

The Nation's Music

Discovering and Recovering the Dastgah

It is not secret or hidden that what was discussed about the names of the twelve maqam and the relation of each one to the twelve houses of the zodiac—and the organization of each of them from other notes and the times of playing them and the affect of each of them—is completely in the idiom of the ancient wise men; and the assemblies of men know all of the aforesaid music writings mentioned. However, it is not hidden from the masters of knowledge and insight—it is no secret that, in this time, most of these aforementioned ideas are not in common use, but rather have been abandoned.¹

The statement in the epigraph came from the poet Nasir “Forsat” al-Dowleh Shirazi, writing about music he observed in the Qajar court in Tehran during a visit he made during the rule of Nasir al-Din Qajar Shah from his native city of Shiraz. Forsat had contact with both writings about the twelve-maqam system and the Qajar musicians and courtiers who performed using seven dastgah, and he observed that though some knew of writings about the twelve-maqam system, it was a music of the past and not what contemporary musicians of the Qajar court were using. The political instability of dynastic patronage in the eighteenth century had not erased knowledge of the twelve-maqam system from all memory in the lands Qajars had conquered. But the weakening of dynastic power had undermined its relevance to such an extent that it was no longer relevant to music of the late Qajar courts. As the Qajars went on to confront the final deconstruction of dynastic governance and the rise of nation-states, the court culture of dynastic realms and its central model of musical expression were disappearing simultaneously.

As the court disintegrated in the late nineteenth century and its musicians and music moved into both private and public spaces of the budding Iranian nation, music had a different role to play among the newly realized Iranian people. Idiosyncratic, procedural musical structures initially fulfilled this role much better than a universal, compositional system and Forsat called the procedural system

he found in the Qajar court “the system of seven” or “seven dastgah” (*dastgāh-i hafteh-gāneh*). Indeed, Mirza Shafi’ Khan also wrote describing seven dastgah as seven distinct long-form musical procedures somewhat earlier than Forsat, specifically discussing them in relation to Qajar musicians like Husayn Qoli.² As the narrative of the nation developed, the seven dastgah became central to demonstrating the existence and continuity of Iran’s great legacy of Persian music. Conversely, the writing of Iran’s national music history initially depended on discovered writings about the twelve-maqam system from before the seventeenth century, which questioned the dastgah’s procedural model of music performance. In recontextualizing the twelve-maqam system within Iranian history, systematic modality became a key tenant of Iran’s historic legacy of Persian music, even as the seven dastgah presented an approach to music-making that was not dictated primarily by systematically abstracted modes. The early twentieth century thus consisted of efforts to preserve Iran’s newly discovered ancient Persian melodies within the uniquely Iranian structure of the dastgah, while reorganizing the dastgah to better fit within notions of systematic modality that could demonstrate continuity in Iranian music history.

The reimagining of the radif-dastgah tradition as a dual system of pitch modalities (dastgah/avaz-dastgah) and interconnected repertoire of melodies (radif) ultimately related to an ongoing manipulation of an indigenous approach to musical procedures within the radically changing sociopolitical landscape of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The interpretive qualities of procedural models for music performance that gained standing in the eighteenth century provided an active, malleable basis for Iranians to imagine and reimagine a unique national history via music’s repertoire, structure, and performance practice. Ongoing renegotiating of ideas about Iran’s national Persian history affected change in music from the Qajar court even as the united nation of Iran fully replaced all trappings of polyglot dynastic reality.

Forsat’s writing about music initially sought to follow in the footsteps of pre-modern writings about music associated with the court. As an educated poet, he wanted to write about the relationship between poetry and music. He began writing mostly about poetry and only later included significant discourses about music that initially focused on literary tropes found in older treatises about the twelve-maqam system. But he was fascinated by a musical practice he witnessed while visiting the Qajar court in the 1880s, which did not relate to the twelve-maqam system. He recorded both his knowledge of older ideas about poetry and music and his contemporary observations of this new Qajar court music in a single text, which he had published in Bombay in 1914 under the title *Buhūr al-alhān*.

While Forsat’s book was one of the first Persian writings about music to be printed on a modern printing press for mass distribution in the Qajar Realm, he

was not alone. Actual students of Qajar court musicians also began producing their own texts about the seven dastgah for mass distribution in the early twentieth century. While Forsat merely sought to report the nature of the seven dastgah he observed in Tehran, writings from practitioners of the seven dastgah forwarded new analyses and structural frameworks for the seven dastgah, based on their changing notions of Iran's Persian culture and history.

One of the most prominent Qajar courtiers to write in this vein was Mehdi Qoli Hedayat, who wrote about the seven dastgah in his text the *Majma' al-advār*. Hedayat, the son of Qajar courtiers, started playing setar at a young age while at court in Tehran at the turn of the century.³ He received some education in Iran before he went to Europe to be educated, eventually returning to Iran and taking positions in both the constitutional government of the late Qajar era and the modern bureaucracy of the early Pahlavi state.

Hedayat's access to modern education greatly influenced his access to the history of music in the region, and his education in Europe shaped how he understood this history within the history of Iran and the music he had learned in the Qajar court. Hedayat described his initial lack of language literacy and subsequent undertaking of rigorous language education in Persian and Arabic, in part to read writings he found from 'abd al-Qader al-Maraghi.⁴ He learned both languages well enough to read all of the writings of Maraghi, Qutb al-Din Shirazi and Safi al-Din Urmawi and he wrote extensively about them in *Majma' al-Advar*. While his text was one of the first Persian writings on music to reference any of these older writings in several centuries, it was the first time so many of these texts had been written about together with great specificity, focusing on a totality of Persian musical writings as containing a discursive set of Persian musical ideas.

His knowledge of these older writings about the twelve-maqam system notwithstanding, Hedayat's education in Europe exposed him to modern ideas about history and culture that ultimately determined how he understood both the twelve-maqam system and the dastgah he encountered in the Qajar court. He viewed both of these different approaches to music-making within the framework of Iran's emerging national history and he wrote *Majma' al-advār* partly in imitation of the writings of Maraghi, Safi al-Din, and Qub al-Din, and partly as an imitation of the writings on music from both Orientalists and scientists in nineteenth-century Europe. In this text he outlined two different ways of analyzing the seven dastgah that he used to demonstrate its ancient Iranian historicity. These analyses derived from his interpretation of what modern European intellectuals were saying about the nature of music vis-à-vis humanity and the history of Persian music specifically.

He also wrote a short epilogue for his *Majma' al-advār* that reflected on structural similarities between the dastgah tradition and music he encountered in Europe. He further included a small music-teaching text (*dastūr*) that focused on

his understanding of how to use music notation. In this teaching text, Hedayat aligned the notation he had seen in writings about the twelve-maqam system with the notation system of Europe.

Hedayat's specific ideas about the relationship between the seven *dastgah*, the twelve-maqam system, and Western music did not gain widespread usage among other musicians in the twentieth century. One musician who did manage to take the idea of an Iranian national music and spread new approaches to the *dastgah* based on new narratives of national history was 'Ali Naqi Vaziri (1887–1980). Vaziri was a prolific music educator who produced the first widely published teaching texts about the seven *dastgah*. In publishing his modern teaching manuals and using them to teach in modern classroom settings, Vaziri taught an approach to understanding modality within the seven *dastgah* that negotiated the contradictory requirements of an Iranian music tradition in the modern world. Several of his students went on to create their own teaching manuals based on his understanding of *dastgah* modality and many of his students went on to teach even more students of the tradition. This situation made many of the particular ideas and approaches he originally taught some of the most influential throughout the tradition by the 1940s.

As the son of an army officer and social activist, Vaziri grew up at the forefront of modernization at the end of Qajar rule. He initially took an interest in European-style military music while in the Russian-trained Cossack Brigade. His primary exposure to the seven *dastgah* appears to have come from playing tar with the Society of Brotherhood after his time in the Cossack Brigade. Here he met the progenitors of the seven *dastgah*, including Mirza 'Abdullah, Husayn Qoli, and Darvish Khan.⁵ Like Hedayat, he was ultimately educated in Europe, both France and Germany, and this education greatly informed his construction of Iran as a distinct historic entity and the Iranian people as a nation. He used these ideas to determine which concepts of music's structure were most relevant to a proper reorganization of the Qajar *dastgah* tradition: a reorganization that could recover lost aspects of Iranian music history. This framework for understanding the relationship between music and culture fostered a new model of musical structure, which in turn related to multiple interpretations and variations on how the *radif-dastgah* tradition was understood and practiced in the late twentieth century.

Vaziri made no secret of his work to change the musical life of Iran and he harnessed modern venues of communication early on to present his "reform" of Iranian music as a key aspect of improving Iran's national character and position in the modern world. Today, Iranian musicians and musicologists often regard Vaziri as a nationalist, who specifically acted as a proponent of Iranian music's Westernization. As a composer and performer, this provides an accurate assessment of his legacy later in the twentieth century. In his teachings from the first part of the century, however, Vaziri portrayed the concepts of a unique Iranian *dastgah*

modality and a fully distinguished Iranian radif repertoire as two important parts of Iran's distinct cultural history that needed to be maintained for Iran to prosper in the modern world. Vaziri believed in the importance of the European system of tonal harmony, which he referred to as international music (*mūsīqī-i bayn al-melal*) and considered open to all peoples. Both Hedayat and Vaziri discussed this international music side by side with the seven dastgah, yet the distinction of Iran's culturally defined music of the radif-dastgah tradition stood as the unique demonstration of Iran's distinct history and culture. In this context, Vaziri cast his approach to the radif-dastgah tradition as a purely indigenous realization of what Iranian music had embodied for thousands of years. Many musicians both learned and accepted the basic principles he taught concerning the radif-dastgah tradition's unique Iranian structure, and many of the specific perspectives he promoted remain part of a standard indigenous understanding of the radif-dastgah tradition today.

Vaziri produced some of the first modern teaching manuals for the seven dastgah, where he taught his initial approach to the basic tenants for organization and analysis of the seven dastgah. They first appeared in his elementary teaching manuals for specific instruments, starting with his teaching manual for tar, *Dastūr-i tār*, which had its first major publication run in 1923. He followed this text with a similar manual for violin in 1934, followed by a revised manual for teaching tar and setar in 1936. He provided his most detailed exploration of the new presentation of the radif-dastgah tradition in his teaching manual for more advanced students of music, *Mūsīqī-i naẓarī*, in 1934.

In the ongoing project to discover or otherwise construct modern Persian music's ancient Persian past, each of these three authors approached the dastgah tradition they learned from Qajar musicians in different ways. No longer subject to the universal rules that could affect meaning throughout the cosmos and humanity, the seven dastgah related to ever-changing notions of a single Persian people and the idiosyncrasy of this people's unique history, eventually aligned with notions of race and the nation of Iran. In this context, there was more than one way to imagine this history and reimagine the music. By the mid-1940s, standards of the full radif-dastgah tradition were still in dispute, yet the conceptual framework of these disputes was first confronted in the early twentieth century. Descriptions and analysis of the tradition from Forsat, Hedayat, and Vaziri demonstrate the modern parameters of identity that defined the radif-dastgah tradition in all of its structural variations as the twentieth century progressed.

FORSAT'S PERSIAN MUSIC IN THE BUHŪR AL-ALḤĀN

Though Forsat introduced his text as a treatise that addressed the historic relationship between music and the structure of Persian and Arabic poetry, the second

half of his text abandoned this initial interest. After being immersed in the court music of the Qajar court, he turned the second half of this text to documenting the knowledge of music in the Qajar court. This included both factual knowledge about the twelve-maqam system and actual practices of the new music tradition of seven dastgah. He attempted to document the new seven dastgah with as much detail as he could, with a special focus on the poetry sung in the new tradition.

The knowledge of the twelve-maqam system Forsat encountered in Tehran reflected the system's dominant discourses from the time of the Safavids, with some reference to ideas that had dominated previously. The twelve-maqam system he described had the additional gusheh component, and Forsat focused on the metaphysical and cosmological alignments for each of the avaz, maqam, sho'beh, and gusheh. He did not document any systematic calculation of pitch usage or scales, and he mentioned al-Farabi in passing as only a symbolic musician of legend. Knowledge of the twelve-maqam system in the turn of the century Qajar court was thus largely based on the discourses from the previous three centuries.

After establishing that the twelve-maqam system was a relic that contemporary members of the court had only read about, Forsat described the new seven dastgah, which could only be learned by studying with specific masters in the Qajar court.⁶ He explicitly described the seven dastgah of these masters as new and fresh (*jadid* and *tāzeh*) compared to the twelve-maqam system. In explaining what was new about the seven dastgah, Forsat pointed to the organization of melodic material in each of the seven dastgah and drew seven charts to show the idiosyncratic use of melody in each one. He described the dastgah as generally containing a collection of different types of melodies alternately referring to these melodies as ahang (*āhang*), naghmeh (*naghmeh*), avaz, or gusheh. The charts he drew for each dastgah represented a particular progression of melodic material, listing the names of different melodic sections and placing them into the progression that defined each dastgah's performance. Figures 12 and 14 show Forsat's original representation of Shur, Nava, and Mahur. Figures 13, 15, and 16 provide translated interpretations of his charting for these three dastgah, following a scheme of representation explained in figure 11.

He gave additional instructions in his prose to further explain the procedural nature of the dastgah. He described the melodies named daramad in each chart as starting the performance in the basis (*zamīneh*) of the dastgah. His description of forud referred back to this idea of a dastgah's basis, and he noted that where forud appeared in the charts, the basis outlined in the daramad would be repeated. He distinguished between mandatory melodic sections of the dastgah and optional sections, which could be added or passed over in the performance, though they could not be moved from their relative position in a dastgah's melodic sequence. Forsat further noted that some of these sections appeared in more than one dastgah, though he indicated that this was somewhat controversial among

Independent melodies that may be played or passed over
Set of melodies that is consecutive and mandatory
Set of melodies that are labeled as being different parts of a consecutive melodic sequence
Set of melodies that Forsat shows as consecutive and mandatory in another dastgah
Single melody labeled as containing a consecutive melodic sequence (s)
Set of melodies that has a sequential relationship in more than one another dastgah
Supplemental comments/clarifications given by Forsat
ۛ “and” — placed between melodies to show that they are consecutive and mandatory
Supplemental Compositions Separate from Dastgah

FIGURE 11. Legend for figures 13, 15, and 16

some practitioners of the tradition.⁷ In the charts Forsat positioned the *reng* as a unique category of melodies, listing them as a supplemental section at the end of each *dastgah*.

While each chart demonstrated a progression of named melodic segments in keeping with the parameters Forsat set out in prose, he wrote parenthetical text in and around the charts, which provide further insight into the distinguishing features of each *dastgah*. For instance, Forsat noted halfway through the chart for *dastgah Shur* that the entire second half of *Shur* consisted of related sections (*muta’ alliqāt*), which could be used or skipped over in their entirety. Among these he named *Abu ‘Ata*, which he referred to as a *forud* of *Shur*. Forsat also noted where one or more sections could be inserted into the *dastgah* as an optional possibility in addition to the official charting of the *dastgah*. Thus he stated that a section called *Gavri* or *Zabol-i Gavri* could be added at the end of the *dastgah Chahargah*, and he also wrote that it was desirable to use the *Jameh Daran* to complete the *dastgah Homayun*, but *Bayat-i Isfahan* was also used.⁸ Forsat created the shortest chart for the *dastgah Segah*, in which he wrote a note stating that most of *Segah* was borrowed from the organization of melody in *Chahargah*.

When addressing why the *dastgah* system worked in this complicated way, Forsat gave two frameworks of reference. He stated that a musician told him that they adopted this new organization for music because it was superior (*awlā*).⁹ This statement gave no explanation of where it came from, only that the *dastgah* represented some kind of musical improvement. His more extensive explanation described these improvements as providing a basis to organize the remnants of ancient Persian melodies for contemporary performance. Forsat described the

<div style="text-align: center;">۳۶</div> <div style="text-align: center;">دستگاه شور</div>											
درآمد			آواز سه قسم			نغمه قسمی بالاترین			زیر شکست ۱۲ قسم		
سکست دو قسم			مقدمه کلرین کلرین			صفا			و چهار ضرب مقدمه بزرگ قسم		
بزرگ			دو قسمی			خارا			قبر		
آوازهای متعلق بدستگاه شور در ذیل نوشته میشود یعنی اگر چه اینها خود شور نیستند ولی در این دستگاه بکار میروند و بدین ترتیب											
شناسنامه قسم			قرچه			رضوی			عقده کشتا		
و مدهی ضرب			روح الارواح			دشتی			حاجیانی		
لبیکی			گورئی			دستان عرب			سارنج		
قطار			قرانی			گرایلی شخصی			رهادی		
شاه قانی			بیات کرد			افشاری			کوچه باغی		
رنگهای شور			شهر آشوب			ضرب اصول			مهر بانی این در ترک بکار است		

FIGURE 12. The dastgah Shur in the Buhūr al-Adhān

twelve-maqam system as the ancient system (*dastgāh-i qadīman*) that had been reorganized into the seven dastgah.¹⁰ He further summarized the melodic contents of the seven dastgah as a mixture of old Persian melodies with new Persian melodies, pointing directly at the Persian names of the melodies to explain this conclusion. He stated that while there were new melodies in the dastgah that had new names, there were also new melodies in the dastgah that had very old names, while there were also very old melodies in the seven dastgah that had new names.

Darāmad	Kereshmeh	Avāz seh qesm		Naghmeh qesmi balā qesmi pā'in		Zirkesh-i salmak chahār qesm	
Salmak do qesm		Moqademeh-i golriz	Golriz	Şafā	چ Chahār Meẓrāb	Moqademeh-i bozorg do qesm	
Bozorg	Dobayti	Khārā	Qajar	Mollā nāzi	Hazin do qesm	Forūd seh qesm	
<p><i>The dependent melodies (āvāzhā-i muta 'alliq) in the dastgah of Shūr are written below, meaning that although they are not themselves Shūr, they are used in this dastgah. Sāranj in the common practice of this art is Abū 'Aṭā, meaning for Sāranj they usually say Abū 'Aṭā and it was three sections (seh qesm) of the forūd of Shūr.</i></p>							
Shahnāz seh qesm		Qarcheh	Rāzawī	'Oqadeh goshā	Bayat-i tork	چ Gūsheh-i dūgāh	
چ Mehdi żarrābi		Rūh al-arwāḥ	Dashti	Hājjiāni	Bīd kāni	Bayat-i shīrāzi	
Gilaki	Gūri	Dastān-i arab		Sāranj	Sayahki	Hijāz	Chahār pāreh
Qatār	Qorā'ī	Grāyli	Grāyli shaṣti		Rahāwī	چ Masihi	Takht-i taqdis
Shāh khotā' i	Bayāt-i kord	Afshāri	Kūcheh bāghi	Samali	Gham angiz	Mehribāni (<i>This is used in Tork</i>)	
The Rengs of Shūr:		Shahr-āshūb				Żarb-i uşul	

FIGURE 13. Interpretation of the dastgah Shur's representation in the *Buhūr al-Adhān*


With all of this mixing and matching of melodies with names, he observed that no one had really investigated the historical origins of the melodies themselves. In pondering where the old melodies came from, Forsat traced a historical path from the Qajar court all the way back to the Sassanian Empire using the Persian language. He surmised that since some of the names of melodies could be found in very old Persian dictionaries, some of the melodies must have come from the time of the great legendary musician Nekisa and the Sassanians. He stated that no one really knew where any of the melodies came from, but if someone researched it, they would be able to find both new melodies in the dastgah and older melodies with connections to this ancient Persian past.¹¹

Thus, Forsat framed the seven dastgah as a new innovation that had evolved out of a larger Persian history of music, with musical roots as far back as pre-Islamic


<div style="text-align: center;">۳۶</div> <div style="text-align: center; font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold;">دستگاه نوا</div>						
چهارمضر	درآمد اول	درآمد و نیم	درآمد سیم	کردانیه	نغمه	بیات باج
عشاق	نہفت	گشت	عشیران	نشاہورک	مجلہ	خجستہ
میرزا	حسین	ملک حسینی	بوسلیک	نیریزی	راک	راک
<div style="text-align: center;">این چند آواز ذیل را ہم در نوا بجا ریزند و تثنیٰ آہنامی نمایند</div>						
آبول	عراق	غزال	ذناصری	راوی	مسی	شاہنائی
رنگہامی نوا		شہ آشوب	حربی	ستوری مخصوص این دستگاه است		
<div style="text-align: center;">دستگاه ماہور</div>						
چش در آمد	در آمد	آواز	داد	خسروانی	دلکش	خادران
طرب	نشاہورک	طوسی	آذربایجانی	فیلی	قوزرنگ	و ماہور
آبول	وہارماہور	گوشہ نیریز	شکستہ	نخب	عراق	راگ ہندی
	نغمہ راگ	راگ عبد	ساقی نامہ	صوفی نامہ	کشتہ مردہ	
رنگہامی ماہور		شہ آشوب	خنی جے	حسینی		

FIGURE 14. The dastgah of Nava and Mahur

Persia. He placed the twelve-maqam system within this Persian music history, even as he emphasized the new innovation of the seven dastgah deriving from both ancient Persian melodies and modern Persian innovation. This understanding of the seven dastgah facilitated the unity of Persian music history past and present. In this framework, no maqam, avaz, sho'beh, or other abstract melodic or rhythmic structure had survived from the twelve-maqam system to be used in the seven dastgah. Rather, a random assortment of fully formed melodic material created using the historic Persian system of the twelve maqam had survived and been placed into the seven dastgah, alongside newer melodic materials.



Chahār meẓrāb	Darāmad-i aval	Darāmad-i davvīm	Darāmad-i seyyīm	Gardānieh	Naghmeh	Bayāt-i rāje ^c	
ʿOshshāq	Nohoft	Gavesht	ʿAshirān	Nishābūrak	Majlisi	Khojasteh	
Husayn		Malek husaynī		Būsaliḳ		Nayrīzī	
<i>These several melodies listed below are also used in Navā and they sing the melodies.</i>							
Abūl	ʿIrāq	ʿOzzāl	Danāṣeri	Rahāvī	Masiḥī	Shāh- khotā j:	Takht-i taqdis
<i>The Rengs of Navā:</i>		<i>Shahr-āshūb</i>	<i>Ḥarbī</i>	<i>Nastūrī is specifically for this dastgah</i>			

FIGURE 15. Interpretation of the dastgah Navā's representation in the *Buhūr al-Adḥān*


Pīsh Darāmad	Darāmad	Avāz	Dād	Khosrovānī	Delkesh	Khāvarān
Ṭarab angīz	Nishābūrak	Ṭūsī	Āzarbayjānī	Filī	و Zīrafkand	و Māhūr-i ṣaghīr
Abūl	و Ḥeṣār-i māhūr	Gūsheh-i nayrīz	Shekasteh	Naḥīb	ʿIrāq	Rāk-i hindī
	Naghmeh-i rāk	Rāk-i ʿAbdullah	Sāqī nāmeḥ	Ṣūfī nāmeḥ	Koshteh mordeh	
<i>The Rengs of Māhūr:</i>		<i>Shahr-āshūb</i>		<i>Khafī jeli</i>		<i>Ḥarbī</i>

FIGURE 16. Interpretation of the dastgah Mahur's representation in the *Buhūr al-Adḥān*

The specific question of which sections of the dastgah represented ancient melodic material and which represented new was not so important as the general explanation that the new seven dastgah were somehow created out of the older twelve-maqam system, uniting these two music systems into a single history defined by the Persian language. The twelve-maqam system represented an ancient era of musical renaissance in this Persian history, and the seven dastgah represented a way of reviving and reorganizing musical remnants from that history.

As a poet, Forsat dedicated the most space in his discussion of the seven *dastgah* to simply listing poems and noting which *dastgah* would be used to sing them. Before doing this, he noted that the use of these *dastgah* had many variations beyond the composite representation in his charts, and that he consulted with multiple musicians in order to identify the most likely aspect of the *dastgah* used to perform different poems.¹² He organized his listing of poetry by genre, including the Persian *ghazal*, *rubai*, and *dobayti*, and Jalal al-Din Rumi's *Masnavi*. For most of these genres, he gave rather vague assessments of where they would appear in a performance in the seven *dastgah*. For the *ghazal*, however, Forsat named at least one aspect of the seven *dastgah* that musicians used for each poem's musical performance. For these he often listed more than one melodic possibility and he wrote out the full text of each *ghazal*.

In naming which *dastgah* musicians customarily used to perform specific poetry, Forsat demonstrated the great variability of usage of melodic material from the seven *dastgah*. The *dastgah* did not always dominate as models of performance in his listing of poetry. For instance, Forsat listed *dastgah Chahargah* as the most commonly used framework for singing *ghazal*, associating it with ninety-nine different *ghazal*. Four more names of *dastgah* completed his top five most-used *dastgah*: *Shur* with sixty-one *ghazal*, *Rast-Panjgah* with sixty, *Homayun* with forty-nine, and *Nava* with thirty-three.

He also listed many smaller melodic sections of *dastgah* as primary melodic frameworks for performing entire *ghazal*. In some cases these shorter melodic sections were used more than the *dastgah*. For instance he associated *dastgah Mahur* with only five different *ghazal*, yet he listed multiple short melodic sections of other *dastgah* used more than five times: *Tork*, *Nishabur*, *Kord*, *Maygoli*, *Shahnaz*, *Rak*, *Hijaz*, *Bakhtiari*, and *Gilani*. For *dastgah Segah* he listed only one *ghazal* and there were several smaller sections of *dastgah* that could have been used for one or two *ghazal*, including *Qatar*, *Hesar*, and 'Iraq. The tendency to use smaller portions of the *dastgah* also applied in other genres of poetry. Forsat stated generally that they performed all *rubai* poetry using *Rak*, *Qatar*, and *Afshar*, while *masnavi* poetry was best performed in *Dashti*, *Bakhtiari*, and *Quchani*.¹³

While Forsat used the term *dastgah* in these lists to refer to the seven primary frameworks he previously charted, he also used the names of the *dastgah* with labels such as *avaz*, *naghmeh*, and *ahang*, alongside smaller melodies also covered by this terminology. The term *avaz* is the term he used the most to refer to what the melodic frameworks of the *ghazal* were, whether a previously named *dastgah* or some smaller portion of a *dastgah*. He sometimes referred to *ghazal* as being performed in related divisions of a melodic entity (*muta'alleqat*). So while he listed many *ghazal* as sung using *Chahargah*, he listed two that were sung using related divisions of *Chahargah*. While he listed two *ghazal* sung in the melody of 'Iraq, he listed one sung in the related divisions of 'Iraq.

Forsat's description of the seven dastgah, both the charts and his listing of poetry, emphasized idiosyncratic musical procedure inherent in the new music tradition he found at the Qajar court. While each of the seven dastgah had certain procedures in common, each dastgah also has its own unique progression of melodic material to use in performance, with unique options of what melodic material to include or exclude. There was not one fully organized system to explain how all of the dastgah worked. Forsat had to chart out each one separately to properly demonstrate the intricacies of each dastgah's melodic progression.

The lack of purely modal systemization was also clear in the poetry listing Forsat gave for the dastgah. Whole dastgah were the dominant frameworks of performance, but musicians could also consider smaller melodic sections of the dastgah common frameworks for performance. Furthermore, all seven dastgah were not of equal importance. Musicians could even be using smaller melodic sections more often than a dastgah in its entirety. Forsat's listing of copious amounts of poetry generally pointed to the central role of specific poems in determining the nature of a performance, above and beyond a purely modal concept of music's organization.

Yet the notion that the dastgah were organized out of Persian melodic materials grounded in an ancient Persian past lent cultural legitimacy to focusing on smaller parts of a dastgah. The dastgah represented a new innovative organizational structure that allowed smaller pieces of Persian music to be organized into a single unit of performance, but it was the smaller melodic units within the dastgah that represented the core of Persian musical identity. They had conceptual standing independent of the dastgah, as either the remnants of Persian music originally created using the twelve-maqam system, or as innovations of Persian music masters from the Qajar court. The large-scale structures of the seven dastgah knit together ancient and modern Persian music in such a way as to provide long-form performance procedures for classical Persian poetry. But the mere pairing of any Persian melodic material with ancient Persian poetry was enough to define a proper performance structure for the new tradition.

HEDAYAT AND IRANIAN MUSIC: MAJMA' AL-ADVĀR

The contrasts between Forsat's *Buhūr al-alḥān* and Hedayat's *Majma' al-advār* document the quickly changing world influencing the musical conception and application of the seven dastgah. Like Forsat, Hedayat cited the concept of seven dastgah as the central idea within the music tradition of his time in the Qajar court. He referenced Motazem al-Hokma, but also professional musicians, including Mirza 'Abdullah and Husayn Qoli.¹⁴ While Forsat's understanding of the seven dastgah required a protonational conception of a single Persian people engaging in a continuously active existence from ancient times into the modern world,

Hedayat defined their continuous active existence as the nation of Iran. In this context, Hedayat explicitly cast the seven dastgah as a product of Iran's people and its historic Persian culture.

Though both Forsat and Hedayat observed large contrasts between the seven dastgah and past knowledge of the twelve-maqam system, Hedayat sought to uncover musical similarities and connections between them that demonstrated their shared cultural origin in Iran's Persian history. Immersed in ideas from turn-of-the-century Europe, Hedayat read the work of Orientalists and wrote about what Orientalists were saying in their research on the music and the ancient races of the Near East. Orientalists such as Jan Pieter Nicolaas Land and Raphael Kiesewetter specifically focused his attention on the writings of Safi al-Din, Qutb al-Din, and Maraghi, whom Orientalists considered significant cultural figures. With Maraghi specifically marking the height of Persian musical development, the history of Persian music after his death in the fifteenth century could be cast as a period of severe decline. Hedayat thus treated the seven dastgah as modern Iran's cultural recovery of its great Persian music, which had last been documented in the fifteenth century.

On this basis, Hedayat began writing the *Majma' al-advār* as a modern compendium of musical knowledge, meant to address the main themes discussed by Safi al-Din, Qutb al-Din, and Maraghi in their writings about the twelve-maqam system, as if they were ancient analogs to European musical thought and modern science. He used the first section to reiterate concepts discussed by the German scientist Hermann Helmholtz in his late-nineteenth-century text *On the Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music*. The second section addressed two systematic approaches to musical production, which he referred to as *advar*. The first was Safi al-Din's systematic schema of scale creation from the thirteenth century, which produced a large collection of scales (*al-advār*). The second was Western music theory and its conception of pitch organization and scales, which he referred to as "the new foreign *advar*" (*advār-i jadid-i farangī*). Hedayat saved his description of the seven dastgah for the third section, proposing hypothetical ways of analyzing the seven dastgah in order to locate possible alignments between the dastgah and the twelve-maqam system. Though difficult to establish and legitimate, such alignments were fundamental to Hedayat's conception of a single, perennial Iranian culture.

In beginning his neomedieval text, Hedayat cast Helmholtz as the primary authority on the new science of music, which Hedayat defined as existing within the modern fields of acoustics, physiology, psychology, and aesthetics. He dedicated the first section of his texts to recounting information from *On the Sensations of Tone*, beginning with experiments described by Helmholtz related to acoustics and physiology. These experiments provided detailed explanations of sound production, some of which contained general points of similarity with explanations

of sound production provided in Arabic and Persian writings on music before the sixteenth century.

Hedayat copied Helmholtz's writings about acoustics and physiology almost verbatim, including the illustrations. For instance, Hedayat reiterated and drew Helmholtz's explanation of nodal lines: the different patterns of lines that one can observe on a sound-producing body that demonstrate how the sound produced relates to different possible modes of vibration (see figures 17 and 18).¹⁵ He described and drew Helmholtz's namesake resonator, explaining how it amplified one tone while dampening others when placed in the ear (see figures 19 and 20).¹⁶ He repeated Helmholtz's experiment that demonstrated how the differing wavelengths of different pitches could be observed and drawn using a tuning fork (see figures 21 and 22).¹⁷

In this way, Hedayat recast the historic notion of music as 'ilm within the definition of natural sciences that Helmholtz traced through Europe. While this first consisted of copying exactly *On the Sensations of Tone's* discussion of sound acoustics and physiology, Hedayat turned to a more selective and interpretation of Helmholtz when it came to questions of aesthetics and psychology. He focused heavily on what Helmholtz discussed regarding the role of race in determining aesthetic musical preferences. While this topic had a relatively short description in *On the Sensations of Tone*, Hedayat gave much more emphasis to the idea that different races had different methods of musical expression and preferences for musical aesthetics that were in keeping with each race's unique psychology. This idea formed a fundamental truth of human existence, and was scientifically demonstrable in sound wave frequencies. Hedayat described this concept on the very first page of his text referencing a statement he attributed to Confucius: "one can understand the condition of every race's development from the composition of that race's music."¹⁸

Hedayat privileged the idea of cultural relativity much more than Helmholtz, but he also had to address how Helmholtz specifically placed Persian music into an evolutionary paradigm. In keeping with nineteenth-century European thought, Helmholtz did not simply maintain that different races had different types of music because their psychologies were different. These different psychologies represented different levels of human development. On this basis all races were not equal, nor were all musics. Musical science and sophisticated music theory were indications of a highly developed racial psychology, and Helmholtz classified European music as the highest evolved with the greatest amount of scientific thought and the most complex music theory. He placed Persians and Arabs in an evolutionary category just below Europe. From Helmholtz's perspective, Persians did have a science of music and music theory historically, but neither was as great as Europe's.

Hedayat provided his own interpretation of this evolutionary model, which suggested Persians could be on par with Europeans in the history of racial-musical evolution. He concentrated his argument on Helmholtz's criticism of Europe's tem-

FIG. 14.

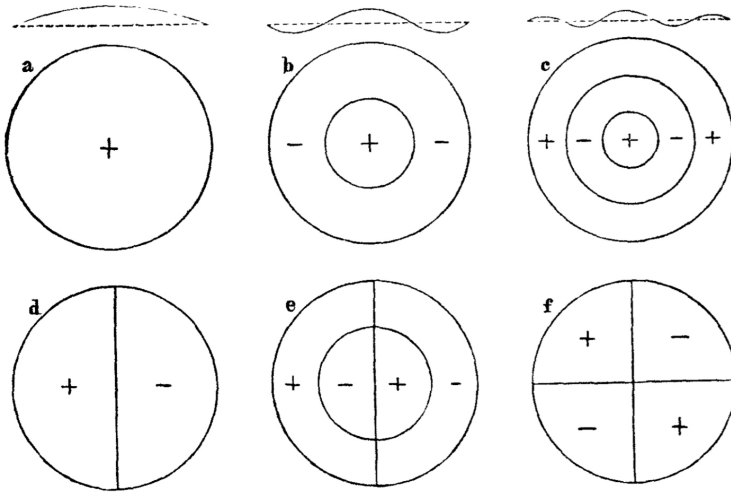


FIGURE 17. Helmholtz's illustration of nodal lines in *On The Sensations of Tone*

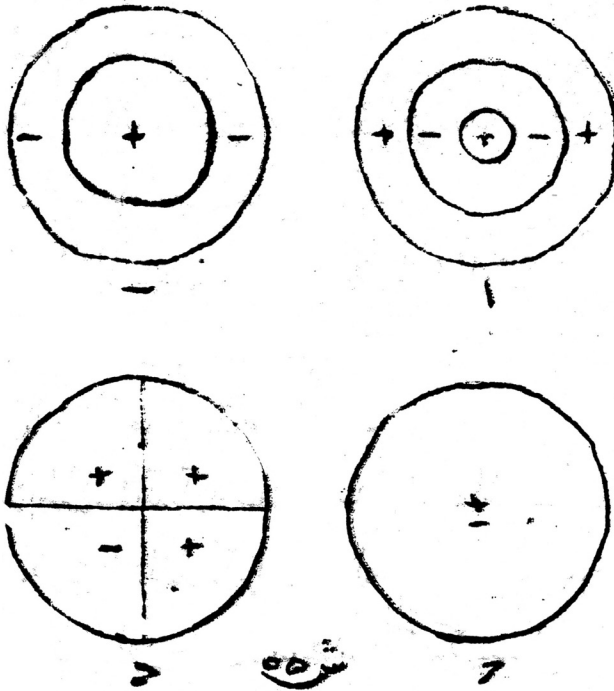


FIGURE 18. Hedayat's illustration of nodal lines in the *Majma' Al-Advār*

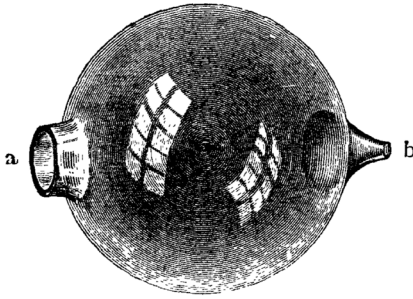


FIGURE 19. Helmholtz's illustration of his namesake resonator in *On The Sensations of Tone*

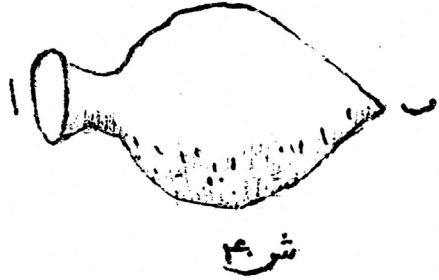


FIGURE 20. Hedayat's illustration of a Helmholtz Resonator in the *Majma' Al-Advār*

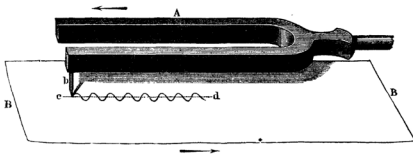


FIGURE 21. Helmholtz's illustration of tuning fork experiment in *On The Sensations of Tone*

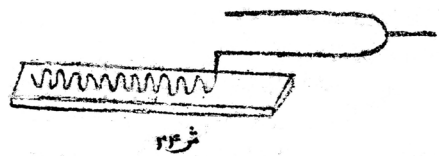


FIGURE 22. Hedayat's illustration of tuning fork experiment in the *Majma' Al-Advār*

pered scale, which violated natural frequency patterns of air vibration. Hedayat believed that Persian music used intonation that better represented the naturally occurring pitch intervals Helmholtz described, and he used this logic to describe Persian music as having greater scientific accuracy than European music. In doing this, Hedayat was making the general observation that neither the historical scales he had read about nor the contemporary music he played from Tehran used European tempered intonation. From this general observation of intonation differences, Hedayat surmised that Persians were psychologically predisposed to create intervals between pitches that were closer to the natural frequency patterns of sound production, while Europeans were psychologically predisposed to violating these patterns.¹⁹ By not following European intonation, Persians showed that they had a different preference for pitch organization that was more natural than that of Europe, and thus more scientifically accurate.²⁰

To demonstrate this idea, Hedayat used the second chapter of his text to outline Safi al-Din's *advār* side by side with Western music theory, in order to provide a display of two racially distinct approaches to music that were each highly systematic and scientific in their own way. In summarizing Safi al-Din's *advār* and commentaries on it from Qutb al-Din Shirazi and 'abd al-Qader al-Maraghi, Hedayat laid out the historic music system of peoples in the East (*mashreq zamīniān*),

attributing this Eastern music system to the Iranians (*īrānīān*) and the Persians (*fārsīān*). In laying out an overview of tonal harmony next to this Eastern music, he demonstrated that Iran had fostered a sophisticated music system that suited the peoples of the East much earlier than Europe had developed its great system that suited people of the West (*maghreb zamīnīān*). The dominance of Europe in the modern world partly masked this reality, as did the failure to consider fully how racial difference would alter the nature of music in different parts of the world.

Within his explanation of these two systems, Hedayat returned repeatedly to the idea of racial relativity in musical expression, stating that "Different races (*qaum*) are different in their selection of tones . . . and in their compilation [of tones] into melodies they create differences and behave according to their taste and style."²¹ In summary, he noted:

In order to distinguish music of one ethnicity from another and understand each in its context, it is necessary to know the mental conditions and customs of every ethnicity and every epoch. For example, in architecture, which is nothing more than a combination of shapes and forms, there is a style for every group, such as Greeks, Byzantines, Arabs, Iranians, ancient peoples, contemporary peoples. . . . The modern peoples' derision of the music of ancient people is due to the lack of familiarity with the ancient style and modern peoples' attachment to their own customs. In other words, according to Helmholtz, modern people are accustomed to the artificial modality [and] they criticize the natural modality.²²

It was in this much-expanded modern context of racialized music history that Hedayat confronted the seven dastgah and its lack of congruency within the twelve-maqam system as discussed by Safi al-Din, Qutb al-Din, and Maraghi. In the same way that Forsat had to begin his discussion of music anew with the seven dastgah, so too did Hedayat. He thus began his description of the seven dastgah tradition in a separate, third section of the *Majma' al-advār* by acknowledging large disparities between his construction of Iran's Persian musical past with its *advār* and the tradition that was now treated as Iran's Persian musical present. He felt that the dastgah system was somehow guided by modern science, in the same way the twelve-maqam system had been guided by science.²³ Even so, Hedayat had to find novel ways of locating both the historical and the intellectual connections between Iran's past and present to establish Iran's cultural legitimacy and scientific standing next to European music.

Even with significant disparities between the twelve-maqam system and the seven dastgah, the assumption of Iranian cultural relativism and the Orientalist narratives of Iran's ancient history gave Hedayat narrative tools to construct the twelve-maqam system as Iran's Persian past and the seven dastgah as Iran's Persian musical heritage in modern times. For this narrative of Iran's national music history, three hundred years of cultural decline stood between the twelve-maqam system and seven dastgah. He surmised that much Persian music must have been

lost in that time.²⁴ In this context, the seven dastgah stood as a restoration of as much music from the Persian musical past as possible, alongside as much unique, systematic Persian musical practice as could be salvaged. In explaining how this restoration of the great Persian musical past began, Hedayat noted that “Recently some masters were found again, and they poured the music that was in their hands into the molds of seven dastgah.”²⁵

Hedayat’s separate description of the seven dastgah initially began by listing the names of melodies played in each one, in the particular order they would be used. This provided a representation of the dastgah that had many structural similarities with Forsat’s description of the dastgah. Tables 1, 2, and 3 show how Hedayat described Shur, Nava, and Mahur, describing a similar long-form procedural framework for each one. In explaining how these dastgah related to the Persian music of ancient times, however, Hedayat described them as being constructed in imitation of the ancient nawbat murattab: the suite he had read about in Maraghi’s writings.²⁶ Hedayat suggested that just as the nawbat murattab suite consisted of certain compositional forms performed in a specific set order, so too did the dastgah follow its own type of suite model for performance.

The similarity that Hedayat saw between the seven dastgah and the nawbat murattab was simply one of assigned musical progression. In both scenarios, there was a certain order of musical events, though the actual musical events themselves

TABLE 1. Summary of Hedayat’s Description of Dastgah Shur in Practice

Bardasht	Matin	Appendages (<i>malḥaqāt</i>)	Additional Comments
	1	2	
Pishdarāmad	Seh naghmeh panj qesm	Shahnāz	Dashti
Darāmad	Zirkesh	Qarjeh do qesm	Dastān-i ‘arab
	Salmak seh qesm	Rāzūmī	Hijāz Afshār Tork
	Salmak	Forūd	Kord
	Safa	Qaṭār	Grayli
	(Gol-rīz)	Bāḥr-i hazaj	
	Chahār meẓrāb	Qarāti	
	Forūd	Gilak	
	Abū ‘Aṭā	Gham- angiz	
	Bozorg bā do moqademeh	Āqādeh	
	Khārā	Goshā	
	Qajar	Gūcheh	
	Ḥazīn	Bāq-i	
	Faṣl-i mollā nāzi	Nishābūr	
		Reng: Shahr- i āshūb	
		Reng: Żarb-i uṣūl	

TABLE 2. Summary of Hedayat's Description of Dastgah Mahur in Practice

Bardasht	Matin		Additional Comments
	1	2	
Pishdarāmad	Avāz + forūd	Ṭūsī	—The pishdarāmad of Mahur is more structured and modern than the darāmad.
Darāmad-i aval	Dād + forūd	Azarbayjānī	
Karāghalī	Khosrovānī + forūd	Fili	—Khavārazam Shāhī is a piece from Aqa Husayn Qoli that is not used by everyone.
		Zirafkand	
	Delkash + forūd	Māhūr-i saghīr	—Ṭarab-angīz, Rāk, Shekasteh, and Khavārazam Shāhī are modally distinct from Mahur.
	Khavārazam Shāhī	Abd al-shāmel	
	Khāvarān + do forūd	Heṣār-i māhūr	
	Ṭarab-angīz	Naghmeh	
	Nishābūrak	Zangūleh	
		Gūsheh	
		Nayrīz	
		Shekasteh + forūd	
		Bāz	
		Naḥīb	
		‘Īrāq	
		Mahūr	
		Ashūr	
		Īṣfahān	
		Ḥazīn	
		Naghmeh	
		Zangūleh	
		Rāk	
		Sāqī nāmeḥ	
		Şūfī nāmeḥ	

TABLE 3. Summary of Hedayat's Description of Dastgah Nava in Practice

Bardasht	Matin	Additional Comments
	<i>Nava Proper</i>	<i>Optional Additions</i>
Chakāvāk	Avāz	Shekasteh
	Gardānyeh	Bozorg
	Naghmeh	Rāzavī
	Bayāt-i rāje'	Samali
	Panjeh	Gabrī
	Mūyeh	Farānī
	'Oshshāq	Gilakī
	Nohoft	Kord
	Gavasht	Hijāz
	Ashirān	Afsharī
	Nīshābūr mofaṣel	Dashtī
	Majlisī	Dastān-i 'arab
	Husayn	Rahāvī
	Malek husaynī	Shāh Khanā'ī
	Būsalik	Tork
	Nayrīz	Bāl-i Kabūtār

were quite different. The similarities he observed between the nawbat murattab and the dastgah were so general that he further connected both of them to the European fugue, a contrapuntal compositional form that also had yet another distinct progression of musical development.²⁷ Hedayat gave his own analysis of the procedures represented in his lists of melodies for each dastgah in order to demonstrate a logical progression of events. In each dastgah's ordered list of melodies, he grouped smaller sections of the melodies into three possible categories: the bar-dasht (*bar-dāsht*), the matin (*matn*), and in some cases the foru-dasht (*forū-dāsht*). The bar-dasht in Hedayat's analysis represented the opening section of the dastgah. This section mostly included the daramad melodies and references to the pish-daramad, though he also included a handful of other melodic aspects for some dastgah. The matin came after the bar-dasht and it represented the core of the dastgah. Hedayat described it as the section where performers could "flaunt their desires" according to set musical parameters.²⁸

For some dastgah, he described one set of melodies in the matin, with possible additions. In other dastgah, he subdivided the matin into several parts. In this latter category, he indicated a coda section of the matin in some dastgah: a set of melodies that acted as an addendum to the matin proper. He also used the term *foru-dasht* to reference key closing melodic phrases used throughout the matin. This term referred to the forud, which Forsat had also described, yet adding the word *dasht* to forud referenced a separate musical form that had been used in the nawbat murattab to close the full suite.

In his analysis, Hedayat took the melodic procedures of the seven dastgah that Forsat observed and cast them as an Iranian musical revival of past Persian music

practices. From Hedayat's perspective, the seven dastgah were recent but their contents were not new: masters of Persian music had appeared out of the ether with Persian music from time immemorial, and they had organized performance of this music into the dastgah, which somehow echoed the structural principles of the ancient Persian musical past. Hedayat saw a Persian cultural decline as separating modern Iran from the glory of a scientific Persian musical past and positioned the seven dastgah as part of Iran's cultural revival in the modern world.

In furthering the narrative of the seven dastgah's ancient Persian origins, Hedayat posited that some remnants of ancient maqam modes could be located within the melodies of the seven dastgah. On this basis, Hedayat gave another analysis of the seven dastgah, showing which remnants of the actual maqam scales he believed existed in the modern tradition. Hedayat listed what he believed were the twelve scales of the twelve maqam using his own interpretation of the scales and intervallic notation he found in the writings of Safi al-Din, Qutb al-Din, and Maraghi. Next to these scales, Hedayat listed aspects of the dastgah in which he believed these maqam scales were being used, based on what he saw being used within the complex melodic sequencing of the dastgah in practice.

In this analysis, Hedayat saw nine distinct scales from the seven dastgah that he considered to be analogous to scales of the twelve maqam (see figures 23 and 24). Hedayat identified five dastgah as containing a maqam scale: Mahur, Shur, Nava, Homayun, and Chahargah. He aligned four more maqam scales with smaller melodic aspects within the dastgah: 'Iraq, Rak, Tarab-angiz, and Bayat-i Isfahan. In addition to these nine, Hedayat listed three scales as simply "additional" (*izāfeh*), apparently indicating that these maqam scales were not specifically used anywhere in the dastgah, but they were additional, hypothetical options for the modern dastgah tradition because of their use in the twelve-maqam system.

While Hedayat applied his bar-dasht/matin/foru-dasht analysis to the dastgah as they existed among practitioners of the tradition, he presented his analysis of modality as a theoretical exercise. If knowledgeable musicians looked hard enough, they could find some of the ancient Persian modes of the twelve-maqam system being expressed in the melodies of the dastgah. And Hedayat was not deterred by his inability to locate all of the modes he attributed to the twelve-maqam system. In the three hundred years of decline Hedayat placed between Maraghi and the nineteenth century, much Persian music had been lost, and the ability for Hedayat to perceive any amount of congruency between Iran's ancient and modern music validated the national narrative. The seven dastgah represented remnants of the old Persian system, and a combination of both lost and found modes legitimized the tradition as an authentic piece of Iranian national history.

Hedayat presented a distinct valuation for the dastgah based on their congruency with notions of ancient Persian scales and possible analogies with the new foreign advar of Western music theory. He also cast Segah as simply a transposi-

NAME	INTERVALS	NOTES
Mahur	ب ط ط ب ط ط ط ط	C D E F G A B C
Iraq	ط ط ب ط ب ط ط ط	C D E F G A \flat B \flat C
Additional	ب ه ج ط ب ط ط ط	C D E F G A \flat B C
Shur	ط ج ج ط ج ط ج ط	C D E \flat F G A \flat B \flat C
Additional	ج ط ج ط ج ط ج ط	C D E \flat F G A \flat B \flat C
Additional	ط ط ب ط ج ط ج ط	C D E \flat F G A \flat B \flat C
Nava	ط ط ب ط ط ج ج ج	C D \flat E \flat F G A \flat B \flat C
Homayun	ط ب ه ج ط ج ج ج	C D \flat E \flat F G \flat A B \flat C
Rak	ط ط ب ط ب ه ج ج	C D \flat E F G A \flat B \flat C
Chahargah	ط ب ه ج ب ه ج ج	C D \flat E F G \flat A B \flat C
Tarab-angiz	ط ط ب ط ط ب ط ط	C D E \flat F G A \flat B \flat C
Bayat-i Isfahan	ط ط ب ط ج ط ج ط	C D \flat E \flat F G A B \flat C

FIGURE 23. Hedayat’s presentation of the scales the seven dastgah should have, based on the history of the twelve-maqam system

Sign	Meaning
ط	whole step
ب	half step
ج	neutral second
ه	augmented second

FIGURE 24. Legend for figure 23

tion of Shur's distinct scale, which he labeled as one of the many Iranian variations of the minor scale. Specific smaller sections of dastgah had greater standing vis-à-vis the seven dastgah because of their ability to be cast as the embodiment of specific scales found in the advar associated with the twelve-maqam system. Yet Segah's transposition of Shur's distinct scale made it one of the many Iranian variations of the minor scale, thus applying Western notions of scales to the dastgah.²⁹ In either case, Hedayat went to great lengths to show how much systematic modality mattered in establishing Iran's narrative of Persian music, from the twelve-maqam system to the seven dastgah. This mattered for creating a single narrative of Persian musical development in the context of Iran's national history. But it also mattered for demonstrating the strength of Persian culture in relation to the idea of European racial superiority.

Yet in applying various types of analysis to the seven dastgah, Hedayat also demonstrated a significant degree of incompatibility between the tradition he knew from modern Tehran and what he found in writings about the twelve-maqam system. He performed two completely different types of analysis to show this connection. First he tried to show it by demonstrating general alignments between the dastgah in practice and approaches to compositional form associated with the twelve-maqam tradition. Then he showed how the twelve maqam themselves could be partially located within the seven dastgah. Both of these analyses were unique to Hedayat's own explanation of the seven dastgah and presented novel ways to use music in the construction of a larger narrative of Iran's national history.

The dominance of European music in the modern world loomed large in the *Majma' al-advār*, even as Hedayat sought to establish Iran's unique cultural legacy of Persian music vis-à-vis tonal harmony. At the end of his magnum opus, Hedayat attached a short teaching manual about music notation (*dastūr-abjad*), where he outlined his understanding of the alphabetical system of notation he saw used by Safi al-Din, Qutb al-Din, and Maraghi, while also explaining how to use European music notation. Hedayat cast the abjad notation he discovered in ancient Persian writings on the twelve-maqam system as a demonstration of the great sophistication of ancient Persian music, even as the disappearance of this notation demonstrated the historic decline of Persian music and the seven dastgah's inability to fully reflect the ancient Persian music that related to a type of notation. Hedayat praised Europe's use of notation, noting that something that took six months to learn without notation could be learned in only a month with it. This notation could preserve music for long periods of time and ensure its retention.³⁰

He posited the question of why Europe had two modes with endless numbers of melodies and many different musical forms in those modes, while Iran had twelve possible modes but then only a certain number of melodies organized into seven dastgah. He bemoaned the oral nature of the seven dastgah and the lack of music notation for so many centuries previous to the seven dastgah, noting that

“because we did not have a tradition of writing, everything that flowed from our master’s creative nature was lost within their chests.”³¹ In Hedayat’s narrative of Iranian music history, the seven *dastgah* could never fully embody the twelve-maqam system. They could only encapsulate a small amount of the ancient Persian music that had survived through an imperfect oral tradition.

In his final thoughts, Hedayat reflected on how Iranian music needed to change in order to better embody the great Iranian legacy of the past, while also considering modern innovation. Based on the idea that Iran had a unique cultural basis that music had to both adhere to and expand, he concluded:

We are not prohibited from new things, except by the capacity of our natural disposition and dialect; we would not bend our language and all at once not play according to our usual ways—Iranian music is in compliance with the Persian language (*fārsī*)—this is not an obstacle—so we remember the ancient [and] we are also able to produce the new.³²

‘ALI NAQI VAZIRI AND THE MUSIC OF A THOUSAND YEARS

Forsat and Hedayat both documented a tradition of seven *dastgah* in the music of the Qajar court and expressed variations on the notion that these seven *dastgah* contained remnants of a long-lost Persian music tradition. Hedayat’s more specific association of this Persian music history with modern Iran and Iranians reflected practitioners’ conception of the seven *dastgah* as the twentieth century progressed. Yet the question of how to imagine the seven *dastgah* as the musical embodiment of Iran’s Persian musical past did not have one definitive answer. Hedayat’s specific ideas and analyses were unique, but their conceptual premise demonstrated the impetus to reimagine the seven *dastgah* as an aspect of Iran’s timeless Persian culture. His ideas further revealed the issues involved in constructing a nationalist narrative of Iranian music history. Iran’s historic Persian music must have a contemporary repertoire of Persian melodies that somehow traced its origins back through Iran’s ancient Persian music history. Yet these melodies needed some kind of systematic modal derivation. Notions of systematic modality could tie the seven *dastgah* to a distinct Persian past embodied in the twelve maqam system, in order to create a cohesive narrative of Iranian music history. Systematic modality could also give Iran a recognized indication of indigenous cultural superiority in the modern world.

It was around this dual conception of Persian melodies (*radif/gusheh*) on one hand and Persian modes (*dastgah*) on the other that the seven *dastgah* of the Qajar court became the *radif-dastgah* tradition of the twentieth century. And while this bifurcated music system could be imagined in different ways, ‘Ali Naqi Vaziri acted as a major influencer on how to think about the seven *dastgah* reorganized

around these structural concepts, which he explicitly tied to the national history of Iran. Through his extensive work in music education and that of his students, his whole conception of the *radif-dastgah* tradition as a historical and structural phenomenon of Iranian music framed many musicians' ideas about the tradition. Even musicians who did not subscribe to Vaziri's specific ideas were nevertheless dependent on concepts he popularized to create their own frameworks for understanding the tradition.

Unlike Forsat or Hedayat, Vaziri did not engage in the specifics of the twelve-maqam system in any of its specific incarnations, nor did he puzzle over the differences between Iranian music past and present. The unique, perennial unity of Iranian culture and its Persian legacy writ large provided enough evidence to support the assumption that Iran had a singular history of Persian music, and the lack of music notation for most of this history fully explained the lack of continuity between modern Iranian music and that of its glorious past. Vaziri also framed the seven *dastgah* as a modern amalgamation of ancient Persian melodic material, and he did not shy away from taking this melodic material and analyzing it in terms of systematic modality in order to better align modern Iranian music with his general understanding of music history in the region. Within this nationalist reasoning, he taught a reinterpretation of the seven *dastgah* meant to balance the known practices of the tradition with a relatively unique conception of systematic modality, which very generally connected Iran's contemporary Persian music to past conceptions of music in the Persian-speaking world.

Vaziri's specific ideas about Iran and its music were influential because he conveyed them using modern institutions and modern technology and he was specifically dedicated to being a modern educator for Iranian music. Rather than simply writing one text for general reading, he produced multiple teaching manuals for different instruments. These manuals were designed to teach the seven *dastgah* to students of music performance, using systematic pedagogy to help students understand both the music system and instrumental techniques. It was in these teaching manuals that Vaziri's nationalist goals for Iran manifest as highly functional ideas about the seven *dastgah*'s structure and execution in practice. While Vaziri initially used these manuals in his own private music school, many of his students became musical educators themselves and taught their students referencing the method of analysis Vaziri had taught them. In this way, Vaziri's concept of Iranian music gained an immense amount of influence in twentieth-century Iran.

Vaziri's writings were some of the first to document a consistent use of a distinct Persian repertoire called *radif* and a consistent concept of *dastgah* being tied to abstract modal frameworks rather than specific melodic progressions. While Forsat and Hedayat used a variety of different terms to characterize the smaller melodic sections of a *dastgah*, Vaziri consistently used the term *gusheh* to talk about all of these melodies, which all belonged to the *radif*, but were organized in performance according to the abstract modal structures of the *dastgah*. Even

within Vaziri's analysis he could not actually account for all of the gusheh in each dastgah applying one systematic modal schema, yet he did portray the greatest amount of modal rationalization possible and taught musicians how to play in the tradition using the idea of dastgah modes as a basic feature of the system. He even documented changes to the dastgah that facilitated greater alignment between each dastgah and a specific modality. These changes marked a full conversion of the seven dastgah of the Qajar court into the radif-dastgah tradition of modern Iran.

Though vague and somewhat ambiguous, Vaziri's understanding of Iran's Persian music history placed the beginning of Iranian musical greatness before the rise of Islam, with the ancient Persian empires. From pre-Islamic times he traced Persian music into the medieval Near East via research in modern Europe. Thus, in his first teaching manual for tar he observed that

The original Iranians—the civilization of Iran—dated from before the birth of Greece. They have established this from the historical documentation of this art, which is the greatest keepsake of Eastern lands [that] originated from Iran; and they know that music of the East is an example of the outgrowth of Iranian thought and talent. . . . There are many translations of those manuscripts into current European languages. They acknowledge that Iran had collections of arranged music and musicians.³³

Tracing pre-Islamic Iranian music through the rise of Islam, Vaziri mentioned in passing al-Farabi, ibn Sina, Safi al-Din, and Maraghi, stating that contemporary Iranian music was one and the same with the music they discussed.³⁴ Yet Vaziri also discussed Iranian music as a largely lost art. Like Hedayat, he ended the history of Iran's musical renaissance with Maraghi in the fifteenth century. Still, in discussing the seven dastgah tradition as unequivocally Iranian, it was Vaziri who stated that “our music today is a music of a thousand years of which elements of it have not been touched.”³⁵

Like Hedayat, Vaziri also saw separately defined culture groups as central to defining differences in musical sound structures. While Vaziri valued European music for its high degree of systemization, he thought that every nation required its own historically defined music as part of its own physical survival. Vaziri thus positioned a distinct Iranian music as an important aspect of Iran's survival in the modern world, and the building of an ever-greater Iranian civilization.³⁶ Vaziri's classification of music as art (*honar, son'at*) contrasted with Hedayat's focus on science, connecting music more closely to human expression independent from objective understandings of sound. His understanding of the seven dastgah developed within his personal campaign to educate Iran about its unique national arts and the unique artistic basis of music in Iran's Persian history.

Vaziri also saw the lack of congruence between Iranian pitch and European pitch as an important musical distinction that demonstrated the difference

between two legitimate cultures. Rather than following Hedayat's logic and trying to find direct congruencies between the twelve-maqam scales and pitch usage in the seven dastgah, Vaziri focused on the general idea that Iran's Persian music had always had systematic scales with pitches that fell outside of the European system of chromatic half steps. Pitches outside Europe's concept of intonation existed in both the seven dastgah and the twelve-maqam system in some capacity, and this general phenomenon demonstrated Iran's distinct use of pitch both past and present. In imagining a systematic way to organize a unique concept of Iranian intonation, Vaziri took the concept of Europe's chromatic half steps and surmised that Iran's full chromatic pitch measurements moved in quarter steps. On this basis he described quarter tones (*rob' pardeh*) and made this concept the distinctive cultural factor that defined the unique history of Iranian music. Comparing the discovery of Iranian quarter tones to the discovery of minerals buried for centuries in the ground, he praised them, saying that "The environment of the Iranians' music is truthfully one of the great quarries."³⁷

Vaziri surmised that Iran was only using some of the quarter tones in modern times. He theorized that a full chromatic Iranian scale would use the quarter step as the smallest possible interval instead of the half step, and these quarter steps would be evenly divided within the same octave defined for European music. This approach to intonation kept all of the pitches used in European music, but added additional pitches to account for Iranian music's smaller intervallic relationships. European notation was designed to indicate every possible pitch as having three possible versions, natural, flat, or sharp. To describe the more expansive use of pitch in the Iranian quarter tone system, Vaziri added the possibility that every pitch also had a half-flat he called *koron* (*koron*) and a half-sharp he called *sori* (*sori*).

By addressing the history of pitch usage in Iranian music using generalities, Vaziri avoided confronting the complicated issue of consistent systematic pitch usage that Hedayat had encountered in his more specific construction of Iran's Persian music history organized around the twelve-maqam system and seven dastgah. Vaziri cast both systems as using quarter tones in various ways that evidenced a shared Iranian system of quarter tones. He thought that the full spectrum of Iranian pitch usage had been lost over time, and thus treated his scale as a re-creation of Iran's ancient concept of pitch. Though he derived his scale from his knowledge of contemporary pitch usage in the seven dastgah and European music, Vaziri's highly generalized notion of pitch and scale organized around the discourse of indigenous intonation allowed him to position his approach to quarter tones as the ancient foundation of Iranian music.

From the basis of a unique Iranian chromatic scale, Vaziri focused on Iranian scales for specific aspects of the seven dastgah that could ultimately be applied consistently in practice. Vaziri positioned these scales as both essential to the seven dastgah and distinct from the *radif*: the specific melodies and their sequence in each dastgah that both Forsat and Hedayat had ultimately determined were at

the core of actual performance. Setting aside the burden of specifically aligning the organization of pitch in the *dastgah* with that of the twelve-maqam system, Vaziri focused on a general system of scales that indicated a unique approach to systematic pitch organization based on what the seven *dastgah* themselves could facilitate. Thus, while he described each Iranian scale as being a combination of two tetrachords (*dāng*), he focused on extracting whole sets of eight-note scales from the seven *dastgah* and finding patterns of note usage that would work in practice. From this he further discussed secondary scales (called alternately *nagh-meh* or *avaz*) with varying numbers of pitches that bore no particular relation to the systematic application of tetrachords.

The Iranian scales Vaziri taught changed over time, but certain basic principles remained the same. Overall, the scales he taught contained eight notes in the octave and a distinct set of functional notes in practice that could systematically explain the creation of melody in any scale. On this basis, Vaziri designated Iranian scales as having several different types of functional notes, with three types emerging as the most important in the creation of melody: the *shahed* (*shāhed*), which was one particular note of the scale that would reoccur frequently in its melodies; the *motighayyer* (*motighayyer*), which was one specific note in an Iranian scale that could be changed, moving somewhat higher or lower, in the creation of its melodies; and the *ist* (*īst*), which was a note typically repeated in succession at various points in the creation of melodies using a particular Iranian scale.

In focusing on the organization of pitch and unique aspects of pitch organization, Vaziri was seeking to construct the primary scales of Iranian music, focusing on the idea that each of the seven *dastgah* was first and foremost a specific scale defined by a specific application of certain pitches. The secondary scales he discussed derived from relatively long melodic sections of the original seven *dastgah* that did not conform to the scales defined for the original seven *dastgah*. These secondary scales partially addressed the conundrum of insisting that each *dastgah* was primarily defined by a unique scale, even when a *dastgah* could be seen as containing multiple modal structures.

Vaziri's various attempts to represent the seven *dastgah* as a rational system of pitch modality demonstrate the difficulties Hedayat also encountered in trying to make a system of scales work in relation to the melodies of the *dastgah* (see figure 25 and figure 26). For instance, in his first teaching manual, Vaziri focused on establishing primary scales for the seven *dastgah*, and then addressed two additional secondary scales. He extracted each of the two secondary scales from two different *dastgah*, one from Hodayun and the other from Shur. But he did not address the extensive melodic material of each *dastgah* documented by Forsat and Hedayat, nor did he locate all three of his key functional notes in every scale he designated. He only identified a *shahed* note in every scale. While he indicated a *motighayyer* note for most of the scales, he did not indicate an *ist* note for any of them. Instead, Vaziri included a variety of other ideas for designations for functional pitches. In some cases, he identified a changing interval between two pitches

s = *shāhed* ♭ = full flat
 m = *motighayyer* ♭ = half flat (*qoron*)
 i = *tst* † = half sharp (*sort*)
 K = ending note (*khātimeh*)
 KF = final ending note (*kāmel-i forūd*)
 M = changing interval (*mokhtalef*)
 ST = starting note (*shurū'*)

FIGURE 25. Legend for figure 26

Scales Representing Dastgah in Dastūr-i tār	Scales Representing Dastgah in Mūsīqī-i nazārī
Mahur: 	Mahur:
Rast-Panjgah: 	Rast-Panjgah:
Shur: 	Shur:
Nava: 	Nava:
Chahargah: 	Chahargah:
Segah: 	Segah:
Homayun: 	Homayun:
Scales Representing Avaz in Dastūr-i tār	Scales Representing Avaz in Mūsīqī-i nazārī
Bayat-i Isfahan: 	Bayat-i Isfahan:
Bayat-i Kord, Dashti, Tork: 	Bayat-i Tork:
	Afshari:
	Abu-Ata:
	Dashti:

FIGURE 26. Vaziri's changing representation of the dastgah scales

of a scale (*mokhalef*). He also designated an ending note in the secondary scale Bayat-i Isfahan, but in no other scale.

A decade later, in *Mūsīqī-i nazārī*, Vaziri presented the primary scales of Iranian music again, with some alterations.³⁸ There were the seven primary scales of the *dastgah*, now with some acknowledgment of transposition. He still included two secondary scales that also had eight pitches, again extracted from Homayun and Shur. In addition to these, he extracted three more scales from Shur that only had five or six pitches. This further extraction of scales from Shur altered his ideas about which *naghmeh/avaz* of Shur had eight pitches. In *Mūsīqī-i nazārī*, he only identified Afshari as having all three primary, indigenous functional note designations, a *shahed*, *motighayyer*, and *ist*. He still identified a *shahed* note for each scale and a *motighayyer* for some but not all scales, though in some cases the scale degree for each of these changed. He kept the designation of a final pitch in some scales but eliminated his designation of a changing interval. He also added several more designations, including the possibility of a tonic note (*tonīk*) or a starting note (*shurū'*).

The changes Vaziri made to his presentation of scales in *Mūsīqī-i nazārī* related to the text's acknowledgment of *avaz*: the core aspect of *dastgah* performance where musicians improvised upon unmetered melodic materials in a particular sequence. Accounting for the *avaz* led Vaziri to give detailed analysis of *gusheh*: the actual melodies used as the basis of *avaz* in a *dastgah*, which also represented the ancient remnants of Iran's musical past. Vaziri mostly avoided explaining the full breadth of melodic material associated with the *dastgah* in his teaching manuals for specific instruments. Focusing on the abstraction of scales as the primary basis of the seven *dastgah*, Vaziri mainly analyzed the *daramad* melodies of a *dastgah* in most of his teaching texts. When focusing on the details of many different *gusheh* in each *dastgah* in *Mūsīqī-i nazārī*, Vaziri struggled to account for the *gusheh* in relation to systematic modality just as Hedayat had. His most specific definition of a *gusheh* was that they were "melodies (*ahang*) that are in the range of one tetrachord (*dāng*) or pentachord (*pan-jom*), but they usually transgress this range to a certain extent and many different notes may be altered in the course of playing one so that you cannot define their specific scales."³⁹

This definition lent systematic terminology to the concept of *gusheh*, even as Vaziri confronted their apparent lack of consistent pitch systemization. Within the principles of the scale that Vaziri sought to systematize, the *gusheh* should have used a limited number of set pitches in a systematic way vis-à-vis the scale of their respective *dastgah*. In practice this was not necessarily the case. Vaziri limited his discussion of *gusheh* beyond the *daramad* to this more advanced text for this reason: the *gusheh* of each *dastgah* did not necessarily conform to the *dastgah* and *naghmeh/avaz* scales. The *gusheh* associated with each *dastgah* thus greatly complicated the basic scale ideas Vaziri wanted to instill in music stu-



FIGURE 27. Vaziri's analysis of the gusheh Bidād, showing its shahed and ist. This was one of many gusheh Vaziri thought had its own unique scale.

dents and he waited to teach it until after they already understood his approach to teaching Iranian scales.

Mūsīqī-i naẓarī presented an overview of the radif: each set of gusheh that Vaziri associated with each distinct Iranian scale. In doing this, Vaziri only occasionally notated a daramad. Instead, or in addition, Vaziri often wrote out a sketch (*engāreh*), a notation of a melody that was distinct from the daramad, which he used to demonstrate the pitch parameters of a dastgah or naghmeh/avaz scale. While Vaziri usually notated each gusheh in the radif as a specific melody, he did occasionally give sketches for specific gusheh, indicating their distinct pitch parameters in contrast to the dastgah in which they were used.

Vaziri also demonstrated some direct ambivalence concerning the secondary scales he designated as either naghmeh or avaz, and other scale possibilities that he could see in the gusheh. He wrote that the gusheh named Bidād (*bīdād*) used a unique scale, even indicating a distinct shahed and ist within it (see figure 27). He made a similar observation about the set of gusheh in the dastgah Mahur that all had some variation on the name *Rak* (*rāk*). In explaining why some scale possibilities had been identified and developed as secondary scales while others had not, he spoke of how only certain sections of gusheh were commonly excerpted and performed independently from their constituent dastgah in practice. The growth of composition using certain abstracted scales and not others was also a factor. Vaziri noted that “Afshar, Bayat-i Tork, and Dashti have become independent in the new music of Iran because it is customary to have pish-daramad, tasnif, and reng specifically composed for them.”⁴⁰

Vaziri acknowledged that he could have extracted more unique scales from the material of the gusheh, but in practice not every scale possibility was being actively used as such in practice. He named scales based on whether or not they

constituted a unique set of gusheh that was being used to perform a shorter version of the long-form procedural model of a larger dastgah. These shorter excerpts from dastgah also had to have modal structures extracted from them, which were then used to write new, metered compositions. On this basis, some smaller portions of dastgah with unique pitch usage were defined as embodying a unique scale, while other portions of dastgah with unique pitch usage were not.

Even with a very different approach to pitch analysis, Vaziri's analysis of the seven dastgah still confronted many of the same issues Hedayat encountered in his analysis. For both Vaziri and Hedayat, the gusheh were the melodic proof of Iran's ancient music. They had become Iran's music of a thousand years. Yet as modern Iranian musicians learned more about the historical emphasis on systematic pitch modality in Persian texts about the twelve-maqam system, systematic modality became the missing piece of Iranian musical heritage. In locating this missing piece, both Hedayat and Vaziri had to alter the original seven dastgah, which did not conform to either musician's conception of proper Iranian pitch organization in comparison with the newly discovered Iranian music history. Yet different ideas about what Iran's newly discovered Persian music history meant for the conception and practice of music in modern Iran led to different conclusions about how Iran's Persian music should look in the modern world.

In *Mūsīqī-i nazārī* Vaziri provided a metaphor to explain to students how the gusheh related to the dastgah, even though they did not consistently conform to the scale of the dastgah. He described the seven dastgah as seven countries (*mamlekāt*) that contained many houses (gusheh), and some cities (naghmeh/avaz). Vaziri's metaphor referenced the modern standard of each nation's unity and idiosyncrasy in order to explain how the dastgah could be the primary unit of organization (the country), with every gusheh representing a unique manifestation of a dastgah (the houses). Naghmeh/avaz being cast as the cities acknowledged that sections of the dastgah contained clusters of gusheh that were distinct unto themselves, but could nevertheless be considered as an extension of a particular dastgah.⁴¹ Here the modern assumption of the nation as the fundamental organizational unit that was a cohesive whole despite significant amounts of diversity became the model for the music itself, which needed to reflect both the nation's unity and its idiosyncrasy.

CONCLUSION: PERSIAN MELODIES VS. IRANIAN MODES

The rise of the Qajars brought with it a new access to and emphasis on idiosyncratic melodic organization. The seven dastgah initially represented a method of music-making with no strong distinction between an abstract modality and

a fully formed melodic sequence. It was this melodically ambiguous context and the seven dastgah's specific musical praxis that became a key location to create the uniqueness of the Iranian nation and its legitimate distinction in the modern world. It was the basis for a method of music-making like no other in the world that was Iran's and Iran's alone.

Yet the modern nation required both cultural idiosyncrasy and historical legitimacy. Iran's right to exist in the modern world was premised in discourses of its ancient existence across epochs. The procedures of the seven dastgah could offer evidence of a unique Iranian culture, yet the entire concept of how to perform within the tradition contradicted the documented history of the twelve-maqam system that had dominated Persian discourse for centuries. Vaziri, Hedayat, and Forsat all looked back at Persian writings about music and found different ways to conceive of the idiosyncrasy of the seven dastgah as a demonstration of Persian history's continuity. Vaziri and Hedayat further extrapolated Iran's existence from this history. But the more musicians understood about music history and the requirements of modernity, the more they needed to extrapolate further from the dastgah to find a historic Persian musical legacy that embodied both Iran's long Persian history and its modern cultural renaissance. Questions about how to reconcile the twelve-maqam system with the seven dastgah were central to reconciling the Persian musical past with the Persian musical present in order to create a music for the modern Iranian nation. Negotiating these two contradictory requirements ultimately fostered a transformation of the seven dastgah into the radif-dastgah system as the twentieth century progressed.

The emergence of the radif-dastgah tradition thus marked the full intellectual and musical extinction of the twelve-maqam system in a newly defined modern space, even as previously abandoned priorities in the twelve-maqam system took on new rhetorical meanings and functions vis-à-vis the radif-dastgah tradition in modern Iran. The twelve-maqam system's disappearance grew out of the hobbling of its context within the political structures of dynastic rule, even as the contingent political circumstances that defined its demise led to equally contingent changes in music of the Qajar court of the nineteenth century. Looking to the court as a source of national music was logical, yet the particular idiosyncrasies of the seven dastgah offered some specific basis to begin imagining the Iranian nation in relation to the Persian language, its history, and its geography.

While the twelve-maqam system had stood as an ongoing discovery of the timeless existence of musical truth, musicians negotiated the seven dastgah in terms of human variability and idiosyncrasy. The pursuit of a single set of music structures with the power to affect the whole of humanity was over as the modern world became defined by the diversity of cultures. Modern music required a map of distinct cultural units that transgressed the twelve-maqam system's transregional reach. But this racialized view of culture did not value diversity equally.

With this in mind, changing music could relate to improving culture, and such changes could mean adopting or otherwise creating new indigenous musical norms. Forsat presented the seven *dastgah* as an intentional improvement that Persian music needed, while both Hedayat and Vaziri spoke of the *dastgah* as modern creations for preservation of Iran's music, most of which had been lost. As musical practitioners of the seven *dastgah*, both Hedayat and Vaziri presented different changes to the seven *dastgah* that could better represent Iran's Persian musical past and revive its glory in the modern era. In this context, the twelve-maqam system was recast as a placeholder in Iran's history of Persian music. It was a demonstration of Iran's historic musical greatness against which the *radif-dastgah* tradition could be measured. In refashioning the *radif-dastgah* tradition to better represent Iran's historic musical legacy, musicians tried to make it more like the twelve-maqam system, while preserving the ancient Persian melodies of the original seven *dastgah*. Musicians approached this project differently, depending on how they understood Iran's newly discovered national history. Yet the concepts of *radif* and systematic modality ultimately became core aspects of how musicians reorganized the seven *dastgah* in order to create a music that demonstrated core aspects of Iran's Persian identity.

The changes that systematic modality introduced were significant. Vaziri's description of the *naghmeh* reflects the creation of the *avaz-dastgah*, and the extent to which small sections of *dastgah* began to separate from the *dastgah* in relation to creating systematic modality. Extracting *naghmeh/avaz-dastgah* from the *dastgah* of *Shur*'s particularly extensive and complex melodic progression facilitated a more defined modal structure for *Shur*, as well as a subset of modes related to the melodies of *Shur* that displayed their own distinct modal tendencies. The same reorganization happened with *Homayun*, where musicians removed a section of its melodies based on differing use of pitch. These *avaz-dastgah* scales gained greater standing in the *radif-dastgah* tradition as the twentieth century progressed. With abstract pitch modalities distinguished from the *radif*, composition became more viable, and the use of *avaz-dastgah* scales to compose initially reinforced their standing as scales that could have as much standing in the system as the scales that came to be associated with the original seven *dastgah*.

The value of distinct modal structure created additional revaluations of the *dastgah*. The *dastgah Rast-Panjgah*, which Forsat represented as a commonly used *dastgah*, was a much rarer *dastgah* for performance in the late twentieth century, while the use of the *dastgah Mahur* increased significantly compared with Forsat's observations from the turn of the century. The idea discussed by Hedayat that *Mahur* was a C major scale made it a core aspect of the entire *radif-dastgah* tradition. Conversely, the melodic progression of *Rast-Panjgah* had the most diverse representation of pitch usage of any of the *dastgah*. Neither Hedayat

nor Vaziri could designate a distinct scale for Rast-Panjgah, and musicians settled on a small portion of its gusheh being based on an F major scale, which was then classified as a mere transposition of Mahur. Any widespread usage documented by Forsat was curtailed by Rast-Panjgah's inability to conform to the association between dastgah and distinct modality required as the twentieth century progressed. Between the publication of Forsat's book and Vaziri's *Mūsīqī-i naẓārī*, the value and usage of Mahur and Rast-Panjgah inverted. Students had to learn Mahur early in their training, and learn Rast-Panjgah much later, or perhaps never learn it at all.

Segah's position also changed. All three authors regarded Segah as a variant of Chahargah's melodic content. Forsat named Chahargah the most used of any of the dastgah and described it thoroughly, but he had very little to say or demonstrate for Segah, because it was merely a different way of realizing Chahargah's melodic sequence. While Hedayat and Vaziri recognized this idea, they focused on Segah's unique use of pitch. What made Segah distinct from Chahargah was the way it transposed the pitch organization of Chahargah's gusheh, and this transposition implied that Segah had its own scale, which gave it more value. Apparent modal redundancy could reduce a dastgah's usage, but Segah's ability to be cast as a distinct modality increased its standing. As new compositions could be written using Segah's designated modality, Segah no longer stood as merely a variation on Chahargah's sequence of melodic material.

Beyond what the most educated people thought about the place of modality in Iranian music, similar patterns of modal development appeared in the earliest audio recordings of the tradition. Writing about the early development of the music recording industry in Iran, Mohsen Mohammadi has noted that while recordings of Iranian music initially focused on the seven dastgah, they came to focus on aspects of the dastgah that could function as distinct modal entities: five modes that could be extracted from the dastgah, and five more extracted from smaller sections of the dastgah that eventually came to represent the avaz-dastgah.⁴² The short length of audio recordings required some type of reduction in what the long-form procedural practices had been, and musicians organized their reductions for recording around expressing the systematic modality. Composition also became more important with the rise of recording and radio, as it also related to the growth of systematic modality and the need for shorter models of performance. Recorded music and radio had immense power to influence how Iranians heard themselves and the world. Recordings were marketed and sold according to national audiences, and radio was a national enterprise all its own. Hedayat and Vaziri developed their own specific ways of understanding systematic modality in relation to the context of Iran's musical identity, but they were simply expressing a broader context that was both necessitated and facilitated by multiple aspects of modernity.

As musicians reimagined their modal identity, the number of gusheh that could stand as independent frameworks for performance decreased. Modal variation within the dastgah was curbed by the distinction of the avaz-dastgah and then downplayed where it still existed. Gusheh with distinct modal tendencies could be labeled modulatory, and a dastgah like Rast-Panjgah with no achievable modal consistency became an odd exception. Changes to the seven dastgah's structure reduced modal variation within individual dastgah, but what remained could often be rationalized.

The changes made to the original seven dastgah opened up possibilities for more change, and concerns about too much change. Indeed, the competing interests of preserving historic Persian melodies and utilizing distinct Iranian modes facilitated a diversity of practice in the radif-dastgah tradition. Iranian modes facilitated more composition, while the concept of radif kept the principles of the seven dastgah's initial procedural approach to performance alive, as the gusheh themselves also demonstrated authentic Iranian music. Musicians also came to recognize the radif as a symbol of their Iranian culture independent of long-form dastgah performance, even as the use of systematic modality also confirmed the nation's continuity with its Persian musical past. Vaziri's specific ideas about pitch modality were extremely influential, but they represented a broader change in the conception of music among practitioners of the radif-dastgah tradition.

Like Hedayat's analysis, Vaziri's ideas were only one possibility for how to reimagine the seven dastgah within the modernity of Iranian national identity. There was no highly specified conception of how the radif-dastgah tradition should embody distinctions of melody and modality in keeping with the Persian identity of the Iranian nation. Yet even musicians who did not accept Vaziri's specific approach to the tradition were dependent on the same basic frameworks laid out by both Vaziri and Hedayat. Musicians could claim to be the most traditional by upholding the radif repertoires while still applying various conceptions of systematic modality. The avaz-dastgah became universally accepted by all musicians with differences of opinion surrounding only what they should be called and how many there were. Any commitment to long-form performance models in keeping with the Qajar tradition was defined by a commitment to preserving the integrity of Iranian identity. Yet concepts of radif and systematic modality were also tied to upholding Iranian identity.

The decision to take up the seven dastgah and maintain them as a Persian tradition of Iran resulted from the radical transmutation of the modern era, which included a significant amount of European cultural intervention. Both Hedayat and Vaziri delved extensively into European music in their musical work, yet they held up the radif-dastgah tradition as a key pillar of their musical identity as Iranians because they saw it as an authentic expression of their indigenous history and psychology. This intentional dedication to notions of indigenous

culture and national identity was as much an aspect of modernity as aesthetic Westernization. The development of the *radif-dastgah* tradition happened in the shadow of modern Europe, and it represented a modern commitment to strengthening indigenous culture in the face of marginalization within the modern political and economic systems. The very idea of Iran having a great history of music that legitimated its existence in the modern world fostered new indigenous approaches to music-making. It was thus that the national imagination defined the *radif-dastgah* tradition, while also providing for a variety of different types of interpretation based on different ways of imagining modern Iran's distinct music and history.