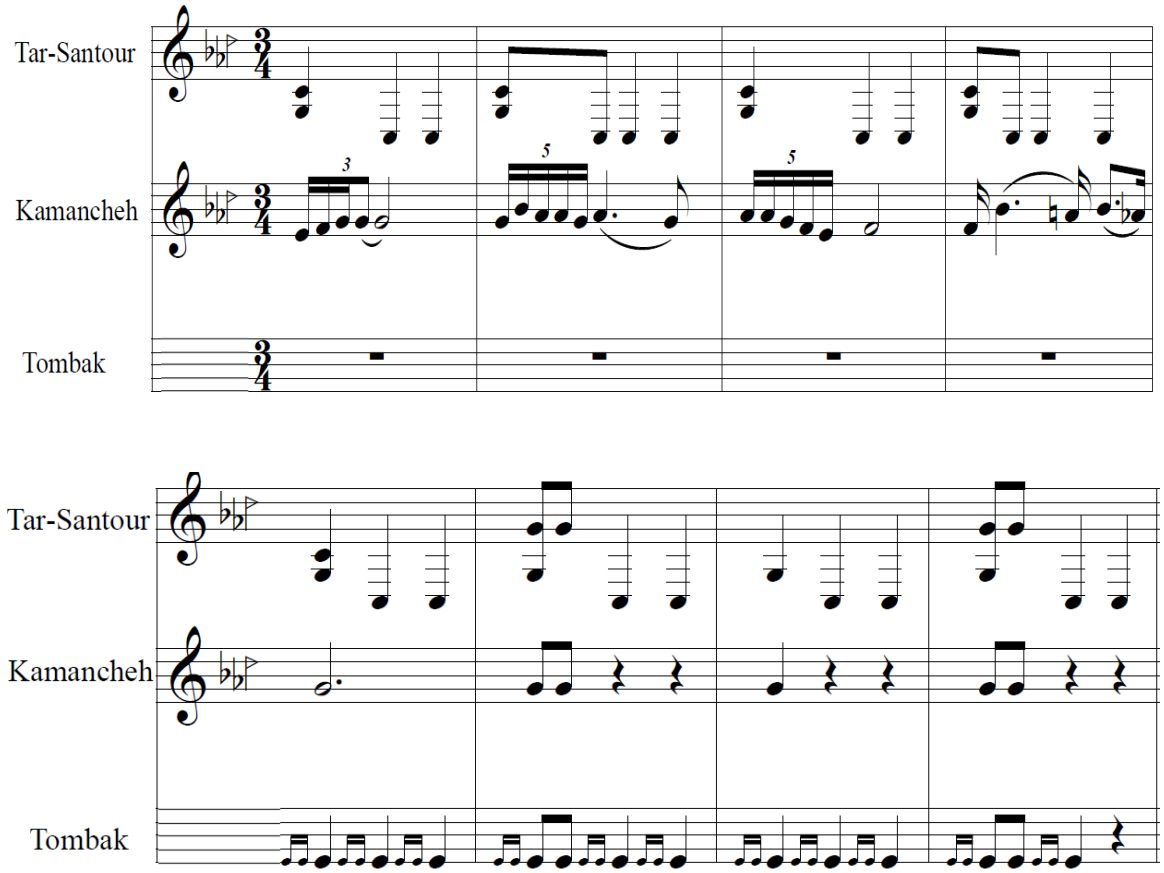


Figure 4.4 Modulation from *Chāhargāh* to *Bidād* in *Chakād*

This second section ends with a fermata, and the third section enters with a six-beat meter and allegro tempo. The *tombak* continues in this section. However, instead of a standard *tombak,* the *zarb-e zurkhāneh* is used, which belongs to a specific place (*zurkhāneh*) with its own cultural features and traditions. This inclusion within an Iranian classical music ensemble is a noteworthy innovation. The rhythmic features of this section, together with the specific sonority and sound effect of the *zurkhāneh tombak,* create an animated, epic atmosphere. Also, the *tombak* of *zurkhāneh* plays either the same as, or variations of, the rhythmic pattern of the motif shown in Figure 4.5, giving the piece greater dynamism. These motifs were performed by *santoor*, *tār*, *oud*, bass *tār,* and *tombak* of *zurkhāneh* in unison, while the other instruments lie silent.

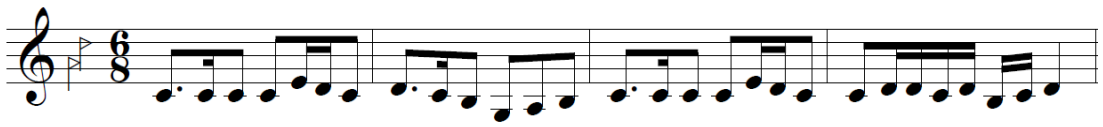


Figure 4.5 Four bars of Chakād with six-beat meter

Another noteworthy feature in the composition and arrangement of *Chakād* is that some parts are in unison and others present light polyphony. Figure 4.6 transcribes bars 57 to 64, which use polyphony.

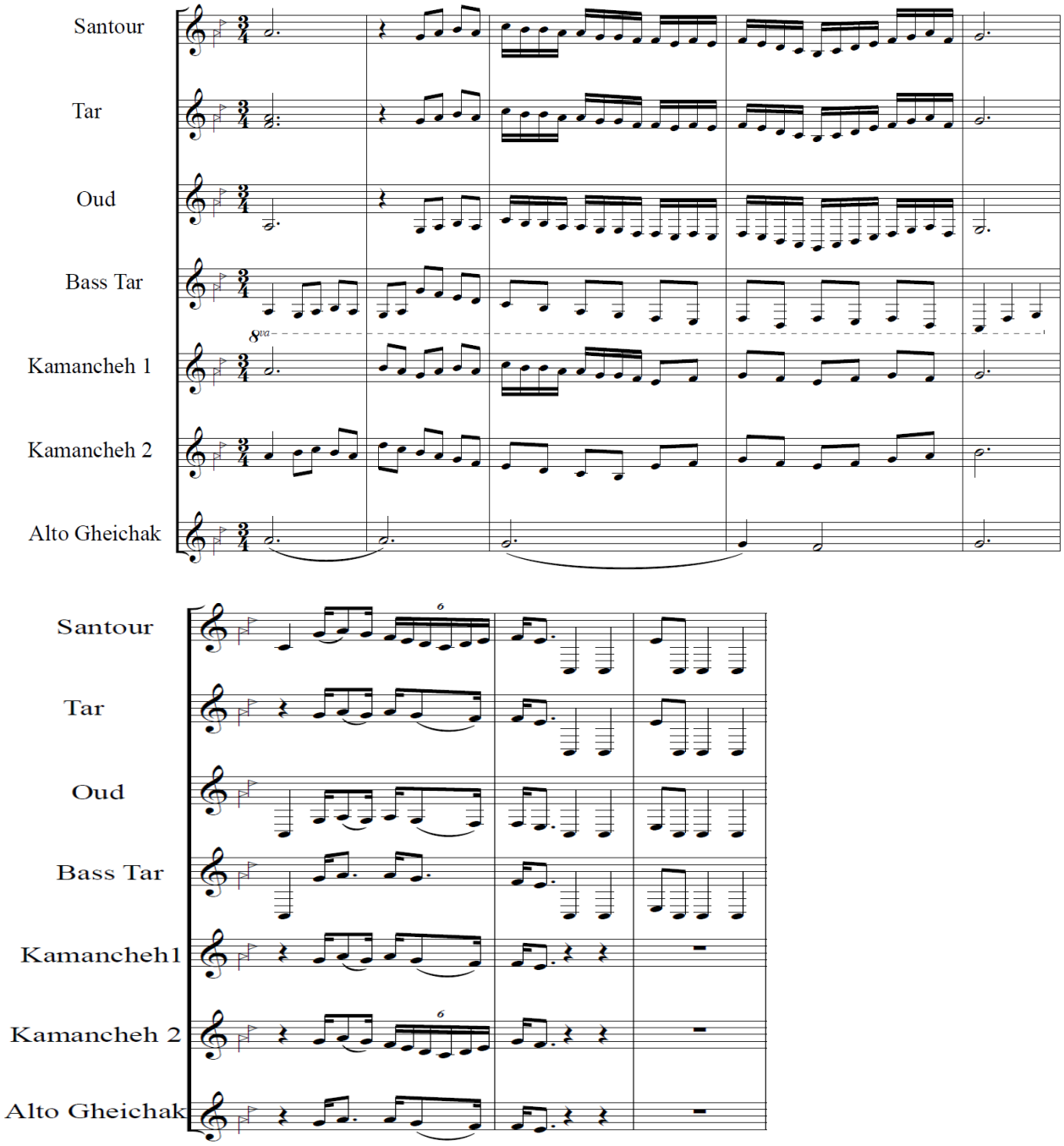


Figure 4.6 Polyphonic melody from *Chakād*

If we compare the functions of the alto *gheichak*, *oud*, and second *kamāncheh* in Figure 4.6 to Payvar's usual method of orchestration, we see that, in addition to Payvar's usage of instruments chiefly to create variety in sound palette, Meshkatian also gives them a harmonic/contrapuntal function.

Just 14 bars after the previous figure, the ensemble performs the following motif in unison:

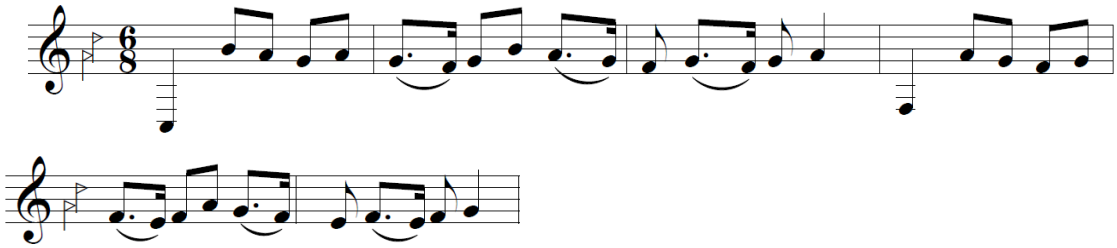


Figure 4.7 Unison melody from *Chakād*

The shifting between polyphonic and unison modes (Which was shown through figures 4.6 and 4.7) occurs frequently in different parts of *Chakād* and accordingly, creates a novel unique auditory experience.

5.4 From the Late 1990s; Reformation and Post-Reformation

In the previous chapter, the socio-political circumstances of Iran under the discourse of reformation and development of "civil society" was discussed. It also explored the manner in which music was influenced by the relaxation policies initiated by the reformist government in Iran. The initial impact of the new policy in Iranian music can be observed in the dramatic growth in music productions– both music albums and live performances (Yousefzadeh 2005, 433-434). Specifically, this trend becomes more noteworthy when we observe the fact that the routine trend of

music productions was interrupted during the first revolutionary years and restricted from the late 1980s until the late 1990s.

One of the significant aspects which was influenced by the policies was the presence of women's resurgence in musical activities which had been strictly banned since 1979. For instance, in one significant music album entitled *Rāz-e Now* (A New Mystery) composed by Hossein Alizadeh, published in 1998, two female singers have performed with one male singer. This was occurring for the first time after the Islamic Revolution. I spoke of this album because *Rāz-e Now,* embraces significant innovative features in composing and performing Iranian music. The most notable innovation on this album is the way in which the voices of the singers play a role in the pieces. Nooshin argues that the voices have been used "instrumentally" or as musical instruments (Nooshin 2015, 53). In addition, if we listen to the performances, it will be observed that the voices of the singer create a polyphonic, canonic mode, both in combination with other voices, and with the musical instruments. These are some novel features which are not clearly traditional in Iranian classical music, and they shape an innovative style of composing, which is also observable in some of Alizadeh's subsequent works such as "E*ndless Vision."*

5.4.1 *Zemestān Ast* (It is Winter)

Zemestān Ast is the name of a music album released in 2001 in Iran. The name of the album is inspired from a poem Mahdi Akhavān Sales[83] with the same title. This music project has been performed by Hossein Alizadeh, Keyhan Kalhor, Mohammad Reza Shajarian and Homayoun Shajarian who respectively have performed *tār*, *kamāncheh*, *tombak* and vocals. This music project has presented various novel innovatory features in the milieu of Iranian classical music. The very first innovation

[83] A well-known Iranian poet, was born in 1929 and died in 1990.

is related to the method of combination of the music and the poem. The mentioned poem (*Zemestān*) by Akhavan -on which the music has been composed- is in format of a *she're now* (new/modern poetry), Unlike classical metric or free-metric Iranian music pieces accompanied by vocals which had been composed or improvised on classical poetry forms such as *Ghazal, Robā'i, Masnavi* and *Dobeiti*. The most significant difference between Persian modern poetry and Persian classical poetry lies in the fact that in classical poetry there exists a fixed, consistent prosodic meter throughout a poem, while in modern Persian poetry usually there is no fixed prosodic pattern. For instance the following table indicates two verses (four Hemistiches) from a famous poem of Hafez[84], which is in form of a *Ghazal* –a classical Persian poetry form- . In order to find its prosodic pattern, each short syllable has been shown by the sign – and long syllables have been shown by the sign U .

1. Alā yā ayyoha sāghi U – – – U – – –	2. *Ader ka'san va nāvelha* U – – – U – – –
3.ke eshgh āsān nemood avval U – – – U – – –	*4.vali oftād moshkelhā* U – – – U – – –

Figure 5 Table of prosodic pattern of a classical poem by Hafiz

[84] A very renowned Iranian poet who lived in the 14th century.

Table 2 indicates that the prosodic pattern of U – – – U – – – has been obeyed in every hemistich of the poem. Meanwhile, in the poem *Zemestān* there is no fixed prosodic pattern as such, and instead each hemistich has its own prosodic pattern (Table 3).

1.*Salāmat rā nemikhāhand pāsokh goft* U – – – U – – – U – – U –	2. *sarhā dar garibān ast* – – – U – – – U
3. *kasi sar barnayārad kard* U – – – U – – – U	4. *Pāsokh goftan-o didār-e yārān rā* – – – U – – – U – – –

Figure 5' Table of Prosodic pattern of four hemistichs of *Zemestān* by Akhavan Saless

These metric differences enable *Zemestān Ast* to combine poem and melody in ways that highlight such elements as rhythmic patterns, melismatic patterns, and timing in ways impossible in classical poems and melodies. A full analysis of the combination of melody and poem in this work would require a thorough research to cover all its various aspects. So, for our analysis we will put aside these rhythmic features and instead focus on the modal aspects.

The second significant innovation of this work is its modal aspect and the resulting melodic movements. The chief mode is *Dād-o Bidād*, which exists neither in *radif* nor in maestros' classical improvisations; it is a new mode created by Alizadeh as a combination of *Dād* and *Bidād*. *Dād* is a *gushe* belonging to *dastgāh*-e *Māhoor*, with its *shāhed* on the second degree of *Māhoor*. Figure 5.1 outlines the intervallic structure of *Māhoor* with the area of *gushe-ye Dād*.

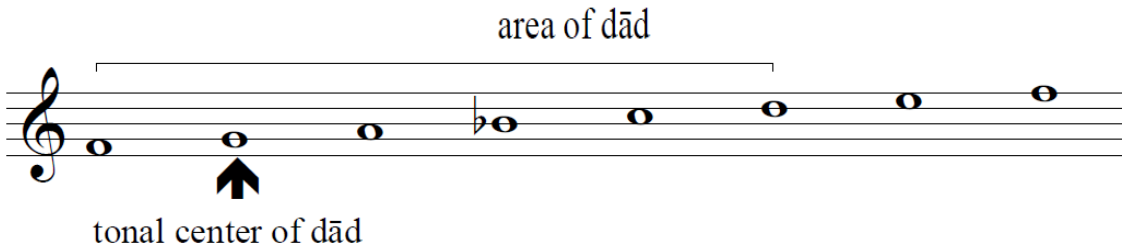
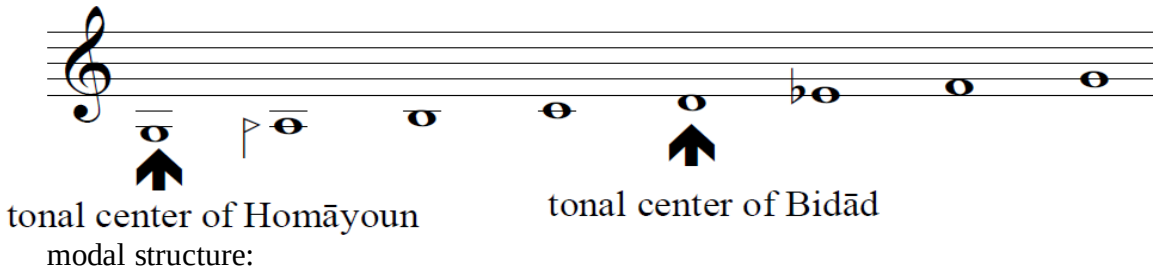


Figure 5.1 Intervallic pattern of *Māhoor,* showing the area of *gushe-ye Dād*

Meanwhile, *Bidād* is a key *gushe* of *dastgāh*-e *Homāyoun* with the following



modal structure:

Figure 5.2 Intervallic pattern of *Homāyoun* with the tonal center of *gushe-ye Bidād*

Dād-o Bidād blends modal features of these two patterns. The following figure indicates the structure of *Dād-o Bidād,* as used in *Zemestān Ast.* (Tone **E** is natural in *Dād* mode and is flat in *Bidād* mode).

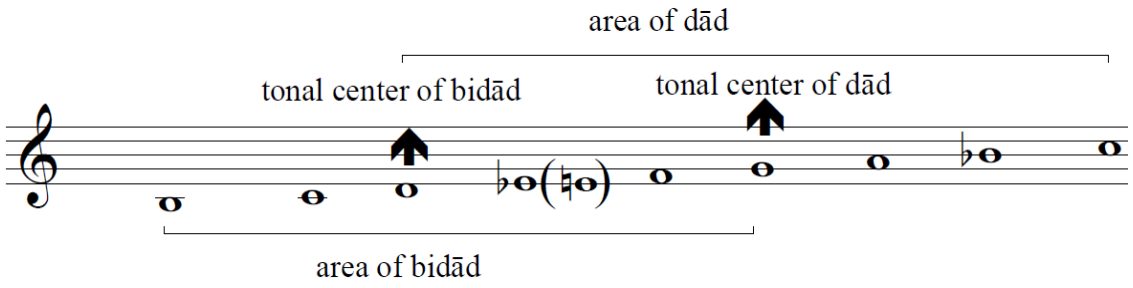


Figure 5.3 Modal structure of *Dād-o Bidād*

The mode *Dād-o Bidād* was previously used in parts of the aforementioned album *Raze Now,* but in *Zemestān Ast* it is the dominant mode throughout. To facilitate a more consonant performance of *Dād-o Bidād*, the tuning system of the *tār* had to be altered from the classical tunings. The most common traditional tunings (from treble to bass) for *tār* are below:

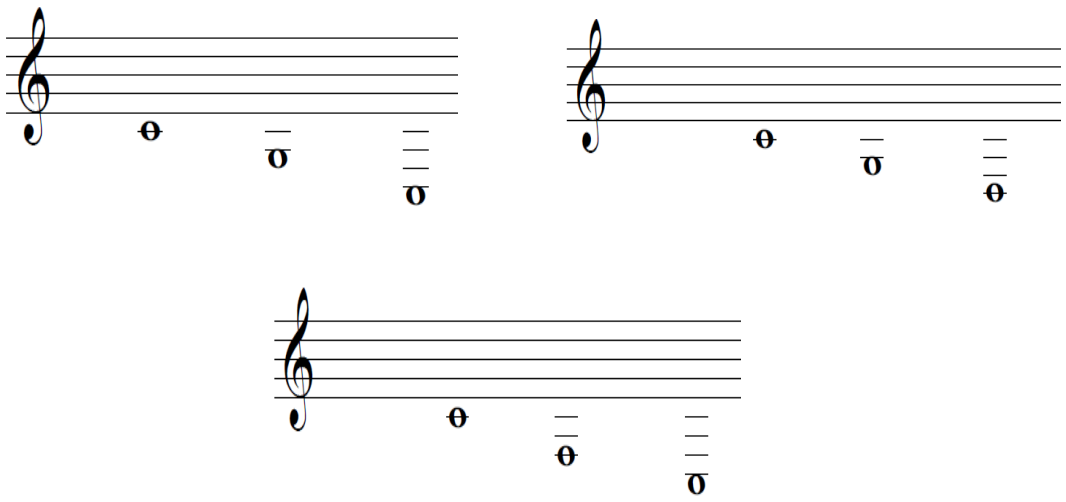


Figure 5.4 Three common tuning system for *tār* and *setār*

In *Dād-o Bidād* mode the *tār* is tuned as shown in Figure 5.5. Tuning the middle strings to **F** strengthens the function of the tonal center of *Māhoor,* while tuning the the bass and sympathetic strings both to **D** strengthens *Bidād's* tonal center.

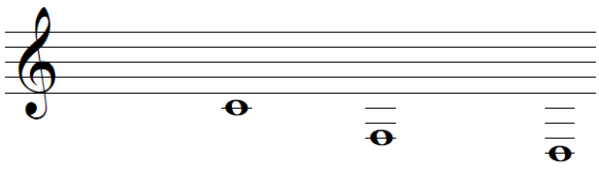


Figure 5.5 Tuning system for *tār* created by Hossein Alizadeh for *Zemestān Ast*

Zemestān Ast is approximately 41 minutes. The entire poem is sung in free meter, while *tār* and *kamāncheh* accompany the vocals heterophonically. In between some vocal parts, metric instrumentals are performed by *tār*, *kamāncheh,* and *tombak*. Before the vocal enters, a famous piece called *Reng-e Zarb-e Osoul*, from *radif* of Mirza Abdollah (Talai 2013, 68-70), is performed as an introduction; the piece is originally in *dastgāh* of *Shour*, but Alizadeh and Kalhor performed it in *Dād-o Bidād*.

As mentioned, the majority of the vocal melodies were performed in *Dād-o Bidād* mode, such that some melodic ideas are in *Dād,* and then the melody descends (*foroud*) in *Bidād*. In other parts, melodic ideas are in key *gushe*s such as *Darāmad, Goshāyesh, Oshāgh, Bayāt-e Rāje,* and *Arāgh,* which repeatedly return to *Bidād*. This way of combining *gushe-hā* is quite novel, and does not appear in *radif* or *radif*-based performances.

Figure 5.6 shows the melodic motion and modal trend of the first verse, sung in *darāmad* of *Māhoor* with tonal center **F**.

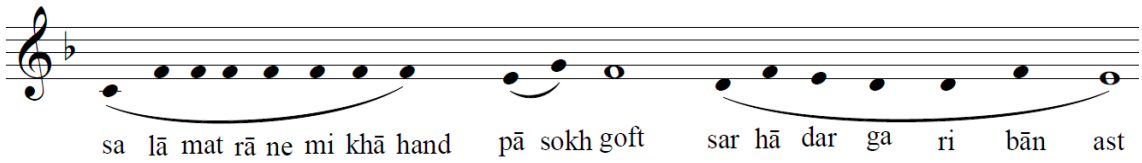


Figure 5.6 Melodic motion of *Zemestān Ast* in *Darāmad* of *Māhoor*

Right after that, the singer repeats the last part of the same lyrics in *Bidād*, as follows:

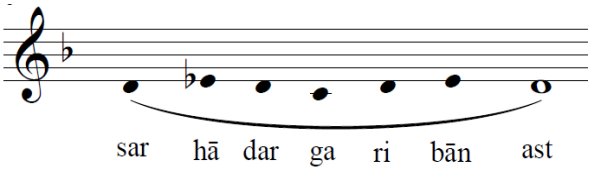


Figure 5.7 Melodic motion of *Zemestān Ast* in *Bidād* mode

The following figure illustrates another part of the vocal, sung in *gushe*-ye *Goshāyesh* with tonal center **G**:

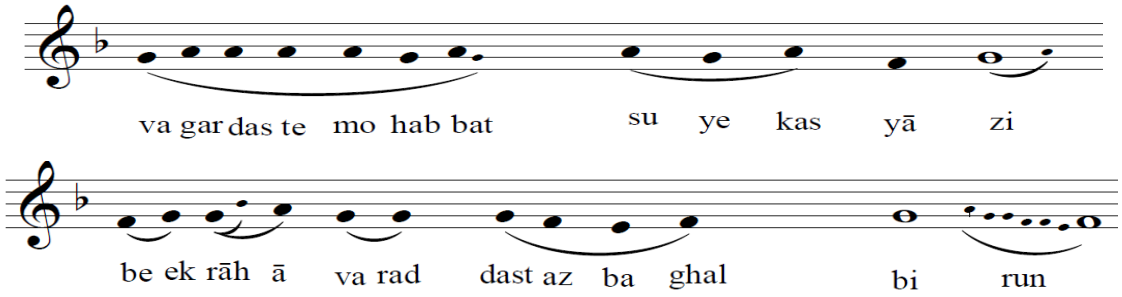


Figure 5.8 Melodic motion of *Zemestān Ast* in *gushey-e Goshāyesh*

These motifs are followed by a temporary *foroud* in *darāmad* of *Māhoor,* and then again in *Bidād* (as we saw in Figure 5.6).

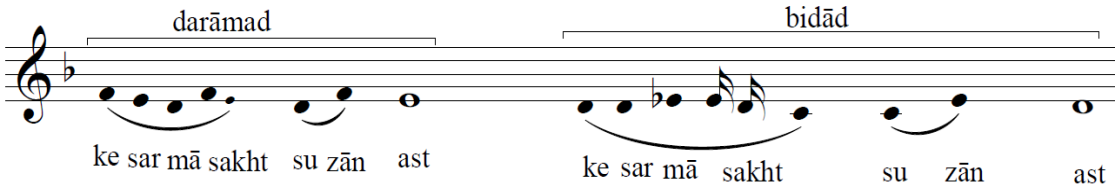


Figure 5.9 Melodic motion of *Zemestān Ast* in *Darāmad* of *Māhoor* and in *Bidād*

This illustrated trend—presenting a melodic idea in one specific *gushe* and then *foroud* (descend/cadence) in *Bidād*—happens frequently throughout the performance.

After the *Goshāyesh* and some melodic motions between *Dād* and *Bidād*, the piece ascends by modulating to *Oshāgh*, with the following lyrics:

Havā bas nājavānmardāne sard ast āy

Damat garm-o sarat khosh bād

Salāmam ra to pāsokh gouy dar bogshāy

The following figure[85] shows the melodic area and intervallic pattern of *Oshāgh* as performed in this work.

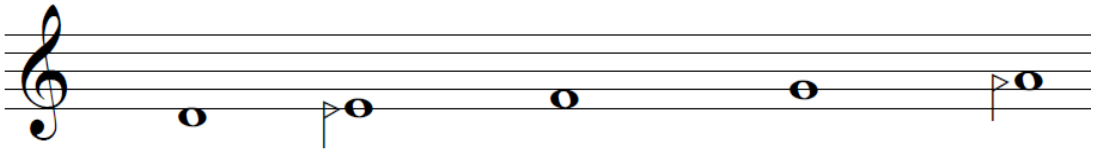


Figure 5.10 Intervallic pattern and melodic area of *Oshāgh* in *Zemestān Ast*

Immediately after the *gushe* of *Oshāgh*, it modulates to *Bayāt-e Rāje* with the following lyrics:

Manam man mihmān-e har shabat,

Loulivash-e maghmoum

Manam man sang-e tipā khorde-ye ranjour

Manam doshnām-e past-e āfarinesh

Naghme-ye nājour, naghme-ye nājour

[85] The register in which the singer sings *Oshāgh*, *Bayāt-e Rāje,* and *Arāgh* is one octave higher than the register of *Darāmad* and *Goshāyesh*.

The melodic area and intervallic pattern of *Bayāt-e Raje* is as follows;

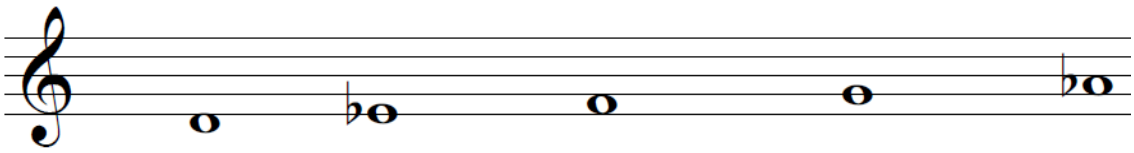


Figure 5.11 Intervallic pattern and melodic area of *Bayāt-e Rāje* in *Zemestān Ast*

The next mode is *Arāgh,* which is the *owj* (climax) of the work.

Na az roumam na az zangam

Hamān birang-e birangam

Biā bogshāy dar bogshāy deltangam

Melodic area and intervallic pattern of *Arāgh* is as following;

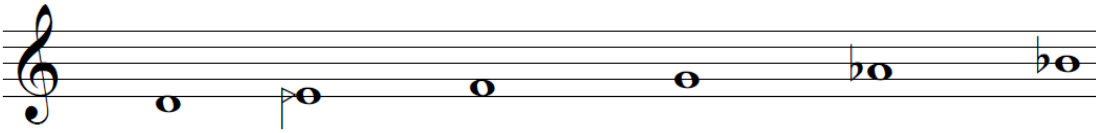


Figure 5.12 Intervallic pattern and melodic area of *Arāgh* mode as climax of *Zemestān Ast*

After *gushe* of *Arāgh,* the piece begins to descend, returning to *Goshāyesh*, *Dād-o Bidād, Homāyoun,* and a final *foroud* (descent) on *Bidād*, all of which had already been introduced intervallically.

5.4.2 *Arghavān* (Judas Tree)

Given the central goal of this research (to examine the notion and function of tradition in Iranian music and its dynamics of change since the 1970s), it is necessary to analyze the musical trends of newer generations of musicians in Iran. Today, we find a new generation who have radically changed the key elements of Iranian

classical music, as we see in their solo performances, vocal and instrumental music, and orchestral music. A few recent examples of this trend include Ali Ghamsari's 2009 collaboration with Homayoun Shajarian *Āb, Nān, Āvāz (Water, Bread, Singing)*, Ghamsari's 2017 *Divār-o Chin (The Wall and China)*, Tahmoures Pournazeri's 2014 *Na Fereshte-am na Sheytān* (Neither Angel nor Devil), and Peyman Khazeni's 2017 *Hamhame-ye Kāshi-hā (Tumult of Tiles)*. There are many examples of innovative works in contemporary Iranian music, and a precise examination of the dynamics of change in each respect would require a separate analysis.

Here I choose to analyze one such innovative piece, *Arghavān* by Mahyar Alizadeh, with lyrics by Hooshang Ebtehaj, sung by Alireza Ghorbani. Mahyar Alizadeh was born in 1982 in Tehran, so when he published *Arghavān* on the 2013 album *Harigh-e Khazān (Fire of Autumn)* he was in his early 30s. I chose this piece because, in addition to its innovations, the piece has become very popular among Iranians. The album *Harigh-e Khazān* became a top seller in the Iranian market in 2013[86] and was named best "Iranian traditional music album" of 2013 by the website *Musighi-e Mā* [87].

The first thing we notice is that all the instruments employed are "non-Iranian." The sheet music calls for oboe, clarinet, horn, bass guitar, piano, violins, viola, cello, and contrabass; the vocals consists of a chief vocalist plus three choir singers. As for the tonality and modality, there are no accidentals in the key signature, but reading the score shows that it is in b minor. I asked Mahyar about this and he replied that "as I studied modern music composition in Armenia, they emphasized eliminating the

[86] See https://www.isna.ir/news/91122214384/اعلام-پرفروش-ترین-آلبوم-های-موسیقی-در-سال-تلخ-ناشران

[87] See http://www.musicema.com/node/206803

accidentals from key signature, so that the piece does not tend to go into a specific tonality. Thus, all my sheet music is like that" (Instagram message to author, 2018). In contrast to the non-tonal and non-*dastgāh* orchestrational approach, singer Alireza Ghorbani's vocal melody shows tonal and *dastgāh*-based features, specifically of *Dashti* mode (which we have already seen in figure 2.3) with tonal center **F** sharp. The intervallic structure of the vocal melody is as follows:

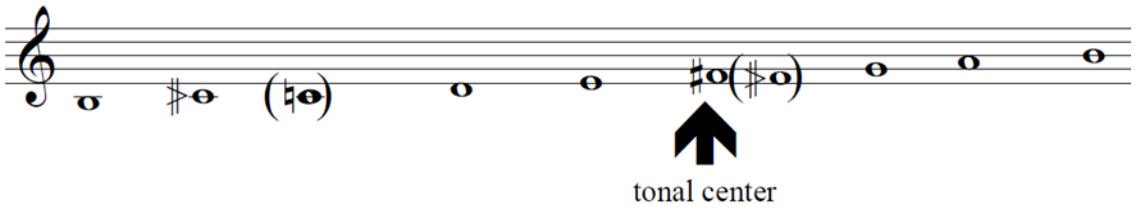


Figure 6.1 Intervallic Pattern of *Dashti* mode, with tonal center F sharp

The beginning motif sung by the singer is indicated in Figure 6.2.

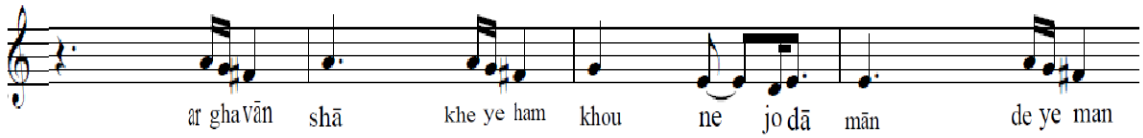


Figure 6.2 First vocal phrase of *Arghavān*, by Mahyar Alizadeh

Simultaneously, the orchestra performs the melodies indicated in Figure 6.3 as accompaniment to the above illustrated four bars of Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.3 shows that, if we exclude the vocal melody from the sheet music, the instrumental melodies embrace almost no features in accordance to traditional/classical Iranian music, not the modal features, nor the melodic motions, nor the rhythmic patterns. This is true throughout the piece, whether the orchestra is accompanying the singer (as in Figures 6.2 and 6.3) or the vocalist is silent and

orchestra carries the melody (Figure 6.4). In short, if the vocal were eliminated from *Arghavān*, it would be difficult to guess the genre or nationality of the piece.

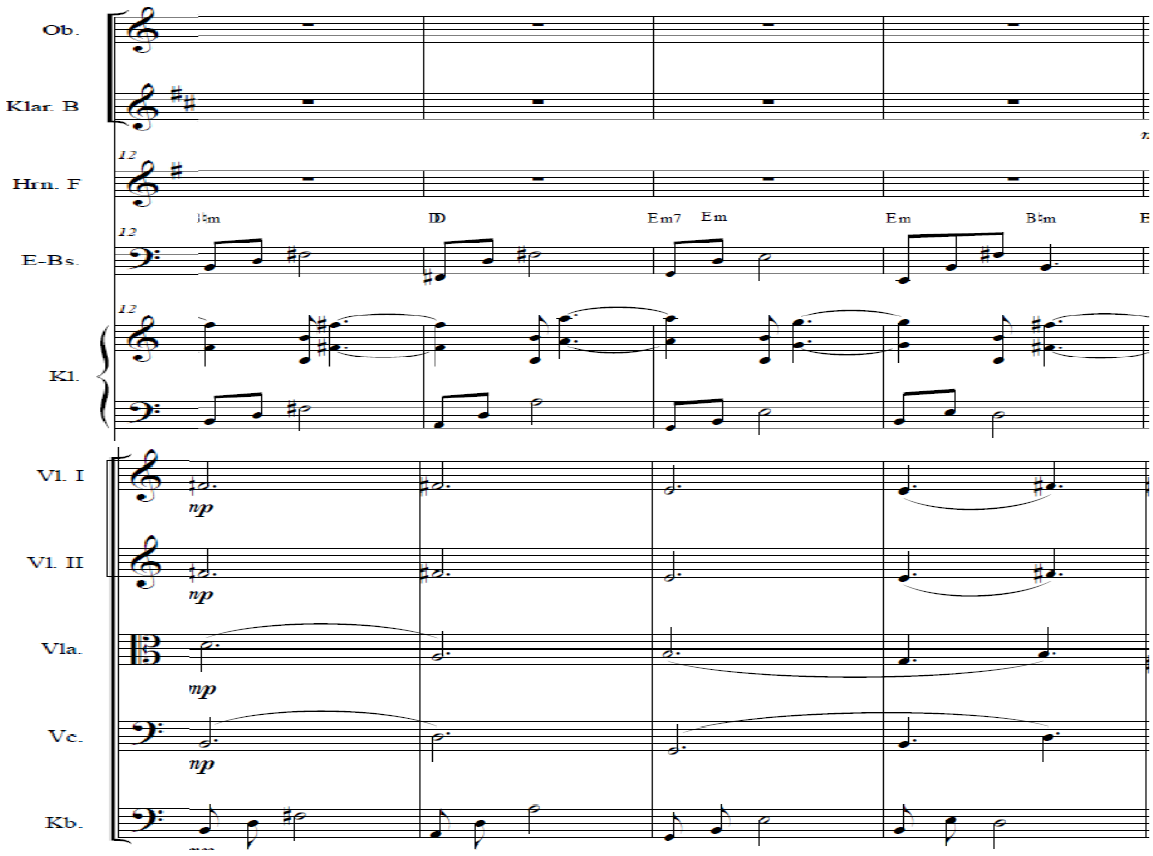


Figure 6.3 Orchestral accompaniment to vocal melody of *Arghavān*

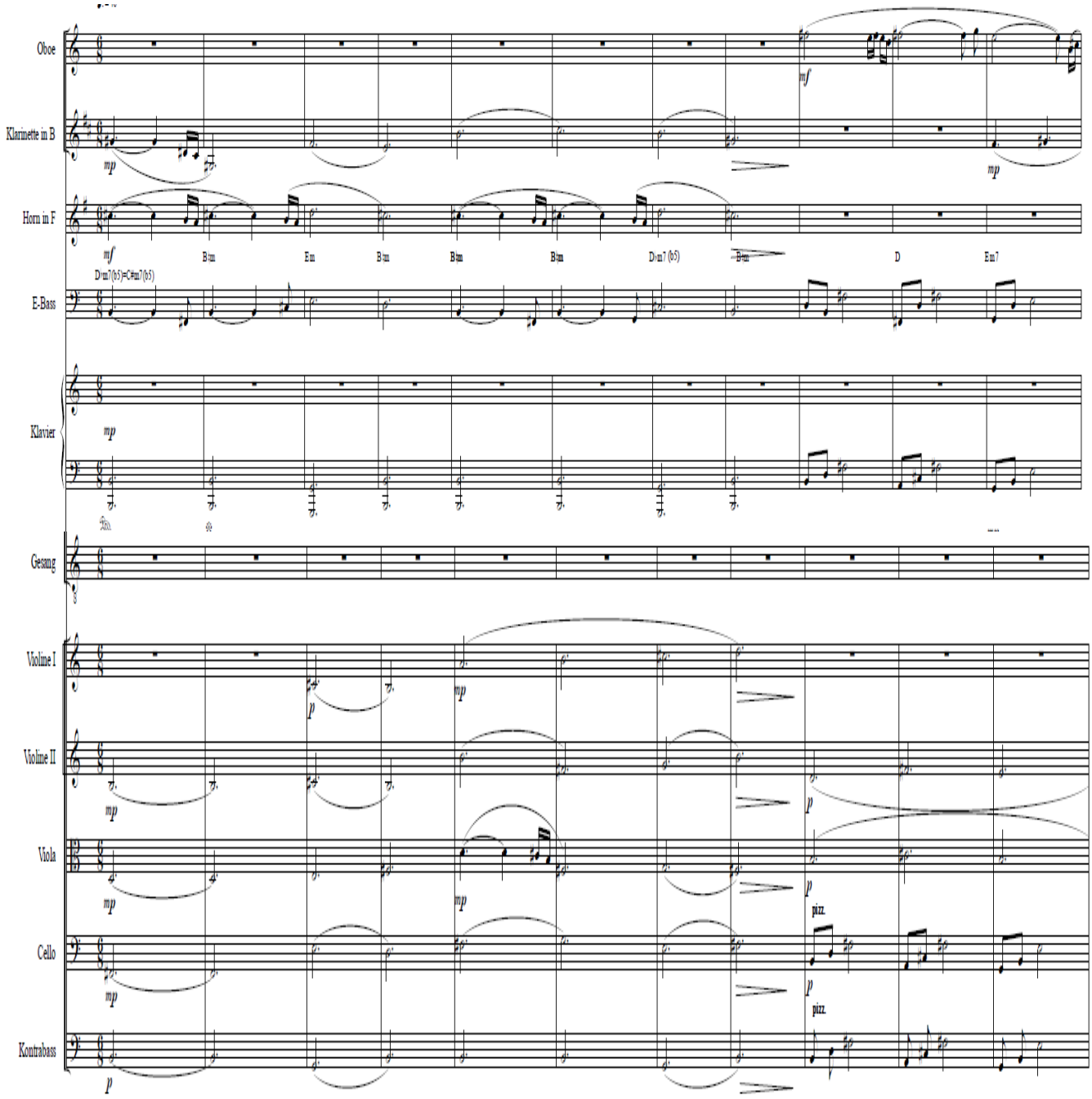


Figure 6.4 Eleven bars of instrumental melody of *Arghavān*

On the other hand, the melodic trend, modal features, and melismatic patterns performed by the singer are comparatively closer to those of traditional/classical Iranian music. For instance, the following figure shows the vocalist performing microtones on the tonal center of *Dashti* (**F** sharp), which was previously introduced

(Figure 2.4) as a key characteristic of *āvāz* of *Dashti*. (The orchestra, however, never performs these microtones.)

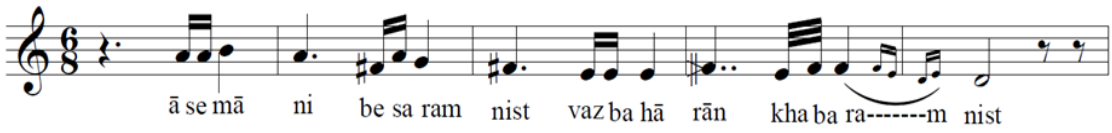


Figure 6.5 A vocal melody of *Arghavān*

In Figure 6.5, the singer performs a microtone on **F** in the 4th bar, and additionally performs melisma on the syllable "*ram*," which is a common classical Iranian vocal technique.Thus, given these features (melodic motions, intervallic structures, instrumentation, harmony, counterpoint, and rhythmic patterns) *Arghavān* demonstrates a novel compositional style in polyphonic, orchestral *tasnif*. Even in comparison to polyphonic orchestral pieces by Alinaghi Vaziri and his successors like Khaleghi, or those of the *Golhā* program, or the others we have analyzed in the present chapter—all of which were considered novel and/or avant-garde in their time—*Arghavān* yet is more distant from the traditional features of Iranian classical music.

5.5 Let's Put Our Music in Dialogue: Inter-Cultural Music Productions

In chapter 4, we looked at rapid changes in key elements of Iranian music during the past two decades—which challenged the idea that tradition is something static—and at musicians' perceptions of the nexus of tradition and identity. Yet another noteworthy trend in Iranian music, especially since 2000, is the growing interest in producing intercultural music. We saw that the reformist government inaugurated in 1997 pursued a policy of détente between Iran and the West (in addition to relatively

relaxed domestic policies), leading to a discourse of "dialogue among civilizations." This discourse in turn catalyzed a trend of producing intercultural fusion music, which continues today.

Thus, concerts and albums began to combine Iranian music with features from other musical cultures. Hossein Alizadeh and Keyhan Kalhor are two renowned musicians who have cooperated on such projects. Hossein Alizadeh's collaboration with Djivan Gasparyan, a well-known Armenian musician, on the album *Endless Vision*, was nominated for the Best Traditional World Music Album at the Grammy awards in 2007. Also notable example is *The Rain*, a collaboration between Keyhan Kalhor and Shujaat Husain Khan, a well-known Indian maestro; this album was also a nominee for Best Traditional World Music Album at the 2004 Grammy awards. Keyhan Kalhor has also regularly collaborated with Turkish saz player Erdal Erzincan, as well as Kurdish singer Aynur Doğan, in other instances of cross-cultural collaboration. Additionally, Keyvan Saket and Azeri master Ramiz Guliyev performed together regularly in the 2000s.

Naturally, when Iranian music is combined with a foreign musical culture, it distances itself from the codified tradition of Iranian music. Analyzing the above collaborative works of Alizadeh, Kalhor, and Saket, we find that key elements—such as modal constructions, intervallic patterns, rhythmic patterns, melodic motions, sonority, the usage of polyphony, ornamentations, and the combination of lyrics and melody—are removed from the codified traditional repertoire of Iranian music and *radif*. This is true even in comparison to the same artists' Iranian music productions, which were already seen as innovative within the realm of Iranian classical music. For instance, consider the instrumental project *Silent City*, produced in 2008 by Keyhan Kalhor with the New York string quartet Brooklyn Rider. The principal track "Silent

City" is approximately 30 minutes, and was composed by Keyhan Kalhor; yet if we analyze the piece according to my eight key musical elements and compare it with classical or even avant-garde Iranian musical works, we see that the fundamental Iranian musical elements are extremely pale.

5.6 Iranian Music and Virtual Space: An Instagram Style?

I have already analyzed the advent of *musighi-e radio'i* (radio music) as a popular music in the 1960s and 70s, and the traditionalists' opposition to it. At that time radio, as an influential medium, affected certain performative and social aspects of Iranian music, specifically the perception and practice of tradition. Ahmad Ebadi, one of the most prominent radio musicians, suggested that his style was altered as a result of his performing on the radio.

> *In the past, we had to play* setār *in a way that the audience could hear it because there were no vocal tools.... The first time I played* setār *on the radio, there was no recording apparatus or audiotape. My program was broadcast live. I asked some of the experts to listen to my performance and to give their feedback about it. Some of them complied. After listening to several of my performances, they told me they had not understood anything from the performances, they had only heard some noise. I began to think over and over about what this could mean. Why should it be like this? The* setār *has its own sonic characteristics, along with the* santoor *and other musical instruments. But, why can they not hear the music from the* setār *well? I was careless about the fact that the strings of my* setār *were very close to each other and because I would play in the method and style of the previous maestro noisily, there was no specific characteristic for that. From that time going forward, I changed my style of playing the* setār*, by giving it much thought, in a way that it found an independent identity for itself and has remained so. But, unfortunately, I now see that some musicians have returned to the outdated style again, which is very unpleasant* (Ebadi 1990, 43).

I assume that today's online platforms such as Instagram and Telegram—the current influential media—serve the same function of catalysts of change that radio played in the previous generation. However, since music only recently began to circulate pervasively on these platforms (unlike radio music), we can not yet fully analyze the features of Iranian music on these platforms.

I speak of Instagram and Telegram because they have become extremely popular among Iranians. Statistically over 40 million Iranians used Telegram and 24 million Iranians were on Instagram in 2018[88]. This massive popularity indicates how vast their potential effect is; this is illustrated for example in the presidential campaigns of 2017, wherein the social networks and messengers played a significant role in uniting the supporters of Hassan Rouhani, who won the election (Naeli 2013).

A comprehensive examination of the extensive influence of the Internet and social networks on people's daily lives, in general, and on Iranian music would require separate study. There already exists an extensive literature regarding various media and their influence on the different aspects of societies, but the sociality of Iranian classical music on online platforms has not yet been the focus of any specific scholarly writings. Yet, in the service of one of my central concerns—the dynamics of change in the function and perception of tradition in Iranian music in various eras—including the present—it will be useful to at least introduce the influence of online platforms.

Regarding the scarcity of literature in this area, I relied chiefly on my own observations for this discussion. First I observe that social networks have provided many musicians, of different age groups and genders, a place to present their work.

[88] See https://financialtribune.com/articles/economy-sci-tech/81384/iran-ranked-world-s-7th-instagram-user

Their no-charge, easy access to a large audience has made them an attractive context for many musicians to show their work.

Two major categories of Iranian musicians are engaging in social platforms for their music. First, some already well-known musicians have joined social networks to increase their audience; these include Ali Ghamsari, a composer and *tār* player, who has approximately 120,000 Instagram followers[89]; and Parvaz Homay, a singer with approximately 180,000 Instagram followers[90]. Meanwhile, other musicians' primary launch onto the music scene has been through online social media; this category is notably dominated by female musicians and singers, though some male musicians are also included. Female musicians are restricted (and in the case of solo singing, prohibited) from participating in public social occasions like concerts; online platforms therefore provide an alternative space for their musical activities. Two women musicians who have found success online are Naghmeh Moradabadi, a *tār* player whose Instagram page has 100,000 followers[91], and Mehrnaz Dabirzadeh, a percussionist with over 630,000 Instagram followers[92].

The virtual space, then, has the capacity to be a serious rival to the offline world in the circulation of Iranian music. Drawing people's attention through social networks is in some ways easier, because creating a channel on Telegram or a page on Instagram and uploading music is simpler than the long, awkward process of obtaining an official license (*mojavvez*) from the Ministry of Culture and Guidance for concerts or albums. Moreover, the online audience can potentially be much bigger than for concerts or even CDs.

[89] https://instagram.com/alighamsari?utm_source=ig_profile_share&igshid=q795fyga6yzp

[90] https://instagram.com/parvazhomay?utm_source=ig_profile_share&igshid=2tmtuty0ez4z

[91] https://instagram.com/naghmehmoradabādi?utm_source=ig_profile_share&igshid=1tuuh73ystw9o

[92] https://instagram.com/mehrnaazdabirzadeh?utm_source=ig_profile_share&igshid=app82b9w9a4z

One significant observation about many online performances of Iranian music is that basic elements of the codified traditions—chiefly the eight elements listed in chapter 3—change radically, in both the auditory and visual aspects. As examples, I analyze a video of Ali Ghamsari and singer Haleh Sifyzadeh performing an old *tasnif* in *dastgāh-e segāh* composed by Ali Akbar Sheyda[93]. They uploaded this video to both their Instagram pages as two one-minute clips on March 20th, 2018, and has had more than 120,000 views on their pages, plus likely many more due to the possibility of sharing. This *tasnif* belongs to the traditional repertoire of Iranian classical music, but the way they perform it in this video is totally new. The singer presents the melody line of the *tasnif* and Ghamsari accompanies her singing with *tār*. Ghamsari's right and left hand *tār* techniques are far from the common techniques, and moreover, his accompanying melodies to the vocal contain various non-traditional elements, such as chords (both consonant and dissonant), long glissandos, and rapid constant jumps between low and high tones. In short, their re-performance of an old, traditional piece seems peculiar according to traditional musical criteria.

[93] Aliakbar Sheida (1844-1905) was a significant poet and composer of *tasnif* in Qajar era.

Figure 7.1 Screenshot from Haleh Seyfizadeh's Instagram page. Performance of *tasnif* of *Az Gham-e Eshgh-e To,* by Aliakbar Sheyda in *Dastgah-e Segah*, performed by Ali Ghamsari and Haleh Seyfizadeh.
https://www.instagram.com/p/BvPoSmgFU5u/?igshid=ry78glnkljr9

Aside from musical elements, the other notable area radically changed within online performances appearance of the performance, which is an element of the ceremony of Iranian music, as mentioned in chapter 3. I've included two pictures captured from videos, of Naghmeh Moradabadi and Ali Ghamsari playing *tār*. In Figure 7.2, we see Moradabadi performing while walking on the beach, with a *tār* hung by a rope over her shoulders. In Figure 7.3, we see Ali Ghamsari playing *tār* seated on a bed. These photos present an appearance very distant from the disciplined, codified classical performance atmosphere. Iranian traditional/classical music has usually been performed in a rather official, formal, and prestigious atmosphere. The popular imagination of the genre in which Iranian musical instruments are played is certainly official and, to some extent, spiritual (e.g., Figures 7.4, 7.5, and 7.6). This trend of casualness in performance seems to be a consequence of changes in the

"conceptual boundaries between public and private," due to online platforms (Nooshin 2018, 243).

Figure 7.2 Screen shot from Naghmeh Moradabadi's Instagram page.
https://instagram.com/naghmehmoradabādi?utm_source=ig_profile_share&igshid=1tuuh73ystw9o

Figure 7.3 Screen shot from Ali Ghamsari's Instagram page.
https://www.instagram.com/p/Bpm7kuKA6sF/?igshid=1mb23usc736wk

These are just a few examples of the many virtual performances by Iranian musicians with a large audience, which challenge the key elements of tradition in Iranian music. This online trend seems even more significant when we consider that much of the audience, especially teenagers, are nowadays first exposed to Iranian music and instruments through social networks. These audiences use these media because they are easily accessible and plentiful, they show banned musical instruments, and they provide free streaming of musical activities which have been restricted on official media, since the Islamic Revolution in Iran. These new media will likely severely affect the transmission of musical traditions, and accordingly the notion of identity, to the next generation.

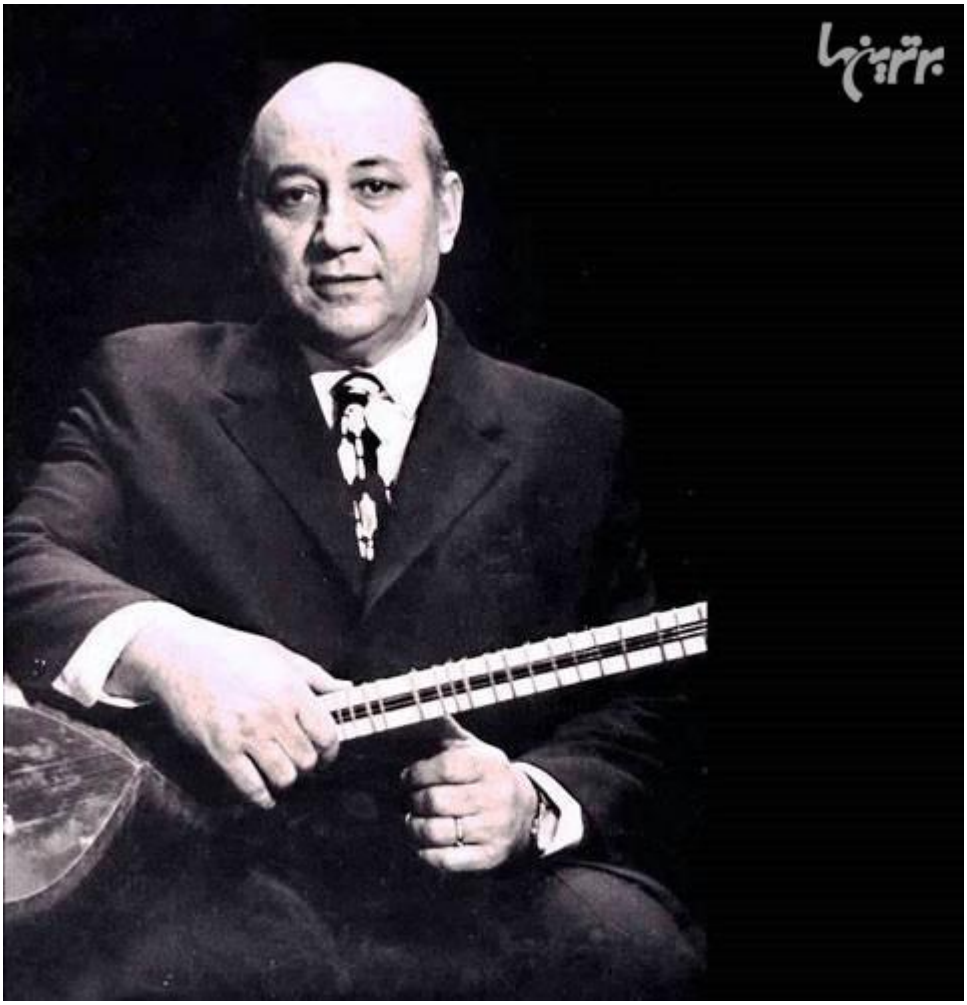


Figure 7.4 Jalil Shahnaz (Photo from *bartarinha* website),
https://www.bartarinha.ir/fa/news/159988/فرامرز-پایور-آهنگساز-و-سنتورنواز-ایرانی

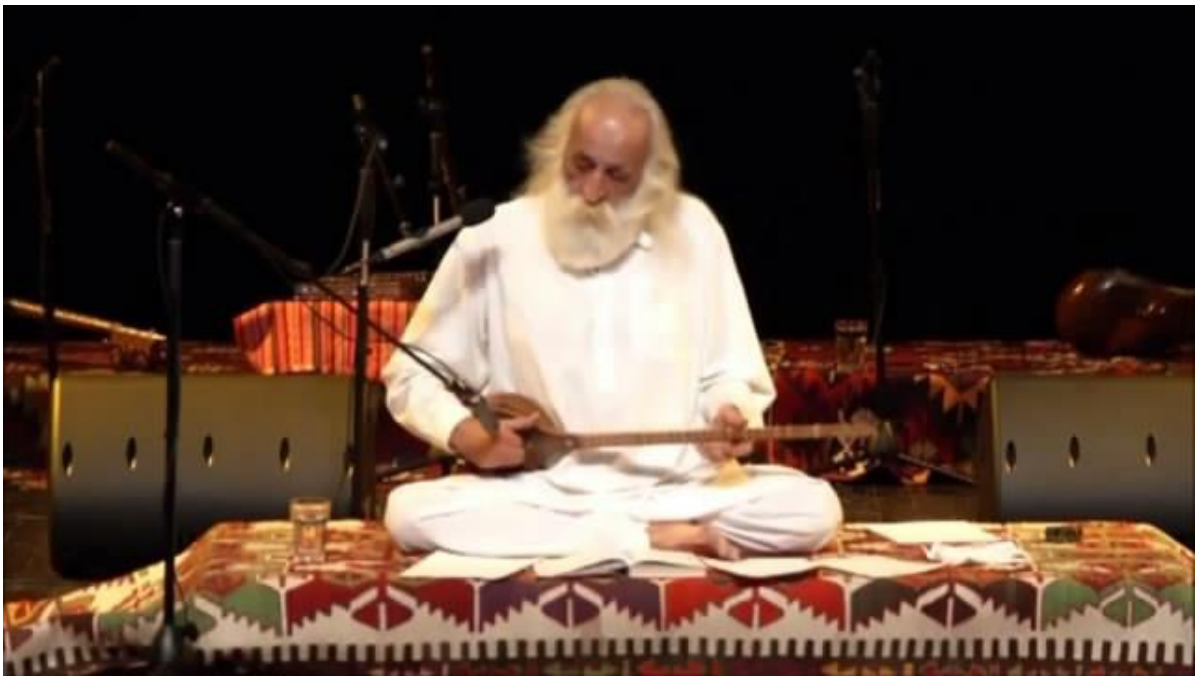


Figure 7.5 Mohammadreza Lotfi (Photo captured from a video on https://youtu.be/RTvyB1b4Ees).

Figure 7.6 *Gorouh-e asātid* (Ensemble of Maestros) from left to right: Faramarz Payvar, Jalil Shahnaz, Asghar Bahari, Mohammad Mousavi, Mohammad Esmaili (Photo from *naghmehchavosh* weblog), https://naghmehchavosh.persianblog.ir/e7qpdWmOvDcXXGYrJ3dg-

Chapter 6. Conclusion

In analyzing Iranian thinkers' and musicians' perceptions of tradition, and engaging with cross-disciplinary studies on the notion of tradition, this dissertation hopes to provide a scholarly response to the long-term disputes both in intellectual, theoretical debates, and in practical quarrels about performance, from the early 20th Century until the present—disputes of old versus new, authenticity versus innovation, and tradition versus modernity. I have argued that these disputes have resulted in an ambiguity and confusion in how concepts like "authenticity" and "creativity" are perceived and practiced, and that this ambiguity has limited the potential of *dastgāh* music.

This study has addressed the intellectual roots upon which the notion of tradition has been constructed, the role of tradition in Iranian society at large, and the ways in which tradition manifests specifically in Iranian classical music. This research has shed light on the relationship of tradition and the construction of collective identity, in both music and society, specifically in relation to selected momentous socio-political moments since the 1970s.

6.1 Findings and Chapter Highlights

In chapter 1, I analyzed the relevant literature and found a scarcity of scholarly research examining the notion and function of tradition and identity in Iranian music, among both written literature and ethnographic materials. The methodology section highlights the reasoning and method of my ethnographic approach—specifically an approach of observation and interviews—to attempt to compensate for this scarcity. In fact, the ethnographic materials I've collected, from the most influential musicians

and musicologists in Iranian classical music, form a basis for a precise examination of the perception of tradition and identity.

In order to accurately reflect the broader cultural context, I have included performances of and interviews with musicians with a range of levels of commitment to classical traditions. Therefore, this research encompasses a wide spectrum of practice and perception, from the tradition oriented to the avant-garde. The informants hail mostly from the same musical generation and tradition oriented educational background, but have come to perch upon different points of the traditionalist / avant-gardist spectrum.

Another objective of this dissertation was to explore key studies on the notion and function of tradition in philosophy, social science, and ethnomusicology, beyond the borders of Iran. I undertook this exploration to fulfill the ultimate goal of this research, to create an intellectual road map to help disentangle Iranian classical music from the historical binary disputes (tradition / renewal, authenticity / innovation).

To this end, chapter 2 analyzes two contrasting approaches—one that considers tradition sacred and immutable, and the other, modernist view of tradition as obstacle to social evolution. Both of these viewpoints perceive tradition as static and unchangeable; thus, for the modernists tradition should be gotten rid of for the sake of development.

I also analyzed a third approach which is a synthesis of these views, which sees tradition as not belonging entirely to the past, but instead as rooted in the past and interpreted, reappropriated, and adjusted for the requisites of the present. The conclusion of chapter 2 is that this third, alternative approach turns tradition into a means to create novelty in various social occasions, as we saw in the discourse of *invention of tradition*.

Also in chapter 2, selected ethnomusicological studies showed how tradition is often bound to decision, in that tradition is a set of handed down behaviors and values, existing as a potential within culture; musicians choose to commit to it or leave it behind. Analyzing social and ethnomusicological examples, I concluded that in many empirical cases, the reappropriation and even forging of tradition have been methods to imagine and construct collective identities. And thus, contrary to popular belief in Iran, tradition is not necessarily something deeply rooted in history, nor a reference for the past.

This dissertation addresses two main questions, each with several corollary questions. First, "how have Iranian musicians, of various major musical trends since the 1970s, discussed and practiced authenticity and tradition?" And second, "what functions has tradition socially served, and accordingly, what have the relations been between Iranian classical music and the construction of national identity?" Here, I will highlight the answers I have found to the questions in the body of this work.

In chapter 3 I showed that the notion of tradition and its societal function in Iran is encapsulated in the term *sonnat.* In fact, *sonnat,* which has a theological wellspring, has been chosen as the translation for "tradition" in Persian. This chapter found that the perception of tradition in Iranian society is strongly mingled with theological and gnostic realms, which consider tradition as sacred and transcendent. This finding applies to both our questions above.

As a result of this integration with theology, tradition seems to have an immutable face. The public understands the term "traditional" to imply a separation between something old and unchanged from something modern and modified. Tradition and modernity are perceived as two essentially contrasting concepts. This viewpoint has penetrated into Iranian classical music as well as other socio-cultural spheres. This is

a main reason that informants of this research shared the view that we cannot call Iranian classical *dastgāh* music "traditional" music. In practice, musicians keep innovating and creating new things in *dastgāh* music, while in contrast the term "traditional" (*sonnati*) music does not express changes. Thus, "traditional music" cannot embrace the innovations in the performative realm of Iranian music.

In chapter 3 we also saw that the way musicians and thinkers view *radif* is a crucial factor in shaping the dynamism of tradition. If we consider *radif* sacred, unquestionable, imperative—like religious texts—tradition becomes restrictive and rigid. On the other hand, treating *radif* as a repository of possibilities, or a skillfully compiled repertoire and a didactic, performative reference, results in a more dynamic musical tradition, capable of fostering the potentials of *dastgāh* music. The second view opens up space for creativity and musical innovation.

Finally chapter 3 discussed the labeling of *dastgāh* music. The term "traditional music" is not expressive and precise enough to encompass *dastgāh* music. Furthermore, most experts see the term "Iranian classical music" as the generic title for a specific type of music with a long theoretical and didactical background, which was once based on the *maghām* system and today is based on *dastgāh*. Thus, in academic writings it is recommended to use "*dastgāh* music" when addressing the musical system, and "classical music" when specifically addressing the genre.

Various examples in the text of relationships between masters and students show that the concept of legacy is one of the functions of tradition, and is concurrently a factor which shapes Iranian tradition. In this sense, being an heir to the musical legacy of a reputable master or a line of thought is a privilege whereby one comes to be considered an upholder of tradition. Borrowed from Pierre Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital, I argued that the privilege of apprenticeship (whether personal or existential)

is a cultural capital, and a criterion for inclusion in the circle of carriers of tradition in Iranian classical music.

One sub-question of this thesis was, "which are the elements in Iranian music which musicians and theorists have discussed and contested within the concept of tradition?" In chapter 3, I extracted eight elements, based on ideas expressed by my informants and on academic and semi-academic literature. These eight elements are as follows: melodic movement and modal constructions; intervals; dynamics and articulation; tonal functions; instrumentation and sonority; meter and rhythm; patterns (melismatic, rhythmic, melodic, and poetic); and ceremony. I named these elements as contested areas of tradition in Iranian classical music.

Although the focus of this dissertation is on the period since the 1970s, in the beginning of chapter 4 I analyzed the roles of tradition and identity in the process of modernization, in some previous momentous periods, namely the Constitutional Era and the first and second Pahlavi Eras. The roots of various lines of thought in the 1970s, and the way these lines perceive tradition and identity—in both society and music—trace back to the beginning of the modernization project in the early 20th century. In the first Pahlavi the dominant current was the attempt to modernize Iranian music by challenging the traditions inherited from the Qajar era. This current continued into the second Pahlavi era, and manifested in the mainstream in the *Golhā* program. As a result of this current, the older masters who remained faithful to Qajar musical traditions found themselves isolated.

In chapter 4, to address the question "what are the main musical trends which Iranian musicians refer to, according to their perceptions about *radif* and Qajar musical traditions," I analyzed the burgeoning traditionalist-revivalist current of the late 1960s and 1970s. This current was created as an alternative to the dominant

avant-gardist, evolutionist stream, and held a chief agenda to preserve and revive Qajar musical values. This traditionalist-revivalist approach took control of most influential music institutions, including the Music Department of the University of Tehran and the Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music. At those institutions were trained a highly influential generation of musicians, including most of the participants of this dissertation.

The emergence of this revivalist current had far-reaching ideological and performative consequences, including: 1. Heavily weighing *radif*, specifically the *radif* of Mirza Abdollah, in shaping tradition; 2. Linking Iranian music with spiritual and mystical ideas; 3. Canonizing and contextualizing traditionalism through academic texts; 4. Categorizing and labeling various musical styles through a tradition-oriented intellectual filter; 5. Freezing of *dastgāh* music.

The next momentous time period started in 1979 with the victory of the Islamic Revolution. The emergence of the Islamic Republic as the ruling system was a new tradition not only in Iran but also around the globe, as we saw in historical sources cited in chapter 4. Additionally, the project of modernizing Iran did not cease during this period, but continued in a different direction in accordance with the ideology of the new state. The Islamic Republic based this new form of modernization these principles: cultivation of Shi'ite values in socio-cultural contexts; opposition to the West and Western cultural elements; and emphasis on *ummah* (religious community) instead of *mellat* (nation). These principles both changed perceptions of tradition and transformed the face of collective identity in Iran.

The new state with its new ideology and different approach towards identity fundamentally changed musical life, as discussed in chapter 3. From 1979 to 1988, normal musical activities such as concerts and music albums were banned. The

Islamic Republic caused a generational shift in the mainstream musicians, in two main aspects: firstly, female singers were totally excluded from musical activities, due to new rules; and secondly, many male musicians who had been mainstream prior to the Revolution either left the country or quit music. Into this vacuum a new generation stepped into the mainstream of Iranian classical music. This new generation mostly consisted of pupils of the University of Tehran and the Center, who had been steeped in the traditionalist line of thought.

One of the notable achievements of this new generation was the creation of *Chāvosh* in the early revolutionary years. This program was unique due to its producers' ability to respectably reconcile traditional features they'd learnt from older masters, with innovative features in accordance with the socio-political quest of the Revolutionary atmosphere. In short, the musicians of the *Chāvosh* program integrated the abstract ideas of *radif*-based music with the updated realities of Iranian society. As an empirical case in chapter 5, I analyzed one of the musical pieces from the *Chāvosh* program in relation to mentioned innovative features.

The reformation period (1997-2005) created a new socio-political circumstance for Iranian music, as I analyzed in chapter 4. The state's policy toward musical productions relaxed, and the discourse of civil society was formed. These two trends together resulted in a dramatic increase in concerts, music festivals, and record production, as well as the re-engagement of women in musical activities (with the exception of solo singing of women, which was and is still forbidden). Also significantly, some Iranian classical musicians also began to engage in producing intercultural music with musicians from other countries. This musical trend, in my view, was motivated by the political discourse of the Dialogue Among Civilizations

initiated by president Khatami, and these intercultural musical activities reflected a novel from of identity through music.

Some musicians use the term *musighi-e melli-e Iran* (Iranian national music) for what we call Iranian classical music in academic texts. This title carries an identity-based meaning, so I explored the sub-question of "to what extent is the term 'national' music used, and what elements distinguish the genre from traditional music" in chapter 4. We started by exploring the origin of this term, as well as its different functions in different time periods. I found that this notion primarily emerged during the Constitutional Era, specifically in the form of national-patriotic ballades, that is, ballades with nationalistic lyrics. Later, in the first Pahlavi era, the term "national music" was chiefly used by Alinaghi Vaziri and his successors, to distinguish Iranian from Western music. It seems that today this term persists with Vaziri's sense, to refer to Iranian music which is not purely traditional and embraces innovative elements. But—unlike in the Constitutional Era—it is not linked to any nationalist or patriotic content.

Regarding the dynamism of change, the speed of change in Iranian music has surged dramatically in the last decade. Musicians such as Hossein Alizadeh and Keyhan Kalhor, with rather traditional musical backgrounds, have in recent years produced music ever more distant from codified traditional elements. Furthermore, as a result of speedy change and a multiplicity of musical styles, the boundaries between genres, especially between classical and popular, have faded in recent years. I crystalize this trend as an "amalgamation of musical types" in Iran.

Finally, from the 1970s until the present, the spectrum line of traditionalism—avant-gardism has stretched, such that the distance between these two currents has

grown. Traditionalist thought and practice have become more rigid, while in contrast the avant-gardism of the other end of the spectrum has become more radical.

One of the central questions of this dissertation was related to the practice of tradition, innovation, and identity in Iranian music. Chapter 5 features a musical analysis of several notated pieces, illustrating the aforementioned intellectual and theoretical questions about tradition and identity in the language of music. I chose pieces first for the time period in which they were produced, with at least one piece for each period since the 1970s. The major factors I considered in my analysis were drawn either from the eight elements which I introduced in chapter three as contested areas of tradition, or from other factors derived from them. I analyzed the following pieces:

1. *Hilat Rahā Kon Āsheghā (Abandon Your Deceit, O Lover)*, Payvar, early 1970s.
2. *Shabnavard* (The Night Passer), Lotfi, 1979
3. *Torkaman* (Turkman), Alizadeh, 1989
4. *Chakād* (Summit), Meshkatian, 1989
5. *Zemestān Ast* (It is Winter), Alizadeh, Shajarian, and Kalhor, 2001
6. *Arghavān* (Judas Tree), Mahyar Alizadeh, 2013

I also analyzed (in chapter four) the circulation of Iranian music in online platforms such as Instagram and Telegram, as a new frontier of tradition. I showed examples demonstrating that in many performances in the virtual sphere, both the appearance and musical features of music performance have grown distant from traditional codified behaviors. As a result, we are encountering a new frontier of tradition of Iranian music, which seriously challenges the notion of tradition,

especially in regards to the teenaged audience whose primary exposure to Iranian music is through social networking platforms.

6.2 Final Words and Future Paths

In the beginning of this chapter I spoke of the long-term dispute over tradition and modernity in Iranian music, which has resulted in a restriction of the potentials of *dastgāh* music. Judging by the ideas of my informants and the relevant literature, I conclude that this dispute is mainly based on the polarized perceptions of tradition in Iranian society in general and in Iranian music in specific. One pole considers tradition to be transmitted values and rules which should be obeyed unquestioningly, and the other pole sees tradition as an obstacle to progress which should be disposed of. This polarity shows similarities with the European intellectual currents of traditionalism and modernism, which I analyzed in chapter 2.

Almost 80 years ago, Rouhollah Khaleghi expressed deep concern about the future of Iranian music. He argued that if Iranian music is not able to adjust to contemporary needs, it will disappear from the everyday life of Iranians, and especially of the young generation (Khaleghi 2018, 257-262). This concern still remains a serious issue, and it's an open question as to how musicians should apply innovation while not estranging themselves from the essence and authenticity of Iranian music.

This polar perception of tradition is an obstacle to this goal. Therefore, an alternative approach is necessary, which accommodates the possibility of renewal in *dastgāh* music, while keeping its fundamental structures. To this end we can apply the European intellectual experience of "critical appropriation" or "reflective approach" toward tradition (which I analyzed in chapter two), as a theoretical framework to

reconcile tradition and innovation in Iranian music. A musical translation of this approach is Coplan's idea of a "bridge" between historical aspects and ethnomusicology, through which to appropriately interpret and translate meaning.

According to the research presented in this dissertation, this third alternative approach—critical appropriation—has not yet been developed much in contemporary Iranian music. Although in some moments, like the birth of *Chāvosh* or in other individual experiences, this bridge between past traditions and current needs has been partially built, these moments have thus far remained isolated experiences, never developing into a pervasive trend. Instead, Iranian music has largely remained a battleground, for the supporters and antagonists of tradition.

We must bear in mind that these ideas of critical appropriation and interpretation of the past in the present, drawn from non-Iranian philosophy, sociology, and ethnomusicology, can be potentially applied simply as a theoretical framework within Iranian classical music. However, the critical appropriation of tradition within Iranian music must find its own way in respect to specific cultural features and coordination.

This dissertation specifically hopes to contribute to the understanding and practice of tradition and identity in Iranian classical music, and their relationship with socio-cultural and political circumstances in a reflexive way. As recommendations for future research in this area, enthusiasts might examine and propose practical musical ways of critical appropriation of tradition, focusing on music theory and performative techniques.

For example, the eight elements which I discussed as contested areas of tradition merit more precise study, as the main subject of exclusive research. This research might first look for any other elements which should join the list, and second to weigh the elements, both individually and in combination, in their contribution to

constructing the notion of tradition. Determining the precise contribution of these fundamental elements would teach us about the capacity of change and the flexibility of these codified traditions. Regarding methodology, such research would benefit enormously from further musical analysis of a large number of performances of maestros in various musical styles. Such research could potentially help to revitalize *dastgāh* music and to foster its further potentials.

Another suggestion for further research is to examine the influence of online social media on social and performative aspects of Iranian music, in regards to how the notion of tradition is challenged by the sociality of Iranian music online. Based on my observations, I have herein preliminarily argued that, in the production-consumption process on social networks, codified behaviors seem to be changing more radically than in the offline world. This subject, along with other changing areas—such as the practice of creativity, the tastes of audiences, music marketing, and the relationship between music producer and consumer—merit more precise exploration employing appropriate methodologies.

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