Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn: The ‘Histories of Musicians’ from Herat and Khotan according to a 19th century Chaghatai treatise from Eastern Turkestan

Translation, analysis, and introduction by Will Sumits *

The treatise presented here is a rare example of musical literature written in Chaghatai from 19th century Eastern Turkestan, an area that is today often referred to as Xinjiang province, China. Musical literature written during the 19th century in Central Asia is scarce, especially works written in Turkic languages. There are scant references to music in various 19th century sources written in Chaghatai, but only a few sources that are solely dedicated to music. The Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn, or ‘Histories of musicians’, is one such source, and was written in the city of Khotan in 1854 by Mullā Ismatullah Mojizī. We know very little about the author except for what we can glean about him from his treatise. Mojizī wrote his Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn at the request of the local ruling hākim.

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1 There were however earlier musical treatises that were in circulation by Uyghur copyists in the late 18th/early 19th century, including some works of Al-Fārābī, and the Asrār-i Mūsīqī attributed to Bābūr Shāh (Tomur & Baytur, 1982, p. 60, although I am unaware of any extant copies of these and do not know whether they were copied in Persian or if any Chaghatai translations were in circulation.

2 The tanbūr musical notations of Khorazm are an example, and appear very late in the 19th century, the earliest surviving copy having been written in 1881. Of the 17 known copies of tanbūr notation, most date from the beginning of the 20th century. The majority of sources from Central Asia written or compiled in the 19th century are in Persian, and while many examples of 19th century musical treatises in Ottoman Turkish exist, they are nearly non-existent in Central Asia.

3 The author gives his full name as Mullā Ismatullah Bīnī Nī‘matullah Mojizī, or Mullā Ismatullah son of Nī‘matullah. It is most likely that Mojizī is his pen name. We know from his treatise that he was a poet, perhaps a singer, and a literati and historian who was comfortable reading Chaghatai, Persian, and Arabic.
of Khotan⁴, who asked him to “compose a treatise about the history of music’s great masters, so that others might be able to learn about them⁵”, while Mojizī tells us that he composed his treatise “as a monument to the city of Khotan⁶”.

Interestingly, only two of the musicians that Mojizī has included in his work were from the region of Khotan and nearby Yarkand. Their inclusion among a list of history’s great musicians aims to affirm the contribution that Khotan has made to the musical history of greater Central Asia. Despite having been written in the middle of the 19th century, the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn is primarily concerned with the biographies of musicians from the 15th and 16th centuries. Of the seventeen musicians discussed in this treatise, twelve were active in the 15th century at the Timurid court in Herat under the rule of Husayn Bāyqarā (ruled 1470-1506) and his predecessor Abū Saʿīd Mirza (ruled 1451-1469). The predominance of musicians from this period reflects the sources that Mojizī had available to him, and show his heavy reliance on the works of ‘Alīshīr Nawāʾī. Many passages of the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn can be directly traced to passages found in Nawāʾī’s works Khamsat al-mutakhamyrīn and Majālis al-nafāʾīs. Mojizī acknowledges his reliance on Nawāʾī’s works and discloses some of his other sources, including the Tarīkh-i Rashīdī⁷, which was commissioned and dedicated to Abdurashīd Khān, the 16th century ruler of the Yarkand Khanate. Mojizī has also included two musicians from this period that figure prominently in the musical genealogies of the Uyghur ṭuqm tradition: Qadīrkhān Yarkandī and Āmānnisā nhan. These two musicians were active in the court of Abdurashīd Khān who ruled the Yarkand Khānate from 1533 until his death in 1560. They are still held in high regard as progenitors of the Uyghur ṭuqm tradition, and their hagiographies in the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn have further reinforced the idea that the rule of Abdurashīd Khān was a golden era for the development of art, poetry, and music; an idea that continues to persist in the collective historical memory of many Uyghurs.

The only known copy of the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn is preserved at the Institute of Ethnic Literature of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. It is appended to a bound copy of a Kulliyāt of the poetry of ‘Alīshīr Nawāʾī. The Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn is written in the nastalīq script in black ink with marginal notes added in red ink, most likely by the copyist or previous owner. The exact year in which this treatise was written is provided by the author in the very last lines of a poem at the end of the treatise, where the date is provided by the alphanumeric ABJAD value of the possessive form of the word tarīkh (’date’ or ’history’⁸). In the Persian and Turkic systems of abjad-i qamrī, this word (tarīkhīn) has a value of 1271, which is the Islamic Hijri calendar’s equivalent of

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⁴ Muhammad ‘Alīshīr Binnī ‘Abdū Mūmīn Beg (d. 1882), who Mojizī refers to simply as ‘Alīshīr Hākim Beg. He ruled Khotan from 1828-1864 as the Qing dynasty’s appointed local ruler of Khotan.
⁵ Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn [fol. 2v].
⁶ Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn [fol. 20r].
⁷ The Tarīkh-i Rashīdī is a history of the Yarkand Khanate under the rule of Abdurashīd Khān, recounted as a personal memoir of its author Mīrzā Muhammad Haydār Dughlat Beg (1499-1551) who completed this work around 1546 in Kashmir. Mīrzā Muhammad Haydār was a prince in the hereditary line of Chaghatai Khans of Kashgaria and had campaigned and conquered Kashmir on behalf of Sultan Saʿīd Khān, who was the father of Abdurashīd Khān.
⁸ This was first noted by Hamit Tomur and Anvar Baytur in their 1982 publication of Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn, although they did not provide the calculations.
the year 1854 of the Gregorian calendar. This number, 1271, was subsequently added in red ink at the bottom of the last page of the treatise. The exact date that this particular copy of the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn was copied is more difficult to ascertain, as the copyist did not leave many clues as to his identity or the year in which it was copied. However, we can deduce that it must have been copied prior to 1919 due to a small note written on a folio that precedes the first page of the treatise.

The most comprehensive study of the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn thus far is undoubtedly the edition published by Hamit Tomur and Anvar Baytur, who translated the treatise into modern Uyghur and provided a copy of the original Chaghatai manuscript in their extensively annotated 1982 publication (Mullā Ismatullah Mojizī, 1982). It has also been discussed in other studies, including those of Nathan Light (2008), Rachel Harris (2008), Jean During and Sabine Trebinjac (1991), and several others. The Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn is written in a narrative and descriptive style common to many historical treatises of Central Asia. Interspersed with poetry, anecdotes, and biographical and hagiographical narratives culled from various historical sources, the treatise differs greatly from many of the tazkīra that were composed in the form of biographical dictionaries during the 13th-17th centuries. Many of the details found within the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn are surely apocryphal, but their hagiographical nature echoes the popular reverence of these musicians and reflects the important place reserved for them in the history of music and musicians.

The first three musicians discussed in the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn create a direct link between Turkic Central Asia and the musical history of the greater Islamic and Greco-Roman worlds. Khariz, the first musician in Mojizī’s work, is said to be the great grandson of Noah, and the first son of Noah’s grandson Turk. This genealogy from Noah, Japheth, and Turk is commonly found in many genealogical and religious works from the Turkic Islamic world, and serves to situate Mojizī’s musical history within the

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9 This is taken from the first hemistich of the second to last line of poetry at the end of the treatise that reads: “putūk tārīkhīn tārīkhīn dep idim” which means quite literally “I have said the date of the date”. In this phrase the second tārīkhīn has a value of 1271 when converted to its numerical value using the Persian abjad-i qamri system whereby ۵۰ + ۱ + ۰ + ۶۰۰ + ۱۰ + ۶۰۰ + ۱۰ + ۵۰ = 1271.

10 This note is on the page that precedes the beginning of the treatise and is not included in the copy of the manuscript provided in this monograph. The note can be translated as follows: “One hundred thanks to ‘Alīshīr Hākim Beg who commissioned the writing of this book Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn, and may God bestow 1000 blessings on its author Mullā Ismatullah Mojizī. The notary Muftī Muḥammad Ḥabīb Ibnī Bāqī said that he received this treatise as a gift from Duwal Azīmsa Beg. Year 1338”. This note appears alongside the official stamp of notary Muftī Muḥammad Ḥabīb Ibnī Bāqī. From this we know that this copy of Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn must have been copied sometime between 1854 and 1919 (Tomur & Baytur, 1982, p. 2).

11 See also Sabine Trebinjac, 2000, Le pouvoir en chantant. Nanterre, Société d’ethnologie.

12 Noah (Arabic: Nūḥ) is part of the Islamic prophetic lineage stretching back to Adam. He is believed to have been the son of Lamech, who is also featured in several musical origin stories in early Arabic music treatises. In the Abrahamic religions, Noah is the last of the ten pre-flood patriarchs that begins with Adam.

13 A genealogical link to early Islamic history, and pre-Islamic prophetic figures is a common feature of many music treatises written in Arabic, Persian, and Turkic languages from the early Islamic period onwards. Many treatises contain origin stories linking the creation of the maqāmāt to Moses (Mūsa), or
greater historical framework of the Turkic Islamic cultural sphere\textsuperscript{14}. The second great musician discussed by Mojizī in his treatise is Pythagoras. Pythagoras has been mentioned in many Arabic and Persian treatises on music since the early Islamic period\textsuperscript{15}, in part due to the institution of the Bayt al-Hikma, or ‘House of Wisdom’, in Bagdad that carried out voluminous translation activities starting in the late 8\textsuperscript{th} century\textsuperscript{16}. Mojizī’s inclusion of Pythagoras in his musical genealogy helps to link Khotan’s musical heritage to the history of the ‘science of music’, from its pre-Islamic origins to its later evolution during the classical Islamic period. The third musician described by Mojizī is Abū Nasr Al-Fārābī (872-950), emphasizing an important link between Central Asia and the musical patrimony of the greater Islamic world\textsuperscript{17}. Al-Fārābī’s prolific career and his works on music have long held an important place in the development of music during the classical Islamic period. Having established an initial musical genealogy linking the musical history of Khotan to greater Central Asia, the broader Islamic world, the pre-Islamic origins of music, and to the lineage of biblical prophets, the remainder of the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn goes on to introduce fourteen musicians of the 15\textsuperscript{th} and 16\textsuperscript{th} centuries that were active in the Timurid court of Herat of Husayn Bāyqarā (d. 1506) and in the city of Khotan of the Yarkand Khanate under the rule of Abdurashīd Khān (d. 1560).

1. The Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn and the musical history of Herat and Khotan during the 15\textsuperscript{th} and 16\textsuperscript{th} centuries

The second half of the 15\textsuperscript{th} century was an especially vibrant period in regards to music and the fine arts in Central Asia, and this cultural efflorescence was centered at the court of the last Timurid ruler of Herat, Husayn Bāyqarā (ruled 1470-1506). This designate different maqāms to the voices of different prophets, etc., in order to help give a religious validation to an art form that has often come under the scrutiny of religious leaders and doctrines throughout history.

\textsuperscript{14} Japheth (Arabic: Yafith, Turkic/Persian: Yafis) and his son Turk were espoused as the progenitors of all Islamic Turkic peoples in early Arabic and Persian sources. Early sources such as those of Ibn Muqaffa’ and Al-Tabarī relate this genealogy of the Turks, which was adopted by later Turkic writers and perpetuated throughout the centuries, often with disregard to older pre-Islamic histories of the Turks.

\textsuperscript{15} The mention of Pythagoras (Arabic: Fīthāgūrs, Turkic: Fīsāgūrs) was common in Arabic and Persian musical treatises up through the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, and possibly later. Mojizī relied primarily on 15\textsuperscript{th}-17\textsuperscript{th} century sources, so it is not unusual that he would include Pythagoras in his history.

\textsuperscript{16} The Bayt Al-Hikma was founded by the ‘Abbāsid caliph Harūn Al-Rashīd (786-809) and formally institutionalized by his son Al-Ma’mūn (813-833). Here, scholars from all corners of the rapidly expanding Islamic world collaborated on translations of Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Persian texts.

\textsuperscript{17} Mojizī tells us he came from a region of the Altai called Balāsāghūn. Balāsāghūn was an ancient Soghdian city located in modern day Kyrgyzstan between Bishkek and Lake Issyk-Kul. However, most historians, and indeed Fārābī’s own epithet, suggest that he came from Fārāb, which could either be the ancient city of Fārāb on the Syr Darya in modern-day Kazakhstan, or possibly Fāryāb in modern-day Afghanistan. That Fārābī’s exact origins are uncertain, leaves open the possibility that he may have been born in Balāsāghūn, but come of age in nearby Fārāb prior to moving to Baghdad where he spent the majority of his life and gained fame in his career as a scientist and philosopher. Fārābī’s ethnic background has been a topic of debate since at least the 13\textsuperscript{th} century, and he has been claimed by Persian, Turkic, and Arab scholars eager to attach his name to their own patrimony, but his exact pedigree can not be known with certainty.
period, which has been referred to as the ‘Timurid renaissance’ by scholars and historians\(^{18}\), is considered to have been a golden age for artistic achievements in poetry, music, miniature painting, calligraphy, architecture, and other of the fine arts. The elevated musical understanding and accomplishments that were achieved during the reign of Bāyqarā and his predecessors provided great inertia that stimulated the development of music during the following periods, not only in Central Asia and Iran, but even as far as the royal courts of the Ottoman and Moghul empires.

The artists and musicians of the late 15\(^{th}\) century found a very sympathetic patron in Husayn Bāyqarā. Bāyqarā’s patronage of the arts was so generous that several of the poets and musicians in his court and ministry themselves became wealthy patrons of the arts and music. The trickle-down cultural patronage of the period resulted in a greatly expanded niche in Timurid society for poets, musicians, and artists. The great number of musicians, poets, and calligraphers is attested to by many historical sources of the period, and is evidenced by the tazkīra biographical dictionaries that were composed during this time containing brief biographies of hundreds of poets and musicians.

Some of the reasons for the widespread artistic activity of the period can be found in the socio-economic policies that were implemented by Timurid rulers. The great economic benefits granted to artists and scholars allowed them greater freedom in their artistic pursuits. In particular, the socioeconomic system of soyūrghāl land grants and various forms of fiscal immunity served as the basis for late-Timurid patronage of artists and musicians\(^{19}\). These land grants and economic benefits allowed for prominent poets and musicians to become very wealthy and in many instances their wealth was generously shared among their fellow artists and musicians. The distinguished poet and vizier ‘Alī Shīr Aawā’ī, for example, had grown very wealthy from the lands he had been granted and he dedicated much of his time and energy into converting his private land into vaqf pious endowments where he built great educational institutions in which teachers and students could continue to develop their respective arts\(^{20}\). Husayn Bāyqarā himself claimed that during his reign there were nearly one hundred educational institutions in Herat that were all supported by pious endowments\(^{21}\). It was the establishment of economic policies such as the soyūrghāl and vaqf land grants and endowments and various forms of fiscal immunity, which had been instituted in the early 14\(^{th}\) century and came to reach their fullest development in the late 15\(^{th}\) century, that can be seen as the most generous and widely applied forms of cultural patronage implemented by Timurid rulers, especially during the reign of Husayn Bāyqarā\(^{22}\).

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\(^{18}\) Grousset (1929, p.465) tells us, “Herat during this exceptional reign was the Florence of what has justly been called the Timurid renaissance.” Also Fitrat, 1925. Subtelny, 1988, p. 479. Bouvat, 1927.

\(^{19}\) A cogent survey of late-Timurid patronage has been published by Maria Eva Subtelny, 1988. The institution of soyūrghāl-s and other tax immunities were particular to post-Mongol Iran and Central Asia, and reached their fullest development in the second half of the 15\(^{th}\) century during the time of Husayn Bāyqarā (p. 480).

\(^{20}\) For a detailed study of this, see Subtelny, 1991.


\(^{22}\) This conclusion is based upon the studies and publications of Subtelny (1988 and 1991).
One of the most obvious indicators of the cultural patronage efforts of Husayn Bāyqarā can be seen by the fact that he filled his court and ministry with such distinguished poets and literati as ‘Alīshīr Nawā’ī, ‘Abdurahmān Jāmī, and ‘Abdullah Marwārīd. These three figures themselves became great patrons of the arts. In addition to their distinguished status in the court of Bāyqarā and their fame as poets and scholars, these personages are often mentioned among the great musicians of the time. As poets, Nawā’ī and Jāmī were closely tied to the musical activities of the time, and it is apparent from Nawā’ī’s own writings that he also instigated the writing of several musical treatises during the late 15th century. In Nawā’ī’s work entitled Khamsat al-mutakhayyirin, which he composed to honor the life and works of his friend and colleague ‘Abdurahman Jāmī, he mentions his request to the musicians of his time to compose treatises on the science and art of music, and tells us the names of five musicians who wrote treatises on music:

“I became convinced that a treatise should be written in a scientific manner about the science of music. This request was given to Mawlānā ‘Alīshāh Būka, who was an unrivalled master in this science, so that he might, if he were able, write something on this topic. Although that helpless one had become estranged from his work and intellect as a result of his opium use, in this state he composed a work by the name of Asl al-wasl. Mir Murtāz and Khoja Shihābbidīn ‘Abdullah Marwārīd and Mawlānā Binā’ī also wrote treatises on this art, but even as they tried to the best of their ability it remained a difficult task for them to achieve. But because Hazrat Mawlānā Jāmī had perpetually bestowed favor and kindness upon me, he composed a treatise on music and modes, and in this art there is not another treatise as beneficial and complete as his.”

This same passage found its way directly into the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn, where the musicians mentioned above by Nawā’ī reappear in the same order and with a few of the same details, although it is clear that Mojīzī made several errors in his interpretation of the above passage from Nawā’ī’s Khamsat al-mutakhayyirin. Mojīzī tells us that:

“The fourth great master of the science of music was Hazrat Mawlānā ‘Alī. He was from the area known as Shābūk in Khorāsān.

23 Khoja Shihābbidīn ‘Abdullah Marwārīd (d. 1516 or later, Herat) was a minister and secretary for Husayn Bāyqarā, as well as his parvānachī who received Bāyqarā’s guests and acted as Bāyqarā’s personal helper for many years. Some sources refer to him as Khoja ‘Abdullah Sadr Marwārīd, while other sources refer to him as Shihābbidīn ‘Abdullah Marwārīd. The Bābūrnāma and the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī simply refer to ‘Abdullah Marwārīd, but elsewhere in the writings of Nawā’ī and Vāsīfī we find a nominal distinction.


25 This reference to Mavlāna ‘Alī from the area of Shābūk is most likely a corruption of the name of Mawlānā ‘Alī Shāh Būka, which may have been understood by the Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn’s author Mojīzī as having referred to Mawlānā ‘Alī from Shābūk. This is most certainly an erroneous interpretation of the above cited passage of the Khamsat al-mutakhayyirin by ‘Alīshīr Nawā’ī. Other
He was without equal in this science during his time. He wrote a book entitled *Asl al-wasl* about the science of music, and he wrote another book called *Murtāz*. As he was traveling to undertake the Hajj pilgrimage, he passed through the deserts of Iraq and there he composed the *chol-i’Irāq maqām*, which has become very famous among musicians. He also created the dutār. He was without equal in his era in the composition of poetry and the teaching of music, and he wrote great books of profound meaning about other sciences as well. At the end of his life he lost his mind and passed away as a result of the great amount of opium he used.

The fifth great master of music was Khoja Shihābiddin who was one of a kind in his time. He taught the science of music to more than 200 of his pupils, and wrote treatises as well.

The sixth master was Hazrat ‘Abdullah Marwārīd, he was from Samarqand. This master was considered as one of the greatest teachers of the science of music. He wrote numerous great treatises on the musical science and also taught the science to more than 100 students. In his time, he was extremely well known among musicians. He was buried in Hisar province in the year 1502.

Sources refer to ‘Alishāh Būka as one of the great masters of the time, and one of his treatises on music has been preserved in the library of Istanbul University.

26 There is a treatise attributed to ‘Ali ibn Hājī Būkā Awbahī entitled *Muqaddima-i usūl* that is housed in the library of Istanbul University, MS F1097. The existence of this treatise was first noted by Owen Wright (1996, p. 666). The treatise *Muqaddima al-usūl* by ‘Ali ibn Hājī Būkā mentions an earlier treatise composed by the author entitled *Usūl al-wasl* (MS F1097, f. 1) which must be the same treatise referred to by Nawā’ī.

27 This is another erroneous reading of the above cited passage of Nawā’ī’s *Khamasat al-mutakhayyūrīn*. Here the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn* tells us that Mawlānā ‘Ali wrote two works, one entitled *Asl al-wasl*, and another entitled *Murtāz*. Based upon the excerpt from Nawā’ī’s *Khamasat al-mutakhayyūrīn* that is translated above it is apparent that *Murtāz* is not the name of a treatises but rather the name of another musician and scholar, Mīr Murtāz. This personage is also mentioned in other works, such as the *Makārim al-akhlāq* by Khvāndamīr, which tells us that Amīr Murtāz was one of the teachers appointed by Nawā’ī to teach in his madrasa. Khvāndamīr also mentions Amīr Murtāz in his *Tarīkh-i Habīb Al-Siyār* (Subtelny, 1991, p. 49).

28 Mojīzī must have relied upon a different source in stating that Mawlānā ‘Ali was the creator of the *Chol-i’Irāq maqām* since it is not found in the passage of Nawā’ī. It is interesting to note that the *Chol-i’Irāq* is indeed a well-known and well-loved composition in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, although to my knowledge it is not currently part of the traditional repertoire in Khotan or Xinjiang province, where Mojīzī wrote his *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn*. It is not unlikely that it was known in Khotan at the time of Mojīzī’s writing (1854).

29 This is most likely another error in Mojīzī’s reading of Nawā’ī’s *Khamasat al-mutakhayyūrīn*, or may signify a copy error in the text that Mojīzī was using. The *Tawārīkh* tells us about two different musicians, Khoja Shihābiddin and Hazrat ‘Abdullah Marwārīd, while it seems certain that these two musicians are one and the same person and are referring to Khoja Shihābiddin ‘Abdullah Marwārīd (d. 1516), the famous poet, calligrapher, and musician who was a vizier in the court of Husayn Bāyqarā in Herat.

30 Khoja Shihābiddin ‘Abdullah Marwārīd is believed to have died in 1516 (Subtelny, 1988, p. 494). Other scholars place his death later, in 1534, 1535, or even later.
As can be seen by comparing this excerpt of the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn* with the above cited passage of Nawāʾī’s *Khamsat al-mutakhayyūrīn*, much of the information was directly copied and embellished in a somewhat erroneous and grandiose manner. The *Tawārīkh*’s reference to “Mawlānā ʿAli from Shābūk” is indeed a misreading of the name of the great musician Mawlānā ʿAlīshāh Būka who was one of the recognized masters of music during the time of Husayn Bāyqarā in Herat. Similarly, the reference to a treatise entitled *Murtāz* is most definitely a misreading of the name of another scholar and musician named Mīr Murtāz, who is mentioned in several other sources. And the references in the *Tawārīkh* to the two masters Khoja Shihābiddin and Hazrat ʿAbdullah Marwārīd are surely referring to one person, the scholar and vizier Khoja Shihābiddin ʿAbdullah Marwārīd that was mentioned in the *Khamsat al-mutakhayyūrīn*. While these errors can be easily discerned when compared with information provided in the *Khamsat al-mutakhayyūrīn*, the author of the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn* certainly had several other sources at his disposal that may have provided additional biographical information about some of the musicians, but it remains likely that he relied largely on the works of Nawāʾī as one of his primary sources of information about the musicians discussed in his *Histories of Musicians*. As is commonly the case in later sources, the author took it upon himself to aggrandize and hyperbolize the content of the earlier sources that he had at his disposal.

Returning to what is told in the *Khamsat al-mutakhayyūrīn*, Nawāʾī requested that a treatise on music be written by Mawlānā ʿAlīshāh Būka and that several other musicians such as Mīr Murtāz, ʿAbdullah Marwārīd, and Bināʾī, and ʿAbdurahmān Jāmī, also composed musical treatises. Of these musicians, the treatises that have been preserved to the present day are one treatise of ʿAlīshāh Būka, the *Risāla dar mūsīqī* of Bināʾī (d. 1513), and the *Risāla-i mūsīqī* of ʿAbdurahmān Jāmī (d. 1492). These musical treatises, all from the late 15th century, represent the last works of the Systematist school of musical theory. The treatises of ʿAlīshāh Būka, Bināʾī, and ʿAbdurahmān Jāmī all provide precise instructions for the division of the intervals and for the structure of the *maqām*, *shuʿba*, and *avāz* modes, and follow very closely those modes described in the writings of Abdulqādir Marāghī (d. 1435), and his predecessors Qutb Ad-Dīn Shirāzī (d. 1310) and Saffuṭḍīn Urmawī (d. 1294).

31 Mullā Mojizī, the author of the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn*, tells us the sources which he used in writing his work, and these sources included: *Tarīkh-i Rashīdī*, *Tawārīkh-i Tabarī*, *Rawzat Al-Saḥā*, *Tawārīkh-i hukama*, *Tawārīkh-i Ajam*, *Tawārīkh-i ʿArab*. He also mentions that he benefited from the works written by Pythagoras, Al-Farabi, Pahlīwān Muhammad Kushtīgīr, and Nawāʾī. There are several apocryphal works in Persian that have been attributed to Pythagoras, but they are rare. There are no known works attributed to Pahlīwān Muhammad unless Mojizī was mistakenly to the work entitled *Hālātī Pahlīwān Muhammad* that was written by Nawāʾī. Based on the text of the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn*, it seems that his primary sources were the works of Nawāʾī.

32 Also referred to in some sources as Amīr Murtāz.

33 While Nawāʾī tells us that ʿAlīshāh Būka composed a treatise entitled *Asl al-wasīl* this treatise is not known to have been preserved to the present day. There is however another treatise composed by ʿAlīshāh Būka entitled the *Muqaddima al-usūl* which is housed in the library of Istanbul University (MS F1097). In the introduction to this treatise ʿAlīshāh Būka mentions an earlier work of his entitled *Usūl al-wasīl so* it clear that ʿAlīshāh Būka is the author of two treatises on music.

34 Wright (1996, p. 669) observes that ʿAlīshāh Būka Awbāḥī closely follows Marāγhi, while Ishāq Rajabov’s study (1963) of the modes found in Jāmī and Al-Husaymī’s treatises also indicates that these
A single copy of a treatise by ‘Alīshāh Būka has been preserved, and although Nawā’ī tells us his treatise was entitled Asl al-wasl, the only manuscript we have which was authored by ‘Alīshāh Būka bears the title Muqaddima al-usūl. According to what ‘Alīshāh Būka tells us in the introduction to Muqaddima al-usūl, he authored two works on music, the first of which was entitled Usūl al-wasl:

“It should be said that I, your humble servant, am ‘Alīshāh bin Hājī Būkah Awbahī and this is a treatise about all topics of the science of music and it is entitled Muqaddima al-usūl, and previously I had the intention, and managed to complete, another work also about this science which was entitled Usūl al-wasl.”

‘Alīshāh Būka goes on to tell us that the Muqaddima al-usūl was written in order to clarify some of the more complicated topics and problems of the theory of music that were presented in his earlier treatise, the Usūl al-wasl. In his Khamsat al-mutakhayyrīn Nawā’ī had referred to ‘Alīshāh Būka’s treatise as Asl al-wasl, but this title may be the product of a copyist error since the words asl, wasl, and usūl and wasūl in the Persian script all bear a very close resemblance to one another and are composed of the same letters. Furthermore, it is apparent from Nawā’ī’s comments that he was not completely satisfied with the treatise Usūl al-wasl that ‘Alīshāh Būka had written at Nawā’ī’s own request. In his introduction to his second treatise the Muqaddima al-usūl, ‘Alīshāh Būka seems in a way apologetic for the faults of his first treatise and is perhaps even seeking forgiveness from his benefactor and patron as he requests the reader to favor his second, more-comprehensive treatise. From what Nawā’ī tells us, it seems as though the request for a musical treatise may have first been given to ‘Alīshāh Būka, after which several other musicians also wrote treatises. In his Risāla dar mūsiqī, Binā’ī makes respectful mention of ‘Alīshāh Būka as an expert authority on music (Wright, 1996, p. 667). Although Binā’ī makes no mention of ‘Alīshāh Būka’s treatises, the mention of his expertise and authority may be taken as an indicator that ‘Alīshāh Būka was already established as one of the older masters in the court of Bāyqarā.

Authors closely followed the modal system expounded by Marāghī. Ishāq Rajabov’s study of the modes given by Jāmi and Husayni show that their modal system is almost identical to the modes given by Marāghī according to Murat Bardakçı’s study (1986, p. 64-77). In the treatise, the authors name appears as ‘Alīshāh ibn Hājī Būkah Awbahi, and his Muqaddima al-usūl is preserved in the Istanbul University library as MS F1079.

See Owen Wright, 1996, for a discussion of the Muqaddima al-usūl and several other Timurid musical treatises.


In this case, the words asl and wasl and usūl أصل and وصل and أصول may have been misunderstood by the copyists of some copies of Nawā’ī’s Khamsat al-mutakhayyrīn, or the copyist may have understood the word أصول to have been a corrupted form of the actual أصول and taken it upon himself to correct what he believed was a mistake. Luckily we have testimony from ‘Alīshāh Būka himself that his first treatise was entitled Usūl al-wasl (MS F1097, f. 1).

Muqaddima-i usūl (University of Istanbul, Ms. F1097, f. 2b).
The *Muqaddima al-usūl* of ‘Alīshāh Būka does not specify the date of its writing. While it is certain that his earlier treatise, the *Usūl al-wasūl*, was definitely written prior to the death of ‘Abdurahmān Jāmī (d. 1492) since it is already mentioned in Nawā’ī’s *Khamsat al-mutakhayyūrīn*, it would seem logical that the *Muqaddima al-usūl* might have been written subsequently to the *Khamsat al-mutakhayyūrīn* since it is not mentioned by Nawā’ī. In any case, the *Muqaddima al-usūl* must be considered to be the more mature and complete treatise of ‘Alīshāh Būka. While the *Muqaddima al-usūl* of ‘Alīshāh Būka follows closely the model and modes of Marāghī, it has been noted by Owen Wright that ‘Alīshāh Būka does present several differences that may be indicative of slight changes in the modal corpus that may have occurred since the time of Marāghī (d. 1435). These differences notwithstanding, ‘Alīshāh Būka is firmly rooted in the Systematist school of his predecessors, especially Marāghī who had died in Herat approximately 60 years before Būka completed his treatise on music. While it is clear that ‘Alīshāh Būka was primarily active in Herat, there is a story in the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn* that tells how he died one day at a musical gathering in Samarqand in the middle of a performance by a musician named Mawlānā Nu’mān Samarqandī:

“One day, at a gathering of scholars in Samarqand, Mawlānā Nu’mān Samarqandī sang a ghazal composed by Shamsiddīn Tabrīzī while playing the satār. Immediately, the scholars lowered their heads bathed in deep contemplation, and about ten people soon fell unconscious. Hazrat Mawlānā ‘Alī was also at this gathering and, losing consciousness, he departed from this world. The news of his passing spread quickly in every direction. When the pādishāh heard this news he sentenced the great master Mawlānā Samarqandī to go to prison. After spending five years in prison, he too passed away.”

The most frequently mentioned and best known musicians in Bāyqarā’s court were certainly ‘Alīshīr Aawā’ī, and ‘Abdurahmān Jāmī, and ‘Abdullah Marwārīd. While Aawā’ī and Jāmī were very familiar with the theory and practice of music of the time, ‘Abdullah Marwārīd is the only one of the three that is known to have been an

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40 Wright points out that according to ‘Alīshāh Būka, the upper tetrachord of *buzurg* is the *navrūz* tetrachord (180-114-204) rather than the *rast* tetrachord (204-180-114) as in Marāghī. As such, Būka’s definition of *buzurg* is the same as that of Urmawī. Būka also notes, as Shīrāzī did, that the *hijāz* tetrachord has a central interval which is larger than a whole tone despite the conventional notation of (180-204-114). Būka’s definition of *husaynī* also shows that the tetrachord species are reversed from that given by Marāghī (Wright, 1996, p. 669). These changes are not so much new developments as they are reversions to earlier variants given by Shīrāzī and Urmawī.

41 There are other differences in ‘Alīshāh Būka’s treatise as well. For instance, Būka included 133 different *advār* tone rows, while Husaynī gives only 91 *advār* tone rows based upon all possible combinations of the seven tetrachord species and thirteen pentachord species (7x13=91). See Būka’s list of *advār* (MS F1097, f. 19b-24b). Marāghī, Jāmī, and Shīrāzī give only 84 *davr* in their lists of *advār*.

42 We can assume that Mojizī is indeed referring to Mawlānā ‘Alīshāh Būka, who he had already erroneously referred to as Mawlānā ‘Alī. Earlier in his treatise, Mojizī told us that Mawlānā ‘Alī “lost his mind and died as a result of the great amount of opium he used”, a detail that is corroborated by Nawā’ī who said that his opium use led him to “become estranged from his work and intellect”.

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instrumentalist. Based on what we learn from Nawā’ī, Vāsīfī, the Bābūrnāma, and the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, we see that ‘Abdullah Marwārīd was respected as a great talent in several of the arts, including music. His musical talent is most apparent from the many references to his mastery of the qānūn. While the Bābūrnāma tells us that ‘Abdullah Marwārīd was without equal in regards to playing the qānūn, we learn from the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī that his musical skill may have exceeded his talent in other of the fine arts:

“Khoja ‘Abdullah Marwārīd has already been mentioned among the mawlānās for his scholarship, and with Hilālī and Ahlī for his poetry, and along with Mīr Hayy and Mullā Darvīsh for his ta’līq calligraphy, and after Sultān Muhammad Nūr for his naksh-ta’līq calligraphy, but he was not without equal in those arts. He was, however, peerless on the qānūn. The girift style of playing was his innovation. Formerly, the qānūn was an instrument to which one would not be very inclined if other instruments were present because it is so insipid. Khoja ‘Abdullah however made it such that no one would care for any other instrument when his qānūn was being played. Since he was a master at it, and it was his outstanding achievement, he is listed at the head of the group.”

This passage attests to ‘Abdullah Marwārīd’s place among the great instrumentalists of the late 15th century, and perhaps as the greatest of the qānūn players. It also suggests that he may have been one of the most important figures in popularizing the qānūn, because it is apparent that the qānūn seems to have enjoyed a period of increased popularity in the 16th and 17th centuries. Vāsīfī mentions ‘Abdullah Marwārīd in several places in his Badāyi’ al-waqāyi’ when describing musical gatherings at the court of Husayn Bāyqarā and elsewhere where the musicians present included ‘Alīshīr Aawā’ī, ‘Abdullah Sadr Marwārīd, Hafiz Basīr, Pahliwān Muhammad, Mawlānā Binā’ī and others (Vāsīfī, 1970, p. 494; Asadī, 2002, p. 32). ‘Abdullah Marwārīd was not only a musician, but was also the secretary and vizier for Husayn Bāyqarā for many years and authored several works including a

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43 There has been some confusion as to the identity of ‘Abdullah Marwārīd in some of the later sources, and in recent scholarship as well. Some sources suggest that there may have been two people named ‘Abdullah Marwārīd in late-Timurid Herat.

44 This girift style of playing is also mentioned as an innovation of ‘Abdullah Marwārīd by Darvīsh ‘Alī Changī (mid 17th century) who gives a detailed explanation of the girift method which involved rubbing the plectrum against the strings in a way which produced a pleasant sound. Darvīsh ‘Alī also says that this technique was also adopted by chang players. Tuhfat as-surūr (MS 468/1 Beruni, f. 31a).

45 This is from the English version of the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, volume II, translated by Wheeler Thackston, 1996, p. 131.

46 There are many references to qānūn players in the treatise of Darvīsh ‘Alī Changī which suggests it was among the most popular instruments of the 16th and 17th centuries.

47 Shihābiddin ‘Abdullah Marwārīd’s father, Shams al-Dīn Muhammad (d. 1498), had been a vizier for both Abū Sa’īd and for Husayn Bāyqarā who appointed him as a trustee to the land endowed to the shrine of the sufi saint ‘Abdullah Ansārī. ‘Abdullah Marwārīd grew up within Bāyqarā’s circle of ministers and eventually rose to the position himself. See Subtelny, 1988, p. 494. ‘Abdullah Marwārīd was also the parvānachī of Husayn Bāyqarā and held the responsibility for receiving the emir’s guests. Afsahzād (EAST v. 1, p. 15).
compendium of his own poetry which he composed under the pen name Bayāñī. He was a *shāgird* of ‘Abdurahmān Jāmī to poetry and perhaps in music as well, and although it is known that he also composed a treatise on music, this treatise is not known to have survived.

Although he is more widely remembered for his poetry, ‘Abdurahmān Jāmī is also often mentioned as having been one of the important musicians of the time. Jāmī was indeed an influential figure in the artistic and religious environs of Bāyqarā’s court, and he was very knowledgeable in many fields of learning and skilled in many arts of the time. He also became very wealthy through his lands and other privileges awarded to him by Bāyqarā and his friend and colleague ‘Alī Shīr Nawāʾī. In this way, he himself acted as one of the patrons of artists and musicians in Herat up until his death in 1492. Nawāʾī was very close to him, and dedicated his work *Khamsat al-mutakhayyrīn* to Jāmī after his passing, in which Nawāʾī tells us that Jāmī wrote a treatise on music. The musical treatise of Jamī has been preserved in many copies and follows closely the format and topics characteristic of the treatises of the Systematist school of musical theory of the 13th-15th centuries.

Nawāʾī was also very familiar with all of the musical forms of the time, and his thorough familiarity with the theory and practice of music was a natural result of his education in the arts and his constant interaction with the musicians of his day. He certainly studied music and in his *Majālis al-nafāʾ* he tells us that he was a *shāgird* of the great musician Khoja Yūsuf Burhān. His mastery in the art of poetry allowed him a great knowledge of the science of poetic meters, *arūz*, which was and still is very closely tied to the art music in Central Asia and the greater Islamic world. His close association with the most talented musicians of his day resulted in the creation of new musical works and reflects the atmosphere of collaboration that seems to have prevailed in the artistic circles of the court in Herat. We learn from Vāsīfī in his *Badāyi’ al-waqāyi’* how one such piece was co-created:

> “Amīr ‘Alishīr Nawāʾī had a ghazal in the mustazād meter, for which Khoja ‘Abdullah Sadr Marwārīd composed a sawt. It became known as ‘sarmast va girebān chāk’ and it gained fame such that there was not a house or a palace in all of Herat in which this song was not found. Then Hāfiz Qirāq sang this sawt along with the qānūn, and then the nobility and the people on the street and gatherings of all sorts...”

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48 Shihābiddīn ‘Abdullah Marwārīd is known for his *Sharaf-nāma*, a collection of chancellery documents (Subtelny, 1988, p. 494), and was the author of *Tamsilāt* and also *Tarassūl* which was a collection of imperial orders, state records, and diplomatic documents (EAST v I, p. 15, Afsahzād).

49 Afsahzād (EAST v I, p. 15)

50 In Nawāʾī’s *Khamsat al-mutakhayyrīn*, there is mention of the treatise on music written by Shihābiddīn ‘Abdullah Marwārīd.

51 ‘Abdullah Sadr Marwārīd was the son of Muhammad Marwārīd. He was an accomplished musician and composer who played the *ud* and the qānūn and is credited with several compositions such as ‘*Peshrav-i Sadr’*, ‘*Amal-i Māhliqā*’, ‘*Naqsh-i Marwārīd*’, and ‘*Qavl-i Dilangīz*’.

52 It is interesting to note that in some copies of the late 19th century Khorezmian *tanbūr* notation, there are songs bearing the titles “*Chāk-i girebān*” and “*Tarāna-i chāk-i girebān*”, and the poetic text given for the latter is a poem of ‘Alishīr Nawāʾī. See O’zbek Notasi, 2007, p. 259.
were playing the chāk. The lovers and the beloved all came together side by side and requested this song from the musicians of the gatherings.” (Vāsifī, 1970, p. 438-439. Also Subtelny, 1984, p. 146; and Asadī 2002, p. 38)

This passage illustrates how Nawā‘ī, through his poetry, was also active in the creation of new musical works. Vāsifī’s story about the collaborative creation of the “Girebān chāk” raises an interesting question as to the possible survival of this composition until recent times. There are several tanbūr tablature notations that were written in the area of Khorezm in the late 1800’s and early 1900’s that record the notation and poetry for a song entitled “Chāk-i girebān” and also the “Tarāna-i chāk-i girebān”. These two pieces belong to the repertoire of dutār maqām pieces, which is believed to be the oldest stratum of musical repertoire in Khorezm.

Interestingly, the poetry of the Tarāna-i chāk-i girebān is a poem of Nawā‘ī. While the poetic meter does not correspond to the mustazād poetic meter, the rhythm of the Tarāna-i chāk-i girebān given in the Khorezmian tanbūr notation bears a close resemblance to the mustazād rhythm that is given by Abdurauf Fitrat in 1927 in his O’zbek klassik mūsīqasi va uning tariki.

While the existence of the Chāk-i girebān may be an example of possible peripheral survival of the Chāk-i girebān composed by ‘Abdullah Sadr Marwārīd and set to the poetry of ‘Alīshīr Nawā‘ī, it is not possible to verify with any certainty. Nawā‘ī, although primarily remembered for his poetry, has also been praised over the centuries for his musical abilities. Such praise may be the result of aggrandized post-humus attributions although it is known from Nawā‘ī’s own writings that he did study music and so it is possible that he may have composed music as well. Until recent times he has retained a position among the great musicians of history, as is witnessed by the following passage from the Tawarīkh-i mūsīqīyūn:

“The eighth great master of music was Hazrat Nizāmiddīn ‘Alīshīr Nawā‘ī. From his own books of poetry it is clear that this great master possessed every quality of moral uprightness and kindness. From reading his “Kulliyāt”, “Chārdi vān”, his “Khamsa”, and other of his 36 works, I have become well acquainted with his moral character and his passions. In addition to his mastery over the precious sciences, he also received his education in the science of music from his own teacher, Hazrat Jāmī. Every evening he would play the satār or tanbūr, singing ghazals that he himself had written, or singing devotional poetry, and he would enter into a serene state of consciousness. He composed the navā

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53 The Khorażm musiqi tariikhcha tells us that the dutār maqām are the oldest in Khorezm, 1925, 1998, p. 26.
54 The poetic text of the first song, Chāk-i girebān does not contain a nisba, but it may or may not also be a poem of Nawā‘ī.
55 Fitrat gives mustazād as: bum bak bum bak [rest] (Fitrat, 1927, 1993, p. 14) while the Khorezmian notation for Tarāna-i chāk-i girebān gives the rhythm: tak taka gul tak gul (O’zbek Notasi, 2007, p. 259). If the [rest] of Fitrat’s mustazād is substituted with a baka (or taka), then the rhythms are permutations of the same rhythm, though their cycles start on different beats.
maqām and introduced it to the world\textsuperscript{56}. This master came into the world in the year 843 (1439) in the sixth month. He saw 63 years in his life, wrote 63 books, and passed away in the city of Herat in the year 960 (1500) due to a blood illness.”

As has been discussed above, Nawātī was in the inner circle of artists at the fulcrum of the artistic life in the late Timurid court of Herat, and inspired the writing of several of the important musical treatises of the time. Other than the treatises of Jāmī, Binātī, and ‘Alīshāh Būka which have been mentioned above, another treatise on music that survives from the time of the late-Timurid ruler Husayn Bāyqarā (ruled 1470-1506), is the treatise Qānūn-i ‘Ilm va ‘Amal-i Mūsīqī (c. 1496) of Zayn Al-‘Ābidīn Al-Husaynī. This treatise may be mentioned alongside the aforementioned treatises as one of the most comprehensive musical treatises of the time. Zayn Al-‘Ābidīn Al-Husaynī’s treatise is dedicated to ‘Alī Shīr Nawātī, and may have been written at his request\textsuperscript{57}, although it may have been written at some point after Nawātī wrote his Khamsat al-mutakhayyrīn\textsuperscript{58} (c. 1492), since it is not mentioned by Nawātī. Although he is not included in Mojizī’s Tawarīkh-i mūsīqīyūn, Zayn Al-‘Ābidīn Al-Husaynī is worth mentioning since he appears to have played an active role in the dispersion of the Herati maqām tradition following the death of Husayn Bāyqarā (1506) and the end of Timurid rule in Herat.

Zayn Al-‘Ābidīn Husaynī’s origins are slightly ambiguous. The available information about Zayn Al-‘Ābidīn Husaynī indicates that he was active in Tabrīz, Herat and Anatolia, although his birthplace is disputable\textsuperscript{59}. The Ottoman tazkīra of nınalızāda\textsuperscript{60} says that he served in the courts of Amasya and Manisa after having been in Tabrīz and Herat where he served in the courts of Sultān Ya’qūb and Husayn Bāyqarā\textsuperscript{61}. Further biographical information about Zayn Al-‘Ābidīn Husaynī is given by Darvīsh ‘Alī

\textsuperscript{56} Mention of the muqām navā are plentiful in treatises going back to the 13\textsuperscript{th} century and predate Nawātī by two centuries, so Mojizī’s attribution of muqām navā to Nawātī is certainly false, although he may have composed in muqām navā.

\textsuperscript{57} I. Rajabov, 1963, p. 19. The only known copy of Zayn Al-‘Ābidīn Al-Husaynī’s Qānūn-i ‘ilm va ‘amal-i mūsīqī is preserved in the Literature Museum of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences. Inv. n° 42.

\textsuperscript{58} This is based on the assumption that Nawātī would have mentioned it in his Khamsat al-mutakhayyrīn if it had already been written by then. It may have been composed prior to the Khamsat al-mutakhayyrīn, although it seems that Nawātī would have made mention of it, especially since Husaynī was close to Nawātī and Jāmī, and had earned their respect through his scholarly and musical endeavors. Husaynī is believed to have passed away in 1502 (DSh, p. 72), which suggests he wrote his treatise sometime between 1495-1500.

\textsuperscript{59} The Dānishnāma-i Shashmaqām tells us that Zayn Al-‘Ābidīn was born in 1436, the son of one of the teachers of the Ikhlāsiyya educational complex in Herat (DSh, p. 72, Rajabov). Although the Ikhlāsiyya complex was not founded until at least 1476 (Subtelny, 1991, p. 38), it is possible that his father may have been employed at the Ikhlāsiyya in his old age, although it seems unlikely. It is perhaps more likely that Zayn Al-‘Ābidīn may have himself been affiliated with the Ikhlāsiyya, or at least with the scholars and artists employed there.

\textsuperscript{60} Hasan Çelebi nınalızāde (d. 1604) was an Ottoman poet and biographer most well known for his Tezkira-i Şuarā that he completed around 1586. This work contains biographies of more than 600 poets and is one of the most comprehensive of the tezkira written during this time.

Changī (late 16th/early 17th c.) who refers to him as Zayn Al-ʿĀbidīn Rūmi, suggesting that he was originally from Anatolia. Darvīsh ʿAlī tells us that he studied in Herat with Ustād Shādī. If he was indeed originally from Anatolia, it seems as though he may have returned to Anatolia after having spent some years in the courts of Sultān Yaʿqūb in Tabrīz and in the court of Bāyqarā in Herat since in some Ottoman sources, he is mentioned as the “Persian ‘ud player Zayn Al-ʿĀbidīn”62. He may have been one of the first wave of musicians from Herat to have arrived and served as a musician in the Ottoman courts following the end of Bāyqarā’s rule in Herat.

According to Darvīsh ʿAlī Changī, Zayn Al-ʿĀbidīn Husaynī is credited with several compositions including three peshravs which he composed in the ‘irāq and husaynī maqāms, as well as an ‘amal and naqsh in maqām navā, which became very well respected compositions by the musicians of his day63. However, in the Ottoman sources that mention Zayn Al-ʿĀbidīn and his contemporaries, he is the only musician of his day in the Ottoman courts who is not accredited with specific compositions64. Abdurauf Fitrat, writing in the mid-1920′s, tells us that Zayn Al-ʿĀbidīn was originally from Anatolia and following his stay in Herat, he returned to Anatolia and was welcomed by Sultān Qoʾrqud65:

“One of Ustād Shādī′s students was the Ottoman musician Zayn Al-ʿĀbidīn. He came to Herat from his Anatolian homeland, and he learned music from Ustād Shādī. He earned the respect of Bāyqarā and Nawāʾī, and eventually returned to his homeland. He played the ‘ud and the chang very well. One of the Ottoman rulers, Sultān Qoʾrqud, heard his playing and replied, “You were in the court of Sultān Yaʿqūb and Sultān Bāyqarā!” and bestowed great gifts upon him66.”

Fitrat seems to have relied partially on the well know Ottoman Tezkira-i Şuarā of Hasan Çelebi Kinalızade (d. 1604) for this story67, although the Tezkira-i Şuarā offers a much more complete version of the story, and suggests that Zayn Al-ʿĀbidīn Husaynī was initially wholly unfamiliar with the Ottoman musical traditions of the time. The Tezkira-i Şuarā tells of “Zayn Al-ʿĀbidīn, whose ‘ud and kemanche playing was well-

63 Risāla-i Mūsīqī of Darvīsh ʿAlī Changī, MS 7005-111, Berūni archive, Tashkent; and Darvīsh ʿAlī, MS 264, Dushanbe, mentions only three peshrav. These are also noted by Pourjavadī, 2005, p. 37; and A. Rajabov, DSh, 2009, p. 72.
65 Qoʾrqud (1467-1513), or Korkut, was the son of Bayezit II, who was the governor of Amasya, and appointed his son Korkut to rule over the region of Sarukhan that was centered around Manisa. Korkud was himself a composer of music and is accredited with the composition of a peshrav in the kurdī maqām and several other peshrav-s. Feldman refers to Korkut as a major figure in Turkish music (Feldman, 1996, p. 45), and as such Korkut′s love of music would suggest he was also an eager patron of music who might have attracted musicians from neighboring lands, perhaps even as far as Tabriz.
66 Uzbek Xalq Musiqasi va Uning Tarixi by Abdurauf Fitrat, [1926] 1993, p. 44.
67 Fitrat was in contact with the Ottoman musicologist Rauf Yekta in the first decades of the 19th century, and may have had access to Rauf Yekta′s personal archive and library including his copy of Kinalızade′s Tezkira-i Şuarā, or perhaps it was Rauf Yekta who told Fitrat about this passage from Tezkira-i Şuarā.
known throughout the Iranian world\textsuperscript{68}, and that he arrived and was welcomed at the court of Shâhzâde Ahmed, the ruling prince of Amasya (ruled 1492-1512). Sultan Qo‘rqud, who was ruling nearby Manisa at the time, heard of his arrival and invited Zayn Al-‘Ābidîn to his court. Sultan Qo‘rqud was himself a musician and composer, and requested Zayn Al-‘Ābidîn to compose a suite of music for him. The story relates that Zayn Al-‘Ābidîn was unfamiliar with the Ottoman musical tradition of the time, and the suite that he composed was not well received by Sultan Qo‘rqud. Sultan Qo‘rqud confronted him telling him that his composition did not match his reputation as a musician and composer, and Sultan Qo‘rqud then performed a suite on instruments called the gadâ-i rūh and the rūhafzâ to the amazement of Zayn Al-‘Ābidîn. Ashamed, Zayn Al-‘Ābidîn composed another suite of music that finally won the favor of Sultan Qo‘rqud. The Tezkira-i Şuarâ goes on to say:

“When Zayn Al-‘Ābidîn had to leave the side of Sultan Qo‘rqud, the Sultan brought him a large tray filled with gold, and piled a large mound of coins on top of it, and then requested his forgiveness saying, “You have been in the courts of Sultân Ya’qūb and Sultân Bâyqarâ, and have seen their great generosity and gifts. Compared to their generosity, what I have given you is but a small drop in the ocean.”

According to what is told in the Tezkira-i Şuarâ, Zayn Al-‘Ābidîn’s lack of knowledge about the Ottoman music traditions suggests that his initial musical education occurred in Herat and Tabriz prior to his arrival to the Ottoman empire, and the Jama‘ât-i Mutribân (c. 1525) affirms that Zayn Al-‘Ābidîn’s son Ni‘matullah was a chang player in the Ottoman court of Sultân Ahmed, and his grandson Halîl was a kemanche player in the court of Sultân Sulayman. Despite the conflicting information regarding Zayn Al-‘Ābidîn’s origins, it is apparent that he was active in both the Ottoman and the Timūrid courts, and appears to have stayed in Anatolia after his arrival from Herat and Tabriz. He may have helped to transmit the musical knowledge cultivated in the Heratī school of maqām to the Ottoman court musicians of the early 16\textsuperscript{th} century. In any case, some of the treatises written in late Timurid Herat would have surely found their way to the Ottoman empire and may have exerted an influence on the subsequent development of the maqām tradition there.

There may have been close lines of transmission of musical knowledge from the time of Marâghi (d.1435, Herat) to the musicians in the court of Husayn Bâyqarâ. There is some evidence that suggests that one of the prominent musicians in Bâyqarâ’s court, Khoja Yūsuf Burhân, was a student of ‘Abdulqâdir Marâghi. This idea is based upon a reference found in an anonymously authored Persian musical treatise entitled Khadâ’iq al-naghamât\textsuperscript{69} and a brief passage found in Najmiddîn Kavkabî’s (d. 1535) Risâla-i

\textsuperscript{68} Ajam was the old Ottoman term used to refer broadly to the Iranian world, but may have also included areas just east of the Ottoman empire, including Tabriz, and possibly some Arabic-speaking areas of Syria.

\textsuperscript{69} This connection between these two figures has been noted by A. Djumaev who has studied the Khadâ’iq al-naghamât (MS Vve 114, Bursa) and cites the following passage: “It is not a secret that the noble Bukharan Mavlânâ Kavkabi was a disciple of Khoja Yūsuf Burhân, who was himself a disciple of Khoja ‘Abd Al-Qâdir.” See A. Djumaev’s article, 1997.
mūsīqī. While Khoja Yūsuf Burhān is not in included in Mojizī’s *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn*, he appears to have been an important figure in the musical life of Herat under Husayn Bāyqarā, and possibly under his predecessor Mirza Abu Sa‘īd (d. 1469) as well. He is mentioned by Nawā‘ī on multiple occasions, and by several other authors as well. In his *Majālis al-naftā‘is*, Nawā‘ī even tells us that he himself was a student of Khoja Yūsuf Burhān in the art of music:

“Khoja Yūsuf Burhān was a close kin of the Shaykh al-Islām, Shaykh Ahmad-i Jām, may his secrets be protected. He occupied himself with the path of asceticism and mysticism and followed the principles of austerity and isolation. He was a leader for all those on the path of mysticism. He often composed music for his own poems. He composed an ‘amal in isfahān for the following verse: “The season of happiness, desire, life, and ecstasy has arrived. How wondrous if a beggar has reached the desire of the heart!” I, your humble servant, am a student of his in the art of music. He passed away in Jām and his tomb is beside that of the Shaykh’s.”

That Nawā‘ī would respectfully refer to Khoja Yūsuf Burhān as his own teacher is indicative of his place among the inner circle of elder musicians and music teachers. An anonymously authored Persian musical treatise from the 16th century, *Khādā’īq al-Naghamāt*, refers to a direct line of transmission from ‘Abdulqādir Marāghi to Khoja Yūsuf Burhān then on to Kavkabī, but seeing as this treatise appears to date only from the late 16th century, it seems more likely that the line of transmission may have traversed at least one other intermediary musician of the mid 15th century. While the historical timeline does allow for the narrow possibility of a direct transmission between Marāghi and Khoja Yūsuf Burhān, it remains unlikely.

Writing not long after the fall of Timurid rule in Herat and the death of Husayn Bāyqarā (d. 1506), the musician and scholar Najīm Ad-Dīn Kavkabī (d.1535) tells us in his treatises that his ‘teacher’s teacher’ was Khoja Yūsuf Burhān, but nowhere do we find any mention of the name of Kavkabī’s actual teacher. Najīm Ad-Dīn Kavkabī had gone to study in Herat in his youth, in the time of Husayn Bāyqarā, and was mentioned by Nawā‘ī as a talented young astronomer from Bukhara. Interestingly enough, in his treatise on music Kavkabī does also refer to the ties between Khoja Yusūf Burhān and ‘Abd Al-Qādir Marāghi. In the ninth chapter of his *Risāla-i mūsīqī* he acknowledges the line of transmission as follows:

“I am an intermediary transmitting the teachings of Khoja Yusuf Burhān, who was the teacher of my teacher, and who was the student of the master Khoja ‘Abdulqādir, peace upon him.”

In his role as a music teacher, Khoja Yusuf Burhān may be considered one of the active and important music educators in Herat. Another source that provides us with a

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70 From the *Risāla-i mūsīqī* of Kavkabī (MS 468/IV, f. 5b) preserved in the Al-Berūnī archive in Tashkent. This passage also appears in the copies of Kavkabī’s treatises housed in archives in Iran, including those of the Kitābkhāna-i majlisī, the Kitābkhāna-i Malik, and the Kitābkhāna-i Sipahsālār as published by Sabetzadeh, 2003, p. 56.
brief biographical account of Khoja Yusuf Burhān also attests to his prominent role in musical education during the late 15th century in Herat. This early 16th century treatise, is entitled the Nihāl al-aswāt. The author of the Nihāl al-aswāt acknowledges a line of transmission of musical knowledge going back to Khoja Yusuf Burhān:

“It has been my intention to make known what the maqām are and how they are found, and what the six avāz are and the twenty-four shu’ba and all of the different rang and how many there are and from where they are found within this science, especially according to the teachings of the master Darvīsh Fadhllullah Nayī who was from Barmādkhāf and who was unrivalled in the science and practice of this art in his time. He was the successor of Khoja Yusuf Burhān ad-Dīn, peace upon him, who was the offspring of Shaykh al-Islam Ahmed Qayyam, may his secrets be protected.”

Having been the teacher of Nawāʾī, Darvīsh Fadhllullah Nāyi, the teacher of Najmīddīn Kavkabī teacher and others who went on to teach music and carry on the tradition following the fall of Timurid rule in Herat, Khoja Yusuf Burhān stands out as one of the important sources of musical knowledge in the court of Bāyqarā. And while he is not mentioned in the Tawārīkh-ī mūsīqīyūn, he is worth mentioning here because of his active role in the musical life of late Timurid Herat, and as a colleague and contemporary of many of the musicians discussed by Mojizī in his Tawārīkh. He also appears to be the closest link in the chain of transmission of musical knowledge linking ‘Abdulqādir Marāghī to the musicians that surrounded Husayn Bāyqarā’s court in Herat, especially considering the fact that since Marāghī (d. 1435) spent the last years of his life in Herat, some of his students may have served as teachers for figures such as Khoja Yusuf Burhān, ‘Alīshāh Būka, and Ustād Shādī, who in turn became the musical elders of Herat towards the end of the 15th century.

Mojizī’s lengthy description of the musician Pahlīwān Muhammad Kushtīgīr is primarily based on a brief monograph written by Nawāʾī that he dedicated to Pahlīwān Muhammad and entitled Hālāt-i Pahlīwān Muhammad Abu Sa’īd. He is also mentioned in Nawāʾī’s Majālis an-nafā’ī is where he is described as a “wrestler, and master of advār, and other arts”. Similarly, Mojizī tells us that the anecdotes he relays about the musician Mawlānā Sāhib Balkhī derive primarily from the contents of a treatise entitled Asrār-i Mūsīqī that he attributes to Zāhīriddin Bābūr Shāh. And while copies of this treatise are known to have been in circulation by copyists in Kashgar during the first decades of the 1800’s (Tomur & Baytur, 1982, p. 6), an extant copy has remained elusive. Nawāʾī

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71 This musician was mentioned by Nawāʾī in his Majālis an-nafā’ī as Khoja Fadhl Allah as a musician who was originally from Kerman and came to Herat where he spent five years in service at the court of Husayn Bāyqarā.

72 This copy of the Tawārīkh spells his name as nushtingīr, and subsequent studies have repeated this orthography, but this seems to have been an error by the copyist who seems to have mistaken a š for ẓ. According to Nawāʾī, Pahlīwān Muhammad Abu Sa’īd was well known as a wrestler (Persian: kushtī gīr or koshtī gīr). The term kushtī comes from the Pahlavi kustik, and is pronounced as kushtī in Dari and Persian.

73 Although Hālāt-i Pahlīwān Muhammad is extant in multiple copies, I have not had the opportunity to study this work.
mentions the musician Mawlānā Sāhib who, in addition to being a talented musician, was also an excellent chess player and an expert at composing and reciting muamma. According to Nawāʾī, he was from the region of Kabūd-Jama, a district in the eastern part of ancient Astarābād, or modern-day Gorgān on the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea. However, there is no mention by Nawāʾī of the fantastic story of Sāhib Balkhī and the sorrow-laden suicidal nightingale who, thrusting himself against the pegs of the tanbūr, falls lifeless to the ground as the spectators lose consciousness in disbelief. This story, Mojizī tells us, is found in the Aṣrār-i mūsīqī, and it seems likely that Mojizī may have relied on the Aṣrār-i mūsīqī for the anecdote and information he presents about Mawlānā Nu’mān Samarqandī and Safāyī Samarqandī as well74, since they are not mentioned in any of Nawāʾī’s works nor are they found in the other historical sources that Mojizī cites as his sources. The similarity of content in the anecdotes about Sāhib Balkhī and Nu’mān Samarqandī suggest a common source for both stories, but until a copy of this treatise becomes accessible, we cannot say for sure.

Moving on from the musicians of late Timurid Herat, Mojizī includes two musicians that are of particular importance to the musical history of Eastern Turkestan. His lengthy accounts of the lives and musical works of Qadīrkhan Yarkandī and Āmānnisā Khān serve to secure a place for the Yarkand Khanate of Eastern Turkestan within the musical history of greater Central Asia. Although there are several brief references to Qadīrkhan Yarkandī in other sources, the case of Āmānnisā Khān is exceptional due to the fact that the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn is the only historical source to mention her existence. Despite the late date of this singular description of Āmānnisā Khān, she has since been championed, along with Qadīrkhan Yarkandī, as the progenitor and musical hero of the Uyghur on ikki muqām tradition. The promotion of Āmānnisā Khān as a cultural hero has occurred largely through the officially sponsored efforts of socialist cultural policy makers of the Chinese government, but she has also been adopted as a cultural hero in the collective historical memory of Uyghurs from all over Xinjiang province. In many ways, Mojizī’s intention to carve a niche for Khotan in the musical history of Central Asia has been reinforced and realized by Chinese Socialist cultural policy75, but it remains a process of re-imaging history that has been common throughout the ages.

It is likely that much of Mojizī’s information regarding Āmānnisā Khān was gathered from oral traditions that were in circulation in the area of Khotan and Yarkand76. And

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74 According to dates given by Mojizī for these musicians, and the anecdotes themselves that mention Mawlānā ‘Ali (‘Alīshāh Būka) as having been a contemporary of Nu’mān Samarqandī, we can tentatively place these musicians in the mid-late 15th century in the courts of Mirza Abu Sa’īd and Husayn Bāyqarā.

75 A cogent survey of the construction of Āmānnisā Khān as a cultural here has been published by Elise Anderson: “The Construction of Āmānnisā Khān as a Uyghur Musical Cultural Hero” in Asian Music, 43, Winter 2012, University of Texas Press.

76 The Ethnicities Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences carried out expeditions in Khotan between 1956-1959 and found several oral traditions in circulation about Āmānnisā Khān, some that said she was the daughter of Qadīrkhan Yarkandī, others that said she composed multiple dastan, and that she created the ‘Ishrat Angīz muqām (Tomur & Baytur, 1982, p. 11-12). These oral traditions resemble some of what is told by Mojizī regarding Āmānnisā Khān but there is also the possibility that they may have been influenced by Mojizī’s work since if had been written in Khotan one century prior to these expeditions.
although Āmānnisā is not mentioned in other sources, there are several sources that do refer to the musical achievements of her supposed husband, ‘Abdurashīd Khān, who ruled the Yarkand Khanate from 1533 to 1560. The 19th century writer Mullā Mūsā Sāyrāmī wrote in his Tarīkh-i ʿamniya and his Tarīkh-i Hamidiya that Abdurashīd Khān could sing well in both Turki and Farsi, and that he created the ‘Ishrat Angīz maqām, and even refers to him as the ’second Pythagoras’ (Tomur & Baytur, 1982, p. 13). How these musical achievements came to be attributed to ‘Abdurashīd Khān is explained by Mojizī who says that due to his ‘strong jealous feelings’, ‘Abdurashīd Khān attributed the ‘Ishrat Angīz maqām to himself. Regardless of these attributions, it is Āmānnisā Khān who today stands out as the foremost historical collector and organizer of the Uyghur on ikki muqam tradition, and the construction of this cultural icon is primarily based upon Mojizī’s biography of her in the Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn.

2. Translation of the Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn

[fo1. 1r]

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate

Oh God, from your wisdom you gave color and scent to the flower. You made the nightingale to sing pleasantly in the orchard. The rabāb, tanbūr, dutār, satār, ‘oud, qānūn, and chang cry due to your power. Allah, in the garden of your love, you are the one who causes the flower blossoms to smile. You cause the nightingales and parrots to sing and weep in love with the flower buds. As a noose made from Layla’s hair was tied around Majnūn’s heart, as Shīrīn’s lips were colored from Farhād’s blood, as the heat of the fire of ‘Uzrā’s beauty caused Wāmuq’s body to sink into an ocean of tears, as Tāhir was imprisoned in a wooden trunk and cast into the Tarim river because of his love for Zohra, as beautiful stories were made about Zulaykhā’s passion and of Yūsuf’s beauty, make me a prisoner and vagabond out of love for that beauty! Turn me, your humble servant, into an impatient lover revolving around your light!

Having reached this point, let me take my tanbūr in hand out of my love for Him. When I long for His word, let me play! Occasionally I choose couplets of Nawā’ī extolling the glory of God, sometimes I recite verses of Lutfī in praise of Mohammad. Let me strike the strings of my tanbūr! [fol. 1v] Longing for my dear Beloved, let me grind the black blood of my heart into ink! In love of Him, let me wander all over the deserted wilderness! Praising You, let me write verses! Describing Your love, let me write poems!

77 Here the author references five of the Uyghur dastan epics that have figured prominently in Chaghatai poetry from the region. In addition to Layla and Majmun, Shirin and Farhad, Uzra and Wamuq, Tahir and Zahra, and Zulaykhā and Yusuf, several other dastan, such as Bahram and Gulendom, Rabia and Saʿidin, and Ma sud and Guhnisa are also considered central to the Uyghur dastan collections. These epic dastans are one of the most important literary contributions of late 18th/early 19th century Chaghatai writers from Eastern Turkestan. More than twelve different dastan were committed to writing by Eastern Turki authors during the last decades of the 18th century and first decades of the 19th century, and reflect a resurgence of literary activity that surfaced following the long period of literary dormancy that occurred during the hardline Islamic policies of Afaq Khoja (1626-1694) and his descendants.
Monajat (Appeal to God)

Oh God! You are my only purpose
You are the one that I worship
You are my reason for prostrating
You are my only guide

I am your guilty servant
I am your sin-laden bondsman
I have become a prisoner in a cell of sorrow
You are my only guide

Oh, eternal provider of sustenance,
Tolerant one, oh Compassionate one!
Deliver me from this need,
You are my only guide

Oh Benevolent one, put Your love in my heart!
Let me play upon the satār and dutār
I have erred, please forgive me
You are my only guide

I, Mojizī, have become an impatient lover
I implore you, oh God, the one and only
I long for your mercy
You are my only guide

Praise belongs solely to God, the upbringer of the entire world! Peace and blessings be upon the Prophet of Prophets, Mohammad, and upon all of his family and companions! [fol. 2r] Following these praises, let it be known: greatest king of the nation of justice, the full moon of the night of generosity, the beautiful cypress of the orchard of preciousness, the only jewel of the ocean of greatness, father of the needy and guide of the poor and helpless, with a stature like that of Jamshīd, rich like Sulayman, furious like a tiger, glorious like Alexander, a kingly quality, the temperament of a dervish, the light of the homeland! From the light of Khotan’s Shāh ‘Alīshīr Hākim Beg, one beam of light has shown upon such an estranged, helpless and worthless one as I, a prisoner to shackles of sorrow, to the troubled wasteland of separation, far below all other people, one beam of light has managed to reach me, Mullā Ni`matullāh Oghli Mullā Ismatullāh Mojizī. He pulled a worthless one like me through the heaven of the sun and gave this order:

“Music is the cause of happiness and pleasure in life. From kings to beggars, and from saints to savages, all of humankind finds pleasure in this art and science. But who are the scholars and composers of this art?

[fol. 2v] Who are the loyal guides, the masters of this science? To the present day many musicians know not who they are. You are a

78 Here I have translated the word faryādras (supporter, aide, helper) as ‘guide’.
composer of music. You are the nightingale-like Sultan of the kingdom of verse, you are the sweet-spoken parrot of the empire of literature, you are a bringer of joy and happiness! Why don’t you compose a treatise about the history of this marvelous art’s greatest masters so that other musicians might be able to learn about them”

Receiving this command, it was as if a poor ant was trying to support a mountain on his back, as if the whole sky fell down upon the back of a weak helpless one. I have no power to carry out this great command, and I am sorry that I also do not have the strength to excuse myself from this task! Sinking in this ocean of surprise, the following verse of the Qur’an came to my mind:

“Say, obey God and his messengers and your own leaders.”

When the content of this great verse came to my mind, I could no longer find any way to leave this great command undone. [fol. 3r] Relying on God, I collected the appropriate historical documents in order to carry out this lofty command. I consulted the Tarīkh-i Rashīdī, Tawārīkh-i Tabari, Tawārīkh-i Rawzat As-Safā’79, Tawārīkh-i hukama80, Tawārīkh-i ‘Ajam, Tawārīkh-i ‘Arab, and also benefited from many important scholars, music masters, and the books and treatises about the science of music written by Pythagoras, Al-Fārābī, Pahlīwān Muhammad Kushtīgīr, and Amīr Nizāmiddīn ‘Alīshīr Nawā’ī. At last, I have written this treatise to the best of my power and ability, and present it as a gift to the people of the world. I have called this treatise Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn.

To the possessors of intellect, to musicians great and amateur, to each one and everyone, to kings and to beggars, may it not remain unknown, it is thus written in the Tarīkhi Rawzat As-Safā’ and in the Tarīkh-i Rashīdī; Noah, peace upon him, had a son named Japheth81 who had one son named Turk. [fol. 3v] God the most high blessed him with one son. This son was given the name Khariz82. As this son grew up he learned how to make his own clothes from the skins of foxes that he caught, he learned to put salt on his food, he discovered how to build and play the tanbūr, barbat, and ‘oud and he spread all of these discoveries by teaching them to the people of the world. At that time, it was

79 The Rawzat As-Safā’ is a comprehensive historical work written in seven volumes by Mir Khwānd between 1474-1497 in Herat at the request of ‘Alīshīr Nawā’ī.

80 This is most likely referring to work which was known in Persian as “Tarjuma-i Tarikh al-hukamā” (1602-1603), which was Maqsūd ‘Alī Tabrīzī’s Persian translation of the Arabic work of Shams Ad-Dīn Muhammad ibn Mahmūd Al-Shāhrazūri (14th century) entitled “Nuzhat al-arwāh va rawzat al- afrāh”.

This work discussed the lives and works of more than 100 sages and philosophers, and the Persian translation of this work became widespread during the 17th century. An abridged version of the Persian translation of this work is preserved in the British Library in London, manuscript OR 13853.

81 Yafis (Arabic: Yafith) is the Turkicised form of Japheth of the Bible. Although he is not referred to directly in the Qur’an he is alluded to in several places. In Biblical and Qur’anic traditions, he is the son of Noah (Arabic: Nūh) and is often regarded as the ancestor of the Turks and the Khazars. This lineage from Noah to Japeth to Turk is claimed in almost all Islamic Turkic genealogies.

82 This Turkic lineage is also present in other Chaghatay texts and chronicles. See, for example, the “Firdaus al-iqbāl” by Sher Muhammad Mirab Munis and Muhammad Reza Agāhī, which was commissioned by the Eltuzer Khān, the ruling Khān of Khwarazm at the turn of the 19th century.
customary at funerals for the playing of the tanbūr to accompany the lamenting of those whose parents or children had passed away, and it was the custom to burn the bodies of the deceased. Khariz was the grandson of Japheth, peace upon him. The regions of Yarkand and Khotan prospered with the descendants of Khariz. That is to say that the people of Yarkand and Khotan are the descendants of Khariz. From that time to the present, 5850 years have passed. At that time, it was most common for the strings of the tanbūr to be twisted from the gut of the intestines of sheep and goats.

[fol. 4r] The science of music’s second master was Pythagoras. He was from Surrie and was very fond of traveling. He encouraged people to seek knowledge and to be morally upright. He also discouraged immoral acts. He never expected any reward in return, and he did not fear guilt either. He was very fond of justice. He wandered from city to city in search of knowledge. But it couldn’t be known whether he was in a happy state or an angry state. He used to say that “wealth is what brings friends together and brings separation between enemies”. Everywhere he went, the local inhabitants would always seek his advice if they faced an important issue. Modern farangistan was at that time known as the city of Antakia. Pythagoras went to this place where he played the satār that he himself had made, and he sang his own poetry. [fol. 4v] His poetry would consist of sayings such as:

“Don’t give advice to others that you yourself do not follow.”
“Befriend and value the person that points out your own shortcomings.”
“Instead of going around in precious clothes, learn to go around speaking precious words”
“If you are unable to speak good words, learn from those that are able to speak good words.”
“Don’t be ashamed to seek knowledge, be ashamed of ignorance.”
“Animals face hardship because of their own speechlessness, but humans face tragedy because of their own speech.”

Up to that time in the city of Antakia, poetry and music had not been cultivated. The people marveled at the words of this twenty-five-year-old man. Pleased by his playing of this amazing instrument, they began to follow him. [fol. 5r] He would recite poetry of profound meaning and counsel to the people, accompanying himself on the satār. Word of these events soon reached the king. The king then set out with some of the noble figures of his court, and, upon seeing the situation, he fell absolutely dumbfounded.

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83 Surrie (Arabic: Sūr) is from the Arabic name for Tyre, a coastal city of southern Lebanon. Tyre was built on an offshore island and was one of the most powerful commercial centers of the Levant during the Phoenician period. The city was devastated by two earthquakes in 1201 and 1203 C.E. Greco-Roman histories name Pythagoras’ birthplace as the island of Samos, not Tyre.

84 Farangistan is an old Turkic word which mean ‘the land of the foreigners’ and later came to refer to ‘Europe’. The term ‘parang’ is the Turkicized form of the Arabic ‘faranj’ along with the Persianate suffix ‘stān’ resulting in a meaning approximating ‘land of the foreigners’.

85 From the Arabicised form of Antiocheia, or Antioch. A town in northern Syria situated on the Orontes river. The city was founded in 300 B.C. by Seleucus I. Most scholars place Pythagoras around 500 B.C., which would predate the founding of this city, but in this text he is a contemporary of Alexander the Great circa 330 B.C.
put his astonished hand to his amazed teeth. He invited him and brought him to the palace. He could not be separated from him during meals, or at any other time. He referred to him as his own son. He prepared a place where the science of music could be taught and he ordered all of the people of Antakia to learn this science. Within ten years, he taught the science of music to forty thousand pupils.

Pythagoras asked the Padishah for permission to leave, and went to India where he studied astronomy. [fol. 5v] The people of Hindustan learned the science of music from Pythagoras. Pythagoras was the brilliant scholar who sowed the seeds of music in the footsteps of Jamshīd and Kaykabād Padishāh. Coming back from Hindustan, he went to Egypt and learned the secret sciences from the hierophants, and he learned three alphabets. At the time of his passing from the impermanent world to the eternal world, he had 500 pupils. One of the elder students asked: “After you’re gone, how should we conduct ourselves?” He replied as he closed his eyes: “Do not say or do actions that aren’t for the benefit of everyone”. He passed away only one year after the death of Alexander the Great. He lived 93 years. Everything he did was for the benefit of those who needed help, he was always very generous to those in need.

[fol. 6r] The third master of the science of music was Mawlānā Shaykh Abū Nasr al-Fārābī from the region of the Altai called Balāsāghūn. This master reached perfection under the tutelage of Hazrat Imam Muhammad Ghazālī and Hazrat Imam Fakhrī Rāzi. He reached a very high level in the religious sciences. He was superior to Ibn Sinā in his knowledge of the sciences. From his knowledge of Islamic law, mysticism, Qur’ānic interpretation, the sayings of the Prophet, traditional medicine, philosophy, ideology, literature, and even chess, there was not any type of knowledge that he did not possess. In other words, he was also very accomplished in the science of music. He built the qānūn with his own hands, arranged its strings and played, and also taught his musical students. He composed the rāk and [fol. 6v] ‘ushshāq maqāms, and the marghūl-s of ‘ushshāq. He spread these pieces to the world and taught them to his students. He also composed the first, second, and third marghūl-s of the ‘uzzāl maqām that remain well known to all musicians even today. He said in his Rīsāla-i Mughaniyyūn, “music’s unspoken sorrow is the element that causes a spiritual fire to be ignited in man’s soul. If you add poetry to the music, the music’s deep emotional content will become known. The joy that you were unable to grasp after one hundred years of worship, you will find it in the strings of my qanūn.” [fol. 7r] This master wrote 114 treatises on a wide variety of sciences. Of these treatises, one is the Rīsāla-i Mughaniyyūn, but this work remains to the present day in Arabic. After this book has been completed, if my strength and time allow, I intend to translate it into Turkic, if God so commands.

86 Balāsāghūn was an ancient Soghdian city that is located in present day Kyrgyzstan between Bishkek and Lake Issyk-Kul. It was founded by Soghdians in the 9th century under the Karakhanid dynasty. It is also the birthplace of Yūsef Kháś Hájib (11th century), author of the Qutadgu Bilig. Most scholars place Fārābī’s birthplace in Fārāb (Kazakhstan), or possibly Fāryāb (Afghanistan), although his exact birthplace is not known, and it is possible that he moved to Fārāb from Balāsāghūn prior to his relocation to Baghdad.

87 Here Moizī is most likely referring to Al-Ghazzali (1058-1111) and Fakhriddin Razi (1149-1209), although Al-Fārābī (872-950) was already deceased before these great thinkers were born.
This science’s fourth master was Hazrat Mawlānā ‘Ali. He was from the area known as Shabuk in Khorasan. He was without equal in this science during his time. He wrote a book entitled “Asl al-wasl” about the science of music, and he wrote another book called “Murtāz”. As he was traveling to undertake the Hajj pilgrimage, he passed through the deserts of Iraq and there he composed the chol-i ‘irāq muqam, which has become very famous among musicians. He also created the dutār. In his time, he was without equal in the composition of poetry and the teaching of music. He wrote great books of profound meaning about other sciences as well. At the end of his life he lost his mind and passed away as a result of the great amount of opium he used.

The fifth great master of music was Khoja Shahābuddin, who was one of a kind in his time. He taught the science of music to more than 200 of his pupils, and wrote treatises as well.

The sixth master was Hazrat ‘Abdullah Marwārīd, he was from Samarqand. This master was considered as one of the greatest teachers of the science of music. He wrote numerous great treatises on the musical science and also taught the science to more than 100 students. In his time he was extremely well known among musicians. He was buried in Hissar province in the year 881 (1502).

The seventh master was Hazrat Mawlānā Nūriddin Abdurahmān Jāmī. His upstanding moral qualities have been described in many kinds of books. In order to see the extent of his multifaceted talents, it suffices to say that he was the teacher of scholars such as Amir Nizāmiddīn ‘Alīshār Nawā’ti in every science and discipline. In describing him, it is enough to note that personages such as Nawā’t who referred to him as their own teacher or Pir. In Nawā’t’s very own “Khamsa”, he speaks of this great master in five different places. What else must be said for you to understand this master’s greatness?

This master, like Al-Fārābī, was talented in all of the sciences. He used to play tanbūr, satār, gallūn, and other instruments with his own hands. He created the maqām called ‘ajam and its two marghūls. He brought many students to perfection in the science of

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88 This is an error, either by Mojizī himself or perhaps by the copyist. This musician can be identified with Mawlānā ‘Alīshāh Būka, who is mentioned by Nawā’ti in his Khaamsat al-mutakhayyrīn which tells us that he “was an unrivalled master in this science” and that he “had become estranged from his work and intellect as a result of his opium use, and in this state he composed a work by the name of ‘Asl al-wās’ét”.

89 Here Mojizī either misread or perhaps relied on a poorly copied copy of Nawā’t’s Khaamsat al-mutakhayyrīn, because Murtāz is not the name of one of ‘Alīshāh Būka’s treatises, but is the name of another musician, Mīr Murtāz who mentioned immediately following Nawā’t’s discussion of ‘Alīshāh Būka. See my discussion of this in the introduction preceding this translation.

90 Here Mojizī made another misreading of Nawā’t’s Khaamsat al-mutakhayyrīn. His interpretation of the description of the well known vizier and qanūn player Khoja Shahābuddin ‘Abdullah Marwārīd, led him to erroneously think they were two different people.

91 Shihābuddin ‘Abdullah Marwārīd wrote under the name Bayānī, and later became known as Bayānī Kermanī due to the fact that his father, Shamsiddīn Muhammad Marwārīd had been born in Kerman. It is still possible that he had been born in Samarqand as his father was also a minister in the Timurid court.

92 Different scholars have given various dates for his death, but he seems to have lived longer than Mojizī tells us, since it is known that he worked in the service and composed more works under Shāh Ismā’l who ruled after Husayn Bāyqarā (d. 1506).
music. He wrote a book entitled “Risāla-i dawwa”93 about the science of music. Hazrat ‘Alīshīr Nawā’ī also learned the musical science from Hazrat Jāmī. Hazrat Jāmī died in the city of Herat in Khorasan in the year 898 (1492) at the age of 79.

[fol. 9r] The eighth master was Hazrat Nizāmiddīn ‘Alīshīr Nawā’ī. From his own books of poetry it is clear that this great master possessed every quality of moral uprightness and kindness. From reading his “Kulliyāt”, “Chārdiwān”, his “Khamsa”, and other of his 36 works, I have become well acquainted with his moral character and his passions. In addition to his mastery over the precious sciences, he also received his education in the science of music from his own teacher, Hazrat Jāmī. Every evening he would play the satār or tanbūr singing ghazals that he himself had written, or singing devotional poetry, and he would enter into a serene state of consciousness. He composed the navā maqām and introduced it to the world. This master came into the world in the year 843 (1440) in the sixth month. He saw 63 years in his life, wrote 63 books, and passed away in the city of Herat in the year 907 (1501) due to a blood illness.

[fol. 10r] The 9th great master is Ustād Muhammad Khorazmī. In his own time, he showed great diligence and capability in the science of music. He taught more than 200 students, and he wrote a treatise about the subtleties and secrets of this art. He passed away in 852 (1474).

The 10th master was Mawlānā Nu’man Samarqandi94. This great master was a qāri’95, and 500 people were fortunate enough to memorize the Qur’an from him. He was also a very masterful singer and player of the dilkash. At scholarly discussions and at gatherings of shaykhs he would play an instrument and sing songs. One day, at a gathering of scholars in Samarqand, he sang a ghazal composed by Shamsiddīn Tabrīzī while playing the satār. Immediately, the scholars lowered their heads bathed in deep thought, and about ten people soon fell unconscious. Hazrat Mawlānā ‘Alī was also at this gathering, and when he fell unconscious he departed from this world. [fol. 10v] The news of his passing spread quickly in every direction. When the Padishāh heard this news he sentenced this great master (Mawlānā Samarqandi) to go to prison. After spending five years in prison, he passed away in the year 865 (1486). During this master’s education, he perfected more than 300 songs of the musical art. Under the tutelage of this master, several hundred people became scholars in the science of shari’a and several thousand became Sufis. He was one of the shaykhs of the Chishtīya order of Sufism. He wrote a work entitled “Mi’rāj as-salikān” about the effects of music, which he dedicated to the people of his Sufi order.

The eleventh great master was Hazrat Mawlānā Sāhib Balkhī96. This master was a teacher and five or six hundred pupils reached perfection by his training. After he was...
finished teaching, [fol. 11r] he placed himself in the service of Zahīriddīn Bābūr. One day in a garden in the city of Kabul, a royal gathering was brought together, and all of the notable personages, emirs and ministers, scholars and saints gathered together. Many varieties of food were prepared, and, after the feast was over, Bābūr Shah gave the signal for music to be played. This master took the tanbūr in hand and began to play the chol-i ʿirāq maqām. After he had passed the song’s second peak, and was approaching the third peak, one nightingale came and began singing as it perched upon the tuning pegs of the tanbūr. A cry of surprise arose from the people of the gathering, and several people fell unconscious crying, and began to roll around on the ground. The nightingale flew circling around then came and began striking itself against the tanbūr. After hitting itself seven or eight times against the tanbūr, [fol. 11v] the nightingale fell to the ground dead. Very affected by this, Mawlânā threw the tanbūr and, crying, he fell unconscious. After a little while, rose water was thrown upon those who had fallen unconscious. They were given the liquor of happiness and the unconscious ones soon regained consciousness again, but Mawlânā Sāhib Balkhī could not regain consciousness. No matter what method the healers and physicians tried, nothing was of any benefit. With that, Mawlânā 98 departed from this world in the year 844 (1465). This story is discussed in detail only in the treatise written by Bābūr Shah entitled “Āsrār al-MMūsīqa (The Secrets of Music)”.

The 12th great master was Hazrat Shaykh Safāyī Samarqandī. You could say that there was not a maqām melody that this master didn’t know, nor a musical instrument that he could not play. He trained more than 200 pupils in the science of music. He wrote a treatise entitled, “The Origins of Music”, [fol. 12r] and he also created a variety of songs and ghazals. He died due to a paralyzing illness at the age of 56 in the year 869 (1490).
This science’s 13th master is Qadīrkhān Yarkandī. There are few masters who have shown the capabilities that he has demonstrated in the science of music. This master used to sing the ghazals of Amir Nizāmīdīn ‘Alishīr Nawā’ī. It is possible to say that, across the entire world, there was no person with a voice as beautiful as his. There were many students that came from Iraq, Iran, Tabriz, Khorazm, Samarqand, Andijan, Istanbul, Kashmir, Balkh, Shiraz, and other distant cities in order to study music with him. This master created the rabāb and the hashtār. He was also a poet and wrote the “Diwān Qadīrī”. [fol. 12v] In addition to that, he also shared his very profound thoughts on the science of music in the treatises that he wrote about the science of music. He used to wander in the manner and dress of a vagabond. The famous Sultan, Abdurashīd Khan could not be separated from Qadīrkhān. Qadīrkhān created the muqam known as Wisāl maqām, and he taught it to his students. He departed from the world two years after the death of Abdurashīd Khan.

This science’s 14th great master was Hazrat Pahliwān Muhammad Kushṭīgīr101. God Himself bestowed this master, through his own mastery and miracles, with this great ability. Pahliwān was also a great religious scholar, and the greatest mystic, and was also very strong and powerful. If 1000 years should pass, still a master like Pahliwān may not appear. He was also a poet and singer and was very wealthy. [fol. 13r] There was no one with as good words and as agreeable a temperament as he. The treatises that he wrote about the science of music were of a quality equal to the aforementioned masters. He had a productive career, and created many different songs, lyrics, and melodies.

The most famous of the maqām pieces that he created were one chahārzarb and also one chahārgāh maqām. He put a ghazal of Mawlānā Tūfī, peace upon him, to the melody of this chahārgāh maqām. The ghazal begins:

“Oh winebearer! Tomorrow’s fearful events are unknown.  
Let us keep ourselves happy today, for who knows what tomorrow will bring!”

It is appropriate that this ghazal became tied to the name of MĪr Buzrūk Termezī. Among the people of Khorasan, Iraq, Samarqand, and Khotan, there wasn’t anyone who didn’t know this song. There was another dugāh maqām to which he combined this poetry of Amīr nhusrau DehlavĪ [fol. 13v]:

“Oh! From the radiance of your cheek every single home has been illuminated, 
From each curl of your hair, one heart is imprisoned and destroyed!”

This poem is tied to the name of Bābūr Sultan and became a very influential and appropriate maqām. He also created the panjīgāh maqām and combined it with one poem of Mawlānā Kāṭīb. Whoever heard this piece became filled with joy! This maqām ‘ajam became very famous in the cities of Transoxiana. The opening lines of the poem of Mawlānā Kāṭīb begin like this:

101 The majority of the information provided by Mojizī about Pahliwān Muhammad was taken from Nawâ’t’s work Hālāt-i Pahliwān Muhammad, a brief work that was dedicated to Pahliwān Muhammad and recounts some of his achievements and activities.
“Your face sometimes takes the form of a killer,
Due to the testimony of one demand, one hundred martyrs die”

To this verse he added the following:

“If you worry through the night just like Kātib
When the dawn comes, pray for goodness
That Sultan Abū Saʿīd will come to this nation”

This reference to Sultan Abū Saʿīd Mirzā proved to be very fortuitous, and he soon gained great fame among the people of the world. [fol. 14r] Besides these, this great master also created countless ghazals, maqāms, and songs. Among them the most famous ones are mūshavīrāk, bayāt, and the previously mentioned chahārzarb, dugāh, segāh, chahārgāh, and panjigāh. They became famous from the east to the west. It is impossible to mention all his accomplishments in this short treatise. This master first worked in the service of Bābūr Shah, and then reached a high position in the court of Mirza Abū Saʿīd. With his passing the palace of Sultan Husayn Bahādur witnessed a great loss. This master’s greatness can be attested by the fact that he was a close friend of masters such as Amīr Nizāmiddin ‘Alīshīr for more than forty years. If there had been any fault or shortcoming in his temperament, [fol. 14v] then Nawāʾī would not have had such a friendship with him. On the contrary, Nawāʾī wrote: “I have been in dialogue with Pahlīwān Muhammad nushtīgīr for forty years. During this time, my heart was unable to commit any disturbing acts whatsoever. Perhaps our loving friendship continues to increase from day to day.” This is why Nawāʾī was so fond of his moral character. It is an honor to him that Nawāʾī spent his precious time writing about him. In the field of muamma, he was the only great master of his age, the peak of the era. He wrote numerous books about this science. Of all of the poets of the era there was not even one out of a hundred who had the kind of capability as he did. Whatever kind of verse the poets would write, after showing it to Pahlīwān, they would always accept his advice and criticisms. In order to understand his extreme sincerity in this science, it will suffice to look at the introductory lines of one of the poems he composed under his pseudonym Kushftīgīr:

“I said to him, “In your world of love, my acts are only misery.”

[fol. 15r] In one area of Herat there were four roads that came together. Here he built a very large and tall building with many courtyards that could accommodate 5000 people. This became a traveler’s lodge to which he gave the name “Niʿmati Abād”. Faqirs, dervishes, travelers, and other people of the road would come for one month or two, and end up staying for one or two years. Everyday three good meals were prepared and given to the visitors. And for the animals, flowers such as irises were prepared. Both

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102 This appears to be another chronological inconsistency, since the rule of Mirza Abū Saʿīd (ruled Herat 1424-1469) and Husayn Bāyqarā (ruled Herat 1469-1506) preceded the rise of Bābūr Shāh is Kabul (1504-1526).

103 Muamma is a form of poetic riddle which was popular among poets of the Timurid courts in Samarqand and Herat such as ʿAbdurahman Jāmi and ʿAlīsher Navāi who both wrote treatises on muamma.
the nobility and common people of Herat would come to eat at Ni’mati Abâd. In addition to Faqirs, rich people and musicians, and ministers would come eat there. Even Sultan Husayn Bahâdur Khân would partake in the three meals that were prepared there each day. Shaykhs and religious scholars came from every direction to seek knowledge from Pahlîwān, and would remain in his company for 5 to 10 years. There were no bounds to his generosity.

[fol. 15v] He became close to Hazrat Jâmî who had seen that he was blessed with special graces in the practice of Sufism. Allah, the most high, had forged one of His bondsmen with such talent and capabilities from one drop on blood. One hundred thousand praises unto the one and only Creator! From the Padishah to the beggars, there was not one person who this master hadn’t become friends with. Every person who had the opportunity to meet him would end up feeling as though they were one of Pahlîwān’s closest friends. Thousand upon thousands of people memmorized the Qur’ân from this master and became experts in the science of the sharia’ı. He was a teacher of the science of war for all the troops of Sultan Husayn Bahâdur Khân. He was a teacher of the poets as well. And in the musical science as well, he was a teacher of every kind of maqâm and [fol. 16r] taught thousands of students. In the science of Sufism, he was the master of every great shaykh and all of the respected holy men. In his time there was no one as spiritually rich as he. Husayn Bahâdur Khân could not hold a meeting without his presence, and could not get any work done without his advice. One day he unexpectedly fell to the ground, became unconscious, and departed from the world. From the Padishâh to the beggars, the entire population of Khorasan went into mourning, and it looked as though the end of time had arrived. While he was alive, he would prepare himself and sit in meditation every evening. He was buried in the area of Ni’mati Abâd in the year 899 (1494). We are from Allah, and to Allah we will return.

[fol. 16v] The 15th master of music was Hazrat Mawlānā Lutfî104. This great master was like Hazrat Abû Nasir Fârâbî in his scholarship and like Hazrat Ibn Sînâ in his medical knowledge. In the art of poetry, he was like Hazrat Nizâmîdîn ‘Alîshîr Nâwâ’î. There was not a branch of learning that he did not know. He was the very greatest scholar of his time. At his hands, more than 500 scholars received their education. About 200 people perfected their mastery in the science of music through his training. He wrote more than 20 books. Hazrat ‘Alîshîr Nâwâ’î named this great master as his teacher in the art of eloquent speech105, and Lutfî would have claimed Nâwâ’î as his teacher. He used to say, “Two verses of yours [fol. 17r] are worth more than my entire life’s work of 10,000 verses.” He passed away in the year 878 (1499).

104 Little is known about the life of Lutfî, but his poetry has reserved a place for him as one of history’s greatest Turkic-Chaghatai poets. He is considered the greatest master of Chaghatai ghazal poetry prior to Nâwâ’î.

105 Nâwâ’î referred to Lutfî as the “king of speech of his people” in his Hâlat-i Pahlîwân, and as the “king of speech of his time” in his Majâlis al-nafâ’ıs, and is known to have included five of Lutfî’s ghazals in his own poems. (Aktepe M., Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. 5, 1983, p. 836).
The 16th great master was Hazrat Yusuf Sakkakī. This master was as accomplished as Hazrat al-Fārābī and Hazrat Lutfī in all of the sciences. Thousands of students learned a wide variety of sciences from him. He was the era’s foremost master of the art of eloquence and symbolic interpretation. In the knowledge of the sharia’ he was the master of all of Moghulistan’s most clever thinkers. He wrote a book entitled “Talkhis” about the sciences of rhetoric and eloquence, especially pertaining to the Qur’ān, and he also wrote treatises about the science of music. This master composed the maqām bayātī and taught it to his students, and this maqām has become very well known to the musicians and singers up to the present day.

[fol. 17v] The 17th great master was Āmānnisā Khan. This master was the wife of Sultan Abdurashīd Khān. She was the greatest poet of her era and she wrote the very sweet book entitled, “Diwān Nafīsī”. She possessed a very great talent in the art of calligraphy and had attained an equal perfection in the science of music. The Sultan was madly in love and inescapably infatuated with her. The way in which the Sultan came to take Malika as his own wife happened as follows: the Sultan set out from his capital at Yarkand with his chief ministers and soldiers. They waded across the Tarim river and wandered into the Taklamakan desert in order to go hunting, and they continued several days in this direction. The Sultan spent his day wearing plain peasants clothes and spending the nights unaccompanied at the houses on the outskirts of the desert in the manner of a wandering dervish. The Sultan and one of his companions, Akram, arrived one day to a very dilapidated house with the intention of passing the night there. This house was the home of a firewood-seller named Mahmūd, and Malika was the daughter of Mahmūd. The Sultan noticed a tanbūr standing in the corner of the house, and he requested that Mahmūd play it for him. “I don’t know how to play the tanbūr”, he replied. “This daughter of ours begged me to buy her a tanbūr until finally I did. My daughter plays it”, he answered. “Sell then, let your daughter play”, said the Sultan.

With that Mahmūd ordered his daughter to play. The girl took the tanbūr and began playing panjīgāh maqām in such a way that the Sultan fell dumbfounded. Furthermore, the girl began to sing a poem that she herself had composed along with the maqām. The Sultan fell instantly in love with her, and became bewildered. The poem she sang began like this:

“Oh God, to you one hundred thanks! You’ve given us a just Padishah, You’ve made Abdurashīd Khān the refuge of the Fakirs and the poor!”

[fol. 18v] For this ghazal’s conclusion she added the following verse:

“Oh Nafīsī, when you pray to Great God day and night, If you don’t make a prayer for the Shāh, then you have committed a severe sin!”

106 In his Majālis al-nafā’īs, Nawā’ī tells us that Mawlānā Sakkakī was from Samarqand, and goes on to say that he claimed that all of Lutfī’s good verses were actually his own and that Lutfī had simply put his name on them.

107 Here Mojīzā refers to ‘ilm-i fusāhat and the ‘ilm-i balāghat that deal with eloquent expression and symbolic interpretation.
When the ghazal came to an end the Sultan exclaimed: “Who is this Nafisi poet? Where did you learn this ghazal?” She replied gently: “I don’t recite the poetry of Nawawi or Fazuli or Zalili or others. This ghazal was my own, Nafisi is my pen name.” The Sultan then inquired about her age. “She has reached the age of 13”, her father replied. The Sultan became even more amazed. Aware of his disbelief, Amannisā Khānum got up and went to fetch several poems she had written in order to show the Sultan. The beauty of her calligraphy competed with her own beauty. The Sultan was unable to believe how such a young girl was capable of such writing. “Now then, please try and write a poem”, the Sultan requested. The girl took the stylus and scroll and wrote the following verse:

“God, you always look upon me with a suspicious eye in regards to this art. 
As though a thorn has sprouted in this house this evening.”

[fol. 19r] “I believe you, don’t ridicule me”, the Sultan said laughing as he unwillingly stepped outside. “We will return shortly”, he said as he left. He then returned to the military headquarters and explained the situation to the ministers and officials that were there. He put the crown on his head, and placed a robe upon his back. Immediately, ten sheep and fine silks were prepared. Forty people arrived at Mahmūd’s house carrying a half-ton of goods in order to discuss the Sultan’s intentions. The Padishāh himself made his true identity know, the marriage was performed, and he was wed to the girl.

Malika Āmānnisā was married to the Padishah for twenty years. God the most high had blessed her with such wisdom. She wrote the “Diwān Nafisi”, and she wrote a book of advice for women entitled “Akhlāq Jamila”. She wrote a treatise entitled “Sorūh al-Qulūb”, and there were very few books as meaningful as hers about the arts of poetry, song, and calligraphy. Malika Āmānnisā also created the maqām named ‘Ishrat Angīz. 

[fol. 19v] Because of his strong jealous feelings, the Sultan attributed this maqām to himself, and the subsequent musicians came to attribute it to him. After Āmānnisā departed from this world, suicidal tendencies overcame the Sultan, and it is said that he died crying.

After these great masters, it is unknown whether another great composer of maqāms and ghazals lived. It should also be stated that the creator of the nai was Malika Dilsūz, the famous wife of Jamshid Padishah, and it is said that the nagara was created in the time of Alexander. This book was completed only through the help of Allah. And furthermore, it should be told that the master of the science of music in every era and every city may number in the hundreds or even thousands. If we attempted to discuss each of their lives, they surely could not be contained in such a small treatise as this. From these thousand we have only briefly introduced ones that are the composers of ghazals and maqāms, or the creators of various musical instruments, or those that wrote treatises that became well known.

[fol. 20r] One hundred thousand praises and thanks to God 
And boundless gratitude and devotion to Him 

He has given ‘Ali Shīr Hākim Beg the task 
To be Padishāh of the people of Khotan
He placed me in the circle of the Shāh
And made my intellect and soul worthy

In his time, justice has prevailed
And the villages have thrived

I have received the command, to write the history
Invitation in hand, and taking the pen

I have taken to completing this task,
Gathering together sweet words

A book all about the musicians,
With respect to their history

I have gathered together this history,
May the people of Khotan read it and enjoy

Though my intellect and my stature small
I have done this as a monument to Khotan

ʿAlīshīr Hākim has done a great deed in this,
May God give him great blessings!

If you read and enjoy, I have just one request,
Say a prayer on behalf of ʿAlīshīr Hākim

And please remember me as well,
As you find your ways to paradise

I have stated the date of this history in its proper place,
And I am saddened for those who are unable to come to know it

I leave you now with these parting words,
Stay with your work from the start, and you will find the greatest path.

1271 (1854)
3. Facsimile of the manuscript *Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn*

Fol. 1r (page 1)
شکر به‌سوی‌دیا بخیر، دوستان سویه قلب‌سیاب باشیم،
ایستاده در همواره جز نباید که گرگ‌سی جویم، ریواک کرده
صد که اسرار هدایت‌های نیست فراموش پزشکیم.

شکر به‌سوی‌دیا بخیر، دوستان سویه قلب‌سیاب باشیم،
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تاریخ موسیقیان

فول 2v (صفحه 4)
Révue des traditions musicales
با نام لیثوا برادرخ، باراپک، روکنده ی بانگیزه نشانگر انتخاب کرده‌ام. سیمین تحسین خودبند از خوده‌ام برای اینکه می‌دانستیم آن‌ها که نتیجه‌ی توانا، توکار ترین و گذرانی‌های طهن‌وریت باعث لازم‌گرایی یافته‌اند. به‌عبارت‌هایی که در پیش فرض کشف گفته‌اند و نرسیده‌اند و در نگاه‌ها رود اول‌زمان‌نا آیین‌نا نیست با همکاری می‌دانستیم. مصیبت ماجرا، طهن‌وریت کرده‌اند و در کوشش اسمی سازی‌های آماده‌اند. چنان‌که از اوکرات که پارسی‌زبان و در عربگویی به سبکی به‌کارگرفته‌اند. در تاریخ‌نامه‌های مربوط به سال‌های میلادی نخستین‌ها وارد آمده‌اند. اوکرات که پارسی‌زبان و در عربگویی به سبکی به‌کارگرفته‌اند. در تاریخ‌نامه‌های مربوط به سال‌های میلادی نخستین‌ها وارد آمده‌اند.
Fol. 4r (page 7)
شکیفون یو مارینک هماو دنکین توربا نوردوک کە کە کە رئیت قیلما عیسیب چانکا کوریا نکا کەتی بند دوست سیلاب کرپنا تورباد لیس کەب یورکرو دیلیک تورباد قلیلب یورکرو دیلیک یافته قورنا لیتون یور مدت نا کەتی لیس یافته سورنا تیمون دیم ینا دیلیک عاکب ورکا نندردرک فوری کە این ورکا نکه کەه قوریت قیل کوریا تیمان عالم سرلیک کەه قیل یوانه سی سی لیکەدین پەورانە نورا بانس پەریمی یو شەویات لەپیور پەرکەی بەڵەسە سەررەتەد کەوە وەر درگا مەفەوی بوردکەر یەکە موستی دەستە سەررەتەدی پاکە یەکە لەوە وەر درگا بەڵەسە سەررەتەdeskka موستی دەستە سەررەتەdeskka موستی دەستە سەررەتەdeskka موستی دەستە سەررەتەdeskka موستی دەستە سەررەتەdeskka موستی دەستە سەررەتەdeskka موستی دەستە S
فلع فی شتاینفورث دین موسیقی اورگان نیز به مکتباً کسی بیوندی دارد بنام موسیقی نگاره و درنگی شنی زمینه دن را یافته
فی شتاینفورث حکم دور به صنعت موسیقی مادر
معروف نسیم سمبیکا بن ولید بن علی بن خالیفه
مورد دو جامع فقده قسم خطی اورگان ندی افریقا
ناتیدن مکتباً باشی نک اقامت یافت مبتین
به ختیندا بن بزاسگری اورگان ندی اورگان
قدم طالب ولید بن کاکور مشکیم مقاومت
اغلب چنین درب لازم ایسکم خطریه دوز
فجع
لوق نوز و خرما نفلام بازرگان ندی
لبی کوزیه دردی و دفاتر جفت یک کمک نابود
و نسا شده، بی‌خیال دم فرو توپاندا او
یکی از شیوه‌های از قطع می‌پذیرد و قبایل یافت
نستوا و تقلیشه نباید کشایا بردار

REVUE DES TRADITIONS MUSICALES

Fol. 6r (page 11)
مشابه عشاق تکیه گذاری می‌کردند که علی‌الله جنگلی نیز حمایت می‌کردند. در اینجا از هنرمندان قرن‌های مختلفی از آن‌ها اشاره کرده‌ایم....

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Fol. 6v (page 12)
Fol. 7r (page 13)
توحید از دو تارا به‌هم گشایش گرفت که خودش تا نهایت را به علت است. بنده به‌سازار مسیح باشکوهی که دوست است، هنرگی بی‌باشکوهی قرار داد. من از سیما، محبوبه و میلاد محبوبه می‌پردازم. بخشی از خبرات می‌باید در این را بیان کنم. در فرید العصر و جهاد الدعاء بدل را از آفریدی نزد وی به‌ناهی است. برای توکل، به‌نظر می‌رسد که دلیل نزدیک باشد. لازم‌ترین سیری در آن‌ها و در این‌جا داره‌ای و در کتاب‌های اخیر از این‌جا می‌خواهد که دردی در برابر برخی از این‌ها باشد.
جهاز ديلوروزن با ندوزنن در سه جزء به همراه است. در استادیوم موسیقی‌سولو در دیویزیون دوم حضور می‌کند و در هر سه جزء به همراه است. در استادیوم موسیقی‌سولو در دیویزیون دوم حضور می‌کند و در هر سه جزء به همراه است.

موزنیزدی در جزء فصل‌دستان در دیدگاه دیویزیون دوم حضور می‌کند و در هر سه جزء به همراه است. در استادیوم موسیقی‌سولو در دیویزیون دوم حضور می‌کند و در هر سه جزء به همراه است.

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بس بحوزن شب صمعلانية حفت فاراب، و دیک
اوکتائکمل ایزائیدر، تعلم‌الملوک‌البراق نیز را
مجدوب الیق اردبهشت. لیکن راپیار، سی
طبلسور نیست، که به هر حال، لیکن راپیار
نیز ارزیدر، قول لدیده تربقلیب ابودیلار.
چنگ دیگر نیست مانند اندک اکنون که موزولی در
اختراق تربقلیب ابودیلار که تیسر بگردوغن
کفل تربقلیب ابودیلارد نرسالد در احاولت
کتاب که خصوصیاً تصنیف متقابل
صفت علیل ایزائیدر، لرکا بهورن نیک
صفت با میسیک تعلیم ملهایت، تربقلیب حاز
کفل تربقلیب ابودیلار. چنین جنگ مکتبر،
سکایر، فرایلس، تکمیل‌های سپرده ون
بلندتر، سکری بکری حفت ایزائی
پیشوا کا نام دا دنیا کے کلکم اتش اور اس عرصے کے کردار و افتخارات پر تناجع کا ترتیب زریہ اللہ علیہ السلام میں مذکور ہے۔
REVUE DES TRADITIONS MUSICALES

Fol. 10r (page 19)
تاریخ سپر و اثراتی داشته بود که در آن زمان قابلیت داشت. خواهرش برکتیکانی که برای او بود.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة. يمكنني مساعدة只要有英文或阿拉伯文的文本就可以。
كمن تعلّمت شوشاب اورمعيمبي كن فيشلي كنشتة
مولونا بطليرت نا شبرب بغراث مهكلية حول
س ان عمت مفي كنيان بون hộس لورغ خبرات لوريزفا
شرا بندر دار أندرو لرادي سهكسي لدرعٌتغ
كلا دي اما مولان اصاحب بلي سيحك كن دربن
حك لارد قاثي بحارة تربير قليش بشا ما بولا
تاريأت عك سكز بورزفقم تورنا اريام مولاناعال
دين كم يبرت تيفنيفقلما لكون آرقتاق
أطاليخ ريب الداد تو قلعلود مفصل بأدو
إهان الانتسي بييري شيطان في ستونا كختر
دور كم يغزز مي اندورغاني سقان آي كنكل ل
يغزز شهابي اندورغاني اجاب نمجات يوق لس
لخنيا آيودي بكفيزي دين ارتوت تكر لارك
بوفنه مايورسدهك اندري ستات موكسغتي
Fol. 12r (page 23)
تالیفی‌ها هنرمندان موسیقی نسبت به تاریخ‌نگاری م своی نشان می‌دهد که کتاب‌هایی مانند این کتاب در دسترس باشند. در این صفحه، سعدی‌خان، یکی از شاگردان سعید، بیجیک در خدمت آن مردمی در این زمینه بود. سعید، یکی از این شاگردان بود که با هنرمندانی یونسکو در حوزه‌های مختلف موسیقی همکاری کرده بود.

این صفحه نشان می‌دهد چگونه در دوره‌های مختلف، هنرمندان و نظام‌نگاران شاگردی را می‌پذیرفتند و چگونه در جامعه موسیقی به این شکل ماندند. در این صفحه همچنین نشان می‌دهد که چگونه در این دوره، هنرمندان موسیقی را به صورت متنوع و متنوع با هم بسازد.
Fol. 13r (page 25)
TAWĀRĪKH-I MŪSIQĪYŪN: THE ‘HISTORIES OF MUSICIANS’

Fol. 14v (page 28)
Fol. 15r (page 29)
تاریخ موسیقیان

فصل ۱۵و (صفحه ۳۰)
فول. 16r (page 31)
Fol. 17r (page 33)
Fol. 19r (page 37)

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