

The Peregrinations of *panjgāh*

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Abstract One of the more durable elements in the modal repertoires of the art-music traditions of the Middle East and Central Asia, *panjgāh* has a recorded history going back to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and all major theoretical texts of the following centuries refer to it. Discussed here is the documentation of its emergence, diffusion and morphological development, leading to a presentation and comparison of contemporary forms from Turkey to Xinjiang, manifestly diverse but in several cases still demonstrably related.

Keywords Mode. Maqām/makam/mughām. Historical musicology. History of music in the Middle East. History of music in Central Asia.

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1 Origins, Diffusion, and Early Definitions

The following survey of the evolution of *panjgāh*¹ may be regarded as a supplement to previous scholarship on other members of what may be designated as the set of ‘number’ modes, those with names beginning with a (Persian) numeral. The original set, most of which were to become prevalent in much of the central Islamic world, is first attested at the beginning of the fourteenth century in the *durrat al-tāj* of Qoṭb al-Din Širāzi (d. 1311) (henceforth Širāzi). It consisted of four such modes, *dōgāh* (‘position 2’), *segāh* (3), *čahārgāh* (4) and *panjgāh* (5), of which two have previously been discussed: *segāh* (Elsner 2006, 2016; Powers 1989; Wright 1992) and *čahārgāh* (Wright 1990). All four derive from a single parent mode, *rāst*, each according prominence to a successively higher note and segment within the *rāst* pitch set, with in most a corresponding stepwise shift upwards of the finalis, but rather than remaining a closely-knit family each subsequently followed a quite different trajectory: *segāh* was to retain a stable core element and at the same time prosper as a prominent feature of the modal landscape, while *čahārgāh* would have a more irregular development, even with an attempt being made in republican Turkey to co-opt the name for ideological purposes as a label for, in effect, the Western C major scale, and in so doing to side-line the small but modally quite different surviving repertoire. With *panjgāh* we are confronted with yet another profile, that of a mode which would both mutate and preserve earlier structural features as it ventured forth to enjoy wider geographical diffusion, jostling against other modes in the process.

That the textual record begins with Širāzi does not mean that *panjgāh* originated in or was restricted to western Persia at the turn of the fourteenth century (Wright 1978, 172-5, 286-7). We cannot establish a trajectory or early history of diffusion, and certainly not one beginning in 1300, for *panjgāh* may already have been quite widely known by then: during the first half of the fourteenth

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¹ This transliteration will be used throughout, rather than jumping to *pençgah*, *banjkāh*, etc., depending on the language of the tradition in question. For the most part, other terms will also be given in a similarly arbitrary way as if from Persian. Only in cases of confusion or when clearly restricted to a specific tradition will the transliteration react accordingly. Plural forms will generally not be given, thus ‘several *šo’ba*’ rather than ‘several *šo’ab*’.

century it is attested as far away as Cairo.² In the fifteenth we find it cited in both Timurid and Anatolian sources, and during the sixteenth in Safavid texts, evidence that by this time the name was or had been current at various cultural centres along an arc stretching from Cairo to Herat. Less clear is its relative prominence within the mode stock and its degree of uniformity over this area and time span. Such uncertainty also attends its later history, indeed becomes more acute, as we find it recorded even further afield: it will eventually appear, whether centrally or peripherally, on the modal maps of Egypt, the Levant, Iraq, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran, Kashmir, and Central Asia right as far as Uighur Xinjiang: the arc thus now extends from Cairo to Ürümchi.

Sources down to the sixteenth century show a tolerable degree of consistency with regard to its basic structure or structures. The octave scale abstract of its parent mode *rāst* provided by Širāzi's predecessor al-Urmawī (d. 1294) may be represented as /1 2 3- 4 5 6- 7_b 1'/; it contained parallel conjunct tetrachords, each probably with a neutral third (symbolised here by 3- and 6-).³ To this definition Širāzi adds that the pivotal 4 was prominent, and it is from this point that the derivation of the 'number' modes begins, the perception that they were indeed derivations being clearly signalled by giving them the category label *šo'ba* ('branch'). It is thus to the upper pentachord of *rāst* that they are primarily related, in origin at least, and if /4 5 6- 7_b 1'/ is accordingly re-notated as /1 2 3- 4 5/, *dōgāh* will have 2 as prominent (and finalis), *segāh* 3-, *čahārgāh* 4 and *panjgāh* 5, thus explaining the inclusion of these numbers in the name. It is, then, with this whole segment that *panjgāh* is identified, and although in his discussion of *dōgāh* Širāzi does recognise that in practice melodies might exceed what he assumes to have been its originally narrow confines by reaching 6 in descent, no such comment is made with reference to *panjgāh*, so that it may well be that it was largely restricted to the /1 2 3- 4 5/ pentachord, with 1 as finalis. It would thus be distinguished from its parent *rāst* by concentrating on or even being confined to the upper part, and in one common line of development *rāst* will in effect relinquish that area to it, becoming itself increasingly concentrated

² By Ibn Kurr (1282-1357), who also recognises it as a note name. It does not, though, occur among the mode names cited by his contemporary, al-'Umārī (1301-49), although the other three 'number' modes do. See Wright 2014, 119, 141, 186.

³ Albeit one given the effective value of a Just Intonation major third in al-Urmawī's theoretical analysis (more precisely, whole tone (204 cents) + two limmas (180 cents), i.e. 384 as against the 386 of the Just Intonation interval). In what follows, – and + will be used to indicate intermediate pitches without suggesting precise values: generally, 2- may be assumed to be approximately halfway between 1 and 2, and 2+ halfway between 2 and 3. The upper octave is identified by a prime, the lower by underlining.

on a core area around and below its own 1 (= 5 in the relation to the re-notated upper pentachord).⁴

Another feature mentioned by Širāzi, primarily in relation to *dōgāh* but also to *segāh*, is the possible inclusion of 4# (corresponding to the optional 7 that could be added in *rāst*).⁵ Although he makes no mention of 4# in relation to *čahārgāh* and *panjgāh*, it is reasonable to assume that insofar as it was an ancillary feature of *rāst* it would also sometimes be present, and that such was the case with *čahārgāh* is confirmed by the way it is recorded in the early fourteenth century by Ibn Kurr (Wright 2014, 140-1). However, he fails to mention 4# in relation to *panjgāh*,⁶ and as it is also absent from the fleeting reference to *panjgāh* made later in the fourteenth century by Mubārakšāh⁷ it not until we reach the beginning of the fifteenth century, with the treatises of Marāḡi (d. 1435), that its optional inclusion is attested (Marāḡi 1987, 140). Indeed, two forms of *panjgāh* are now recognised, one without 4#, still /1 2 3- 4 5/, but the other with: /1 2 3- 4 4# 5/. The name of the former, *panjgāh-e aṣli*, indicates that it was considered the primary, original form, while even if the name of the latter, *panjgāh-e zāyed*, points to 4# being regarded as an additional extra, it clearly has the status of an autonomous variant. The bifurcation is recognised by nearly all later fifteenth-century Systematist theorists based in Herat, and also by al-Lāḡiqī (d. 1494), who may represent the Ottoman practice of the period (al-Lāḡiqī 1939, 401). Among those belonging to the Herati tradition the exception is Banā'i, who has only the form without 4# (Banā'i 1368š/1990, 93), while outside the Systematist orbit we find that Seydi, too, who reflects Anatolian norms of the very end of the fifteenth century, recognises only this form. He refers to an *eṣfahān* → *rāst* trajectory, but confirmation that *eṣfahān* here is to be equated with a note (5) rather than the mode, so that this definition should be identified with 5 4 3- 2 1, is given by the listing of *panjgāh* among the modes that are played with the *rāst* tuning with-

⁴ As shown, for example, in Neubauer 1999-2000, 363.

⁵ The implication that 7 could be added in *rāst* is clear from Širāzi's comments on possible confusions of modal identity with regard to *dōgāh* and *segāh* (Wright 1978, 174-5), although it never forms part of the standard definitions of *rāst*: neither al-Urmawī nor Širāzi include it, and Mubārakšāh in effect excludes it by saying that *eṣfahān* has same notes as *rāst* plus one more, yz, i.e. 7 (*Šarḥ mawlānā mubārakšāh bar adwār*, fol. 119v, D'Erlanger 1938, 3: 404).

⁶ It is presented as a descending abstract (/5 4 3- 2 1/) the register of which is not specified: that given by Wright 2014, 141, is arbitrary, and in relation to the position given to *ra's al-hank* = *rāst* it would more realistically be represented a fourth higher.

⁷ It is referred to (*Šarḥ mawlānā mubārakšāh bar adwār*, fol. 153r, D'Erlanger 1938, 3: 563) in identifying a passage that does not contain the extra note.

out adjustment (*giriftsüz*).⁸ In contrast, it is the version with 4# that is preferred in a Judaeo-Persian text of approximately the same period, probably from one of the western provinces of Persia,⁹ which describes an outline melodic shape in the form of a wide descending-ascending curve that exceeds the pentachord limit but returns to its lowest note as finalis:

5 4# 4 3- 2 1 7- 6 5 6 7- 1

Sixteenth-century texts, on the other hand, whether Persian or Arabic, again relinquish the version with 4#, which appears to have become marginal or regionally restricted. They present, again, a falling-rising contour, with or without an initial 5 6 move, but one otherwise confined to the basic pentachord and now with finalis 5:

(5 6) 5 4 3- 2 1 2 3- 4 5¹⁰

Although it is hazardous to attempt to draw conclusions from accounts such as these, it would be possible to read the emergence of *panjgāh-e zāyed* almost as a defensive assertion of autonomy, its inclusion of 4# as a standard feature signalling a greater degree of independence from *rāst*, or at least a resistance to reabsorption. The corollary, though, is that *panjgāh-e asli*, lacking the distinctive 4#, should find it more difficult to maintain a separate existence, yet it is this version that will predominate. As it seems fairly clear that what was unusual about the Judaeo-Persian version was not so much the inclusion of 4# as its extended range, greater than that of most modes, which were increasingly conceived in terms of, or certainly characterised by, a distinctive and fairly compact nucleus, it is likely that differences of register could assume increasing significance as markers of identity and grant protective agency to the high-low contrast between *panjgāh* and *rāst*, thereby rendering the inclusion of 4# less necessary, indeed redundant, as a means of ensuring independence.

⁸ [Seydī] 2004, 50-1, 144-5, and see the glossary entry, 261-2. For al-Lāḏiqī, on the other hand, the reference to *esfahān* (*al-Risāla al-faṭḥiyya*, fol. 57v) in relation to *panjgāh-e zāyed* concerns the tetrachord 2 3- 4 4# 5.

⁹ Although inaccurate, the designation Judaeo-Persian is useful short-hand, being based upon the striking presence of a few mode names in Hebrew script. The text is otherwise Persian, in Arabic script. The conclusion about provenance is that reached by Eckhart Neubauer in his study and presentation of this text (2010-11).

¹⁰ The version with 6 is given in *al-Šajara ḡāt al-akmām*, that without in the *Taqsim al-naḡamāt*, Wright 2019, 57, 374.

2 Indices of Use

But by whatever means this was preserved, *panjgāh* appears to have suffered varying fortunes. To judge by the songs listed by al-ʿUmārī as current in early fourteenth-century Cairo it was hardly known there,¹¹ but it has a prominent place in the much larger corpus recorded in the song-text collections of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mainly Ottoman (although they fail to reflect the terminological distinction between the *aşli* and *zāyed* forms). Indeed, at this stage it is only a little less frequent than *hoseyni* and *rāst*, the most common modes of all, and just edges *dōgāh* into fourth place (Wright 2019, 172). This high-water mark is followed, though, by decline. Already by the seventeenth century the pattern has changed quite dramatically: together with *ʿerāq*, *segāh* comes to the fore, and *panjgāh* recedes in significance to the extent that of the two Safavid collections, by Aqa Moʻmen and Gorji,¹² the former provides a mere three instances out of a total of 52 pieces with mode indications, while in the latter it is cited as occurring in five pieces out of 33 but, significantly, only once as the principal mode.

On the Ottoman side a similar pattern may be observed in Ali Ufuki's mid seventeenth-century *saz ü söz* collection, which does not even accord *panjgāh* the courtesy of a separate section: it is reduced to lurking furtively among the pieces in *rāst*, where three pieces are labelled *rāst panjgāh* and just one *panjgāh* alone. However, in Cantemir's exclusively instrumental corpus of some fifty years later it has greater visibility: he notates eleven pieces in *panjgāh*¹³ (five of which had also been recorded by Ali Ufuki but, tellingly, assigned to *rāst*). Set against its earlier prominence its presence is, though, still modest: it represents just 3% of the total number of Cantemir's notations (less than half the proportion of *rāst*, at 7.7% itself also relatively reduced). Nevertheless, it is certainly accorded a greater degree of recognition in comparison to its near invisibility in the Ali Ufuki collection, and further indications of renewed well-being are provided by its showing in the vocal repertoire recorded in the song-text collection of Hafız Post (d. 1694), where it has its own section, containing approximately the same number of entries as *rāst*.¹⁴

¹¹ It fails to appear among the twenty-six modes he cites in relation to a corpus of sixty-five songs (Wright 2014, 186).

¹² Āqā Moʻmen, *Resāla*, and Amir Khān Gorji, *Resāla*, both in Pourjavady 2005.

¹³ In his index the existence of a further two pieces is noted (Kantemiroğlu 2001, I. cilt, 205). For further details on his notations and mode lists see Neubauer 2018.

¹⁴ Topkapı MS Revan 1724 (a precise evaluation is obscured by the inclusion of a number of additional entries in later hands).

If we turn to Arabic song-text collections, we again find *panjgāh* in retreat. [Fig. 1] shows the incidence of the more common modes in three such collections, spanning the late seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries.¹⁵

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	sum	%
total	597	409	740	1746	
<i>segāh</i>	73	61	93	227	13
<i>‘erāq</i>	112	43	56	211	12
<i>ḥosaynī</i>	56	60	79	195	11.2
<i>ḥejāz</i>	54	31	45	130	7.4
<i>navā</i>	69	27	32	128	7.3
<i>panjgāh</i>	66	29	11	106	6
<i>čahārgāh</i>	45	36	19	100	5.7
... ..					
<i>rāst</i>	22	3	53	78	4.5
(i)	the Syrian majmū‘a of Ibn al-Ḥāl (d. 1705);				
(ii)	another seventeenth-century collection from Syria or Egypt;				
(iii)	the late eighteenth-century Syrian <i>saḥnā</i> of al-Kubaysī.				

Figure 1 Incidence of the most common modes in three Arab song-text collections

There is, to be sure, a certain lack of consistency here: *segāh* and *‘erāq*, for example, switch positions between (i) and (iii); *navā* and *čahārgāh* are markedly lower in (iii), while *rāst* scores more highly, so that an interpretation of trends is by no means assured. Difficult to dismiss, nevertheless, is the seemingly precipitous decline in the fortunes of *panjgāh*, and the ominous shrinkage indicated by al-Kubaysī is confirmed in the nineteenth century: it simply fades away from the later Arabic song-text collections. In the *saḥnāt al-mulk* of Šihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥijāzī (1795-1857) it is cited in the introduction (not necessarily a reliable guide to contemporary practice) but fails to occur in the collection itself. Similarly, at the beginning of the next century it is not even mentioned by al-Ḥula‘ī (1881-1931):¹⁶ it hardly appears to survive outside the exhibition cabinets of the large-scale modulatory compositions and the covers of later theoretical textbooks.

There is no record of it ever having made further headway westwards. Along the arc of *mağribī* traditions from Libya to Morocco we find among the number modes various distributions of *segāh* and

¹⁵ This table is assembled from the figures given by Neubauer 1999-2000, tables inserted after 344.

¹⁶ al-Ḥula‘ī 1322h/1904-5.

čahārgāh but, like *dōgāh*, *panjgāh* is absent: not even the Ottoman presence in Tunis was effective in introducing it. As a result, the one major Arab tradition in which *panjgāh* is alive and well (to the extent that the tradition itself is still alive and well) is the Iraqi *maqām*.¹⁷ It would also appear to retain a fairly firm foothold in the neo-Ottoman Turkish tradition. Such would certainly be suggested by its inclusion among the thirty representative modes chosen for exemplification by Rauf Yekta Bey in the Lavignac encyclopaedia (Yekta Bey 1922, 3007). Nevertheless, a quick check on other sources would suggest that it is, rather, little more than a toehold: the Neyzen website includes 14 pieces as against almost 300 for *rāst*, while Üngör's vast song-text collection contains even more for *rāst*, over 400, but even fewer, a mere 10, for *panjgāh* (Üngör n.d.). Not surprisingly, the two selections overlap, and prominent among them are attributions (to Marāḡi, Itrī and Cantemir) emphasizing perceptions of antiquity.

Now moribund in most of the Arab east, *panjgāh* thus also appears to be becoming if not an endangered species then at least a marginal entity in Turkey. For a healthier contemporary representation we need to turn to Iraq, and then further east, where a common thread is its usually close relationship to *rāst*. Thus in Azerbaijan it is one of the more important *šo'ba* of the *maqām rāst*, and in Iran the same connection is flagged in the name *rāst panjgāh* given to one of the seven *dastgāh*, a prominence of nomenclature, however, reflected neither by frequency of performance nor, seemingly, by the position of *panjgāh* itself within it, deceptively tucked away among the other *guša*. A further outcrop occurs in Kashmir, where it is again considered a *šo'ba* of *rāst* and is, indeed, also known as *rāst-e far-si* (Pacholczyk 1996). The same terminological connection recurs in the Tajik/Uzbek *šašmaqām* repertoire, where *panjgāh* appears within *maqām-e rāst*, and also in the related Khorezmian *altı-yarım* ('six and a half') corpus, where it again appears, according to the nineteenth-century tablature notations, as part of *maqām-e rāst* (but with finalis 5 as against the 1 of *rāst*), although according to later authorities the connection has been severed, with *panjgāh* either becoming an independent instrumental *maqām*, or, more drastically, being inexplicably dropped entirely from a recent edition that may represent an attempt to recast parts of the repertoire.¹⁸ This particular omission notwithstanding, the general impression, in contrast to the near total eclipse of *panjgāh* in the Arab world, is one of a continuing centrality that carries on eastward into Uighur Xinjiang where, equally liberated from any dependence on *rāst*, it is now projected

¹⁷ No particular importance attaches to its position as part of the *nawā faṣl*, as modal affinity is not a significant organising principle (see Hassan 2018).

¹⁸ Jung 1989, 244-6, where these various versions and sources are reviewed.

as the core mode of a substantial independent cycle of vocal and instrumental pieces within the recently reconstituted, or newly constructed, on *ikki maqām*.¹⁹

Finally, one may note a faint presence, if hardly more than lexical, in South Asia. Although *maqām/rāga* equivalences or correspondences are occasionally paraded in Persian texts from South Asia, their import is unclear and it may be doubted whether they are to be taken seriously as indications of cultural impingement at the level of modal structure, whether coming from Persia/Khorasan or Central Asia.²⁰ In the case of *panjgāh* we find a reference in a seventeenth-century text that invokes, perhaps inevitably, the authority of Amir Ḥosrau (1253-1325) for the rather confused naming of a modal compound: in *toḍī*, he is said to have combined *panjgāh* and *moḥayyer*, naming the result *moḥayyer*. The claim is hardly to be taken seriously, whether as a historical statement or a reflection of seventeenth-century realities, and it is in any case difficult to surmise what structure(s) this constellation of names might relate to,²¹ which brings us sharply up against the central problem of ascertaining commonalities. How, if at all, are these far-flung modal entities and formal frameworks labelled *panjgāh* related to each other?

3 Later Historical Developments

Assuming that we can exclude linkage based upon arbitrary extra-musical associations, the answer must be sought through tracking, as far as the sources allow, processes of diffusion and change at the level of structure. Here, then, we pick up the thread left dangling during the sixteenth century, with a modal entity based upon a major pentachord containing a neutral third, and a seemingly less common variant form including 4#. This is a rather confused period, marked by serious ruptures in transmission and consequent loss of repertoire resulting from political upheaval and/or withdrawal of patronage, during which the Ottoman and Iranian traditions diverge, only to converge again during the latter part of the seventeenth century, to judge by a degree of

¹⁹ For a perceptive account of the erratic canonization process involved see Harris 2008.

²⁰ In particular, the notion of equivalence as a token of synthesis is suspect, as pointed out in Brown 2006. For a bibliographical survey of treatises see Mohammadi 2006.

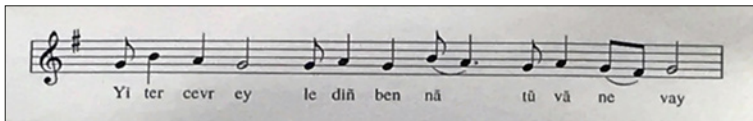
²¹ Faqīrullāh 1996, 58-9. A relationship of sorts between *panjgāh* and *moḥayyer*, from a Persian perspective, would hardly be problematic, given that they are both main-note (1 2 3- 4 5 6 7-) modes, the former spanning 1 - 5, the latter 2 - 2'. But what kind of connection there might have been between either or both of these and *toḍī* is difficult to envisage, even if it were thought that the reference was to something cognate with the contemporary (and largely diatonic major) Kashmiri form (Pacholczyk 1996, 205-6).

transferability of repertoire (see Wright forthcoming).

3.1 The Ottoman Evidence

It is at this point, fortunately, that we encounter significant Ottoman corpora of notation that afford the possibility of examining the modal articulation of compositions in *panjgāh*: the mixed vocal and instrumental mid-century collections of Ali Ufuki followed, at the turn of the eighteenth century, by Cantemir's revelatory instrumental notations and, in addition, his verbal description, which again recognises two forms of *panjgāh*. They are now perceived as old and new respectively, and to the chronologically linear development thus suggested may be added the effacement of the earlier high/low contrast with *rāst*: the pitch range of *panjgāh* now falls within that of *rāst*, and they share the same finalis.

The 'old' form can readily be seen to derive from the earlier version without 4#. It is described as a compound of *navā* and *rāst*, pointing thereby to the initial prominence of 5 and to finalis 1, an encapsulation that is, however, summarily dismissed on the grounds that it does not differentiate *panjgāh* from *rāst* (and a possible confusion between the two could well explain the differences between Ali Ufuki's and Cantemir's labelling of a number of compositions). This brusque rejection may well be justified with regard to the one piece that Ali Ufuki actually assigns to *panjgāh*, especially as it does not even give initial prominence to 5 [ex. 1]: the setting of the first hemistich is centred upon 1 and is firmly in *rāst*.²²



In the second, the melody rises to 5, perfectly normal in *rāst*, but only in the *meyān* is there a brief passage with prominent 5 that might suggest an association with *navā*. In contrast, for the other piece from which 4# is absent (labelled *rāst panjgāh*), the encapsulation of *panjgāh* as a progression from *navā* to *rāst* seems wholly appropriate.²³

The 'new' version, in which 4# reappears, is not, though, a recent innovation, as it is foreshadowed in a set of laconic earlier modal def-

Example 1 The first hemistich of a composition in *panjgāh* notated by Ali Ufuki. B stands for B-

²² Ali Ufuki, facsimile 1976, 222; transcription, 2003, 702. It is, indeed, to *rāst* that the piece is assigned by Hafız Post (for this information and for other helpful comments regarding the Ottoman tradition the Author is indebted to Mehmet Uğur Ekinci).

²³ Ali Ufuki, facsimile 1976, 235; transcription, 2003, 740.

initions given in the *edvâr-ı kadîm* section among which the brief encapsulation of *panjgāh* (Kantemiroğlu 2001, 148-9) refers to a combination of 3 and 4# and a *hejâz* (i.e. 4#) → *râst* trajectory, and regards the *navâ* → *râst* trajectory as outmoded ('*atîk*'). In Cantemir's own fuller account it is regarded as a combination of elements of *nešâbur* and *râst*, thereby referring to the consecutive use of two pitch sets, 1 2 3 4# 5 for the former and 1 2 3- 4 5 for the latter. It is said to begin from 1 and to show *râst* before switching, via 2 and 3, to *nešâbur*, and so continuing with 4#, 5 and 6 (Kantemiroğlu 2001, 88-9). Further ascent may be via 7_b or 7-, and for the upper register, if needed, the *râst* pitch set is used. Descent is again via *nešâbur*, ending with 2 and finalis 1, and mention is made of the possibility of exploring the lower register, down to 5, again employing the *râst* pitch set. Cantemir's account thus further extends the more generous dimensions given by the Judaeo-Persian text; more particularly, it reflects the larger-scale Ottoman perceptions of modal structure according to which the flanking registers, and especially the upper, normally explored in the second section (*hane*), may be considered integral rather than separate modulatory sections: potentially, therefore, *panjgāh* now has a two octave range, from 5 to 5'; in practice, however, as his notations reveal, the normal range was 7 to 2', sometimes 3-', and ascent was via 7- or 7, rather than 7_b or 7-.

The other two of Ali Ufuki's pieces, both designated *râst panjgāh*,²⁴ do not quite conform to this new model, and possibly represent an earlier stage of development. They fail to show *nešâbur* in the initial stages but have a brief medial to late passage in which 4# replaces 4 in the context of 5, with a following descent to 1 (and with no indication of a raising of 3- to 3). It is only in Cantemir's notations that the raising of 3- to 3 in the environment of 4# is signalled, and that the order of events begins to change. Intriguingly, he adds that all pieces in the older version can be performed in the newer, and two pieces are actually notated in both. Yet rather than simply recording the possible alternative use of two versions, respectively derived from the earlier *aşli* and *zāyed* forms, Cantemir is documenting a modal shift, clearly expressed by the old vs. new formulation, first towards a juxtaposition of segments based upon two distinct pitch sets, that with 4# (and without 4) becoming assimilated to *nešâbur*, and then, finally, arriving at the effacement of the original *râst* pitch-set elements. The manifestation of *panjgāh* in C296,²⁵ an example of the *küllî külliyyat* form that strings together brief illustrations of a large number of *maqāms*, perfectly encapsulates this final stage of development: as shown in [ex. 2], it actually follows *nešâbur* and is distinguished from it by the initial contrast of

²⁴ Ali Ufuki, facsimile 1976, 222, 233; transcription 2002, 703, 734.

²⁵ Here and below, such references are to the number of the piece in Cantemir 1992.

the 3 2 1 descent built into the rising 3 4# 5 movement; by the use of 7- (as against 7_b); and by the final 3 2 1 descent (the finalis of *nešābur* being 3). The characteristic 3- and 4 of *rāst* are nowhere to be found.



Example 2 The sections in *nešābur* and *panjgāh* from a *küllī külliyyat* notated by Cantemir

The temptation to derive from his notated corpus a hypothetical periodization is well-nigh irresistible. The earliest would consist of some or all of the five compositions (C3, C120, C126, C128, C244) in which there is no sign of the *nešābur*-like element, two of which must date from no later than the mid seventeenth century, as they had already been notated by Ali Ufuki (and assigned to *rāst*). Setting aside modulatory sections, they are also quite conservative in range: only one descends, briefly, below 7, and then only in the *mülâzime*, and only two ascend as far as 3-. As elsewhere, there is also a degree of registral differentiation between sections: in C244, for example, the range of the first *hane* + *mülâzime* is 7 - 6, that of the second *hane* 1 - 2'. In a further two pieces (C242, C243), the latter of which, according to Ali Ufuki, is again in *rāst* (or, in the Paris manuscript, *rāst panjgāh*), we see the possible germ of a modal shift in that 4# replaces 4 for all or almost all of the second *hane*, but as it only occurs in the flexure 5 4# 5 (the range being 4# - 3-) there is still no trace of *nešābur* proper.²⁶ We then have the stage represented by the two pieces given in alternative notations (C295, C301), one of which had been designated as *rāst* by Ali Ufuki: these were presumably pieces in transition. Finally, we have another of Ali Ufuki's *rāst* pieces (C27),²⁷ one that has completed the process, being notated by Cantemir throughout in terms of the *nešābur* pitch set, and a composition by Cantemir himself (C321) that extends the range in the second *hane* to 4', and uses both routes of ascent, 6 7 ... 3- in the first part, 3 ... 7- ... 4' in the second. Representing the latest stage of development along with C296, these two pieces, the beginnings of which are shown in [ex. 3],

²⁶ In Cantemir's version of C243 the ritornello has finalis 5, but this is a later development in which its final section has lost the cadential passage ending on 1 that Ali Ufuki records.

²⁷ Again, as Mehmet Uğur Ekinci points out, there is a discrepancy between the London and Paris manuscripts: in the latter it is said to be in *panjgāh*.

could be described modally as constituting a variant form of *nešābur* with finalis 1 instead of 3, and including in the second case, as a residual survival from the earlier form that only occurs in the initial section, 4 in place of 4# in descent.



Example 3 The beginnings
of two pieces in *panjgāh* as notated by Cantemir

A similar progression may be noted in C243, where the later *aksak se-mai* version²⁸ not only fleshes out the potential implications of 4# in the second *hane*, so that much of it is now clearly in *nešābur*, but also transforms the middle of the first *hane* into a modulation into *nešābur*.²⁹

Later accounts are, however, mixed, and resistant to any notion of finality implied by the trajectory that can be read out of the corpus notated by Cantemir. The one further piece recorded by Kevseri (2015, nr. 371), probably in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, has the air of a seventeenth-century leftover that Ali Ufuki missed, but it at least suggests that the conservative *navā* → *rāst* type was not yet defunct. The mid eighteenth-century outline offered by Arutin (Popescu-Judet, 2002, 82), on the other hand, 5 4# 3 4# 5 6 7- 5 4# 3 2 1, follows the logic of the transformation recorded by Cantemir, making no mention of the *rāst* pitch set. This is, though, mentioned later in the century by Hızır Ağa, and is still recognised at the end of the century by Abdülbâkî (1765-1821), who even restores the concept of two forms of *panjgāh*, one without 4# and one with, together with their *aşl* and *zāyed* designations.³⁰ The former is now encapsulated as ‘oşşāq →

²⁸ For the relationship between the two cycles see Ekinçi 2018.

²⁹ *Darülelhan külliyyatı* nr. 171. The relationship between the two is discussed in Feldman 1996, 486-90.

³⁰ *Tedkik ü tahkik*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi MS Türkçe Yazmalar 5572, fol. 18, Abdülbâkî 2006, 44.

râst, suggesting initial 2, which is later confirmed as a feature distinguishing it from *râst* along with a lack of elaboration (*müzeyyin*) apart from the inclusion of 6,³¹ so that it would seem to resemble the earlier *navâ* → *râst* type closely. Abdülbâkî recognises that this version is not universally accepted but asserts that the old and valuable works he knows are in accord with it. His parallel and, he claims, unanimously agreed formulation for the *zâyed* version is *eşfahân* → *râst*, where we must now take *eşfahân* to refer to the mode, as he points to the need to partially show its characteristics (*eşfahân ruşeni nim görünmeli*), indicating therefore a trajectory that approaches the earlier *neşâbur* → *râst* by including 4#.³² He adds, though, a further complication, commenting that of late some people have thought that it is differently constituted and cannot be distinguished from *salmak*. This view he dismisses summarily in his account of *salmak*, stating that the difference between it and *panjgâh-i zâyed* is quite obvious from its structural articulation (*ecza-i terkipten bedihidir*):³³ it seems to reside in a different beginning (from 2 rather than, presumably, 5), and in adherence to the *neşâbur* pitch set being more characteristic of *salmak* than of *panjgâh-i zâyed*.³⁴

An example demonstrating the survival of the older form without 4# as late as the early nineteenth century is provided by the *kar-ı natık* beginning in *râst* by Hammamizade İsmail Dede Efendi (1778-1846), where it mimics the preceding exemplification of *rehâvi*, but ends in a 1 – 5 ascent in contrast to the 1 – 5 descent of *rehâvi*. However, by the late nineteenth century this form is moribund, and the morphology of *panjgâh*, as illustrated in [fig. 2], has moved decisively towards the *neşâbur* → *râst* paradigm.

³¹ It may be noted that 6 is initial in C242 and C243, in both cases beginning a descent to 1.

³² Hinting therefore at a 5 4# 5 4 3- 2 nuclear shape.

³³ *Tedkik ü tahkik*, MS Türkçe Yazmalar 5572, fol. 19b, Abdülbâkî 2006, 45.

³⁴ This form of *salmak* seems to be an eighteenth-century development. In the one composition in *salmak* notated by Cantemir (C124) the initial exposition in the first *hane* and *mülâzime* is very close to *râst*.

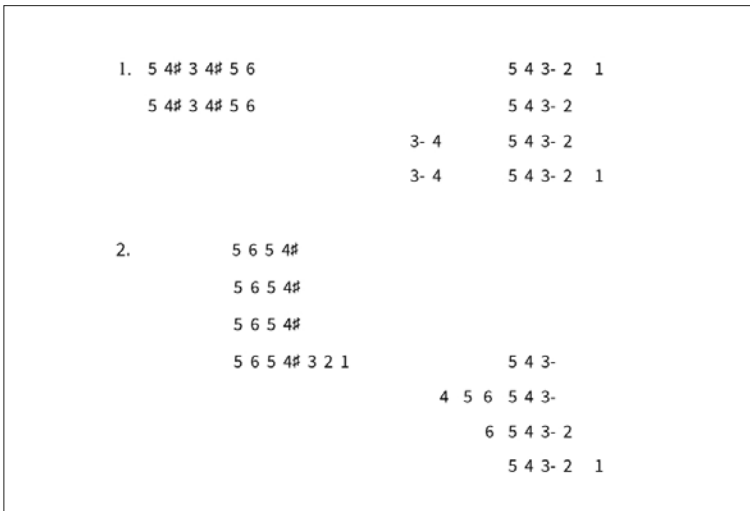


Figure 2 Analytical abstracts of the first sections of two pieces attributed to fifteenth-century composers

This provides an abstract of the opening sections of two representative ‘ancient’ examples, both attributed to fifteenth-century composers, the first to Gulām Ṣādī³⁵ and the second to Marāḡi, even though its rhythmic cycle, *aksak semai*, suggests that the piece (at least in its current form) may be considerably later.³⁶ It should be stressed that the abstractions presented in this and later figures are not the precipitate of a particular process of analytical reduction consistently and rigorously applied, even though they rely on common criteria of relative duration and position in relation to the percussion underlay (where present). They should be regarded as somewhat impressionistic and fuzzy edged, especially as the sources from which they are derived are themselves rather heterogeneous and not usually as strictly comparable as those outlined in [fig. 2] are. In this we have, in one composition, alternation of the two pitch sets, and in the other separate blocks, and in both cases the *nešābur* kernel precedes. Elsewhere the pattern may be rather less tidy, even if in broad conformity: we find, for example, as shown in [fig. 3], that the initial *nešābur* area of another of the ‘Marāḡi’ pieces³⁷ is extended (or diluted) by

³⁵ *Darülelhan külliyyatı* nrr. 163-4.

³⁶ *Darülelhan külliyyatı* nr. 168. Neither this ten time-unit cycle nor the alternative but related (Ekinci 2018) six time-unit *semai* is included by Marāḡi in his catalogue of rhythmic cycles in the *Jāmi’ al-alḥān*, although the latter could be equated with his *torki ḥafif*.

³⁷ *Darülelhan külliyyatı* nr. 165.

the inclusion of both an exploration of the higher register and a modulation, enclosed here within square brackets.

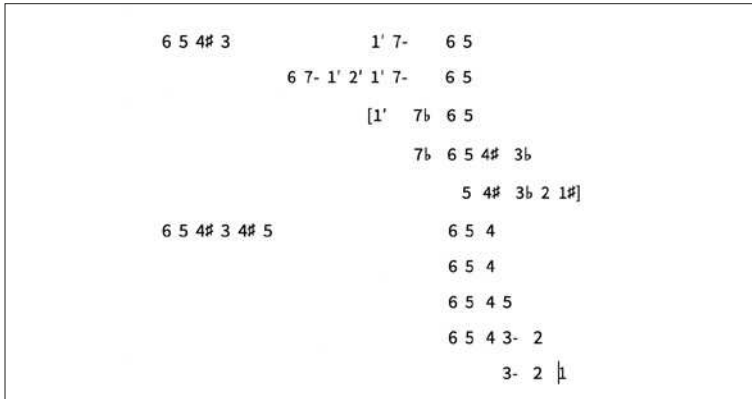


Figure 3 Analytical abstract
of the beginning of a composition attributed to Marāḡi

The Mevlevi *ayin* in *panjgāh* provides an interesting combination of different layers (Heper 1974, 5-16). As might be expected, the modal layout of the opening *peşrev*, by Dede Salih Efendi (d. 1888), accords perfectly with the nineteenth-century state of play exhibited in the above models: the first and second sections (*hane*) are *neşābur*-related, differentiated only, like Cantemir's brief C296 sample, by the occasional medial cadence in 3 2 1, while the ritornello (*teslim*) proceeds *rāst* → *neşābur* → *rāst*. However, with the first *selam*, labelled as 'ancient' (*kadim*), we move back towards the earlier *navā* → *rāst* model: the melody is centred on the 2 – 6 area for much of its length, with 5 prominent and 4# nowhere in sight, but with the *rāst* cadential area somewhat reduced and placed medially rather than finally. In the second and third *selam* the emphasis is more on the 1 – 5 area, with 5 still prominent and 4# still absent: it is only in the instrumental *terennüm* section of the latter that a *rāst*/*neşābur* alternation is introduced, its *neşābur* characteristics consonant with an eighteenth-century (or later) elaboration of earlier material.³⁸ The remaining material modulates elsewhere, and the fourth *selam*, despite a medial reminiscence of *neşābur* in the inclusion of the characteristic 5 4# 3 4# 5 figure, is firmly in *segāh*, as are the following *son*

³⁸ Now notated in *aksak semai*, it corresponds, as pointed out by Mehmet Uğur Ekinici, in part to material known to both Ali Ufuki and Cantemir in the form of a (*yürük*) *semai* (C243).

peşrev (by Yusuf Paşa (1821-84)) and *son yürük semai*. With regard to the material that is clearly in *panjgāh* it is certainly reasonable to conclude that the vocal sections of the *ayin* are more conservative in character than much of the surrounding instrumental material, and that the label *kadim* for the first *selam* may, for once, be justified.

Twentieth-century accounts propose a variety of models. What is in effect a *seyir* provided by Rauf Yekta Bey in his quasi-waltz presentation of a single version³⁹ (Yekta 1922, 3007, 79) may be reduced (but only slightly) as in [fig. 4], which shows just a minimal and now centrally placed excursus into *neşābur* territory:

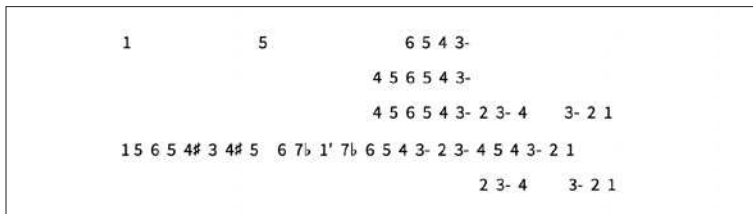


Figure 4 Abstract of Rauf Yekta Bey's model outline

Later theorists, though, follow Abdülbâkî in restoring the distinction between *panjgāh-i aṣl* and *panjgāh-i zāyed*, with for each a detailed tetra/pentachordal breakdown. The former is exemplified by Özkan (1984, 418-24) with a *beste* attributed to İtrî (1640-1712), again, then, one of perceived antiquity, in which the exposition consists essentially of a development of the /5 6 7- 1' 2'/ pentachord (with 4# present only as a cadential embellishment of 5) followed by development of the /1 2 3- 4 5/ pentachord, while the *miyan* reverts to the upper pentachord, introducing hints of *evic*, with the *neşābur* pitch set only appearing, equally fleetingly, in the final cadence (6 5 4# 3 5 4# 5). Tellingly, mention of 4# is reserved for his analysis of *panjgāh-i zāyed*, which recognises the pentachord /1 2 3 4# 5/, termed, indeed, *pençgah beşlisi*. Here, the example cited conforms broadly to the alternating type, with the opening *neşābur* material followed by (the *râst*-related) *segāh*. The same pattern appears in the composition, also attributed to İtrî, with which Karadeniz illustrates *panjgāh* (= *panjgāh-i zāyed*), while for *panjgāh-i aṣl* he quotes a decidedly conservative section from a *kâr-ı nâtık* by Ahmed Avni Konuk (1871-1938) in which 4# only appears once and 3 not at all: the contour of its opening gesture resembles that found in other *panjgāh* pieces, 5 4# 3 4# 5, but appears in the *râst* form: 5 4 3- 4 5 (Karadeniz ?1982, 485-6).

³⁹ Yekta 1922, 3007. Turkish translation by Nasuhioğlu 1986, 79.

Development of the upper register is normally restricted to a contrastive later section. In the Ali Ufuki/Cantemir corpus this generally concentrates on the 5 – 2' pentachord, relatable modally either to *rāst* (with 7-) or to *māhur* (with 7), and occasionally rising to 3-': 4' is only reached in Cantemir's own composition, C321. The later repertoire (even if ascribed to early composers) tends to prefer the 7- option and may contain passages relatable to *hoseyni* or *awj/leviç*. Overall there is a slight suggestion of greater freedom, almost as if it were felt that this area was not considered integral to *panjgāh* proper, and in one case the higher register is avoided in favour of a modulatory alternation between *neşābur* and *segāh*.⁴⁰ Combinatorial freedom of another kind, though, fails to be exploited: among the multitude of compound modes that come to the fore during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as *hejāz-zamzama* or *navā-busalik*, *panjgāh* barely registers as a component, and however ephemeral many of these combinations may have been, the virtual absence of *panjgāh* from them can only be considered another indication of its own increasingly peripheral position.⁴¹

3.2 Arab Accounts

Structural outlines similar to the Ottoman ones appear in encapsulations by nineteenth and twentieth-century Arab theorists. Maššāqa (1800-88), for example, gives a very clear *neşābur* beginning but, unlike Arutin, retains the final *rāst* tetrachord descent, thereby providing a succinct abstraction that could be compared with the reduction in [fig. 3] of a 'Marāḡi' composition, and in effect almost fusing the two versions proposed by Abdūlbâkî. Bold numbers indicate prominence:⁴²

5 4# 3 4# 5 7- 6 5 4# 3 4 3- 2 1

Unlike the autonomous Iraqi form, this is a clearly derivative *panjgāh*, a token of the diffusion of Ottoman norms into Syria and Egypt that would develop further during the *nahḍa* period as Istanbul assumed greater significance as a cultural centre of attraction. It is a model that prefigures the initial exposition of the *taqsīm* example in the D'Erlanger

⁴⁰ *Darülelhan külliyyatı* nr. 169: an *acemler* piece.

⁴¹ An exhaustive inventory may be consulted in Popescu-Judet 2007. This lists (on page 109) just *panjgāh-‘ajam* and *panjgāh-‘erāq*.

⁴² For which the term in the original is *muḡharan*. Mašāqa/Maššāqa/Mušāqa 1913, 90-1 (En. transl. 38-9). The immediately preceding outline given for *neşāburak* is **5 4# 3 2 1**. Abou Mrad (2007) translates indications of prominence into durations that can then be fitted into a current rhythmic cycle. The resulting transcription of *panjgāh*, at page 164, has 3 instead of 3- in the final descent.

maqām catalogue, presumably provided by the Syrian ‘Alī al-Darwīš (D’Erlanger 1949, 5: 225). Corresponding quite closely to the preceding analytical outline, which points to the initial prominence of (*en faisant ressortir*) 3 and 4#, this starts in the area 2 3 4# 5 and cadences 3 2 1 before developing the area above 5, at first 5 6 7- 1’ 2’, and later 5 6 7_b 1’ 2’ 3- 4’ 5’. Only in the following descent and the final cadence area are 4# and 3 replaced by 4 and 3-, thereby establishing the *rāst* character of the ending. In the slightly later account by Sāmī al-Šawwā ([1946], 16) *panjgāh* is classed, tellingly, as a neglected (*muhmal*) *maqām*, and the fact that he describes three variants, *panjgāh*, a second version (*ṭarīqa*), and *panjgāh-e zāyed*, should be seen less as a sign of vitality than of terminal indecision.⁴³ The first is briefly defined, seemingly in terms of main notes: it has initial 1, ascends like ‘*oṣṣāq*’ from 2, and has finalis 1, but he then observes that most Turkish compositions employ an altered form (*taǧyīr*), which he outlines as 4+ (*nim hejāz*, rather than 4#) 5 6 7_b 1’ 2’, then descending to 5 4+ 3 3_b and finalis 1. Finally, *panjgāh-e zāyed* is said to begin with *eṣfahān* on 2, ascend to 5 (presumably via 3 and 4+)⁴⁴ and then continue with *rāst* on 5, and in descent to progress from 5 via 4 3 and 2 to finalis 1.

The versions given by Miḥā’il Allāhwirdī, contemporary with those of Sāmī al-Šawwā, are slightly different (Allāhwirdī 1949, 433-4): *panjgāh* begins between 1 and 5, uses the pitch set 1 2 3- 4# 5 6 7 1’ in both ascent (with a possible further *rāst* extension to 5’) and descent (with a possible further *rāst* extension to 5); *panjgāh-e zāyed* differs only in the addition of 4, sometimes used together with 4#, sometimes with 3-, especially in cadential passages (*al-‘ibārāt al-qarāriyya*). The relative degrees of importance of 4 and 4# in earlier versions are thus reversed, with inclusion of the former now implied by the label *panjgāh-e zāyed*. In relation to the Turkish form, Allāhwirdī’s version suggests a slight readjustment of features: 1 2 3 4# 5 + 5 4 3- 2 1 → 1 2 3- 4# 5 + 5 (4#) 4 3- 2 1, with 3 no longer present, whereas in Sāmī al-Šawwā’s account it is 3- that is elided, while something rather more remote is suggested by the odd juxtaposition of 3 and 3_b in the variant that he actually identifies as Turkish. It is, however, apart from preferring 4+ to 4#, virtually identical to the definition that had been given by Haşim Bey (1815-68), which can be stated as:

4# 5 6 7_b 1’ 2’ 1’ 7_b 6 5 4# 3- 3_b (2) 1

⁴³ al-Šawwā [1946], 92-3. It may be noted that there is no place for *panjgāh* in the more recent survey by al-Mahdī [1979], although among the outline presentations of Iraqi *maqām* structures with which it ends there is an odd example provided (on page 237), with a largely diatonic scale and couched in the distinctly unidiomatic 10 time-unit *samā’i* rhythmic cycle.

⁴⁴ Since he describes *eṣfahān* (67) as beginning with *rāst* on 2.

The presence of 2 can only be inferred: neither author mentions it. Rather than being a misrepresentation, Sāmī al-Šawwā's 'Turkish' version is probably a late survival of a mid nineteenth-century Ottoman variant form no longer recognised in the canonic repertoire.

3.3 Iraq

No such confusions attend the Iraqi version. Although largely neglected by the modernizing trend associated with Šerif Muhyeddin Haydar and his pupils,⁴⁵ *panjgāh* remains an integral part of the *al-maqām al-‘irāqī* mode stock, being defined pithily by Ša‘ūbī Ibrāhīm Ḥalīl as a derivative of *rāst* based upon 4 (*far‘ min maqām al-rast yartakiz ‘alā darajāt al-jahārgāh*), that is, *f* in his notation of the initial instrumental *muqaddima* (Ḥalīl 1982, 22-3).



Example 4 The instrumental prelude (*muqaddima*) of Iraqi *panjgāh*

The melodic development, numbering the material from *f* = 1, thus consists of a repeated presentation of the *rāst* tetrachord, 1 2 3- 4, followed by sequential descending phrases with 5 initially prominent. The exposition in the following textless vocal *tahrīr* follows a broadly similar trajectory, although without a clearly articulated descending sequence and with a final ascent to 5 before the onset of the text-setting section:

45 An interesting exception being the prominent place accorded to it by Munīr Bašīr on his 1973 CD (the first in the *Arabesques* series).



Example 5 The initial vocal section (*taḥrīr*) of Iraqi *panjgāh* according to Ša'ūbī Ibrāhīm Ḥalīl

The melodic development then proceeds, as exemplified in one performance by Ša'ūbī Ibrāhīm Ḥalīl himself, in arch-like waves over the 1 - 6 area, with the lower 5 - 1 tetrachord only appearing in the concluding and very similar *jāl̥sa* and *taslīm* sections that come after modulatory excursions into *ḥejāz*. Up to the *jāl̥sa* (preceding the onset of the *meyāna*), and placing the first *ḥejāz* episode in brackets, this may be abstracted as in [fig. 5]:⁴⁶

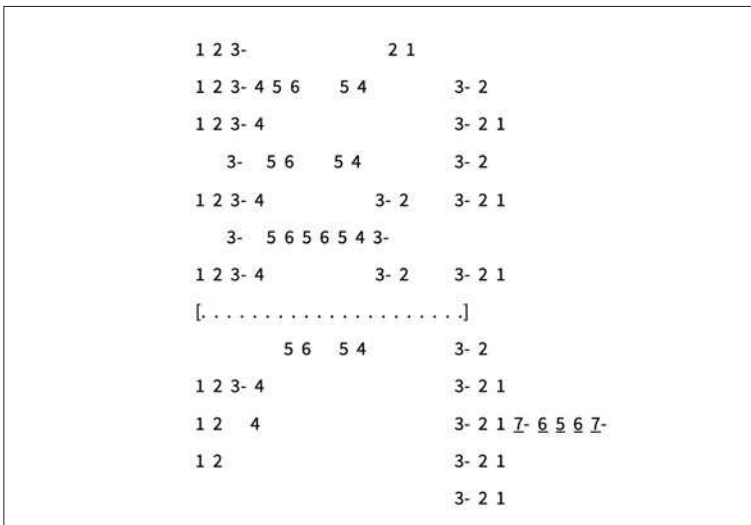


Figure 5 Abstract of the first text-setting section in a performance by Ša'ūbī Ibrāhīm Ḥalīl

Here, then, given that Iraqi *rāst* begins by developing the area below 5 (c) and then the 5 - 2 pentachord, contrast of register is a key element, and it echoes, in effect, the relationship between the two described by Širāzi. The *meyāna* area, where the upper register is

⁴⁶ On the basis of the transcription in Simms 2004, 60-1.

developed, is normally a modulatory zone rather than part of the *maqām* proper, but for *panjgāh* Ša‘ūbī Ibrāhīm Ḥalīl specifies *hejāz* as a standard coupling, one that his own performance exemplifies, exploring the *hejāz* tetrachord, /5 6^b 7 1/, and reaching 2’. Other accounts are broadly similar:⁴⁷ that of Hāsim al-Rajab allows the inclusion of higher register material up to 4’ before returning to 4, followed by the *meyāna*, consisting of *hejāz* again, but this time from 1’ and rising, potentially, to 5’. There is no clear consensus as to which modulatory inserts (*quṭa’*) may be introduced in the *tahrīr*, although *manšūrī* and *humāyūn* are mentioned more than once.

3.4 Iran

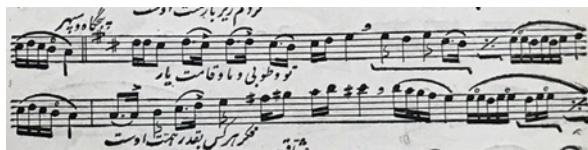
Commonalities of repertoire between the Iranian and Ottoman traditions during the latter part of the seventeenth century suggest that similar conceptualizations of *panjgāh* occurred in both. Given the absence of 4# from its current Iranian manifestation we may assume that this is ultimately related both to the Iraqi form and to that represented by Ali Ufuki and encapsulated by Cantemir as a combination of *navā* and *rāst*. A faint terminological thread (or coincidence) links Ali Ufuki’s *rast panjgāh* to the eponymous modern *dastgāh*, but this is a more recent Qajar compilation emerging out of the debris of eighteenth-century post-Safavid confusion. In the published versions of various authoritative *radif* repertoires, *panjgāh* is represented, despite its presence in the *dastgāh* title, as a run of the mill *guša* occurring midway in the corpus, so that after the *darāmad* in *rāst*, which presents a rising-falling development of a major-scale pentachord, a number of other *guša* intervene before *panjgāh* is reached. As recorded in Karimi’s vocal *radif* (Mas’udiya 1368š/1989), this group extends the range upwards to 7^b and 1’, with *ruḥ-afzā* introducing 3- before returning to 3, thus preparing the way for *panjgāh*, which has 3- throughout, and is additionally differentiated from *rāst* by the greater prominence given to 5, and by its overall brevity. Equally brief, Ṭalā’i’s performance of Mirzā ‘Abdollāh’s instrumental version (Ṭalā’i 1376š/1998) is spaced a little differently and gives rather greater weight to 3- and 4 alongside 5, but traverses what is identifiably the same terrain, as shown in [fig. 6]:

⁴⁷ The Author is grateful to Scheherazade Hassan for kindly supplying the following information.

Karimi	Ṭalā'i
4 {3- 4} 5 6 5	4 {3- 4} 5
	4 3- 5
{4 5}	4 {5 4
	5 3-}
4 {6 5}	4 {5 6}
{4 5} 4 3- 2	5 7 ^b 6 5 4 3- 2
5 4 5 4 3- 2	
{2 3-} {4 3-} 4 5 4 3- 2 1	{2 3-} 4 3- 2 1
{ } multiple repetitions	

Figure 6 Abstracts of *panjgāh* in a vocal and an instrumental *radif*

In both, the final descent to 1 (however crucial the inclusion of 1 as a marker of modal identity, this is the only time it appears) is dispatched in an almost offhand way, being followed immediately by a rising scalar or sequential transition to 6. This marks the beginning of the higher-register *guša* with which it is habitually paired, *sepehr*: indeed, the two are sometimes even presented as a combined item, *panjgāh o sepehr*, as in the violin *radif* of Abolḥasan Šabā,⁴⁸ shown in [ex. 6] (which is notated, in relation to an A - e - a - e' tuning, with 1 = a):



Example 6 The Abolḥasan Šabā *radif* version of *panjgāh o sepehr*: *panjgāh* begins at the double bar and ends on *a* at the bar in the second line. Only the beginning of *sepehr* is given

Compared to this, the Karimi and Ṭalā'i versions are made to appear almost expansive, although all three still give the misleading impression of *panjgāh* as no more than a minor cog in the machine. Rather,

⁴⁸ Alternatively, *sepehr* may be added to *panjgāh* without being signalled in the heading, as in Pirniyākān 1380§/2001.

as its inclusion in the name of the *dastgāh* indicates, it is a vital element, a *guša* that can be developed with some freedom, referencing others in the process of expansion. Accordingly, the area above 5 is not excluded in performance: as hinted in the Mirzā ‘Abdollāh version, the /5 6 7_b 1’/ tetrachord will be explored, serving as a flexible area of development and as a springboard for modulatory transitions back and forth, usually involving a shift between 7_b and 7.⁴⁹

The difference in pitch set between the 3 of *rāst* and the 3- of *panjgāh* remains, though, unaccounted for. It is reasonable to assume that *panjgāh* retains the original derivational relationship and pitch set, in parallel to the Iraqi tradition, as shown in [fig. 7]:

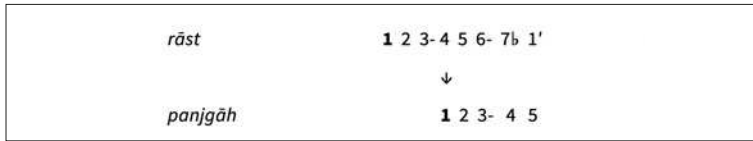


Figure 7 The original derivation from *rāst*

But the high-low register contrast has also been cancelled, so that one might hypothesise that the current form of *rāst*, evidently now separate, relates to the later shift to a disjunct structure, subsequently adjusted by the raising of 3-, for reasons that are unclear, and, parallel to its development elsewhere, with emphasis on the lower tetrachord and some downward extension, as outlined in [fig. 8]:

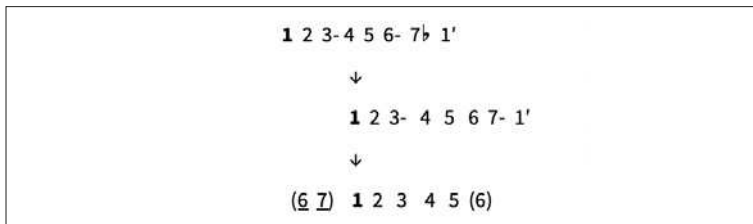


Figure 8 Hypothetical derivation of modern Iranian *rāst*

⁴⁹ Here the Author is grateful for information supplied by Saeid Kordmafi, who also kindly copied me a recording that exemplifies such performance possibilities.

3.5 Azerbaijan and Central Asia

This is, needless to say, highly speculative, but whatever the genealogy, similar modal profiles and relationships might have been expected in the Azeri tradition, where *panjgāh* is one of the more important *šo'ba* of the *muqām rāst*. In the event, the distinction between the two no longer involves a pitch set contrast, for *panjgāh* too has 3 rather than 3-: it relates, rather, to range, that of *panjgāh* being more restricted, and to register, *panjgāh* being situated in, and largely confined to, the upper octave, within which there is an emphasis on the first tetrachord, with 4 prominent.⁵⁰

Here, then, neutral intervals disappear, as they do also in Central Asia. However, this cannot be taken necessarily to indicate a break in transmission, as it would be perfectly understandable for melodic material to be adjusted to fit the marginally different intonational norms of another region. In Central Asia the change may in any case be quite recent, and an external imposition: memories of other intonations persist, and early recordings provide supporting evidence, so that the major motor for change is likely to have been the mid twentieth-century Soviet insistence on tempered scales as a vehicle of modernisation and standardisation. Early surviving examples of the normative long-necked *dōtār* lutes of Central Asia may have fewer frets to the octave than their Iranian and, especially, Turkish counterparts, but some of them are positioned to produce neutral intervals.⁵¹ Historical sources are, though, sparse and, in this as in other respects, unhelpful: *panjgāh* is mentioned by Kawkabi, writing in Bukhara in the early sixteenth century, and by Darviš 'Ali a century later; in a possibly seventeenth-century text it is related to the upper register of *rāst*, and the close relationship between the two is underlined in the modulatory assemblages termed *šadd* found in certain Persian texts.⁵² Of particular interest is that in one version of the *rāst šadd* the sequence begins with *rāst* followed by *panjgāh* and concludes with *nešābur*, *panjgāh*, and *rāst*. Yet here, as elsewhere, description is absent, so that no information on either structure or intonation is

⁵⁰ During 1988, 71, quoting Mansurov. A quite specific and limited melodic contour is suggested, outlined as 1 4 3 2 1, with 1 prominent (to be understood as 1' 4' etc). In practice the range may be somewhat wider, including at least 5' and 6' above and 7 below. Placed again an octave above the basic exposition (*māye*), it may also be included, in a rather more restricted format and in an even higher register, in the quite similar *muqām māhur hindi* (personal communication from Polina Dessiatnitchenko).

⁵¹ Sumits 2011, 180-92. On the positioning of modes in relation to the current diatonic fretting of the *tanbur* see Abdurashidov 1992.

⁵² See Sumits 2011, 115-35; also Wright 2019, 153-61. How significant a part of the modal repertoire *panjgāh* was is impossible to determine from these sources. The fact that the courtship story of Āmānnisā and Sultan 'Abdurrašīd features a performance in *panjgāh* is, in all likelihood, of no consequence (Sumits 2016, 157-8).

forthcoming, even if in another text of this period and environment we are offered, interestingly, the same curt *eṣfahān* → *rāst* trajectory for *panjgāh* previously given by Seydi (Didi 2016).

A similar drift towards the diatonic major scale is to be observed in Afghanistan and Kashmir, although here it is likely that the major impetus came from South Asia. The fretting of the Afghan *robāb*, for example, is primarily semitonal, with just occasional recent additions designed to enable performance of Iranian scale systems (Baily 1988, 47), and while other intonations occur at the margins of Kashmiri *ṣufyāna musiqi* practice, the normative tuning, as represented on the *santur*, is diatonic.⁵³ Similar additions to accommodate different intonations may be seen in a recent trend to add further frets to the Azerbaijani *tār*, again referencing neighbouring scale systems, but motivated primarily by a post-Soviet desire to reactivate real or imagined earlier intonational norms as semiological tokens of a more authentically indigenous modal practice. Although the major scale of *panjgāh* remains largely unscathed, some musicians propose a quite unexpected adjustment, not, though, by the introduction of a new fret but rather by repositioning an existing one to allow neutral intervals to be (re)introduced, albeit in a different disposition to what might have been anticipated: instead of 3 being lowered to 3- we find 2 being raised to 2+.⁵⁴

In the current *šāšmaqām* repertoire *rāst* is also articulated within a major scale, the *taṣnif-e rāst* being formed of a gradually expanding series of phrases with initial 1 and, in successive sections (*ḥāna*), reaching 4, 5, 6, 1', 2', 3', 5', and 6', in most cases with a leap to the highest pitch immediately after the initial 1, followed by a gradually unfurling descent (Jung 1986, 259-61, from Uspenski). The following series of vocal items beginning with *savt-i panjgāh* and *čapandoz-i savt-i panjgāh*, which are essentially rhythmically differentiated articulations of common melodic material, inhabits the same pitch zone but is structurally different: it exhibits a preference for coupling successive arch-like contours with a following descent, first to 1 and then in the higher-register section to 5, as shown in [fig. 9] (from Jung 2010):

⁵³ Pacholczyk 1996. Occasional intermediate intonations are generally restricted to the vocal part.

⁵⁴ Dessiatnitchenko 2017, 187-9; and personal communication.

a.	1 2 3	4 3 2 1	6 5 4 5	3 2	1
b.		4 5 4 3 2 1	6 5 4 5	3 2	1
c.	1 2	3 2 1	4 5 4	3 2 3 2 1	
d.		5 4	5 6 5 1' 7 6 7 6 5	+ a + b	
e.	1'	2' 1' 2' 3' 2' 1' 7	6 5	+ a + b	

Figure 9 Abstract of *savt-i panjgāh*

However, the modal structure of *panjgāh* cannot be pinned down quite so neatly, for the *moḥammad-i panjgāh* section fails to conform to this model, and hints at the earlier contrast of register. It begins not on 1 but on 4; the moves 3 4 5 and 5 4 3 4 5 are frequent; and in most sections the finalis is 5. Its range, however, is again quite wide, with different areas being emphasised in different sections: first the central 2 – 6, with 2 prominent, then, more briefly, 5 – 1', 1 – 5, 6 – 3' and 1' – 5' (both with finalis 1'), before a return to the central area. The general prominence of 5 in *panjgāh* is made clear in Matyakubov's analytical abstract, which also notes its slightly restricted range by comparison with the even more expansive *rāst* (Matjakubov 1989).

In Kashmir, the scale is again a diatonic major, if with 7 weak and variable in intonation, and the range is once more wide, from 1 to 4', and from the examples of notation Pacholczyk provides one would conclude that although 1, 5 and 1' are clearly prominent, the 2 – 6 pentachord is also significant (Pacholczyk 1996, 180-2). Despite its alternative designation, *rāst-e farsī*, one would thus anticipate finding potential links between the Kashmiri form and Central Asian practice (Harris 2018) rather than Persian, and there are certain analogies between the Kashmiri and Uighur traditions with regard to modal nomenclature,⁵⁵ but in the event similarities with the structural type represented by *moḥammad-i panjgāh* prove elusive. If there is a parallel to be found it might rather be sought in the process of range extension that characterises the arch shape of the initial *šakl* of the Kashmiri *panjgāh*, outlined in [fig. 10] (Pacholczyk 1996, 180-1):

⁵⁵ During, Trebinjac 1991, 35-6, although rather than indicating current similarities it is suggested that they might be evidence of historical connections. For his part, Pacholczyk 1996, 122, balances Indic modal parallels against formal similarities to what he terms the 'Greater Islamic Near Eastern' culture.

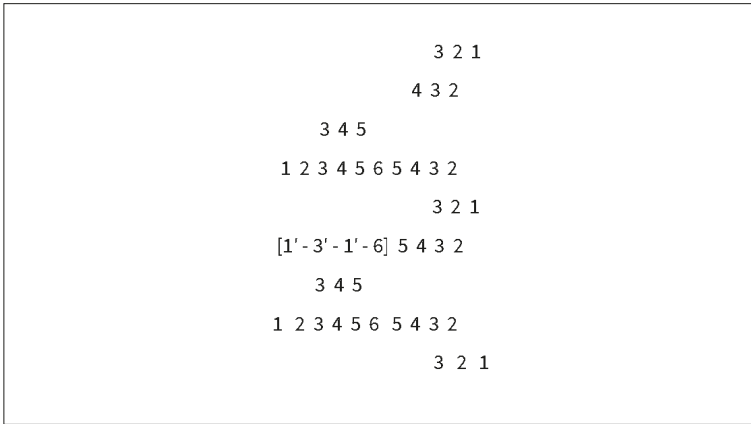


Figure 10 Abstract of the *šakl* of Kashmiri *panjgāh*

This presents analogies with both the phrase structure of *savt-i panjgāh* [fig. 9] in the *šašmaqām* and the initial stages of the more extensive *taṣnif-e rāst*, reduced rather more drastically in [fig. 11], even if the higher pitches are reached by a leap rather than a step-wise ascent:

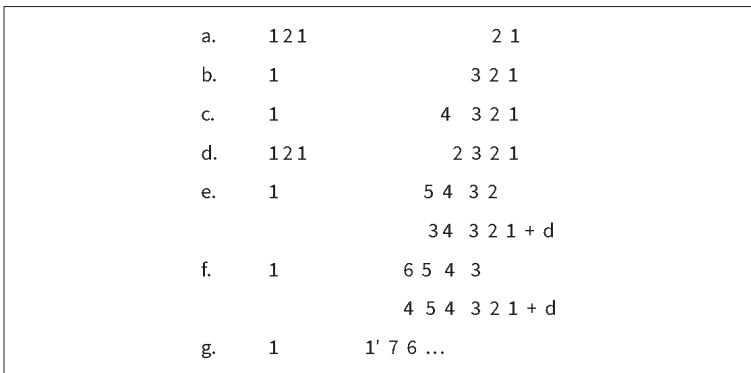


Figure 11 Abstract of the beginning of the *šašmaqām taṣnif-e rāst*

Finally, in the Uighur *on ikki maqām*, *rāst* at last disappears, leaving *panjgāh* in splendid isolation, its major scale modally inflected by a characteristic omission of 7 in descent that suggests a possible connection with its variable realisation elsewhere, and perhaps most obviously in Kashmir. Taking the lengthy initial *čoṇ naḡma* section as modally representative, we find the instrumental introduction outlin-

ing a broad arch shape, with 1 initial and finalis and rising to 6 (also dipping at one point to 5), and with 2 and 5 prominent. The vocal part expands on this fundamental shape, eventually extending the range upwards to a prominent 2', and occasionally touching 4'. Marking in bold notes identifiable as prominent, either through duration or dynamics, and with square brackets indicating the position of intervening instrumental passages, the first part, up to its arrival at the highest register, may be reduced as shown in [fig. 12].⁵⁶

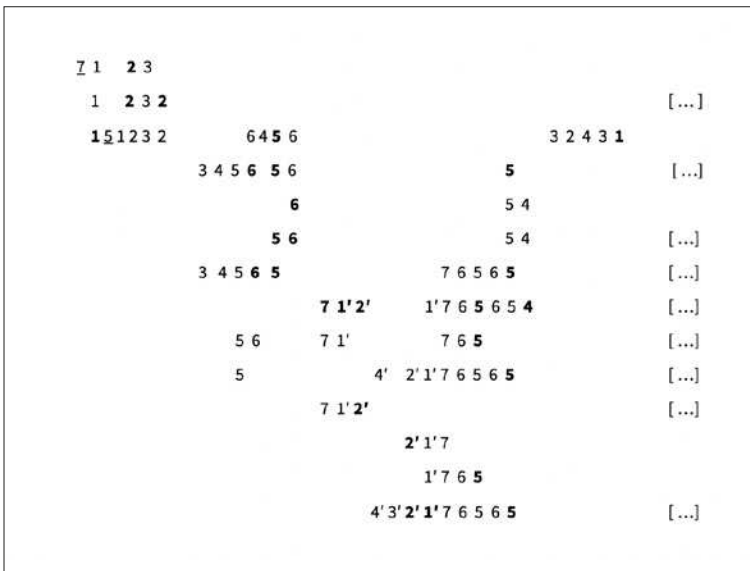


Figure 12 Abstract of the beginning of the čoŋ naǧma in the Uighur *panjgāh*

This shows a clear trend for phrases to explore successively higher areas, and for the following descent to end predominantly on 5. There are, then, certain parallels that can be detected, but elsewhere, in the following *tāzā* section for example, similar material is differently distributed, thus making comparison more hazardous, as is suggested by [fig. 13], which juxtaposes abstracts of the first two sections of the 'official' version (1) and the second section (2) of a performance by musicians from Qaraqash, near Khotan (Harris 2008, 124):

⁵⁶ Based on *Uighur on ikki muqami* (Uighur twelve muqam), vol. 5: *panjgāh*, to which corresponds a broadcast performance released on two cassettes, XD-001 and 002. The performers are not identified.

1.	3 4		[a 5 4 3 2
	4	6	5 4 2 4 1]
	[b 1 1 2 4 5][c	6	5 4 3 2
	4 5		3 2 1]
		6 + a + b + c	
	4 5	6 5 [d 1' 2' 1' 6 5 4 3 2]	
		1' 6 + c	
	4 5 + d		1' 6 + c
2.	[a 1 2 4 5		1' 6 5 4 3 2]
			5 4 3 2 1
	a' + 3 4 5		4 3 2
	a'' +		1' 6 5
			1' 6 5 4 3 2
	2 3 4		3 1 3 1 2 1
			1' 6 5 6 4 3
	1 2 4		3 1 2 1

Figure 13 Abstracts of the beginnings of the *tāzā* section in two versions

4 Commonalities

They agree on a recurrent descent, initially from 6 to 2 or 1, and later from 1' (omitting 7) to 2 or 1 and eventually to finalis 1, with a variety of starting points for the preceding ascent, and similar features can be found in some of the preceding examples, first and most obviously in the *čon nağma* [fig. 12], where the ascent is initially from 1, but soon shifts to 3 and above, while the descent is at first to 1 and subsequently to 5. In the *šašmaqām savt-i panjgāh* we again have an expansion of the range but anchored within ritornello material dominated by a 6 to 1 descent, while in the Kashmiri *šakl* [fig. 10] we see a clear *aba* shape consisting of an undulating unfolding of the 1 to 6 area with a central excursion into the upper octave. Analogies could also be drawn between the Uighur *čon nağma* and the *šašmaqām tašnif-i rāst* in the systematic way in which both extend the range, even if the latter is more schematic and avoids stepwise ascents in favour of initial leaps. This marks it off even more clearly than the others from the

resolutely ascending-descending contours of the Iraqi version, where the majority of phrases begin and end on 1 and ascend no higher than 6. Nevertheless, it would be possible to argue here for the muted or partly disguised presence of a common generic contour feature in all four traditions, although the extent to which it might be construed as mode-specific is uncertain, rather than being just one among several instantiations of a standard set of techniques of melodic development: without the direct name connections it is by no means certain that the possibility of a genealogical link between them would have suggested itself. What is at least clear, though, is that the Kashmiri form resembles its Central Asian namesakes, and even the Iraqi one, more than the Iranian: they tend towards expansion, whereas the Iranian remains more concentrated, even when extended beyond its nuclear *radif* form, the inclusion of pitches above 5 being compensated for by a reduction in the use of 2 and, especially, 1. The modal morphology of late Ottoman *panjgāh*, with the injection of *nešābur*, represents a radically different development, yet it still retains a residual resemblance to the Persian form in its retention of an overall 5 → 1 trajectory.

Relationships between the disparate parts of the *panjgāh* flitilla are thus sometimes obvious, at others frustratingly elusive. Nevertheless, if we set aside as a contingent variable the differences in modal identity encountered in the upper register (where this occurs at all), we might, in seeking a common denominator, arrive at a general formulation of the type given in [fig. 14]:

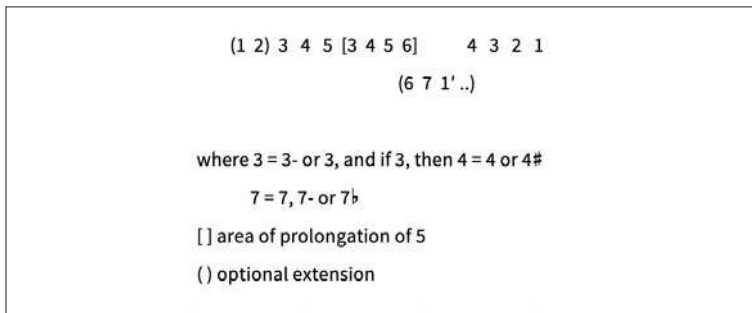


Figure 14 Reduction of common elements

Where the upper register occurs it is characterised for the most part by diatonic extension, to 1' 2' 3' in the Kashmiri, Central Asian and Uighur forms, to 1' 2' 3- in Turkey, and with 7 variable: omitted in one tradition, weak in another, or optionally 7_b, 7- or 7 in yet others. Exceptional is the Iraqi preference for the 5 6_b 7 1' tetrachord, clearly perceived, though, as a modulation, however conventional (and to that extent functionally integral) it might be.

Such an encapsulation can, though, hardly serve as a convincing and conclusive demonstration of underlying unity; nor can it provide an answer to fundamental questions concerning the nature and historical development of the relationships between these various forms of *panjgāh*. The distribution of some of the various features referred to in the above survey is charted in [fig. 15], if only in a fuzzy and approximate fashion, but no very clear pattern emerges.

	eastern Arab	late Ottoman	early Ottoman	Iraq	Iran	Azeri	Kashmir	<i>šašmaqām</i>	Uighur
<i>rāst</i> register contrast	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	±	∅
1 [˘] contour	–	–	–	+	–	±	–	±	+
3 4 5 \ 1	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	±	±
2' 1' \ 5	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
stepwise expansion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	±
use of 4#	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
use of 3	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
use of 3- octave + range	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
prominent 5	+	+	+	±	–	–	+	+	+
	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	±

Figure 15 Distribution of features. Not all oppositions are clear-cut, and marginal or partial cases are indicated by ±

It suggests a degree of propinquity between the early Ottoman, Iraqi, and Iranian forms, but with different features held in common between each pair. At a further remove come the Azeri and Kashmiri forms, despite sharing certain features with the Iranian, while of the two it is the Kashmiri that can be regarded as transitional to the more closely related Central Asian types, yet still differing from them in significant respects, similarities of scale being only weakly matched by melodic morphology.⁵⁷ Independent developments, in short, have frayed earlier ties, and although a reasonable case can be made for degrees of diachronic continuity as well as unpredictably evolving lines, the map is too sketchy for comfort: there are long periods during which documentation is lacking, so that processes of

⁵⁷ Pacholczyk 1997 argues for a degree of kinship on the basis of similarities in melodic material detected in one particular *maqām*, following on from the relationships between various manifestations of *segāh* discussed in Powers 1989.

change remain unrecorded. Nor to be dismissed, even, is the possibility that, as one of a set of terms possessing cultural prestige, the label *panjgāh* might have been attached to something perceived as vaguely similar but, incidentally and unimportantly, of unrelated origin.⁵⁸ Paradoxically, it is the radical transformation witnessed in the Ottoman tradition and its Arab satellites that is the easiest to trace, whereas the possible chronological links between the ways in which *panjgāh* is manifested in the remaining patchwork of traditions cannot be established with confidence. As a result, it would be possible to draw, as in [fig. 16], an outline of chronological developments leading to the seventeenth-century Ottoman manifestation of *panjgāh*, and from that to tabulate the later stages outlined above in the latter Ottoman tradition and its Arab offshoots, but not to map the evolution of the other traditions in the same way.

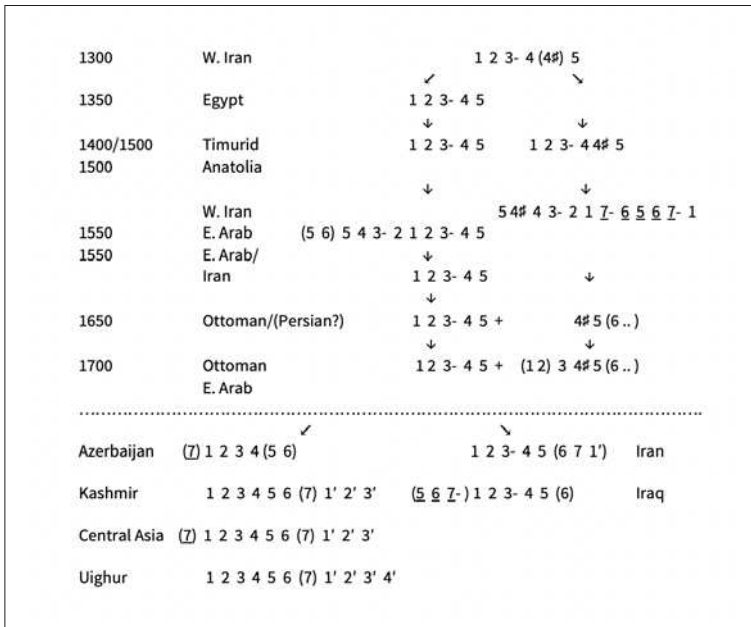


Figure 16 Derivations and parallels

58 Harris 2008, 102 (citing Muhämmät Imin) makes the point more broadly about the application of an imported terminology to pre-existing phenomena.

5 Perspectives

There are questions of a more general nature also to be considered. One is that the structural properties of the individual systems within which *panjgāh* functions may vary considerably, and with them its rôle and manner of utilisation. Crudely put, stability and autonomy are more easily assured, other things being equal, within repertoires that are assemblages of largely pre-composed material, whereas elsewhere we may be dealing with a more flexible but also vulnerable entity. Another is that a mode considered in isolation is shorn of context: it is plucked out of the web of similarities and differences that mark it off at any given stage from various others, constituting boundaries of various strengths and levels of porosity. Sixteenth-century accounts, for example, suggest that although a significant vehicle for composition, *panjgāh* still had to jockey for position within the quite crowded area shown in [fig. 17]: above the characteristic kernel of *rāst* in the lower register a sizeable clump of modes occupy overlapping segments of the same pitch set, separated (but how effectively?) by range and identity of finalis.

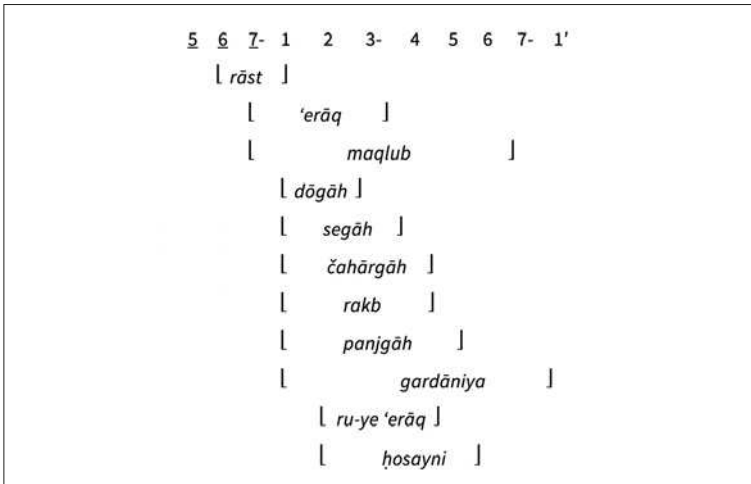


Figure 17 Sixteenth-century modal nuclei sharing overlapping segments of the same pitch set

From the late seventeenth century on its position within the better-documented Ottoman tradition can be discerned more clearly and, following emic perceptions, it can be classed initially as one of the satellites of *rāst*, as shown in [fig. 18], where the spatial disposition is arbitrary:

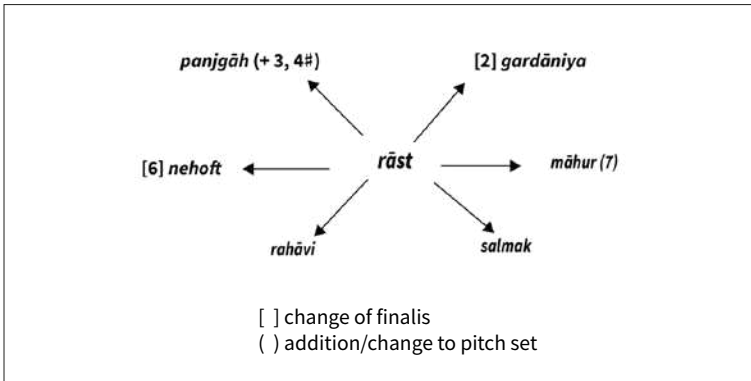


Figure 18 Seventeenth-century Ottoman constellation centred upon *rāst*

but if, as shown in [fig. 19], we change perspective, placing *panjgāh* at the centre, and change the metaphor, it suddenly becomes surrounded by potentially hostile neighbours contending for parts or all of the same habitat:

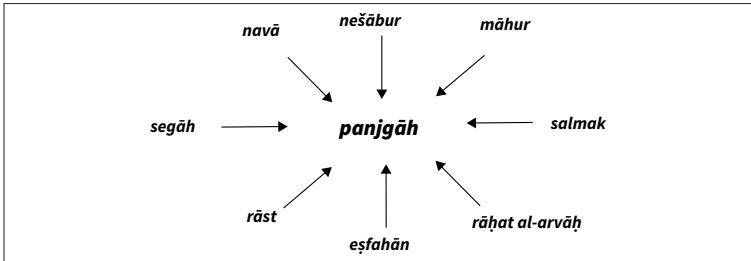


Figure 19 Seventeenth-century Ottoman constellation centred upon *panjgāh*

From potential absorption by *rāst* we thus move, through alterations to the pitch set, to a position where *nešābur* becomes the more threatening Ottoman predator, while later accounts also suggest interference from *eṣfahān*: it would be reasonable to wonder, in such circumstances, how effective a protection an individual *seyir* might be. The same issue of vulnerability arises, in the Iranian context, with regard to the capacity of *radif* models to protect frailer *guša* from being smudged or even smothered by the encroachment or overlay of closely similar ones, even if the danger of erasure may be discounted in the particular case of *panjgāh*, given its centrality to its *dastgāh*, so that in the equivalent constellation the arrows are less markers of power imbalance than indications of intimacy:

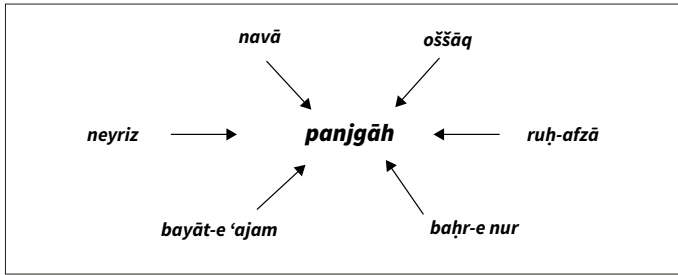


Figure 20 Modern Iranian constellation centred upon *panjgāh*

Such networks of overlaps and linkages, with their potential for interference, encroachment, and even the erosion of difference, point to the need to consider or problematize *panjgāh*, beyond its evolutionary connection to *rāst*, also in terms of interactions with others, among which the Ottoman *nešābur* is merely the most obvious.

A reasonable case can nevertheless be made for continuities over significant parts of the domain in which its presence has been recorded, however varied the influences and pressures to which it has been subject. Particularly striking is the survival in Iran and Iraq of the original modal nucleus, and in the latter also of the register contrast first reported by Širāzi. Where changes have occurred, it is in the evolution of the Ottoman tradition and its Arab satellites since the seventeenth century that their course can most clearly be traced, yet. Even here it is difficult to resist the temptation to pursue the evolution of *panjgāh* in isolation, whatever general trends might be involved, and a limitation of the above survey is that it has treated (or mistreated) *panjgāh* largely as an abstract entity, either alone or, at most, interacting with other such entities. Wider issues of human agency have been left out of account, as have modalities of transmission. For these, though, however vital they may be, there is the unfortunately cogent excuse that although reasonable hypotheses may be formulated, the necessary documentation is lacking: even the fortunes of complete repertoires and traditions cannot always be securely traced, and while the general processes of diffusion are hardly mysterious, their precise nature and results are effectively unrecorded. Similarly, if the rough shape of courtly performance contexts and their associated aesthetic principles can be sketched in, the fine grain of responses to particular modal constellations remains elusive, let alone to instances of innovation and creative adjustment made by unidentified individuals to a particular *maqām*.

6 Contexts Past and Present

Despite such drawbacks, we may nevertheless outline briefly various factors contributing to the development of the overall fabric of which *panjgāh* is a thread. Thus from around the time it was first recorded until at least the sixteenth century, the indications are that it remained, within the specific constraints of its modal structure, a flexible tool for creativity, functioning essentially as a constituent (whether dominant or subordinate) of individual compositions, and that there were no clearly established conventions of sequencing to determine how such compositions would be selected and ordered in a performance. To be assumed is that the repertoires recorded for this period were predominantly produced by musicians active at princely courts or having other aristocratic patrons, and that their individual creativity was both encouraged and constrained by the need to conform to aesthetic norms maintained by their peers and their connoisseur audiences, thus integrating music within a world of artistic practices and intellectual discourse marked by subtlety and allusiveness, a possible reflex of which is a proliferation of increasingly detailed modal discriminations (as hinted at in figs. 15 and 17). Such discriminations trace lines of defence, but at the same time provide a background against which the gradually reduced visibility of *panjgāh* in later song-text collections [fig. 1] might more readily be understood. A further contributory factor towards a reduction in status might be detected in an increasingly prominent strand in the theoretical literature from the sixteenth century on, the organisation of the modal repertoire, beyond the addition of further classes to the traditional *maqām*, *āvāz* and *šō'ba* nuclei, into groups increasingly ordered according to the principle of modulatory smoothness as expressed through pitch-set propinquity. As the texts involved are predominantly Persian and possibly relate to Central Asian as well as Iranian perceptions, the question arises, despite it being difficult to grasp the way(s) in which these groups might reflect compositional habits and/or performance norms, whether it is possible to detect here an incipient line of cleavage between the Ottoman and Persianate worlds with regard to large-scale organisation, with certain modes, of which *panjgāh* may have been one, being increasingly viewed in the latter as integral (and hence subordinate) elements of a modulatory sequence rather than as free-standing entities.

Given the paucity of relevant documentation, particularly for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is difficult to proceed here beyond the level of plausible conjecture, but developments in the Ottoman tradition do at least provide a term of reference. Here we find retention of the convention whereby a composition was predominantly in a single *maqām* coupled with an increasing tendency to organise performances according to standardised sequences, in the sa-

cred domain the *ayin* of the Mevlevi ceremony and, in or around the court, the *fasil*, in both of which a set of vocal items was framed by an instrumental introduction and conclusion.⁵⁹ Analogous sequences appear elsewhere, but the resemblances between them are less likely to be the result of the diffusion of a particular large-scale formal model, as has been argued, than the outcome of social factors, a reflection of the requirements and expectations of élite audiences assembled in similar environments.⁶⁰ Such audiences tended to shrink in much of the Arab world as power drained away and patronage was enfeebled, so that, as demonstrated by the increasing anonymity of the contents of Arabic song-text collections, the role of the high-profile composer/performer was undermined, leaving the Sufi orders as major corporate guardians of tradition in urban centres and hence also of its formal articulation and, within it, of modal consistency.⁶¹ In Iran, in contrast, post-Safavid political upheaval led to a reduction of patronage and to disruption, manifested in widespread loss of repertoire and the wholesale abandonment of the inherited range of complex rhythmic cycles, leaving modal nuclei, certain modal-rhythmic patterns and conventions, and anonymous surviving fragments of compositions as the raw material to be gradually forged, together with fresh contributions from local traditions, into a new amalgam of authoritative models, most of which the performer is expected to vary creatively.

Diffusion of repertoires and the systems underpinning them was doubtless helped by the peripatetic careers of numerous influential musicians, but also, given the at least partial sharing of idioms between the secular and sacred domains, by the spread of Sufi orders and their ritual practices, and the equally peripatetic careers of important Sufi personalities. The parallel cannot, though, be pushed too far: however vital the role of the major orders as vehicles of diffusion and providers of environments within which large-scale formal conventions could evolve, the inclusion of local musical practices into ceremonies must surely have been more significant than the imposition of imported repertoires or norms of modal practice.⁶²

Periods of disturbance may well be followed by an increasing degree of formal stability as patterns of court patronage are renewed,

⁵⁹ For the relationship between the two, see Feldman 1996.

⁶⁰ A case for the diffusion of a performance-event structure purportedly evolved in Abbasid Baghdad has been urged in Pacholczyk 1992, while the gradual expansion of a particular four-movement suite form is suggested in Jung 1989, 237-8. In neither case, however, is the evidence compelling.

⁶¹ See Guettat's remarks (1980, 178-80) for North Africa.

⁶² One may cite, for example, the marked differences between the musical components of the Mevlevi ceremony in Damascus and Istanbul; and for Central Asia the differences reported in Harris 2018, 224.

but only after seismic shifts that can radically alter the frameworks governing modal function. The result is a striking difference in both nature and dimensions across the region. Untouched by such upheavals, an Ottoman *beste* or *peşrev* in *panjgāh* is a specific unique member of an open series, a composition that may take five or more minutes to perform, and although modulatory episodes are expected the home mode will predominate: along the gradient from scale to fixed melody, Ottoman *panjgāh* occupies an approximately mid-way zone that allows the repertoire to be constantly replenished by new additions, each one melodically distinct and autonomous while at the same time modally related and identified by incorporating a selection from a family of cognate melodic gestures along with adherence to a particular pitch set, and following a conventional sequence of events. In contrast, *panjgāh* in the Persian tradition is at one level conceived and transmitted as a single and relatively small-scale entity lying nearer the melody end of the spectrum,⁶³ and even if subject to myriad micro-variations in performance it may be dispatched within a much shorter time, while at another level it operates on a broader canvas as the core element of a series of often closely related entities. The Azeri case is analogous, but in the Iraqi tradition it lies somewhere between the two, in that a performance may approach the scale of an Ottoman piece while resembling the Persian model somewhat in being a variable realisation of a recognizable archetype. Iraqi *panjgāh* is, in addition, governed by specific rhythmic and also textual conventions (the absence of a rhythmic cycle and the use of classical verse and specific verbal formulae), although the performer has a certain freedom of choice with regard to the brief modulatory sections (*quṭa'*) that can be included in the intermediate high-register section (*meyāna*).

It is also, again as in the Persian tradition, subject to the formal constraint of being traditionally placed within a conventional sequence. Just as the Persian *radif* corpus is organised into twelve large-scale groupings (seven called *dastgāh*, five *āvāz*), so the Iraqi *maqām* corpus is organised into five (each called *faşl*), and similar large-scale grouping are typical of Central Asian repertoires. The processes of accretion giving rise to these are, however, difficult to date, and they do not necessarily run in parallel. The current organisation of the Persian corpus is no earlier than the nineteenth century,⁶⁴ and the same is probably true for the Iraqi and Azeri traditions; the prototype of the Uzbek/Tajik *šašmaqām* possibly emerged somewhat earlier, in the eighteenth century, but the current constitu-

⁶³ The distinction between the two types is usefully characterised by Jürgen Elsner in terms of *Variabilität* versus *Variation*.

⁶⁴ For documentation see Mohammadi 2017.

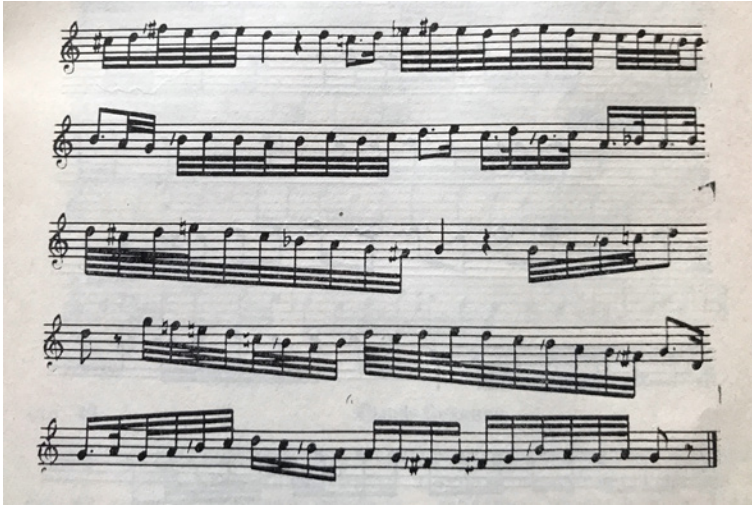
tion of the instrumental *panjgāh* repertoire in the Khwarazmian tradition was not arrived at until the turn of the twentieth century,⁶⁵ and the gradual codification of the Uighur *on ikki muqām* is an even more recent phenomenon, one stimulated by twentieth-century ideologies of nation formation (Harris 2008). It is therefore hardly surprising that *panjgāh* should acquire markedly different profiles across this range. In Iran, Iraq, and Azerbaijan it is an individual entity of varying degrees of complexity normally housed within a set of items, but potentially separable; in the *šašmaqām* repertoire it relates to a sequence of related items forming part of a large-scale group; and in the *on ikki muqām* it heads one such group that is marked internally by a high degree of modal consistency.

A further variable of a general order, applicable to a tradition as a whole rather than just to an individual mode, concerns the relationship between patrons and performers. These may be one and the same, as in the ceremonies of Sufi orders, but otherwise, occasional cases of the aristocratic amateur apart, they tend to be marked by social distance, often also involving confessional identity. In Bukhara and Baghdad Jewish performers played a vital rôle, while in Istanbul Armenian and Greek musicians were prominent, and one question that then arises is whether a style variation developed within a given minority community could give fresh impetus to the majority tradition. Evidence here is scanty, and would seem to be generally negative: one might note anecdotally that the occasional additions admitted to the Iraqi *maqām* stock have been innovations stemming not from the Jewish instrumentalists but from the singers: *tiflis*, for example, was a creation of Raḥmatallāh Šiltāg (1799-1871), and *lāmi* and others were introduced more recently by Muḥammad al-Qubbānī (1901-89), while in the Ottoman environment there were outflows from the majority tradition, Ottoman ‘classical’ norms affecting the idiom of Jewish *maftirim*.⁶⁶ On the other hand, the significant rôles played by Jewish and, especially, Greek and Armenian musicians within the commercial *piyasa* environment may well have added to (or diluted) pre-existing stylistic conventions. Of particular interest in this connection is the catalogue of the modal repertoire of the turn of the twentieth century produced by Aivazian (1869-1918), each *maqām* being illustrated by a *taksim*-like exposition in free rhythm. That for *panjgāh* is at first sight a quite orthodox traversal of the territory, beginning in *nešābur* and ending in *rāst* (Aivazian 1990, 73), but these two areas are separated by a passage, shown in [ex. 7], that introduces various modulations, veering first towards *suznak* and *hūzzam* through the introduction of the *ḥejāz* tetrachord on 5, af-

⁶⁵ Incorporating elements previously belonging to *rāst* (Jung 1992, 276-305).

⁶⁶ See Seroussi 2001 and Jackson 2013, especially 17-48.

ter which a descent including 3 \flat is followed by the *hejāz* tetrachord again, on 2, and a cadence on 1 suggesting *nikriz*, after which comes the final *rāst* segment.



Example 7 The final section
of the *panjgāh* model supplied by Aivazian

One might detect here an enrichment of possibilities to which may be related the emergence of new variants of *panjgāh* such as those described by Haşim Bey and, later, Sāmī al-Şawwā, an efflorescence interpretable at the same time as a structural loosening that reflects its weakened position and stands in contrast to its stability elsewhere. Indeed, contrary to the continuing importance of *panjgāh* in the Iraqi *maqām*, the Azerbaijani *mugham* and the Central Asian traditions, one might well predict for it, given its barely maintained small and static repertoire, further decline in Turkey, with the eventual prospect of reaching the state of obsolescence already arrived at in most of the Arab world, where it has become no more than one among many notional entries in catalogues that bear little or no relation to the world of performance practice.

After interment there remains, though, the possibility of exhumation. If an important element of the social fabric of music during the nineteenth century was the rôle played by minority communities, whether as maintainers of tradition or as innovators, in the twenty-first it is the restlessness of the young that commands attention. One strand among its several and varied manifestations is an almost archaeological re-engagement, after a troubled and unresolved period of westernization, with the earlier modal heritage, usually in the late

Ottoman, *nahḍa*, or Qajar forms recuperable from pioneer recordings, but sometimes also as reported, however schematically and imperfectly, in much older theoretical texts that are seen as representative of earlier periods cultural splendour. They provide the material for efforts at restoration and expansion, sometimes separately, sometimes combined, serving therefore as a springboard for fresh creativity. Thus *panjgāh* is included, for example, as an ‘unknown’ *maqām* (in Egypt, that is), one among many others surveyed in a reclamation project involving a quaintly-termed ‘verification’ process applied to Ottoman models that resulted, in the case of *panjgāh*, in the composition of a *samā’ī*: it was presumably deemed worthy of resuscitation (as briefly reported in Fathalla 1997). The success of this particular venture is unknown, but in the general context of renewed interest in heritage it would not be surprising to find *panjgāh* being given another lease of life, whether through performances of earlier repertoire,⁶⁷ efforts at composition in a traditional style or, indeed, echoing certain developments in previous centuries, through innovations that push it in uncharted and unpredictable directions.

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⁶⁷ The recordings made so far have been primarily of the Ottoman repertoire as notated by Cantemir. They include the *acemler peşrev* (C27) and a *semai* (C244) on the CDs accompanying Kantemiroğlu, *Kitābu ‘İlmi’l-Mūsikī ‘alā vechi’l-Ḥurūfāt*, and a further *semai* (C243) on Bezmârâ: *Splendours of Topkapı*, Opus 111: OPS 30-266.

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