



Research Article

Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn : The ‘Histories of Musicians’ from Herat and Khotan According to a 19th-Century Chaghatai Treatise from Eastern Turkestan

Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn : les ‘Histoires de musiciens’ de Hérat et Khotan selon un traité djaghataï du XIXe siècle du Turkestan Est

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the musicians and musical life of 15th-16th century Central Asia, and includes a full translation, facsimile, and analysis of a 19th century musical treatise entitled Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn, or the ‘Histories of Musicians’. The treatise was written in Chaghatai by Mullā Ismatullah Mojizī in the Central Asian city of Khotan in 1854, and is a biographical genealogy of Central Asian musicians that lived and worked in Herat, Khotan, and Yarkand during the 15th and 16th centuries. The analysis of this treatise draws on many historical sources in order to present a detailed background and overview of the creative musical atmosphere that surrounded the courts of the last Timurid ruler of Herat, Husayn Bāyqarā, and the 16th century ruler of the Yarkand Khanate, Abdurashid Khan.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude examine les musiciens et la vie musicale des XV^e et XVI^e siècles en Asie Centrale, et comprend une traduction complète, un fac-similé, et l’analyse d’un traité musical du XIX^e siècle intitulé Tawarikh-i Mūsīqīyūn, ou les « Histoires de musiciens ». Le traité a été écrit en djaghataï par Mullā Ismatullah Mojizī dans la ville d’Asie centrale de Khotan en 1854, et constitue une généalogie biographique des musiciens d’Asie centrale qui ont vécu et travaillé à Hérat, Khotan et Yarkand au cours des XV^e et XVI^e siècles. L’analyse de ce traité se fonde sur de nombreuses sources historiques afin de présenter un contexte et un aperçu détaillés de l’ambiance musicale créative qui entourait les cours du dernier souverain timouride de Hérat, Husayn Bayqara, ainsi que celles du souverain du XVI^e siècle du Khanat de Yarkand, Abdurashid Khan.

KEYWORDS

Xinjiang, Afghanistan, Mojizi, Tawarikh-i Musiqiyun, Khotan, Herat, Timurid music.

MOTS-CLÉS

Xinjiang, Afghanistan, Mojizi, Tawarikh-i Musiqiyun, Khotan, Hérat, Musique timouride.

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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 Chaghatai¹, but only a few sources that are solely dedicated to music². 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 treatise³. Mojizī wrote his *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn* at the request of the local ruling *hākīm* 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 Sa'īd 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 Nawā'ī. Many passages of the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn* can be directly traced to passages found in Nawā'ī's works *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn* and *Majālis al-naḥā'is*. Mojizī acknowledges his reliance on Nawā'ī's works and discloses some of his other sources, including the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*⁷, 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 *muqām* tradition: Qadīrkhān Yarkandī and Āmānnisā Khān. These two musicians were active in the court of Abdurashīd Khān who ruled the Yarkand Khanate from 1533 until his death in 1560. They are still held in high regard as progenitors of the Uyghur on *ikkī muqām* 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 Nawā'ī. The *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn* is written in the *nastālīq* 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 *tārīkh* ('date' or 'histo-

¹There 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).

²The *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.

³The author gives his full name as Mullā Ismatullah Binnī Ni'matullah Mojizī, or Mullā Ismatullah son of Ni'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.

⁴Muhammad 'Alīshīr Binnī 'Abdū Mūmīn Beg (d. 1882), who Mojizī refers to simply as 'Alīshīr Hākīm 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].

⁷The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is a history of the Yarkand Khanate under the rule of Abdurashīd Khān, recounted as a personal memoir of its author Mirzā Muhammad Haydār Dughlat Beg (1499-1551) who completed this work around 1546 in Kashmir. Mirzā Muhammad Haydār was a prince in the hereditary line of Chaghatai Khans of Kashgaria and had campaigned and conquered Kashmir on behalf of Sultan Sa'īd Khān, who was the father of Abdurashīd Khān.

ry⁸). 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 the year 1854 of the Gregorian calendar⁹. 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 treatise¹⁰.

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)¹¹, 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 com-

posed 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 Noah¹², 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 world¹³, and serves to situate Mojizī's musical history within the greater historical framework of the Turkic Islamic cultural sphere¹⁴. 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 period¹⁵, 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 8th century¹⁶. Mojizī's inclusion of Pythagoras in his musical genea-

⁸This was first noted by Hamit Tomur and Anvar Baytur in their 1982 publication of *Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn*, although they did not provide the calculations.

⁹This is taken from the first hemistich of the second to last line of poetry at the end of the treatise that reads: "putūk tarīkhīn tarīkhīn dep idim" which means quite literally "I have said the date of the date". In this phrase the second *tarīkhīn* has a value of 1271 when converted to its numerical value using the Persian *abjad-i qamrī* system whereby ت + آ + ر + ي + خ + ي + ن = 400 + 1 + 200 + 10 + 600 + 10 + 50 = 1271.

¹⁰This 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 Muhammad Imin Ibnī Bāqī said that he received this treatise as a gift from Duwal Azimsha Beg. Year 1338". This note appears alongside the official stamp of notary Muftī Muhammad Imin 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).

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

¹²Noah (Arabic : Nūh) 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.

¹³A 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 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.

¹⁴Japheth (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.

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

¹⁶The *Bayt al-Hikma* was founded by the 'Abbāsīd caliph Harūn al-Rashīd (786-809) and formally institutionalized by his son al-Ma'mūn

logy 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 world¹⁷. 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 15th and 16th 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 15th and 16th centuries

The second half of the 15th 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 period, which has been referred to as the 'Timurid renaissance' by scholars and historians¹⁸, is considered to have been a golden age for artis-

(813-833). Here, scholars from all corners of the rapidly expanding Islamic world collaborated on translations of Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Persian texts.

¹⁷Mojizī 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 13th 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.

¹⁸Grousset (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.

tic 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 15th 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 musicians¹⁹. 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 Nawā'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 arts²⁰. Husayn Bāyqarā himself claimed that during his reign there were nearly one hun-

¹⁹A 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 15th century during the time of Husayn Bāyqarā (p. 480).

²⁰For a detailed study of this, see Subtelny, 1991.

dred educational institutions in Herat that were all supported by pious endowments²¹. 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 14th century and came to reach their fullest development in the late 15th 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 Bāyqarā²².

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 Marwārid²³. 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 *Khamṣat al-mutakhayyirīn*, which he composed to honor the life and works of his friend and colleague 'Abdurahmān 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 'Alī-shāh 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*. Mīr Murtāz and Khoja Shihābiddīn 'Abdullah Marwārid 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 his²⁴."

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 Mojizī made several errors in his interpretation of the above passage from Nawā'ī's *Khamṣat al-mutakhayyirīn*. Mojizī tells us that :

"The fourth great master of the science of music was Hazrat Mawlānā 'Alī. He was from the area known as Shābūk²⁵ in Khorāsān. He was without equal in this science during his time. He wrote a book entitled *Asl al-wasl*²⁶ about the science of music, and he wrote another book called *Murtāz*²⁷. As he was traveling to undertake the Hajj pilgrimage, he passed

²⁴ *Khamṣat al-Mutakhayyirīn* by 'Alīshīr Nawā'ī, ed. by Mohammad Nakhjavānī (2002, p. 36), translation by Will Sumits.

²⁵ This reference to Mawlānā '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 Mojizī as having referred to Mawlānā 'Alī from Shābūk. This is most certainly an erroneous interpretation of the above cited passage of the *Khamṣat al-mutakhayyirīn* by 'Alīshīr Nawā'ī. Other sources refer to 'Alīshāh 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 'Alīshāh ibn Hājī Būka 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 'Alīshāh Būka mentions an earlier treatise composed by the author entitled *Usūl al-wasūl* (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 *Khamṣat al-mutakhayyirīn*. Here the *Tawārīkh al-mūsīqīyūn* tells us that Mawlānā 'Alī wrote two works, one entitled *Asl al-wasl*, and another entitled *Murtāz*. Based upon the excerpt from Nawā'ī's *Khamṣat al-mutakhayyirīn* that is translated above it is apparent that *Murtāz* is not the name of a treatise but rather the name of another musician and

²¹ Subtelny, 1991, p. 56, cites a study by Tourkhan Gandjei "Uno scritto apologetico di Husain Mirzā, Sultano del Khorāsān", *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, n.s., 5 (1954) : 169, II. 13-21.

²² This conclusion is based upon the studies and publications of Subtelny (1988 and 1991).

²³ Khoja Shihābiddīn 'Abdullah Marwārid (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 Marwārid, while other sources refer to him as Shihābiddīn 'Abdullah Marwārid. The *Bābūr-nāma* and the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* simply refer to 'Abdullah Marwārid, but elsewhere in the writings of Nawā'ī and Vāsifī we find a nominal distinction.

through the deserts of Iraq and there he composed the *chol-i'irāq maqām*, which has become very famous among musicians²⁸. He also created the *duṭār*. 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 Shihābiddin²⁹ 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 Marwārdī, 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 themusical 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 1502³⁰.

As can be seen by comparing this excerpt of the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn* with the above cited passage of

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 *madrassa*. Khvāndamīr also mentions Amīr Murtāz in his *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb Al-Siyār* (Subtelny, 1991, p. 49).

²⁸Mojizī must have relied upon a different source in stating that Mawlānā 'Alī 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 Mojizī wrote his *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn*. It is not unlikely that it was known in Khotan at the time of Mojizī's writing (1854).

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

³⁰Khoja Shihābiddin 'Abdullah Marwārdī is believed to have died in 1516 (Subtelny, 1988, p. 494). Other scholars place his death later, in 1534, 1535, or even later.

Nawā'ī's *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn*, much of the information was directly copied and embellished in a somewhat erroneous and grandiose manner. The *Tawārīkh*'s reference to "Mawlānā 'Alī from Shābūk" is indeed a misreading of the name of the great musician Mawlānā 'Alīshāh 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 'Abdullah Marwārdī are surely referring to one person, the scholar and vizier Khoja Shihābiddin 'Abdullah Marwārdī that was mentioned in the *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn*. While these errors can be easily discerned when compared with information provided in the *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn*, the author of the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn* certainly had several other sources at his disposal³¹ that may have provided additional biographical information about some of the musicians, but it remains likely that he relied largely on the works of Nawā'ī 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-mutakhayyirīn*, Nawā'ī requested that a treatise on music be written by Mawlānā 'Alīshāh Būka and that several other musicians such as Mīr Murtāz³², 'Abdullah Marwārdī, and Binā'ī, and 'Abdurahmān Jāmī, also composed musical treatises. Of these musicians, the treatises that have been preserved to the present day are one treatise of 'Alīshāh Būka³³, the

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

³²Also referred to in some sources as Amīr Murtāz.

³³While Nawā'ī tells us that 'Alīshāh Būka composed a treatise en-

Risāla dar mūsīqī of Binā'ī (d. 1513), and the *Risāla-i mūsīqī* of 'Abdurahmān 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 'Alīshāh Būka, Binā'ī, and 'Abdurahmān Jāmī all provide precise instructions for the division of the intervals and for the structure of the *maqām*, *shu'ba*, and *avāz* modes, and follow very closely those modes described in the writings of Abdulkādir Marāghī (d. 1435)³⁴, and his predecessors Qutb Ad-Dīn Shirāzī (d. 1310) and Safiuddīn Urmawī (d. 1294).

A single copy of a treatise by 'Alīshāh Būka has been preserved³⁵, 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*³⁶. 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-wasūl* :

"It should be said that I, your humble servant, am 'Alīshāh bin Hājī Būka 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-wasūl*³⁷."

'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

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

³⁴Wright (1996, p. 669) observes that 'Alīshāh Būka Awbahī closely follows Marāghī, while Ishāq Rajabov's study (1963) of the modes found in Jāmī and Al-Husaynī's treatises also indicates that these authors closely followed the modal system expounded by Marāghī. Ishāq Rajabov's study of the modes given by Jāmī and Husaynī show that their modal system is almost identical to the modes given by Marāghī according to Murat Bardakçı's study (1986, p. 64-77).

³⁵In the treatise, the authors name appears as 'Alīshāh ibn Hājī Būkah Awbahī, and his *Muqaddima al-usūl* is preserved in the Istanbul University library as MS F1079.

³⁶See Owen Wright, 1996, for a discussion of the *Muqaddima al-usūl* and several other Timurid musical treatises.

³⁷'Alīshāh Ibn Hājī Būkah Awbahī, *Muqaddima al-usūl*, Istanbul University MS F1079 (translation by Will Sumits).

were presented in his earlier treatise, the *Usūl al-wasūl*. In his *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn* 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 letters³⁸. Furthermore, it is apparent from Nawā'ī's comments that he was not completely satisfied with the treatise *Usūl al-wasūl* 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 treatise³⁹. 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 mūsīqī*, 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.

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-mutakhayyirīn*, it would seem logical that the *Muqaddima al-usūl* might have been written subsequently to the *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn* 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 in-

³⁸In this case, the words *asl* أصل and *wasl* وصل, and *usūl* أصول may have been misunderstood by the copyists of some copies of Nawā'ī's *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn*, or the copyist may have understood الوصل to have been a corrupted form of الأصول 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-wasūl* (MS F1097, f. 1).

³⁹*Muqaddima-i usūl* (University of Istanbul, Ms. F1097, f. 2b).

dicative of slight changes in the modal corpus⁴⁰ that may have occurred since the time of Marāghī⁴¹ (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 *Tawārikh-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 ‘mān Samarqandī :

“One day, at a gathering of scholars in Samarqand, Mawlānā ‘mān Samarqandī sang a *ghazal* composed by Shamsiddīn Tabrizī 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 world⁴². 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 Nawā’ī, and

⁴⁰Wright 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.

⁴¹There 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*.

⁴²We 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”.

‘Abdurahmān Jāmī, and ‘Abdullah Marwārid. While Nawā’ī and Jāmī were very familiar with the theory and practice of music of the time, ‘Abdullah Marwārid is the only one of the three that is known to have been an instrumentalist⁴³. Based on what we learn from Nawā’ī, Vāsifī, the *Bābūrnāma*, and the *Tārikh-i Rashīdī*, we see that ‘Abdullah Marwārid 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 Marwārid was without equal in regards to playing the *qānūn*, we learn from the *Tārikh-i Rashīdī* that his musical skill may have exceeded his talent in other of the fine arts :

“Khoja ‘Abdullah Marwārid 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* style⁴⁴ 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 group⁴⁵.”

This passage attests to ‘Abdullah Marwārid’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

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

⁴⁴This *girift* style of playing is also mentioned as an innovation of ‘Abdullah Marwārid 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/I Beruni, f. 31a).

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

qānūn seems to have enjoyed a period of increased popularity in the 16th and 17th centuries⁴⁶. Vāsifi mentions ‘Abdullah Marwārid 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 Nawā’ī, ‘Abdullah Sadr Marwārid, Hafiz Basīr, Pahlīwān Muhammad, Mawlānā Binā’ī and others (Vāsifi, 1970, p. 494; Asadi, 2002, p. 32). ‘Abdullah Marwārid was not only a musician, but was also the secretary and vizier for Husayn Bāyqarā for many years⁴⁷ and authored several works⁴⁸ including a compendium of his own poetry which he composed under the pen name Bayānī. He was a *shāgird* of ‘Abdurahmān Jāmī⁴⁹ in 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 survived⁵⁰.

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 Nawā’ī. In this way, he himself acted as one of the patrons of artists and musicians in Herat up until his death in 1492. Nawā’ī was very close to him, and dedicated his work *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn* to Jāmī after his passing, in which Nawā’ī tells us that Jāmī wrote a treatise

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

⁴⁷Shihābiddīn ‘Abdullah Marwārid’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 Marwārid grew up within Bāyqarā’s circle of ministers and eventually rose to the position himself. See Subtelny, 1988, p. 494. ‘Abdullah Marwārid was also the *parvānachī* of Husayn Bāyqarā and held the responsibility for receiving the emir’s guests. Afsahzād (EAST v. I, p. 15).

⁴⁸Shihābiddīn ‘Abdullah Marwārid 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).

⁴⁹Afsahzād (EAST v I, p. 15)

⁵⁰In Nawā’ī’s *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn*, there is mention of the treatise on music written by Shihābiddīn ‘Abdullah Marwārid.

on music. The musical treatise of Jāmī 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.

Nawā’ī 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-nafā’is* 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 Vāsifi in his *Badāyi’ al-waqāyi’* how one such piece was co-created :

“Amīr ‘Alīshīr Nawā’ī had a ghazal in the *mus-tazād* meter, for which Khoja ‘Abdullah Sadr Marwārid 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 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.” (Vāsifi, 1970, p. 438-439. Also Subtelny, 1984, p. 146; and Asadi 2002, p. 38)”

This passage illustrates how Nawā’ī, through his poetry, was also active in the creation of new musical works. Vāsifi’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 Khorezm⁵¹. Interestingly, the poetry of the *Tarāna-i chāk-i girebān* is a poem of Nawā'ī⁵². 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 tarikhi*⁵³.

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 *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyūn* :

"The eighth great master of music was Hazrat Nizā-middīn '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", "Chārdīvān", 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 conscious-

ness. He composed the *navā maqām* and introduced it to the world⁵⁴. 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, Nawā'ī 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, Binā'ī, 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 Nawā'ī, and may have been written at his request⁵⁵, although it may have been written at some point after Nawā'ī wrote his *Khamsat al-mutakhayyir*⁵⁶ (c. 1492), since it is not mentioned by Nawā'ī. Although he is not included in Mojizī's *Tawārīkh-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 Anato-

⁵¹ The *Khorazm musiqi tarikhcha* tells us that the *dutār maqām* are the oldest in Khorezm, 1925, 1998, p. 26.

⁵² 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.

⁵³ 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.

⁵⁴ Mention of the *maqām navā* are plentiful in treatises going back to the 13th century and predate Nawā'ī by two centuries, so Mojizī's attribution of *maqām navā* to Nawā'ī is certainly false, although he may have composed in *maqām navā*.

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ This is based on the assumption that Nawā'ī would have mentioned it in his *Khamsat al-mutakhayyir* if it had already been written by then. It may have been composed prior to the *Khamsat al-mutakhayyir*, although it seems that Nawā'ī would have made mention of it, especially since Husaynī was close to Nawā'ī 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.

lia, although his birthplace is disputable⁵⁷. The Ottoman *tazkira* of Kinalizāde⁵⁸ says that he served in the courts of Amasya and Manisa after having been in Tabriz and Herat where he served in the courts of Sultān Ya'qūb and Husayn Bāyqarā⁵⁹. Further biographical information about Zayn Al-'Ābidīn Husaynī is given by Darvīsh 'Alī Changī (late 16th/early 17th c.) who refers to him as Zayn Al-'Ābidīn Rūmī, suggesting that he was originally from Anatolia. Darvīsh 'Alī 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 Ya'qūb in Tabriz and in the court of Bāyqarā in Herat since in some Ottoman sources, he is mentioned as the "Persian 'ud player Zayn Al-'Ābidīn⁶⁰". 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 'Alī Changī, Zayn Al-'Ābidīn 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 day⁶¹. However, in the Ottoman sources that mention Zayn Al-'Ābidīn and his contemporaries, he is the only musician of his day in the Ottoman courts who is not accredited with specific compositions⁶². Abdurauḥ Fitrat, writing

⁵⁷The *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.

⁵⁸Hasan Çelebi Kinalizāde (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.

⁵⁹See "Osmanlılar Zamanında Saraylarda Musiki Hayatı", by Uzunçarsılı, *Bulleten XLI*, 1977, p. 83; and Pourjavadi, Phd, 2005, p. 36-37.

⁶⁰Feldman, 1996, p. 45.

⁶¹*Risāla-i Mūsīqī* of Darvīsh 'Alī Changī, MS 7005-111, Berūnī archive, Tashkent; and Darvīsh 'Alī, MS 264, Dushanbe, mentions only three *peshrav*. These are also noted by Pourjavadi, 2005, p. 37; and A. Rajabov, *DSh*, 2009, p. 72.

⁶²See Feldman, 1996, p. 45, and Uzunçarsılı, *Bulleten XLI*, p. 79-114.

in the mid-1920's, tells us that Zayn Al-'Ābidīn was originally from Anatolia and following his stay in Herat, he returned to Anatolia and was welcomed by Sultān Qo'rqud⁶³:

"One of Ustād Shādī's students was the Ottoman musician Zayn Al-'Ābidīn. He came to Herat from his Anatolian homeland, and he learned music from Ustād Shādī. He earned the respect of Bāyqarā and Nawā'ī, and eventually returned to his homeland. He played the 'ud and the chang very well. One of the Ottoman rulers, Sultān Qo'rqud, heard his playing and replied, "You were in the court of Sultān Ya'qūb and Sultān Bāyqarā!" and bestowed great gifts upon him⁶⁴."

Fitrat seems to have relied partially on the well known Ottoman *Tezkira-i Şuarā* of Hasan Çelebi Kinalizāde (d. 1604) for this story⁶⁵, although the *Tezkira-i Şuarā* offers a much more complete version of the story, and suggests that Zayn Al-'Ābidīn Husaynī was initially wholly unfamiliar with the Ottoman musical traditions of the time. The *Tezkira-i Şuarā* tells of "Zayn Al-'Ābidīn, whose 'ud and *kemanche* playing was well-known throughout the Iranian world⁶⁶", and that he arrived and was welcomed at the court of Shāhzāde 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-'Ābidīn to his court. Sultan Qo'rqud was himself a musician and composer, and requested Zayn Al-'Ābidīn to compose a suite of music for

⁶³Qo'rqud (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. Korkut 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.

⁶⁴*Uzbek Xalq Musiqasi va Uning Tarixi* by Abdurauḥ Fitrat, [1926] 1993, p. 44.

⁶⁵Fitrat 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 Kinalizāde's *Tezkira-i Şuarā*, or perhaps it was Rauf Yekta who told Fitrat about this passage from *Tezkira-i Şuarā*.

⁶⁶*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.

him. The story relates that Zayn Al-'Ābidīn 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 *gadā-i rūh* and the *rūhafzā* to the amazement of Zayn Al-'Ābidīn. Ashamed, Zayn Al-'Ābidīn composed another suite of music that finally won the favor of Sultan Qo'rqud. The *Tezkira-i Şuarā* goes on to say :

“When Zayn Al-'Ābidīn 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 Sultān Ya'qūb and Sultān Bāyqarā, 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 Şuarā*, Zayn Al-'Ābidīn'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'āt-i Mutribān* (c. 1525) affirms that Zayn Al-'Ābidīn's son Ni'matullah was a *chang* player in the Ottoman court of Sultān Ahmed, and his grandson Halīl was a *kemanche* player in the court of Sultān Sulayman. Despite the conflicting information regarding Zayn Al-'Ābidīn'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 16th 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 Marāghī (d. 1435, Herat) to the musicians in the court of Husayn Bāyqarā. There is some evidence that suggests that one of the prominent musicians in Bāyqarā's court, Khoja Yūsuf Burhān, was a student of 'Abdulqādir Marāghī. This idea is based on a re-

ference found in an anonymously authored Persian musical treatise entitled *Khadā'iq al-naghamāt*⁶⁷ and a brief passage found in Najmiddīn Kavkabī's (d. 1535) *Risāla-i mūsīqī*. While Khoja Yūsuf Burhān is not 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-nafā'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, *Khadā'iq al-naghamāt*, refers to a direct line of transmission from 'Abdulqādir Marāghī 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 Marāghī and Khoja Yūsuf Burhān, it remains unlikely.

⁶⁷This connection between these two figures has been noted by A. Djumaev who has studied the *Khadā'iq al-naghamāt* (MS Vve 114, Bursa) and cites the following passage : “It is not a secret that the noble Bukharan Mavlānā Kavkabī was a disciple of Khoja Yūsuf Burhān, who was himself a disciple of Khoja 'Abd Al-Qādir.” See A. Djumaev's article, 1997.

Writing not long after the fall of Timurid rule in Herat and the death of Husayn Bāyqarā (d. 1506), the musician and scholar Najm 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. Najm 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 Yūsuf Burhān and ‘Abd Al-Qādir Marāghī. 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 Yūsuf Burhān, who was the teacher of my teacher, and who was the student of the master Khoja ‘Abdulqādir, peace upon him⁶⁸.”

In his role as a music teacher, Khoja Yūsuf Burhān may be considered one of the active and important music educators in Herat. Another source that provides us with a brief biographical account of Khoja Yūsuf 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 Yūsuf 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 Fadhlullah 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 Yūsuf Burhān ad-Dīn, peace upon him, who was the offspring of Shaykh al-Islam Ahmed Qayyam, may his secrets be protected.”

⁶⁸From 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.

Having been the teacher of Nawā’ī, Darvīsh Fadhlullah Nayī⁶⁹, the teacher of Najmiddīn Kavkabī’ teacher and others who went on to teach music and carry on the tradition following the fall of Timurid rule in Herat, Khoja Yūsuf 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-i 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 Yūsuf 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 Kushtīgīr⁷⁰ is primarily based on a brief monograph written by Nawā’ī that he dedicated to Pahlīwān Muhammad and entitled *Hālāt-i Pahlīwān Muhammad Abu Sa’īd*⁷¹. He is also mentioned in Nawā’ī’s *Majālis an-nafā’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 Zāhīriddīn 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. Nawā’ī mentions the musician Mawlānā

⁶⁹This musician was mentioned by Nawā’ī in his *Majālis an-nafā’is* 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.

⁷⁰This copy of the *Tawārīkh* spells his name as Kushtīgīr, and subsequent studies have repeated this orthography, but this seems to have been an error by the copyist who seems to have mistaken a ى for ن. According to Nawā’ī, Pahlīwān Muhammad Abu Sa’īd was well known as a wrestler (Persian : *kushtī gīr* or *koshū gīr*). The term *kushtī* comes from the Pahlavi *kustīk*, and is pronounced as *kushtī* in Dari and Persian.

⁷¹Although *Hālāt-i Pahlīwān Muhammad* is extant in multiple copies, I have not had the opportunity to study this work.

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 Nawā'ī, 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 Nawā'ī 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 *Asrār-i mūsīqī*, and it seems likely that Mojizī may have relied on the *Asrār-i mūsīqī* for the anecdote and information he presents about Mawlānā 'mān Samarqandī and Safāyī Samarqandī as well⁷², since they are not mentioned in any of Nawā'ī'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 '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 Qadīrkhān 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 Qadīrkhān 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 Qadīrkhān 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 policy⁷³, but it remains a process of re-imagining 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 Yarkand⁷⁴. And 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 Sāyramī wrote in his *Tārīkh-i 'amniya* and his *Tārīkh-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 muqām* 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

[fol. 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

⁷³A cogent survey of the construction of Āmānnisā Khān as a cultural hero 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.

⁷⁴The 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 Qadīrkhān 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.

⁷²According to dates given by Mojizī for these musicians, and the anecdotes themselves that mention Mawlānā 'Alī ('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.

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 Tāhīr 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 beauty⁷⁵, 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!

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 guide⁷⁶

I am your guilty servant

I am your sin-laden bondsman

I have become a prisoner in a cell of sorrow

⁷⁵Here the author references five of the Uyghur *dastan* epics that have figured prominently in Chaghatai poetry from the region. In addition to *Layla and Majnun*, *Shirin and Farhad*, *Uzra and Wamuq*, *Tahir and Zahra*, and *Zulaykha and Yusuf*, several other *dastan*, such as *Bahram and Gulendom*, *Rabia and Sa'idin*, and *Ma'sud and Gulnisa* 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.

⁷⁶Here I have translated the word *faryādras* (supporter, aide, helper) as 'guide'.

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 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 *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, *Tawārīkh-i Tabarī*, *Tawārīkh-i Rawzat As-Safā*⁷⁷, *Tawārīkh-i hukama*⁷⁸, *Tawārīkh-i 'Ajām*, *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 Nizāmīddīn '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 *Tārīkh-i Rawzat As-Safā* and in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*; Noah,

⁷⁷The *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.

⁷⁸This is most likely referring to work which was known in Persian as "*Tarjuma-i Tarikh al-hukamā*" (1602-1603), which was Maqṣūd 'Alī Tabrīzī's Persian translation of the Arabic work of Shams Ad-Dīn Muhammad ibn Mahmūd Al-Shāhrazūrī (14th century) entitled "*Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa rawzat al-afrah*". 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.

peace upon him, had a son named Japheth⁷⁹ who had one son named Turk. [fol. 3v] God the most high blessed him with one son. This son was given the name Khariz⁸⁰. 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 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 Surrie⁸¹ 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 im-

⁷⁹Yafis (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 Japheth to Turk is claimed in almost all Islamic Turkic genealogies.

⁸⁰This 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 Agāhi, which was commissioned by the Eltuzer Khān, the ruling Khān of Khwarazm at the turn of the 19th century.

⁸¹Surrie (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.

portant issue. Modern *farangistan*⁸² was at that time known as the city of Antakia⁸³. 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. He 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.

⁸²Farangistan 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’.

⁸³From 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.

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 Balāsāghūn⁸⁴. This master reached perfection under the tutelage of Hazrat Imam Muhammad Ghazālī and Hazrat Imam Fakhrī Rāzī⁸⁵. He reached a very high level in the religious sciences. He was superior to Ibn Sīnā in his knowledge of the sciences. From his knowledge of Islamic law, mysticism, Qur’anic 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] ‘*ushshāqmaqāms*, 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 ‘*uzzālmaqām* that remain well known to

⁸⁴Balāsāghūn 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 Khās Hājib (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.

⁸⁵Here Mojizī 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.

all musicians even today. He said in his *Risāla-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 *Risāla-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.

This science’s fourth master was Hazrat Mawlānā ‘Ali. He was from the area known as Shabuk in Khorasan⁸⁶. 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*”⁸⁷. 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. [fol. 7v] 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 well⁸⁸.

The sixth master was Hazrat ‘Abdullah Marwārid, he was

⁸⁶This 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’ī in his *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn* 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-wāsl*’”.

⁸⁷Here Mojizī either misread or perhaps relied on a poorly copied copy of Nawā’ī’s *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn*, 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’ī’s discussion of ‘Alīshāh Būka. See my discussion of this in the introduction preceding this translation.

⁸⁸Here Mojizī made another misreading of Nawā’ī’s *Khamsat al-mutakhayyirīn*. His interpretation of the description of the well known vizier and *qanūn* player Khoja Shahābuddin ‘Abdullah Marwārid, led him to erroneously think they were two different people.

from Samarqand⁸⁹. 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. [fol. 8r] In his time he was extremely well known among musicians. He was buried in Hissar province in the year 881 (1502)⁹⁰.

Theseventhmasterwas Hazrat Mawlānā Nūriddīn Abdu-rahmān 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 ‘Alīshīr Nawā’ī in every science and discipline. In describing him, it is enough to note that personages such as Nawā’ī referred to him as their own teacher or Pir. In Nawā’ī’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? [fol. 8v] This master, like Al-Fārābī, was talented in all of the sciences. He used to play *tanbūr*, *satār*, *qallūn*, 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 music. He wrote a book entitled “*Risāla-i dawwa*”⁹¹ 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*”, “*Chār-diwān*”, 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

⁸⁹Shihābuddin ‘Abdullah Marwārid wrote under the name Bayānī, and later became known as Bayānī Kermanī due to the fact that his father, Shamsiddīn Muhammad Marwārid 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.

⁹⁰Different 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 Ismāil who ruled after Husayn Bāyqarā (d. 1506).

⁹¹Most of the extant copies of Jāmī’s treatise are simply known as *risāla-i mūsīqī*, and I am unaware of any copies bearing the name *risāla-i dawwa*.

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 ma-qām* 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 Khozami. 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 'man Samarqandī⁹². This great master was a *qārī*⁹³, 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 Tabrizī 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 Samarqandī) 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-salikīn*" about the effects of music, which he dedicated to the people of his Sufi order.

The eleventh great master was Hazrat Mawlānā Sāhib

Balkhī⁹⁴. 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 'irāqmaqām*. 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*⁹⁵. 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, Mawlānā 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 Mawlānā Sāhib Balkhī could not regain consciousness. No matter what method the healers and physicians tried, nothing was of any benefit. With that, Mawlānā⁹⁶ departed from this world in the year 844 (1465). This story is discussed in detail only in the treatise written by Bābūr Shah entitled "*Asrār al-Mmūsīqa* (*The Secrets of Music*)"⁹⁷.

⁹⁴This musician is also mentioned in the *Majālis an-nafā'is*, where Nawā'i tells us that he was originally from an area known as *Kabūd Jama*, possibly a quarter of Herat centered around the 'green mosque'. He also says that Sāhib Balkhī was a master of chess, and a great compser and reciter of *muamma*.

⁹⁵Some recent studies citing this story from the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyān* have portrayed this event in various ways, some saying that the nightingale was stoned by the listeners present at the gathering, but the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyān* clearly states that the nightingale thrust itself against the *tanbūr* until it fell to the ground lifeless.

⁹⁶According to the Persian Jalali calendar (1465), this date is most likely incorrect since Bābūr was not born until 1483, there is no way that Sāhib Balkhī could have worked in his service according to the date of his death that is given by Mojizī.

⁹⁷This story about Sāhib Balkhī from the *Tawārīkh-i mūsīqīyān* has been cited by several authors in recent studies (Light, 2010; Harris, 2008; Nooshin, 2009), but the source that Mojizī gives for this story, the "*Āsrār-i mūsīqī*" of Bābūr Shāh is not extant as far as I know, although it may

⁹²I have been unable to find mention of this musician in other sources, but because Mojizī relates an anecdote about.

⁹³Here *qārī* is used in the traditional Islamic sense for someone who recites the Quran according to the proper rules of recitation, but it should be mentioned that today in Central Asia the term *qārī* is also often used for blind singers and instrumentalists.

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*"⁹⁸, [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 Nizāmiddīn 'Alīshīr 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 *hashttār*. 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 Pahlīwān Muhammad Kushtīgīr⁹⁹. God Himself bestowed this master, through his own mastery and miracles, with this great

be preserved in some copies in Xinjiang, or elsewhere in archives in China. According to Hamit Tomur and Anvar Baytur (1982, p. 6), this work is one of a number of musical treatises that were copied by the Uyghur copyists in Kashgar in the early 1800's, along with several of al-Fārābī's musical works. Its attribution to Bābūr Shāh seems unlikely, although it may have been originally commissioned by him or dedicated to him, or perhaps posthumously attributed to him. If this treatise were written during the time of Bābūr, the author may have been relating an orally transmitted anecdote from an earlier time, since we know that Sāhib Balkhī was active in late-Timurid Herat and was a contemporary of Nawā'ī (1441-1501), who mentioned him in his *Majālis an-nafā'is*.

⁹⁸Mojizī gives the title as *Nishā't al-mūsīqā*, but I am not aware of any treatise bearing this name.

⁹⁹The majority of the information provided by Mojizī about Pahlīwān Muhammad was taken from Nawā'ī's work *Hālāt-i Pahlīwān Muhammad*, a brief work that was dedicated to Pahlīwān Muhammad and recounts some of his achievements and activities.

ability. Pahlīwān 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 Pahlīwān 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 Tūtī, 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 *dugāhmaqām* to which he combined this poetry of Amīr Khusrau 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 *panjigāh maqām* and combined it with one poem of Mawlānā Kātīb. 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 Kātīb begin like this :

"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 Sa’id will come to this nation”

This reference to Sultan Abū Sa’id Mīrzā 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 *mūshavirāk*, *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 Sa’id¹⁰⁰. 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 Nizāmīddīn ‘Alīshīr for more than forty years. If there had been any fault or shortcoming in his temperament, [fol. 14v] then Nawā’ī would not have had such a friendship with him. On the contrary, Nawā’ī wrote: “I have been in dialogue with Pahlīwān Muhammad Kushtīgīr 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 Nawā’ī was so fond of his moral character. It is an honor to him that Nawā’ī spent his precious time writing about him. In the field of *muamma*¹⁰¹, 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 Kushtīgīr :

¹⁰⁰This appears to be another chronological inconsistency, since the rule of Mirza Abū Sa’id (ruled Herat 1424-1469) and Husayn Bāyqarā (ruled Herat 1469-1506) preceded the rise of Bābūr Shāh in Kabul (1504-1526).

¹⁰¹*Muamma* is a form of poetic riddle which was popular among poets of the Timurid courts in Samarqand and Herat such as ‘Abdurahman Jāmi and ‘Alīshīr Navāi who both wrote treatises on *muamma*.

“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 “Ni’mati 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 the nobility and common people of Herat would come to eat at Ni’mati Abād. In addition to Faqirs, rich people and musicians, and ministers would come eat there. Even Sultan Husayn Bahādur Khān would partake in the three meals that were prepared there each day. Shaykhs and religious scholars came from every direction to seek knowledge from Pahlīwān, 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 Jāmi 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 Pahlīwān’s closest friends. Thousand upon thousands of people memorized the Qur’an from this master and became experts in the science of the *sharia*. He was a teacher of the science of war for all the troops of Sultan Husayn Bahādur Khān. He was a teacher of the poets as well. And in the musical science as well, he was a teacher of every kind of *maqām* 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 Bahādur Khān 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 Padishāh 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 Abād 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 Lutfī¹⁰². This great master was like Hazrat Abū Nasir Fārābī in his scholarship and like Hazrat Ibn Sīnā in his medical knowledge. In the art of poetry, he was like Hazrat Nizāmīddīn 'Alīshīr Nawā'ī. 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 'Alīshīr Nawā'ī named this great master as his teacher in the art of eloquent speech¹⁰³, and Lutfī would have claimed Nawā'ī 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).

The 16th great master was Hazrat Yusuf Sakkakī. This master was as accomplished as Hazrat al-Fārābī and Hazrat Lutfī in all of the sciences¹⁰⁴. 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 interpretation¹⁰⁵. 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'an, and he also wrote treatises about the science of music. This master composed the *maqāmbayātī* 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

¹⁰² Little is known about the life of Lutfī, 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 Nawā'ī.

¹⁰³ Nawā'ī referred to Lutfī as the "king of speech of his people" in his *Hālat-i Pahlawān*, and as the "king of speech of his time" in his *Majālis al-nafā'is*, and is known to have included five of Lutfī's *ghazals* in his own poems. (Aktepe M., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 5, 1983, p. 836).

¹⁰⁴ In his *Majālis al-nafā'is*, 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.

¹⁰⁵ Here Mojizī refers to 'ilm-i *fusāhat* and the 'ilm-i *balāghat* that deal with eloquent expression and symbolic interpretation.

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 [fol. 18r] 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. "Well then, let your daughter play", said the Sultan. With that Mahmūd ordered his daughter to play. The girl took the *tanbūr* and began playing *panjigāh 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!"

When the *ghazal* came to an end the Sultan exclaimed : “Who is this Nafīsī poet? Where did you learn this *ghazal*?” She replied gently : “I don’t recite the poetry of Nawā’ī or Fazūlī or Zalīlī or others. This *ghazal* was my own, Nafīsī 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, Āmānnisā 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 known, 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 Nafīsī*”, and she wrote a book of advice for women entitled “*Akhlāq Jamīla*”. 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 Jamshīd Padishāh, 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 ‘Alīshīr 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

‘Alīshīr 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 ‘Alīshīr 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

Le manuscrit original de Tawārīkh-i Mūsīqīyūn est disponible en ligne à l'adresse <https://doi.org/10.51300/RTM-2016-71>

Notice biographique

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