Where Bartók Left Off: Researching Turkic Elements in Hungarian Folksong János Sipos

In this paper I will attempt to survey in a few words a research series carried out by Hungarian scholars in Asia for more than 70 years, and then introduce the research I have been doing for the last twenty years. In the last section, we will take an inside view on my recent research of a mystic Islamic order. The photos, musical recordings and the transcriptions in this paper were made by me. Because of limitations of space and time, this presentation will resemble a draft made with broad brush strokes more than a study prepared with meticulous care. Let it be said in my defense that readers with an interest in the folk music of Turkic peoples may refer to my previously published books and studies for further information.

From the beginning, there have been different currents in ethnomusicology. While some scholars prefer comparative musical analysis, others concentrate more on the cultural and social aspects of the music. The latter approach gained the upper ground, and it truly is important for understanding and describing the relationship between music and different phenomena of real life, society and culture. At the same time, we do have to remember that folk music is a special phenomenon having its own specific forms and evolutionary rules. According to Béla Bartók, we should research it from a scientific point of view: "Folk music is a phenomenon of nature... This creation develops with the organic freedom of other living organisms in nature: flowers, animals, etc." (Bartók, 1925: 230-233).

Let me quote another statement of Bartók which can show the direction and goals of comparative folk music research: "I think that if we have sufficient folk music material and study at hand, the different folk musics of the world will be basically traceable back to a few ancient forms, types and ancient style-species." (Bartók, 1937: 166-168).

The road to the discovery of these basic forms leads through transcribing, analyzing, classifying and comparing the folk music of different peoples. There are hundreds and hundreds of melodies in every body of folk music. These melodies are not independent from each other; some are close variants of the same tune so we may consider them as being identical, or to be more precise, we can say that they belong to the same musical type. In the course of classification, we first determine types then find different connections between them, discovering which types belong to the same musical class and which classes belong to the same musical style.

According to our experience, the most effective way to find similar melodies is to concentrate on the melodic line. By the end of such a classification, huge number of melodies will be reduced to only a few basic forms that are much easier to sort through for the sake of comparison. In practical terms, the classification enables us to get acquainted with a given body of folk music by learning a few dozen melodies that represent the majority of the repertoire. With such classified material we can compare the entire folk music repertoire of different peoples instead of becoming aware of only a few random similarities. However, we first of all need reliable, analyzed and classified material.

While the languages of different Turkic peoples have been subjected to thorough comparative analyses, only the first steps have been taken in the comparative research of their music. Let me first acquaint you with a few steps in Hungarian folk music research that led to the foundation of a large international comparative project.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály began the first scientific folk music research in Hungary (Bartók, 1923, 1924, 1931; Kodály, 1937-1976). In addition to collecting and analyzing Hungarian material, they and others also began to explore the musical cul-

In the multitude of arising questions, it is highly important to explore whether traces
of Old Turkic musical styles can still be detected in contemporary Turkic folk music.
Another interesting question appealing to Hungarians is: how folk music styles of different Turkic peoples relate to Hungarian folk music layers.

tures of neighboring and related peoples.² And indeed, research must not be restricted to a small area or to a single state because several layers of folk music belong to geographic areas, and like rivers or mountains, they do not respect state boundaries. Furthermore, we can only state what is special in a specific body of folk music if we know the music of several peoples.

The Hungarian language belongs to the Finno-Ugrian language family, which shows a linguistic and not an ethnic relationship. Only certain large forms of the Hungarian lament shows connection to the music of Finno-Ugrian (Ob-Ugrian) peoples, while at the same time, much Turkic influence can be seen in Hungarian culture. This is quite natural, as several Turkic peoples played a significant role in the formation of the Hungarian culture and folk music. Therefore, it is not an accident that Béla Bartók and later László Vikár began research work among Finno-Ugrian people, and then both of them turned toward the folk music of Turkic peoples where they found musical styles similar to that of the Hungarians.

So, is Hungarian music Finno-Ugrian or Turkish? The answer is both. All peoples in the world have been taking shape during a long process. Besides the seven probably inhomogeneous Hungarian tribes, several Turkish, Slavic, German and other peoples took part in the Hungarian ethnogenesis. Consequently, it is more productive and scientific to speak about more than one "ancient homeland" in order to track individual components one by one. An important part of this work is comparative research on the music of the Mongolian and Turkic people.

The first important step was Bartók's research in Turkey in 1936. His book on it is one of the most important comparative analyses on Turkish folk music until our day (Bartók, 1937, 1976, 1991; Saygun, 1976). Bartók wrote this study from a comparative point of view and found close relationships between essential layers of Hungarian and Anatolian folk music. After Bartók's Anatolian research, Hungarian ethnomusicologists did not do field work in Asian areas for a long time during which period a number of

^{2.} Besides collecting in Hungarian areas, Bartók did Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, Arabic and Turkic research as well. Bartók B. (1934, 1935, 1937, 1959, 1976, 1991).

important studies and books about the eastern connections of Hungarian folk music were written.³

Extended field research has been underway since 1958. I can only briefly introduce the most important steps, illustrating the examined folk music with a few characteristic examples. From 1958 to 1979, a significant research series was carried out in the Volga-Kama region, where László Vikár and Gábor Bereczki collected among the Mordvin, Votyak, Cheremis (Mari), Chuvash, Tatar and Bashkir peoples. They transcribed most of the collected melodies and published several articles and four monographs (Vikár-Bereczki, 1971, 1979, 1989, 1999). The original goal of the research was to find the ancient homeland of the Hungarians, but it gradually changed into comparative research of a large area inhabited by Turkic and Finno-Ugrian peoples.

Research in Anatolia

I have been continuing this work since 1987 for two decades now. I started my work where Bartók finished his: in the vicinity of Adana, Turkey, and later I extended it over the rest of Anatolia. As a result, in 1994 and 1995 I published two books: *Török Népzene I* and *Török Népzene II* (Turkish Folk Music I and II). In these books I did a comprehensive analysis of Anatolian folk music and a comparison between the most important Anatolian and Hungarian musical layers. My books, *In the Wake of Bartók in Anatolia* (published in 2000) and *Bartók nyomában Anatóliában* (2001) dwell upon Anatolian folk music as well.⁵

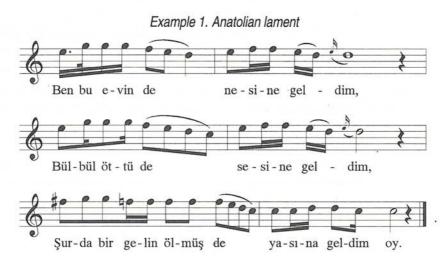
^{3.} Kodály (1937-76) concentrated on the Cheremis and Chuvash folk music and to their relation to the Hungarian music. Vargyas (1953, 1980, and 2002) made a comprehensive historical overview on the folk music of the Volga-Kama region; Szabolcsi (1933, 1934, 1936, 1940, 1956) pointed at even larger international musical connections; Dobszay and Szendrei (1977, 1988) summed up the international connections of the Hungarian lament and the so called "psalmodic" style.

^{4.} Number of the collected melodies: Mordvin: 157, Votyak: 686, 3. Cheremis: 944, Chuvash: 651, Tatar: 580, Bashkir: 634.

^{5.} In connection with these books two CDs were published. My Ph.D. dissertation *Béla Bartók's Anatolian research in the light of a larger material* deals with the same theme. It is accessible in the Library of the Institute for Musicology, Budapest.

I included the folk music of other peoples in the comparison, thereby putting the Hungarian-Anatolian similarities into a larger international framework. During the analysis it turned out that Bartók's Turkish-Hungarian parallels are even more significant and further similarities can be found among Anatolian and Hungarian laments, psalmodic melodies, children's songs and among several melodies having a small compass of tones.

Anatolian folk music is as complex as the Anatolian population is, so I cannot introduce every important Anatolian musical layer now. For example, let's examine three Anatolian melodies. The first is a lament (ex.1), the second is a so-called "psalmodic" melody moving basically on the *mi-re-do* trichord (ex.15-VIII) and the third is a religious melody (ex.15-I). These melodies represent well three important styles of Hungarian folk music, and at the same time they illustrate three different uses of the *mi-re-do* trichord. Notwithstanding the small compass in the lament we see two parallel descending musical lines; the melodic motion of the "psalmodic" melody moves up and down on the *mi-re-do* trichord jumping down to *la* in the end; and the religious song rotates around the central (*re*) tone of the trichord as many Hungarian children's songs do.



I gradually extended the area of my field work beyond Turkish territory. First, I did research among Turkic people living between the Volga-

Kama region and Anatolia, and then I looked further to the West and then to the East. Up until the present day, I have collected more than 7000 melodies in Anatolia, Thrace, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, among Mongolian Kazakhs, among Karachays living in the Caucasus and in Turkey, and among Navajo and Sioux Indians.

Kazakh researches

In the book *Kazakh Folksongs from the Two Ends of the Steppe* (2001) I compared the folk music of Aday Kazakhs living at the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea to that of Mongolian Kazakhs living in Bayan Ölgiy.

Considering the vastness of Kazakhstan and the complexity of the ethnogenesis of Kazakh people, it was not hard to foresee that a wide variety of musical dialects would be encountered in Kazakh areas. Despite minor dialectal deviations, the Kazakh language is highly unified, but sure enough, great differences in music exist there. The typical *do*- and *so*-pentatonic tunes of Mongolian Kazakhs are closer to the pentatonic melody style of Mongolian, while the majority of tunes in Western Kazakhstan have conjunct melodic progression on Aeolian scales so much favored in Hungarian and Anatolian areas.

Relying upon Anatolian, Azeri, Turkmen, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Mongolian and Chinese folk music we can see here a regional difference. The pentatonic zone stretches westward from China through Eastern Kazakhstan to the Volga-Kama region, and then it jumps to areas inhabited by Hungarians. At the same time we can observe no more than tiny traces of pentatonic scales in southern areas from Kyrgyzstan through Southern Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and Turkey.

To illustrate these differences, here is a typical psalmodic tune from Southwestern Kazakhstan moving basically on the *mi-re-do* trichord (ex.2a) and then a typical pentatonic Mongolian Kazak song (ex.2b).

We are working to extend the potential of the comparative research by computer-aided methods.

Example 2a. Aday Kazakh song



Example 2b. Mongolian Kazakh song



Azeri researches

In 2000 I continued the research in Azerbaijan. In the book, *Azeri Folksongs* – at the Fountainhead of Music (2004, Budapest) and in its Azeri version "Azerbaycan El Havaları – Musiqinin Ikin Qaynaqlarında (2006, Baku) I did a comparative analysis of Azeri folk music, and also involved other Turkic and Hungarian folk music into the analysis. Azeri language is a close variant of

Anatolian Turkish. However, in contrast to the very complex Anatolian musical styles, the form, scale and rhythm of Azeri folksongs are all quite simple. Their most prevalent features are: single or two-core construction; tri- or tetrachordal scales; 7-8-syllabic descending or dome-shaped lines and 6/8 meter.

Azeri folk music represents a unique hue in the music of Turkic peoples, significantly deviating from the folk music of both the neighboring and from the more distant Turkic ethnicities. Let us see now two typical Azeri songs illustrating these features. The first example is a lament from Karabah, and the second is a segment of a religious *zikr* ceremony.

Men de bu dert - nen öl - sem,

Düş - men da - ğı ge - ze - rem,

A, düş - men dağ, ga - vu - ru - ma ge - ze - rem.

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Example 3b. Azeri zikr melody



At present, I am taking part in the following projects:

Project	Cooperation
"The eastern connection of the Hungarian music» - The folk music of the Karachays in Turkey and - The psalms and the folk songs of a mystic sect in Turkey	Ankara University and Péter Pázmány Catholic University
The music of three Kyrgyz tribes	Institute for Ethnography, HAS
- «The computer aided examination of the Eurasian connection of the Hun- garian folk music»	Research Institute For Technical Physics And Materials Science of the HAS
- The Folk Music of the Navajo Indians	Dr. Jerry L. Jaccard, Brigham Young University, Utah
Comparative research on the folk music of Turkic people	Music of the Turkic speaking People ICTM study group
Comparative examination of the folk songs and folk texts of the Mongolian and the Hungarian peoples	Inner Mongolian University (China), Eötvös University, Department for Inner Asian Studies

The musical styles of the Karachays living in the Caucasus and in Turkey

The Northern Caucasus Mountains played an important role in the formation of the Hungarian people because before migrating to the Carpathian Basin they lived there within the framework of the Khazar Empire. In 2000 I led an expedition there to collect folk songs from Karachays, Malkars and other people living in the area. Since then, I have been doing extended research among Karachays whose ancestors migrated to Turkey in the 20th century as well. Here, too, the 1200 recorded and transcribed melodies enable me to do a comparative analysis of their folk music.

As some of the ancestors of the Karachay and the Hungarian people lived side by side for a longer time, we might suppose that there are similar

musical phenomena in their folk music. Though contrasted with the Hungarian folk music, pentatonic scales are extremely rare in Karachay folk music and there are Karachay melodies with fifth-shifting structure but their melodic essence is basically different. At the same time some similarity can be found among the Karachay and Hungarian laments and descending melodies.

Reflecting the very complex ethnogenesis of the Karachays, their folk music contains many different layers, the examination of which is in progress. For now, I would only like to call your attention to one particularly interesting fact. We know that dancing songs form layers that usually change relatively quickly. There are three songs in the quite heterogeneous dancing tune repertoire of the Karachays known and played by everybody and everywhere. These songs are so deeply embedded in the Karachay musical soul that they have been able to successfully survive the newer musical waves.



We can say the following about the Hungarian connections of these songs: The first melody is a bit similar to the so-called Hungarian "ascending melodies with large compass", especially with its cadences. The second melody is a variant of Karachay and Hungarian laments (ex.5). The third melody is a close variant of the Hungarian "Város végén egy madár" song. On ex.6 we see this Karachay melody and its Hungarian parallel aligned with each other.

Example 5. Karachay and Hungarian laments

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Example 6. Hungarian and Karachay melody parallels



A comparative analysis of three Kyrgyz areas

Unfortunately, as is also similar with much Turkic music, there is no comprehensive study of Kyrgyz folk music.⁷ Of course, the musical mapping of Kyrgyzstan would be an empty dream for a single researcher but the examination of three tribes living in three limited areas seemed to be a realizable and exciting task for me.⁸

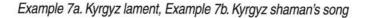
^{7.} Well informed people may know the books of Beliaev (1975) and Zataevich (1934), though these works are far from showing a complete picture of Kyrgyz folk music. Beliaev's study (The Music Culture of Kyrgyzia) contains only 20 Kyrgyz songs, and that of Zataevich 250 exclusively instrumental pieces. Considering that I collected 1200 songs during two collecting trips, these numbers seem to be too insignificant. What is more, there are only a few or no data on the recordings (place and time of the recording; name, place and date of birth of the singer etc.). Naturally the musical analyses of the areas, tribes, and the comparative view is also missing.

^{8.} In Kyrgyzstan the cultural differences are joined to areas, and the tribal cultural-musical differences have a secondary importance. However, the tribal relations are very strong here, and the majority of people keep in evidence their lineage within the very complex tribal relationships.

One of the areas was the southern shore of the lake Ysyk Köl, where the Bapa group of the Bugu tribe lives. The second was the area surrounding Atbashi in Narin County inhabited by the *Cherik* tribe. Narin County is one of the poorest in Kyrgyzstan where the old tradition is still alive. The third area was Talas County in Northern Kyrgyzstan, where one can observe strong Kazakh influences. Based on more than 1200 collected melodies, it seems possible to make a detailed comparative analysis of the music of these areas.

Here a side note is helpful. As a result of the aggressive settling of this nomadic people around 1930, with the famine and the politics of the Soviet Union, only women older than 65 remember old songs. And sometimes it is quite a hard job to encourage them to sing. As in Kyrgyzstan there are no good comprehensive archives, it is to be feared that in 20 years even the traces of this valuable musical culture will disappear.

I would now like to call your attention to a few phenomena. I recorded the first example in 2004 on the shore of Ysyk Köl. It is a good example of the fact that the typical Kyrgyz lament is very different from the general form of the Hungarian or Anatolian lament. However, there are folk songs, religious Ramadan songs and even laments similar to the Anatolian lament. Ex.7a is a Kyrgyz lament and below it is the song of a Kyrgyz shaman who uses the same musical form to get into contact with the transcendent powers above.





There are layers in Kyrgyz music that are similar to Hungarian folk music layers. However instead of an analysis, this time we have to be satisfied with a single example in Ex. 8.



Example 8. Hungarian- Kyrgyz melody parallel

The music of the Sioux and Navajo Indians

I started the field work among Sioux and Navajo Indians in 2004 when I was a Fulbright scholar at UCLA. First I transcribed some 700 Dakota and Navajo songs collected in 1941 by Willard Rhodes, then in October I did research work in the Fort Peck Lakota reservation near the Canadian border. In December, Professor Jerry L. Jaccard and I visited the Four Corners region of the Navajo Reservation and recorded some 250 songs there. After transcribing the Navajo melodies I started the analysis of our recordings and that of David McAlester's transcription of *Enemy Way* ceremony. We aim to continue that research in the near future.

Scientists generally agree that most Native Americans descend from people who migrated from Siberia across the Bering Strait some 10,000 or more years ago. Their common origin explains their common physiological characteristics and their many different language groups can be explained by the different waves of the migration.⁹ There are several similarities in the

^{9.} Charles and Florence Voegelin have evidence of 221 different native languages in North-America alone (Voegelin and Voegelin 1966).

musical styles of the Northern American Indians, yet at the same time, there are areas where folk music could develop independently, e.g. the Navajos in the Southwest and the Sioux in the Great Plains.

Though the majority of the Dakota folksongs are pentatonic and have a descending character, most of their songs are definitely different from Hungarian descending pentatonic songs. In contradiction to the four-sectioned Hungarian melodies built up of pentatonic motifs, Dakota songs are usually two sectioned and move in the *la-mi-re-do-la*, tetratonic scale.

Example 9. Typical Hungarian la-pentatonic and Dakota la-tetratonic scales



However, there are similar Hungarian and Dakota melodies too, as we see on ex. 10.





In 2004-2005 I recorded many Dakota songs in reservations and in powwows as well. Unlike the songs in the Willard Rhodes collection, many of the songs I collected moved on descending pentatonic scales though the two-sectioned form and the continuous unbroken descending melodic progression differentiate them from Hungarian pentatonic melodies.

For Navajo people, ceremonies are sacred; they do not want foreigners to join them. Only once were we allowed to view a Navajo healing ceremony; here the flow of the music was very complex and amazing. Heretofore, I had not found any descriptions of such musical processes, though it would give an excellent opportunity to study the process of the formation of song from speech and back again. Luckily, there are occasions like *Shoes Games* in which it is much easier to be permitted to participate. In these ceremonies the melodies are built up from simple motifs, though the composition technique might be quite sophisticated (ex.11).

Example 11. A Navajo Shoes Game song



Analyzing British and Mongolian songs

Let me say a few words on two of my recent projects. One is the classification of British folksongs we started with Professor Jaccard, trying to find the "central" music forms and the relations between them. This time I show only one of the most characteristic forms of these English songs with a Hungarian parallel (ex.12). These songs have an upward fifth shifting structure, which has a great importance in English folksongs and in the New Style of the Hungarian folk music too. This form might be a common heritage of the European Folk repertoire, which gradually took national character; similar forms can be found in Asian areas as well (A.L.Loyd, 1967: 86-89).

Example 12. English-Hungarian parallel

Hungarian

English

Another important project is comparative research about Mongolian and Hungarian music which has important antecedents with names like Bartók, Szabolcsi, Kodály, Vargyas etc., and which has a special importance to the ancient history of the Hungarians. So, I examined the occurrence of downward pentatonic fifth-shifting over a large area. According to earlier Hungarian research, these phenomena are found in the Volga-Kama region and in Hungarian folk music. According to my own more recent research, the downward pentatonic fifth-shifting is widespread among Mongols as well. I compared the melodies from different aspects, and we can summarize the findings as follows: the Cheremis and the Chuvash melodies are the closest to each other in contrast to the Mongolian, Chinese and Evenki fifth-shifting melodies. The Hungarian melodies are in-between these two arrays, closer to the Mongolian style.

Cheremis	8(5)4 la-pentatonic	Mongolian	Evenki
Chuvash	7(4)b3 sol-pentatonic		Northern-China
	Hungarian		

Now let me show some interesting Hungarian-Mongolian parallels among pentatonic melodies having downwards fifth-shifting structure.



Finally, here is a little more detail concerning one of my research projects:

Basic musical forms in a Bektashi community

Since 1999, my wife, Éva Csáki, and I have collected more than 1000 melodies in 24 villages from Turkish men and women of the Bektashi faith, whose grandparents migrated from the Balkans to the European part of

Turkey. By the end of this research series it seemed that we had reached our goal, and recorded the majority of their religious and secular songs. Who are these people, what are their ceremonies like, where and how they dance their dances and sing their songs? To answer to questions we have to examine the ancient history of Central Asia.

The nomadic and semi-nomadic Turks did not become Muslims at any one time but rather gradually, over centuries. They adopted some Sunni, Shiite and mystic elements of Islam while continuing to cling to their traditional shamanistic beliefs and practices. ¹⁰ The Bektashi faith begun to spread in the Balkan Peninsula during the 13th-14th centuries (Birge, 1937: 51). According to early tradition, the founder Hajji Bektash sent one of his missionaries Sarı Saltık to Rumeli (Europe) (Birge, 1937: 50-51). In the 16th century the Kizilbash who supported the Iranian Safavids were exiled from Anatolia. At this time several Bektashi groups migrated to the Balkan.

Bektashism is a syncretistic folk religion connected to nature; they worship mountains, trees and heaven. 11 Over the centuries, this religion was

It was advantageous for the order that in the middle of the 14th century, Hajji Bektash became the *pir* "patron saint" of the Janissary army. The Bektashi dervishes could fight in battles and could cultivate land and at the same time their tolerance made them acceptable for the Christians in the newly occupied lands.

At the beginning of the 16th century a new dervish order, the Kizilbash, became the ruler of Iran. This was followed by continuous Turkmen turmoil and the Osman-Persian wars. The Turkmen whose religion contained several Shiite elements became suspicious to the Osman Empire. As counteraction of the constant persecution and as an effect of the Safavid propaganda, the Bektashi-Alevi religion began to take better and better shape, and was standardized by Balim Sultan in his Erkanname.

The Bektashi order split into two. The popular and not unified Chelebian branch belonged to the Turkmen masses, only those could be members whose father and mother were members too. The Babagan Dervish order followed more strict religious practices. This latter was spread mainly in Istanbul and in the Balkan. However, the religion, the ceremony and the literature of the two branches was very much the same. The Babagan

^{10.} Similarly to American Indians or some Turkic people in Asia.

^{11.} The religion left by Muhammad very early developed in two directions. On the one hand it produced a rigid, scholastic theology with an inflexible religious law. At the same time, even from within the first two centuries, a tendency began to manifest and quickly developed into individuals and groups who emphasized the ascetic life and the mystical approach to direct knowledge of God (Birge, 1937: 13).

influenced by other religions, including Neo-Platonism, Judaism and Christianity. Bektashi faith is different from the majority Sunni religion. We can consider it a Turkish form of Shiite religion mixed with Sufism. ¹³

There are no special books, like the Bible or a catechism, which are used to enlighten the essence of Bektashism. They accept the Koran as a holy book, but they practice the rules according to their own conception of them. Bektashis follow their path; in their self-definition Turkish nationality comes first, fidelity to Islam comes second, and belonging to the Bektashi faith comes last.

Elements of shamanism live among them even today.¹⁴ According to their tradition, Bektashi, saints and legendary figures had special "shamanistic" gifts: their soul leaves the body and returns there, they fly to heaven,

branch had strong connection with the Janissary army, so they became very strong at the edges of the Osman Empire.

When in 1826 the dissolute Janissary army was dissolved, the Bektashi Order, especially the Babagan branch was abolished. Later the Bektashis built up good connections with the Young Turk movement and Atatürk. They participated in the war of liberation (1919-1923), but in 1925, together with the other orders they were abolished again. In spite of this, the order exists even today in secret, and the picture of Atatürk can be found on the wall of many Bektashi homes.

- 12. In Anatolia, Christianity was present since the 1st century. The early Christians escaped from persecution into the Ihlara valleys and the caves in Cappadocia where they had built underground cities. There was a large number of Christian in Seljuk era and from the 13th century too. This time there was a strict connection between the Islam and the Christianity. The Manichaeism had influence to the Bektashism too.
- 13. Though Bektashis accept the basic Shiite principles, they have a special conception of the Holy Trinity. According to them, the only existing God manifests itself in Mohammed and Ali. That is why their prayers begin with *Bism-i ah* (in the name of the king Ali) instead of the usual Muslim *Bism-i llah* (in the name of God). It is characteristic that the Shiite Iranians consider the Bektashis Sunni, Mélikoff (1993: 55).
- 14. They gather at night, men and woman together, they use fire (in these days, only candles), respect mountains, sacrifice animals in honor of a guest etc. The prohibition of uttering certain names or words can be considered shamanistic feature as well. Though the prohibition of stepping on the threshold has a religious explanation as well, this taboo can be dated back to the pre-Islamic Central Asia, it is known among Mongols too. Another example: the Tahtajis in the Taurus Mountain do not name the bear, it is taboo. Instead of ayı (bear) they say koca o lan (elder boy) or da daki (highlander). Atalay (1924:13).

they talk to God while on their horses, they direct the forces of nature as they please, they do not burn in fire, etc.¹⁵

Instead of beating drums to visit the unearthly worlds, the Bektashi ba lama¹⁶ player knocks on the instrument with the middle finger of his right hand while playing the melody. They do not pray five times a day and do not visit the mosque. However, there are mosques in their villages, which are not condemned by the majority of Sunni society.¹⁷

The Bektashis sing psalms and folk songs as well. The learning process of the folksongs is not different from what we see in many parts of the world. More unique, however, is their religious ceremony.

The ceremony is directed by the elected leader of the community, the *baba* "father". He is accepted, respected and loved. If a *mürid* (disciple) wants to join the order, he has to look for a *mürshid* (helper) whose judgment, opinion and advice help him in everyday life. The candidate can join the community as a fully qualified member only after completely understanding the concept of Bektashism and what seems to be more important, only if the community accepts him. Husband and wife can only decide together to choose this lifetime duty. As one of the formal conditions of joining, a candidate has to organize a ceremony.

^{15.} Similar attributes: they practice magic, cure illness, find lost things, foretell future, restore an animal to life from its bones etc. (Ocak 1983: 95).

^{16.} Ba lama is a lute with three strings. See Picken (1975: 200-295) for more detail.

^{17. 21} March is Nevruz (New Year), the feast of the light and Ali, and the day of the wedding of Ali and Fatima. 6 May is the beginning of the summer and the day of Saint Hıdır and lyas (Hidrellez). They keep a very strict fast on 1-12 Muharrem months remembering the sufferings of Hussein and his companions. The culmination of the fast is on the 10th day, the Ahsura, the day of Ali's martyrdom. The fasting ends on 12th Muharrem, eating dessert and candy.

^{18.} The way leading to the perfection has four periods – four gates. First is the *sheriat*, the Islam religion law, which means in practice that the disciple has to respect basic human norms. The second gate (the *tarikat*) is already the right way, the disciple has to join an order or do lonely meditations. During the second period the disciple develops a new way of seeing. The third gate is the *marifet*, the period of the real divine understanding, steady knowledge and clear-sightedness. The fourth period is the *hakikat*, the true reality, where knowledge is combined with love. These gates lead to *the fanafillah*, the final dissolution. Because of human frailty, this way has to be wandered over several times.

Since the banning of the order in 1926, Bektashis organize religious meetings in private houses, where foreigners usually are not let in. In the morning they clean up the place, prepare food, and the sacrificial lamb. The participants arrive after sunset. Only members of the community may join the first part of the meeting, where they discuss inner problems. If somebody wants to enter the ceremony, he has to know several rules and habits e.g. kiss the feet, hands and chest of the *baba* and touch the ground with forehead before entering and leaving. One has to know the melody and the text of the songs and must not turn his back to the *baba* while dancing, etc. During the *jam*, twelve candles are burning to the left of the *baba* remembering the twelve imams. ¹⁹ The *baba* and his helpers serve 12 duties. ²⁰

In the second part of the religious ceremony, the participants eat and drink (alcohol included). The *baba* reads and explains edifying texts. These lectures do not always achieve great success, but the community behaves in an orderly way.

After that, follows an amusing conservation with anecdotes, laughter and, from time to time, singing. They eat healthy Turkish dishes with lots of vegetables, cheese and fruit; drink water and *raki* (anise brandy). The *raki* is consumed always collectively after prayers or dances; a drunken man or

^{19.} The row of the 12 imams (religious leader) begins with Ali. They represent the chain of the disciples. Every imam died a violent death, and they are remembered by the 12 dignitaries on the Bektashi ceremony. According to some researchers, the number 12 shows Christian influence.

^{20.} Though the functions and their name might be different in different regions, the essence of the ceremony is very much the same everywhere. A version of the full list is as follows (Do an 1999: 115): the baba leads the ceremony; the davetçi (messenger) informs the community about the events; the kapıcı (gate-keeper) watches the homes of those joining the ceremony; the gözcü (watcher) keeps order during the ceremony, and watches if there is any danger; the a çı or sofracı blesses, cuts and skins the sacrificial animals, he/she cooks and serves the meal in the ceremony; the ayakçı is the helper of the a çı; the meydancı is the master of the house, he warns the participants to take their shoes off, watches the discipline; the çera cı is responsible for the candles; the süpürgeci (sweeper) symbolically tidies up the room between the sections of the ceremony while crying: Ya Allah, ya Muhammed, ya Ali (Oh, Allah, oh, Mohammed, oh Ali); the sakacı (water-carrier) sees after the water during the ceremony; the selman brings water for the ritual hand-washing, and the zakir sings religious songs and plays the ba lama.

woman is very rare. While drinking, they hide the glass in their palm according to the old tradition, because alcohol is forbidden in Islam culture.

The pleasant sensation of being together, the social entertainment and the feasting leads step by step to more spiritual and mystic forms. Through the influence of the religious songs, participants gradually become estranged from the trouble of the material life and devote themselves to God.

After eating and drinking, the *baba* and the member of the community sing poems of the honored founders, saints and poets.²¹ These Turkish poems are effective tools of the spiritual education, they give advice, explain the faith and the rules of coexistence. These verses substitute for the sacred texts, and Bektashis call their instrument *telli Kuran* (Koran on strings). Though the *nefes* have authors,²² they have lots of different variants.²³ There are similar verses with different poet's names, structures and melodies. Let us now look at the text of a *nefes*.

Şu dünyanın ötesine Vardım diyen yalan söyler, Baçtan baça sefasine Sürdüm diyen yalan söyler

Avcılar avlarlar kazı, Hakk'a ederler niyazı! Şunda beç vakit namazı Buldum diyen yalan söyler

Kuru açaçta olur gazel, Kendi okur kendi yazar. Zıkkı bütün, kalbı güzel Güzelim diyen yalan söyler "I've surpassed this world" Who says so, tells a lie. "I've had a good time from the beginning" He, who says so, tells a lie.

Hunters hunt for wild geese, They say prayer to God, "I said prayer five time every day" He, who says so, tells a lie.

They dig ditches exhausted, The fate spins your wheel! "In this world you have property, wealth" He, who says so, tells a lie.

Nefes is an Arabic word in Turkish; it means "breath, breathing on". There are legends
that the mystic poet Yunus Emre breathed in inspiration from saints and wrote his hymns
about worshipping God.

^{22.} Some poets, e.g. Ashik Veysel, have a worldwide reputation in our day too.

^{23.} The life of the poets is usually not cleared up. They often grow legend, and different poets living on different places and times often have the same name. The name of the poet occurs compulsorily in the last stanza of the poems, but identical or very similar poems are often signed by different names.

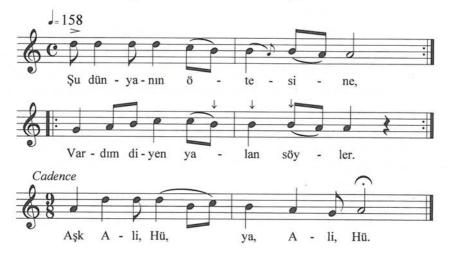
Kuru a açta olur gazel, Kendi okur kendi yazar. Zıkkı bütün, kalbı güzel Güzelim diyen yalan söyler

Even on the dry tree there are leaves, He sings, he writes himself, "There are people with only charity in their heart" He, who says so, tells a lie.

Pir Sultan'ıma varılmaz, Şah Sultan'ıma varılmaz, Varsa da bizce dönülmez , Rahbersiz yollar bulunmaz, Buldum diyen yalan söyler.

We cannot reach my Shah Hatayi,
We cannot reach my Saint Sultan,
Even if we reach him we cannot return,
Without a leader we do not find the way,
"I found it" – he, who says so, tells a lie.

Example 14. The text and the melody of a nefes



Toward the end of the séance men and women dance *semah* "religious dances", sing songs and approach God with saintly enthusiasm and high spirits. In these customs many scholars see the continuation of shamanistic traditions too. The participants consistently do not consider the *semah* as prayer.²⁴

^{24.} Van Bruinessen (1999: 549-553) says that *semah* turning is totally different from shamanistic dance.

In the last decade more and more studies have been published about the Bektashi faith and customs; poems of their famous poets are now published in several volumes. About the melodies the Bektashis sing and play, however, there is no significant work or comprehensive study, though these poems have been never only recited but always sung and dance, and music has played a fundamental role in their culture.²⁵

The members of the Bektashi community know and sing hundreds of melodies. These songs are not independent from each other; they are variants of much smaller number of basic musical forms. Let us see now the musical classification.

MUSICAL CLASSIFICATION

Before starting a more detailed examination to decide which method is more fruitful we have to raise a question: is it really necessary to examine the sometimes agonizing phenomena of the folk music of nomadic people or the repertoire of a specific religion? Should not we study modern musical trends in the villages and cities instead?

Undoubtedly the inspection of newer phenomena is important. However, besides the language, folk music is one of the most outstanding creations of a people, one which deserves special attention. Many layers of it were created by communities having a common cultural background, and over decades, centuries or sometimes thousands of years, these communities had been forming and polishing melody types and styles, preserving their essence in the process of continuous change.

^{25.} As Boratav (E.I. III: 1094a) states that there are no comprehensive studies about the songs of the folk religion. According to Duygulu (1997: IX): "more and more studies are written about historical, theological and political aspects of the Alevi-Bektashis, but only a few scholar examine their culture". Especially insufficient is the research on the music and dance of the Bektashis. I can only mention two publications which contain several musical transcriptions: the Bekta î Nefesleri (Istanbul, 1933) and the different publications of Turgut Koca – Zeki Onardan, Gül Beste (e.g. Ankara 1987 or 1998). Even in these books there is no musical analysis and one can find only a few songs which are known and sung by the Bektashis in Thrace.

Music really does have its own life, which is not totally but to a high degree independent from the society in which it exists. When we analyze Bach's fugues or Schoenberg's compositions we do not necessarily have to know every tiny moment of their lives. And, although cultural and social approaches are fundamental in the newer ethnomusicology, we cannot expect representatives of other branches of sciences to study the music as it is and to make the musical analysis. It has to be done by us, musicologists and ethnomusicologists.

Linguistics, especially comparative linguistics, set a good example in this. Having different methods and approaches, linguists agree that dictionaries and grammar are important tools. In the case of folk music, a dictionary might be a reliable collection of songs, and grammar a classification, that is, descriptions of relationships between melodies. This means a typology for grouping similar melodies into melody types; then melody types organize themselves into melody classes and melody classes form melody styles.

Classification is especially important when we want to compare the folk music of different peoples, because while the similarity of a few melodies does not have great significance, the similarity of large and musically homogeneous melody styles might refer to deeper, sometimes genetic relations between different folk musics or –in other cases– they can help to trace musical universalities.

In an optimal case, the folk music of all the peoples in the world would be lined on our shelves in systematized publications. Then we could attempt to plot the musical map of the world, in which the overlapping seas and the islands of folk music could be demonstrated suggestively. It would reveal how far and in what specific form tune types and musical styles spread; are they national or supranational, do they live locally or have a generally prevalent character? That is, unfortunately, only a dream yet.

In January 2004 I attended the 37th World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music in Southern China. If all of the many hundred participants would have collected and analyzed 7000 melodies and written 6 books like myself, now we would have an archive of more than two million melodies and a library of some two thousands monographs on these melodies. How much nearer we would be to Béla Bartók's dream of becoming acquainted with the folk music of the world!

This time I will only show you an example of the classification of a large song collection. First let us specify the principles of the classification.

Principles of musical classification

Having classified material ordered into melody types, classes and styles, we have the chance to compare the entire folk music of different peoples instead of only observing a few random similarities. Owing to six years of fieldwork and simultaneous transcribing and analyzing, we have reliable material.

The next step was to choose the principles for classifying the material. Because we are now talking about *musical* classification we take non-musical aspects into consideration only secondarily. There are several connections between melodies. The number of syllables, the number of sections, the compass, the rhythm, the musical structure, the scale etc. might be similar or even identical. We can group the material according to any of these features and these groupings would bring melodies similar in one or more features close to each other. But these characteristics are usually unambiguous and can be characterized by one or two numbers; consequently, we can use comprehensive tables to introduce the rhythmic, structural and other kinds of relationships.

According to our experience, the melodic line encloses more complex and more substantial musical essence and cannot be characterized by only a few numbers or letters. That is why we choose the melodic line as the main principle of the classification. To be more exact we made the classifications according to the melodic progression of the first half of the melodies which –in this musical culture– usually identifies the whole melody satisfactorily. The second half of these melodies is usually less characteristic, and moves under the first part with a descending or an ascending-descending tendency. At the same time, and in the case of the four-sectioned melodies, structure plays a prominent role. Therefore, in the classification of these melodies the cadences (the closing tones of the sections) are more important than in the classification of the one- or two-sectioned melodies.

Classification according to the melodic line

The goal and at the same time the difficulties of the musical classification is that from many variants we have to choose the central forms and melodic lines to which the majority of the songs are traceable. As we will see, in the majority of the cases we could sort the melodies into types and classes according to their melodic lines, and only a few songs could be classified into more than one class or even into none of the classes.

As in the folk music of many people, the most typical melodic line in the Bektashi material is descending or ascending-descending (hill-shaped). In this musical world these two forms are not worth differentiating because only the first few tones of the first section are different. A more specific phenomenon is the undulating movement on a smaller compass (of a third, fourth, or perhaps a fifth) which can reach up to or fall below the keynote in the middle of the first line. Relatively rare are melodies that are traceable back to twin-bars or to a single bar, and even rarer are melodies with an ascending first line.

In the first step, I divided the folksongs and the psalms of the Bektashis into 12 arrays according to their forms. These arrays may contain melodies moving on different scales if their other features were in harmony with the other melodies in the same array.

Array	Basic form of the melodies in the array
I-II.	One short section
III-IV.	Two short sections
V.	Four short sections with (1) main cadence
VI-X.	Four short sections
XI.	One or two tripodic sections
XII.	«Domed» structure
App.1-2.	Special melodies

Now let us survey the melodic groups in the arrays in order to develop an acquaintance with the musical world of the Bektashis. After learning these melodies, the majority of the Bektashi songs will seem familiar.

Melodies traceable back to a single short section (I-II)

- I. Melodies built up of motives rotating around the middle tone of a trichord
- II. Melodies traceable back to a single short line (motif)

Melodies traceable back to two short sections (III-IV)

- III. First line is undulating or ascending, often A^kA form and 1, 2, (b)3, 4 or 5 cadences
 - IV. Two short static, descending or hill-like sections with a small compass and 2, (b)3 or 4 cadences. A special subgroup consists of melodies starting with mi-re-do mi-re-do.

Melodies with four short sections and (1) main cadence (V)

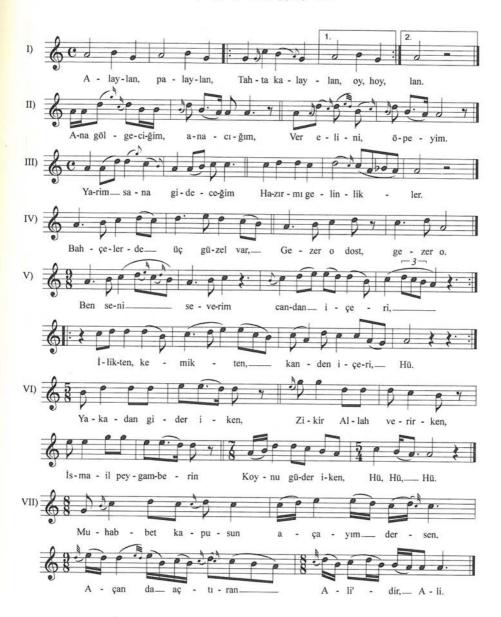
Melodies with four or more sections (VI-X)

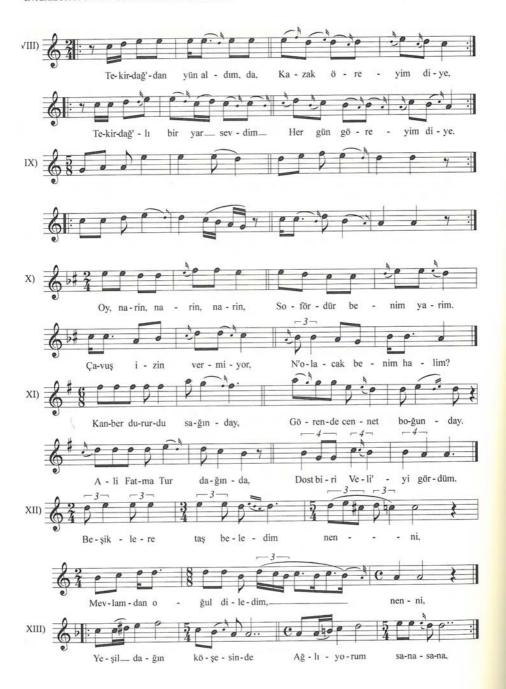
- VI. Low melodies with 2/b3(2)x cadences and higher melodies with 4/5(2)x cadences
- VII. Low and higher melodies with b3(b3)x cadences
 - VIII. "Psalmodic" and descending melodies with 5(b3)b3/1 sometimes 4(b3)b3/1 cadences
- IX. A special "Chanakkale" melody group
- X. Melodies with characteristic line or bar-sequences
- XI. Disjointed melodies
- XII. One- or two sectioned tripodic melodies
- XIII. Melodies in «cupola» form

Appendices

- Lament-like melodies with D-C cadences
- Melodies with movement by leaps

Example 15. Melodies representing the melodies in the arrays: I) 2, II) 34, III) 90, IV) 146,V) 254, VI) 301, VII) 333, VIII) 368, IX) 446, X) 478, XI) 502, XII) 545, XIII) 577, App-1) 593, App-2) 598





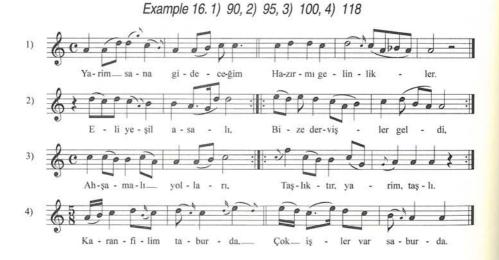


Now I will introduce an array in more detail. As we have seen, melodies in the arrays III-IV are traceable back to two short sections. Here we see two melody groups, each with many subgroups. The main difference between the melodies in these arrays is the melodic movement of their first sections. The melodies of Array IV are composed from two short and small-compass sections with static, descending or hill-like movements. As we already know, this melodic progression is typical of the area.

The first section of melodies in Array III is undulating or ascending, with A^kA form being quite typical. This character is rather different from not only the majority of the Bektashi songs, but also from Anatolian and Bulgarian songs. A closer examination of this characteristically Bektashi melodic group reveals that the first section of these small compass (G,-D/A) melodies descends to the keynote in the middle, then ascend to the final note of the section which is usually on the 3rd or 2nd and seldom on the 4th degree. A descending or hill-like second section answers to this undulating first line.

- III-1. An A-C-D-C-A-B-C/B wave (ex.16-1). The wave in the first group ascends from A to D/E, then descends to A/G and from there ascends to B/C again. The sections with different cadences are united by the specific low undulating movement described above.
- III-2. An A/D-E-D-C-A-C-D valley or wave form (ex.16-2). The first lines of the melodies in this group form a valley, but the characteristic form of these melodies is A^kA , that is the wave-form is only the result of a jump at the end of the first section. The typical cadence is D.
- III-3. This group contains melodies which are Ionian counterpart of melodies in III-1 (ex.16-3).
- III-4. The first section ascends to D/E (ex.16-4). I take a section ascending if its closing note is higher than the backbone of the sections, and not only when its last tone jumps higher as in the melodies with A^kA form. Such a melodic progression is quite rare in the music of Turkic people, especially in the first line of a melody consisting of two short lines.

The first section of some of these melodies ascends from A to D/E, and the second section closes descending on A. The first lines of other melodies recite in the C-D range then close on D/E. The genre is usually folksong but we do see many lullabies and one rain-begging song here as well, the latter moving on a scale with an augmented second between the 2nd and 3rd degrees.



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Summary

A great advantage of musical classification is that we can compare different folk music with the help of basic forms. In this case, the music of the Bektashi community should be compared with that of the Turks living in Thrace and in Bulgaria, with the music of other Alevi-Bektashi groups in Turkey, and with Bulgarian music. This work is not impossible to accomplish because of the availability of the music of many of the groups mentioned. What is more, we have developed a software program to facilitate the comparison of large quantities of melodies. However all this will be the focus of another study, or rather of a book.

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