Persian Writing on Music

A study of Persian musical literature from 1000 to 1500 AD

By
Mehrdad Fallahzadeh
ABSTRACT


This dissertation is an attempt to understand and map the development of Persian writings on music, focusing on their various approaches and variations of topics from the beginning of the 11th century to the end of the 15th century which can be called the classical period of Persian writing on music.

The rise of Persian musical literature as a part of Persian learned literature was a result of the political and cultural decentralization of the Abbasid Caliphate. Like most other genres of learned literature in Persian, translation and abridgements of and commentaries (şarhs) on Arabic works played a crucial role in the rise and establishment of Persian musical literature.

The most important conclusions to be drawn from the present study are that we can distinguish between two main approaches in Persian writings on music, viz. the religious and non-religious approaches, and that there is a pattern in the development of Persian writings on music which provides us with a periodization of the development of this literary genre. According to the macro periodization of Persian writings on music which is presented in this study, we can identify five different stages in the development of the genre; 1) the initial period: ca 1000-1110; the first intermezzo: ca 1110 up to 1175; 3) the period of establishment: ca 1175-1299; 4) the first Golden Age of the genre: ca 1300-1435; 5) the second intermezzo: ca 1435-1500.

Keywords: Persian literature, writings on music, religious and non-religious approaches, music theory, samâ’, topic, periodization.

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ISSN 1100-326X
ISBN 91-554-6219-7

Printed in Sweden by Elanders Gotab, Stockholm 2005
Distributor: Uppsala University Library, Box 510, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden
www.uu.se, Acta@ub.uu.se
To Bo Utas
# Contents

Acknowledgments...............................................................................................................1

Transliteration system........................................................................................................2
  List of transliteration .................................................................................................3

Abbreviations....................................................................................................................4

Introduction.......................................................................................................................7
  Prelude...........................................................................................................................7
  The scope of the work .................................................................................................8
  Purpose and method ..................................................................................................13
  Sources .......................................................................................................................16
  Previous research.......................................................................................................17
  The arrangement of the work .....................................................................................19
  Definitions, explanations and other remarks .........................................................19

Chapter 1 Roots ..............................................................................................................22
  Writing on music prior to the rise of the Arabic musical literature..............22
  The rise of Arabic musical literature .................................................................29
  Old- and Middle Persian and writing on music .............................................35

Chapter 2 Writing on music during the 11th century..............................................38
  Background ................................................................................................................38
  Exposition ..................................................................................................................40
    Dāniš-nāmah-i ‘Alā’ī by Ibn Šinā and Jūzjānī ..................................................41
    Šarḥ-i Kitāb al-ta’arruf li-mazhab ahl al-taṣāwuf by Mustamlī.............48
    Šad maydān by al-Anšārī ...............................................................................53
    Kašf al-mahjūb by al-Hujwīrī ..................................................................54
    Qābūs-nāmah by Kaykāwūs b. Iskandar ....................................................61
      Aḥmad al-‘Utmānī ............................................................................................65

Chapter 3 Writing on music during the 12th century..............................................68
  Background ................................................................................................................68
  Exposition ..................................................................................................................70
    Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat by Ḯazālī ........................................................................71
    Al-taṣfiyāh fī aḥwāl al-muṣāfiyāh by ‘Abbādī ..............................................75
Chapter 4 Writing on music during the 13th century
Background ................................................................. 87
Exposition ........................................................................ 89

*Adáb al-ṣuṭṭiyah* by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā .............................................. 90
Persian rendering of *Ihyāʾ ‘ulūm al-dīn* ........................................ 92
Dar ’ilm-i muṣīqi by Bābā Afzal ....................................................... 93
*Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqat* by ʿAbd al-Jām ................................. 94
*Risālah-I sīr-i samāʿ* by ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla ʿSimnānī ................. 96
Persian rendering of *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* by Abū Mansūr Māsāzah ... 97
Aṣjār wa atmār by ʿAlāʾ Munajjim .................................................. 98
*Kanz al-rumūz* by Amīr Ḥusayn Ḥarawī ........................................ 100
*Durrat al-tāj li-ǧurrat al-Dubāj* by Qūṭb al-Dīn ʿSīrāzī ................... 102
Ms of undated works copied during the 13th century .................... 107
*Mujmal al-ḥikmat* .................................................................... 107
*Risālah-I muṣīqi* by Muḥammad Nāyšābūrī ................................... 110

Chapter 5 Writing on music during the 14th century
Background ............................................................................. 116
Exposition .............................................................................. 118

*Risālah-I Firaydūn b. ʿAbd al-Siyāhsūlār dur Aḥwāl-i Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Mawlāwī* .......................................................... 119
*Awrād al-aḥbāb wa fūṣūṣ al-ādāb* by Abū al-Maḥfūz Yaḥyā Bāxazī .......................... 121
*Mīṣrūb al-hidāyat wa muṣṭāḥ al-kīfāyat* by ʿIzz al-Dīn Kāshānī .......... 125
*Risālah-I čang* by Qamarī .......................................................... 128
*Nafāʿ is al-funūn fi arāʾ is al-ʿuyūn* by Āmulī ................................... 128
Persian rendering of *Kitāb al-adwār* by Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Kāshī 133
*Ṭārīqat-nūmah* by Faqīh Kirmānī .............................................. 134
*Kanz al-tuḥaf* by Ḥasan Kāshānī ............................................... 137
*Xulāṣat al-afkār fī maʿrifat al-adwār* by a certain Šīhāb al-Dīn ʿSayrafi .......................................................... 145
*Ǧunyat al-munyat* by Anonymous Author .................................. 146
Persian translation of *Al-Adwār* by ʿAsʿad al-Samarqandi ............. 149
*Maʿdān al-maʿānī* by Yaḥyā Manārī ............................................. 149
*Qaṣīdah* by anonymous poet ..................................................... 150
Ms of undated works copied during the 14th century ..................... 150
A collection of hymns .............................................................. 150
*Al-muxtasār al-mufid fī bayān al-muṣīqi wa ʿuṣūl abkāmāh* ...... 152
Chapter 6 Writing on music during the 15th century

Background ................................................................. 155
Exposition........................................................................ 157

Jāmi’ al-alḥān by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī .................... 157
Maqāṣīd al-alḥān by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī ............. 167
Šarḥ-i Adwār by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī ..................... 169
Collection of songs by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī .......... 176
Naqūwat al-adwār by a son of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī ... 179
Music treatise by Mi’mār .............................................. 181
Risālah-i müğiẓī by ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī ...................... 186
Mss of undated works copied during the 15th century ...... 188
Bayān-i qaṭa’āt-i čīnī ...................................................... 188
Dar asāmī-i dawāzdaḥ maqām ..................................... 188

Chapter 7 Summary, conclusions and periodization

Summary and conclusions.............................................. 190
The 11th century ........................................................ 191
The 12th century ......................................................... 197
The 13th century ........................................................ 199
The 14th century ........................................................ 205
The 15th century ........................................................ 209
Periodization: Time and feature ............................... 212
Micro periodization: periodization of the approaches and their
categories ................................................................. 213
Non-religious approach .............................................. 213
Theoretical texts ......................................................... 213
Verse/rhymed prose, medical and didactic texts and collections
of songs ................................................................. 216
Religious approach ..................................................... 217
Factual prose texts ..................................................... 217
Texts in verse/rhymed prose and collections of songs .... 220
Macro periodization: periodization of the genre .......... 221

Epilogue ......................................................................... 224

Appendix 1 ..................................................................... 227
Appendix 2 ..................................................................... 228
Appendix 3 ..................................................................... 231
Appendix 4 ..................................................................... 249
Appendix 5 ..................................................................... 252
Acknowledgments

I believe that no work is the production of just one man, even in the most independent works. Many other people contribute in different ways to the creation of a work, particularly when the work is a doctoral dissertation. And this dissertation is no exception. There are many people who have helped and assisted me from the first thoughts and ideas to the last stage of the writing and publishing of this study.

Firstly, I am infinitely grateful to my main supervisor Prof. Bo Utas. This study would not have been possible without his perceptive insights, his support and his encouragement throughout these five hard years. This work is dedicated to him as a tribute to an outstanding scholar and professor, a highly regarded man who retired two years ago.

I owe a particular debt to Prof. Carina Jahani who was unofficially my second supervisor. Her help and assistance in every moment of this study has made it more accurate and less imperfect.

Many thanks also to Dr Judith Josephson who read the early manuscript of the dissertation and has given me much useful advice and who provided me with significant materials on the Middle Persian texts. I am indebted to my second supervisor, Dr Anders Hammarlund, for his sagacious comments which have enriched this dissertation.

I would like also to thank Dr Najafi, Mr Muhadis, Mr Karegar. I would also express my gratitude to the staff of Uppsala University Library Carolina Rediviva, and the Carin Boyes Library for their help and open attitude even with my strange requests and demands.

I want to thank the Department of Linguistics and Philology for providing me with a doctoral studentship of one year to end this dissertation under calmer economic conditions.

Last but not least, I have a debt of thanks to Dr Micheal Srigley who patiently corrected the English of the dissertation.
Transliteration system

The transliteration system that has been used in this dissertation is based on the system employed by the Library of Congress with some modifications. Concerning ḥurūf al-šamsiyyah, there are different opinions concerning transliteration of the sun-letters among philologists and other scholars who have to transliterate Arabic and Persian words. In any case, I have chosen not to write the form of these letters as pronounced but rather the form in which they are, e.g. Durrat al-tāj instead of Durrat ut-tāj. Regarding Persian names, I will not use izāfah between names of a person; however, I am going to add izāfah (i [-yi if the word ends in a long ā, ī or ū]) in other cases.

Because of the fact that in this dissertation different books written by different authors who have employed different transliteration systems have been used, I will point out that there are differences between the systems used in these books and mine in quotations. In such cases I refer the reader to the translation systems that have been employed in these books.
# List of transliteration

**Consonants**

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**Long Vowels**

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Abbreviations

The following Abbreviations will be used in the study. As regards libraries, I
will employ the sigla that have been applied in the Series B of RISM (Répertoire international des source musicales, 1964-1999) published by
“The International Musicological Society and the International Association
of Music Libraries”.

Libraries

<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>D-B</td>
<td>Deutschland, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB-Lbl</td>
<td>Great Britain, London, British Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB-Lio</td>
<td>Great Britain, London, Library of the India Office (now a part of British Library)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB-Ob</td>
<td>Great Britain, Oxford, Bodleian Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IR-Tm</td>
<td>Iran, Tehran, Kitābxānah-i Malik (Malik Library)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IR-Ts</td>
<td>Iran, Tehran, Kitābxānah-i Majlis-i Šawrā no. 2 (Majlis-i Šawrā Library, no. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IR-Tss</td>
<td>Iran, Tehran, Kitābxānah-i Šahīd Muṭahharī (former Sipahsālar) (Šahīd Muṭahharī Library)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL-Lu</td>
<td>Nederland, Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit (Universiteits Bibliotheek) (Leiden University Library)</td>
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<tr>
<td>RF-SPan</td>
<td>Rossijskaja Fereracija (Russian Federation, St. Petersburg), Biblioteka Akademi Nauk (Library of the Academy of Sciences)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-Uu</td>
<td>Sweden, Uppsala, Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek (Carolina Rediviva) (Uppsala University Library)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-Ino</td>
<td>Turkey, Istanbul, Nuruosmaniyə Kütüphanesi (Nuruosmaniye Library)</td>
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<tr>
<td>T-Is</td>
<td>Suleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Suleymaniye Library)</td>
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### Books

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<tr>
<td>CHI</td>
<td><em>The Cambridge History of Iran</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI</td>
<td><em>The Encyclopedia of Islam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEWM</td>
<td><em>The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td><em>La Musique Arabe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRFM</td>
<td><em>Se Risālah-i Fārsī dar Mūsīqī</em> (Three Persian Treatises on Music), ed. Bīniš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

Prelude

The New Persian language belongs to the few languages in the world that possess significant and substantial bodies of musical literature. Today we have a corpus of almost 200 treatises on music in Persian which has survived the ravages of history in a region which today is divided into different countries, among others Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, parts of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Turkey, Pakistan and India. In spite of the opposition that existed and to some extent still exists in this region towards music and musical activities, this corpus of surviving musical literature gives us a better picture of music during the almost ten centuries when this corpus was created. This extant body of musical literature reflects and displays both the intellectual discussion on music and musical activities and even the development of the different approaches to music. This corpus not only belongs to the realm of Persian literature, but it is also part of the Persian musical heritage, and therefore it carries a major importance for our knowledge of the musical and intellectual development of the region.

The emergence of New Persian began during the period of decline in the Abbasid caliphate and the decentralization of political power in the Eastern Islamic Empire towards the end of the 9th century. At that time the local traditions and cultures and thereby local languages had an opportunity to develop and flourish. This development resulted in the formation of Persian scientific writings or “learned literature” (Tauer [Rypka 1968: 421]). This new type of literature had three different roots:

- the Arabic *adab* and scientific literature;
- pre-Islamic Sasanian scientific writings;
- Greek scientific literature.

This literary activity embraces all written materials that had scientific and educational purposes including writings on various subjects such as philosophy, philology, history and biography, as well as geography, the exact sciences, natural sciences, medicine and pharmacology, astronomy, music, religion (Islam). However, it was subjects such as history, e.g. *Tārīḵ-i Bal’ami*, geography, e.g. *Ḥudūd al-`ālam min al-mašriq ila al-maḡrib* and
religion, e.g. Tafsīr-i Tabarī, that flourished first because of political and religious interests.

Persian writings on music emerged somewhat later, during the 11th century, and then not as an independent genre of scientific literature. With the growth of the language and expansion of branches of knowledge writing on music became successively an independent genre in Persian learned literature. During its long and interesting history this genre has passed through many stages of change and development. This dissertation is going to study a part of this long, fascinating and unstudied history.

The scope of the work

As the title of the dissertation indicates, this study will deal with treatises, tracts and works that are written on music in Persian. Consequently, the Arabic works written by the Persians during the 8th and 9th centuries, and even later, will not be included in this study. On the other hand, a number of compositions and treatises that were written in Persian in the regions that form present-day Pakistan, India and Turkey, dealing partly with particularly Indian and Turkish music, will be included in the study. This inclusion is motivated by the fact that cultural exchange between these regions has always been intense, and Persian has affected and has been affected by these regions. Furthermore, this inclusion is valuable and interesting both from a musicological and a musico-historical point of view.

According to Massoudieh (1996), ca. 200 treatises, tracts and works found in more than 2000 Mss written on music between the 11th and the 20th centuries have come down to us. This study will deal with treatises and works written from the first half of the 11th century up to ca. the end of the 15th century, when a new cultural era in Persian-speaking areas and thereby a new period of writing on music was embarked on. The beginning of a new era concerning writing on music from ca. 1500 has been one of the main reasons why I have chosen this terminal date for the study. In addition, most of the treatises and works written prior to the 16th century have been edited and published, which provides necessary sources and materials for a creditable and scientific study of the subject. By contrast, the number of critically edited and published works from the 16th century to the end of the 19th century is so scanty that in order to have a good picture and a scientifically acceptable study of this period, we should have to wait for more editing and publishing of the treatises and works from that period. 1

1 One explanation of the scarcity of critically edited and published works from this phase is the general negative attitude towards this phase of the development of writing on music and in general of music itself. It should be pointed out that according to Massoudieh (1996), this period, i.e. from ca. the 16th century to the end of the 19th century, has been the most productive period in writing on music in Persian. During the 16th to the 19th centuries as many works
want to emphasize here that I have confined my study to the period between
the 11th century and 15th century, not only because of the generally accepted
point of view on this period, which regards it as the only Golden Age of
Persian writing on music and in general Persian literature, but because of the
reasons I have given above.

Concerning Persian writings on music, one can find two main approaches
to music, to wit:

1. a religious approach;
2. a non-religious approach;

Two types of format that have been applied are:

1. as a separate and independent work or treatise;
2. as a part or chapter (fasl, bāb, baxš and so on) of a larger work, such
   as an encyclopaedia, a history book or a theological work.

In a number of literary works (particularly verse, but also prose), writers
and poets have employed some musical terms, often the names of maqāmāt
(modes), musical instruments and musicians, unsystematically and
sporadically as a kind of “literary decoration”. For example, Manūchehrī
Dāmghānī in his poems mentions names of modes like nawrūz-i buzurg,
nawrūz, rāst, bādah and the names of musical instruments like čang,
mūsīqār, ʿanbūr (Manūchehrī Dāmghānī 1370 H./1991: 165). Firdawsī in his
monumental work Šāh-nāmah also mentions the names of many musicians,
among others Bārbad, Sargāš (Sarkaš) (Firdawsī 1335, vol. v: 2489),
the names of instruments, among others barbat, čang, nāy (ibid. vol. i: 194),
tābīrah (ibid. vol. iii: 999), jām (ibid. vol. ii: 604), raḥāb (rubāb) (ibid. vol.
iv: 1892), and the names of modes like sabz-dar-sabz, xusrawānī, ganj-i-
bādāwar, ganj-i-sūxthah (ibid. vol. v: 2491-2497). There is a very interesting
story in Vāmiq u ʿĀzrā by ʿUnṣūrī (c. 970- c. 1040) about the first
construction of the barbat (see Hägg & Utas 2003: 106-112).

In addition, a number of religious works, written by learned, Islamic
authorities and Sufis, have dealt with the subject samāʿ (audition,
listening to music, music), even though no particular chapter or section in their
works has been devoted to the subject. Among these works can be mentioned Asrār
al-tawhīd fī maqāmāt al-šayx Abū Saʿīd by Muḥammad b. Munawwar,
Tażkīrat al-awliyāʾ by Farīd al-Dīn Abū-Bakr ʿĪbrāḥīm ʿAṭṭār Nayšābūrī,

were written as the period from 1000 to 1500 AD. However, almost half of the treatises and
the works written during this period were composed in India and are on Indian art music
(partly or entirely), and perhaps that is another reason for the lack of interest among Persian-
speaking scholars in editing and publishing them. Unfortunately, the interest among the Paki-
stani and Indian scholars in editing and publishing these treatises and tracts has also been very
low.
Mirsād al-‘ibād min al-mabda’ ila al-maʿād by Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, Maʿārif by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Xaṭībī Bālxī. The treatment of the subject in these works is, generally, very concise (sometimes only a few lines), unsystematic and fragmentary. These works are consequently of minor importance in the development of the subject and generally the genre.

At any rate, works of prose and poetry that do not have a separate or distinguishable chapter or section or part on music will not be included in this study. This approach is justified by the fact that it has generally been a custom in this region regarding writing learned literature to divide the work into defined sections or parts, i.e. faṣls, baxšes, bābs and so on, with their own headings, in order to emphasize the importance of the subjects that have been dealt with. In other words, if a writer of a learned literary work wanted to deal with a subject profoundly and the subject was important enough for him and it was partly the purpose of his study, he would usually put a heading for that subject and would devote a defined chapter, section, or part, to that subject in his work.

Nevertheless, there are a few exceptions where the authors have dealt with music extensively (often 100 to 250 words) without devoting a chapter (part, section) to the subject. Among these works can be mentioned, the Indian work Jawāḥir al-asmāʾ by ‘Imād b. Muḥammad al-Naʿār (written some time between 1296 and 1315),4 Ağrāz al-siyāsah fī ʾrāz al-riyāsah by al-Samarqandi (written some times during the second half of the 12th century),3 and Axlāq-i Jalālī (1467-1468) by Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Dawwānī (830/1426-908/1502) (Pūrjawādī, 1375 H.Š./1996: 30-42). In any case, these works will, as was mentioned above, not be included in this study. Moreover, one work, namely Majmūʿah-i latāyīf wa safīnah-i zaʿāvīf by Sayf Jām Harawī (written in ca. 803/1400) will not be included in this study, because the main part of the treatise is in Arabic, and only at the end of the work has the author employed a Persian poem (ḡazal) by a certain Mawlānā Masʿūd Ṣafī.5

2 However, I have to emphasise that for musico-historical studies these literary works will have value.
3 In a considerable number of the copies of works the titles and headings have even been written in another colour, often red, than the text itself.
4 The author writes concisely and fragmentally on the origin of the science of music, the instruments, pardah and rūgā (mode), the number of modes and their relations to the days of a week and the months of a year and their connections to certain hours of a day (see Masoudieh 1996: 179).
5 The writer tells us about the invention of barbat by Pythagoras, and if the subtlety of the words and the beauty of the voice join together, samāʾ will reach its highest perfection of beauty. He mentions the relation between the (four) strings of instruments and the four elements of nature and the four moods (see Massoudieh ibid.: 207).
6 He (Jām Harawī 1379 H.Š./2000: 138 f.) has also arranged a list of pardah-hā (the Persian main modes) and rāgas (the Indian modes) before the mentioned poem. The list is as follows:

| sar-pardah | rahāvī | ṣafāhān |
The following six works are introduced in different treatises and catalogues:

I. ṭiqā’ by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (629/1230-693/1294) which was probably written after 1250 and which is introduced by Tarbiyat (1314 H./1935: 236), Dānišpažūh (1332 H. Š./1953, vol. iii/1: 106), Munzawī (1348-1351 H.Š./1969-1972: 3887);
II. a commentary (Ṣarḥ) on al-Adwār by Mawlānā Naṣrallāh Qāyini which was mentioned in Ṣarḥ al-Adwār by al-Marāqī (1370 H.Š./1991: 110);
III. a work with the heading Qānūn-i isīfā by Amīr Xusraw Dihlawī (651/1253-725/1325), is introduced in Munzawī (1348-1351 H.Š./1969-1972: 3910);
IV. Xulāṣat al-afkār fī ma’rifat al-adwār (Summarised thoughts concerning the knowledge of the modes) by a certain Šihāb al-Dīn Ṣayrafl which is introduced by Maḥšūn (1373 H.Š./1994, vol. 1: 185), Munzawī (1348-1351 H.Š./1969-1972: 3894);
V. a book on the allowing of samā’ by an anonymous writer written presumably during the 11th century, is mentioned in Kašf al-mahjūb by al-Hujwīr al-Pāzānawī (1926: 524);
VI. a Persian translation of a work with the title Farād al-zamān fī ma’rifat al-alhān (The unique master of all times on knowledge of melodies) by the anonymous author of Ḡunyat al-munyat (1978: 4).

Except for Ṣayrafl’s Xulāṣat al-afkār fī ma’rifat al-adwār, where we know more about the work and its lost Ms, none of these treatises and works will be included in this study, because our knowledge about these works is next to nothing. Even in the cases of Qāyini’s commentary, which is mentioned in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dēżākha</th>
<th>lalita</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yak-bang-wa-nīm</td>
<td>du-bāng-wa-nīm</td>
<td>yak-bang-wa-nīm</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḥusaynī</td>
<td>muṣālīf</td>
<td>rāst</td>
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<td>dhanāsṛī/dhanashri</td>
<td>barūrī</td>
<td>basanta/vasanta</td>
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<td>yēk-bāng</td>
<td>du-bāng</td>
<td>nīm-bāng</td>
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<td>ḵīl-aḵān</td>
<td>ḡījāz</td>
<td>zawul</td>
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<td>gujarī</td>
<td>ramakārī</td>
<td>mālau/mālava</td>
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<tr>
<td>du-bāng</td>
<td>yak-bang-wa-nīm</td>
<td>du-bāng-wa-nīm</td>
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<td>ṣābāb</td>
<td>‘īrāq</td>
<td>‘uṣṣāq</td>
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<td>malārā</td>
<td>kānhara</td>
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<tr>
<td>yak-bang-wa-nīm</td>
<td>du-bāng-wa-nīm</td>
<td>yak-bāng</td>
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<tr>
<td>hūṣālīk</td>
<td>nahīswand</td>
<td>bāxarz</td>
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In the poem, which is in the form of gazal, the poet names different Persian modes and suggests which modes should be played at which parts of a day.
Šarḥ al-Adwār by al-Marāḡī, and the book on samā’, by an anonymous author that is mentioned by Hujwīrī, we are not altogether sure that they were in Persian. As regards Šafi al-Dīn al-Urmawī’s and Xusrav Dīlawī’s works, it is questionable whether these works existed at all.

As for Farīd al-zamān fī ma’rifat al-alhān, we do not know who the author, or rather the translator, of the work is. The only information we have about the author is that he wrote another treatise on the theory of music entitled Ġunyat al-munytāt (ibid.). In that work he points out that his patron, the Governor of Gujarāt, Amīr Šams al-Dawlah wa’l-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ḥasan Abū Rajā, during the reign of Firūz III (1351-1388) of the Tugluq dynasty (1320-1431), had a short time before the composition of Ġunyat al-munytāt persuaded him to translate the Farīd al-zamān fī ma’rifat al-alhān from Arabic into Persian (ibid.). In the Kitāb al-mīzān fī ‘ilm al-adwār wa’l-awzān (Shiloah 1979: 394 f.), which is an Arabic music treatise, the author, who is also anonymous, mentions two works which he has used to write his treatise. The second work that he mentions as his main source is a treatise on music with the heading Farā’īd al-zamān fī ‘ilm al-alhān by Šarf al-Dīn b. ‘Alā’ al-Ḥusaynī al-Baḡdādī. Presumably, it is the original Arabic work that our Persian translator has rendered. Unfortunately, no Ms of the original Arabic work has survived.7 Our knowledge about the Persian translation is also nil. Therefore, I have decided not to include this work in this study.

According to Massoudieh (1996), Munzawī (1348-1351 H./1969-1972), Dānīšpāzūh (1349/ H./1970), there are a number of short writings on music in Persian where the dates of composition and the authors are unknown. There are many indications that they were written after the 15th century, but we cannot be altogether sure. It is probable that in the future we will manage to find out the names of the authors or the date of these concise, anonymous and undated treatises and tracts, and that we will then discover even further works and treatises. I therefore want to emphasize that this study is based on our present gathered knowledge of the treatises, tracts and works that have come down to us and where we are to a large extent sure about the date of their composition. However, I believe that the main picture that this study provides will not be changed considerably in the future.

The past is chaotic, and in order to make some kind of order out of this chaos and make it understandable, the most important element is some concept of time. Here, in order to bring order to the chaos concerning Persian writing on music and to have a time perspective I will employ, as a starting point, a chronological division of works based on the Christian reckoning of centuries, which is to some extent an “artificial chronological

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7 It seems that the work was a celebrated treatise, because the author of the Kitāb al-mīzān fī ‘ilm al-adwār wa’l-awzān mentions it as the main source for his work beside al-Adwār of al-Urmawī, which was an epoch-making work in the theory of music. In addition, to translate the work into Persian in India is further evidence of the significance of that treatise.
division” without any direct connection with the development and changes of the genre. Nevertheless, in the last part of the study, that is “Summary, Conclusions and Periodization”, this division will be revised to a division more relevant to the development of the genre. Concerning the dates of birth and death of authors and the dates of composition of their works, I will apply the lunar-Islamic calendar, i.e. al-hijrī al-qamarī, before the solar-Christian one with a slash between them. However, as concerns the solar-Islamic calendar, i.e. al-hijrī al-šamsī, I will mark them by the initials H.Š.

Purpose and method

This dissertation is a multipurpose study due to its interdisciplinary nature. The work on this dissertation began as an attempt to supplement Massoudieh’s work Manuscrits Persans concernant la musique and my purpose at the beginning was to update part of that catalogue⁸ and publish my work as an addendum to the catalogue. However, during the work I have become increasingly interested in the development of Persian musical literature, particularly the topical development of this learned literary genre. The result of this increasing interest is the present dissertation. It will make an attempt to illuminate the development of Persian writing on music between the 11th century and 15th century. This period has often been called the classical period of Persian literature by scholars and researchers in the field of Persian literature and we can also consider the period between the 11th century and 15th century as the classical period of Persian writing on music.

The first step towards creating a picture of the development of Persian musical literature is to introduce the works and treatises chronologically and to date them as accurately as possible. This step will not be easy due to the fact that a number of the treatises and tracts are undated, but fortunately we know who the authors of the works were. In such cases, I am going to take the day of birth and death of the writers as a guide to determine when the work may have been written. In some cases, the dates of the oldest extant copies of the works are starting points to determine a possible date of composition. In addition, I will go further and by means of the authors’ approaches and treatments of topics as well as a number of linguistically characteristic tendencies I will try to determine the date of compositions of these works as exactly as possible.

Persian writings on music touch on three different fields, viz. music, religion and literature. Inevitably, these fields will also be dealt with more or less thoroughly in this study.

⁸ From the 11th century up to ca. the end of the 15th century.
At any rate, the main purpose of the study is to map out and analyse the different stages of the development and change that the genre has passed through between the 11th century and the 15th century focusing on the thematical and topical development of it. My ambition is that this study will hopefully provide a better understanding of the mechanism of the development and changes of the genre. To achieve these purposes, a number of questions will be answered in the study. The most important and significant questions are:

- what types and categories of works dominate during each stage in the development of the genre?
- What kinds of topics are treated during each stage of development?
- What works mark turning points in the development?
- Are there some characteristic features during a certain period?
- Is it possible, based on these characteristics, to periodize writings on music?
- What other facts than musical ones played important roles in the changes and development?
- Why were certain categories, subjects and topics dominant during a certain period?
- What stages of development or changes did the genre pass through during the time frame of the dissertation?
- What trends dominated each stage of the development, and how did they affect the choice of approach, types of texts and topics?
- What will a periodization of the genre look like?

In order to grasp the development of the genre I will partly try in the last chapter to classify Persian writings on music with some help of Massoudieh’s (1996: 29 f.) and Shiloah’s classifications (1979: 12-14). It should be pointed out that although the study will mostly focus on the thematic and topical development of the writings on music, other aspects of the genre will also be discussed to the extent that they are relevant and significant.

The nature of this study involves different disciplines, *i.e.* philology, musicology and even to a limited extent religion and literary history. However, it is the written text that is the starting point for the study. It inevitably engages philological approaches and methods, *i.e.* textual analysis, textual comparisons, and, to a limited extent, textual criticism. Furthermore, this study also concerns the art of music, which to some extent involves a musical analytic approach to the body of material. This particularly applies to the theoretical and practical development of the music, *e.g.* change and development of the construction of modes, musical instruments, rhythmical modes, definitions of musical terms and music forms.
This study does not have the intention of editing and publishing works on music that are still in manuscript form. Nevertheless, a few treatises and works on music that were written during the period covered by this dissertation are still in manuscript form, and in order to show and discuss the topics that have been dealt with in these works I have to some extent to establish the texts of these Mss (see below). In addition, because of the difficulty of access to two published treatises, i.e. a Persian translation of Taqwīm al-ṣīḥḥah and Ṣajarah wa Tamarah, I have been obliged to use Mss of these works in this study.

The Mss that will be used in this study are thus as follows:

I D-B, Ms. Or. Oct. 3511 (Tarānahā-i Mawlawiyyah);
II D-B, Petermann 712 (Ṣajarah wa Tamarah);
III NL-Lu, Cod. 271 Warn (A collection of songs);
IV S-Uu, Ovet 23 (A Persian translation of Taqwīm al-ṣīḥḥah);
V T-Is (4044) (Risālah-i mūṣiqī by ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī);
VI RF-SPan (C 612) (Risālah-i mūṣiqī by Muḥammad Nayṣābūrī)

There are different Western and indigenous ¹⁰ concepts and theories on what should be considered as literature and, based on these theories and concepts, on what a literary genre is or should be. I do not have any intention here to enter into any deep discussion about the different theories on literature and the various definitions of the concept genre, which is beyond the scope of this study. But in order to avoid confusion it is necessary to explain what I mean by literature and literary genre in this study.

For a long time fiction was considered as the only characteristic of literature and indeed literature was defined as fiction. This was, initially, the view of Greeks like Aristotle and Plato. However, this definition of literature has changed and developed over time, particularly after the 1950s. The more recent view considers fiction as “one of the properties of literature rather than its definition” (Todorov 1973: 7 f. [taken from Fowler 1982: 6]).

In this study, I employ the concept of literature in its broadest sense as it has also been used in the book History of Iranian literature by Rypka and in Tarīx-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān (The history of literature in Iran), a multi-volume book by Šafā. According to this concept, almost all types of written materials (except letters) which are addressed to a public can be considered as literature. In other words, non-fiction works and consequently also writings on music are considered as literature. This definition of literature will, naturally, widen the dimension of our definition of a literary genre.

⁹ As for this work, I have used both the manuscript and the published version of the work by Pūrjawādī (Nayṣābūrī, 1374 H.S./1995).
¹⁰ For a very interesting discussion on the concept of literature and genre in Persian literature the readers are referred to the forthcoming article “‘Genres’ in Persian literature 900-1900” by Bo Utas.
An ideal taxonomy of literature into different types or genres has been a major concern of many writers, researchers and literature critics from the time of Plato and Aristotle (Fowler 1982: 235 f.), down to the present and many admit that “[g]enre is not an easy matter to discuss” (Chamberline & Thompson 1998: 1). Fowler (1982: 54) points out that our definition will vary with our purpose and knowledge. This is a pragmatic approach to the concept and a definition of it which can be a starting point for the definition of genre in this study. The term genre will here be used in the sense of a class, type or species of literature (for the definition of literature used in this dissertation, see above) which is characterized by dealing with a particular subject and having a definite and specified purpose. Here, two principal criteria for calling writings on music a literary genre have been that this corpus of written material has treated the subject music, although through different approaches, and that it has a general definite purpose, namely an educational and instructional purpose.

The final part of the last chapter of the study, where I will first try to periodize each category (which can be called the micro periodization) and then the whole genre (the macro periodization) regarding its development, can be considered as the core of this study.

To some extent, I agree with the notions that “[periodization] can give an impression of a facile totalization” (Jameson 1981: 27) and “it misrepresents the value of individual works” (Patterson [Besserman 1996: 51]). Nevertheless, even the severe critics of periodization have been obliged to admit that “it can be a ‘welcome and productive’ subject of study” (Besserman ibid.: 5). My point of view on the matter of periodization is that it is, despite the above-mentioned risks of misrepresentation and misinterpretation, a necessity for this type of study. I regard it as a necessity because, without a periodization, we remain in a “mess of details” and we will consequently fail to provide a total picture of the process of the change and development.

It is my hope that this study will not only contribute to the illumination of Persian musical literature and its topical development but also the history of Persian (and even Arabic, Turkish and Indian) music and at the same time partly a contribution to the history of Persian learned literature.

Sources
The importance of the Persian musico-literary heritage has come under focus in the works of a number of scholars, among others Dānišpāžūh, Bīniš, Massoudieh, Munzawī, who have tried to draw attention to this literary heritage over the past 40 years. Despite these efforts nobody, however, knows how many works and treatises and tracts have been lost or are still
lying unpublished somewhere in private collections or hidden from sight in libraries.

Here I am going to deal with almost the total corpus of Persian works and treatises on music from the 11th century up to the end of the 15th century. This corpus consists of some 50 treatises, tracts and essays which are either a part of larger works or independent treatises. Some of these treatises and works are preserved only in one manuscript, in other cases the number may run into tens. My concern from the beginning was that if it had been possible I would have tried to obtain all the Mss of works that I have dealt with here. However, after a closer consideration I realised that this would be unrealistic within the scope of this study, and therefore except in the cases of a few works (see above) this study will be based on published critical editions of the treatises and works. These published critical editions have, generally, been made by persons who have a good knowledge of the field, and the editors have also tried to compare as many old and reliable Mss as possible to establish the texts in published works. Therefore these critically edited and published works are, to a large extent, reliable materials to refer to.

These primary sources, both in the form of manuscripts and edited and published works, are the main sources that the study will be built on. In a few cases, where I have not been able to gain access to the original works, I will refer to pieces of information that are found in different secondary sources, for instance in various catalogues. I was obliged to use these secondary sources, generally because of the unwillingness of the libraries where the Mss of the works are kept to allow access to these Mss or, in other cases, because of difficulties in establishing contact with these libraries.

As has been pointed out above, in some cases I have had to use Mss of the works. In such cases I have tried to obtain and use the oldest available Mss, but I am aware of the fact that this does not mean that these Mss are the most reliable and correct Mss of the works in question.

The most significant and applied secondary sources in this study will be various catalogues that have been published by different libraries. Three catalogues which have been compiled by Massoudieh (1996), Munzawī (1348-1351 H.Š./1969-1972) and Dānišpažūh (1349/ H.Š./1970) have been of particular use in this study. Furthermore, the main sources for the first sections of each chapter (i.e. Background) are five books, namely: CHI, vols. 4 & 5; EI; Šafā (1338-1366 H.Š./1959-1987); Browne (1951-1956) and Rypka (1968).

Previous research

During the second half of the 20th century intensive and fruitful efforts were made, particular by a number of Iranian scholars, in to edit and publish musical treatises and tracts that were written before the 16th century. However,
the first attempt to introduce the total corpus of Persian manuscripts on music, which is the first step towards illuminating and mapping out the development of Persian writing on music, was made by Dānišpažūh towards the end of the 1960s. The result of this endeavour was published in the magazine *Hunar wa mardum*, nos. 95 – 100, under the title Șad-u sī-u andī āṭār-i āfārī dar mūsīqī (Some one hundred and thirty Persian works on music). The next attempt, which was based on Dānišpažūh’s work, was made by A. Munzawī. He has devoted part of the fifth volume of his work “Fihrist-i nusxah-hā-yi xaʃfī-yi āfārī” (A catalogue of Persian manuscripts) to Persian Mss on music, introducing some 169 treatises and compositions. This volume was published in 1972. Four years later Dānišpažūh published his second work on Persian writings on music entitled *Numūnah-ī az fihrist-i āṭār-i danišmandān-i 伊朗 wa Islāmī dar گینā’ wa mūsīqī* (Example of the catalogue of the Iranian and Islamic scholars on گینā’ and music) (1355 H.Š./1976). In this book, he has introduced the works and given samples from them. Besides these catalogues and lists of works on writings on music in Persian, Mašhūn (1373 H.Š./1994) presents and discusses in his book *Tāriḵ-i mūsīqi-yi 伊朗* (The music history of Iran) many works written on music theory. The book is a valuable source above all for an understanding of the musical history of Iran.

The only scholar outside the borders of Iran who has tried to introduce some Persian works on music and their Mss is Storey. In his work “Persian literature: A bio-bibliographical survey” (Storey 1977) he introduces briefly some 47 Persian writings on music. Furthermore, one can find much valuable information on particular Mss in many excellent descriptive catalogues written in England, France, Germany, Russia, India, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan. Nevertheless, the most comprehensive catalogue that introduces almost the total corpus of Persian musical Mss was written by M. T. Massoudieh (1996). This study is the first study that tries not only to bring together all our present knowledge of Persian writings on music but to introduce a number of works that have not been noted in the above-mentioned catalogues. Another, and perhaps the most important aspect of the study, is also to try to penetrate and analyse this corpus of writings in order to throw light on the development of the genre and particularly its various approaches, categories and topics during the five first centuries of its development. As far as I know, it is the first study that deals with writings on music as a genre of learned literature with its own internal and external processes of change and development.
The arrangement of the work

This dissertation consists of a main part and five appendixes. The main part starts with an introductory chapter (chapter one), dealing with the possible roots of Persian writing on music in the ancient world. Each chapter from the second chapter up to the sixth chapter will be divided into two sections. In the first section of each chapter I will discuss cultural, social, political, religious and economic circumstances and situations that directly or indirectly have an impact on the development of this genre of learned literature. In the second section of each chapter, which is headed “Exposition”, biographies of authors and their works will be presented. Some examples from the works in question will also be introduced in this section. The structure of these expostions is the same as that of a sonata form, in which generally speaking just the themes (here writers and works) are introduced. Detailed analyses of the works and deeper discussions of them will be presented in the last chapter of the dissertation. However, I shall devote a few words on the most characteristic features of the works at the end of their presentation. The last chapter of the dissertation is headed “Summary, Conclusions and Periodization”, in which I will attempt to summarize and draw conclusions from what has been presented in the previous chapters. Here, I will also try to periodize the development of the Persian writings on music particularly in connection with its topical development.

The last part of the dissertation consists of five appendixes and a bibliography and an index.

Definitions, explanations and other remarks

In this study, I will use Persian (Pārsī-yi Darā, or just Pārsī) for the language that was spoken and written during the 11th century up to the 15th century in a geographical area that stretched from what now forms the Iranian border to Iraq in the west, beyond the city of Delhi in the east and from present-day Uzbekistan in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south. In other words, Persian includes what now is called Fārsī in Iran, Tājiki in Tajikistan and Darā in Afghanistan. I have chosen to employ the phrase “Persian-speaking areas” to denote the areas that have been mentioned above. Nevertheless, I am aware of the fact that the employment of these terms is, to some extent, problematic. Still, it causes fewer problems than the usage of the word Iran that has often been misunderstood.

Because of the interdisciplinary nature of the study, its readers will largely represent two groups of people with different backgrounds of knowledge, namely Iranists and musicologists. Consequently, sometimes some definitions and explanations of terms, concepts and pieces of information may seem unnecessary for one group, while for the other group,
who are unfamiliar with those terms and concepts, they are necessary and essential. One example is biographies of authors, which for a literary historian and a philologist who is familiar with Persian literature and is accordingly acquainted with these authors and writers, are unnecessary, while for a musicologist these biographies are necessary and, to some extent, essential pieces of information. Therefore, in order to create a balance between readers with different areas of knowledge, I am going to explain and define what I consider indispensable, necessary and essential for the understanding of the study by both groups.

A number of musical and Sufi terms and concepts that have been employed in different treatises and tracts have been defined, explained and translated by experts and scholars, among others Farmer, Shiloah, Nicholson, Biniš, Wright. However, a considerable numbers of these terms and concepts have not previously been translated or defined in English. In this regard I have met with two problems. Firstly, this study has, as pointed out, a time frame which covers the period from the 11th century to the end of the 15th century, and geographically a vast area which now forms different countries. Consequently, the usage and employment of one and the same term and concept differs from time to time and from place to place. To find an exact definition for these terms is almost impossible, and therefore definitions and explanations will differ according to time and place in the study. Secondly, owing to the fact that these terms belong to another culture, it has sometimes been difficult to find appropriate English equivalents, and therefore some translations and definitions have the nature of suggestion and interpretation rather than the explicit definition and translation. In a few cases, I will not define or translate the terms because this is beyond the scope of this study. In such cases I have just transcribed the terms without any definition.

As regards the translations, I have tried to use already existing English and French translations of the works in question. The names of translators will naturally be mentioned after each cited translated passage. However, a considerable number of translations have been done by myself. In such cases, I am not going to mention my name after the translated passage(s).

The terms “musica speculativa” and “the Systematist School” which will occur several times in this study need to be defined and explained, particularly for those who are not musicologists or music anthropologists. The Latin term musica speculativa is used to name an approach to music theory that was established in ancient Greece by the Greek philosophers and scientists. It was based on a merely scientific and mathematical approach to music theory with very little connection to the music that was practised during that period, and it was an ideal musical system that the Greek scientist-philosophers used to speculate on. It was a part of encyclopaedic knowledge and thereby encyclopaedic works.
During the 13th century a new musical system and consequently a new “musical school” was established in the region. This school, which was to be termed the Systematist School, was presumably founded by Şaīf al-Dīn ṬAbd al-Mu'īn al-Urmawī. This system had another approach to the division of an octave into intervals which differed considerably from that of the earlier system. In the earlier system that had been established by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā an octave had been divided into 22 intervals, while in the new system an octave was divided into 17 intervals. The result of re-division of the octave into 17 intervals was that the intervallic relation between tones of a mode were changed, which, in turn, changed the division and arrangement of the modes into main modes, secondary modes and auxiliary modes. One explanation for the emergence of the new system in the works of music theorists of the 13th century is that the theorists gave up, to some extent, the speculative approach to music, grounding their work on a more practical approach to music (for further information see also the last chapter of this study).

The term samā’ has often been translated audition, listening to music and even music. However, samā’ and samā’-sessions began as simple gatherings where Sufis merely read and listen to the Koran. Nevertheless, during its development other activities and elements (e.g. [vocal, instrumental] music, dance) were gradually adopted and added at these gatherings and became parts of this Sufi religious session. This process of change and development was still going on during the period that this dissertation studies. Therefore, a fixed definition of the term samā’ is not correct and valid for different periods of the process of the development, and we have to take this process of change and development into consideration. For this reason I will not define the term here but refer readers to the definition of various authors and writers in the text in the following chapters, thus putting the definition into its historical context.
In the Introduction I have discussed briefly the roots of Persian learned literature. In this chapter I will first discuss the roots of Persian writing on music focusing on the development of this literary genre in the ancient world including pre-Islamic Iran and the Islamic world prior to the 11th century.

Writing on music prior to the rise of the Arabic musical literature

The geographical situation of the Iranian plateau (and the lowland Xūzistān) played a very significant role for the cultural development of the people who lived there. Continuous cultural exchanges and contacts between these people and other ancient civilizations, i.e. the Mesopotamian civilizations (Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian, Assyrian), Indian, Chinese, Egyptian, and Greek, to a considerable extent determined the cultural development of the country. To find the roots of any cultural development and progress (and in our case writing on music) in Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan, we have to take this geo-cultural circumstance into consideration. Therefore, a brief history of writing on music among the neighbouring peoples and cultures prior to the 11th century will also be presented here.

The textual evidence from ancient Mesopotamian, particularly Sumerian and Akkadian cuneiform texts, reveals that there existed much activity in the field of musical theory in Mesopotamia during the ancient period. According to Kilmer (Sasson 1995, vol. iv: 2601), many Sumerian and Akkadian cuneiform tablets inscribed with information relating to all aspects of music have come down to us. These texts describe, among other things, musical instruments, scales, tunings (Kilmer, [Realexiikon der Assyriologie 1993-1997: 463-482]). The most significant texts among these written materials are, Neo-Assyrian Ikribu, Middle Babylonian Nabnītu, and eight cuneiform texts, which were written between the early second millennium and the
middle of the first and which describe the Akkadian “modal system” (Kilmer [Sasson 1995: 2606]).

Concerning Egypt, it is interesting to note that in spite of the Egyptian concern about documentation of all aspect of their lives (Anderson [Sasson 1995, vol. iv: 2555]), no written document or text devoted to music has come down to us, which indicates that this activity was not established among the ancient Egyptians (ibid.). However, there are fragments of hymns that refer to music. For instance, the hymns from Hathor’s temple at Dendara, show the role of music in the religious services. In one of the hymns in Hathor’s honour, in which there are references to music and musical instrument, one reads:

We play the drum for your spirit,
We dance for your majesty,
We uplift you to the skies.
For you are the mistress of the arched sistrum,
Of the menat and the naos sistrum,
The mistress of jubilation,
For whose spirit music is performed.

[Ibid.]

It seems, according to our present knowledge, that in ancient China writing on music was not as established as in the ancient Mesopotamian civilizations, and that this literary activity began fairly late there. Lam (GEWM vol. 7: 128) mentions a document from the end of the fifth century BC, in which is discussed the use of music “as a means of governance and self-cultivation”. He (ibid.: 129) introduces another work on music written in ca. 907, namely Yuefu zalu (Miscellaneous notes on music) which partly deals with court music, musical instruments and musicians of the Tang dynasty (618-907) written by Duan Anjie. Another noteworthy work is Sima Qian’s historical work Shiji (Records of the grand historian), which was written about 100 BC and in which a chapter is devoted to Yue (music). Yingshi (ibid.: 115) notes that after this work Chinese writing on music became a part of the official histories of most dynasties. He introduces also another work on music, namely Yueshu yaolu (Treatise on music) written and published around the eight century. It is probable that the work was a result of the Greek impact on Chinese writing on music.

Sanskrit writing on music in India also began fairly late, and almost all of the works that have come down to us were written after the first century AD. However, the problem is that we are not sure about the exact dates of

11 In these Akkadian texts the following seven modes are described, išartu, kitmu, embûbu, pîtu, Nîd qabli, nîš gabari, qabîitu (see also Kilmer [Reallexikon der Assyriologie 1993-1997: 472-474])
composition of the works. One of the earliest works on music in India is a part, or rather the third section of the third Khanḍa of Viṣṇudharmottara, of the Purāṇa. The work treats of vocal and instrumental music. As mentioned above, it is not clear when the work was composed; nevertheless, Rocher (Gonda 1986: 252) mentions that al-Bīrūnī used it extensively, suggesting that the text was written between the fifth and eleventh centuries. Another early significant Sanskrit work on music, which we also do not know the exact date of its composition, is Nāṭyaśāstra. The oldest commentary on the work by Udāhta (the 7th century) indicates, however, that the work was written prior to that century. It seems that the work was written between the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Rowell [GEWM vol. 5: 23]). Nāṭyaśāstra is the oldest and most comprehensive work on Indian dramaturgy. It is divided into thirty-six chapters of which six (in some editions seven), or rather from chapter 28 to 33, are devoted to music. According to the translation of the work (Nāṭyaśāstra 1999: 218-329), the chapters that deal with music have the following topics:

The chapter XXVIII: Instrumental music
Types of instruments; Gāndharva music; The svara-s; Grāma; Mūrchanā-s; The tāṇa-s; The Sādhārana svara; Jāttī-s; Anśa-s; The ten characteristics of jāttī-s; The Nyāsa and Apanyāsa.

The chapter XXIX: Stringed instruments
Application of jāttī to rasa; Varṇa and alankāra; Alankāra-s; The characteristics of alankāra-s; Songs and their characteristics; Dhātu-s; Vṛtti-s, Three kinds of Vīṇā playing; The karaṇa-s of Vipañcī; The bahirgīta-s.

The chapter XXX: Hollow instruments
Svara and śrutī; śrutī-s and the placing of fingers; Svarāsādhārana and kākali

The chapter XXXI: Rules of tāla
Tāla; Two types of tāla; Cāpapuṭa; Tāla of six syllables; The Caturasra Tryasra; The hand and finger movements (pāta); Udghaṭa tāla; Method of showing tāla; The āsārīta-s; Vardhamāna (origin); The characteristics of Vardhamāna; Layāntara and three ārsārīta-s; The limbs of the āsārīta; Vardhamāna and Layāntara; The short āsārīta; Mukha (Upohana); Gaṇa-s; Āsārīta concluded; Vardhamāna, its limbs and their tāla-s; The tāla-s of

12 Three other suggested dates are: between A.D. 600 and 1000 (Kane 1962: 910), between A.D. 450 and 650 (Shah Viṣṇudharomtrara 1958: xxvi), between A.D. 400 and 500 (Hazra 1958: 212). (For further information see Rocher, [Gonda 1986: 252]).
The chapter XXXII: The dhruvā songs
The dhuruvā songs; The limbs of the dhuruvā songs; The seven limbs of the dhuruvā; The Avasāniki dhuruvā; Types of dhuruvā-s; The Nihaddha and Anihaddha pada-s; The vṛttta-s of dhuruvā-s; Description of the vṛttta-s; Distribution of the gaṇa-s and mātrā-s; The gaṇa-s of the divisions; The gaṇa-mātrā-s of the Druta dhruvā-s; The Śīrṣaka-s; The vṛttta-s of the Narkuṭa (ka) class; The vṛttta-s for the Khaṇjakā; The minor dhruvā-s; The five aspects of dhruvā-s; The five occasions; The occasions and rasa-s of the dhruvā-s; Six types of dhruvā-s and their use; The subject of dhruvā-s; Dhruvā-s suggesting time and movement; The vṛttta-s for dhruvā-s; The language of dhruvā-s; The procedure of dhruvā-s songs; The rules about the graha-s; About songs; The qualities of singers and instrument players; The Viṇā player; The flute player; Performance of men and women; Varied characteristics.

The chapter XXXIII: The Avanaddha instruments
The Avanaddha instruments; The invention of Avanaddha instruments; Use of these instruments; Details of the instruments; The svara-s; Rules of Puṣkara instruments; Details of these; The syllable sounds in the Puṣkara-s; The five kinds of Pāṇiprahata-s; The four mārga-s; The playing of the Dardura and the Pāṇava; The combined playing of the three Puṣkara instruments; The karaṇa-s of the three Puṣkara-s; The three Yati-s; The three mārjana-s; Mārjana of Vāmaka and the Īrdhva with earth; The three saṃyoga-s; The three gata-s; The eight saṃya-s; The eighteen jāti-s; Playing of the gata-s in the dhruvā-s; The order of playing; Playing of puṣkara-s in dance; The twenty prakāra-s; The seating of the singers and the instrument players; The performance of the pūrvaranga; Playing for walking and other movements; Playing for female characters; Playing of interludes (anta-ravāḍaya); Playing for the Prāsādikā and other dhruvā-s; Udghāya; The concluding; Special characteristics of the instru-
ments; the qualities of hide; The preparing of the instruments; the installing of the instruments; Various details.

Rowell (GEWM vol. 5: 24) introduces four other Sanskrit works on music written prior to the 10th century. These works are: the Dattilam, which deals with svara and tāla, focusing on the ritual music during the Gupta Empire (320-535); the Nārādiyaśīkṣā, which was compiled between the 5th and 6th centuries and which is partly on music, dealing with the history of the development of Vedic chant, the system of musical modes, the qualities of good and bad singing and instructions for young priests who are learning to chant the hymns of the Sāmaveda; the Brhaddeśi (The great treatise on daśī), which was composed in the 9th century, is a description of provincial music (daśī); and Abhinavabhārati, which is a commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra written by Abhinavagupta during c. 1000.13

Undoubtedly, one of the most important civilizations in the development and establishment of writing on music was Greece. The Greek influence on Arabic and Persian writing on music is obvious and well documented. It is probable that they inherited part of the Ancient Mesopotamian tradition of writing on music theory.14 The great ancient Greek philosophers, and scientists such as Aristotle, Euclid, Aristoxenus, and Plato, contributed to the definite establishment of scientific or speculative writing on music. One of the oldest Greek music theory works is Harmonika stoicheia or Elementa Harmonica (Harmonic elements) by Aristoxenus (b. 375 or 360 BC d. ?). It is the first part of his large work, On music, which has been lost. In this work (Barker 1989, vol. 2: 126-184) the author discusses among other things, the definition of the science of “music”;15 melody (melos);16 intervals (diastēma),17 tetrachord; mode, scale (systēma);18 also the theory (theória-) of scales (systēmatē); tonoi (note); species of consonances. Furthermore, fragments of his Elementa rhythmica, have come down to us. The author

13 For further information on these works see Rowell, ibid..
14 Abraham (1988: 28) points out that Pythagoras, who is generally considered as the founder of the musica speculativa or the scientific theory of music, “... May have learned of the connection between mathematical ratios and musical intervals from the Babylonians ...”
15 He (ibid.: 126) writes: “The science concerned with melody has many parts and is divided into several species, of which the study called Harmonics must be considered one: in order it is first, and its character is like that of an element. For it is the study of first principles, which include whatever is relevant to an understanding of systēmata and tonoi.”
16 Concerning melody, Aristoxenus (ibid.: 128) explains that: “... melody has several different natures, but only one out of all of them is that of the kind that is attuned [hērmosmenon] and capable of being sung.”
17 He (ibid.: 136) defines diastēma as follows: “An interval [diastēma] is that which is bounded by two notes which do not have the same pitch, since an interval appears, roughly speaking, to be a difference between pitches, and a space capable of receiving notes higher than the lower of the pitches which bound it, and lower than the higher of them. Difference between pitches lies in their having been subjected to greater or lesser tension.”
18 The definition of systēma according to Aristoxenus (ibid.) is that: “... A systēma is to be understood as something put together from more than one interval.”
(ibid.: 185-189) in this treatise deals with time (chronos), different durations, i.e. primary (prōtos), two-unit (disēmos), three-unit (trisēmos), and four-unit (tetrasēmos).

This philosophical musico-literary activity continued and was developed during the Hellenistic period and the early Middle Ages by music theorists. Among the most important and influential works written during this period can be mentioned Ptolemy’s Harmonics (written some time during the second century AD). He in that work (ibid.: 275-391) has dealt with the following topics:

**Book One**

- Concerning the criteria in Harmonics
- What the aim of the student of Harmonics is
- How the height and depth that relates to sounds is constituted
- Concerning notes and their differences
- Concerning the principles adopted by the Pythagoreans in their postulates about the concords
- That the Pythagoreans reason incorrectly about the causes of things to do with the concords
- How the ratios of the concords may be more correctly defined
- In what way the ratios of the concords will be demonstrated beyond dispute by means of the single-stringed kanōn
- That the Aristoxenians are wrong in measuring the concords by the intervals and not by the notes
- That they [the Aristoxenians] are wrong in assuming that the concord of a fourth consists of two and a half tones
- How the octave can be shown, through perception, to be less than six tones, by the use of the eight-stringed kanōn
- Concerning the division of the genera and of the tetrachords in each, according to Aristoxenus
- Concerning the division of the genera and the tetrachords according to Archytas
- A demonstration that neither of the divisions [i.e., those proposed by Aristoxenus and by Archytas] preserves what is truly melodic
- Concerning the division of the tetrachords by genus, according to what is rational [eulogon] and evident to perception [phainomenon]
- The genera more familiar to the hearing - how many there are, and which ones they are

**Book Two**

- How the ratios of the familiar genera can also be found through perception
• Concerning the use of the kanōn in connection with the instrument called the helikōn
• Concerning the forms [eidē, ‘species’] of the first concords
• Concerning the complete systēma, and that only the double octave is of this kind
• How the names of the notes are understood in relation to thesis [‘position’] and to dynamis [‘function’, ‘capacity’]
• How the magnitude of the octave conjoined with a fourth acquired the reputation of being a complete systēma
• Concerning modulations with respect to what are called the tonoi
• That the outermost tonoi must be bounded by the octave
• That we must posit just seven tonoi, equal in number to the species [eidē] of the octave
• How the differences between the tonoi may be soundly established
• That one should not increase the tonoi by the semitones
• On the difficulty of using the single-stringed kanōn
• Concerning the alterations to the kanōn proposed by the music-theorist Didymus
• An exposition of the numbers making up the division of the octave in the changeless tonos and for each of the genera individually
• Exposition of the numbers that make up the divisions of the familiar genera in the seven tonoi
• Concerning the things played on the lyra and the kithara

Book Three

• How the ratios throughout the whole [system] can be employed and assessed by means of the fifteen-stringed kanōn
• Methods for the division of the double octave by means of eight notes only
• In what class the power [dynamis] of harmonia, and the science of it, are to be located
• That the power of attunement [to hērmosmenom] is present in all things that are more prefect in their natures, but is revealed most fully through human souls and through the movements in the heavens
• How the concords are attuned to the primary distinctions in the soul, along with the species proper to them

19 Parts of the theory which is presented in this chapter is called “music of the spheres” and attributed to the Babylonians. We find this approach to music and music theory in early Arabic works like Rasā’il al-ixwān al-safā.
A comparison between the genera of attunement [to hērmosmenom] and the genera to which the primary virtues belong

How the modulations of attunement resemble those of souls in crises of life

Concerning the similarity between the complete systēma and the circle running through the middle of the signs of the zodiac

How the concords the discords of attunement [to hērmosmenom] are similar to those in the zodiac

That continuous sequence [to ephexēs] among notes resembles the longitudinal movement of the stars

How the vertical movement of the stars is comparable to the genera in harmonica

That the modulations between tonoi correspond to the lateral movements of the stars

Concerning the correspondence [analogia] between the tetrachords and the configurations in relation to the sun

Which are the first numbers in which the fixed notes of the complete systēma may be compared with the first spheres that there are in the universe

How the ratios of the movements proper to each can be found in terms of numbers

How the interrelations of the planets are to be compared with those of the notes

Two other influential music theorists during the Hellenistic and early Middle Ages periods were Aristides Quintilianus (with his celebrated work Peri mousikēs, written during the second century AD) and Boethius (the author of De institutione musica, written some times during the beginning of the sixth century AD).

The rise of Arabic musical literature

The Arabic-Islamic writing on music began with the subjects that were, roughly speaking, based more on native traditions. The Arabic writings on music prior to the 16th century can be divided into three distinct periods. The first period begins from the rise of the Umayyads up to the beginning of the 9th century and the emergence of the Greek influenced speculative writing on music. Among the works which were written during this period can

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20 Because of the importance of the Arabic writing on music in the development of Persian writing on music even after the 11th century I will deal with it up to the end of the 15th century.
be mentioned Yūnus al-Kāṭīb’s *Kitāb fī al-ağānī*, al-Xalīl’s *kitāb al-nağm* and *Kitāb al-iğār* (Farmer 1940: 14).  

The second period runs from the emergence of Greek influenced speculative and scientific writing on music to the development of the “Systematist School” in the mid-13th century. In keeping with Shiloah (1979: 2), the speculative writing on music theory emerged during the 9th century through the translation of ancient Greek and Roman music theory into Arabic first by the Christian philosopher and physician Hunayn b. Ishāq (d. 873). The genre was rapidly established and reached its highest perfection through the works of al-Kindī, (with his work *Risālah fī ajzā’ xabarīyyah fī al-mūṣīqi?), al-Saraxsī (with his *Kitāb al-maddal ila ‘ilm al-mūṣīqi?) Two other key figures in this period were al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. The most significant work of al-Fārābī is *Kitāb al-mūṣīqi al-kabīr*, in which he deals with following topics (MA):

**Livre de l'introduction**

**Premier discours**

Définition de la mélodie; Musique théorique et musique pratique; Les instruments – Disposition musicale; Invention de la mélodie – Divers genres de musique produisant sur l’ame différents effets – Le talent musical: La voix et le jeu des instruments – Origines de la musique – Invention des instruments – Éducation musicale – La science théorique; Art musical théorique – Jugements des sens et de l'intelligence; Principes premiers; Ce qui est «natural» en musique.

**Deuxième discours**


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21 No Mss of these works have come down to us.
22 Unfortunately, no Ms of the work has come down to us.
consonances – Les rapports simples; Produit et division (addition et soustraction) des rapports.

Livre premier

Premier discours
Principes de physique: Production du son; Sa transmission – La note; Sa définition; Corps qui produisent des notes – Causes de l’acuité et de la gravité; Causes que l’on peut mesurer et causes que l’on ne peut apprécier; Rapports des notes – De l’intervalle musical: Double octave, Quarte, Quinte, Ton; Rapports consonants; Rapports dissonants; Les intervalles grands, Moyens et petits – Règles arithmétiques pour l’addition, La division et la soustraction des intervalles – Les diaphones, Différentes espèces d’intervalles consonants: Les grands ou les moyens ou symphones et les petits ou emmèles – Les genres.

Deuxième discours
Groupes plus grands que la quarte; Le groupe parfait ou double octave – Noms des notes dans le groupe; Notes fixes et notes mobiles – Tonalités – Mélange des notes et des intervalles; Mélange des groupes et des tonalités – Évolution de la mélodie a travers les notes – Le rythme – Construction d’un instrument pour la vérification expérimentale de la théorie – De la finalité dans les mélodies.

Livre duexième: Ou livre des instruments


Deuxième discouse
Les Ţunbûrs; Le Ţunbûr de Bağdâd; Touches équidistantes et touches variables – Autres accords; Fixation des genres sur cet instrument – Le Ţunbûr du Hûrûsan – Correspondance des notes du Ţunbûr de Hûrûsan avec celles de l’échelle du Luth – Autres accords – Les flutes; Acuité

Livre III: La composition musicale

Premier discours

Deuxième discours
Mélodies vocales; La voix humaine – Les phonèmes – La phrase – Adaptation de la parole a la mélodie; Notes vides et notres pleines – Chants a notes vides – Chants a notes pleines – Chants mixtes – Chants conjoints et disjoints – Composition des mélodies vocales – Début et finale d’un chant – Effets des mélodies; Leur embellissement; leur rapport avec les passions – Finale de l’ouvrage.

As for Ibn Sīnā, the two important works of his on music theory are sections on music in al-Šifāʾ and al-Najāt. In the chapter on music in al-Šifāʾ he (ibid., tom. ii: 105-245) deals with the following topics:

Prémier discours
(art. I): Avant-propos
(art. II): Définition de la musique; Causes du son; Son acuité; Sa gravité et leurs causes
(art. III): Sur la connaissance des intervalles
(art. IV): Les intervalles consonants de première classe
(art. V): Les intervalles consonants de deuxième classe

Deuxième discours
(art. I): De l’addition et la soustraction des intervalles; Addition; Soustraction;
(art. II): Du Redoublement des intervalles et de leur division par moitié

Troisième discours
(art. I): Du genre et de sa classification en espèces
(art. II): Du nombre des genres
(art. III): De ce qui reste a dire des genres forts

Quatrième discours
(art. I): Du groupe
(art. II): De l’évolution de la mélodie a travers les notes

Cinquième discours
(art. I): Les notes musicales (la rythmique)
(art. II): Du rythme déclamé
(art. III): Énumération des espèces de rythmes conjoints et disjoints (rythmes en faveur)
(art. IV): Les rythmes Quaternaires, quinaires et sextaires
(art. V): De la poésie et des mètres poétiques

Dernier discours
Article premier: De la composition de la mélodie
Article deuxième: Des instruments

This period can, in its turn, be divided into two phases. The first phase covers the period from the emergence of scientific treatises on music at the beginning of the 9th century to the beginning of the 10th century. The works written during this phase show clear influence from Greek music theorists, particularly Ptolemy, and their approaches to music. Among the most prominent authors of this phase can be mentioned al-Kindī, and the authors of Rasā’il ixfān al-safā. The second phase runs from the beginning of the 10th century up to the emergence of the Systematist School during the 13th century. Under this phase the Arabic writers tried to approach music and music theory in a more strictly scientific way, rejecting topics like relationship between notes and parts of the soul, the relationship between harmony of the spheres and that of music. The two most significant persons during this phase are al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā.

The third period began with the emergence of the Systematist School and combination of musica speculativa and practica continuing up to the end of the 15th century, i.e. 1490s, and the decline of the Systematist School, and to some extent, also speculative music theory. The most celebrated works during this period belong to Şaff al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Urmawī who is probably the founder of this new school. The most significant work of his is Kitāb al-adwār fī al-mūsīqī (The book of the cycles [of modes] in music) in which al-Urmawī (1986) deals with the following topics:

الفصل الأول في النغم وبيان الحدة والكلل
Chapter one: On the acuity and gravity of notes
الفصل الثاني في تقسم الدسانيين
Chapter two: On the division of frets
Chapter three: On the ratios of intervals

Chapter four: On the causes of dissonances

Chapter five: On the composition of consonance

Chapter six: On the cycles and their ratios

Chapter seven: On the rule [of tuning] of two-stringed instruments

Chapter eight: On the tuning of the ‘ād and the derivation of the cycles from it

Chapter nine: On the names of the common modes

Chapter ten: On the partnership of the modes

Chapter eleven: On the transpositions of cycles

Chapter twelve: On the uncommon tunings

Chapter thirteen: On the rhythmic cycles

Chapter fourteen: On the influence of modes

Chapter fifteen: Advice on musical practice

However, the above-mentioned periodization is very rough, and I believe that a deeper study of the subject will show the necessity of a more detailed periodization of writings on music in Arabic before the 16th century.

Besides the theoretical approach to music, other approaches, e.g. the religious, didactic and even medical, to music were also developed in Arabic from the 9th century onwards. Perhaps the most important approach to music after the theoretical one was the religious approach. And a corpus of treatises on the unlawfulness and lawfulness of music (malāḥī, ginā‘, samā‘) was written by religious authorities and different writers from the 9th century onwards. With the formation of Sufism this approach developed during the 10th century and many works on samā‘ were written by Sufi leaders. Some of the most celebrated treatises on the unlawfulness and lawfulness of music, which were written during the 9th and 10th centuries, are: Zam al-malāḥī (The censure of instruments of diversion [Robson 1938]) by Abū-Bakr b. ‘abd-Allāh b. Abī al-Dunyā, Kitāb al-Samā‘ (The book of Samā‘) by ‘Abd-al-

Old- and Middle Persian and writing on music

The immigrating Iranian-speaking people, who successively displaced the Elamites in the south and lowland Xūzistān and inherited their cultural achievements, had continuous cultural exchanges and contacts with the above-mentioned civilizations during their history, and they were affected by them and affected them. However, no written materials from pre-Islamic, and especially pre-Sasanian times have come down to us, and it is, therefore, difficult to obtain a good picture of the extent of cultural exchanges and, generally, cultural circumstances during the period. Even our knowledge of the Sasanian period is limited and insufficient. The most well documented of such cultural contacts and exchanges the Iranian people had were those with Greece and India and to a limited extent with China and Egypt.

As we have seen above, in almost all of the neighbouring ancient civilizations writing on music had been established either as a part of scientific or religious or literary activities. Judging from the materials which have come down to us, it must, however, be mentioned that despite the constant contacts with these civilizations during the pre-Islamic period the Iranian peoples were not interested in writing on music in their own languages (Old Persian, Parthian, Middle Persian or other minor Iranian languages) until the eleventh century. Even when cultural exchanges with one of the most influential civilizations in this regard, i.e. the Greeks, were accelerated through a number of events,²³ the Iranians did not show any interest in writing on music in Middle Persian, a genre that was already a part of learned literature or scientific writings in Greece.

Regarding cultural exchanges with India, we know that Iran and India had constant cultural exchanges particularly during the Sasanian period. For instance, a number of Indian literary works were translated into Middle Persian under the Sasanians (Klima [Rypka 1968: 53 and 55]),²⁴ which suggests that the Iranians were not unacquainted with Indian literature. In the field of music, the import of many Indian singers and dancers during the Bahrām Gūr of the Sasanian also indicates the high level of the cultural

²³ Perhaps the most mentionable such events were the exile of the Nestorians from Byzantium and their settlement and establishment of many schools in Sasanian territories and the refuge of seven philosophers of the Academy in Athens in 529, in the Sasanian capital, Ktesiphon.

²⁴ Klima (*ibid.*) mentions that there is a report in the *Dēnkart* stating that “King Shāpūr I caused translations of Greek and Indian works to be made, which translations were to be incorporated into a collection of religious texts.”
exchanges between Iran and India during the Sasanian period. However, judging from the written materials that have come down to us, we can state that the Iranians did not show any interest in writing on music in Middle Persian even after the intensification of cultural exchanges with India, where writing on music to some extent was established, under the Sasanians.

Middle Persian was a poor language where scientific terminology was concerned (Tabarî 1361 H.Š./1982: 85), and therefore, Iranian scientists probably preferred to write in other languages, e.g. Syriac, Greek, than Middle Persian. Bahâr (1369 H.Š./1990, vol. i: 158) also points out this tendency among Iranian authors and writes that many Iranian authors wrote their works in Syriac in particular. This is probably an explanation for the lack of writings on music in Middle Persian. It should also be pointed out that the destruction by Arab-Muslims was enormous regarding books and written materials, which they considered as unnecessary and superfluous for a Muslim and other people. Many books, treatises and tracts were burnt and destroyed particularly during the first three decades after the Arab-Muslim conquest of Sasanian territory. However, the last word has not yet been said, and perhaps later studies will show another picture of literary activities during the pre-Islamic period in Iran concerning writing on music.

At any rate, one finds very short passages on music and references to music in different texts and writings in Middle Persian literature. For example, in Draxt-i asârik (1346 H.Š./1967: 77) the names of a few instruments are mentioned in verses number 101 and 102. The verses are as follows:

101. Čang ud win ud kannâr  ud barbat ud tambûr
The čang [the harp] and the vin [a type of Indian lute] and the kannâr [the lute] and the barbat [a type of lute] and the tambûr [a type of long necked lute]

102. Hamâg zanênd  pad man sarâyênd
All (who) play, play on me.

In the Manichean (Parthian) text “grîwžîwandâ-gig bâšâh (hymns to the living self)” (Boyce 1975: 105) found in Turfan, we read the following passage:

- tbyl šnng ‘wt nd pdwxn’d, srwd’n nw’g ‘c hrw ’gwc.
- The tabîl (a type of drum), the čang (the harp) and the naô (a type of flute) were played, songs (and) melody (were) everywhere.

In Xîsrîv i Kavâtîn ut Rêtak (1982: 65) there is a very interesting passage on music, musicians, and musical instruments:
§ 13. ‘pat-č sūr-vin’ ut barbūt ut tambūr ut kannār ut ’har srōt čikāmak ut ‘pat-č patvāčak guftan ut pādvāzīk kartan’ avistāt ‘mart ‘h-om.
Also I am master of playing the sūr-vīn (banquet vina), the lute, the sūr (?) and the kannār, and of giving answer (i.e. responding with song to instruments) and in dancing.

The following passage in that text (ibid.: 77) also gives us some pieces of information about the different musical instruments used during the Sasanian period:

§62. čang-srāy vīn'-srāy vīn'-kannār-srāy ut sūr-pīk-srāy ut mustak-srāy ut tambūr-srāy barbut-srāy nād-srāy dūmbalak-srāy…
The harp-player, the vina-player, the long-necked-lute-player, and the Pandean flute-player and the cither-player and the lyre-player and the flute-player and the hand-drum-player …

In spite of these examples, as noted above, the writing of the first work on music in an Iranian language took place as late as the eleventh century. Its emergence, with regard to the topics treated in the first work (see next chapter), was like the emergence of “Minerva from the head of Jupiter, fully equipped from the shadow of history.” (Lazard [CHI. vol. 4: 598]). Nonetheless, it should be borne in mind that when this genre emerged in Persian sixty works in various categories of the genre had already been written (see Shiloah 1979) in Arabic by Iranians and others. Iranian authors, therefore had much skill and experience in writing in this genre before the 11th century, but neither the culturo-political circumstances were ready nor the new language mature enough to be employed for this genre of learned literature until the 11th century.
Chapter 2
Writing on music during the 11th century

Background

The political and military decline of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate during the second half of the 9th century and the 10th century resulted in the rise and establishment of a number of local dynasties, which ruled over a vast area in the region from Transoxania to Egypt. Concerning Persian-speaking areas, during this period, called “the Iranian intermezzo” by Minorsky (1964: 244), a number of powerful Iranian local dynasties were established. Their territories stretched from Transoxania to the heart of the Abbasids capital Baghdad. However, the relations between these Iranian local dynasties were mostly tense, and their relations did not go further than their political ambitions. The most powerful military dynasty among these was the Būyids (ca 320/932-448/1055), who had risen from the region of Daylam on the south shore of the Caspian Sea and who spoke Šabarī. They managed to capture Baghdad, the capital of the ‘Abbasids, reducing the political power of the Abbasid Caliphs substantially. Another local Iranian dynasty, which ruled over the northeastern part of the Iranian plateau, was the Sāmānīd (261/874-389/999), who had Darī, also called Pārsī-yi Darī, as their mother tongue.

At the beginning of the 11th century, two powerful Iranian local dynasties, i.e. the Šaffārids and the Sāmānīds, vanished from the political and military scene. A few other minor dynasties, however, managed to establish themselves in various parts of the Iranian plateau. The most important of these, which established themselves in the central part of Iran, was the Kākūyids (398/1007-443/1061). Nevertheless, the 11th century was, generally speaking, the period during which the Iranian local dynasties disappeared from the political and military scene of the region or were reduced to dependent states by becoming the vassals of Turkish dynasties. Besides the above mentioned Kākūyids, we can mention the Ziyārids (316/928-470/1077). Beginning as a vassal of the Sāmānīds, the first Turkish dynasty, the Gaznawids, established themselves in 367/998 after defeating the last Sāmānīd ruler and lasted up to 583/1187. The second Turkish dynasty, the Saljuqs, rose not long after the establishment of the first one. Like the Gaznawids, they began their political career as vassals, but
successively they also managed to enhance their military and political power, establishing their dynasty in 429/1038. They were to dominate the political and military scene of not only Persian-speaking areas but also the vast area of the whole region for almost 150 years (429/1038-590/1194). With the emergence of Turkish dynasties, which utilized the two Sunni Islamic schools of Ḥanafī and Ṣafī‘ī for their political ambitions, the religious climate hardened and became more tense after a period of relatively peaceful coexistence between different Sunni schools and Shi‘ism during the 10th century and partly during the first half of the 11th century, when a Sunni Abbasid caliph was the religious leader of the East Islamic Empire and a Shi‘i Būyid ruler was the political one. As a consequence of this religious policy, the persecution of non-Sunni thinkers and even non-Ḥanafī and Ṣafī‘ī thinkers was intensified. This religious policy caused socio-religious unrest in the region. Religious movements such as the Ismā‘īlīs became more and more militarized in order to defend themselves against the aggression and religious oppression of the state, particularly during the Great Saljuqs. The Saljuq Empire (like that of the Gāznawīs) was a military regime and depended on its huge army. Maintaining this army, which swallowed up a huge part of the economic resources of the realm, with the economic deterioration of the realm as a consequence, the Saljuq rulers started a sweeping land reform, which impacted profoundly on the economic, social and political situation in Persian-speaking areas.25

With the decrease of ‘Abbasid central power and the rise of local dynasties, who used their own languages as a political instrument to establish themselves in the area, Persian literature had the opportunity to develop. It, however, seems that the first Iranian local dynasty, the Tāhirids, did not show any enthusiasm for promoting Persian, and Arabic remained the official language in the Tāhirid territory (‘Awfī 1903, vol. ii: 2; Ṣafā 1338 H./1959, vol. i: 164). With the rise of the Ṣaffārids the development of Persian literature accelerated; it was during this period that the first Persian prose, in the form of the learned literature, that has come down to us, i.e. (part of) Tārīx-i Sīstān, was written (Xānlarī 1348 H./1969: 117). Yet, the growth of Persian as a literary language took place later during the Sāmānids. Learned literature began in Persian seriously during this dynasty and some significant works were produced, e.g. a translation of Jāmī’ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur‘ān known as Tarjumah-i tafsīr-i Ṭabarī (translated under the reign of Maṃṣūr b. Nūḥ), Kitāb al-abniyāh ‘an ḥaqā‘iq al-adviyāh by Abu Maṃṣūr Muwaffaq b. ‘Alī al-Harawī, written between 350/961 and 360/970 (Kišāwarz 1345 H./1966, vol. 1: 63), the translation of Ta’rīx al-rusul wa al-mulūk, known as Tārīx-i Bal’āmī, by Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad Bal’āmī, translated and written in 352/963, Ḥudūd al-ʿalam min al-mašrīq ila al-maġrib (written in 372/982), Kitāb al-mudxal ilā ‘ilm aḥkām al-nujūm

25 For further information see next chapter.
by Abū Naṣr Hasan b. ‘Alī Qumī, written ca. 365/975; Kašf al-mahjūb by Abū Ya’qūb Sijistānī, written towards the end of the 4th century or at the beginning of the 5th Islamic century. There are two different views and explanations concerning this explosion of prose and especially learned literature in this area during this period. The first one attempts to explain it as a conscious attempt by the Persians to replace the Arabic language with Persian in order to restore Iranian culture and language. The second one tries through a more everyday approach to explain the explosion of prose during the 11th century. This is that “there existed in Iran a wide public sufficiently interested in intellectual matters to wish to be informed, but not very familiar with the Arabic language” (Lazard [CHI, vol. 4: 631]), and this interest resulted in the explosion of Persian learned literary works during the second half of the 10th and 11th centuries. In any case, Arabic remained the lingua franca among most scholars, philosophers and writers. This dominance was to continue even during the next two centuries in the Persian-speaking areas, and many scholars, among them: al-Bīrūnī, Faxr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Naṣr al-Dīn Ṭūstī, al-Šīrāzī, al-Ḡazālī, al-Xwārazmī, wrote their significant and celebrated works in Arabic. Towards the end of the 10th century and at the beginning of the 11th century writings on Islamic mysticism and its principles also flourished and a number of very significant works on this subject were written in Persian. It should be noted that during this period Persian or rather Darī was not yet able to “provide the whole vocabulary needed for dealing with matters of doctrine or science” (ibid.). The task did not become easier when Persian authors attempted to produce technical vocabularies from Iranian stock (ibid.). The most successful work in this regard is perhaps Dānīš-nāmah-i ‘Alā‘ī or Ḥikmat-i ‘Alā‘ī by Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna). This work is an epoch-making work in many aspects.

Exposition

Persian writing on music, according to the works known to us, was presumably begun and established during the eleventh century. A total of six works from this century have come down to us. These works reflect the cultural, literary and, to some extent, religious and social circumstances dominating the century. Some of these works are of major importance and interest for our study, because they were to be the models for the coming works in the coming centuries.

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26 This work should not be confused with the Kašf al-mahjūb by Hujwīrī which will be presented fully later in this chapter among the first Sufi work dealing with samā‘.

27 The original language of the work was presumably Arabic and the above-mentioned work is probably a Persian translation of the Arabic original.

28 For details see Šafā 1338 H. Š./1959, vol. 1: 164 f.
During the first half of the 11th century two works were written in this genre. These works are the chapter on music of an encyclopaedia, Dānīš-nāmah-i ‘Alā’ī by Ibn Sinā (completed by Jūzjānī); and the chapter on samā’ in the Persian translation and commentary on Kitāb al-ta’arruf li-ma‘ṣhab ahl al-tasawwuf by al-Mustamī. We will begin our journey to the world of Persian writing on music with the earliest encyclopaedia in Persian and simultaneously a milestone in Persian writing on music. The work is the section on music in Dānīš-nāmah-i ‘Alā’ī (The book of wisdom of ‘Alā’).

Dānīš-nāmah-i ‘Alā’ī by Ibn Sinā and Jūzjānī

The encyclopaedia was written by Ibn Sinā and was dedicated to ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Dušmaniyār of the Kākūyids (d. 433/1041) in Iṣfahān. There are, however, some ambiguities about the author of the section on music. It seems that Ibn Sinā was not actually the writer of the section on music that has come down to us. According to Jūzjānī (see the introduction to the section on mathematics of the Dānīš-nāmah-i ‘Alā’ī), the section on mathematics which contains the chapter on music had been written first by Ibn Sinā himself, but it was lost, and therefore Jūzjānī translated the section from al-Šif and al-Najīt and added it to Dānīš-nāmah. However, the generally accepted theory is that Ibn Sinā died before managing to write the section on mathematics, and it was his pupil Jūzjānī who completed the master’s work by writing this section of Dānīš-nāmah.29 Muḥit-Ṭabāṭabāyī (1359 H./1980: 125) notes a very interesting point regarding imbalances between the sections on mantiq, ilāhiyyāt and tabī’iyyāt of the work and the section riyażiyyāt, which contains the chapter on music, writing that the sections on mantiq, ilāhiyyāt and tabī’iyyāt are much more detailed than that of mathematics (riyażiyyāt). This imbalance between different sections of the work probably indicates that the section on mathematics was written later and by another person, i.e. Jūzjānī. Furthermore, the usage of Arabic terms and words in the chapter on music is remarkable, which indicates also that the section on mathematics and accordingly the chapter on music is presumably a translation from Arabic into Persian. (I will return to this discussion later). It should be pointed out that many of the Mss of the encyclopaedia that have come down to us lack the chapter on music and the section on mathematics; besides, the oldest Ms which has the chapter on music is from the 16th century, which is almost five centuries after the composition of the work and inevitably to some extent corrupted. Accordingly, we can, with some reservation, say that it was not Avicenna who wrote the first Persian work on musical theory, but his pupil Jūzjānī, although it was Ibn Sinā’s aim to write it. Short biographies of both authors are here presented.

29 For further information see Muḥit-Ṭabāṭabāyī, 1359 H./1980: 125 f.
Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd-Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Sīnā known in the West as Avicenna was born at a village near Buxārā probably in 370/980. Five years later his family moved to Buxārā where he began his studies and education. His father served as an official administrator for the Samānids and was probably an Ismā‘īli. Soon after his father’s death he began working as an administrator. He led an adventurous life, which was not unusual for persons with a relatively high administrative position during this unstable political period. In around 1023 he went to Isfahān which was ruled by the Kākāyīd prince ‘Alā‘ al-Dawlah Muḥammad and where he stayed the rest of his life until he died in Hamadān. Ibn Sīnā was active as a physician and scientist at the court of the prince for whom he wrote the Dāniš-nāmah. He died shortly after arriving in Hamadān in 1037 and was buried there. He followed the encyclopedic conception of the sciences that had a tradition of uniting philosophy with the study of nature (Goichon, EI, s.v. Ibn Sīnā). His major and important works are in Arabic, among which can be mentioned his two celebrated encyclopaedias, i.e. al-Ṣifā‘, al-Najāt, and his famous medicine book al-Qāmūn. His Persian works are very few and are among his minor compositions. His most famous and celebrated Persian work is the Dāniš-nāmah-i ‘Alā‘ī, also called Hikmat-nāmah-i ‘Alā‘ī or ‘Alā‘īyyah, which is the first encyclopaedia in Persian. Ibn Sīnā trained and educated a number of pupils who were to become prominent scientists and philosophers of their time. Among his pupils can be mentioned Abū Mansūr Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir b. Zaylah Isfahānī, Abū al-Ḥasan Bahmanyār b. Marzbān, and Abū ‘Ubayd ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. al-Ǧūzajānī who was presumably the author of the section on music of the Dāniš-nāmah.

We know nothing specific about Abū ‘Ubaydallāh Jūzjānī, who was one of Ibn Sīnā’s disciples. He was probably born in the district of Gawzgānān or Zawzān in Xurāsān province towards the end of the tenth century. He began his studies probably in his hometown and later in Jurjān (Gurgān) where he met Ibn Sīnā. He was accepted in the circle of Ibn Sīnā’s pupils, and from that time Jūzjānī became one of Ibn Sīnā’s pupils and accompanied him as a disciple (murād) throughout his life. Jūzjānī specialized in mathematics and compiled and completed a number of works, among them, the completion of the section on mathematics of al-Najāt, probably the translation and re-writing of the section on mathematics in Dāniš-nāmah-i ‘Alā‘ī, the completion of the Ibn Sīnā’s biography and a commentary (ṣarḥ)

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30 Bertel’s (1960: 115) states that Avicenna himself also became an Ismā‘īlī follower and therefore had to flee to Nayšābūr when Maḥmūd of the Gaznavids, who was an orthodox Sunnī, wanted him to serve at his court.
31 It is said that he was a minister (waṣīr) several times (Goichon, EI, s.v. Ibn Sīnā).
32 He is the author of a treatise on music named al-Kāfī fi al-mūsāqī in Arabic.
33 Among his work can be mentioned Risālah fi marātib al-mawjūdāt, which has been translated into German.
34 Goichon (EI, s.v. Ibn Sīnā) mentions his name al-Dījuzadānī.

The chapter on music in Dārnīs-nāmah-i ’Alāʾī was written between 1023 and 1046. It contains ca. 4500 words and consists of three main parts. In the first part of the chapter the author(s) (SRFM: 17) define(s) the science of music, noting:

Luca ce que dit notre illustre maître, Abou Ali al-Hosaïn ibn Abd-Allah Ibn Sinâ (qu’ Allah lui fasse miséricorde!).

L’art de la musique se compose de deux parties. La première est la composition (ta’lîf): elle a pour objet les notes; elle examine leur état de consonance et de dissonance. La second est la rythmique: elle a pour objet les temps qui séparent les notes, les battements qui se succèdent; elle examine leur état d’harmonie ou d’inharmonie. Ces deux parties ont pour but de créer les mélodies.

[Avicenne 1958: 217]

Then the author(s) (SRFM: 17) deal(s) with the topics such as note (naqmah) and sound (āwz), writing:

La note représente un son fondé sur l’aigu ou le grave, avec une durée déterminée.

[L’intervalle est la liaison de deux notes qui diffèrent d’acuité et de gravité]. Parmi les intervalles, les uns sont consonants, les autres dissonants (ce qu’on dit: mutanâfir; en arabe). Celui qui est dissonant, c’est celui dont la liaison de deux ou trios de ses notes ne procure nul plaisir à l’âme et, qui plus est, lui pèse; la cause en est que le rapport entre ces deux notes n’est pas juste. [Au contraire], l’intervalle consonant est celui dont à l’âme un plaisir - plaisir causé par la justesse du rapport qui existe entre les deux notes.
Then they/he (SRFM: 17 f.) continue(s) the first part of this chapter to explain the causes of acuteness (tīzī) and gravity (girānī) of the sound, mentioning.

Dans les sons, le grave et l’aigu ont chacun leurs causes. Toutes les causes du grave sont celles que nous allons mentionner: longueur, épaisseur ou relâchement des cordes; [pour les instruments à vent], ampleur de l’orifice de sortie du son, éloignement de cet orifice par rapport au point où l’on soufflé; [pour les instruments de percussion], mollesse ou dureté. Pour l’aigu, c’est le contraire de ces causes.

A considerable portion of the first part deals with dissonance (muttafiq) and consonance (mutanāfir) intervals; various types of intervals (abʿād) (the fourth, fifth, octave); various types of tetra-, and pentachords (ajnās); the various types of compound intervals (jamʿ). Author(s) divide(s) compound intervals into two groups, namely perfect compound intervals and imperfect compound intervals. Then they/he (SRFM: 22) define(s) perfect compound intervals in the following way:

Parlons maintenant du groupe parfait. Nous dirons qu’il peut être conjoint ou disjoint. Le groupe conjoint est celui en lequel les éléments de la quarte, contenue dans une des deux octaves, la joignent à son analogue de l’autre octave. Le groupe disjoint est celui en lequel les deux octaves sont séparées par un intervalle de ton tanīnī. Tout cela peut être variable ou invariable.

[Avicenne 1958: 217]

[Avicenne 1958: 218]
The second part of the chapter deals with rhythm (iqāʿ) and its definition; beat (naqrah) and its definition; various types of rhythmic cycles (dawr-hā) with the help of an onomatopoetic system (ta, tan). In this part (SRFM: 22) one can read the definition of rhythm in following way:

Toute percussion de laquelle on passe à une autre se produit en temps dans lequel le souvenir de la première percussion n’est pas encore effacé, de sorte que les deux percussions se trouvent dans l’imagination tout comme si celles se confondaient; ou bien il n’en est pas ainsi.

Le rythme se compose de percussions entre lesquelles se trouvent des temps du premier mode. Chaque temps entre deux percussions est tel qu’il permet la représentation de sa rapidité ou de sa lenteur sur lesquelles se construit la succession, de sorte qu’une percussion peut encore y intervenir ou ne le peut point, à moins que les deux notes ne paraissent aux sens enchainées et inséparables (comme dans les trilles qui font paraître les notes comme si elles étaient prolongées et non séparées).

Dans le premier cas, où l’on ne peut faire insertion, ce temps est regardé comme le plus court d’évolution quant à la rapidité ou à la lenteur – par exemple, le temps situé entre t et n quand on dit tan. [Avicenne 1958: 227 f.]

The last part of the chapter begins with a discussion on melody (lahn, combination of notes); composition (ta’līf), the two types of the modulations (intiqāl-hā). He notes (SRFM, p. 25), for instance:
La mélodie se compose de notes qui, en puissance, forment des groupes parfaits ou imparfaits ; puis la mélodie vient en acte, grâce aux évolutions continues qui lui échoient.

Les évolutions simples sont de deux sortes : évolutions à sauts, évolution conjointe.

L’évolution à sauts est celle qui passe d’une note à une autre qui ne suit pas immédiatement. L’évolution conjointe est celle qui passe d’une note à une autre qui la suit immédiatement.

L’une et l’autre peuvent être ascendants ou descendants. Ce n’est pas que tout note soit toujours produite dans la mélodie par évolution ; elle peut l’être aussi par des arrêts, ce qui consiste en ce qu’on répète plusieurs fois la même note.

[Avicenne 1958: 233]

Then, the author(s) present(s) a few musical instruments and their fretting, especially barbat, writing (SRFM: 26):

L’instrument le plus connu est le luth [barbat] sur lequel sont adaptées quatre sortes de cordes. On a multiplié la corde de chaque sorte, mais de telle manière que chaque groupe a la capacité d’une unique corde ; leur nombre est multiplié seulement a fin qu’elles résonnent plus haut et a fin d’en rendre possible divers enjolivements que nous éclaircirons plus tard.

On établit l’instrument de façon que l’on place la touche auriculaire au quart de l’instrument ; par conséquent, chaque corde libre est, avec l’auriculaire et la même corde, dans le rapport du même et un tiers.

[Avicenne 1958: 235]

At the end of the last part of the chapter musical ornaments are dealt with. The author(s) (SRFM: 27 f.) consider(s) that there are two types of ornaments, 1. melodic ornaments (ān kih bi-naqmat maxšūs ast); 2. rhythmic ornaments (ān kih bi-īqā’maxšūs ast), noting:
Parmi ceux qui sont propres aux notes, on peut nommer le trille (tar’îd), le mélange des sons (tamzîg), la liaison (tawsîl, glissando), la superposition (tarkîb).

[Avicenne 1958: 237]

... Quant aux fioritures qui sont propres au rythme, elles consistent en accroissements ou en réductions qui peuvent affecter la quantité ou le nombre.

[Ibid.: 239]

Stylistically, the work, or rather the chapter, is so compact, concise and brief that it is often difficult to understand the definitions and explanations. However, it should be mentioned that writing in a concise and brief style and almost without any “linguistic decoration” was the dominant literary stylistic tendency during the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries. The Dâniš-nâmah is definitely one of the last works written in this early style of Persian literary prose.

Bertel’s (1960: 118) points out the importance of this work for Persian (and Tajik) literature writing that it is the first attempt to create scientific terminology in Persian. Lazard (CHI, vol. 4: 631 f.) notes that the Persian authors of that time attempted to produce technical vocabularies from Iranian stock in their scientific and philosophical treatises and tracts. However, it is of interest to point out that almost all key musical terms in the section on music are in Arabic, and the author(s) did not attempt or perhaps were not able to employ the Persian equivalent terms or substitute the Arabic key terms with Persian ones. The following list shows the most important Arabic music theoretical terms that have been employed in the section:

- **Bu’d (pl. ab’âd)** - interval
- **Ittifâq** - concordance
- **Jins (pl. ajnâs)** - tri- tetra- or pentachordal genre
- **I’timâd** - the increase of rhythmic values
- **Al-zî bi-l-arba’ah** - the interval fourth

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36 He (ibid.) writes:

Книга эта для изучения истории персидско-таджикской литературы и языка дари имеет очень большое значение, так как она представляет собой одну из первых попыток создать научную терминологию на родном языке.

This book has a very great significance for studying the history of Persian-Tajik literature and its language Darî, since it is one of the first attempts to create scientific terminology in the native language.
As we can see, almost all the key musical terms in the chapter on music in the *Dānīš-nāmah* are Arabic or had Arabic origins. In comparison, in this section Arabic terms are employed to a remarkably larger extent than in the other sections of the work, *i.e.* the *mantiq*, *ṭabi‘yyāt* and *ilāhiyyāt*. Three hypothetical explanations of this tendency can be mentioned;

1. the section is, as mentioned earlier, a rendering from Arabic into Persian, and the translator (Jūzjānī) preferred to employ musical terms in their original form and the original language, *i.e.* Arabic;
2. there were no equivalent terms to these musical terms, either in Middle Persian, which the new language, *i.e.* Darī or Pārsī-yi Darī, was based on, or in Turkish, the third language from which Darī borrowed its vocabulary;
3. these terms were concepts and generally accepted by almost all musicians, musical theorists, and scholars of that time, and therefore no Persian author could and wanted to substitute them by their Persian equivalents.

In my judgment, all the three above-mentioned hypothetical explanations are, generally speaking, correct, and together they can explain the extensive usage of the Arabic musical terms in the chapter on music in the *Dānīš-nāmah*.

*Šarḥ-i Kitāb al-ta‘arruf li-mażhab ahl al-taşawwuf* by Mustamlī

The second work that will be studied in this chapter presents another approach to music and writing on music, *i.e.* the religious approach. This work is the chapter on *samā‘* of the commentary (šarḥ) on Abū Bakr b. Abī Išāq Muhammad b. Ibrāhîm b. Ya‘qīb al-Buxārī al-Kalābāzī’s work *Kitāb al-ta‘arruf li-mażhab ahl al-taşawwuf* (The book on the knowledge of the
We know little about Kalābāzī and his life. He was born presumably in Kalābāz, a district of the city Buxārā, during the first half of the 10th century. Al-Kalābāzī studied fiqh in his hometown and was the pupil of a certain Muhammad b. Fazl. It seems that he spent almost all his life in Buxārā where he died in 380/990. He was the author of another religious work, which has come down to us, namely Bahr al-fawā’id fi ma‘āni al-axbār. His most significant work, however, is Kitāb al-ta’arruf li-ma‘āhab ahl al-tasawwuf (Arberry [al-Kalābāzī 1935: xii]) which was presumably written during the second half of the 10th century.

The commentary, which has sometimes been introduced wrongly as the Persian translation of Kitāb al-ta’arruf li-ma‘āhab ahl al-tasawwuf, was written during the first half of the 11th century. The work is also called Nūr al-muridin wa fażihat al-mudda’in (The light of disciples and the disgrace of pretenders). The commentator, Mustamlī, was also born in Buxārā, which during the period towards the end of the 10th century was one of the most important cultural centres in the region. Judging by his work, he had a good knowledge of fiqh, the “science” (‘ilm) of hadīth, and kalām.

As mentioned, Mustamlī has commented on different issues of al-Kalābāzī’s work. He (Mustamlī 1330/1911, vol. i: 2) explains the purpose of his commentary in the introduction in the following way:

اصحاب من مِن خواستند تا كتاب جمع كم بيرسي مشتمل بر دبكات و معاملات و حقائق و مشاهدات و رمز و اشارات تا فهم ایوان آرا دريابد و بر عبادات غلط نکنند كه غلط در توحيده كفر بود اجابت كردم بحسين و بن كردم بكاني كه شيخ ما ابويك بن ابي اسحق محمد بن ابراهيم بن يعقوب البخاري البلگادري رحمة الله رحمة و ساسة تابيل كرده است نام او كتب ات لارزه التصور و أن كتاب را خلق كردم تا يخش كرمان و مقدمان تبرک كرده باشم و نيز مقتدی باشم نه مبتئدي تا کس بر من عيب نیاين و فرهغه گفت موك كردم يانی از كتاب خادی تعالی یا بجهری از اخبار مصطفی عليه السلام یا مسئله فقهی ودرین كتاب اعتقاد و توحید و دبكات و احوال و مقدمات و حقائق و مشاهدات و رمز و اشارات و سخن مشابه و حکایات بر طریق ستند و جماعت بیان كردم

My companions asked me to compile a book in Persian that embraces [subjects such as] diyānāt, mu‘āmilāt (social relationship, rules of conduct), ḥaqā‘iq (mystical theory), mušāhidāt (contemplations), rumūz (signs), and isārāt (symbols) [all these words are Sufi or religious terms], in order that they may understand them and not make mistakes in their worship, for mistakes (in worship) in tawhīd (unity, here Islam) is blasphemy. I responded with pleasure, and I based [my book] on a book that our spiritual leader (šayx) Abū Bakr b. Abī Ishāq Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ya’qub al-Buxārī al-Kalābāzī, May God have abundant mercy on him, has composed. The name of it is Kitāb al-ta’arruf li-ma‘āhab al-tasawwuf. I have commented upon that book.

49
so as to be blessed by the speech of the saints (prān) and the leaders (mutaqqaddimān) and in order to be a follower and not a novice, so that nobody finds errors in me. And what I have said I have proved by the verses of the Book of the most exalted God or by one of the traditions (axbār) of Mustafā [the Chosen, i.e. the Prophet Muhammad], peace upon him, or by (Islamic) jurisprudence (religious law). And in this book I have mentioned the belief, tawḥīd, diyānāt, ahwāl, maqāmāt, ḥaqā’iq, muṣḥid, rumūz, išārāt, speeches of the spiritual leaders, and stories which are based on the traditions relating to the [Sunni] people (sunrat wa jamā’at).

The original Arabic work is divided into 75 chapters, of which the last chapter is on samā’. This chapter in the original Arabic work is very concise and short, containing ca 190 words (al-Kālibī ibid. 1388/1969). 37 However, 37 The whole Arabic text (al-Kālibī ibid.: 190 f.) is as follows. It should be mentioned that there are some differences between the Arabic published edition and the Persian one regarding the Arabic text. The differences of the Arabic text in the commentary will be shown within parentheses. A dash within parentheses means that the last word is lacking in the Arabic text of the published commentary.

[Chapter seventy-five on samā’]

Audition is a resting after the fatigue of the (spiritual) moment, and a recreation for those who experience (spiritual) states, as well as a means of awakening the consciences of those who busy themselves with other things. It is preferred to other means of resting the natural qualities, because the soul is unlikely to cling to it or repose in it: for it comes and goes according to God’s decree. Those mystics who enjoy revelation and direct experience have no need of such helps, for they have means which transport their hearts to walk in the gardens of revelation.

I heard Fāris say: “I was with Qūṭah al-Mawsīf, who had remained for forty years near a column in the mosque at Baghdad. We said to him: ‘Here is an excellent singer. Shall we call him to thee?’ He replied: ‘My case is too grievous
Mustamlî’s commentaries have made it a comprehensive and detailed chapter with more than 2500 words. The heading of the section (Mustamlî 1330/1911, vol. 4: 195) is Qawlu-hum fi al-samâ’ wa ādâba-hu (their [Sufis’] opinion [doctrine] on samâ’ and its rules of good conduct). Mustamlî deals first with the different opinions on samâ’ and definition of it which the original Arabic text lacks, mentioning (ibid., p. 196):

The religious leaders hold different opinions on the origin of samâ’. A group have said the origin of samâ’ is from when the Glorious God said ‘Am I not your Lord?’ [Koran VII: 172]. The first speech that they heard from God was that; and the sweetest samâ’ that one can listen to is that from God … And a group have said that samâ’ is the share of the spirit and not the “body”, because everything belongs to another thing, except for the soul since it is eminent supreme and it does not belong to anything else …

He continues (ibid.: 197 f.) with the effects of samâ’ on men through anecdotes and histories which have been taken from different sources:

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for any person to release me, or for any words to penetrate me. I am entirely impervious.”

When audition strikes the ears, it stirs the secret things of the heart: and a man is then either confused, because he is too weak to support the visitation, or his spiritual state gives him the power to control himself. Abû Muhammad Ruwâyman said: “The people heard, their first dhâkîr when God addressed them, saying, ‘Am I not your Lord?’ This dhâkîr was secreted in their hearts, even as fact (thus communicated) was secreted in their intellects. So, when they heard the (‘ûlû) dhâkîr, the secret things of their hearts appeared, and they were ravished, even as the secret things of their intellects appeared when God informed them of this, and they believed.”

I heard Abu’l-Qâsim al-Baghdâdî say: “Audition is of two kinds. One class of man listen to discourse, and derives therefrom an admonition: such a man only listens discriminately and with his heart present. The other class listens to music, which is the food of the spirit: and when the spirit obtains its food, it attains its proper station, and turns aside from the government of the body; and then there appears in the listener a commotion and a movement.”

Abû ‘Abdullâh al-Nîbîjî said: “Audition stirs thought and produces admonition: all else is a temptation.” Al-Junayd said: “The mercy (of God) descends upon the poor man on three occasions: when he is eating, for he only eats when he is in need to do so; when he speaks, for he only speaks when he is compelled; and during audition, for he only listens in a state of ecstasy.”

[Translation by Arberry (al-Kalâbûdî 1935: 166 f.)]
And it has also been said that when Joseph was flung into the well, the Glorious God created a snake in the well which with euphonious voice praised God, so the horror of the well was changed into pleasure for Joseph by the pleasure of that audition (sama’). And it has also been said that if Moses, peace be upon him, became afraid of something, his staff praised the glorious God, so Moses was relieved by the pleasure of that praise...

Then, the author (ibid.) adds:

... It has been mentioned in the Tradition that when the people of the paradise are in the paradise, a wind, which has been called the wind of gracefulness, will suddenly blow under heaven and the leaves of trees will come in movement, creating songs, and that no ear has ever heard such a euphonious song...

After the introduction the commentary itself begins. The commentator first writes each sentence of the Arabic work and then comments on it comprehensively. The topics that have been dealt after the introductory part are, “the definition of sama’; different types of sama’; different classes of listeners and to which classes the sama’ are halāl (permitted) or harām (forbidden); different degree of sama’.” (See even above for the original Arabic work and its translation).

According to our knowledge, the chapter on sama’ in the work is the earliest Persian work which has dealt with the subject sama’, and it can be considered as the starting point for the religious approach to music in Persian musical literature. As we have seen, it is not just a translation of al-Kalābāzī’s work but the commentator tried to widen and develop al-Kalābāzī’s thoughts. Al-Mustamī kept the main structure and topics of the Arabic work which were “the definition of sama’”, “the defence of sama’—sessions and its legality”, “the effects of sama’ on men” and “different classes of listeners”. However, he added a long introduction to the chapter in which he dealt mainly with a topic which is not present in the original Arabic work, namely “the different opinions of religious leaders and Sufis on sama’”.

52
The third work written during the century is Ṣad maydān by Abū Ismā‘īl ‘Abdallāh al-Anšārī al-Haravī, known as pūr-i Harāt. The author is among the most celebrated Sufi authorities and was born in Harāt in 396/1005. He got his primary education in his hometown, and at the age of 20 he left there and went to Nayšābūr to continue his studies. A few years later he returned to Harāt and tried several times to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. During his travels Anšārī met many Sufi authorities of that time among whom the one who influenced him most was Abū al-Ḥasan Xaraqānī (d. 1033). He became a Sufi master, educating a number of disciples. But after a while, he was forbidden to teach and preach and was even imprisoned in 1047 by influential theologians. He became blind towards the end of his life and died at the age of 84 in his hometown Harāt and was buried there. He was among the first Persian authors to employ rhymed prose (naṣr-i musajja‘) in his works. Among his most celebrated works can be mentioned Munājāt-nāmah, Zād al-‘ārif, the translation of Taḥqīq al-sūfiyyah, Kitāb manzīl al-sā‘irīn, Kitāb-i Ṣad maydān. However, it must be pointed out that he was not literally the writer of his works, but it was his disciples who wrote down the master’s word and indeed Anšārī dictated his works (Utas 1988: 83). This is the case with Kitāb-i Ṣad maydān (The book of hundred fields) which is actually Anšārī’s lectures on three āyāhs, nos. 29, 30, and 31, of the third sūrah of the Koran which was taken down in writing by an unnamed pupil of his in 448/1056 (ibid.). The work is divided into one hundred very short chapters of which the eighty seventh is on sā‘an. The whole chapter (Anšārī Haravī 1341 H.Š./1962: 187-189) is as follows:

s’y livrent sont au nombre de trios: le premier est celui qui attend de l’audition une signification et ce qui en découle; ... le troisième est celui qui attend de l’audition une révélation subtile, entre la voix, la signification et les allusions qu’elle suggère. Le premier reçoit l’audition avec trois choses: avec l’oreille du cœur, avec l’instrument du discernement, et avec le mouvement de la nature. L’audition l’empêche de savourer trois choses: le repos, les peines, les préoccupations. Le deuxième homme reçoit l’audition avec trois choses: l’oreille, la subtilité du regard, et la recherche du profit dans l’indigence. Cette audition lui apporte deux présents: le repos de la douleur et un point de sagesse. Quant au troisième homme, il reçoit l’audition avec trois choses: une âme charnelle morte, un cœur assoiffé, et un souffle enflammé, de telle manière qu’elle lui apporte une brise d’intimité, un souvenir de pré-éternité et une joie éternelle.

[Translation by de Beaurecueil (Ansârî 1985: 141 f.]

Ṣad maydân is much more limited in the treatment of topics in comparison with the earlier works and, as we can observe, the author deals with mainly two topics in this part of the work, namely “the definition of samā’” and “the different classes of listeners”. Nevertheless, the major contribution of the chapter to the development of Persian musical literature was not made by the treatment of topics, but rather by the employment of literary form, i.e. rhymed prose. It is indeed the earliest work in which a Persian author has attempted to use rhymed prose to write a musical literary work.

Kašf al-mahjūb by al-Hujwīrī

Kašf al-mahjūb (The unveiling of that which is hidden) is probably the most important and influential Persian Sufi treatise written during this period.38 It is also among the oldest and most comprehensive Sufi works written in the region. The author, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Uṣmān b. ‘Alī al-Gaznawī al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī,39 was born in Hujwīr near Gaznawī either in the last decade of the 10th or in the first decade of the 11th century (Nicholson [al-Hujwīrī, 1911: xix]). He studied in his hometown and Jullāb, which was also a suburb of Gaznawī. After his primary studies, al-Hujwīrī left his hometown and the region of Gaznawī and travelled “far and wide” to different parts of the region meeting many Sufis. He studied Sufism with a number of celebrated Sufis of his time during the journey. It is not clear why he ended

38 Nicholson (al-Hujwīrī, 1911: XVII) presents the work as “the most ancient and celebrated Persian treatise on Sūfism.”
up in prison at Lahore, but it was probably because of his debts. In any case he died at Lahore between 465/1072 and 469/1076. Al-Hujwîrî is the author of ten works, of which only Kašf al-mahjûb li-arbâb al-qalûb has come down to us.

Al-Hujwîrî composed Kašf al-mahjûb during the last years of his life. The work is a comprehensive work on Sufism, in which the author tries to explain “a complete system of Sufism” (Nicholson [al-Hujwîrí 1911: xx]), written for a certain Abû Sa’îd Hujwîrî, probably one of his pupils. The place of composition of the book is probably Lahore during the period he was in prison. The work is divided into a number of bâbbs (chapters), of which eight are on samâ’ (listening to music). The part of the work which contains these chapters is headed Kašf al-hijâb al-hâdî ‘âsar fî samâ’ wa bayân anwâ ’i-hi (“the uncovering of the eleventh veil: concerning samâ’ and various types of it”). This part is divided into ten bâbbs (chapters), of which, as noted, the eight concerning music and listening to music contains ca. 6400 words. The heading of each bâb (al-Hujwîrî al-Ġaznawî 1926: 520-546), which also presents the topic dealt with in the chapter, is as follows:

باب سماع الأصوات و الألحان

Chapter on samâ’ [audition42] of voices and melodies

The chapter (bâb) (al-Hujwîrî al-Ġaznawî 1926: 520) begins with the defence of samâ’ by referring to the Koran and the Prophet Muhammad’s Traditions and anecdotes as well as the histories of the religious and Sufi leaders:

The Apostle said, "Beautify your voices by reading the Koran aloud;" and God hath said, "God addeth unto His creatures what He pleaseth" (Kor. xxxv, I), meaning, as the commentators think, a beautiful voice; and the Apostle said, "Whoso wishes to hear the voice of David, let him listen to the voice of Abû Músá al-Asîrî." It is stated in well-

40 Nicholson (ibid.: xx) notes, “Hujwîrî’s attitude in the book is that of a teacher instructing a pupil.”

41 Two other chapters (bâbbs) are headed: Bâb samâ’ al-Qur’ân (Chapter on the audition of the Koran), Bâb samâ’ al-ši’r (Chapter on the audition of poetry).

42 Nicholson (al-Hujwîrî 1911: 399)
known traditions that the inhabitants of Paradise enjoy audition, for there comes forth from every tree a different voice and melody. [43]  
[Trans. Nicholson (al-Hujwirî 1911: 399)]

Chapter on the rules of samāʿ

In this chapter al-Hujwârî al-Ǧaznawî (1926: 524) writes that:

You must know that the principles of audition vary with the variety of temperaments, just as there are different desires in various hearts, and it is tyranny to lay down one law for all. Auditors (mustamīʿān) may be divided into two classes: (1) those who hear the spiritual meaning, (2) those who hear the material sound. There are good and evil results in each case. Listening to sweet sounds produces an effervescence (ghalayân) of the substance moulded in Man: true (haqq) if the substance be true, false (bâṭil) if the substance be false. When the stuff of man’s temperament is evil, that which he hears will be evil too.  

Chapter on the various opinions regarding samāʿ

The chapter (al-Hujwârî al-Ǧaznawî 1926: 529) begins as follows:

There are a few differences between the original Persian text and the English translation, but they do not disturb the understanding of the text and therefore this translation has been used here.
The Shaykhs and spiritualists hold different views as to audition. Some say that it is a faculty appertaining to absence, for in contemplation (of God) audition is impossible, inasmuch as the lover who is united with his Beloved fixes his gaze on Him and does not need to listen to him; therefore, audition is a faculty of beginners which they employ, when distracted by forgetfulness, in order to obtain concentration; but one who is already concentrated will inevitably be distracted thereby. Others, again, say that audition is a faculty appertaining to presence (with God), because love demands all; until the whole of the lover is absorbed in the whole of the Beloved, he is deficient in love: therefore, as union the heart (dil) has love and the soul (sirr) has contemplation and the spirit has union and the body has service, so the ear also must have such a pleasure as the eye drives from seeing.

[Trans. Nicholson (al-Hujwirî 1911: 405)]

Chapter concerning their different grades in the essence of samā'

You must know that each Sufi has a particular grade in audition and that the feeling which he gains therefrom are proportionate to his grade … Audition is like the sun, which shines on all things but affects them differently according to their degree; it burns or illumines or dissolves or nurtures. All the classes that I have mentioned are included in the three following grades: beginners (muḥtadiyān) middlemen (mutawassitān), and adepts (kāmilān).

You should know that wajd and wujúd are verbal nouns, the former meaning “grief” and the latter “finding”. These terms are used by Súfis to denote two states which manifest themselves in audition: one state is connected with grief, and the other with gaining the object of desire. The real sense of “grief” is “loss of the Beloved and failure to gain the object of desire”, while the real sense of “finding” is “attainment of the desired object”. The difference between hazan (sorrow) and wajd is this, that the term hazan is applied to a selfish grief, whereas the term wajd is applied to grief for another in the way of love...

[Trans. Nicholson (al-Hujwírí 1911: 413)]

Chapter on dance

It is seldom in this type of work that authors deal with dance, and therefore this chapter of the work is unusual chapter in this category of Persian writing on music. The author (al-Hujwírí al-Gaznawí 1926: 542) considers that all types of dance are unlawful, however...

[W]hen the heart throbs with exhilaration [and palpitation takes control over the mind] and rapture becomes intense and the agitation of ecstasy is manifested and conventional forms are gone, that agitation (idítráb) [that appears] is neither dancing nor foot-play nor bodily indulgence, but a dissolution of the soul. Those who call it “dancing” are utterly wrong […] It is a state that cannot be explained in words: “without experience no knowledge.”

Chapter on the rending of garment

Al-Hujwîrî (al-Hujwîrî al-Ġaznawî 1926: 542 f.) explains that:

[You should know that] It is a custom of the Śūfî to rend their garments, and they have commonly done this in great assemblies where eminent Shaykhs were present. ... Although the rending of garments has no foundation in Śūfîsm and certainly ought not to be practised in audience by anyone whose senses are perfectly controlled – for, in that case, it is mere extravagance – nevertheless, if the auditor be so overpowered that his sense of discrimination is lost and becomes unconscious, that he may be excused (for tearing his garment to pieces);


Chapter on the rules of polite conduct in samâ’

The author believes that the nature of music is neither bad nor good, but it depends on the "mustami’"s (auditor’s) essence and nature (mâyâh). However, in the last bâb the author sets down strict conditions for samâ’, writing (al-Hujwîrî al-Ġaznawî 1926: 544 f.):
[You should know that] The rules of audition prescribe that it should not be practised until it comes (of its own accord), and that you must not make a habit of it, but practise it seldom, in order that you may not cease to hold it in reverence. It is necessary that a spiritual director should be present during the performance, and that the place should be cleared of common people, and that the singer should be a respectable person, and that the heart should be emptied of worldly thoughts, and that the disposition should not be inclined to amusement, and that every artificial effort (takalluf) should be put aside. You must not exceed the proper bounds until audition manifests its power, and when it has become powerful you must not repel it but must follow it as it requires: if it agitates, you must be agitated, and if it calms, you must be calm; and you must be able to distinguish a strong natural impulse from the ardour of ecstasy (wajd). The auditor must have enough perception to be capable of receiving the Divine influence and of doing justice to it. When its might is manifested on his heart he must not endeavour to repel it, and when its force is broken he must not endeavour to attract it. While he is in a state of emotion, he must neither expect anyone to help him nor refuse anyone’s help if it be offered. And he must not disturb anyone who is engaged in audition or interfere with him, or ponder what he means by the verse (to which he is listening), because such behaviour is very distressing and disappointing to the person who is trying (to hear). He must not say to the singer, “You chant sweetly;” and if he chants unmelodiously or distresses his hearer by reciting poetry numerically, he must not say to him, “Chant better!” or bear malice towards him, but he must be unconscious of the singer’s presence and commit him to God, who hears correctly. And if he have no part in the audition which is being enjoyed by others, it is not proper that he should look soberly on their intoxication, but he must keep quiet with his own “time” (waqt) and establish its dominion, that the blessings thereof may come to him.


He (al-Hujwîrî al-Ḡaznawî 1926: 546) adds:

… I, ‘Alî b. ‘Uthmân al-Jullâbî, think it more desirable that beginners should not be allowed to attend musical concerts (samâʾ hâ), least their natures become depraved.
As we can notice, the number of topics treated in the section on *samāʾ* of the work explosively increased which indicates radical change and development in the writing on *samāʾ* towards the end of the century. Furthermore, the treatment of each topic is considerably more comprehensive than in earlier works. This may be the reason why the fame of the work has gone beyond Persian speaking areas. Among the new topics which have been treated can be mentioned “on the rending of garment”, “on dance” and “the rules of polite conduct in *samāʾ*”. The last topic is of major interest for the development of Persian writings on music (I will discuss the importance of the topic in the last chapter of the study).

*Qābūs-nāmah* by Kaykāwūs b. Iskandar

The fifth work, which is also a part of a large work, is the chapter on music in *Qābūs-nāmah* also *Pand-nāmah, Naṣīḥat-nāmah, Kitāb al-naṣīḥat* written by ‘Unṣūr al-Maʿālī b. Iskandar b. Qābūs b. Wuṣmgīr of the Ziyārīds in 475/1082 in Gurgān. He was probably born in 1021. ‘Unṣūr al-Maʿālī came to power in 441/1049 when the Ziyārīds had already become a subject of the Saljuqs. He is the next to last Ziyārīd prince and, as mentioned earlier, this local Iranian dynasty disappeared from the political scene of the region in ca 1077. It seems that under ‘Unṣūr al-Maʿālī Kaykāwūs the political power of the Ziyārīds was limited, and perhaps this circumstance allowed him to devote more time to cultural activities. He married one of Mahmūd’s (of the Gaznavīds) daughters (Yūsufī [Kaykāwūs 1345 H.Š./1966: 13) and probably his son Gilān-Ṣāḥ, for whom the work was written, is a fruit of this marriage. However, it must be noted that there are some obscurities about him and his life. According to the author of the second part of *Tārīḵ-i Ṭabariṣṭān* (wd, qism 2: 18) and Xwāndamīr (1333 H.Š./1954, vol. 2: 442), he died in 462/1069. Nonetheless, the author himself mentions, according to all known Mss of the work, that he composed *Qābus-nāmah* in 475/1082. Nafīsī (Ṣafā 1339 H.Š./1960, vol. ii: 899) states that after returning from Georgia the author stayed at the court of Šīrzādah b. Masʿūd b. Ibrāhīm of the Gaznawīs till 508/1114 when he died. Ṣafā (ibid.) suggests that ‘Unṣūr al-Maʿālī Kaykāwūs died between 492/1098 and 508/1114.

Concerning the work, the above-mentioned contradictory information about the date of the author’s death has lead Badawī (1335 H.Š./1956: 88-

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44 The author of the first part of *Tārīḵ-i Ṭabariṣṭān* is Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Isfandiyār, but the identity of the author/s of the second part of the work, which was written later, is unknown.

45 Dawlatšāh Samarqandī (1337 H.Š./1958: 79) notes that ‘Unṣūr al-Maʿālī Kaykāwūs was killed during the war in Georgia, which corresponds with the date that was mentioned in *Tārīḵ-i Ṭabariṣṭān*. 

61
99) to the conclusion that the work was actually written earlier, between 457/1064 and 462/1069, and in the Tabari language (dialect) (the author’s mother tongue), and the work that has come to us is indeed a Persian translation of that Tabari work. What goes against Badawi’s statement is that hitherto no Ms of the stated Tabari version has been found (for further information see Mu‘iniyyan, 1340 H./1961: 320). At any rate, this view has met with fierce opposition, and now almost all scholars agree that the work was written in Persian and that the date of composition is 475/1082. The author himself (Kaykâwûs 1345 H./1966: 263) mentions the date of composition in the work in the following way:

I began this book in year 475 [1082].

The work is a book of moral precepts and rules of conduct and is divided into 44 bâbs (chapters). In the thirty-sixth bâb, which has the heading “dar âyîn wa rasm-i xunyâgarî” (“on the custom and rule of the minstrelsy” [ibid.]) or “dar xunyâgarî” (“on minstrelsy” [Kaykâwûs 1951: 111] the author deals with music, musicians, and minstrelsy giving instructions and advice on how the xunyâgar (minstrel) or mutrib (musician) must behave before audiences. He (ibid.) begins the chapter in the following way:

If you become a musician, my son, be sweet-tempered and light of spirit. Furthermore, keep your garments clean, fragrant and perfumed. Be polite of speech, and when you enter a house to play as a minstrel do not be sour-faced and reserved. Do not let all your musical modes be heavy ones nor yet all light ones; it is unsuitable always to play in one style, for not all men have the same character. They are as varied in nature as they are in their bodily composition, ...

[Kai Kâ’ûs ibn Iskandar 1951: 186]

Then he (Kaykâwûs 1951: 111) continues:

وزین سبب است که استادان الّه ملّهای این صناعت را ترتیبی نهادند اینی یا نهادن خسروانی زدن از بهر مجلس ملوک ساخته اند. بعد از ان طریق ها بوزن گران بنهادند ان چنانکه بتدٌ سرود توان گفت آنرا راه نام کردند و ان راهی بود که بطبع پیران و خداوندان چند تندیک بود پس این راهی های گران از تبرای این قوم ساخته اند. اما جون دیدن

62
And for that reason the musical experts have given the art and special pattern.

They invented the “Royal Melody” [Dastān-i Xusrawānī] to be played in an assembly where kings were present. Then they set down certain styles of playing in a solemn measure to which songs can be sung – styles which they also called modes [rāh] – the measure being such as was appropriate to the disposition of old men and others of serious character. These heavy [solemn] modes were invented for such persons.

But, seeing that not everyone was old or of a serious disposition, they said, “We have invented a mode [tarīq] for the sake of old people; now let us invent one also for them that are young”. Consequently they sought about and invented poems which were in a lighter measure and suited to light modes. These they called “Nimble”; and matters were so arranged that after every “heavy” mode something was played in the light mode. In that way, at a musical session there was something both for the older people and also for the young ones.

[Kai Kā‘ūs ibn Iskandar 1951: 186 f.]

The author (Kaykāwūs 1951: 111) considers that:

When you are seated with a company, look about you. If the audience is composed of men of ruddy and sanguine complexion, let your music be largely on the bass strings; if the audience is pale and bilious, let the music be chiefly on the short strings; if your hearers are pale-faced, obese and large, play mostly on the bass; if they are dark-complexioned, lean and melancholic, play on the lute [si-tārah46] for them. These modes [strings (my suggestion)] have been invented to suit the four different human temperaments;

[Kai Kā‘ūs ibn Iskandar 1951: 187]

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46 It is probable that either he means three higher strings of the instrument or the third string of the instrument.
On the order of performance of different *pardah* (melodic modes), he (Kaykāwūs 1345 H.S./ 1966: 196) considers that:

First sing (and play) something in the mode *rāst*, then, in due order (play and sing), in all the modes such as the mode *bādah*, mode *‘irāq*, mode *‘ūṣq*, mode *zirafkand*, mode *būsalik*, mode *sīpāhān*, mode *nawā*, mode *guţāštah*, and mode *rāhuwī* ...

He finishes the chapter with what he considers the kind of character a musician should have and some other advice on good behaviour before his guests and hosts (*mīzbān*). He (Kaykāwūs 1951: 113) notes for instance:

If there is anyone in the company who applauds you, show yourself very much at his service, sing whatever he demands of you and thus attract the applause of the rest. ... Furthermore, it has been said that a minstrel should be deaf, blind and dumb. That is to say, he should not turn his ears in any direction that is not meant for him, nor look in any direction in which he should not look, nor report anything which he has seen or heard in a particular company. The minstrel with those qualities will never lack a host.

[Kai Kā’ūs ibn Iskandar 1951: 190]

The work consists of ca 800 words and is fairly concise. It was written according to the tradition and spirit of *andarz* or *pand-nāmak* literature, which had its roots in pre-Islamic, *i.e.* Sasanian-Iranian tradition and Middle Persian literature. We can distinguish three main topics in the chapter, *i.e.* “how a musician should behave”, “how a musician should chose particular modes for different occasions” and “what rhythmic and melodic modes are more suitable for different peoples with different skin colour”. It should be pointed out that this chapter is the earliest didactic work that has survived. The chapter is interesting because of its practical information on music and musical performance.
Translation of *al-Risālah al-Qušayriyyah* by Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Ṭḥam al-‘Utmānī

The last work which will be dealt with in this chapter is a rendering of the prominent Sufi Arabic work *al-Risālah al-Qušayriyyah* (The Qušayrī’s treatise) written by Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qušayrī. The author of the original Arabic work was among the most prominent Sufi authorities of his time and was born in Ustūwī in the province of Xurāsān in 376/986. After getting his primary education in his hometown, he left for Nayšābūr, which was one of the most important cultural centres of that time. Qušayrī became familiar with Sufism at Nayšābūr and later he became a master of the Sufi path. He sojourned in Baghdad for a while teaching *ḥadīth*. He returned to Nayšābūr in 1063 and died there eleven years later in 465/1074. Qušayrī is the writer of a number of treatises and treatises on Sufism, but the most celebrated of them is his treatise known as *al-Risālah al-Qušayriyyah* written in 438/1045. His influence was prominent on his contemporary Sufis.47

The Persian rendition of the work was presumably done by one of Qušayrī’s disciples named Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Ṭḥam al-‘Utmānī. We know nothing about the translator other than what has been mentioned in the introduction of the second translation of the work. The introduction (Tarjamah-i risālah-i Qušayriyyah 1345 H.Š./1966: 1) says:

اِتْفَقَْ چَنَائِنَ افْتَادَ ِکَی چُوَن ِرَسَالَتِی َکَی ِاسْتَدَاد ِامْامَ زِین ِالْإِسْلامِ یِوْلَاقِنَمِ یِبْنَ یُمَالِکِیَمِ یِن
هوَانَ ِقِصَّیرِی ِرَضِیَ ِاللَّهُ عَلَی ِوَ اَرْضَاءُ ِکَدَّی ِعَسَتِ، ِخَواَجَهُ اِمْامَ یِبْوَعِیَی ِیْنَ ِعِجْمُ ِعَلَمِینِی
رَحْمَهُ ِاللَّهُ عَلَی اِلَّمَعَالِدَانِ وَ مَرْبِیَانِ اسْتَدَاد اِمْامَ یِوْلَاقِنَمِ قَلَیْسُ ِاللَّهُ رَحْمَةُ ِعَزْیَ ِبَوَدَ و
بَالْوَاعُ ِفْضِلِ اِرْتَسَاءُ ایِن ِرِسَالَتِ ِبِیِزْیَارَیُّیِ، ِنَظِرُ ِکَدَّی ِتَا ِقَاِنَّهُ اَنَّ ِعَمَوماً ِبَیِشْتِ وَ ِهِیِج ِصَنَفَ
ِأَدْمِیِ اَنَّ ِبَنِ ِبَهْرَه ِیِنِبَائِشُ.

It has happened that the treatise that the master and the imam, the adornment of Islam, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qušayrī, May God be pleased with him and satisfy him, has composed, the *Xvajah* imam Abū ‘Alī b. Ṭḥam al-‘Utmānī, May God have mercy on him, who was among the pupils and devotees of the Master, imam Abū al-Qāsim, May God purge his beloved soul, and who possessed various types of knowledge, rendered this treatise into Persian so that the ordinary people might draw benefit from it and no classes of people be without its profit.

47 According to Furūzānfar (Tarjamah-i risālah-i Qušayriyyah 1345 H.Š./1966: 72), Hujwīrī used Qušayrī’s treatise to compose his *Kašf al-mahjūb*.

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He was probably a native of Nayšābūr and was, according to Furūzānfar (*ibid.*: 75), son of a certain Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Māhmūd ‘Uṭmānī.

Concerning the rendition, the translator omitted chapters and changed the order of the chapters. Furthermore, the translation was so poor that it had to be corrected, which was done later in the next century. The result of this correction was a second version of the translation, which will be presented in the next chapter. The chapter on *samāʿ* contains ca 4000 words and belongs to the religious category. At beginning of the chapter (*ibid.*: 591 f.) one can read:

You should know that if the listener (*mustamiʿ*) does not have [religious] unlawful and sinful purposes [when] he listen to poems with enjoyable melodies and tunes and (he) does not lose control over his desires and it is not for sake of *lahw* (desire), it is, generally speaking, *mubāh* (licit). And it was not at all unlawful that poems were sung (recited) before the Prophet, May God bless him, and he did not forbid singing (recitation) them, because *samāʿ* was lawful for him ...

Then, he (*ibid.*) went on through *rawāyats* (histories, stories) about Muḥammad and other significant persons in Islam to prove that *samāʿ* is *mubāh* and depends on how it is used. In this part (*ibid.*: 593 f.), for instance, he writes:

And it is related from Ibn Ṫarāḵ that he allowed *samāʿ*. He was asked: “if at the day of judgement your good and bad acts will be judged, on which side will be *samāʿ*?”. He replied: “It is not either (accounted among my) good acts nor bad acts. It means it is *mubāh* [it is permissible or licit]. But Shāfiʿī, may God be pleased with him, does not proclaim it unlawful and has made it as a reproductive action for ordinary people for they do not choose it as their profession, and if they continually occupy themselves with *samāʿ* for the sake of desire
their testimony should be rejected and [he] has counted it as unmanliness but not among the prohibitions.

Then the author deals with the power and effect of music and euphonious songs on men and animals, different types of *samā‘* and the rules of it fragmentally. The author has tried to illustrate his statements with many anecdotes and stories from the lives of the Prophet and other religious leaders and authorities. It should be pointed out that in the chapter in question different topics cross each other, and, to some extent, the chapter is unorganized and it is therefore difficult to trace the treatment of each topic clearly there. The central topics of the chapter are:

- the beauty of *samā‘*;
- the defence of *samā‘* through *rawāyāt* (stories) of the religious leaders;
- the effect of *samā‘* on men;
- different classes of listeners;
- the rules of good conduct in *samā‘* (fragmentally and concisely).

The author’s attitude towards the *samā‘* is similar to that of Kalābāzī-Mustamlī (see above) and he considers that *samā‘* is *mubāḥ* (licit). (Concerning this work, see also next chapter).
Chapter 3
Writing on music during the 12th century

Background

The political and military dominance of Turkish dynasties in the Persian-speaking areas continued during the 12th century, and the new politico-ethnic structure, i.e. the Turkish-Iranian, which replaced the Arab-Iranian one, was consolidated definitively during this period. Consequently, the Arab influence on the politics and culture of the East Islamic Empire was reduced considerably, and later in the 13th century, or rather after the capture of Baghdad by the Mongols, Arab influence and dominance vanished almost completely in the region.

The internal struggles among the Saljuq princes for political power, which began after the death of Malik-Šāh (in 485/1092), shook and disturbed the political stability of the Saljuq Empire, which in the end resulted in the split of the empire during the 12th century. With the splitting of the Saljuq state, its political and military dominance was remarkably reduced and its territory in Iran shrank to the province of Kirmān. In addition, the political vacuum after the split was utilised on the one hand by the Abbasid caliphs to reassert their political strength and on the other hand by the Xwārazm-Šāhs rulers to found a sovereign state. I will return to the establishment of the Xwārazm-Šāhs later in this chapter. In order to maintain their military machine, the Saljuq rulers first tried to increase taxation, but later they solved the problem by giving lands as salary to military leaders and even soldiers. This economic policy deeply affected the economic, political, and social circumstances in the country. The reform indeed changed the ethnic structure of the landlord class in the region, especially in the Persian-speaking areas, reducing the number of middle landlords of Iranian origin (dīhqāns) considerably; and towards the end of the century this social class almost ceased to exist in Iran. However, the large Iranian landlords managed to keep their lands and thereby their influence in the Saljuq state through administrative services to the state.

During the second half of the 11th century and the first half of the 12th century, Sunni Islam and thereby Sunni ʿulamā enhanced their role in society, particularly after managing to defeat other branches of Islam, especially the most threatening branch for them, i.e. Shiʿi Ismāʿiliyyah.
Political power was bound more closely to Sunni 'ulamā and other orthodox Islamic religious leaders. In addition, Sufism, which began partly as a protest movement against religious and social oppression, gained more ground and played a very significant role in the development of intellectual activities, especially in Iran. Simultaneously, Sufism itself went through the most important phase of its development, and after this phase Sufism consolidated and took its ultimate form with defined rules and customs. The formation of tarīqah (Sufi brotherhoods), which took place in this century, was a result of this development.

As mentioned above, in the 12th century the Saljuq Empire began to disintegrate, and later towards the end of the century the Saljuqs vanished from the political scene the wider areas of the region. In this process another dynasty of Turkish origin, i.e. the Xwārazm-Shāhs, emerging from the northeastern part of the Iranian plateau, played a central role. From the beginning of the century the military power of the Xwārazm-Shāhs, who were Saljuq vassals, began to grow, and in the second half of the century, i.e. after the death of Sanjar, they gradually managed to free themselves from the Saljuqs and to become a sovereign state. In this regard, they followed exactly the same pattern of emergence as the two earlier Turkish dynasties (see chapter 2). The Xwārazm-Shāhs rapidly became the most powerful military and political force in the Eastern Islamic world.

The Saljuqs’ religious policy affected intellectual activities in the region directly or indirectly. With the foundation of schools, which became famous under the name Nizāmiyyah, by Nizām al-Mulk first in Nayšābūr and later in Baghdad on the one hand, intellectual activities were institutionalized and thereby intellectual activities stimulated. On the other hand, the main purpose of the foundation of these schools was education along with propaganda for the dominant religion, i.e. Islam, and in particular two Islamic schools, i.e. Ḥanafī and Ṣāfī’ī, and therefore closed to others, both the religious and non-religious intelligentsias.48 Where non-Islamic science, e.g. philosophy, geometry, music, medicine, was limited, the Islamic ones, like fiqh, kalām, flourished and dominated research and study especially after the foundation of the Nizāmiyyah schools. Towards the end of the century, however, and after the emergence of the Xwārazm-Shāhs, who were not religious hardliners like their predecessors,49 it seems that the religious climate eased.

With the spread of Persian in the region and the development of that language many literary works began to be written in Persian. Simultaneously, the language of prose works gradually became complicated

48 The negative influence of these schools on the development of intellectual activity in the region has not yet been studied enough.
49 Even at the beginning of the 13th century the Xwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad tried to overthrow the Abbasid Caliph, who was recognised as the religious leader in the East Islamic Empire.
and artificial, and the use of linguistic decorations in prose works increased considerably. Sufi prose, however, continued the tradition of using simple language, perhaps because of the fact that the readers of these treatises and works were mostly ordinary people. It was during this century that Persian literature and in particular poetry began to be profoundly affected by Sufism and mysticism, and from this time up to the Safawids and the emergence of “the Safawid-style” or “Isfahān-style” (which is often called the Indian style) almost all Persian poems were influenced by Sufism. In poetry the new situation resulted in the consolidation of sabk-i ʿirāqi (the Iraqi style). Perhaps one of the most striking tendencies of literature during this period was that authors and particularly poets escaped from reality, creating a fantasy and unreal world in their works, which in its turn resulted in the employment of a more artificial language with more linguistic decoration in poetry and prose (for further information see Šafā 1338 H./1959, vol. i: 365). With the expansion of the Turkish dynasties, who made Persian the administrative and official language in their territories, Persian (Pārāst-yi Darī) spread in the region. A significant role in this regard was played by the Iranian administrators and bureaucrats, who participated actively in the ruling apparatus of the Turkish state. With the spread of the language Islamic Iranian-Turkish art developed and impacted on the progress of art in the region. Hillenbrand (1999: 89 f.) points out the importance of Iranian (-Turkish) art of the great Saljuqs and its influence on the development of Islamic art, comparing it with the role that late-medieval Italy was to play in the development of European art. As regards the Xwārazm-Shāhs, they probably adopted more Iranian cultural tradition than the two earlier dynasties. However, the short-lived and instable Xwārazm-Shāh state did not have a long-standing impact on Iranian culture,50 while the Gāznawids and Saljuqs ones, and particularly the latter, ruled over the country long enough to affect Iranian culture, art and literature.

Exposition

Four works on music were written during this century. Moreover, there is a manuscript from this century of an undated and anonymous treatise which is also extant. All these four extant works are parts of larger works. They are; the section on samā’ in ʿKimiyā-yi saʿādat by Aḥmad al-Gazālī; the chapter on music in Hadāʾiq al-anwār fī Ḥaqāʾiq al-asrār by Faxr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; the chapter on samā’ of the second rendering of al-Risālah al-Qušayriyyah by an anonymous translator, and the chapter on samā’ in al-Taṣfiyah fī

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50 Minorsky (1964: 46) states that the episode of the Xwārazm-Shāhs domination had no importance in the cultural life of Persia.
We begin with the presentation of Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat which is the earliest work from this century.

**Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat by Ġazālī**

*Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat* (The alchemy of happiness) is one of the most celebrated religious books in Persian, dealing with the religious duties of the Muslims. The author, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḡazālī (also Ǧazzālī al-Ṭūsī), was one of the most prominent and influential theologians and Islamic jurists of his time and even all times.

Al-Ḡazālī was born at Ṭūs in the province of Xūrāsān, which is regarded as the cradle of Ǧarābūs-ı Darā, in 450/1058 and died there in 505/1111. He studied theology and Islamic philosophy (*ʿilm al-kalām*) in his hometown Ṭūs and Nayšābūr, which was one of the most significant centres of cultural activities during the period. Ġazālī moved to Baghdad (478/1085) becoming the professor at the school (*madrasah*) founded by Nizām al-Mulk in 484/1091. However, he left Nizāmiyyah and Baghdad and also his career as a jurist and theologian, partly in protest against the corruption of the *ʿulamāʾ* of that time in Baghdad (Watt, EI, s.v. al-Ghazzālī), in 488/1095.51 After leaving Baghdad, he began a ten-year-journey to different parts of the region. He sojourned in cities like Mecca, Medina, Damascus, and Hebron, meeting the numerous religious leaders, Islamic professors and Sufi masters of that time. He returned in 1106 to Nayšābūr, where he had once studied, and began teaching Islamic Theology. Ġazālī became interested in Sufism before leaving Baghdad, and during his journey this interest increased. This resulted in the composition of his two celebrated works, *i.e.* *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* in Arabic and *Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat* in Persian. And indeed these works are the product of this last phase of his life. Among his other significant works can be mentioned: *Maqāṣid al-falāṣifah*, *al-Iqtisād fī al-iʿtīqād*, *Miškāt al-anwār*. He was a critic of Avicenna, al-Fārābī, al-Kindī and other early Islamic philosophers, who had been deeply affected by Greek philosophy and Muʿtazilism. Ġazālī was a product of the religious climate created after the emergence of the Turkish dynasties, the time of dominance of two Islamic schools, *i.e.* Śāfīʿī and Ḥanafī, and Ašaʿīrīsm at the expense of the other schools and branches of Islam. It was a time when theologians participated in scientific discussions and activity.

*Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat* is the most important work of Ġazālī in Persian. It is stated (Ṣafā 1339 H.Š./1960, vol. ii: 923) that *Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat* is a simple abridgement of the author’s most significant work in Arabic *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*. According to Baldick (Morrison 1981: 89), however, there are a number

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51 According to Bertel’s (1960: 525), the political unrest at the accession of Barkiyārūq (1094-1105) to the throne was the reason that Ġazālī left Baghdad, taking refuge first in Syria and later in 1107 in Mecca.
of differences between the two works, particularly in the four introductory chapters of *Kīmiyā'-yi saʿādat* which, according to her, show other tendencies than *Iḥyāʾ ‘alām al-dīn*. The work was written after the author’s ten-year-journey in the region (or his escape-period) and for the common people of Xurūsān. It took him ten years, from 490/1096 to 500/1106, to compile the work. The section on *samāʾ* forms the eighth principle (*aṣl*), heading “ādāb-i samāʾ wa wajd” (“the rules of listening to music and ecstacy”), of the second foundation (*rukn*) which has been headed “dar muʿāmalat” (“on the rules of conduct”). The section consists of *ca* 5000 words and is divided into two chapters (*bāhs*), each of which are in turn divided into two parts. The headings, and, at the same time, topics, of the section are (Ḡazālī 1361 H.Ş./1982: 369-389):

باب اول در اباحت سماع و بيان أنچه از او حلال است و انشه حرام

Part one: Concerning the lawfulness of *samāʾ* and on what kinds of it are lawful and what kinds of it are unlawful

He (*ibid.*: 370) begins the chapter in the following way:

You should know that God has a secret in the heart of man, which is hidden still for him (man) like fire in iron. And if a stone hits iron, this fire will appear, also audition of a beautiful and melodious song brings it about that the essence of man comes to move, and it creates something in him that man does not have any control over. The reason is that there is a relation between the essence of the heart of man and the highest world which is called the world of spirit. ... The Islamic learned men (*ʿulamāʾ*) have different opinions on whether *samāʾ* is lawful or unlawful.

For instance, in this part (*ibid.*: 371-375) he considers that there are three kinds of *samāʾ*, namely:
The first kind: he who listens in a negligent manner and for pleasure. This is the manner of the negligent people and the world (for these people) is just (a place) for fun and play, and this (samâ’) is also part of it. It is not right to proclaim samâ’ unlawful just because it is pleasurable, as pleasures are not unlawful. And those kinds of pleasures that are proclaimed unlawful are not unlawful because they are pleasant, but they are unlawful since they cause harm and destruction ... The second kind: he who has indecent intention in his heart; for instance, a man who in his heart feels love for a woman or a child, performs samâ’ before them in order to increase his pleasure ... That is unlawful ... The third kind: he who has laudable intention in the heart which samâ’ enhances.

Chapter [where samâ’ is unlawful]

He (ibid.: 376-381) enumerates the laws concerning where and when samâ’ is prohibited, writing:

You should know that even though we have declared samâ’ licit, it can be unlawful on five occasions, and you should abstain from it ... The first occasion is that if you hear it from a woman or a child who is at age of puberty ... The second occasion is that if it is practised with the surûd [a type of bowed string instrument], the rubâb [a type of string instrument], the çang [harp], barbat [a type of lute], or other string instruments or the Iraqi nây (reed) which have been prohibited; not because it is pleasurable (even if one plays untunefully and unmelodiously, it is also unlawful) but because it is the habit of wine-bibbers, and all acts of these people have been prohibited just as wine
However, the *tabl* [drum], the *sāhin* [reed], and the *daf* [tambourine] even if it has jingles, are not unlawful, because no prohibition has been placed on these (instruments) and they are not like string instruments ... The third occasion is that if there is a curse or scorn in the song, or cursing the true believer, ... Or it describes a known (famous) woman, since to talk about the beauties of women with men is not admissible ... The fourth occasion is that if the listener is young and has strong lust ... The fifth occasion is that if the common people make a habit of *samā’* for the pleasure and enjoyment, that is licit, but on the condition that they do not make it a profession and do not pay too much attention to it ...

**Part two: On the effects of *samā’* and its rules of good conduct**

Gazālī (ibid.) considers that *samā’* has three different stages, writing,

بيانكه در سماح سه مقام است: اول فهم، انگاه وجد، انگاه حركت

You should know that *samā’* (audition) has three stages: first *fahm* (understanding), and next *wajd* (ecstasy) and then *ḥarakat* (motion, dance).

Then he tries to explain each stage with the help of the Koran, anecdotes, histories and saying of religious leaders and holy men.

The last part of the section, which deals with the rules of good conduct in *samā’*, is the shortest part of the section and consists of ca 380 words. The title and part of it (ibid.: 388 f.) is as follows:

آداب سماع

**The rules of good conduct in *samā’***

بيانكه در سماح سه جيزي نگاه باياد داشت: زمان ومكان واخوان: كه هر وقت در مشغولی باشد، يا وقت تمام بود، يا وقت طعام خوردن بود، يا وقت بود كه دلها پيشر راکنده بود و مشغول باشد، سماع بي فايله بود. اما مكان: جون راه گذرئ بانش، يا جاني ناخوش و تاریک، يا باخته طالع و وقت شوریئ بود. اما اخوان آن بود كه باید كه هر كه حاضر بود اهل سماع بود ... You should know that three things should be respected at *samā’* (sessions): time, place, and companions. [Regarding time:] when the heart is busy (with something else), or when it is time for prayer, or when it is time for eating food, or when the hearts are more distracted and busy, *samā’* is useless. As for place: if it is a passage, or an unpleasant and dark place, or it is at home of an oppressor, all time is
wasted. Concerning companions, it is necessary that whoever is present must be the man of samā’ (be there for the sake of samā’).

In comparison with the section on samā’ of Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn, in which the author deals more comprehensively with the ‘ulamā’ s point of views on samā’ and listening to music and even other topics, Kāmiyā-yi sa’ādat is much simpler. In comparison with Hujwīrī’s work Kašf al-mahjūb, Kāmiyā-yi sa’ādat is also more compact and concise. Gāzālī’s approach to the subject, however, is more systematic and methodical through his clear definition of rules and customs concerning listening to music than Hujwīrī’s.

Al-taṣfiyāt fi aḥwāl al-mutiṣawwifah by ‘Abbādī

The second work which will be dealt with here is the chapter on samā’ in al-Taṣfiyāt fi aḥwāl al-mutiṣawwifah (The refinement of spiritual states of Sufis) by Qūṭb al-Dīn Amīr Maḥṣūr al-Muẓaffar b. Abī al-Husayn b. Arḍār b. Abī Maḥṣūr al-‘Abbādī.

‘Abbādī was born in the village of Sinj (Sinjān, Singān) in the district of ‘Abbād near Marw in 491/1097. After receiving his primary education from his father, who was a prominent preacher in that district, he went to Qazwīn and began preaching there. ‘Abbādī was sent to the caliph al-Muqtafī by Sanjīr in 541/1146, and “he found great acceptance in Baghdad” (Lambton [CHI vol. 5: 276]). He became so popular that the common people, according to Ibn al-Atīr, “abandoned their occupations to be present at his
assembly.” (ibid.) ʿAbbādī was active as a preacher in the Niẓāmiyyah school and a messenger for the caliph. He died during one of his missions as a messenger in the province of Xūzīstān in 547/1152. He has written a number of works on Sufism, among others Manqīb al-ṣūfīyyah, Miʿrāj-nāmah.

Al-Taṣfiyah fī ʿalwāl al-muṭaṣawwifāh, which is on Sufism and different forms of Sufis’ spiritual conditions and states and Sufi terms, is divided into an introduction and four sections (rukn[s] [pillars]), each of which is in turn divided into a number of chapters and sub-chapters. The fifth marṭabah (stage) of the first qism (kind) of the third rukn, which is headed “dar ʿalwāl” (on spiritual states”), is on samāʿ. It is relatively short and contains ca 950 words. The author (ʿAbbādī 1347 H.Š./1968: 150) begins this section thus:

Qalin Allah Tāʿalā: Wadad-iqngwma ma anzul-i rassul teri aqīm-muʾmīn min al-dūm mana urfwa min al-q̱ād. Badvakh samāʿ az ahor al-rābīʿāt tarjīʿāt ast, w-himjiyātjk w-jūb, mrūfet w-luẓām, šrīyaut ammī ra ba-samta hašāl, ʿan ḥaqiqāt tarjīʿāt, w-ḥašāl dīl him samta hašāl. 

God the Sublime says: “And when they hear what has been revealed to the apostle, you will see their eyes overflowing with tears on account of the truth that they recognize.” You should know that samāʿ is one of the affairs of Sufis masters. And as men obtain the necessities of science and religion by listening, the truths of the Sufi path and the spirit and the repose of soul are also obtained by samāʿ (audition, listening).

After the introduction in which the author defines samaʿ he defends it, emphasizing the importance of same for the soul. For instance, he (ibid.: 152 f.) writes:

W ʿalwāl, wa nafs-nāqūfī ra dar dīnī qaww wa-غا al-samta-nīsīt, w-hīr kara dar w-līyūt, samats nisīb, nīsīt az ḥaqiqat tarjīʿāt, w-ʿarī mraqfet ḥeqīr nīsīt, w-ra, w-ayn jīnīn kīs b-jumātah nīzībānīsīt, az ast, kī b-jawwandats, w-hīr kī shborat ṣindīr w-wa ḫaram ast, w-hīr kī b-nīsīt ahor al-ṣindīr ṣindīr w-bīrī mraqfet wa- ḥašāl wa-ʿasbaḥ ṣanbat, w-kāman mraqfet ra-mēm. Kī b-nīsīt ahor al-ṣindīr ṣindīr, w-bīrī mraqfet wa-ʿasbaḥ ṣanbat, w-kāman mraqfet ra-mēm, ast kī maḥī Zendī madī bāb w-jīn ʿalimqan samta.

There is no food and nourishment for the spirit and heart except samāʿ. One who does not have the fortune to gain from the domain of samāʿ, he does not have the mind of understanding or dignity of cognition. Such a person is closer to inanimate things than to animate … It is unlawful for the person who listens for pleasure. And it is permitted for the person who listens according to his spiritual states. It [samāʿ] is important for the people (followers) of affection (mystic love) and people possessing perfect knowledge, because a fish lives by water and the soul of lovers [of God] by samāʿ.
At the end of the chapter, he (ibid.: 153) deals with the conditions of samā’:

و در سماع شرائط سبارةت از صفای وقت و حضور دل و جمیعت خاطر و احتراز از اغیار و انزوا و عزلت و مساعدة با اخوان و حفظ ادب ...

And there are many conditions in samā’: the purity of time, presence of the heart, peace of mind, avoiding strangers, retreat and seclusion, and the honest dealing with friends and observance of politeness ...

Besides this chapter, the sixth martabah of the same qism and rukn is also partly on samā’. It is headed “martabah-i šašum wajd wa ḥarakat ast kih az samā’ padīd āyad” (“the sixth stage is wajd [ecstasy] and ḥarakat [motion] that samā’ causes”). He (ibid.: 154) mentions:

...[

You should know that the listeners (mustami’ān) have different (spiritual) states and different movements when they perform samā’. And these differences in motions and states is according to their perception of samā’. The dominant state of some peoples is sukūn (inaction, stillness) because of their knowledge of soul, strength of endurance, subtlety of mind, dignity of aspiration and entire engrossment with meanings. The dominant state of some other peoples is harakat (motion, movement) because of (their) excessive passion, uneasiness of heart, disturbance of mind and weakness of soul and the like.

Then, he (ibid.: 154 f.) notes:

...[

The states of the masters of samā’ are three stages: the first (stage) is tawījud, the second stage is wajd (ecstasy) and the third stage is wojūd (discovering, finding).

In this chapter the author also deals in part with some rules of good conduct at the samā’-session. He (ibid.: 157), for example, mentions:
The further from *takalluf* (artificial effort) the better, for *samā’* is the place of truth (sincerity), and artificial effort is *qāṭi’ al-ṭariq* (against the path of Sufis), and brings with it much harm. And if there is a movement without artificial effort, the effect of sincerity will show itself. ... Generally, there are many rules of good conduct in *samā’*, the states of ecstasy and motion (*ḥarākat* [movement, dance]) of listeners (*mustamī’ān*), and they cannot be appropriately explained in a book ...

Concerning the treatment of topics, the chapters on *samā’* in this work in comparison with the earlier work on the subject written during this century, *i.e.* *Kīmīyā-yi saʿ ādat* by al-Ḡazālī, are of less importance for the development of the subject *samā’*. However, one aspect of the work has made it a good representative of its time and simultaneously a contributor to the development of Persian musical literature. As we know the author of the work was a celebrated theologian of his time and we also know that during the first century of Persian writing on music the authors of the subject *samā’* were solely Sufi leaders. What we notice here is the emergence of a new category of authors among the writers on the religious approach and the subject *samā’*. This development took place during the 12th century and ‘Abbādī obviously contributed to it in a significant way.

**Ḥadā ’iql al-anwār fī ḥaqā ’iql al-asrār** by Faxr al-Rāzī

The third work which has come down to us from this century, is the chapter on music of one of the most celebrated Persian encyclopaedias, namely *Ḥadā’iql al-anwār fī ḥaqā’iql al-asrār* (*The gardens of light on the truths of secrets*) by Faxr al-Dīn Muhammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī known as Imām Faxr al-Rāzī. The author was born in 543/1149 or 544/1150 at Rayy in the central part of Iran. He began his education and studies there. He left his hometown for Xwārazm after his student years, hoping to find a job at the court. Anawati (EI, s.v. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) states that he was obliged to leave Xwārazm and return to Rayy because of the *Muṭaẓilīs*, with whom he was engaged in relentless controversies. At any rate, a few years later he began serving at the court of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Takaš of the Xwārazm-Šāhs, for whom he wrote his celebrated encyclopaedia *Ḥadā’iql al-anwār*. He was most active in the territory ruled by Xwārazm-Šāhs, travelling a lot in their realm. In the end Faxr al-Dīn al-Rāzī stayed in Harāt where he spent the last years of his life and died there. Al-Rāzī was an outstanding theologian and at the same time a prominent Islamic philosopher, definitely not, however, in
the way the early Islamic philosophers, like al-Fārābī or Ibn Sīnā who had been strongly affected by Greek philosophy and sciences. Al- Rāzī was, like his predecessor al-Ġazālī, a follower of the Şafi‘ī School in law and of Aš‘arī theology and an opponent of Mu‘tazilism. He tried to reconcile (Greek) philosophy with Islamic theology, which was a very clear tendency among Islamic scientists during this period. Although he was an opponent of early Islamic philosophers, al-Rāzī was influenced and inspired by them. He wrote a considerable number of his major works in Arabic and only a few in Persian. Among his important Arabic works can be mentioned, Kitāb al-arba‘n fī usūl al-dīn, Nihāyat al-’uqūl, Šarḥ al-išārāt, Al-mabāḥih al-mašriqiyyah. Among his Persian works can be mentioned Usūl-i ’aqīq, Risālah-i rūḥiyah, Al-ixtīyārat al-’alā’iyyah, and the most celebrated of them Hadā‘i’s al-anwār fī ḥaqā‘iṣ al-asrār.

Hadā‘i’s al-anwār fī ḥaqā‘iṣ al-asrār was the result of al-Rāzī’s sojourn in Xurāsān, which was ruled by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn X̣wārazm-Šāh Muḥammad b. Takaš (who reigned from 567/1172 to 1172/1200). In some Mss the work is entitled Jāmi‘ al-’ulām (Collector of sciences). There are three versions of the encyclopaedia, the first version deals only with 40 sciences, the second with 57 sciences and the third last version, which was written in 575/1179, deals with 60 sciences. Rāzī’s encyclopaedia is the second encyclopaedia in Persian that has a section on music and is of much wider scope than Ibn Sīnā’s/Jūzjānī’s. The section on the science of music (‘Ilm al-mašiq) is, nevertheless, more concise and shorter than that of Avicenna/Jūzjānī. The section consists of ca. 800 to 1000 words, dealing with nine aslās (bases, principals) of the science of music. Its topics and some parts of the work (Rāzī 1372 H.Š./1993: 98-104) are as follows:

The science of music
And on this science we will mention nine of its principals with the help of God the Sublime

53 Xānlarī (1348 H.Š./1969: 368) mentions the date of composition as 547/1152 which must be wrong.
54 The work is the third Persian encyclopaedia. The second one, which does not have a section on music, is the Nuzhat-nāmah-i ‘Alā‘ī by Šams al-Dīn b. Abī al-Xayr in 477/1084.
55 The cited parts of the work here is the edited and published version of the work by Pūrjawādī (ibid.). I also have a microfilm of the Ms in DB (Ms. Orient, Oct. 263), but after a comparison I have decided not to use the Ms of DB here because the edited and published version by Pūrjawādī is more correct than the Ms of DB.
The first principle: On the nature of sound and its different kinds

You should know that the cause of the production of sound is vibration of the air that is caused by hitting a hard substance against another hard substance or pulling such a substance from another one. When that vibration is produced, it necessarily causes vibration in the air and that vibration reaches the ear. You should know that sounds are sometimes high and sometimes low, sometimes acute and sometimes grave. The causes of differences between the notes are gravity and acuteness, because, if the gravity and acuteness of sounds are proportional, tones are (also) proportional, and if they are not proportional, the tones also are disproportional.

The second principle: On the causes of gravity and acuteness of sound

The third principal: On the names of the principal strings of the barbat

You should know that it has four strings: the first one, which is the thickest of all, has been called bam (bas), the second, which is the closest [string] to the first, has been called matlab, upon the rhythm of matlab. The third one, which is the closest [string] to the second [string], has been called ma'nā, upon the rhythm of ma'nā. The fourth [string] has been called zīr and is the thinnest of all [the strings].
The fourth principle: On what (the science of) music concerns

You should know that the science of music consists of two subjects (discourses); one of them is on the conditions of notes with regard to whether there is dissonance or consonance, and the second [subject, discourse] is on the times which occur between the notes, and this subject is called the science of *iqāʿ*. There are two reasons when notes are combined in such way that they cause pleasure: the first one is because of the proportion between the combination of them, and the second one is because the sound is something that animals are familiar with naturally (instinctively). Because, if an animal is sad, (or) has pain, (or) is happy, it certainly produces different sounds. So, if these sounds are combined together according to their (sounds) acuteness and gravity in natural proportions, familiarity to them is the greater. And it will be in that way that the differences of those sounds cause the different emotional conditions and they cause enjoyment. Because, if a condition becomes permanent, it will be not enjoyable, and if it is changed, it will necessarily be pleasant.

The fifth principle: On the proportions of notes

The chapter (*ibid.*, p. 100) begins as follows:

You should know that if a note is repeated, it will not produce any (intervallic) relation. But, if there are different notes, by combination of two of them an interval will be produced. If one of them is higher than the other one, [then] there is a proportion between them. This proportion is either consonant or not, *i.e.* it is dissonance.

The sixth principle: Concerning the relations of the kind that mustafāwir is like tafāwut in theory

The seventh principal: [without heading]
In this chapter the author continues the discussion about different intervals. At the beginning of the chapter, Rāzī (ibid., p. 102) mentions:

You should know that there are some intervals that differ from these proportions (which have been explained in the previous chapter), yet, all of them are not dissonant, but they are ultimately proportional (consonant). The reason is that there is a kind of proportion in the zi'f (double) proportion that there is not in other (types of) proportions, that is to say, their harmonies are of such a nature that each of them can substitute for the other, both in the throat and on the instrument.

The chapters (principles) eight and nine (ibid., pp. 103 f.) are as follows:

The eighth principle: On each melody is proper for a particular condition

The melody (song) that is suitable for happiness and gladness (joy) is when it begins with low melodies and goes up to sharp melodies, so the soul goes up from the descent to sadness to an ascent of joy and gladness. The melody (song) that is suitable for sadness and lamentation is that which (begins) with sharp notes and goes down to low notes, so that the soul comes down from the height of gladness to the depths of sadness. What is suitable for the power of thought and passion is heavy. And what is suitable for the power of sensuality is light.
The ninth principle: On the superiority of this science

Among the scientist-philosophers who for the first time deeply pondered on this science was Pythagoras. It is said that he was Solomon’s, May God have mercy upon him, pupil. So, he dreamed one night that someone told him, “wake up and go to the shore of a certain sea and get knowledge of science in that place.” In the morning, Pythagoras woke up and went to the shore of the sea, and he waited for a long time there, but he did not meet anybody who could teach him anything. He dreamed the same dream on the second night. And on the second day he went to the same place, but he came back without any result. On the third night he had the same dream. The third day came, and he understood that he should not trifle with that dream. So, he reflected very much (on that dream). There was a group of blacksmiths in that place, hammering on iron by sledges in a proper way. When Pythagoras saw them, he thought about these proportions and returned home. He decided to figure out the proportions of these sound. And when he figured it out after deep reflections, he built an instrument and stringed it. Then, he composed a song on tawḥīd (the unity) of God (ʿAllāh) Sublime, the disapproval of this world and the exhortation to the doomsday according to the tradition of that time. He was singing this song with that instrument for people, and for this reason (because of this song) many people stopped thinking about this world and turned to (think about) the judgment day. So, this instrument was dear to the philosophers. And so, other philosophers studied and improved it till the time of Aristotle came. He reflected on it and constructed the instrument (called) the organ. Generally, nobody can ponder on this science and practise it except with the help of sharp thought, a clear mind and right nature. And if one combines the strength of this science (theory) with practice in this art, then he will be unique in his art.

If we accept the notion that the section on music in Dānīš-nāmah is a Persian translation and summary of Ibn Ṣīnā’s al-Najāt and al-Šīfā’, the
section on music in Ḥadāʾiq al-anwār fī baqāʾiq al-asrār is the earliest work on music theory which was originally written in Persian, and therefore it is of major importance for the establishment of Persian musical literature. The treatment of topics has been focused on the definition of sound, music and its creation and musical intervals. It is remarkable that al-Rāzī fails to deal with rhythm despite the fact that he himself points out that rhythm is the second most important discourse (subject) in the discussion on music and music theory. It is not known why he fails to deal with the musical element of rhythm in the section on music of his encyclopaedia. Furthermore, the third principle is, in my judgement, placed badly without any coherence between the previous and the following topics.

The second Persian translation of al-Risālah al-Quṣayriyyah by an anonymous translator

The forth work which has come down to us from the 12th century is the second Persian rendering of al-Risālah al-Quṣayriyyah. I have presented the author and the original Arabic work in the previous chapter. And as mentioned in that chapter, the work was translated first by a certain Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Ḥaḍir b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Ḥasan al-Muxtār b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdūn b. Saʿdūn b. al-Baġdādī, known as Ibn Buṭlān, (d. 458/1066). He was one of the most famous physicians of his time and writer

Ms of undated work copied during the 12th century

Persian translation of Taqwîm al-ṣīḥḥah

As has been mentioned, an Ms of an undated Persian translation of a celebrated Arabic medical work, i.e. Taqwîm al-ṣīḥḥah (The table of health) which has a section on music, has also come down to us from the 12th century.

The author of the original Arabic work is Abū al-Ḥasan al-Muxtār b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdūn b. Saʿdūn b. al-Baġdādī, known as Ibn Buṭlān, (d. 458/1066). He was one of the most famous physicians of his time and writer
of a number of works on medicine and other subjects, among which can be mentioned Da’vat al-atibbā, Muxtaṣar Jālīnūs (Elkhadem [Ibn Butlān, 1990: 11 f.]). We do not know the exact date of the composition of the original Arabic work. We know only that it was written some time between 1030 and 1066. The Persian translator and the date of translation of the work are also unknown. Nevertheless, the oldest Ms of the work, which is in GB-Lbl (Or. 6288), and which was copied in 517/1123, suggests that it was translated before that date. It is probable that the translation was made during the second half of the 11th century not long after the composition of the original Arabic work.

The work is a medical treatise arranged in tables. It is the only work written/translated in Persian that takes a medical approach to music and, although the work is just a rendering, it is a unique work in Persian. In the section (or rather two tables) on music the author deals with music therapy and the effects of music on nafs (the soul). This part begins with an explanation of the use of music to preserve health and how it can soothe pain. The section on music (Taqwīm al-sīḥhah, Ms. S-Uu, Ovet 23 [for the Persian text see appendix 4]) begins as follows:

Music is used for preserving the health, and it varies according to differences in the characters of peoples. This art was founded in ancient time to attract the spirit towards good manner, and then doctors used it to cure diseases, because the effect of the melody on a disturbed spirit is similar to that of drugs on a sick body. The influence of music on the spirits is obvious, for example, to ride camels by songs (hudā’) and the gladness of children when they listen to songs. Music gives joy and pleasure, and it helps people when they pray and study, and doctors make use of it to reduce pain, as well as workers use it to reduce their load. The best song is a song that preserves the proportion between rhythm, the correct tuning of cords (of each instrument) and the correct tuning of all the instruments (that play together). One can recognise the correct tuning of the cords by the harmonization of xīnsir [the place of the little finger on the fret of instruments in the “finger modes system”] of each cord with muṭlaq [open string] of that which follows it.

The first and second tables in this work (ibid.) have the following titles:

\[\text{أwards موسیقی و احداث نفسانی}\]

On music and psychological states

In this part (table) the author deals with the ode (sūrūd), song (āwāz) and the organ (argānūn), dance (raqs) and rhythm (īqā’); and various feelings such as joy (šādī), shyness (xījālāt), anger (xašīm), and their benefits (manfū‘āt),
harmfulness (muzir) for different ages (sinn-hā) and temperaments (mazāj-hā), times (zamān-hā), and cities (šahr-hā).

Choices: On music and psychological states

In the second table the writer mentions the opinions of famous physicians and scientists on the above-mention subjects. The topics that have been dealt with in the section on music are:

- definition of music;
- the explanation of two musical elements, melody and rhythm;
- the medical usages of music (for example, for the treatment of the sciatic nerve);
- the benefits and disadvantages of vocal music, instrumental music, and dance and rhythm for people of different ages, temperaments and natures in relation to the climate of the cities these people live in and the different seasons of a year (in the first table);
- Fārābī’s opinions on melody, rhythm and dance, and Ishāq Ibn Hunayn al-‘Ibadī’s opinions on the benefits of instrumental music, Socrates’, Galen and Rāzi’s opinions on the five feelings (joy, sorrow, shyness, anger, fear) that are aroused by music (the second table);
- the five feelings that music arouses.
Chapter 4
Writing on music during the 13th century

Background

The weakness of the Xwārazm-Šāhs at the beginning of the 13th century, which was the result of constant conflict with the Abbasid Caliphs and the neighbouring Turkish Gūrīds and Qarā-Xītāyīds and internal conflicts, was utilised by Genghis Khan, who had managed to gather different Mongol tribes, to start his expeditions in the region. The invasion of the Xwārazmīd territory began in 616/1219 and was completed in 1238. After the death of Genghis, the Mongols got assistance from Persian administrators and bureaucrats to continue their expeditions in the region.56 The most famous of these Persian administrators and bureaucrats was Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. The Mongols did not invade the whole Persian-speaking areas even long after the death of Genghis Khan. And the south and south-western provinces, which were under the control of the Atābegs dynasties such as the Salūrūds of Fārs and the rulers of Lurīstān, managed to escape the destruction that the eastern and north-eastern provinces suffered for a while by paying tribute to the Mongols. However, with the second wave of invasion, which was started by the grandson of Genghis Khan, Hülegū, the whole area and almost the whole of the Eastern Islamic Empire came under the control of the Mongols. They managed to capture the Abbasid capital Baghdad in 1258 and put an end to the dynasty and the theocratic regime that directly or indirectly ruled over a vast area for over five centuries. The capture of Baghdad and the fall of the last Abbasid Caliph was also the end of a period of decline in the eastern Islamic Empire. The establishment of the Il-Khans (1256-1335), which, according to Spuler (EI, s.v. Īl-Khāns), became essentially an Iranian state,

56 The presence of Persians and other Iranians in the administrative apparatus of non-Iranian dynasties played a crucial role in the continuation of the existence of the Persian-speaking people, their culture and art even during the hardest periods of their existence, i.e. the Arab-Muslim and Mongol invasions’. “Such a flexibility allowed the Persians to come through many trials, but it has not been without its effects on the national character.” Minorsky (1964: 248).
contributed to the unification of the Persian-speaking areas and the enhancement of the cultural influence of the Persians in the region. The existence of Iranian elements in the ruling apparatus of the Il-Khans continued even later and Persian families such as the Juwaynī held high administrative positions in the ruling apparatus of the Il-Khans during the second half of the 13th century. It must be pointed out that the social and economic decline of the realm, and particularly the north-east provinces during the 13th century was not merely a result of the invasion, but it was also a result of mismanagement and political and social disarray during the rule of the Saljuqs and Xârâzî-Šâhs.

Regarding the economy, it was a disastrous period for the region. The invasion brought about the almost complete ruin of agriculture, which was the most important economic resource of the region and which had already suffered from the land policy of the Saljuqs (see previous chapter). Morgan (IE, s.v. Mongols) describes the economic circumstances during the second half of the century in the following way: “The 40 years of the pagan Il-Khanîd government before the accession of Ghâzîn in 694/1295 seem to have been characterized by ruthless and short-sighted exploitation.” This ruthless and short-sighted exploitation pushed the lands that the Il-Khans reigned over into economic collapse. And if Ghâzîn had not begun his economic and monetary reforms, the economy of the realm would have collapsed totally. I will return to this discussion later. The huge economic resources spent on military expeditions, which were a characteristic tendency among the dynasties which ruled over the Persian-speaking areas after the 11th century was a burden on the economy of the areas.

As regards the social structure of society, the conquest changed at once the ethnic structure of the ruling class but not the social one, and it was still the rulers and their families and “the men of the sword” (arbâb-i sayf) or high military commanders who remained at the top of the social hierarchy. Persian administrators and bureaucrats (arbâb-i qalam [the men of the pen]) remained among the high social classes in the Il-Khan society by keeping administrative posts in the ruling apparatus of the Mongols.

The invasion of the Mongols, whose faith was a type of Shamanism, created a relaxed religious climate for almost eighty years in the region. Minorsky (1964: 248) discusses the religious climate, noting that:

The vanguard of Chingiz-Khân appeared in Khurāsān about 1221, and till 1295— that is, during three-quarters of a century, or three generations— Persia lived under the rule of infidel governors and princes, who made no distinction among the creeds of their new subjects, who used Christian auxiliary troops, and who employed Jewish viziers alongside administrators hailing from the Far East.
The accession of Ğazān was a turning point not only in the economic policy of the Il-Khans, but also in the religious policy. He was the first of the Il-Khan rulers that converted to Islam. Nevertheless, the relaxed religious climate continued even during the reign of Ğazān. This religious climate contributed partly to the resumption of scientific (mostly in the natural sciences), philosophical and artistic activities, which during the Saljuqs, in particular because of a harsher religious climate, had been remarkably restricted. This religious climate contributed also to the growth of Shi‘ism in the country and region.

The first assault of the Mongols was a catastrophe for the whole region and especially for the eastern part of the Persian-speaking areas, which was the cradle of Persian literature and one of the most significant centres of the intellectual activities in the region. Consequently, cultural activities in this area were reduced considerably during the period. However, a process of assimilation between different cultures (particularly Chinese) began after the invasion, which contributed to the flourishing of cultural activities in that part of the Persian-speaking areas and even other parts of the areas that escaped the devastations of the Mongol warfare. We can see the effect of this process clearly in Persian miniature painting, architecture, and even music.

Already from the middle of the 13th century literary activities began shifting from the east part of the Persian-speaking areas to the west. This process was accelerated after the invasion of the Mongols. According to Bahār (1369 H.Š./1990, vol. iii: 3 f.), with the invasion of the Persian-speaking areas by the Mongols the decline of Persian literature accelerated too. However, this statement is not totally correct and we witness the flourishing of learned literature, particularly subjects such as history, the exact sciences (mathematics, geometry) and astronomy. This century was probably one of the most productive centuries where these subjects are concerned in the Persian-speaking areas. After the conquest of Baghdad and the fall of the Abbasids, Arabic lost its dominant status, and from this century onwards Persian authors began to write their works to a larger extent in Persian. As a consequence of this development, the number of Persian learned literary works increased considerably. Regarding poetry, the Mongol rulers did not, however, set a good example by supporting and patronizing this literary activity, and if the court patronized poets and poetry it was because of their Persian-speaking wazīrs.

Exposition

As regards the writing on music, as far as we know, a total of nine works in different categories of the genre were written during the 13th century. In addition, there is an undated and anonymous translation of a celebrated Arabic
treatise on music theory and a very important and interesting undated work on music theory from this century which have also come down to us. Below we will continue our journey in the world of Persian writing on music with the chronological presentation of these works and treatises.

Ādāb al-ṣūfiyyah by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā

The first work, to be treated here, is on samā’, entitled Ādāb al-ṣūfiyyah (The rules of good conduct of the Sufis) by Abū ‘Abdallāh Abū b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh Xaywaqī Xārazmī, known as Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (also Najm al-Dīn Xārazmī). The exact date of the composition is unknown; it was written either towards the end of the 12th century or, more probably, at the beginning of the 13th century.

The author of the work, Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, was born at Xaywah in the region of Xārazm in 540/1145 and died in 618/1222, during the Mongol invasion of that region. He was one of the most eminent and respected Sufis of his time and educated a number of prominent disciples, such as Sayf al-Dīn Bīxarz (d. 659/1260), Najm al-Dīn Rāz (d. 654/1256). Most of his works are in Arabic, but he has two works in Persian, namely al-Sāyir al-hāyi al-wājid ila al-sātir al-wāhid al-mājīd and Ādāb al-ṣūfiyyah.

Regarding Ādāb al-ṣūfiyyah, Beaurecueil (Qāsimī [Najm al-Dīn Kubrā 1363 H. Š./1984: 4]) has attributed the work to Xaywah ‘Abdallāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (see above). However, Qāsimī (ibid.: 5) refers to Awsīr al-ahbāb wa fusūs al-ādāb (see next chapter) by Bāxarzī (1345 H.Š./1946: 357), where the author mentions Ādāb al-ṣūfiyyah, noting that the work was written by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā. Qāsimī (Najm al-Dīn Kubrā 1363 H. Š./1984: 5 f.) adds that five of the six Mss that have come down to us introduce Najm al-Dīn Kubrā as the author of the work, and that in no other source than the Ms. in the ‘Alī Pashā library in Turkey is the work attributed to Xaywah ‘Abdallāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī. At any rate, the work is very compact and concise, dealing with seven Sufi ādāb (the rules of good conduct), of which number six is on samā’. The chapter has the heading “dar samā’ šīnīdan” (“on listening to samā’”), containing ca 380 words. In this chapter the author writes down the rules of good conduct at samā’-sessions. The greater part of the chapter (ibid.: 35 f.) has been cited and translated below:

بايد كي سماح بى تكلف نعك و يوش أو بيز نتود و حوج وديد يوي بعقت شنشين، وقت خود با حقي تعالي، نهك دار و خون وارود يبود درايد تا تواون آرام ميود و أغر وارود ورود. و در حيرك يبون و را بيجواند، بى تكلف نعنبد كي بركت از وقت أو برود و بياز بريس و در حرك كي مقاطع خنتاه و أغر كي از أو مقاطع خنتاه، مقاطع كه اتام أمر نعق را از سه جزي للبد است: مكان و زمان و خوان. مكان جابي بايد فراح، اطراف أن نشأده تا ديده افيار بر جماعت نيدي. و مستمع بايد كي در مجلس غنائشي نعك و خواب نود ننشين و
One should not practise samā’ in an artificial way (takalluf) and should not practise it habitually. But, when it [the time of practising the samā’] comes, he should not neglect it, and he should respect the time with Truth [God] the Sublime. And when a wārid [a divine inspiration] comes upon him, he should be as calm as he can. But if it is a powerful wārid that makes him agitate [move], he should not move in an artificial way, because then the barakat [the blessing] will be lost at this time and he will not reach it. He should not ask anyone to support him in a state of emotion, but if one asks for his support, he should help him.

But, three things are necessary concerning samā’: place, time, and friends [brothers] [i.e. participants]. The place should be an open place with open surroundings, so that strangers will not see the congregation. The listener (the participant in the session) should not be impudent in the session and sit drowsily. He should not scratch himself or blow his nose. He should abstain from being busy with his clothes, hair and beard and should not be absent-minded. He should not sing, and he should avail himself of the speech of Sufis (leader in samā’-sessions).

Concerning time, devotees should know the time for samā’, and apparently, it is better at night than during daytime, because there are many people in daytime, and it is at night that the distinction between sāhib-i qāl [the possessor of religious knowledge] and sāhib-i ḥāl [the possessor of religious feeling] will appear. Let it be that sāhib-i samā’ [the possessor of samā’, the doer of samā’] chooses samā’ before sleep for a snake-bitten person cannot sleep. At night the hearts are gathered (concentrated) and the minds are not distracted, and they [the Sufis who perform samā’] are secure from the sight of people and strangers.

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57 According to Sufis, it is a psychological condition state in which one can understand the meanings of things without thinking. Wajīd (ecstasy) is a kind of wārid.
[But] in reality, every moment is [the proper] time [for samā’], because when the proper time comes, day or night is the same. And because “the time is a sharp sword”, when the [proper] time comes, it does not wait, like a sword it cuts and passes every things in its way. It is also said: “the Sufi is on time”. If a Sufi says: “I am going to do samā’ tonight” he does not understand Sufism. What does not belong to you, you should not care about. How do you know whether or not it will be given to you tonight.

[But] When it is the right time, do not neglect it. When the mood (ḥāl) of samā’ comes, it is the time [for samā’]. And if the garment becomes an issue and it falls [by itself] it is the time [for the fall of the garment], because delay is not approved in Sufism. Devotees should avoid antagonism and opposition and not perform samā’ except with their own group (class, kind). “I will most certainly punish him with a severe punishment”. The companionship of a non-Sufi person (nājīn) is a severe pain [for s Sufi].

The most significant aspect of the chapter is that the author has dealt only with the topic “the rules of good conduct in samā’”, which often formed the last part or chapter of the section on samā’ in earlier works, to be exact the works after Kašf al-mahjūb (see above). Furthermore, the most important topics in the earlier works, e.g. “the defence of samā’”, “the opinions of religious leaders on the legality and illegality of samā’” are not dealt with in this work which suggests a radical change in the opinion of the writers on this subject concerning the treatment of the topics.

Persian rendering of Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn

A Persian rendering of Ġazālī’s celebrated Arabic work Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn (The revival of the religious sciences) is the next work which will be discussed in this chapter. The original Arabic work was composed, as mentioned earlier, during the last decade of the 11th century.58 The translator is Mu’ayyid al-Dīn Muḥammad Xwârazmî, who was a well-known scientist and Islamic mystic. He was born presumably in Xwârazm in the north-eastern part of the Persian-speaking areas. After the invasion of the region by the Mongols, he escaped first to Lahore and then to Delhi where he stayed till his death. The translation was done in Delhi in 620/1223 at the request of Abū Sa’īd Muḥammad al-Junaydî, the wazīr of Šams al-Dīn al-Tatmaš. He explains (Xwârazmî 1364 H./1985: 3 f.) how he got the order to translate the work in the introduction of his translation thus:

58 For detailed information on the author and work see chapter three.
Since your humble servant arrived to the capital Delhi, May God make it more glorious, in the last months of the year six hundred and twenty [H.Q.], … I have enjoyed the generosity and kindness of the possessor of glory Mu‘ayid al-Mulk, the king of ministers, … Abū Sa‘d al-Junaydī. At a feast arranged by the great vizier, may his honour last, he (Abū Sa‘d al-Junaydī) commanded and ordered that Ḥiyā ‘ulūm dīn should be translated into Persian, so that everybody could derive advantage from it. … Because the majority of people cannot understand Arabic, [and furthermore,] these truths, facts and kinds of knowledge [in that book] are difficult in their own nature and when the difficulty of Arabic is added to them, the obstacle of comprehension and the difficulty of perception will be doubled.

Since the instigation of this desire was a divine favour and confirmation, to obey that order and to comply with that command was understood as indispensable and necessary [by me]. And with the greatest possible endeavour and enormous effort work on it was begun.

In addition to the translation of the Arabic text, further explanations and interpretations of difficult phrases and sentences have been added to the translation by the translator. (For further information about the topics that the work deals with, see chapter three). It should be pointed out that the work is the earliest work on samā‘ written in India. X̣ārazmī’s work thus contributed to the spread of the genre to other parts of the region.

Dar ‘ilm-i mūsīqī by Bābā Afzal

The next work which will be studied here is a short treatise on the theory of music with the heading Dar ‘ilm-i mūsīqī (On the science of music). The work was written by Afzal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Maraqī Kāsānī or Kāsī, renowned as Bābā Afzal.

The author was born in the village Maraq near Kāsān in the central part of Iran. It is not clear exactly when Bābā Afzal was born; according to Ṣafā (1366 H.Š./1987, vol. iii/2: 1183), he was born towards the end of the 6th Islamic century (the second half of the 12th century). He was a philosopher, and a poet with a tendency to Sufism which manifests itself more clearly in
his poems and less in his prose works [Encyclopædia Iranica, s.v. Bābā Afżal]. We know little about his life; it seems that he spent his whole life in Maraq writing his books (Şafâ 1366 H.Š./1987, vol. iii/2: 1183). Although his contribution to Persian culture is in the field of literature, Bābā Afżal has written and translated many works on philosophy and scientific subjects. Among his prose works can be mentioned, ٌविदन-नाम, ٌहांजम-नाम, Madārij al-kaml, ٌارز-نام, Risālah-i nafs-i Arastū (translation).

Due to lack of information about his life a number of works of uncertain origins have also been attributed to him. He died in 667/1268 (Rypka, EI, s.v. Bābā Afżal); however, at least two other dates for his death have been given, i.e. by Razawi, 610/1213 (Encyclopædia Iranica s.v. Bābā Afżal); by Nafisi, (Rypka 1968: 235) 1256 or 1265-6.

The work is among the first treatises entirely devoted to the theory of music and has the heading دار یل میوسیقی (On the science of music). It is a very short tract dealing with the definition of ٌواز (sound), ٌاہن (melody), ٌناگم (note), and ٌيقا (rhythm) and the reciprocal connections between rhythm and melody (Massoudieh 1996: 35 f.; Munzawi 1348-1351 H.Š./1969-1972: 3912). His approach to music and musical topics is that of Ibn Sinā and Farābī, and the Greek influence is remarkable in this treatise. The importance of the work lies in the fact that it is, as mentioned, among the first separate and independent works on music in Persian. However, the tract does not introduce any new approaches or new theoretical ideas regarding music and the theory of music in Persian.

ٌحادیق ٌحاقيات by ٌحماد ٌاجم

The fourth work, which was written during the 13th century and has come down to us, is on ٌسام. It is entitled ٌحادیق ٌحاقيات (The garden of truth) and was written by Abū al-Fath Muḥammad b. Muṭṭahhar b. ٌحماد ٌاجم. The book is the only work that was written during this period in the part of the country that was occupied by the Mongols during their first invasion. The author was descended from a famous Sufi family. His grandfather was ٌسح احماد ٌاجمī who was a prominent Sufi master of his time and author of a number of works on ٌتاشفع. After studying with his father ٌسح ٌاجم and his uncle ٌسح ٌاجمī, he became the master (ٌپر) of ٌسح-ٌاجمī’s ٌخنیق after his uncle’s, ٌسح ٌاجمī,’s death (Muwaḥhid [ٌحماد ٌاجم 1343 H.Š./1964: 11]). We know nothing more about the author. ٌحادیق ٌحاقيات is the only work of his that has come down to us, and it is probably the only work he wrote.

59 Munzawi (1348-1351 H.Š./1969-1972: 3912) introduces the work under the heading ٌبدل dar میوسیقی (A part on music).
60 The city is now called Turbat-i-ٌاجم.
The work (Ahmad Kami 1343 H./1964) is divided into a muqaddimah (introduction) and fourteen bâbs (sections), of which the sixth is on samâ’ and is entitled “fi samâ’” (“concerning samâ’ [audition]”). The section contains ca 2500 words and is divided into six fasls (chapters). The topics and headings of the section (ibid.: 87) are as follows:

الفصل الأول في قواعد السماع

The first chapter: On the principles of audition

In the next three chapters the author like Tusî (Kitab al-luma’ fî al-tasawwuf) groups different types of samâ’ in terms of ordinary, specific and the most specific types. Then he (ibid., pp. 88-93) describes each of these types in the three next chapters which are entitled:

الفصل الثاني في سماع العام

The second chapter: Concerning the ordinary samâ’

In this chapter the author (ibid., p. 88), like Abû Sa’îd’s kitab al-luma’, groups the ordinary samâ’ in four different kinds (naw’), noting:

بدان وفلك الله كسماع عام كافة نوع است طبيعي و هوائي و شهاني و بدعی.

You, may God make you successful, should know that ordinary samâ’ is of four kinds: natural, sensual, desirous, and heretical.

الفصل الثالث في سماع الخاص

The third chapter: Concerning the special samâ’ [samâ’ of the chosen ones]

Concerning specific samâ’ the writer (ibid.: 89) mentions:

بدان وفلك الله كسماع خاص سه نوع است سماع خائفان و سماع راجيان و سماع روح.

You, may God make you successful, should know that specific samâ’ is of three kinds: the samâ’ of the people that are frightened, the samâ’ of the people who are hopeful, and samâ’ of the soul.

The three last chapters of the section (ibid.: 91-102) have the following headings:

الفصل الرابع في سماع الاخص

The fourth chapter: On the most special samâ’

الفصل الخامس في حقيقة السماع
The fifth chapter: On the essence of samā‘

The sixth chapter: On the legality of samā‘

The section has been “illustrated” by poems and verses of the Sufi masters.

As we can observe, the author emphasizes different types of samā‘ and the impacts of audition (samā‘) on men with different psychological states in order to relieve them. Another important aspect of the work is that the author begins the section by dealing with the rules of good conduct in samā‘ while the topic of “the legality of samā‘” was shifted from the initial part of a section (a chapter) in earlier works, e.g. Kašf al-mahjūb by al-Hujwīrī, Kīmiyā-yi sa‘ādat by al-Ġazālī, to the final part of the section. It perhaps indicates that these topics have lost their importance in the discussion on samā‘.

Risālah-i sirr-i samā‘ by ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah Simnānī

The first work that is wholly devoted to samā‘ is the next treatise to be dealt with here. The treatise is headed Risālah-i sirr-i samā‘ (The treatise on the secret of samā‘) and was written by Šayx Abū Makārim Rūk al-Dīn ‘Alā al-Dawlah Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Biyābānakī, renowned as ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah Simnānī, who was among the most prominent Islamic mystics of the second half of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century. According to Xwāndāmīr (1333 H./1954, vol. 3: 125), he was born at Simnān in the central parts of Iran in 659/1260. It is said that he was a Shi‘i Sufi (Ṣafā 1366 H./1987, vol. iii/2: 808). ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah Simnānī, like his father, worked at the dīwān (the court) of the Il-Khans. But soon he left the court and devoted himself to religion and the study of Islam. His works include several treatises and books on Sufism and Islamic mysticism, among which can be mentioned Salwat al-‘āšiqīn, Mašārī‘ abwāb al-quds. He has also a collection of poems (dīwān). He died in Simnān in 736/1335.

The work, as mentioned above, is on samā‘ and was written in Simnān. It is the first and at the same time the last Persian treatise (prior to the 16th century) that is completely devoted to the subject samā‘ which has come down to us. We do not know the exact date of the composition of the treatise, but the only Ms of the work (11-m Majāmī‘ Farsī, f. 189a-192b in the National Library [Dār al-kutub] in Cario [Massoudieh 1996: 40 f.]), which was copied in 687/1288 and is in the author’s own handwriting, indicates that the treatise was written between 685/1286, when he left the court of Il-Khan Argūn-Xān (683/1284-690/1291) returning to Simnān, and 687/1288, when the Ms was copied. This treatise is on the effects of samā‘ on the soul and mind, and how through samā‘ one can reach the mystery of the divinity.
Persian rendering of ‘Awārif al-maʿārif by Abū Mansūr Māsāzhah

The first rendering of Šahāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh al-Suhrawardī’s (539/1145-632/1234) celebrated Sufi work, ‘Awārif al-maʿārif (The bounties of knowledge), is the fourth work on samā’ that was written during the 13th century.

Al-Suhrawardī was born in Suhraward in the province of Jībāl (the upper part of the south-western region of present Iran) in 539/1145 and died in Baghdad in 632/1234. He was one of the most influential Sufi leaders of his time. He received his early education in Baghdad under guidance of his uncle Abū al-Najīb who was also a prominent Sufi leader of his time. He stayed in Baghdad for the rest of his life and was active in the court of the Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir. The most important and celebrated work of al-Suhrawardī is ‘Awārif al-maʿārif, the exact date of composition of which we do not know. The work was one of the most referred to works in Sufi circles of that time and later.

‘Awārif al-maʿārif (al-Suhrawardī 1393/1973: 160-189) is divided into sixty-three chapters of which chapters 22-25 are on samā’ and deal with the following topics:

[Chapter 22] Discourse on the acceptance of the samā’ and its preference
[Chapter 23] Discourse on objections and refutation of the samā’
[Chapter 24] Discourse on the sublimation reached through the samā’
[Chapter 25] Discourse on respecting and attention to samā’

The Persian translator of the work is Ismā’īl b. ‘Abd al-Mu’min Abū Mansūr Māsāzhah. We know very little about the translator. He was probably born during the first half of the century and was active in India. He was one of ‘Abd al-Salām Sīxī Kāmnavī’s disciple, upon whose suggestion the work was translated. The translation was made in India probably in 665/1266 (Munzawī 1348-1351 H./1969-1972: 1086).
Ašjär wa atmār by ‘Alā’ Munajjim

The next work, which is a part of a large work on astrology, is the section on music of Ašjär wa atmār (The trees and the fruits). The author is ‘Alī Šāh b. Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāsim Darḡānī al-Xawārīsī al-Buxārī, known as ‘Alā’ Munajjim. He was probably born in 623/1226 or 624/1227. He began his education in Buxārā. It seems that he was in his hometown till the city was devastated by Abāgā’s army in 671/1273. He left Buxārā and went first to Hamadān and then Iraq, staying there until the year 688/1289, when he began his pilgrimage to Mecca. After this year we know almost nothing about his life, except that he was alive until 691/1292 and worked as a tutor for the vizier Šams al-Dīn Muhammad b. Šayf al-Dīn Aḥmad-Šāh b. Badr al-Dīn Mubārak-Šāh, for whom he wrote Ašjār wa atmār. It is not clear when and where he died. ‘Alā’ Munajjim is the writer of another work on astrology, which was a popular subject during the period, namely Ahkām al-‘awām, written in 690/1291 (Ṣafā 1366 H./1987, vol. iii/2: 1233), and a collection of poems (dīwān-i šīr).

Ašjār wa atmār was probably written between 679/1280 and 691/1292 and deals with the science of astrology. It is divided into five sections (named šajarah [the trees]), each of which is in turn divided into a number of chapters (named tamarah [the fruits]). The chapter on music, which forms the third tamarah of the fifth šajarah (according to the Ms in D-B [Petermann 712]), is headed “dar nisbat-i ‘ilm-i mūṣiqī” (“on the relation of the science of music [to other sciences]”) (ibid.). The author’s approach to music theory is similar to that of a scientist and not a musician, in that he considers music to be a part of mathematics (ibid., fol. 154):

The science of music is a branch of the various branches of mathematics, and this word is a Greek word. The science of music is attributed to Hermes, by whom the science of astronomy was brought (into being). The definition of this science (music) is to know the relations between notes, and the modes and ratios of each of them, so it [the note] is the subject and the relation is the shape. The knowledge of the relations is solely based on mathematics and geometry.

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61 Some Mss of the work are also headed Aţmār wa aţjār, Tamarah wa šajarah, Tamarāt al-ašjār.
63 Massoudieh (1996: 41) mentions that “Le 6ème ūmar du 5ème šajāra” is on music.

98
After this introductory part the work continues with the treatment of the topic “the knowledge and names of the āvāzāt and the seven principal pardah-hā.” In this part of the work the author (ibid., fol. 155) notes:

بَدَانَ كَهْ أَصِلَ يَرَدهَا هَفْتَ اسْتَ وَ أَمْ مَهَ يَرَدهَا يَرَدها رَاسَتْ اسْتَ

You should know that the main modes are seven … and the mother of all modes is the mode of rāst.

It is of interest that despite the general acceptance of the new school, i.e. the Systematist School, and new system, the approach of the author differs from that of the Systematist School, and the author considers that the mode of rāst is the most important mode, while in the new system the importance of the mode was reduced considerably and indeed the first circle (dā’irah-i awwal) was ‘usṣāq and not rāst (Pūrjawādī [Nayšābūrī 1374 H.Š./1995: 52]). It probably indicates that the musical tradition he represented differs from that of the writers and authors of the Systematist School (ibid.). Then the author deals with the relation between modes and planets and the musical circumstances that were current in that time. There is a passage in this work providing very interesting information regarding the flourishing of the theory of music and musical performance during this period which the author tries to explain through astrology. Munajjim (Ms in D-B [Petermann 712], fol. 155) writes:

اَمَا شَابِعُ شَنِّنَ اِبْنَ عِلْمَ جِهَتْ اَسْتَ كَهْ قَرَانَ درَ مِيْزَانَ كَهْ نَكَّرَ اوْ رَفَتْهَ اَسْتَ دَالَ بُودَ بَرَ قوْتَ كَرَفَنَ اِبْنَ عَظَمْ وَ بَكْنَالَ رَسْمِيْنَ اِبْنَ عِلْمَ

As regards the spread of this science, the reason is that the conjunction of ḵezān (the last day of the sun being in the sign of Libra), which has been mentioned, indicates the strength of musicians and attainment of perfection of this science.

Then he (ibid.: fols. 155 f.) complains about the composition of difficult pieces of music in his time, noting:

اَمَا دَمْ مُوسِيْفَيْ جِيْزَهْيَ مَشَكَّلَ مِيْسَانَزَنَ دِرَيْنُقَتَ وَ مِنْتَقَمَانَ جَهَدَ سَاَخَنَتَ دَنِ جِيْزَهْيَ خُشُ

ابنْهَا كَرَفْهَا اَنْدَ وَأَسَانَ وَ مُطْبُوْعَ وَ مِتَّاخِرَانَ جَهَدَ دَنَّوْرَيْيَ مَيْ كَلَّنَدَ وَ مِشَكَّلَ وَ خُشُ خَيْلَ أَبْنَهَا

But in music difficult pieces are being composed nowadays. The predecessors attempted to compose easy, delightful and pleasing music and the newcomers are trying to compose difficult and delightful music.
The author (ibid.) continues the chapter with the discussion on rhythm (uṣūl-i żarb). The concluding part of the chapter deals briefly with some practical advice. For instance, how to accompany the female and male singer; what instruments are more pleasurable and suitable for different types of music. He (ibid.) mentions the name of the instruments the ēng (the harp), the ‘ūd, nāy-i ‘irāqī (the Iraqi nāy), the daf. He (ibid.) considers that the combination of the instruments the ēng (the harp), the ‘ūd, nāy-i ‘irāqī is a good and pleasant instrumental combination, and the daf is also a suitable instrument for all kind of music.

Although the author has a more speculative approach at the beginning of the chapter, in the end, as we have seen, he veers towards a more practical approach to music.

It is interesting to mention that a considerable number of the Mss of the work lack the chapter on music which is puzzling.

Kanz al-rumūz by Amīr Ḥusaynī Harawī

Perhaps, one of the most significant works and a milestone in the genre which was written during this century is Kanz al-rumūz by Amīr Ḥusaynī Harawī. The work is indeed the first work that employed verses to deal with the subject samā‘. The poet was a prominent Sufi, poet and author who was born in a small town or village in the province of Ġūr in the central part of present-day Afghanistan, probably during the first half of the 13th century (Misgarnižād [Harawī 1367 H.Š./1988: 105]64). After his elementary education, he left his hometown and went to Harāt and then Nayšābūr to complete his education. He became one of Šayx Bahā al-Dīn Zakariyyā; and it was the Šayx who advised the author to compose these works (ibid., p. 105). Ḥusaynī Harawī died in Harāt probably in 719/1319 (Dawlatšāh Samarqandī 1337 H.Š./1958: 249).

The date of the composition of the work is not clear. If we accept the statement of the author of Tarīx-i Firištah, the work was written before the death of Šayx Bahā al-Dīn Zakariyyā in 666/1267 when the author was young. Nevertheless, Dawlatšāh Samarqandī (ibid.) notes that these three works and two other of his writings were written when he was old (dar āwān-i pūr [during old age]), which in my judgement is more probable.

The work is a maṯnawī containing 930 distiches. It is divided into a number of parts each with its own heading. The part or section on samā‘ has

64 He mentions that Ḥusaynī Harawī was probably born between 634/1236 and 641/1243.
the heading “dar bayān-i samā’” (“on the explanation of samā’”) consisting of 34 distiches. The poet (Harawī 1367 H./1988: 161) begins this part by describing a majlis (session) of samā’ and how the attendants have entered the state of ecstasy by means of samā’:

The nightingale of the garden of desire (love) by the description of the friend (beloved)
Has put the participants of the session outside themselves [have gone to ecstasy]
Each one has composed a melody in (a state of) intoxication
Has caused turmoil in the heaven and on earth

Then, he deals with the rules of good conduct in samā’. For example he (ibid.) composes these verses:

It is the session of the elites, and there is no place for the common people
An experienced man (learned) should do it, for it is not a job for a novice
How can a sponger become a man of samā’
Only the true devout can win samā’

A hundred thousand in a doleful state are seduced there
It is better for novices to avoid from this speech (samā’)

If it (ecstasy) comes without effort do not refuse it
Do not reach intoxication by your own effort

A considerable part of the chapter is on the rules of good conduct in the samā’-sessions. As has been noted, the work is the earliest to employ verses in treating the subject samā’, and it is therefore a milestone in the development of Persian musical literature.
Durrat al-tāj li-ğurrat al-Dubāj by Quṭb al-Dīn Šīrāzī

The next work to be discussed here is the section on music of a very significant and celebrated Persian encyclopaedia, namely Durrat al-tāj li-ğurrat al-Dubāj (Tauer [Rypka 1968: 481]) or al-Dabbāj (Miškāt [al-Šīrāzī 1317-1320 H.Š./1938-1941]), al-Dībāj (Bahār 1369 H.Š./1990, vol. iii: 160) (The pearl of the crown for the brow of Dubāj), known also as Ūnmūzaj al-ʻulūm (Samples of sciences).

The author, who was one of the most prominent scientists of his time, is Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd al-Šīrāzī. He was born in Šīrāz in 634/1236 and began his studies there. Šīrāzī was one of Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī’s pupils for a short period, but after a while, he left Marāghah and began travelling through different parts of the region in order to find a job. According to Ṣafā (1366 H.Š./1987, vol. iii/2: 1229) and Wiedemann (EI, s.v. Quṭb al-Dīn Šīrāzī), he practised music and could play the rubāb in masterly fashion. Šīrāzī is the author of a number Arabic and Persian works in various scientific and even religious fields, among which can be mentioned al-Tuhfāt al-sa’diyyah, Miftah al-miftah, Fī muškil al-Qur’ān, Nihat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk. He died in Tabrīz in 710/1310.

Durrat al-tāj li-ğurrat al-Dubāj was the culmination of the early tradition which had been established among the Persian scientists in the region during the 10th and 11th century. The work was written for Fīl-Šāh b. Rustam b. Dubaj of the Ishāqwanš amīrs (princes), who ruled over the Gīlān province.65 The exact date of the composition of the work is not clear; according to Massoudieh (1996: 209), it was written in 705/1305. However, Xānlarī (1348 H.Š./1969: 210) mentions the date of composition as the year 693/1293; Wright (1978: 1) ca 1300; Dānišpažūh (1349 H.Š./1970, no. 94: 30) 674/1275 or 705/1305. According to Miškāt (al-Šīrāzī 1317-1320 H.Š./1938-1941: ج١ ح٧), however, the work was written after 693/1293 and before 693/1300. It is divided into a fātihah (introduction), which in turn is divided into three fasāls (chapters); five jumlahs (books), each of which is divided into a number of minor chapters; and a xātimah, which is divided into four qutubs (poles). The section on music constitutes the fourth fann (art) of the fourth jumlah. This part is headed “ʻilm-i mūsīqī” (“the science of music”). The section on music (al-Šīrāzī 1317-1320 H.Š./1938-1941: 148-151) which consists of five maqālāts (discourses) and an appendix, has the following heading and topics:

The first discourse

65 This local dynasty was overthrown by Muhammad Xudābandah in 706/1306.
Chapter one: On the definition of sound, and the faults that some newcomers have found in it, and the answer to it

Chapter two: On the time of perception of sound by ear

Chapter three: Concerning the definition of the note, and the faults that some newcomers have found in it, and the answer to it

Chapter four: On the causes of acuity and gravity of sound and especially in notes

Chapter five: On the qualities of production of notes by instruments

Chapter six: On the supplements of notes

Chapter seven: On the definition of melody, various kinds of it, and the qualities of each of them, and the places of employment of them

Chapter eight: Concerning the different kinds of the art of music and the definition of each of them

Chapter nine: On the subject of music theory

Chapter ten: Regarding the principles of this science - concisely

The second discourse

Chapter one: On the limit of the ratio of numbers

Chapter two: On the fact that the ratio of tones depend on the ratios of strings

Chapter three: On the causes of the consonancy and dissonancy of intervals

Chapter four: Concerning the perfect consonancy

Chapter five: On the definition of interval, combination of intervals, and on the reason why some consonants do not appear as consonant
Chapter six: On the various kinds of intervals - concisely

Chapter seven: Regarding the rank of intervals concerning their consonancy

Chapter eight: On the names of intervals

Chapter nine: On the various kinds of intervals - comprehensively

Chapter ten: On those notes that derive from the open string, or the half string – on differences of the transpositional modes

Discourse three

Chapter one: On the definition of *izfat* (the additional intervals) and *fasl* (the separation) and different kinds of it

Chapter two: On the definition of the division of interval into equal proportions, and how to do it

Chapter three: The reason of the choice of division of the fourth into *ab’ād-i laḥnī* (melodic intervals) among other intervals

Chapter four: On the division of the fourth and the names of them - concisely

Chapter five: Concerning the division of the fourth into three kinds in the comprehensive way

Chapter six: On the division of the fourth into four kinds

Chapter seven: On the rank of consonancy of the mentioned genera

Chapter eight: On the cause that some of these kinds are common and some are uncommon

Chapter nine: Concerning the division of the fifth into different kinds

Chapter ten: On remaining topics about the genera
Discourse four

Chapter one: On the order of the fourth and ṭaninī (the second) in octave and compound interval and their classes and the names of each of them

Chapter two: On the number of notes in each combination and the names of these combinations

Chapter three: Regarding the classes of the combinations (of notes) - comprehensively

Chapter four: On the explanation of the baḥr [the seven kinds of interval the fourth] and naw’ (Species)

Conclusion

Subject one: On the reason of the choice of 'ūd and quality of its construction

Subject two: On the derivation of (the places of) frets (on the fingerboard)

Subject three: On the explanation of a method of proportion of (the places of) frets

Subject four: On the derivation of the mentioned genera from 'ūd according to the seven (places of) the frets

Subject five: Concerning the various kind of combination of notes and the derivation of them from 'ūd

Subject six: On the derivation of cycles of modes from the seventeen positions in an octave that are called ṭabaqāt (transpositions) and the similarity of the ṭabaqāt of the cycles of modes despite their differences in reality

Subject seven: Regarding the derivation of combination of tones when tuning of strings is not in the ordinary way

Subject six: On the derivation of cycles of modes from the seventeen positions in an octave that are called ṭabaqāt (transpositions) and the similarity of the ṭabaqāt of the cycles of modes despite their differences in reality

Subject seven: Regarding the derivation of combination of tones when tuning of strings is not in the ordinary way
Subject eight: On the explanation of the nature of the *pardah* (the principal modes), *āwāz* (the secondary modes), *tarkib* (combination) and *šu’bah* (the derivative modes)

Here, the author shows clearly his critical points of view concerning the classification of modes by Urmawī, writing (taken from Wright 1978: 284):

و أُغرِوَدْ كَهْ جَرِّدُ ضَا مَتْ نَامًا مِثْلًا طَقَابَهُ اسْتَ عَ سَ أَصْفَهَا، جِنَانِكُ صَانِحُ ادْوَارٍ غَلْطِهُ اسْتَ عَ سَ أَطْقَابَ عَشَاقٍ، بَسْ أَنْ نِيَزَ بَرْدَهُ نَبْوَدَ.

If it is claimed that *gardāniyā*; for instance, is a *tabaqah* (a transposition scale) of *tabaqāt* (sing. *tabaqah*) of [the mode of] *izfahān*, as the author of *Adwār* [*i.e.* Urmawī] has claimed, we can state that [the mode of] *busalik* is also a transposition scale of the transposition scales of [the mode of] *’uṣṣāq*, so that this is not a mode either.

The remaining topics are (al-Šīrāzī 1317-1320 H./1938-1941: 150 f.) as follows:

Subject nine: On the combination of scales with each other and the continuation of discussion about the famous *maqāmāt* مبحث نهم در خلخل برده ها یا یکدیگر و بقیت سخن در مقامات مشهور

Subject ten: Concerning the effect of some scales in a concise way مبحث بنجم در تاثیر بعضی برده ها یا طریق اجمال

Subject eleventh: On the quality of transposition and its (different) kinds مبحث بنجم در کیفیت انتقال و اقسام ان

Discourse five

Chapter one: On the limit of *iqā‘* (rhythm) and a description of it فصل اول در حد ایقاع و تحقیق ان

Chapter two: On the *iqā‘ic* [rhythmic] times and its various kinds فصل دوم در ازمنه ایقاع و اقسام آن

Chapter three: On the *iqā‘ic* division فصل سوم در تقسیم ایقاعی

Chapter four: Regarding the conditions [of relations] that are between the cycles and melodies فصل چهارم در احوال اوضاعی که میان دوائر و الحن افتد

Chapter five: On the rule of composition of melodies in general فصل پنجم در قانون صور الحن به طریق کلی

106
Chapter six: On the explanation of the determination of purpose for each mode according to the usage of the present time

Chapter seven: On the explanation of the manner of exercising the 'ūd

Conclusion

On the explanation of the quality of recording melodies

The section on music in Durrat al-tāj is the most comprehensive and detailed writing on the theory of music that had been hitherto composed in Persian. It is also the first Persian work that describes and deals with the new approaches to modes and classification of them, i.e. as in the Systematist School, which was established by al-Urmawī. Furthermore, according to Wright (1978: 143), al-Šīrāzī’s work differs from that of al-Urmawī’s where terminology and the scheme of classification are concerned. For instance,

… Qūṭb al-Dīn’s views fail to coincide with those of Ṣafī al-Dīn even on such a basic issue as which modes constitute the āwāzāt, for he places 60 muḥāyyir ḥusaynī in this class, while māya and shahnāz (āwāzāt for Ṣafī al-Dīn) are stated to belong to another group of modes.

[Ibid.]

With regard to Wright’s observation, we can state that the work not only introduced the new approach to the theory of music in Persian but it enriched Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī’s theory or at least presented a critical approach to that theory. The topic of recording music was also new in Persian writing on music.

Mss of undated works copied during the 13th century

As mentioned, Mss of two undated works that were copied during this century have come down to us. These two works are Mujmal al-ḥikmah and Risālah-i mūsīqī by Nayšābūrī. We begin with the oldest of them.

Mujmal al-ḥikmat

The first work is the section on music in Mujmal al-ḥikmat (The summary of science). The treatise is a Persian rendering and abridgment of the celebrated Arabic encyclopaedia known as Rasā’il al-ixwān al-ṣafā wa xillān al-wafā’. The authors of the original Arabic work were probably a group of Islamic scholars active in Basra during the second half of the 10th century, who tried
to reconcile the Islamic and the Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic approaches to science. The date of the Persian translation is not known, nor the name of the translator. According to Şafâ (1366 H./1987, vol. iii/2: 1223) the translator of the work is Saraj al-Din Abû al-Tanâ Ma'humâd b. Abî Ahmâd b. al-Urmâwî (594/1197-682/1283). Şafâ (ibid.) refers to the closing phrase of the Ms in IR-Ts (I'tisâm 1311 H./1932, vol. ii: 57, No. 112) that says that Urmâwî is the translator of the work.66 But, the oldest Ms of the work, which is in D-B (Pertsch 1888: 158 f.; Ms. Diez. A Oct. 132), was copied in 608/1211, and even if we assume that the work was written in 1211, it is hard to believe that a fourteen-year-old boy was able to translate such a difficult and complicated work into Persian. Hajji Xalîfah (1362/1943: 1604) mentions that the work was translated into Persian by a person who was a native of the Xurâsân province.67 Concerning the date of the rendering, it can be stated that with regard to a number of specific linguistic (grammatical and syntactic) traits in the work, which are presented by Biniš (SRFM: 31-34) and will be mentioned below, the Persian translation was done some time during the 11th century or at the beginning of the 12th century. The most significant of these linguistic traits are as follows:

- The usage of the 3rd sing. animate pronoun “â” (he, she) for inanimate noun; for example (ibid.: 51):

  كه أن را موارع النهري خواند و أو تمام است

  “It is called Mâwarâ’ al-nahrî (Transoxanian) and it is prefect.”

  The animate pronoun “â” is used for the instrument barbat. Another example (ibid.: 53):

  و انگر گوییم که ایام را اواز هست...

  “And if we say they have sound …”

  The animate pronoun “tshân” refers to the firmament or stars.

- The repetition of verbs; e.g. (ibid.: 48):

66 This Ms was used by Biniš (SRFM) as the main Ms for the establishment of the text he has published.
67 He (ibid.) writes:

Mujmal al-hikmat: In Persian, on the wisdom of mathematics, logics, natural science and theology, and the most of it (the work) are written in terms which were selected by a man from Xurâsân, with omitting of redundant and explanation of the terms from Risâ'il išwân al-şafâ
The verb *huwa* (is) has been used four times here.

- The employment of the second verb in the infinitive form after the verb *sha‘a* (inf. *sha‘i*; and also *bā‘a*, *tawānistan*); e.g. (ibid.: 51):

> “In *‘arūz*, it is not proper to bring three or four *sabab-i mu’tlaq* together.”

In translating this work, the translator, who is unknown, omitted some chapters of it.\(^{68}\) Furthermore, the work lacks the headings of the chapters...

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\(^{68}\)The original Arabic work (*Risā‘ī il ixwān al-ṣafā‘* 1376/1957, vol. i: 183-241) is divided into the following chapters:

- Chapter on that the origin of the art of music is with the philosophers
- Chapter on the manner through which the sense of hearing perceives the sounds
- Chapter on the combination and discord of sounds
- Chapter on the impact of sound on the physical conditions
- Chapter on the elements of melodies and their rules
- Chapter on the manner of the construction of [musical] instruments and their tuning
- Chapter on the melodic movement of the spheres and [the similarities with] that of ‘ādīs
- Chapter on that the rules of speech is an art among other arts
- Chapter on the proportion of the members of the human body according to the rules of music
- Chapter on the nature of the melodies of the celestial spheres
- Chapter on the *murabba‘āt* (the four elements of existence)
- Chapter on the transposition of intonation of melodies
- Chapter on the genial sayings of the philosophers on music
employed by the authors in the original Arabic work. The Persian translation deals with:

1. the definition and origin of music;
2. the impact of music on soul and mind;
3. the theory of sound, its production and perception, and various types of sound (haywānī [animal] and ġayr-i haywānī [non-animal]);
4. classification of musical sounds and their different qualities;
5. rhythm;
6. musical instruments and the fretting of the barbat;
7. the relations between the strings of instruments and “four body liquids (ṣafrah [yellow bile], xūn [blood], sawdā [black bile], balgam [phlegm]);
8. Ptolemy’s, Pythagoras’s, and Aristotle’s opinions on the music of spheres, the establishment of the science of music by Pythagoras;
9. the usage of music in different religious ceremonies and the purification of the soul with the help of music, and the moral effects of music.

Risālah-i musiqī by Muḥammad Nayšābūrī

An Ms of another undated work has come down to us from this century. The work is a very interesting treatise on music, and it is among the first Persian works, if not the very first work, wholly devoted to music theory. The work, which is headed Risālah-i musiqī (The treatise on music), was written by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Nayšābūrī. According to Dānišpāžūh (Nayšābūrī 1344 H.Š./1965: 99), he is probably the author of Tafsīr-i baṣā’ir-i Yamīnī. However, as Pūrjavādī (Nayšābūrī 1374 H.Š./1995: 36) points out, ‘Awfī in his celebrated work Lubāḥ al-albāḥ (‘Awfī 1906: 281) mentions the name of the author of Baṣā’ir Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Ahmād b. al-Nayšābūrī, whose name differs from that of the author of our treatise on music. Pūrjavādī (Nayšābūrī 1374 H.Š./1995: 36) states that the author of Tafsīr-i baṣā’ir-i Yamīnī introduces himself (al-Nayšābūrī 1359 H.Š./1980: 91) in his book as Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Nayšābūrī, whose name is the same as the author of the treatise on music. The author of Tafsīr-i baṣā’ir-i Yamīnī, al-Nayšābūrī, was born in Nayšābūr in the province of Xurūsān towards the end of the 11th century. He received his primary education in his hometown. He left Nayšābūr for
Čaznah after the death of his father. He became active at the court of Bahrām-Sāh b. Mas‘ūd III of the Čaznawids (1118-1157), for whom he wrote his work ());//. Due to psychological crises, al-Nayšābūrī changed his life-style at the age of forty, devoting himself to religion and religious activity (al-Nayšābūrī 1359 H.Š./1980: 5). He died some time during the second half of the 12th century.

According to Danišpažūh (Nayšābūrī 1344 H.Š./1965: 99) and Pūrjawādī (Nayšābūrī 1374 H.Š./1995: 39 f.), the Risālah-i musīqī was probably written during the first half of the 12th century and before al-Nayšābūrī’s psychological crisis. Nevertheless, the only extant Ms of the work was copied in 663/1264. The work contains ca 800 words and is divided into an introduction and five short fasāls (chapters). It begins (RF-SPAN C612: 27b-28b) with an introduction as follows (for the Persian text see Appendix 4):

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful, and from Him we ask help

Thus states the author of this book, Ustād ‘Ajāb al-Zamān (the wonder of the time) nay, the master of Xurāsān, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Naysābūrī, that, “I have heart and learned about the science of music in this way. I have added several other new things to the tasānīf (songs) that God, exalted be He, bestowed upon me, by blessing and favours of the clear-sighted elders. I will mention a few words on it concisely for those who have the right nature. So that, when they read and understand it they may remember us in a positive way and pray for us. [I hope] they do not lose their warm session (meeting), not passing it to ignorant (incapable) persons, and try to make the souls of deceased masters satisfied with them. And success will be granted by God.

The first chapter mentions only the name of twelve pardahs. The whole first chapter is as follows:

**Chapter (1)**

You should know that the science of music is a noble science, and it has twelve pardahs [modes]: first, the mode of rāst; second, the mode of muzālīš-i rāst; third, the mode of ‘irāq; fourth, the mode of muzālīshak; fifth, the mode of hussayni; sixth, the mode of rāhuvī; seventh, the mode of šafāhān; eighth, the mode of mādah; ninth, the mode of būsalik; tenth, the mode of nawā; eleventh, the mode of nahāwand, twelfth, the mode of ‘uṣṣāq.

The second chapter deals with six šu'bahs (the secondary modes, also called āwāzūl). Further, the author mentions the names of prominent musicians of
the Sasanian period like Bārbad, and even later musicians like a certain Saʿīdī⁶⁹ and Kamāl al-zamān Ḥasan Nāyī, adding that they developed and enriched the modus-system. The whole second chapter is as follows:

Chapter (2)
You should know that these twelve *pardahs* (principal modes) have six *šu'bahs* (secondary modes): first, *zīrkaš* and it derives from the *husaynī* and from the mode of *mādah*; second, *bastah* and it derives from *muxālīfak* and from the (mode of) *rāhuwī*; third, *ʿuzzāl* and it derives from the modes of *nawā* and *ʿuššāq*; and fourth, *nigārin* and it derives from the *bāṣalik* and *isfahān*; fifth, *ḥijāz* and it derives from the *irāq* and *nahāwand*; sixth, *siphrī*, and it derives from the modes of *rāst* and *muxālīf-i rāst*, and this mode is played in (the region of) *rum* (the present Turkey). The high register of the (the mode of) *siphrī* is called *sāzigārī* and it is *zīrafkandah-i buzurg* which is not among the 12 (principal) modes (*parhah-hā*) and neither among secondary modes (*su'bah-hā*), [but] it derives from the mode of *muxālīf-i rāst*. And *muxālīf-e rāst* is played in three positions: in the lowest part (*pastī*), *dar rūyi āhang* [in the mode?, or on the melody?], and in the highest part (*tīrī*). When it reaches the highest part, it is called *zīrafkan*, and if it is played in the mode of *rāst* it is called *salmak*.

All that Bārbad composed and played they did not contain more than the seven principal modes, in accordance to the seven constellations. When the time of Saʿīdī came, he divided them into 12, when he served at Šâh-Šarwah (court), and he was the pupil of Bārbad. After him came other masters and composers, like Šams al-Dīn Muhammad Yahyā and Kamāl al-Zamān Ḥasan Nāyī, and they added the six (above-) mentioned secondary modes. Because the principal modes were 12 they constructed one secondary mode of every two principal modes, and there are not more than these. After that the masters tried and attempted (to add further modes), but they did not manage to do it. They opened every two principal modes from five places (on the fret?).

In the third chapter the author discusses the eighteen *bāngs* (different register of a mode?) and the number of *bāngs* that each *pardah* (mode) has. The third chapter is as follows:⁷⁰

Chapter (3)

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⁶⁹ According to Pūrjawādī (Nayšābūrī 1374 H./1995: 41), he is probably Saʿīd b. Misjaḥ (d. 101/719).

⁷⁰ This chapter is the most complicated part of the treatise, and it has been impossible for me to understand and translate all the terms employed in this chapter.
You should know that the science of music consists of 18 bângs: first, the mode of râst is (consists of) two bângs; muxâlîf-i râst (is) two bângs; mâdâh (is) two bângs; ‘irâq (is) one and a half bâng; muxâlîfak (is) one and a half bâng; bûsalîk (is) one and a half bâng; nawâ (is) one bâng; nähwân (is) one and a half bâng; râhuwî (is) one bâng; isfahân (is) one bâng; husaynî (is) one bâng; ‘ušâq (is) a half bâng and it derives from upper part of the (mode of) râst, (and) if you play on an open string (abîrîsâm) in the âhâng (mode) of râst, it becomes ‘ušâq. There is not more than a half bâng between râst and ‘ušâq and the other half bâng derives from bam71. Everybody should know this half bâng; and every song that is sung lower in the throat will be accord with zîr72. A half zîr and a half bam is a complete ‘ušâq. This is the mode of ‘ušâq and in no other way can it be recognized.

The mode of râst is the king of all the modes, and all (other) modes are derived from it. Muxâlîf-i râst is derived from the upper part of it and that mode is called the mode of nayšâbûrâh and the mode of nîgârîn. Everyone says the (mode of) muxâlîfak is derived from the mode of ‘irâq; (if) tîzî (the upper register of the mode of) ‘irâq is played (sung) in pastî (the low register of that mode), it is called muxâlîfak. If muxâlîfak is attached, its zîr (the low register of the mode) will come with (its) bam, and out of it derives the râhuwî. And when râhuwî is derived, its tîzî (the law register of the mode?) grows into the husaynî, and it is also called râwî. The mode of mâdâh derives also from the sîftar-i (lower register [?] of the mode) the râst, and the mode of nawâ derives from it. It is also73 a bâng on the âhâng (mode, melody), and if you bigusâyî (open) this half bâng, it will be nähwân. Tîzî-yi nähwân resembles (the mode of) muxâlîfak. The mode of huslik derives from sîb-i (lower register [?] of the mode of) nähwân. Some persons have said that the mode of isfahân derives from the ērâghâh-yi ‘irâq, and some other have said (it derives) from muxâlîfak and therefore the isfahân is not based on aşl (principal) and modes [because] it become again [the mode of] sâ zgârî74, but that is zîrafkand-i buzurg.

The fourth chapter is on which pardah is suitable for a certain part of an hour or day.

Chapter

71 Bam can mean the lowest string of a string instrument or the lowest tone. Here, because of the conciseness of the treatise, it is not clear what the author means by term bam.
72 Zîr means either the highest string of a string instrument, or sharp.
73 In the Ms is written ham which means “also”. However, Pûrjâwâdî (Nayšâbûrî 1374 H.S./1995: 64) suggests that the word probably is nîn (an half).
74 It is a mode that derives from the combination of the modes of ‘irâq and isfahân.
You should know that at the break of dawn the mode of mādah\(^{75}\) should be played, because the sun is also female. When the sun comes up you should play a piece of music in the mode of rāst. And before midday the mode of `irāq, which is called majlis-afrāz, should be played, and no other mode in the science of music is more euphonious than the mode of `irāq, and (in the same way) no other part of day is better than before midday. At midday again the mode of rāst should be played, because Bārbad finished the construction of rūdxāmah [a type of string instrument] at this time. It has been said that his fortune was at this time. When the day begins to lose its light (afternoon), [at the time of] the afternoon prayer the mode of būsalik should be played, because it is the lowest of all modes, and the day is turning into the night, it is the mode of the Indians, (and it is played) till the sunset. After that, the mode of `ussāq should be played, because it is the last mode and the day is also coming to an end. At the evening prayer the mode of nāwā should be played, because in the science of music there is nothing shorter than the mode of nāwā and no part of the day is shorter than the evening. The Turks play this mode till the time of the night prayer. After that, the mode of mušālifak should be played so people sleep, because the mode of mušālifak is a mellifluous mode. After that, the mode of iṣfahān should be played, and at midnight (the modes of) `irāq and mušālifak and nāhāwand should be played; and the mode of iṣfahān is suitable for the night. Then, the mode of nāhāwand should be played, because the mode is tranquil. The Prophet, peace be upon him, sung the Koran in this [nāhāwand] mode. These modes that I have mentioned are cold, wet and mellifluous. And when the daybreak begins, the mode of rāhuwī should be played till the time of sunrise. And the meaning of the rāhuwī is that one is relieved from fear, and at this time, when the day starts and people get rid of the darkness of the night, listening to music in this mode is relaxing. Then, the mode of ḥusaynī should be played, and this time [of day] is called miyānim sarāy (between two places, [i.e. night and day]), and it is the first hour of the day and the last (hour) of night. And [because] ḥusaynī is [derived from] the tīzī of rāhuwī.

These twelve modes that have been explained should be played in twelve hours. And the šu`bah (the secondary modes) of each mode that is played, should also be performed with it at the same time so that it is clear [which šu`bah belongs to which pardah].

The last chapter is on which mode is proper for certain people with different complexions, hair colour, eyes colour etc. He writes for instance:

\(^{75}\) Mādah means female.
Chapter

Whoever has a fair complexion and is plump should listen to bass tones (modes) like the muxālīfak and the like. And whoever has a red face and redhead and green eyes should listen to the opposite [modes], like the rāst and ʿirāq. Whoever is black in complexion which inclines to yellow should listen to ʿūz (the sharp) modes and the mode of sitā (the mode ʿigāḥ?76). Whoever has a swarthy complexion and a fair face, to him should be played the mode/es (of) to his choice. For children [should be played] in the rhythmic mode of xaff, because they are jovial. If the listening to music is for enjoyment, everybody will benefit from it.”

It has been finished with the help of God and thanks to Him and we pray to Him and His messenger Muhammad and his followers.

This treatise is so surprisingly unique, unusual, unexpected and exceptional for the time that Dānīšpažūh has stated that it is more likely that it was written later during the 13th century, when the only extant Ms of the work was copied. Therefore, I am very cautious about drawing any conclusion concerning this treatise, until another work from this period with the same characteristics comes to light.

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76 It is also a type of instrument with three strings.
Chapter 5
Writing on music during the 14th century

Background
The fourteenth century was an eventful century in the history of the region, and it can be divided into three different phases or periods:

1. the period from the death of Ġāzān-Xān in 1304 to the decline and fall of the Il-Khans in 1336;
2. the period from the emergence and establishment of principalities (ca. 1336) to Timur’s assault in 1380;
3. the assault by Timur and the invasion of a large part of the region by his army up to Timur’s death in 1405.

The above-mentioned periods will be dealt with below.

With the accession of Ġāzān and the implementation of his economic, fiscal, and monetary reforms the realm was saved from total collapse. As a consequence of the reforms the position of Iranian administrators and bureaucrats in the Il-Khan state was enhanced and strengthened. Another political development was the interruption of all links between the Il-Khans and the Great Khan, and perhaps Ġāzān’s conversion to Islam symbolised this development. Generally speaking, Ġāzān’s reign was a period of progress and relative prosperity in the realm. Nevertheless, his reign was too short to give a durable result, and after his death in 1304 the disintegration and thereby the decline of the Il-Khans accelerated. The total collapse of the Il-Khans took place after the death of Abū Sa’īd in 1335, but it was a process that began as early as the death of Ġāzān. The political vacuum that began with the weakness and decline of the Il-Khan Empire during the 1320s and 1330s resulted in the rise and establishment of a number of principalities and local dynasties in different parts of the Il-Khanid territory. According to CHI (vol. 6: 1-4), we can group these principalities and local dynasties into three categories,

1. princes of the dynasty of Genghis Khan;
2. representatives of local dynasties or highly placed families who had served the Il-Khans as generals or senior servants of the state;
3. religious adherents to Shi‘i or extremist movements.

Among the most important principalities and dynasties of this period can be mentioned the Muzaffarids, Jalāyirids, Īnjūs and Sarbadārān. The most striking character of the second period is constant fighting between these dynasties and principalities for control over the lands. The assault by Timur in 1381 put an end to most of the principalities and dynasties. Timur, who managed to unite the Turkish tribes in Central Asia had, in a short time, conquered a vast area that stretches from Moscow to Delhi and from Samarqand to Brusa. He died in 1405, leaving a ruined and disorganised land (Minorsky 1964: 250).

The 14th century is one of the most interesting and significant centuries for the religious, or rather religio-political, development of the region. It was during this century that Islam again became the official religion of the realm after nearly 75 years. Furthermore, Shi‘ism gained ground among the population, resulting, among other things, in the rise of a Shi‘i state, i.e. Sarbadārān, in the province of Xurāsān. This period was indeed the first stage of the coming crucial political-religious development that was to take place over the two next centuries, which ultimately resulted in the establishment of the Shi‘i Safawid dynasty. Sufism continued to be one of the most important religious movements and a source of inspiration in the region.

The impact of Mongol, Chinese and especially Indian art and music on Persian art increased considerably during the century. The Chinese impact manifests itself in music through the usage of different Chinese instruments such as the p‘ip‘a, the yuèqín (the yüeh ch‘in) and in the painting of miniatures through, … The treatment of landscape details and especially in the overlapping planes that lend depth to a composition … eye-catching individual motifs such as exotic creatures (the phoenix [often representing the simurgh, the bird of Persian legend], giraffes, elephants), plants (peonies, lotuses), blossoming trees, and the conventions for rendering water, fire and clouds.

[Hillenbrand 1999: 208 f.]

It should be pointed out that the impact of Indian art, literature and music on Persian was much deeper and wider than the Chinese. As an example, within the literary field the impact resulted in the creation of a new poetic style, that is sabk-i hindī (the Indian style), which manifested itself in the work of Amīr Xusraw Dīlawī (d. 725/1325). Regarding the musical impacts see below and chapter 7.
During the second period, the rise of the principalities contributed to the establishment of different cultural centres in the different parts of the Iranian plateau. It is the most significant and crucial cultural development in this century. In other words, if during the earlier periods there was only one dominant cultural centre in the Persian-speaking territories, during this phase of the 14th century we witness the establishment of three of four significant independent cultural centres in these territories. These cultural centres were the cities of Širāz, Isfahān, Kirmān in the central and southern parts of the Iranian plateau, and the cities of Tabrīz and Sulṭaniyyah in the northeast part. In addition, a number of cultural centres outside Iranian territories, particularly in the northern part of India and Anatolia, were established. Nonetheless, Timur’s invasion disturbed and interrupted the development of cultural activity for a short time, and only after the establishment of the Timurid dynasty at the beginning of the 15th century did cultural activity accelerate once again and flourish in the realm. I will return to this discussion in next chapter.

Concerning literature, the 14th century, with its outstanding poets like Ḥāfīz, Xujaq, ʿUbayd Zākānī, is one of the Golden Ages of Persian poetry and literature, and some of the greatest works of Persian literature were indeed produced during the century. The spread of Persian in the region contributed to the rise and flourishing of literary centres outside the Persian-speaking territories, particularly in India. As a consequence of this development, a new poetic style, i.e. sabk-i hindī (the Indian style), which manifested itself in the work of Amīr Xusraw Dihlawī (d. 725/1325), was definitely established. It was, however, sabk-i ʿirāqī (the Iraqi style) that became the dominant poetic style in poetry in the country and simultaneously sabk-i xurāsānī (the Xurāsānian style) was almost abandoned. The poetic form ʿazal was established as the most important form of poetry. Concerning prose, historiography continued to be the most prominent genre of the learned literature, and a number of important works in this genre were written. The literary tendencies like the usage of Arabic and even Mongolic (Turkish) words, the employment of artificial language with complicated syntax (for readers of the 20th century) continued in prose works of the century.

Exposition

Concerning writing on music, from this century thirteen works and treatises have come down to us. Furthermore, there are two undated and anonymous treatises from this century which are also extant. We will begin with the earliest work written during this century, i.e. Sipahsālār’s treatise.
Risālah-i Firaydūn b. Ahmad Sipahsālār dar Ahwāl-i Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Mawlawī

The first work from this century is a biography with the heading Risālah-i Firaydūn b. Ahmad Sipahsālār dar Ahwāl-i Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Mawlawī (The Firaydūn b. Ahmad Sipahsālār’s treatise on Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Mawlawī’s biography). The exact date of the author’s birth is unknown; there are three suggestions, 1. in 612/1215 (Naftī [Sipahsālār 1325 H.Š./1946: (4)]); 2. in 622/1225 (ibid.: (4 f.)); 3. between 610/1213 and 615/1218 (Ṣafā 1366 H.Š./1987, vol. iii/2: 1253). Nor do know much about his life except what he has mentioned in the introduction of his work. He became a devotee of the Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Mawlawī (604/1207-672/1273), one of the most prominent Persian poets and mystics of the 13th century, in ca 632/1234 at the age of twenty or twenty-two.77 He mentions in the introduction (Sipahsālār 1325 H.Š./1946: 6) that he was:

During forty years your humble servant was together with other leaders and lovers, each of whom were masters of their time and leaders followed by contemporaries and who in the external and internal knowledge were unique in the world and there was no one like them in piety and virtue. We have passed nights to days and days to nights in his [i.e. Mawlawī] presence.

In other words, the author stayed with Mawlawī till the poet’s death in 1273. There is also ambiguity concerning the author’s death, he probably died in 719/1319 or 729/1328 (Naftī [ibid.: (5)]); in any case, it seems that he enjoyed longevity.

There is also ambiguity regarding the composition of Risālah-i Firaydūn b. Ahmad Sipahsālār dar Ahwāl-i Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Mawlawī; it was most likely written between 719/1319 and 729/1328 (ibid.). Ṣafā (1366 H.Š./1987, vol. iii/2: 1253 f.), however, suggests that the work was written either between 672/1273 and 684/1285, or between 684/1285 and 712/1312. He is sceptical of the date Naftī mentions, arguing that the last part of the work, which deals with the biographies of the Sultān Walad’s and his sons’ and which differs in style of writing from the first part of the work, was written and added to work by another author or authors.

As noted above, the work deals with the biography of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Xāṭībī Mawlawī

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77 If we assume he was born in 1213.
al-Balxî al-Bakrî. It (Sipahsâlîr 1325 H.Š./1946) is divided into three qisms (parts), each of which is in turn divided into a number of fasîls (chapters). In the third fasîl of the second qism there is a section entitled “wa ammâ bayân-i sabab-i samâ’-i haçrat-i ışâên” (“now, on the reason that His Excellency performed samâ’”) dealing with samâ’ and why and how Mawlâna began to perform samâ’ (samâ’ kardan). The author (ibid.: 64 f.) first mentions that Jalâl al-Dîn did not perform samâ’, but after meeting Šams al-Tabrîzî, Tabrîzî suggested him to do samâ’:

Then he hinted, “Take part in samâ’, since what you ask for will be enhanced in samâ’.”

On the lawfulness of samâ’ and defence of the idea of samâ’, the author (ibid.: 66) writes:

On the lawfulness of samâ’ for the men of God have been written many treatises, and the learned men consider it indisputable and lawful … All movements that samâ’ brings forth in the seeker means something and a fact. For instance the turning around hints at tawhîd (the unity of God), and it is the state of Gnostic muwâhid (monotheist, Islamic) that in this condition they see the beloved and desired one [i.e. God] in every direction and that in every direction he looks he enjoys His blessing …

Then the author deals concisely with the rules of good conduct in samâ’. He notes (ibid.: 68) for instance:

And to have an empty stomach is stipulated for our companions’ in samâ’, for it enhances kindness and tolerance as our exalted lord states:
Verses

O thou Man of samā’, keep your stomach empty [in samā’]
For the reed groans and laments since it is hollow
If thou fill the stomach with a multitude of delicate foods
Thou will be deprived of the beloved one, his kiss and the embracing

The chapter is embellished with Arabic and Persian poems and contains ca 650 words.
To devote a chapter to the subject samā’ in this type of work, i.e. a biographical work, made the work unusual and unique in Persian musical literature. It should be pointed out that samā’ played a very important role in the gathering of the Mawlawiyyah order and presumably this is why the author devoted a full chapter to it.

Awrād al-aḥbāb wa fuṣūṣ al-ādāb by Abū al-Mafā xhrī
Yahyā Bāxarzī

The second work to be introduced here is among the most significant and outstanding works on samā’ and its rules. The work is a part of a celebrated Sufi book, i.e. Awrād al-aḥbāb wa fuṣūṣ al-ādāb (The lovers’ incantations and seals of rules) by Abū al-Mafāxhrī Yahyā Bāxarzī.

The author was the grandson of Sayf al-Dīn Bāxarzī (586/1190-659/1260) who was one of the most prominent Sufis of the 13th century and one of Najm al-Dīn’s Kubrā’s (see chapter 3) disciples. Abū al-Mafāxhrī was born in Kirmān in the central part of Iran towards the end of the 13th century. He received his elementary education in his hometown from his father, who was one of the relatively most famous Sufis of his time and who was the second son of Sayf al-Dīn Bāxarzī (see above). He left the town for Buxārā, where he took over his grandfather’s xāniqāh in 712/1312. Abū al-Mafāxhrī travelled much in the region, including visits to Morocco, Egypt, Syria, Minor Asia, Iraq, and met many mystics and Sufi leaders. He died in Buxārā in 736/1335 (Afšār [Bāxarzī 1345 H.Š./1966: 26]).

The book (ibid.) is on Sufism and its rules of good conduct, consisting of two parts; the first part, which is entitled “awrād al-aḥbāb” (“the lovers’ incantations”), is on worship, the religious principles for disciples and devotees, genealogical trees and biographies of the prominent Sufis. The second part has the heading “fuṣūṣ al-ādāb” (“seals of rules” or “chapters on rules”), dealing with the rules of good conduct of Sufism and different opinions concerning these rules. In this part, which is divided into a number of faṣṣes (seals [chapters]), the author deals with samā’ and the rules of samā’. The chapter is entitled “faṣṣ ādāb al-samā’ wa waṣf al-ṣaḥīḥ min zālikā wa al-ma’lūl” (“chapter on the rules of good conduct in samā’ and
correct description of that and the reasons”), containing ca 16,000 words. The section begins with an introduction in which the author discusses different issues and subjects briefly and concisely. For instance, he (ibid.: 180-196) talks about the importance of samā’, the defence of samā’, the effects of samā’ on men, the rules of good conduct in samā’. At the end of the introduction Bāxarzī (ibid.: 195 f.) criticises samā’ as it is performed at that time. For instance, he (ibid.) writes:

But, the samā’ which is performed by these people in our time is a name without meaning, [it is] a body without soul, and it is a ritual without sincerity ...

The headings and topics (ibid.: 196) of the main chapters are as follows:

The law of dance and tambourine in samā’

In this chapter the author (ibid.) points out:

And one who rejoices of desire for God and is glad in its joyous rapture is sincere at samā’. And the rapture should overcome him so intensely that if he perishes, he does not any control over it, and then the dance of such a truthful, passionate and subdued person is lawful and approved.

And some of their rules of good conduct in samā’

Bāxarzī (ibid.: 202 and 204) mentions in the chapter that:

And من أدابهم في السماع

And some of their rules of good conduct in samā’
And samā’ does not have a fixed time, so that, for instance, Friday or Monday should be appointed for samā’ and gathering. It is not proper and is against the Sufi path …

There are two types of artificial efforts at the samā’, the first one is that one does samā’ and goes into samā’ and ecstasy artificially for desire for fortune and worldly benefit. It is deceitful and treacherous. And the second type is the artificial effort that is made for seeking the truth, and through tawājud (taking pains) seeking wajd (rapture). This type is approved …

Concerning rules of good conduct of the Sufis [in the samā’-sessions]

Among the rules, which the author (ibid.: 206-209) mentions, are:

When they [the Sufis] wish to perform samā’, if the spiritual leader [ṣayx] is present (in the session), they should not do samā’ without his permission. One who is not a Sufi should not be present in the gathering in the samā’-session … Propriety of conduct is that they do not tell the qawwāl (musician, singer) “say this or sing that ṣuṣul”, on the contrary, they should desire it from their heart. They should not utter it [their wish]. ... Three things should be respected in samā’: time, place and companions. ... And it is better if the singer [qawwāl] has a beard, since some Sufi leaders have said that samā’ (music) of a beardless person [singer, musicians] should not be listened to.

Parts of this chapter (ibid.: 208 f.) are taken from Najm al-Dīn Kubrā’s work ʿAdāb al-ṣūfīyyah. For example, the following passages (ibid.) with some changes have been cited from that book. (For a comparison between the texts and translation, see chapter 4: ʿAdāb al-ṣūfīyyah).
He (ibid.: 212) describes a situation in which a Sufi during samā’ goes into an ecstatic condition, writing:

If at that time (in samā’) the robe of one who indulges in rapture (ḥāl) falls off, or the ecstasy situation causes him to throw his turban to the singer, all those present attendees should follow him, and they should take off their turbans and become bare headed however, only when this person is the spiritual leader of group or is a Sufi leader or master. … And if this act is done by youth at the presence of the Sufi masters, to follow them is not necessary for the Sufi masters.

On the law of tearing clothes and rending garment

Concerning the lawfulness and unlawfulness of samā’ and the aspect of denying it

Aspect of denying samā’

The explanation of how samā’ and wajd do not affect senior-ranking persons and scholars

The explanation of the true nature of tearing in samā’

Commentary on the terms (that are used by) the qawwāl [singer, musician] in samā’
The following terms are described in this part of the book (ibid.: 239-253): maḥabbat, ṣārah va mudāmah, šurb, durt, kā’s, dayr, zunnār, tarsa, tarsa-baċćah, nāqūs, but, but-xānah, zulf, wajh, namāz, mibrāb wa qiblāh, masjīd wa madrasah wa xānaqāh, manārah, ka’bah, xarābāt, šāhid, kufr.

The work is amplified by the Traditions (ḥadīt) of prophet Muhammad and his closest followers and relatives and the speeches of Sufi leaders such as Suhrawardī, Sayf al-Dīn Bāxzarzī and Persian and Arabic poems composed by different poets. Among the works that the author has used as sources can be mentioned ‘Awārif al-maʿārif by Suhrawardī, Ādāb al-šāfiyyah by Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (see previous chapter). This work with its comprehensive definitions and descriptions of different aspects of samā‘ and topics such as “the explanation of the terms that are used in samā‘ by qawwāl (singer and director of samā‘ sessions)” is one of the most significant and distinguished works written on the theme samā‘ in Persian.

Miṣbāh al-hidāyat wa miṣfāh al-kifāyat by ‘Izz al-Dīn Kāšānī

Another work on samā‘ is the next work which is extant from the 14th century. The work is entitled Miṣbāh al-hidāyat wa miṣfāh al-kifāyat (The lamp of guidance and the key of sufficiency). It is a very celebrated Persian work on ḫaṣawwaf and Islamic mysticism by ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Aḥī Kāšānī.

The author was born at Kāšān in the central part of Iran during the second half of the 13th century. After his elementary education, he went to İsfahān, becoming a disciple and follower of Sayy Nūr al-Dīn ‘Aḥī al-Ḥamad İsfahānī. He became later one of the most prominent Sufi authorities of his time. Kāšānī was not only the author of a number of prose works on Sufism, but he was also a poet. However, his most prominent works are in prose. His two most celebrated prose works are Kašf al-wujūh al-ğurr li-ma‘ānī naḡm al-durr and Miṣbāh al-hidāyat wa miṣfāh al-kifāyat. He died in 735/1334.

Miṣbāh al-hidāyat wa miṣfāh al-kifāyat, which has been incorrectly referred to by Clarke in his translation of parts of the work into English (Clarke [Sahrawardī, 1891]) as a Persian rendering of Suhrawardī’s ‘Awārif al-ma‘ārif, is among the most prominent and most frequently quoted Sufi works written in Persian. It is (Kāšānī 1323 H./1944) divided into ten bābs (sections) each of which is in turn divided into ten faṣls (chapters). Generally speaking, the work is partly based on Suhrawardī’s (d. 632/1234) distinguished work ‘Awārif al-ma‘ārif, which has caused the misunderstanding among many Persian and European literary researchers that Miṣbāh al-hidāyat wa miṣfāh al-kifāyat is just a Persian rendering of that work. The ninth and tenth faṣls of the fifth bāb (ibid.: 179-202) are devoted to the theme samā‘. The ninth chapter which is entitled “dar samā‘” (“on
"samā’") begins with the definition of samā’ and continues with the author’s opinion on the legality of it, writing (ibid.: 179):

Of the number of most laudable Ṣūf-mysteries, denied by outward ‘ulamā’, one is the assembly for: - (a) the samā’ (hearing) of the ghinā (song) and ilhān (lilt) [sic!]; (b) the summoning of the kāwūl (singer). The reason of denial is that this custom is innovation, for in the time of Muḥammad, of the saḥāba, of the tābi’īn, of the ‘ulamā’, of the ancient shaikhhs this was not the custom. Some of the modern shaykhhs have established the custom; and, since it is not opposed to the sunnat, held it laudable.

[Trans. Clarke (Sahrawardi 1891: 29)]

Then the author deals with the benefits of samā’ (fawā’id-i samā’). He considers that sama’ has three benefits for Sufis. For instance, he notes (ibid.: 180):

[One of the benefits (of samā’) is that] To the soul and the heart of the companions of austerity and the Lord of strife (against sin), — weariness, sadness, ḵābz, and despair appear on account of many deeds. Then, for the repelling of this calamity, modern shaikhhs have made a spiritual composition out of the sama’ of sweet sounds, harmonious melodies and verses desire exciting; and made them eager for it at the time of need.

[Trans. Clarke (Suhrawardi 1891: 29)]

The whole of the tenth chapter is devoted to the rules of samā’, entitled “dar āḏāb-i samā’” (“on the rules of [good conduct in] samā’”). According
to the author (Kāšānī 1323 H.Š./1944: 194), among the most important rules in samā‘-sessions are:

The first rule of samā‘ is that, at an assembly of samā‘, they should keep foremost sincerity of resolution and seek out its cause: - (a) If it be lustful desire, shun it. (b) If claim of sincerity, of desire, and of search for the increase of ḥāl and for comprehending the blessing (of God) – be united, free from lust’s impurities, the grace of such an assembly (despite the absence of a shaykh, or man of samā‘ of the brothers of concord, and of sincere seekers) is great gain.

[Trans. Clarke (Sahrawardi 1891: 34)]

Then, he (Kāšānī 1323 H.Š./1944: 195) continues in the following way:

At an assembly of sama‘, he who is present should sit with respect and gravity; should keep restrained the parts of the body from excess of motion, especially in the presence of shaikhs; should not become agitated with a little of the splendours of wajd; should not affect intoxication with a little taste of the pure wine (of love for God); nor voluntarily express either the shaikhat (murmuring noise) or the za’āk (calling out).

[Trans. Clarke (Sahrawardi 1891: 35)]

As mentioned above, this work is among the most celebrated Persian works on samā‘ and mysticism, and it was to be a reference work for the other writers and authors of samā‘. The division of the part into two chapters suggests that the author tried to create a balance between the earlier treated topics like “the definition of samā‘”, “the beauty of the voice”, “the defence of samā‘ and samā‘-sessions and its legality” and the newly treated topic “the rules of good conduct in samā‘”.

127
The fourth work which will be introduced here is an interesting treatise written by a certain Siraj al-Millat wa-l-Din Qamarî (Semenov 1960: 4021). It is not clear who the author of the work actually is. According to Pūrjawādī (Nayšābūrī 1374 H.Š./1995: 48), the author is the famous Persian poet and satirist Siraj al-Din Qumrî (550/1155-625/1227 [ibid.]; b. ca 580/1184, d. before 712/1312 [Ṣafā 1366 H.Š./1987, iii/1: 684, 690]). Nakīsi (1363 H.Š./1984, vol. I, p. 206), however, introduces another poet with the name Saraj al-Din Qumrî (Qamarî) Qazwīnī, writing that he died in 735/1334. Dawlatshāh Samarqandī (1337 H.Š./1958: 261 f.) notes that Saraj al-Din Qumrî (Qamarî) Qazwīnī was contemporary with Salmān Sāwajī (d. 778/1376) and the prominent satirist, 'Ubayd Zākānī (d. 772/1371). He (ibid.) adds that there were rivalries between our author and Sāwajī and Zākānī. It is obvious that Pūrjawādī and Nakīsi are talking about two different persons; the first one is a certain Saraj al-Din Qamarî Qazwīnī who was born towards the end of the 13th century and died in 1334 and who was contemporary with Sāwajī and Zākānī, while the second one is Saraj al-Din Qumrî Āmulī, who lived between 1155 and 1227. Ṣafā (1366 H.Š./1987, vol.iii/1: 684) is sceptical about the existence of another Saraj al-Din, writing that the poet that Dawlatshāh Samarqandī and Nakīsi have introduced is probably the same Saraj al-Din Qumrî Āmulī. Due to this confusion about the author of the work and because the Ms is not accessible to me, I will refer to the information that Semenov gives us. According to him (Semenov 1960: 4021), it is more probable that the work was written by Saraj al-Din Qamarî Qazwīnī, who died in the first half of the 14th century.

He was born in Qazwīn and was active at the court of Abū Sa‘īd-Xān (d. 736/1335) (Dawlatshāh Samarqandī 1337 H.Š./1958: 261 f.). He also composed satires, which became one of the most popular literary genres of the period and reached its height of perfection in Zākānī’s works. The only Ms of the work is defective, which probably makes it difficult for Semenov to give a correct description of the work. It is, according to Semenov’s description (1960: 4021), written in both prose, or rather rhymed prose (saj‘), and verse. The treatise is entitled Risālah-i čang (The treatise on the čang [harp]), dealing with the instrument čang in a poetic and literary way, describing how it reflects the musician’s feelings and emotional experiences. The Ms was copied in 745/1344. Because of lack of sufficient information about the work, it is difficult to classify it.

**Nafī’is al-funūn fī ‘arā’is al-‘uyūn by Āmulī**

The next work that will be studied here is the last encyclopaedia which was written during the period that this dissertation deals with. The work has chapters on both the theory of music and on samā‘. This work is the
celebrated Persian encyclopaedia Nafāʾīs al-funūn fī ʿarāʾīs al-ʿuyūn (The
treasure of the sciences in the brides of the springs) (Tauer [Rypka 1961:
481]) by Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Āmulī.

The author, as his last name indicates, was born at Āmul in the district of
Māzandarān on the south shore of the Caspian Sea. It is very likely that he
was born towards the end of the 13th century. According to Storey (1977,
vol. II/3: 355) and Ṣaḥā (vol. iii/2, p. 1274), he was a Shiʿi, which was the
dominant Islamic branch in that district. He received his elementary
education in his hometown, but he soon left there to complete his education.
He traveled much to different parts of the region and different cities. After
his student years, he took over the position of mudarris (professor) of the
madrasah (the religious school) in Sulṭāniyyah during the reigns of Uljāyṭī
(703/1304-716/1316) and Abū Saʿīd (716/1316-736/1336). With the
beginning of political unrest in the province of Āzarbayjān, which began
after the death of Abū Saʿīd in 1336, he left the town. In the end he dwelled
in Šīrāz, which was ruled at that time by Abū Ḫaṣṣāq Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd
Īnā (d. 758/1357). During this period the city was one of the most, if not the
most, important cultural and literary centres of the whole region. He began
teaching there, and Nafāʾīs al-funūn is a product of this period of his life. We
do not know the exact date of his death; according to Ḥajjī Ḫālīfah
(1362/1943: 500), he probably died in 753/1352 or a few years later. He is
the author of several works, among which can be mentioned Šarḥ-i

The encyclopaedia Nafāʾīs al-funūn fī ʿarāʾīs al-ʿuyūn was written,
according to Tauer (Rypka 1968: 481), about 740/1339-40. But, Ṣaḥā (1366
H.Š. /1987, vol.iii/2: p. 1275) mentions that Āmulī finished the work in
742/1341 or the year after. The work was written for the ruler of the city
Abū Ḫaṣṣāq Īnā (ibid.), while Tauer (Rypka 1968: 481) and Storey (1972-
1977, vol. ii/3: 355) state that the work was written for a vizier of the Īnā
prince Abū Ḫaṣṣāq whose name is unknown. It is divided into two qismāt
(parts): the first qism, which is headed “ʿulūm-i awāʾer” (“the new
sciences”), is in five maqālaḥāt (discourses78) on eighty-five branches of
science (Āmulī 1379/1959). In the tenth chapter of the first fann of the third
discourse, which is on the science of taṣawwuf, Āmulī deals with samāʾ and
the rules of it. The chapter is concise and brief and contains ca 800 words.
In this chapter, the author discusses samāʾ and its benefits, the rules of samāʾ and
which types of samāʾ are permitted. At the end of the chapter the author
deals very briefly with the rules of good conduct (ḥādīb) in samāʾ. The
chapter is based on the earlier works on samāʾ especially Ḥizz al-Dīn
Muhammad b. ʿAlī Kāšānī’s Miṣbāḥ al-hiḍāyat wa miftāḥ al-kifāyat. The
author has taken many sentences and even paragraphs from this work to

78 The following discourses (ibid.) have been dealt with in this part of the work: 1. adabīyyāt
(literature); 2. šarīʿat (theology); 3. taṣawwuf (Sufism); 4. ʿulūm-i muḥāwarī (philology).
write his own chapter on samā’. A comparison will show similarities between two works. For instance, one can read the following paragraph in Āmulī’s (1379/1959, vol. 2: 40) works:

This paragraph taken from Kāšānī’s work (1323 H.Š./1944: 180-185) (underlined words have been omitted by Āmulī in his work)

Another example, Āmulī (1379/1959: 42) (re-) writes:

The same paragraph in Kāšānī’s (1323 H.Š./1944: 195) work is as follows:

(For translation of the passage see above)
The chapter is therefore of minor importance for the treatment of the subject *samāʿ*. To write on *samāʿ* in an encyclopaedia is, however, unusual in Persian and even in Arabic, and indeed *Nafāʿ is al-funūn fi ʿarāʿ is al-ʿuyūn* is the only encyclopaedic work in Persian that deals with the subject.

The second qīsm of *Nafāʿ is al-funūn fi ʿarāʿ is al-ʿuyūn* (Āmulī 1379/1959, vol. iii), which is headed “ʿulūm-i awāʿil” (“the ancient sciences”) and contains four maqālahs (discourses79), deals with seventy-five sciences. In the fourth science of the third discourse of this qīsm the author discusses music and the theory of music. In contrast to the chapter on *samāʿ*, Āmulī deals with the subject somewhat comprehensively in this section of the work. The section contains ca 6 000 words and is subdivided into five bābs (chapters). The topics and headings of the section (Āmulī, *ibid.*: 73-109) are as follows:

**Section one: On sound and its supplements, in four chapters**

Chapter one: On the definition [of sound] and quality of its production

Chapter two: On the note

Chapter three: On the causes of acuity and gravity of sound and notes and the quality of the production of notes by instruments

Chapter four: On the meaning and various kinds and qualities of each of them

**Section two**

Chapter one: On the limit of the ratio

Chapter two: On the definition of interval, combination (of intervals) and its consonancy and dissonancy

Chapter three: On the various kinds of intervals in concise and comprehensive way

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79 These topics have been treated in this qīsm: 1. *ikmat-i ʿamālī* (the practical knowledge); 2. *usūl-i ikmat-i nāzārī* (the principles of the theoretical knowledge); 3. *usūl-i rīvāzī* (principles of mathematics); 4. *furūʿ-i tabīʿī* (branches of natural science); 5. *furūʿ-i rīvāzī* (branches of mathematics).
Chapter four: Regarding the rank of intervals concerning (their) consonancy

Section three

Chapter one: On the definition of additional intervals and fas (the division) and various kinds of it and how to do each kind

Chapter two: Regarding the definition of division of the interval into equal proportions and how to do it

Chapter three: On the reason for the choice of division of the fourths into melodic intervals

Section four

Chapter one: On the explanation of musical instruments

The author (ibid.: 99) writes:

You should know that the musical instruments, despite their plurality and varieties, are confined to two types: the chordophones, the aerophones. Moreover, the chordophones are of two types: the zawāt al-awtār, like the famous instruments the 'ūd, čang [harp], mchát [a type of zither], qānūn [another type of zither], rubāb [a type of lute], ṭanḥūr [a long-necked lute], and the qayr-i zawāt al-awtār, like the 'āngū [probably a type of zither], awānī-yī muḥtaşah [?]. The aerophones are also divided in two types: some of them produce the sound by means of human breath, for instance by means of the

80 It was not clear to me what the author means here where he tries to group the chordophone into the zawāt al-awtār (the string instruments) and qayr-i zawāt al-awtār (the non-string instruments!?).
throat\textsuperscript{81}, the surrā, nāy and the like, and some others without it (without human’s breath), like the organ. The philosopher Abū-Naṣr Fārābī considers the throat to be the noblest of the instruments... And after that the aerophones, especially the nāy... and after that the \textit{tanbūr} that now is known as \textit{kamāncah}.

Chapter two: On the explanation of the true of \textit{pardah} (main mode), \textit{āwāzah} (secondary mode), \textit{tarkīb} (combination) and \textit{šu’bah} (auxiliary mode).

### Section five

Fāṣl-i awal dar had-e ihtiqā'at va azānmehā iqtā'āyāt va āqāmān

**Chapter one:** On the definition of rhythm (\textit{iqā'ā}), rhythmic modes and different kind of them

**Chapter two:** On the division of rhythm

The work is generally based on, or rather is a rewriting and copying of, al-\textit{Širāzī}'s \textit{Durrat al-tāj} (see chapter four), and most of its parts have been taken from that work. The similarity between the headings and accordingly topics of these two works is also striking. However, the first chapter of the fourth section of the work, which deals with musical instruments and the categorization of them, is a new topic that has been introduced in this work.

**Persian rendering of \textit{Kitāb al-adwār} by Yaḥyā b. Ahmad Kāšī**

A Persian rendering of al-Urmawī’s celebrated and epoch-making work, \textit{Kitāb al-adwār} (The book of cycles), is the sixth work that was written in the 14\textsuperscript{th} century.

The translation was done by ‘Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ahmad Kāšī (Kāšānī) at the request of Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ḥanjū in 746/1345. We know almost nothing about the translator; he was probably born, as his \textit{laqab} indicates, at Kāšān towards the end of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century. He was active at the court of Jamāl al-Dīn Ishāq Ḥanjū (reigned 1342-1356) for whom he made the translation.

The author (Bīniš 1377 H.Ş./1998: 323) at the beginning of the work explains how he was ordered to translate \textit{al-Adwār}, writing:

\begin{quote}
چنین گوید بنده ضعیف اصغر عیامبد باعی بن احمد الکابشی ... که ... سلطان شیخ ابراهیم ... امر مطالعه و فرمایه این امتکان و چنان رفت که این یکی مایه رسالت ای که ... \end{quote}

\textsuperscript{81} The throat was counted as an instrument.
In this way says your poor humble, Aşqar ‘İbâd-Allâh Yahyâ b. Ahmed al-Kâşi ... that ... Sultan Şâykh Abû Ishâq’s ... obeyed command and unrefusable order was that your indigent humble servant should translate from the Arabic to the Persian language the treatise that Şâfi al-Dîn ‘Abdal Mu’mîn, may he rest in peace, has composed on the science of music.

According to Bîniş (ibid.), the work is more than just a translation of Urmawî’s al-Adwâr. He states (ibid.) that Kâşi added some commentaries on Urmawî’s explanations and descriptions. Like its original Arabic work, the translation is divided into fifteen fasâls (chapters) (for the topics see chapter one [The rise of Arabic musical literature]).

Ťariqat-nâmah by Faqîh Kirmânî

The next work is indeed the second work on samâ’ in verse, and therefore of major importance for our study. The work carries the heading Ţariqat-nâmah (The book of the Sufi path) and was composed by Xâjah ‘Imâd al-Dîn ‘Alî Faqîh Kirmânî.

The poet was born in the city of Kirmân. According to Humâyûn-Farrux (Kirmânî 1374 H.Ş./1995: 18), he was born in 716/1316. Browne (1956, vol. III: 259), however, states that the earliest maṭnîvî by him was composed in 722/1322. If we accept the date Humâyûn-Farrux gives, it will be hard to believe that a six-year old child could compose a poem in the maṭnîvî form, which is the longest classical verse form in Persian literature. At any rate, it is probable that he was born at the beginning of the 14th century. He received his elementary education in his hometown, where he spent his whole life, despite his wish to leave the town, which he expressed in his poems (Kirmânî 1374 H.Ş./1995: 18). He became one of the prominent Sufi masters and poets of his time. Browne (1956, vol. III: 258) writes that his fame arises chiefly from the fact that he was a rival of one of the most celebrated poets of that time, i.e. Şâhîzî. In addition to Ţariqat-nâmah, which is one of his maṭnîvîs, he has composed a Dîwân-i gazalîyyât, four maṭnîvîs with the titles Maḥabbat-nâmah-i şâhîb-dîlân, Mûnis al-abrâr, Şûbbat-nâmah, Dah-nâmah. According to Dawlatshâh Samarqandî (1337 H.Ş./1958: 284), he died in 773/1371.

Ťariqat-nâmah is a long maṭnîvî with ca 2800 verses and was probably composed in 756/1355 (Humâyûn-Farrux [Kirmânî 1374 H.Ş./1995: 18]). The work is actually a versification of ‘Izz al-Dîn Muḥammad b. ‘Alî Kâsânî’s Sufi treatise Mişbâh al-hidâyat wa miṣfâh al-kifâyat (see above). Furthermore, the poet has used Suhrawardi’s celebrated work ‘Awârif al-
ma‘ārif to enrich his work. Ṭarīqat-nāmah was written for Amīr Mubāris al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muẓaffār (713/1313-765/1363). Ṭarīqat-nāmah is divided into an introduction and ten bābs (sections), each of which is in turn divided into ten faṣls (chapters) (Kirmānī 1374 H./1995). The ninth and tenth faṣls of the fourth bāb are on samā’. The ninth faṣl is entitled “dar bayān-i samā’” (“on the explanation of samā’”), containing 47 distiches, dealing with the definition of samā’ and the defence of it. He (ibid.: 137) composes:

Samā’ is among laudable activities

Related to perfected and firm persons

This tradition was not at the time of the Mission (Muḥammad’s time)

For he indulged completely in ecstasy and rapture

In this sense it is sinful for the many

But to a man of heart it is lawful

Because it does not disturb the tradition, it is proper

If a Sufi indulge in an ecstasy now and then

The purpose of the spiritual men is gathering

For they gain many advantages from attending in samā’

…

A beautiful song is nourishment to the soul

Since it consoles wounded hearts

If animals can be inclined towards a beautiful voice

O my heart, it is not worthy (for us) to be less than animals

The chapter concludes with two hikāyat stories on the effect and power of samā’ on men. The tenth faṣl, which contains 30 distiches, has the heading “dar ādāb-i samā’” (“on the rules of polite conduct in samā’”), treating some rules of samā’. For example, the poet composes (ibid. p. 140):
When a Sufi will perform sama’
Having pure intention is the first condition
At once he should strip off himself from his desire
It increases the ecstasy of the seeker
The presence of a master of piety
Is necessary in the sama’ of the followers of reality
There is also a need for brethren of purity
For talking is the cure for the pain of love

...Play, oh minstrel, a melody in sipāḥān [mode]
For my fortune disappointed me again
Perhaps I wave my hand by intoxication
[Then] I may be released from the chain of existence for a while

As has been mentioned, the work is in form and content based on ‘Izz al-Dīn Kāšānī’s work. A comparison will show how deeply Kirmānī based his work on ‘Izz al-Dīn Kāšānī’s work. As we have observed, both works have two chapters of which the first one is on sama’ dealing with the definition, defence and benefits of it for Sufis, and the second one treats the rules of sama’. Regarding the content of the chapters, the opening distiches of the first chapter of Kirmānī’s poem (1374 H.Š./1995: 137) begins in the following way (for translation see above):

These distiches remind us of the opening part of the first chapter on samā’ in Mishāh al-hidāyat wa miftāḥ al-kifāyat by Kāšānī (1323 H.Š./1944: 179) (for translation see above):

136
The second chapter on *samāʾ* of Kirmānī work which is entitled “on the rules of *samāʾ*” says (1374 H./1995: 140) (for translation see above):

> چو صوصی را سماح آید موقعت
> مجردز از هو گردد بی یک بار
> حضور پیری از اریب تقوی
> به اخوان الصفا نیز احتیاج است

These distiches remind us of the opening part of the second chapter on *samāʾ*, i.e. “on the rules of good conduct in *samāʾ*” in *Miṣbah al-hidāyat wa miftāḥ al-kīfāyat* by Kāšānī (1323 H./1944: 180) (for translation see above):

> از جمله آداب سماح اول آستن که اخلاص نیت بر حضور مجم سماح مقتر دارند و باز جویند که باعث بر آن چیست. اگر مطلوبی نپندا بود از ان احترام واجب دانند. و اگر داعیه صدق و ارادت و طلب مزید حلال و شمول برکت یافت بر مجد از شوایی هوا و دووی اطباع و حال اگر که مجم شیخی با مقدم که حضور از معلم بود حاضر باند باه سماح اخوان موافق و طالبان صادق باشد، توفق چنین صحبتی غنیم پاید شمرد.

The treatment of topics is more comprehensive than *Kanz al-rumūz* by Amīr Ḥusayn Harawī which was the earliest work that used verses. Another characteristic feature of the work is the treatment of “the rules of good conduct in *samāʾ*” in a separate chapter. To devote a whole chapter to this topic demonstrates once more the crucial importance of the topic during the century.

*Kanz al-tuhāf* by Ḥasan Kāšānī

Probably the most important treatise written during the 14th century on the theory of music and thereby a milestone regarding Persian writing on music is *Kanz al-tuhāf* (The treasure of rarities). According to Ethé (1903: 1491), Rieu (1895: 115), and Munzawī (1348-1351 H./1969-1972: 3903), the author of the treatise is anonymous. However, Dānīšpāzūh (1349/ H./1970, no. 94: 31) and Bīnīs (SRFM: 57) mention that the author of the treatise is a certain Ḥasan Kāšānī. They have based their argument on the following distiches in the work (*ibid.*: 92)

**Distich 11**

> اگر چه مولد ونشان یزدانست
> در اصفهان سخن دیما در حضور گم

Although my birthplace and origin is *Kāšān* [my emphasis]

In *Isfahān* (the mode *Isfahān*) I will talk about your decency
We know nothing about the author except that he was born in Kāšān in the central part of the Iran and was a poet and musician, active at the court of the ruler of Širāz and Isfahān. In the preface the author praises a certain Gīyāt al-Dīn who according to Bīniš (ibid.: 57) could be a vizier or a high-ranking administrator who was the author’s patron.

Regarding the date of composition, there are different points of view among researchers. Rieu (1895: 115), basing his view on the Ms (Or. 2361: V) in GB-Lbl, states that the work was written in 741/1340, 749/1348, or 789/1387. Ethé (1903: 1491), basing his view on the Ms (No. 2067) in GB-Lio, suggests as the date of composition 756/1355, or 764/1362. While Dānîšpažūh (1349/ H.Š./1970, no. 94: 31) and Munzawī (1348-1351 H.Š./1969-1972: 3903) suggest that the treatise was written in 746/1345. Bīniš (SRFM: 58) writes that it is very likely that the treatise was written between 741/1340 and 764/1362. The work with its ca 10,000 words was the most comprehensive independent treatise hitherto written in Persian. Although the work is in prose, verses are employed as a sort of literary decoration, which was a literary trend during this period. The treatise is divided into a preface, in which the author explains by means of allegory the reason for writing the treatise, an introduction (muqaddimah) on the pre-eminence of music which begins (ibid.: 94) as follows:

The science of music is the most pre- eminent science, because most other sciences, among them the almagest, the science of mathematics and Euclid, the science of astrology, and the science of medicine, depend on it.

Then he continues the treatise with a story (hikāyat) on music and origin of music. The main part of the treatise is divided into four discourses (maqālat) with the following headings and topics (ibid.: 95-128):

**Discourse one: On the science of music**
The writer (ibid.: 103) notes that:

[verses]
It is ʿAbd al-Mumin who has arranged it in such a way If there is any fault, it is not ours

Chapter six: On the derivation of the secondary modes (*àwûz-hâ*)

Chapter seven: On the names of the auxiliary (additional) modes (*murakkabât*) that are the invention of the modernists

Chapter eight: On the names of tones that are applied by people who practice this art and their qualities

Chapter nine: On the explanation of some notes that are applied on some occasions

In this chapter Kâšânî (*ibid.*: 107) mentions that:

Some types of *mîhannah* [?] melodies are that they should be sung at the beds of patients in hospital every morning ... and some other [melodies] should be sung at the time of pleasure and joy, like marriage feasts and banquets, so that they will be suitable for causing openness of the soul and increase of happiness. Some other [melodies] are sung by shepherds at the time of watering sheep and the time of...
milking and straying cattle, so that their (the animals’) nature will be busy listening (to these melodies) and they will not be restive.

Chapter ten: On the definition and explanation of ḥaqā’ (rhythm)

Second part: On the description of the seven rhythmic cycles and elegant transposition (of them)

Chapter one: On the explanation of the seven rhythmic cycles in the comprehensive way

Chapter two: On the explanation of ṭaqqil-i awwal

Chapter three: On the explanation of ṭaqqil-i ṭānī

Chapter four: On the explanation of xaṣf-i ṭaqqil-i awwal

Chapter five: On the explanation of xaṣf-i ṭaqqil-i ṭānī

Chapter six: Concerning the explanation of ṭalqīl

Chapter seven: Concerning the explanation of xaṣf-i raml

Chapter eight: On the explanation xaṣaf

Chapter ninth: On the explanation of elegant transposition

Discourse three: Regarding the construction of (musical) instruments and their tuning

Part one: On the construction of perfect instruments

Chapter one: On the construction of ‘ūd and the quantity of its measures (seizes)

Chapter two: On the construction of the qaṣak [a type of fiddle] and its tuning

Chapter three: On the construction of the rubāb and its tuning

Chapter four: On the construction of the mīzma [a type of double reed woodwind] and its tuning
Chapter five: On the construction of the *bīshah* [a type of flute]

Chapter two: On the construction of imperfect instruments and the twisting of the strings

Chapter one: On the construction of the *čang* and its tuning

Chapter two: On the construction of the *nuzhah* [a type of zither] and its tuning

On this instrument the author (*ibid.*: 116) notes:

> بعد از چنگ هیچ سازی خوشتر از نژه نیست. صددهشت و تر دارد و از سازهای جدید است که از ویژه صنعانی عدلتمن است. و شکل آن مریغ مستطیل است و زاویای آن قائم است. و آن از جنوب سرخ بید باید ترکیده یا شاه جنوب و شمشاد از همه بهتر باند.

There is no euphonious instrument after the harp (*čang*) except for the *nuzhah*. It has one hundred and eight strings. It is among the new instruments. It was constructed by our master Šafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu’min. It is quadrilateral rectangular in shape and its angles are right. It should be made of salix wood or fir or boxwood which is the best of all. The wood of cypress is also good.

Chapter three: On the construction of the *qānuṇ* [a type of zither] and its tuning

Chapter four: On the construction of the *muḥamm* [a type of lute] and its tuning

Chapter five: Concerning the spinning of strings made of silk

Chapter six: Concerning the spinning of the strings made of gut

Discourse four: On the advice that is useful for students of this art and the mention of poems that are suitable for composition

Part one: On the advice to students of this art

Chapter one: On the advice for minstrels
In this chapter, the author’s approach reminds us of *Qābūs-nāmah* and ‘Uṣūr al-Ma‘ālī Kaykāwūs. For instance the author (ibid.: 120) suggests:

For the student of this art it is always necessary to respect his people and religion and always worship and be honest ... and he should to the best of his ability keep himself away from the forbidden things of the world and should always wear clean and fragrant clothes ... and he should always be smiling and glad ... And he should go to empty places from time to time and sing [practice] excellent songs and do it in such a way that he constantly has a clear voice. He should eat and drink things, which will be mentioned in other chapter, that make the voice open and clear — and keep himself away from some other things, which will also be mentioned in a separate chapter, that make the voice hoarse and unclean ... 

Chapter two: On the rules of good conduct at assemblies and gatherings

Kāšānī (ibid.: 121) writes:

And he should respect the time when he should play each mode ... and if he sings music and sees that the listeners enjoy it, he should repeat it twice or three times, but the repetitions should not exceed the moderate limits ... And if he sings a *basīṭī* or *hawā* \(^2\) with the accompanying of the instrument, when he has sung two or three times with the accompanying instrument, he should perform it once without

\(^2\) Two vocal musical forms; for more information see next chapter.
singing, so that the listeners’ pleasure will increase and his voice will also rest.

Chapter three: The discourse on Venus

Chapter four: On the spices that open the voice

Chapter five: On the spices that demolish the voice

Chapter six: On the explanation of which mode should be played before different people

The whole chapter (ibid.: 124) is as follows:

At the gathering of Turkish people, he [the musician] should play more in the modes nawă and zangūlah, and at the gathering of Ethiopians and Abyssinians, he should play in the mode ‘iīsāq. At the gathering of Iranian and Iraqi people, he should play in the modes buzurg, zirakand and zangūlah. At a gathering of the ordinary people, he should play in the modes hijāz and ‘irāq, and at a gathering where people who are in love are present, (he should play) more in the mode Ḣafāhān which creates a great state of delight in the soul.

Chapter seven: On the effects of the modes (on soul)

Chapter eight: On the explanation of when each mode should be played

Part two: On the explanation of poems that are suitable for composition

Chapter one: On the explanation of generosity

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83 Biniš’s edited version of this treatise, which is based on the Ms in GB-Lbl, with number Or. 2361, does not have the second and third chapters
Chapter four: On the explanation of music that causes tears

Chapter five: On the explanation of the entertaining performance

Chapter six: On the explanation of the preaching performance

To devote a whole chapter to topics such as “the description of musical instruments and their constructions”, “how to spin different type of strings”, “the effect of different drugs on the quality of voice”, “the performance causing tears”, “the entertaining performance” has made this treatise almost unique. Regarding the definition and explanation of modes (adwâr) and rhythm (iqâ‘ât), the treatise is, however, based on Urmawî’s approach to these musical elements, and the author does not present any new ideas or approaches concerning these elements, and therefore, to this extent, the work is not pioneering. Linguistically the work, with its usage of many Arabic words84 and complicated syntactic constructions, does not differ from the linguistic trend of that time.

Xulâṣat al-afkâr fi ma‘rifat al-adwâr by a certain Šihâb al-Dîn Šayrafi

Humâ‘î in his book (1340 H.Š./1961: 172) refers a musical treatise by a certain Šihâb al-Dîn Šayrafi. The treatise is headed Xulâṣat al-afkâr fi ma‘rifat al-adwâr (Summarized thoughts concerning the knowledge of the modes) and was written for Sultân Uways (757/1356 – 776/1374). Dânişpažûh (1349/ H.Š./1970, no. 94: 31) writes that the author was a musician and calligraphist. He (ibid.) points out that there are similarities between the name and occupation of the author and Xâjah ‘Abd-Allâh b. Mahmûd Sarrâf Šayrafi (d. 742/1341) who is the writer of a treatise on calligraphy. Due to lack of information about the author of the treatise on music, it is, however, difficult to determine whether these authors are the same person or not. Moreover, we know nothing about the treatise itself except that it is a commentary on al-Urmawî’s celebrated work al-Adwâr. Humâ‘î does not introduce any Ms of the work nor reveal where he has got his information, but he cites (Humâ‘î 1340 H.Š./1961: 172) the following sentence of the treatise:

The seventy first circle in the tenth tabaqah (transposition) is isfâhan which is also called isfâhânak and guwâšt (gawašt).

84 Parts of some chapters, for instance the third chapter of the second qism of the third discourse, are in Arabic.

145
Nevertheless, Mašhnūn (1373 H./Š./1994: 185) mentions that there was an Ms of the treatise in Tiqat al-Islām Tabrīzī’s private library, but it is not clear what happened to it.

Gunyat al-munyat by Anonymous Author

The next work, which is introduced in this chapter, is among the first of the Persian music theoretical treatises, if not the very first, written in India. The work is entitled Gunyat al-munyat (The pleasure of desire) and was written by an anonymous author at the request of the governor of Gujarāt, Amīr Šams al-Dawlah-va-‘l-Dīn Ibrāhīm Hasan Abū Rajā. This work is perhaps the second work of the author. His first work was a translation of a celebrated and lost Arabic work with the title Farīd al-zamān fī ma’rifat al-alhān (see also Introduction).

Gunyat al-munyat is, according to Simms (GEWM vol. 5: 45), among the three most significant treatises on Indian music written during the 14th century.85 It is partly a translation from various Sanskrit music treatises.86 In his work the author deals not only with music but also with dance, which has also made the work unique in Persian. The date of the composition of the treatise is ca. 1375 (ibid.).

The treatise (Gunyat al-munyat 1978) is divided into two parts (qismāt). The first part is divided into two sections (bābs), of which the first is in turn divided into four chapters (faslāt) and the second into two chapters. The heading and topics of these two sections (ibid.: 9-65) are as follows:

First section: On the knowledge of songs

Chapter one: On the explanation of surit and sur and grāma and rāga

Chapter two: On the explanation of tāla [rhythm], i.e. turāq

85 The two other works are, according to him (ibid.), the Sanskrit Sudhākara by Simhabhupala written ca 1330, the Sanskrit Sangītottopaniṣad-sāroddhāra by Sudhakalasa written ca 1350.

86 To refer to or comment on Sanskrit works on music and dance was a common trend among music theorists in India during the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. Simms (ibid.) describes the situation regarding writing on music in Indian during the period 1300 to 1550 as follows: “Scholarly writings of this period generally reinforced the ancient canon, deliberately consolidating earlier scholarly views, they particularly reflected and commented upon Sargaveva’s thirteenth-century treatise, the Sangītaranākara. At least seven such commentaries emerged during this time, constituting almost a genre of scholarship in themselves.” We can see the same trend in the region regarding Persian and Arabic authors’ commentaries on al-Urmawi’s al-Adwār and al-Šarafiyyah.
Chapter three: On the explanation of some mufradât [characteristics] that are used in songs

فصل در بیان انواع سرود

Chapter four: On the explanation of different kinds of songs

باب دوم در معرفت مزامیر

Second section: On the knowledge of instruments

The author (ibid.: 51) begins the section in the following way:

بدأاته سرود و رقص به وجود مزامیر رونق گیرد و ان بر دو نوع است یکی مزامیر
سرود دوم مزامیر طرقوی‌ها آنزا اجناس است، بعضی به دوست پزند و بعضی به یک دست
و بعضی به یک و دو انگشت و بعضی به دهن ذم دهنده...

You should know that songs and dance will be enriched when accompanied by instruments. They are of two kinds: the first are the song instruments and the second the rhythmic instruments and there are of different kinds, some of them being played with two hands and others with one hand and some others with two fingers and others are blown by mouth, ...

فصل اول در بیان مزامیر سرود

First chapter: On the explanation of song instruments

فصل دوم در بیان مزامیر طرقوی

Second chapter: On the explanation of rhythmic instruments

Among the instruments that were described in this chapter (ibid.: 53-62) can be mentioned mārak, pakawuj, dīsī, tula, gahuna, jahlari, kirkič, muhrī, būq, singā and kāhafī.

One important aspect of the work is that most of the musical instruments which are listed and described have also been illustrated through well-drawn sketches.

The second part is on dance and conditions for musical performance. This part of the treatise is also divided into two sections (bāhs) of which the first is divided into four chapters and the second into eight chapters. The first section describes every feature of dance in relation to the limbs and their functions. All functions are classified. For instance, hands have sixty-six kinds of gestures, eyes have thirty-six functions and the nose more than six.

The headings of two sections (ibid.: 67-107) are as follows:

باب اول در بیان رقص

First section: On the explanation of dance

فصل اول در بیان حركات بعضی اعضاء
Chapter one: On the explanation of the movements of some parts of body

Chapter two: On the explanation of the figures of hands and the gestures that use in the dance

Chapter three: On the knowledge of the somersault

Chapter four: On the explanation of different kinds of compound dance that calls garan and angâr

The second section (ibid.: 108-114) is allocated to how musician, singer, recitator and dancer should behave while they participate in the court and ceremony.

Second section: On the conditions and rules of good conduct in musical session, and participants (in the sessions), the perfections and imperfections of some participants and similar issues

Chapter one: On the conditions of musical sessions

Chapter two: On the conditions of the master of the musical gatherings

Chapter three: On the rules of good conduct of the participants at the gathering

Chapter four: Concerning the performer and singer, and their perfection and imperfection and the beauty and defect of voice

The author (ibid.: 7) writes that the second section contains four further chapters, but in all Mss that come down to us, and naturally in the published version of the work, these four chapters are lacking.

It is a comprehensive treatise and like other treatises written during this century deals in much more detail with musical instruments, and like Kanz al-tuhaf, it has, as mentioned, illustrations of the instruments. The fact that it deals with the topics “on dance” and “on the conditions and rules of good conduct in musical session” has made the work a unique and unusual treatise among the Persian theoretical works on music.
Persian translation of *al-Adwār* by As‘ad al-Samarqandī

As noted, to translate and comment on al-Urmawī’s treatise, *al-Adwār*, became popular among theorists of the 14th century. And the next treatise that will be treated here is another translation of that treatise into Persian.

The translator is LuṭfALLAH b. MUḤAMMAD b. MUḤAMMAD b. AS‘AD AL-SAMARQANDĪ. He was probably born in Samarqand during the first half of the 14th century. The translation was made in 778/1376 (Massoudieh (1996: 201) or 798/1395 (Dānīšpažūḥ 1349 H./1970, no. 94: 32) at the request of a prince. Massoudieh (1996: 201) mentions that the work is a translation of *al-Adwār*, while Dānīšpažūḥ (1349 H./1970, no. 94: 32) mentions that the work is a *šarḥ* (commentary) which in my judgment is a more correct description of the work, because the period of merely translation of Arabic works into Persian had already been passed by in the 12th century. The treatise is divided into two *qism* (sections) each of which contains several chapters. For topics that have been dealt with in the work I refer the reader to the translation of *al-Adwār* by KĀŠĀNĪ.

*Ma’dan al-ma’anī* by Yaḥyā Manērī

Another work on *samā‘* written in India is among the works which have come down to us from this century. The work has the heading *Ma’dan al-ma’anī* (the Mine of meanings) and was written by ŠARAF AL-DĪN Yaḥyā Manērī (or Manērī), who was an Indian-born prominent Sufi.

The author was born at a village named Manēr near Patna in 661/1263. After his elementary education, he went to Delhi to continue his studies there. He became a Sufi leader and was active in the western province of Bengal. He said to have died in 782/1380 (Massoudieh 1996: 177). If the date of his death is correct, he enjoyed longevity. He is the author of a number of works, among them *Šaraf-nāmah* (Dīḫūḏād 1341 H./1962, s.v. *Šaraf al-Dīn*), *Awrād wa išârāt* (attributed to him, EI, s.v. Manērī).

The *Ma’dan al-ma’anī* is among the first works written by an Indian-born Sufi and writer on *samā‘*. According to Massoudieh (1996: 177) the work is in two volumes and is divided into a number of *bāhs* (chapters), of which number sixty is on *samā‘*. The chapter is headed:

Concerning *samā‘* and the explanation of the solution of lawfulness, disapproval and permission for it

In this chapter the author has dealt with the definition of *samā‘* and whether it is lawful or not as well as different kinds of *samā‘*.88 Judging by the

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87 Massoudieh (1996: 177) introduces the author as Munayrī.
88 According to him (Massoudieh ibid.), there are four types of *samā‘*:
treatment of the topic, the work cannot have had any great impact on the development of writing on *samāʾ* in the region.

**Qasīdah** by anonymous poet

Dānišpažūh (1349/ H.Š./1970, no. 95: 56) and Munzawī (1348-1351 H.Š./1969-1972: 3901 f.) have introduced a *qasīdah* in forty-five distiches by an anonymous poet. It was composed in 785/1383 (Dānišpažūh 1349/ H.Š./1970, no. 95: 56). Dānišpažūh (*ibid.*) and Munzawī (1348-1351 H.Š./1969-1972: 3901 f.) have presented the work very briefly but they have not mentioned what musical element/s is/are dealt with in this poem. The length of the poem indicates, however, that it presumably deals with the names of the *maqāmāt* (the modes) and *šuʿāb* (the auxiliary modes) which became a very popular subject among musician-poets of that period. It should be noted that a very intensive discussion on the cycles of modes and which modes are the principle modes (*maqāms, pardahs*) and which are the secondary (*āwīzes, ʿuḥūs*) was going on during the period. And to list the modes and their names has a direct connection with how and upon which traditions authors approach the modal system. It is not clear what has happened to the only extant Ms of the work, which was in the possession of Muṣṭafā Ḡayzī. The importance of the work lies in the fact that it is the first work that deals with the subject theory of music, or rather the names of the modes, in verse. It should be pointed out that verses were already employed in *Kanz al-tuhaf* (see above) to mention the name of the twelve *pardahs*, but, it is the first work in which the whole text is devoted to names of modes in verse.

**Mss of undated works copied during the 14th century**

Mss of two interesting works that were copied between 1350 and 1409 have come down to us.

**A collection of hymns**

The first work, which will be dealt with in this part of the chapter, is a collection of twenty-seven songs or hymns that were sung by members of the Mawlawiyyah *ṭarīqa*. The work is the first collection of songs or rather hymns in Persian. A large part of the hymns are in Persian; there are, however, verses in Turkish. The collector/s is/are anonymous and the date of

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1. *Samāʾ* licite conduit l’âme à se perdre en Dieu.
2. *Samāʾ* illicite est immoral et corrompt l’homme;
3. *Samāʾ* est à demi-interdit, si l’attention de l’homme est partagée entre Dieu et le monde extérieur;
composition is not clear. The only existing Ms of the work which is in D-B was copied in 799/1397.

The order has taken its name from the prominent Persian poet and Sufi Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Xatḥī, known as Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Balšī or most known as Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (b. 604/1207, d. 672/1273). According to Yazici (El, s.v. Mawlawiyya), it is probable that the poet’s followers were called the Mawlawiyah already during the poet’s lifetime. The most striking feature of the order is the central role that samāʾ played/plays in the religious customs and ceremonies of the order. And in their tikkah (gathering place) there was a special meeting-room which was called samāʾ-xānah (the house of samāʾ [music]). It seems that musical ceremony began already during the poet’s time and was established under Sultān Walad, the poet’s eldest son, and particularly under ‘Arif Čelebi during the 14th century. And therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the work was collected and written down during the 14th century, more specifically during the second half of the century. Each hymn, which is entitled āyīn, in the work bears the name of a particular pardah or māgām. One can read the following āyīn ([Tarānihā-yi Maulawīyya] D-B, Ms. Or. Oct. 3511):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Āyīn</th>
<th>Composed by</th>
<th>Language/s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Bastah-) rāst</td>
<td>Quṭb al-Nāyī ‘Uṯmān Dadah</td>
<td>Persian, some verses in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bastah-) Sāz-i dilārā</td>
<td>Sultān Saʿlīm-Xān</td>
<td>Persian, some verses in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bastah-) Nahāwand</td>
<td>Ismāʾil Dadah</td>
<td>Persian-Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabā-yi hūsalik</td>
<td>Ismāʾil Dadah</td>
<td>Persian-Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawā</td>
<td>Ismāʾil Dadah</td>
<td>Turkish, some verses in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawā</td>
<td>Raḥat Bayg</td>
<td>Persian, some verses in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabā</td>
<td>Ismāʾil Dadah</td>
<td>Persian-Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastah-nigār-i jādīd</td>
<td>Ismāʾil Dadah</td>
<td>Persian some verses in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šawq-i tarāb</td>
<td>Ismāʾil Dadah</td>
<td>Persian-Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjgāh</td>
<td></td>
<td>Persian, some verses in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥusaynī</td>
<td></td>
<td>Persian, some verses in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dugāh</td>
<td></td>
<td>Persian, some verses in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayāti</td>
<td>Kūčak Muštafā Dadah</td>
<td>Persian-Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥijāz</td>
<td>Quṭb al-Nāyī ‘Uṯmān Dadah</td>
<td>Persian-Turkish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

151
Some verses of Mawlawī’s poems appear here and there in the poems of the collection.

The work is a quite comprehensive collection of songs, and as mentioned above, it is indeed the earliest work of the category “collections of songs” in Persian musical literature, and despite the employment of verses in Turkish, it is of major significance concerning Persian writing on music.

Al-muxtashar al-mufīd fi bayān al-musīqī wa usūl aḥkāmah

The second Ms is headed al-Muxtashar al-mufīd fi bayān al-musīqī wa usūl aḥkāmah (The useful résumé on the explanation of music and [its] principal rules) by an anonymous author. The Ms is among a miscellany that was written probably between 750/1350 and 812/1409 (Dānišpażūh 1349/ H.Š./1970, no. 95: 45], Munzawī (1348-1351 H.Š./1969-1972: 3905), Pūrjawādī [al-Muxtashar al-mufīd fi bayān al-musīqī wa usūl aḥkāmah 1375 H.Š./1996: 49]). The Ms is, unfortunately, defective, and therefore, it is difficult to describe the work completely. Nevertheless, as the title of the work indicates, it is a very short and concise treatise on music. That part of the work that is extant contains ca 250 words. It seems that on the first page of the work, which has been lost, the author deals with musical instruments.
This is evident from the second page of the work (ibid.: 56) which begins as follows:

... čećajke bjerçgan in dểl in bryet zënd zërnod in iñ iñëhay dígger sañctë an. NaÄ añan in scénjë rëb in kemäcë he màtxëñan nëhë in ñaÄ tæ in nëzd ù in këwèn.

... As the great players of art of duhul (a type of drum) and barbat have said, and they have constructed other kinds (of instruments). The này-i anbàn [the bagpipe], sáfârah [?], rubâb and kamânçâth that the modernists have constructed for both playing and striking.

The rest of the treatise deals with the names and order of the pardah-hâ (modes). The rest of the work (ibid.: 56 f.) that has come down to us is as follows:

Now, this is what they [the masters] have commented on and explained about the pardah-hâ [the principle modes] and äwâz-hâ [the secondary modes]: the masters of this art have said is that the modes were originally divided into seven modes at the beginning by the predecessors according to seven planets. (But) the modernists have appeared and divided them (the modes) into twelve pardahs, according to twelve signs of the zodiac, and they have stated that these twelve signs of the zodiac [i.e. modes] have been derived from the mode of râst. The mode râst is like a tree and other modes are branches of that tree, or (it) is like a city and other modes are like its picnic places and the water sources and the mountains. They the masters have written in the manuscript in the moslemi and asoul...
lanes, because whoever comes out from a lane will return to the city again [we are still in the city]. There is no mode that is not associated with the mode rāst.

Now the names of the modes: first, the mode ṭāṣ; 2. the mode irāq; 3. the mode mukālifak, i.e. zīrafqand; 4. the mode mukālif-i ṭāṣ, i.e. izfahān; 5. the mode rahāwī; 6. the mode ḥusaynī; 7. the mode nahāwand, i.e. zangūlah; 8. the mode zīrafqand-i buzurg; 9. the mode ‘ušṣāq; 10. the mode māyāh; 11. the mode būsālīk; 12. the mode nāwā. The names of the modes are those that have been mentioned already.

Now, the names of āwāzhā [the secondary modes], namely the eight secondary modes that the masters have mentioned: first, salmak; 2. gardāndah; 3. guzāštah; 4. nawrūz; 5. ḥišār; 6. ḥijāz; 7. sitār; 8. bastah; other say ‘aštrān and still others say pānjār.

Now, concerning the explanation of the close relation between the modes which are similar. First, the modes ṭāṣ and ‘irāq are similar (close to each other); and the modes mukālif-i ṭāṣ and zīrafqand-i buzurg are similar; and the mode nāwā is similar (close) to that of ḥusaynī, and the mode māyāh is similar to that of būsālīk. And the modes mukālifak and ‘ušṣāq do not have any relation with any other modes and these two modes are isolated from other modes. However, the high register [the upper tetrachord?] of the mode ṭāṣ resembles ‘irāq and ... [illegible to read word/s] the low register [the lower tetrachord?] of the mode ṭāṣ resembles ‘ušṣāq, and the high register [the upper tetrachord?] of ‘irāq, that is nīmrūz (?), resembles mukālifak.

And God knows better what is right than we, and to him is our destiny. Al-muxṭasar al-mufīd fī bayān al-musāqī wa ʾusūl aḥkām has been finished.

As we can see, the work reminds us of Nayšābūrī’s approach to modes, in its usage of the musical terms, and the way of writing on the theory of music. The author, like Nayšābūrī, considers the most important mode to be the mode ṭāṣ, while with the establishment of the Systemtist School during the second half of the 13th century a considerable change regarding the role and importance of this mode took place. Another interesting aspect of the work is that it first deals with the musical instruments and afterwards with the modes which was a very unusual order in dealing with topics found in works of musical theory.
Chapter 6
Writing on music during the 15th century

Background
Immediately after the death of Timur in 807/1405 his realm disintegrated; Xvärázm was recaptured by the Golden Horde, and the province of Ažarbāyjān was reoccupied by the Turkmen Black Sheep (Qara-quyunlū) confederation. However, Timur’s son, Šahrux, managed to restore a large part of the lost area to his realm after military expeditions and political compromises, e.g. the installation of Qara-quyunlū vassals as governors of the province of Ažarbāyjān. Generally speaking, Šahrux’s period was a period of prosperity for the realm, despite constant military expeditions, particularly during the years between 1410 and 1430. After the death of Šahrux in 850/1447 the central control of the Timurid state was weakened and the realm fell into political and military unrest. One contributing factor to the political and military unrest after the deaths of Timur and Šahrux was that most provinces of the Timurid realm were governed by princes, and as long as the central power functioned, it could rein in the political ambitions of these princes, but the lack of a strong central power gave these princes the opportunities to strengthen their political power.

With the political and military decline of the Timurids after the death of Šahrux the political and military scene of the realm in the second half of the century was dominated by two powerful Turkmen confederations, i.e. the Qara-quyunlū (the Black Sheep) and the Aq-quyunlū (the White Sheep). With the emergence of these two dynasties the centre of political power shifted once again from the north-eastern part of the country to the northwest. The second half of the century can be characterised as a period of rivalry between these Turkmen dynasties and the striving of the Timurid princes for their political survival. Furthermore, during the period, a new contender for political power emerged, i.e. the Qızılbāš confederation which consisted of seven uymqas (tribes). They utilised the Safawid Sufi order for their political ambitions to take power. Towards the end of the century the political and military power of this Turkmen Shi’i Gulât confederation was enhanced, and at the beginning of the 16th century they established the
Safawid dynasty. Even during the 15th century they were a powerful military factor in the north-western region of the country, and the defeat of the Qaraquyunlu by the Aq-quyunlu without the assistance of Qizilbash was unthinkable.

During the 15th century some crucial political and military developments outside the Persian-speaking areas took place, which to some extent affected the whole region and even beyond it. The most important development was the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453 and the definite establishment of the Ottoman Empire as the most powerful state in the region and eastern part of Europe.

Concerning religion, although Shahrux and his successors were Sunni believers, the realm enjoyed an atmosphere of religious relaxation. These circumstances contributed to the development and flourishing of the Shi'i Gilāt and to a limited extent also to other branches of Shi'ism. It was during this century that even a Sufi order like Şafawiyyah converted to Shi'i Gilāt under the impact of the Qizilbash. We witness also the flourishing of other Sufi orders such as Hurufiyah, Naqşbandi. However, Sufism during the 15th century differs considerably in character and nature from that of the 14th century. A considerable number of Sufi orders became militant and directly involved in the struggle for political hegemony. The Şafawī order is a good example of this tendency among a number of Sufi orders of that time.

During the first half of the century Harat became the most significant centre of cultural and literary activities. Another important centre in this respect was the city of Samarqand. The role that the court of Shahrux and his son Baysungur and other Timurids' rulers, e.g. Ulugh-Big, Abū Sa'id, Sultan Husayn Bāqarā, who were enthusiastic patrons of art and literature, played in this regard is decisive. Apart from these two north-eastern cities Shiraz and Tabriz, which had been the most significant political and cultural centres in the previous century, continued to be important cultural centres.

Concerning literature, according to Yāršātīr (1334 H./1955: 56), Şafā (1364 H./1985, vol. iv: 124) and Rypka (1968: 292 f.), the 15th century is the last Golden Age of Persian classical poetry, and usually the death of Jāmī (898/1492) symbolized the decline of Persian poetry. However, perhaps the
most significant development concerning poetry took place towards the end of the century when the sabk-i ‘irāqī disappeared from Persian poetry and the intermediate poetic style, i.e. sabk-i wuqū’ (the Style of wuqū’ [happening, incidence]), which manifested itself first in Bābā Faḵāni’s (d. 925/1519) gazals, emerged. Concerning prose, almost all researchers and scholars are unanimous on “the poor quality of the prose” during this century. According to Shafī‘ī Kadkani (Morrison, 1981: 143) the most important works in prose during the century are Nafahāt al-uns min ḥazrāt al-quds and Bahāristān by Jāmī. The most important type of learned prose was still history writings, and a number of celebrated history works, e.g. Zafar-nāmah by Šaraf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī, Ḫubdat al-tawārīx and Mujmal al-tawārīx by Fażīh X̄āfī, were written. The other types of learned literature also flourished under the patronage of Timurids’ rulers and princes in particular. In addition, a new Shi‘i religious-literature was established during this century. In the 15th century the role of the rulers in India and the Ottoman realm in the development of the Persian literature increased remarkably and the Persian language strengthened its role as the dominant language in the region. However, it was first during the next century, i.e. the 16th century that we were to witness this development clearly.

Exposition

In the 15th century a total of eight works on music were written. In addition, there are extant from this century the manuscripts of two undated and anonymous treatises. Of these eight treatises written during the century four have been written by one of the most prominent musicians and music theorists of the time in the region, namely ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ġaybī al-Ḥāfīz al-Marāḡī, known as Ibn Ġaybī. It would not be incorrect to call the 15th century ‘Abd al-Qādir’s century. Three of these four works by al-Marāḡī are among the most celebrated works ever written on music theory in Persian.

Jāmī‘ al-alḥān by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī

We shall begin the presentation of ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ġaybī al-Ḥāfīz al-Marāḡī’s works with the earliest treatise of him, namely Jāmī‘ al-alḥān, but first a short biography of him.

‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ġaybī al-Ḥāfīz al-Marāḡī was born in Marāḡah in the province of Āzarbāyjān, which became one of the most important political, cultural centres of the realm under the Il-Khans. According to Ṣafī (1364 H./1985, vol. iv: 108) and Mašḥūn (1373 H./1994: 199), he was born in 754/1353, which in my opinion is more likely (for more information see below). However, Bīniš (al-Marāḡī 1370 H./1991: 24) mentions that he was born probably in 768/1366. It is likely that his father, Jamāl al-Dīn,
played a decisive role in his musical education. His title Ḥāfiz indicates that he could recite the Koran by heart, which was very much appreciated among people of that time.91 ‘Abd al-Qādir left his hometown when he was quite young, going to Tabrīz to join the court of Sultān Ḥusayn of the Jalāyirids as a musician. After the capture of Tabrīz by Timur in 788/1386, he escaped to Baghdad and continued to serve as the chief minstrel at the court of Sultān Ahmad, the son of Sultān Ḥusayn. He was captured after the conquest of Baghdad by Timur and was sent to Samarqand. According to Bimūş (ibid.: 29), he stayed there until 799/1396, and then he returned to Tabrīz, serving as a musician at the court of Mīrān-Ṣāḥ, the son of Timur. ‘Abd al-Qādir was obliged to escape once again to Baghdad and to the court of Sultān Ahmad of the Jalāyirids, who tried at that time to retake the territories he had lost to Timur. After the recapture of Baghdad by Timur, al-Marahgī was captured. He managed, however, to escape death once again thanks to his outstanding musical talent. He continued as a musician at the court of Timur himself. After the period of unrest between Timur’s death and the accession of Šahrūx to the throne, al-Marahgī became active at the court of Šahrūx. It was during this period that he wrote or completed almost all of his significant and celebrated treatises on music, and it was indeed the most important period of his life as far as theoretical and writing activities are concerned. He stayed in the region that was ruled by the Timurids until his death in the plague epidemic in Harāt in 838/1434. He was not only a very celebrated singer and an outstanding ‘ūd-player,92 but also a celebrated composer. In his work Jāmi‘ al-alḥān (al-Marahgī 1366 H.Š./1987: 243-252) he names some of his compositions, among which can be mentioned thirty nawbat-i murattabs that he composed for Sultān Ḥusayn of the Jalāyirids and dawr-i ‘adl for Šahrūx.

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marahgī’s first treatise, which is entitled Jāmi‘ al-alḥān (Encyclopaedia of music), according to Farmer (EI, s.v. ‘Adb al-Kādir b. Ghaybī) is al-Marahgī’s most important treatise on music. It seems that there were two different versions of this work. The first and probably incomplete version of the work, which al-Marahgī wrote for his son, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, was written first in 808/1405. But eight years later, i.e. in 816/1413, he wrote a new version which is probably the complete one; and this is the version that has come down to us. The first version was written during the period that al-Marahgī was active at the court of Timur, while the second and complete version was written during the author’s sojourn in Harāt, when he was the chief minstrel at the court of Šahrūx. The work is divided into a muqaddimah (introduction), twelve bābbs (sections), and a

91 Alīsīr Nawāʾī (1363 H.Š/1984: 123) confirms that statement, writing:

از کمالات خواجه یکی هفظ کلمه الله بود.

One of his accomplishments was [to recite] the words of God [the Koran] by heart.

92 Nawāʾī (ibid.: 313) calls him ‘Abd al-Qādir-i ‘Ūdī (‘Abd al-Qādir the ‘ūd-player).
xātimah (conclusion). In addition, an introductory prayer and a prayer for the Sulṭān form the preface of the work. The headings and topics of the treatise are as follows (al-Marāḡī 1366 H.Š./1987):

مقدمه

The Introduction

He defines (ibid.: 7) the word mūṣiqī in the following way:

You should know that mūṣiqī (music) is a Greek term (word), and it means melody ... Music consists of combinations of the consonant notes on a verse in a circle of the īṯā’īc [the rhythmic] circles.

فصل أول من مقدمه: تعريف موسيقى

The first chapter of the introduction: On the definition of music

فصل ثاني من مقدمه: حسن صناعات موسيقى

The second chapter of the introduction: On the quality of the invention of the art of music

فصل ثالث من مقدمه: لغرض هذا الاتناد

The third chapter of the introduction: Concerning the subject of music

He (ibid.: 9) considers:

Because the subject of every science is that the elements of that science are discussed, so the note is the subject of music. Some scholars have said that the subject of this science is melody.

فصل رابع من مقدمه: القواعد

The fourth chapter of the introduction: Concerning the principles of this science

فصل خامس من مقدمه: حسب ما نصهndoه the ultimate propose of this art is

باب أول

Section one
Chapter one: On the definition of sound

Chapter two: On the definition of note

Chapter three of the first section: On the cause of perception of sound and note by the sense of hearing

Chapter four of the first section: On the explanation of the causes of gravity and acuteness [of notes]

Section two

Chapter one of the second section: On the repartition of the frets according to the author of Adwār [al-ʿUrmawī]

Chapter two of the second section: On repartition of the frets in such a way that the amount and proportion of the interval of baqiyah [the semitone of 90 cents] will be clear

Chapter three of the second section: On repartition of the string, and the portion of sigār [the lesser intervals] by which the portions of the ratios and the place of the seventeen notes (on the fret) and similar issues on one string will be clear

Section three

Chapter one of the third section: On the explanation of intervals, and concerning their ratios

Chapter two of the third section: On joining the intervals to each other

Chapter three of the third section: On [the derivation of] the intervals from each other

93 “A small logarithmic unit used in the accurate description of musical intervals, based on frequency ratios. The interval, in cents, between two tones of frequency f₁ and f₂ is 3986 \log_{10} (f₂/f₁). 100 cents is equal to one equally tempered semitone.” The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (2001), s.v. “cent”.

160
Chapter four of the third section: On the explanation of the rules of dividing the intervals into two equal parts

Chapter five of the third section: On the explanation of the causes of dissonancy

Section four

Chapter one: Regarding some of the classes of genres [tetra-chords, pentrachords] and the ratios of their intervals and numbers

Chapter two of the fourth section: On the combination of consonants of the type of the fourth and fifth

Chapter three: On the classification of the cycles based on the joining (iziafâr) of the types of the second genre to the first genre

Section five

Chapter one: On the instruction [of tuning] of the two stringed instruments

Chapter second of the fifth section: On the instruction [of tuning] of the three-stringed instruments

Chapter third of the fifth section: On the four-stringed instrument which is called the ancient (qadim) ‘īd

Chapter fourth of the fifth section: On the fifth-stringed instrument which is called the prefect (kâmîl) ‘īd

Section six

Chapter one: On the explanation of the famous cycles (modes) and concerning the ratio of intervals and their numbers and the method of derivation of them from the fret of ‘īd

Chapter two of the sixth section: On the transpositional cycles and their rules
Al-Marāǧī (ibid.: 113) has defined the term *tabaqāt* in the following way:

By *tabaqāt* is meant that after the derivation of an interval, genre or mode from its original place (on the fret), it is also derived from other places than its own original one.

Chapter three of the sixth section: On the ascertainment of the six secondary modes, and on how the most superior of all scholars, our master Qūṭb al-Dīn, may God cover him with mercy and forgive his sins, has criticised the author of *al-Adwār*, may God have mercy upon him, and the answers to it (the criticism) which your humble servant has given based on research.

Chapter four of the sixth section: On the explanation of the twenty-four *šu’ābāt* (the derivative modes) and the method of derivation of their notes from the fret.
Chapter two of the eighth section: Concerning the names of consonant notes in Arabic and Greek

The Arabic names and their Greek equivalent that have been mentioned in this chapter are (ibid.: 162) as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Taqil al-mafruzat</td>
<td>Proslambanomenos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Taqil al-ra'isat</td>
<td>Hypatē hypatōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Wa'sitat al-ra'isat</td>
<td>Parhypatē hypatōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ḥaddat al-ra'isat</td>
<td>Lichanos hypatōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Taqil al-awsat</td>
<td>Hypatē mesōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Wa'sitat al-awsat</td>
<td>Parhypatē mesōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ḥaddat al-awsat</td>
<td>Lichanos mesōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Al-waštā</td>
<td>Mesē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Fāsilat al-waštā</td>
<td>Paramesos (Lichanos mesōn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Taqil al-munfasilat</td>
<td>Tritē diezeugmenōn (Parhypatē mesōn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Wa'sitat al-munfasilat</td>
<td>Paraneité diezeugmenōn (Hypatē mesōn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Ḥaddat al-munfasilat</td>
<td>Nētē diezeugmenōn (Lichanos hypatōn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Taqil al-haddāt</td>
<td>Tritē hyperbolaion (Parhypatē hypatōn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Wa'sitat al-haddāt</td>
<td>Paraneité hyperbolaion (Hypatē hypatōn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Ḥaddat al-haddāt</td>
<td>Nētē hyperbolaion (Proslambanomenos)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter three of the eighth section: On the relation between principal modes (pardah-hū), secondary modes (āwāzāt) and derivative modes (šu'abāt)

Chapter one: Concerning the mustawāt and mun‘akis fretting

Chapter two of the ninth section: On the explanation of the uncommon tuning (işṭixāb)

Chapter three of the ninth section: On the explanation of the way of finding tarjī‘āt on the strings of the ‘īd

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94 The equivalent Greek names have been taken from Barker (1989, vol. 2: 265).
95 The names within brackets have been mentioned by al-Marāqī as the Greek equivalent of the Arabic terms.
96 The ornamentations of the melody by playing on another string than the string that the melody is played on.
Section ten
Chapter one of the tenth section: On the explanation of the rules of difficult grips on the frets of the 'ūd and their similarities and differences
Chapter two of the tenth section: On the instruction on singing in the throat, and on the comprehensible and incomprehensible combinations of the genres
Chapter three of the tenth section: Concerning the transposition [of melody]
Chapter four of section ten: Concerning the names and ranks of musical instruments

The author (ibid.: 198 f.) classifies the musical instruments in the following way:

And they are of three kinds: the first kind: the chordophones, the second kind: the aerophones and the third kind: bowls, copper bowls [Percussions, or rather idiophones].

Regarding the chordophones, it should be known that the most perfect instrument after the human throat is the new perfect 'ūd on which ten string are stringed in such a way that every two strings are

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Concerning the percussion instruments, the author mentions the names of those instruments that have definite pitches and can be tuned.
tuned the same, so ten strings are like five strings. And we will here mention the names of some of the different kinds of the instruments:

As for the chordophones, the perfect 'ud, the old 'ud, tarab al-fath, ṣaštây, ṭarab-rûd, ṭanbûr-i širvâniyyân, Mongolian ṭanbûrah, rûhafzây, qupuz-i rûmî (Byzantine qupuz [also qûpûz]), awzân, nây-tanbûr, rubâb, muqîn, ēng, ikrî, qânûn, ēgrâk, yaktây, tarantây, saz-i dullâh, saz-i āyâbî-yi mûrašsa', tuḥfat al-‘ûd, ǧîdir [also ǧûdirû], pîpî [the piya], Ǧaṭûgân, şahrûd, rûdšâni.

Concerning the aerophones, the nay-i sîfî [the white nay], zamr-i siyah-nây, surnâ, nây-i balabân, nây-câwwar (câwur?), nafîr, bûrgû, mûsiqâr, šâbîq, argâmûn, nây-anbân.

As regards the kâsât, tâsât (the idiophones), the instruments of kâsât (the bowls), tâsât (the copper bowls) and alwâh-i fûlûd (the steel plate [a type of the glockenspiel]).

باب حادي عشر

Section eleven

فصل أول در ادوار ايقاع بدان طريق كدهم كده

Chapter one: On the cycles of rhythmic modes according to the predecessors

فصل ثانى از باب حادي عشر در ادوار ايقاع چنلکه دراین زمان مستعمل و متداول

است

Chapter two of the eleventh section: On the cycles of rhythmic modes that are commonly used now

فصل ثالث از باب حادي عشر در ذكر ادوار ايقاع که اختراع این قتر است

Chapter three of the eleventh section: Regarding the rhythmic cycles that have been innovated by your humble servant

فصل رابع از باب حادي عشر در بین قاعدده دخول در تصانیف

Chapter four of section eleven: On the mention of the rules of duxûl (the beginning or entrance of melody and rhythm) in tasântûfs (musical pieces)

The author (ibid.: 230) mentions three main kinds of entrance/beginning (duxûls), i.e. duxûl-i ma’ (the simultaneous entrance of the melody and the īqâ’ [the rhythmic mode]), duxûl-i ba’d (the subsequent entrance of the īqâ’) and duxûl-i qabl (the prior entrance of the īqâ’).

باب ثاني عشر

Section twelve

فصل أول در تأثير تفم ادوار

Chapter one: On the effect of the notes of the modes

فصل ثاني از باب ثاني عشر: در ذكر اصابع وطريقة قدم

Chapter two of the twelfth section: Concerning aşûbî (the [six] finger modes) and the ancient way
Chapter three of the twelfth section: On practical advice and the way of composition of *tasnifs* (musical pieces) in different forms of this art, like *nawābit*, *basāyiṭ*, *zārbayn*, *kull al-zarūb*, *kull al-naḡam*, *našīd-i ‘Arab*, *i’māl*, *pīšraw*, *zaxmah* and *hawāyī

Although the author has noted that there is a concluding chapter and the editor, *i.e.* Bīnīṣ, mentions also this interesting concluding chapter, there is no such chapter in the edited and published version of the work.98

As we can see, the treatise covers almost all aspects of musical theory and to some extent even musical practice as well as topics such as “instruction on singing in the throat”, “how to practice”, “the rules of *duzūl* (the beginning or entrance of melody and rhythm) in *tasnifs* (musical pieces)”, “how to compose music”, “the explanation of difficult grips on the frets of *‘ūd*” are new not only in Persian writing on music, but even in writing on music in the region.

98 According to the preface (*dībācah*) of the work (*ibid.*: 5), the last chapter would have dealt with the following topics:

The conclusion

Chapter one: On how the virtuosos of this art should behave at a session

Chapter two: Concerning [the idea that] at each gathering should be sung [the songs] that are suitable for that gathering

Chapter three: On the rules of practising this art

Chapter four: On the Mongolian way of making music (*tallīhīn*) and the names of their tunings and *mu’tadiliyyāt* (consonants?)

Chapter five: Concerning the names of virtuosos of this art

Chapter sixth: On the explanation of the principal modes (*šuddād*) that are played on the *‘ūd* and with which one makes music and accompanies and plays music in such way that the pleasure-seeking listeners will cry, laugh and fall asleep out of pleasure, [but] under the condition that they are not opponents and fanatics and are [really] listening to music
Maqāṣid al-alḥān by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī

Al-Marāḡī’s second treatise which has come down to us is *Maqāṣid al-alḥān* (Purports of melodies). The treatise is less detailed, and consequently, shorter than *Jāmi’ al-alḥān*. The work has been dedicated to different persons in different MSS. According to Ms in GB-Ob (Ouseley 264 [Sachau & Ethé MDCCCLXXXIX: 1060 f.]), the treatise written for Prince Mīrzā Bāysungur (d. 837/1434), while according to the Ms in NL-Lu (Cod. 271 [de Jong & de Goeje MDCCCLXV: 302-305]) it was dedicated to Ottoman Sulṭān Murād II (824/1421-855/1451). Tarbiyat (1314 H./1935: 261) states that the treatise was written for Šāhrux. The date of composition according to the Ms in GB-Ob (Ouseley 264 [Sachau & Ethé MDCCCLXXXIX: 1060 f.]), which is in the author’s handwriting, and the Ms in NL-Lu (Cod. 271 [de Jong & de Goeje MDCCCLXV: 302-305]) is 821/1418 (Shiloah 1979: 172). Sachau & Ethé (MDCCCLXXXIX: 1057-1063) state that it is probable that *Maqāṣid al-alḥān* is just another, but shorter, version of *Jāmi’ al-alḥān*. On fol. 1 of the Ms in GB-Ob (Ouseley 264 [ibid.]), which is in another handwriting and written and added later, the work has been headed *Risālah-i lahniyyah*, and on fol. 1b of the same Ms it has been entitled *Ta’rīf-i ‘ilm-i mūṣiqī*. Tarbiyat (1314 H./1935: 261) has introduced another treatise on music by al-Marāḡī with the title *Lahniyyah*. It is probable that the treatise he has introduced is the same as *Maqāṣid al-alḥān* because nowhere has al-Marāḡī mentioned that he has a treatise with the heading *lahniyyah*.

The treatise begins with a preface, in which the author prays God and the Sulṭān who is his patron. Then, it continues with a *muqaddimah* (introduction) in which, according to the Ms in GB-Ob (Ouseley 385 [Sachau & Ethé MDCCCLXXXIX: 1057-1063]), the author relates a story taken from the *ahādīt* (the prophet Muḥammad’s Traditions) on Muḥammad’s appreciation of beautiful sounds. The main part of the treatise is divided into twelve bāḥs (chapters). The heading and topics of these twelve bāḥs are (according to the Ms in GB-Ob, No. OUSELEY 264 [ibid.], which is in the author’s handwriting) as follows:

[Section 1] On the definition of music, sound and note, interval, combination of intervals (notes) (*jamʿ*), the causes of gravity and acuteness (of notes), and on the subject and principles of this art

[Section 2] In distinguishing the notes and their combinations and the reasons of their different forms, and on the classification and definitions of the notes, and on the different methods of writing and ordering them...
[Section 2] On the repartition of the frets on strings, and the ratios of intervals and their number (how to calculate them), and the explanation of the causes of dissonancy, and the way of joining intervals together and [the derivation of] them from each other, and the combination of intervals, and the customary tunings (işṭcābāt-i ma’ḥād) [of instruments]

[Section 3] On the explanation of different types of the fourth, fifth, and the order of cycles of their “joining intervals” (įzāfāt)

[Section 4] Concerning the explanation of famous cycles, i.e. the twelve modes, and the reference to their transpositions

[Section 5] Regarding the six secondary modes (āwāzāt) and how our master, Qutb al-Dīn Šīrāzī, has criticised the author of al-Adwār [Ṣaff al-Dīn] and the answer to that criticism that your humble servant has given based on study

[Section 6] Regarding the explanation of the twenty-four derivative modes (šu’ābāt) and the method of derivation of them from the frets

[Section 7] Concerning the explanation of the confusion of intervals with each other, and the partnerships of notes of the modes, and the explanation of the relation between the main modes (maqāmāt), the secondary modes (āwāzāt) and the derivative modes (šu’ābāt)

[Section 8] Concerning buḥūr (seven kinds of the fourth) and anwā’ (different types of the octave) and transpositions of notes

[Section 9] Regarding the rhythmic modes (īqā’), and explanation of the six finger modes, and the ancient way, and the beginning [of the melody and rhythm] in musical pieces
[Section 10] On the impact of notes of the modes [on the soul], and the practical instructions, and the way of composition of different types [forms] of musical pieces

[Section 11] Concerning the method of finding [proper] accompaniments on strings, and the uncommon tunings (ištīkhābāt)

[Section 12] Concerning the instructions on singing by the throat, and on the combinations of notes (tarḥībāt) and the main modes (ṣudūd), i.e. the uncommon tunings, and the way that some [kinds of] genres are practised, concerning the derivation of the modes, and regarding the names of notes in the perfect system (jam‘-i tām) in Arabic and Greek, and the names and ranks of musical instruments

As we can see, the similarities between the topics of Maqāṣid al-ḥān and Jāmi‘ al-ḥān are striking. We can, therefore, draw the conclusion that Maqāṣid al-ḥān is an abridgement of Jāmi‘ al-ḥān. It must, however, be pointed out that the author approaches subjects more systematically in Jami‘ al-ḥān than in Maqāṣid al-ḥān.

Šarḥ-i Adwār by Ḥādīṣ al-Qādir al-Maḥānī

As mentioned in the previous chapter, to comment on al-Urmawī’s al-Adwār became a popular subject during the 14th century; but the most prominent and celebrated commentary on that work was written during the 15th century by Ḥādīṣ al-Qādir b. Ḥāfīz al-Maḥānī. This šarḥ (commentary) is the next treatise to be dealt with here.

The Šarḥ al-Adwār or Šarḥ-i Adwār (The commentary on al-Adwār) is probably the last treatise on the theory of music that al-Maḥānī wrote. We do not know the exact date of the composition. Nevertheless, according to the additional part of the work, Zawā‘id al-fawā‘id (Additional benefits) (which is also called Fawā‘id-i ʿašarah [Ten benefits]), it was composed after the two above-mentioned treatises. The work has the heading Zubdat al-Adwār (the Summary of al-Adwār) in some Mss. This appendix to the Šarḥ al-Adwār is indeed a summarised version of Jāmi‘ al-ḥān and can be considered as a concise independent treatise. However, Ḥādīṣ al-Qādir himself in the muqaddimah (al-Maḥānī 1370 H./1991: 77) emphasizes that
Zawā’id al-fawā’id forms the last part of the treatise (see below). Besides, two very short treatises on two instruments, *i.e.* Sāz-i alwāh-i fālād (the Instrument with planks of steel) and Sāz-i gāyībī (the Instrument of gāyībī), which have been introduced as two independent works in Massoudieh (1996: 295) and Munzawī (1348-1351 H./1969-1972: 3898), have been added by Bīnīš in his edition of the work. He argues (al-Marāğī 1370 H./1991: 35) that these two works are too short to be independent works, and therefore he has added these two one-page treatises to the last part of the Šarḥ-i Adwār. At any rate, each chapter of the treatise begins with passages quoted from al-Urmawī’s *al-Adwār* and then commentaries on them by al-Marāğī. The heading and topics of the fifteen *faṣīls* and the additional parts (al-Marāğī 1370 H./1991) are as follows:

الفصل الأول في تعريف النغم وبيان الحدة والقل

The first chapter: On the definition of notes, and the explanation of [the causes of] gravity and acuteness

الفصل الثاني في أقسام الدساتين

The second chapter: On the different kinds of fretting

الفصل الثالث في نسب الابعاد

The third chapter: On the ration of the intervals

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البعد هو مجموع نغمتين مختلفتين في الحدة والقل

The interval: It is the sum of the differences of the two notes [of an interval] with regard to the gravity and acuteness

طريقه وقانون ظرح بعد از بعد

The method and rule of the construction of an interval from another
The method of the bisecting the intervals

الفصل الرابع: معرفة مسببات الالتباس

The fourth chapter: Concerning the causes of the dissonancy

الفصل الخامس في التأليف ملاضم

The fifth chapter: Concerning the composition of the consonances (mulāyim)

الفصل السادس في الأدوار ونسبها

The sixth chapter: On the [cycles of] modes and [their] ratios

بيان انواع ذي الكل الكن در ذي الكل مرتين

On the explanation of different types of ī al-kull (octave) in ī al-kull murtayin (double octaves)

الفصل السابع في حكم الوترین

The seventh chapter: Concerning the rules of [the tuning of] the two-stringed instruments

الفصل الثامن في ذكر العود وتسوية الأوامر واستخراج الأدوار منه

The eighth chapter: Regarding the ‘ūd and the tuning of its strings and the derivation of the modes from it

بيان دسائين مستوى ومتعكس

The explanation of the mustawā and mun‘akis fretting

الفصل التاسع في الأسماء الأدوار المشهورة

The ninth chapter: On the names of the famous modes

بيان أوازات سلته

The explanation of the six secondary modes

الفصل العاشر في تشارك تغم الأدوار

The tenth chapter: On the partnership of the notes of the cycles

الفصلحادي عشر في طبقات الأدوار

The eleventh chapter: Concerning the transpositions of the cycles of modes

الفصل الثاني عشر في الاصطباب الفيبر المعهود

The twelfth chapter: On the uncommon tuning (iṣṭivāb)

الفصل الثالث عشر في الإيقاع

The thirteenth chapter: On the rhythmic cycles
The fourteenth chapter: On the effect of notes

The second part of the discourse: On the explanation of the method of performing and composition of musical pieces

The fifteenth chapter: On practical instructions

Concerning this additional part, al-Marāgī (ibid.: 291) notes:

In the book of “the commentary on Adwār” I discussed and explained what was the manner of solution of its problems with many benefits and additional points based on study and practicing. Furthermore, [I used] the book which I entitled Maqāsid al-alhān and which I wrote before this book and after the book “Jami’ al-alhān”. [Here] I will write ten benefits at the end of this commentary from the words of the Predecessors, so the students who possess good taste and are enthusiastic will gain from them. I have entitled this book Zawāyīd al-fawāyid (Beneficial additions).

Benefit one: On the order of the transposition of the fourth in the perfect modal system (jam‘-i tām)

Benefit two: The explanation of the famous cycles of modes and the calculation of the ratio of their notes, and the signs of the order of the modes, and the transposition of the joining intervals (iẓāfāt) in letters

172
Benefit three: the explanation of the twenty-four derivative modes, and the manner of their derivation from the (different) parts of strings

Фايلةه رابع بيان رقم نغمات ادوار مشهورة مع التناظر في جمع نام

Benefit four: the explanation of the figures of the notes of the famous modes with the similar [figures] in the perfect modal system/the double octave (jam'-i tām)

فایده خامس بيان بعضی از اصناف بعد ذی الاربع و طریقه عمل آنها

Benefit five: the explanation of some classes of the fourth, and the method to calculate them

فایده سیزاس بيان اصناف تسانیف در عملیات این فن و طریقه ساختن آنها مشروط بدانها

Benefit six: The explanation of mawājib99 which according to the terminology of predecessors is called the six finger board (asābi'-i sittah) and the rhythmic cycles, and the names of notes that are used in the cycles and the cycles that are used in melodies

فایده ششم بيان اصناف تسانیف در عملیات این فن و طریقه ساختن آنها مشروط بدانها

Benefit seven: The explanation of the [different] types of musical pieces (forms) used in practicing this art, and the way they can be composed on the condition that will be mentioned

The author (ibid.: 336) mentions,

قدما تسانیف در عملیات موسيقی را بر ابمات عربی ساخته اند و قبل از اصناف تسانیف، نشیب عرب به دست یافت از این سبب تکامل و تکامل نوعی و نویز ابمات اصناف تسانیف و انواع آن ابمات: 1. نشیب عرب. 2. 2 نوبت 3 نوبت 4 نوبت 5 نوبت 6 نوبت 7 ضربون و شنگ. 8 ضربون و در. 9 ضربون و در. 10 ضربون و در. 11 ضربون و در. 12 ضربون. 13 ضربون. 14 مرضع.

The predecessors composed songs on Arabic verses. Before the different types of musical pieces/forms (asnāf-i taṣānīf) was našīd-i

99 The author (ibid.: 329) explains the term in the following way:

You should know that the six finger modes (asābi'-i sittah) were known and common among the predecessors, and they acted in this way. According to their terminology, different types of the fourth were called mawājib and asāba’, and they called the six mawājib (mawājib-i sittah) also the six finger board (asābi'-i sittah).
'arab (Arabian našid). Then, there was basāʾīt, aqwāl-i mufradah (simple qawls) and nawābit. The names of the different types of musical pieces are: 1. našīd-i 'arab; 2. basāʾīt; 3. nawbāt-i muraṭṭah; 4. kull al-zurūb; 5. kull al-naṯām; 6. kull al-naṯāb wa al-naṯām; 7. zarbāyn and its additional things; 8. 'amāl; 9. naqṣ; 10. sawt; 11. hawāʾī; 12. pīšraw; 13. zaxmāh; 14. muraṣṣa ‘.

Then he describes each form, exemplifying them by his own works. For instance, he (ibid.) describes basāʾīt and navbat in the following way:

As for basāʾīt, it was created after the našīd-i 'arab. The basāʾīt is a piece of music on merely Arabic verses upon the [rhythmic] cycle of taqīl-i awwal or taqīl-i ṯānī or ramal. It is of two types: it may or may not have sawt al-wasat (intermezzo), but it must have the tašiyy’ah (repetition with changes in verses, words of the verses, ornamentations) ... Regarding navbat, it consists of four pieces: first, qawl; second, ṭazal; third, tarānah; fourth, furūdašt ...
In these time the kings of the world have shown an interest for this science, and they have practiced it themselves. They wanted your poor and humble servant [to compose] unusual and new rhythmic cycles unlike the mentioned six old cycles. According to their command, I have invented unusual cycles and composed *tasānīf* (musical pieces) of good quality on these cycles and presented them [to kings], and they regarded [these cycles and music pieces] as acceptable and pleasurable, and they have named each cycle with a special name. I will mention five cycles of these cycles here, so that students understand that there are other cycles than the [six old] cycles to invent, because neither the blessing has disappeared, nor has the giver becomes mean. The names of the cycles are: the cycle of *zarb al-fath*, the cycle of *al-rabi‘*, the cycle of *šāhzarb* and *mā‘tayn* and the cycle of *‘adl*.

Chapter two: concerning the explanation of the beginning and ending of musical pieces

The author (*ibid.*: 379) notes:

As for the beginning, it is in such way that when a *tasānīf* is, for instance, performed on the rhythmic cycle of *yaqīl-i tānī*, which the masters in the practicing [of this art] call *xaṣīf* and its cycle is sixteen beats (*naqrah*), the beginning/entrance (*duxāl*) happens either on the first beat (*naqrah-i awwal*) or on the second, or the third and in this way up to the sixteenth beat. The entrance at the beginning of every song is in three kinds: the simultaneous (*ma‘*) [entrance of the melody and the rhythmic cycle], the (*qabīl*) [entrance of the rhythmic cycle] or the subsequent (*ba‘d*) [entrance of the rhythmic cycle].

أما فاية عناصر بيان التقنات وبيان تركيبات ملفقة ومتلفقة وبيان انواع تحريرات بحركات حلق در نغمات
Now, the tenth advantage: The explanation of transpositions, and explanation of the muttafiqah and muxtalifah combinations, and the explanation of different kinds of ornaments by [using] the movement of the throat in melodies

Chapter concerning the instructions on singing, i.e. the famous melodies that are produced by the throat of the human, and the explanation of the muttafiqah and muxtalifah combinations, and the various kinds of ornaments that are produced by movement of the throat in the uvula in the melodies that musicians called mar-gūlah

Chapter concerning the names of virtuosos of this art

As mentioned earlier, Šarḥ al-Adwar is, according to our knowledge, al-Marāghi’s last work on music theory and is indeed a gathering of his all experiences and knowledge on musical theory and practice and therefore perhaps his most significant work.

Collection of songs by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghi

The last work by al-Marāghi, which will be dealt with here, is among his minor works in its present form. It is a collection of songs in the popular vocal musical forms of that time, e.g. tasnīf, ‘amal, qawl, basīt, in both Arabic and Persian. Massoudieh (1996: 132) writes that the work is presumably one of al-Marāghi’s works, but he is not altogether sure. Nevertheless, Xwāndāmir (1333 H./1954, vol. 3: 578) mentions a rubūṭ (quatrain) that al-Marāghi had composed upon receiving news of Sultan Ahmad’s death, and that he had sung the quatrain for Šahrux of the Timurids. The quatrain which Xwāndāmir (ibid.) notes is as follows:

Oh ‘Abd al-Qādir, do let fall down blood from the eyes every moment
You cannot fight against the tyranny of destiny
Since that royal epithet of the world suddenly
Passed away when he aimed to go to Tabriz

These verses form the two last verses of the collection of songs ([al-Marāghi], Ms NL-Lu, Cod. 271). Furthermore, the poet introduces himself as ‘Abd al-Qādir (ibid.) on several occasions in the work. The date of composition is unknown, but in a hemistich of one of the songs in the work (see below) the
poet writes that he is 82 years old which suggests that the work was written probably in 837/1333 or 838/1334. The verses (ibid. fol. 64b) in which the poet mentions his name and age are as follows:

خداوندا فضل خود بیخدا بر کنیهگاری، که هشتاددونسال اویا بود جز کنیهگاری،
زبدیافتران ان جرمی که ام که اویا برد جرمی چه بالی جرمی او در پیش عفو جون عفایاری.

Oh God, by your gracefulness forgive a sinner • whose eighty-two years [of life] was nothing but sinfulness • Forgive ‘Abd al-Qādir the sin that he has committed • what is his sin before [your] forgiveness because you [God] are [the greatest] forgiver.

If we assume that the work was written by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḏī, he will have died a few months later after finishing the work. In such a case the birth date which is suggested by Saḥā (1366 H./1987, vol. iii/1: 273) and Mašlūh (see above) is more correct than that of Bīnīš (see above), because on the assumption of the date Bīnīš has suggested ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḏī would have died at the age of seventy, but, as we have seen, the author of the collection who introduced himself as ‘Abd al-Qādir, mentions that he is eighty-two-years old.

At any rate, the forms, modes and rhythmic cycles of the songs which are employed in the work are (Ms NL-Lu, Cod. 271):

1. تصنیف در دایره راست بند تکیل اول اعی ورشان 16 نفره
2. عمل در مقام حجاتی
3. عمل در هجایه ذی الأربع
4. قول در شعبه صبایی نوروزی عرب برسه کاه اعلی بعد مجبول بند خفیف تکیل
5. بسط در دایره شباق بند مخمس 8 نفره
6. القطعه در نوروز اصل
7. القطعه در نوروز عرب
8. قول در شهناز
9. صوت در عقرب
10. عمل ربیعیه در نوروز عرب و نوروز اصل و نوروز عم نوروز خارا و نوروز بیانی
11. ایقاع ان دوی فاقيه مکان‌میی دور ورشان و دور بیبی و دور منبع
12. تصنیف پریامنه در باب پری و وضعف خود ساخته ام در دور راهی بندرمل 12 نفره
13. عمل هم در باب پری در دایره زیرافکند اعی کوچک هم در مخمس 8 نفره
14. ترصحیح در تشبیه
15. عمل در اصفهانی بند ضرب الفتح (sic!)
16. قالب طولی در راست
17. ترجمه
18. صوت
19. عمل در محل بسط بندرمل طول
20. در تشبیه ترصحیح

177
1. *Taṣnīf* in the mode of *rāst* in the [rhythmic] cycle of *taqīl-i avwal* that is *warašān* 16 naqrahs (beats, units)
2. ‘*Amal* in the mode of *ḥijāzī* 
3. ‘*Amal* in the *cahārgāh zī al-arba’
4. *Qawl* in the derivative mode of *šabā*, *i.e.* the *nawrūz-i 'arab* in the *sikāh*, *i.e.* the *bu'd-i mujannab*, in the rhythmic cycle of *xaffī-taqīl*
5. *Basīt* in the mode of *'ūṣṣāq* in the rhythmic cycle of *muhammās 8 naqrahs* (beats)
6. *Qī'ah* in the *nawzūz-i asl*
7. *Qī'ah* in the *nawzūr-i 'arab*
8. *Qawl* in the *ṣahnāz*
9. *Ṣawt* in the *'ašūrā*
10. ‘*Amal rasbiiyyah* in the *nawrūz 'arab* and *nawrūz-i asl* and *nawrūz-i 'ajam* and *nawrūz-i xārā* and *nawrūz-i bayātī*, its *iqā* (rhythm) in the cycle of *fāxtū* as has been mentioned [*kamāmarr ?*] and the rhythmic cycle of *warašān* and the cycle of *bādī* and the cycle of *manī*’
11. *Taṣnīf-i pēr-nāmah* that I have composed on the topic of my old age and weakness, in the mode of *rāhuwī*, in the [rhythmic] cycle of *ramāl 12 naqrahs* [beats]
12. ‘*Amīl* also on old age, in the mode of *zūrafkand* that is *kājāk* also, in *muhammās 8 naqrahs* (beats)
13. *Tārīš*’ in *tašīyy’ah* 100
14. ‘*Amal* in *isfahānak* in the cycle rhythmic *zarb al-fīh* (sic!)
15. *Qī'ah* in *sikāh-i zāwul* 

100 It is in this song that the poet introduces himself as ‘*Abd al-Qādir* mentioning that he is eighty-two years old. (For the verses and the translation, see above).
16. Ta’lif-i țawîl in [the mode] râst
17. Tarjâmâh
18. Šawt
19. ‘Āmal dâr muhâyîr-i bâsît in the rhythmic cycle of râmal-i țawîl
20. Dar tašiyy’âh-i târîşî’
21. Dar ḥišār-i ašt
22. Šawt in the rhythmic cycle of ḥârah-i muqammas

23. ‘Āmal in the ḥaḡāh
24. Tašiyy’âh
25. ‘Āmal in the gawašt
26. ‘Āmal in the panjgâh
27. Ṭârîşî’ in the bâẓgašt (return, repetition)
28. Šawt
29. ‘Āmal in the mode of ẓâbah, i.e. nawrûz-i ‘arab maḥâṭt (descent to) the muqammas
30. ‘Āmal in the mode of ‘irâq
31. ‘Āmal dâr isfâhâhânak
32. Tašiyy’âh
33. ‘Āmal in the mubârqa’
34. ‘Āmal in the gawašt
35. The last, in the mode of zarâfkan in the rhythmic cycle of muqammas

The work is the earliest collection of secular songs in Persian musical literature. The collection is interesting and important from a music theoretical aspect because the author (collector) has not only noted the form and mode of a number of pieces there, but he has also mentioned the rhythmic cycles of them.101

Naqāwat al-adwâr by a son of ‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâqî

Another treatise on music theory is the fifth work that will be dealt with in this chapter. The treatise was probably written by one of ‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâqî’s sons, namely ‘Abd al-‘Azîz. However, al-Marâqî mentions at the beginning of his treatise Jâmi‘ al-alhân (al-Marâqî 1366 H.S./1987: 2) that he has two sons, namely Nûr al-Dîn ‘Abd al-Raḥmân, for whom he wrote the first incomplete version of Jâmi‘ al-alhân (Sachau & Ethé MDCCCLXXXIX: 1057), and Nîzâm al-Dîn ‘Abd al-Raḥîm, noting that they are twelve years old and seven years old respectively when he wrote the work. He does not mention that he has another son with the name ‘Abd al-

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101 A deeper study of this collection and the musical pieces presented there can presumably help us to understand the connection between the poetic meters, the musical form, the modes and the rhythmic cycles.
‘Azīz. Farmer (EI, s.v. ‘Abd al-Kādir b. Ghaybī), however, informs us that he had a third son of whom he writes:

A son [of ‘Abd al-Qādir], ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who is thought to have settled at the Ottoman court after 1435, was the author of a music treatise, the *Naqāwat al-Adwār* (“The Select of the Modes”), dedicated to the Turkish Sultan Muḥammad II (d. 886/1481).

But he does not mention where he got this information. If ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī had a third son, he must have been born after 1413, i.e. the date of the composition of *Jām‘ al-alḥān*, because as pointed out above al-Marāḡī does not mention anything about his third son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. Regarding the third son, we do not know anything about him expect what Farmer has written about him (see above).

*Naqāwat al-adwār* (the Purity of the cycles) is divided into an introduction (*muqaddimah*), twelve chapters (*bābs*) and a conclusion (*xātimah*). The structure, the topics, and to some extent the headings of the treatise are similar to the three more comprehensive above-mentioned works by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī. According to Massoudieh (1996: 3), the work deals with the following topics in each chapter:

(1) De la définition du son, de la note, de l’intervalle, du système modal et la signification du terme mūṣiqī (musique), l’objet de cet art et son but final.
(2) De la qualité de la production du son et de la note par les instruments mélodiques et les causes d’acuité et de gravité.
(3) Du partage de ligatures sur les cordes et du rapport des intervalles et [de leurs] nombres et les causes de la dissonance.
(4) De la règle de l’addition des intervalles, leur division et la division par moitié, la manière de faire des adjonctions de la quarte et la composition consonante basée sur les espèces de la quarte et de la quinte.
(5) De l’arrangement des cycles à l’aide des adjonctions des intervalles, les cycles en usage, c’est à dire 12 maqām, 6 āwāz et 24 šu’ābāt et la façon de les faire sortir des touches des cordes.
(6) De la détermination des cycles en se basant sur les 17 places de l’octave aiguë qui s’appelle tābaqāt.
(7) De la communauté des notes des cycles et les rapports de certains parde-hā (ligatures), āwāzī et šu’ābāt.
(8) Sur les espèces de genres et sur les mutations.
(9) Les cycles de ḩaqā‘.
(10) Sur la règle de préluder [les cycles métriques-rythmiques] en taşânîf, le nombre de leurs battements, les six anciens doigtés, les accords non-usuels et la façon de trouver les notes d’accompagnement.
(12) Comment les praticiens de cet art doivent observer les cérémonies des séances [musicales] et ce qu’ils doivent chanter de convenable lors de la séance, faire de la musique à la manière des mongols, les noms de leurs accords [instrumentaux] et mu’tadilyyât.
(Épilogue): Des noms des praticiens de cet art et les šud qu’on execute au luth.

The significance of the work lies in fact that it is among the first, if not the very first, Persian treatises on music theory written in the realm of the Ottoman Empire. Otherwise, Naqāwat al-adwâr is nothing other than another version of Jami’ al-alhân.

Music treatise by Mi’mâr

The fifth comprehensive work on music theory which was written during the century is ‘Alî b. Muḥammad Mi’mâr’s, known as Ban(n)ī, treatise. Although Mi’mâr is mostly known as a poet in Persian literature, this treatise indicates that he was skilful in music and music theory.

‘Alî b. Muḥammad Mi’mâr’ was born in Harât some time in the middle of the 15th century. He was a son of a mason (bannâ) (Naﬁṣī El, s.v. Bannâ’ī) named Muḥammad Sabz Mi’mâr (Xândamîr 1333 H.Š./1954, vol. iv: 348) and therefore he chose the pseudonym (taxallus) Ban(n)â’ī (also Ban(n)āyī). However, Şafwat & Bîniṣ (Mi’mâr 1368 H.Š./1989: šiś [six]) and Şafâ (1364 H.Š./1985, vol. iv: 393 f.) mention his taxallus without tašâdî on the “N”, i.e. Banâ’ī.102 He spent his childhood and youth in his native town and studied there. He came in contact with ‘Alîšīr Nawā’ī who had supported and encouraged him at least during a short time. Nonetheless, after disputes with ‘Alîšīr Nawâ’ī, Mi’mâr was obliged to leave his hometown and sojourned for a while first in Šráz and then in Tabrîz at the court of prince Sultân Ya’qûb of the Aq-Quyunlû. It was during this period that he composed one of his most celebrated poetic works Bâg-i Iram (Mi’mâr 1368 H.Š./1989: haft [seven]). After the death of his patron Sultân Ya’qûb in 896/1490, he returned to his hometown Harât. But, he had, once again, to leave Harât for the court of prince Sultân ‘Alî of the Timurids in Samarqand. After the conquest of the town by Şaybânî-Xân in 906/1500 and after a short period in prison, Mi’mâr joined Şaybânî-Xân’s court as a court poet, staying

102 Utas (1973: 76-78) writes his name as Bînâ’ī.
there until the defeat of Šaybānī-Xān and the capture of the province of Xurāsān by Šāh Ismā‘īl, the founder of the Šafawīd dynasty and his Qızılbaş troops in 916/1510. According to Xᵛāndamīr (1333 H.Š./1954, vol. iv: 349), he was slain two years later in 918/1512 during the massacre by Amīr Najm Tānī, the grand Vizier of Šāh Ismā‘īl. Among his works can be mentioned Šaybānī-nāmah, and his collection of poems (dīwān).

According to Šūṣtarī (1348/1969: 307) and NafṣĪ (EI, s.v. Bannā‘ī), Mi’mār wrote two short treatises on ‘Īlm-i adwār (The science of the cycles [music]). Hitherto, however, no other treatise by him has been found other than the one that has been published by Šafwat & Biniš. There are three possible hypothetical explanations concerning Šūṣtarī and NafṣĪ’s statement. The first one is that the treatise that has come down to us and which is divided into two discourses (maqālahs), was written first as two different treatises, but later the author rewrote them as one work. However, this possibility is slight because Šūṣtarī mentions that the two treatises were on adwār (modes), while the second discourse of the present work is on iqā’ (rhythm) and not on adwār. Furthermore, no Mss of those two stated treatises have hitherto been found. The second explanation is that these two treatises have been lost. The third possibility, which in my judgement is more plausible, is that the information Šūṣtarī gives us is not completely correct, because Šūṣtarī mentions only those two treatises and says nothing about the present work that has come down to us. Ergo, we can draw the conclusion that Mi’mār did not write any other treatise on music than the treatise that we are going to introduce below.

The only known Ms of the work, which is in the author’s own handwriting, is dated 888/1483, and this is plausibly the date of the composition of the treatise. According to Šafwat & Biniš (Mi’mār 1368 H.Š./1989: haft and hašt [seven and eight]), the work was probably written for ‘Alīshīr Nawā‘ī (d. 906/1500). If Šafwat & Biniš’s statement is correct, Mi’mār wrote the treatise in Harāt. The treatise begins with a preface (xuṭbah), which contains a poem (gazal) about music, prayers and a statement of the reason why the author has written the treatise. The main part of the treatise is divided into a muqaddimah (introduction), two maqālahs (discourses) and a xātimah (conclusion). The headings and topics of the treatise (ibid.) are as follows:

[Discourse one]

مقدمه در بیان تعریف و تقسیم موسیقی

Introduction: On the definition and division of music

فصل در تقسیم بعد

Chapter on the division of intervals

فصل در تقسیم ابعاد مشهوره

Chapter on the division of famous intervals

فصل در بیان اسباب تناغر
Chapter on the explanation of the causes of dissonancy

Chapter on the explanation of consonant combination of intervals

Chapter on the explanation of the study on the famous and infamous cycles, and the explanation of the ratios that are between them

Chapter on the explanation of the reason for derivation of intervals from \( nj \) and its tuning

Chapter on the explanation of the main modes

According to him (ibid.: 62-68) the twelve main modes (dāʾirahs) are: ʿuṣṣāq, nāwā, būsāfīk, rāst, zangūlah, isfāhān, ḫusaynī, ḵījāzī, zīrafkand, rāhuwī, ʿirāq, buzurg.

Chapter on the partnerships of notes of the cycles of modes

Chapter on the explanation of derivation of the transposed modes (ṭaabqāt) of the famous modes (dawāyir) from the various parts of a string

Miʿmār defines (ibid.: 77) ṭaabqāh in the following way:

بذاكهة جون دواير ذه غير موضع خود واقع شوند طبقات خواند.

You should know the cycles that appear in other positions than their [original] positions are called ṭaabqāt.

Chapter on the explication of the secondary modes (āwāzāt)

Chapter concerning the definition of the derivative modes (ṣuʿabāt)

According to Miʿmār (ibid.: 91-100), the names of twenty-four derivative modes are: dugāh, sigāh, ẓahārgāh, panjīgāh, ʿaṣīrā, māhūr, nawrūz-i xārā, ḵiṣār, nawrūz-i bayātī, nahuft, ʿuzzāl, awj, nayrīz, burqa', rakh, ṣabā, humāyūn, nahāwand, zāwulī, bastah-nigār, rūy-i ʿirāq, xūzī, muḥayyir
The second discourse: On the science of the rhythmic cycles (\textit{iqd})

Chapter on the introductory explanation to the discussions on \textit{iqd}

Chapter on the explication of cyclic \textit{iqd} that are common among the practicing musicians

Chapter regarding the instructions on the way of derivation of the melodies from the different parts of a string

This chapter is among the most interesting chapters of the treatise, because in this chapter the author partly explains (\textit{ibid.}: 124) how to write down music. However, his explanation is very concise and it is difficult to understand his system of writing down music.

Chapter regarding the different kinds of music pieces

The whole part (\textit{ibid.}: 125 f.) is as follows:
You should know that the melody [here musical piece/form] is of two types: the measured and the unmeasured. But the measured musical piece is such that it is on a cycle of the iqā'ic (rhythmic) cycles and the unmeasured is contrary to that and it is named nawāxt. But the measured musical pieces which are famous are seventeen: 1. pišraw; 2. ṣawt; 3. naqš; 4. ‘amal; 5. basīṯ; 6. qawl; 7. ḡazal; 8. qawl-i murašṣa’; 9. kull al-nağam; 10. kull al-zurūb; 11. kulliyat; 12. nawbat; 13. tarānah; 14. furūdaš; 15. mustazād; 16. rīxtah; 17. našīd-i `arab.

Regarding pišraw, it is a musical piece/form that does not have verses [i.e. it is an instrumental musical form]. It has buyūt [sections; the word literally means houses] at least three [sections] and a maximum at the composer’s will, but at the end of each buyūt a šakl (figure?) should be repeated and that šakl is called sarband and it is composed on the light rhythmic cycles (baḥr-hā). Sāwt is a piece of music that has verses, and it has a repeated xānah (section) which some people have called it ḥawāyī. The ‘amal is a musical piece/form based on verses. It consists of two sar-xānahs, a miyān-xānah and a bāzgūy (repetition?). The naqš is similar to the ṣawt, their differences beging that naqš is [stylistically] more elegant in contrast to ṣawt and it happens that two miyān-xānahs (interludes, intermezzi) and a bāzgūy (repetition) are composed for it. The basīṯ is [a musical piece/form] that has two sar-xānahs (introductions?) without bāzgūy (repetition). The qawl is [a musical piece/form] that has two sar-xānahs (introductions?) and a bāzgūy (repetition) without miyān-xānah (interlude, intermezzo) based on Arabic verses. The ḡazal is similar to qawl based on Persian verses. The qawl-i murašṣa’ is [a musical piece/form] that is based on Persian and Arabic verses. The kull al-nağam is [a musical piece/form] that contains the sum of all the famous modes based on the seventeen notes. The kull al-zurūb is [a musical piece/form] that consists of all the famous rhythmic cycles. The kulliyat consists of the collection of all modes [jamī'-i jamī'-hā] and all rhythmic cycles. The nawbat consists of four pieces: first, qawl; second, ḡazal; the third which is, of course, composed on the poetical metre of the rubā‘ī (quatrain) and [it is] the tarānah; and the fourth [is] furūdaš. Master `Abd al-Qādir, spirit of God is his spirit, has added another piece and named it mustazād, for according to him the nawbat consists of five pieces. The rīxtah is indeed a pišraw based on prose, and if it is verified, the [composer’s] aim is to make fun and joke of something of

103 It is not clear what are the differences between various denominations for the repetition, i.e. bāzgūy, tašīy ‘ah, bāzgašt, in music during the 15th century. On one hand, it is suggested that there are probably different types of repetitions during this period. On the other hand, it is possible that all these terms mean the same thing and they are just different denomination of one phenomenon in music, i.e. the repetition.
somebody and not the verse itself. The Arabic našīd is composed in such a way that its verses are not on any cycle of the iqā’īk (rhythmic) cycles. As for its tarānahs [?], it is on one of the [rhythmic] cycles.

In comparison with previous treatises and especially with those of ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ḥaybī al-Ḫāfiz al-Marāḡī, the work covers fewer musical theoretical fields, and consequently, deals with fewer topics. And already topics such as musical instruments, the names of famous musicians and virtuosos, which were very popular among theorists of the second half of the 14th century and first half of 15th century, in this treatise, have vanished. However, the topic musical form (aqsām-i laḥn) still forms a chapter/part of the work.

*Risālah-i mūsīqī* by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī

The next work to be written in the 15th century is a *risālah* (treatise) on music by Nūr al-Ḍīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, the celebrated Persian poet and Sufi.

The author was born in Xarjird near Harāt in 817/1414. He spent almost his entire life in Harāt and died there in 898/1492. He began as a follower of the Naqṣbandī Sufi order, and later became a leader of that Sufi order. He is famous, however, as a poet rather than Sufi leader, and his literary influence is remarkable on both Persian and Turkish literature (for further information see Gibb, 1900). As pointed out earlier, his death is generally placed as the beginning of the decline of classic Persian (Darī) literature. In addition to his celebrated poems, Jāmī has written a number of prose works, among others Naẓḥāt al-uns, Bahārīstān, Tahqīq-i mażhab-i sūfiyyān and his *Risālah-i mūsīqī* (treatise on music).

The treatise was written, according to Munzawī (1348-1351 H.Š./1969-1972: 3909), in 890/1485. It begins with a preface, which contains a rubā‘īyyah (quatrain) and a tamhīd (prolepsis), and continues with a fasāl (chapter) on the impact of melodies and rhythm on the soul, and on the pleasures that music gives audiences. The main part of the treatise according to the Ms in T-Is (no. 4044) is divided into two main fasāls (chapters) and a number of sub-chapter (fasāls):

**Chapter one: On the science of composition**

In the first main chapter or section, which is in turn divided into some fasāls (sub-chapters), Jāmī deals with the subject of composition (ta‘līf), i.e. tones, intervals, the twelve main modes maqāmāt, the six secondary modes (āwāzār) and the twenty-four sub-modes (šu‘abs), and the derivation of them from ‘üd.
Chapter [two: On rhythm]

In this chapter the author deals with the rhythmic element and different types of cycles of rhythm (iğā'), i.e. muwaṣṣal and muffaṣṣal, and some famous cycles.

In comparison with other treatises on music written during the century the work is concise and short and covers limited musical fields. However, it confirms the appearance of a new type of writer concerning treatises on music theory, namely poets or poet-musicians. Further, it seems that the Sufis had also become writers of theoretical treatises on music. (For further information see “Summary and conclusions”).

Maqāsid al-adwār by Maḥmūd b. ‘Abd al-‘Zīz b. Xʷājah ‘Abd al-Qādīr b. Ḡaybī al-Ḥāfīz al-Marāḡī

The second treatise that was written in the Ottoman realm is the next treatise that will be treated here. The work was given the heading Maqāsid al-adwār (Purports of modes) and was probably written towards the close of the 15th century by the grandson of ‘Abd al-Qādīr, Maḥmūd (Farmer EI, s.v. ‘Abd al-Qādīr b. Ḡaybī; Munzawī (1348-1351 H./1969-1972: 3906). Nevertheless, Shiloah (1979: 174) introduces the treatise with the heading Muxtaṣar fi ‘ilm al-mūṣiqī, writing that it is one of Ibn Ḡaybī’s (‘Abd al-Qādīr al-Marāḡī’s) works. Tarbiyat (1314 H./1935: 254), for his part, states that the treatise was written by the son of ‘Abd al-Qādīr al-Marāḡī, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān. It was dedicated to the Ottoman Sultān, Bāyazīd b. Mūhammad (1448 or 1453-1512). We know very little about Maḥmūd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Qādīr Marāḡī. His father was employed as a musician at the court of Sultān Mūhammad II (d. 1481), and presumably his son took over his father’s position as a court musician.

The treatise is divided into an introduction and eight chapters. The first chapter is on the definition of the note (naqmah), interval (bu’d), melody system (ja’m), the definition of the term mūṣiqī (music), and the purpose of music. The second chapter concerns sound and causes of acuity and gravity. The third chapter deals with repetition of the frets on the strings and the causes of dissonances (mutināfīr). In the fourth chapter the author deals with intervals (ab’ād), and in relation to intervals, the instruments of two, three and four strings, and genres (ajnās). The fifth chapter concerns the common cycles of the twelve modes

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104 All information here on Maqāsid al-adwār is based on the information in Shiloah (1979: 174).
(maqāmāt), the sub-modes (šu‘ābāt). The sixth and seventh chapters are on the combination of different modes and the scales of transposition (šudūdāt) respectively. The last chapter concerns rhythm (iqā‘) and six rhythmic modes.

Mss of undated works copied during the 15th century

Two Mss of anonymous authors from this century have also come down to us. They are as follows:

**Bayān-i qaṭa‘āt-i čīnī**

The first undated work is a one-page treatise with the heading Bayān-i qaṭa‘āt-i čīnī (The explanation of Chinese [metal] pieces [or rather bars]). There are three Mss of the work which have survived and come down to us. The oldest one, which is in IR-Tm with No. 832, was copied in 837/1433 (Dáníšpažūd 1349/ H.S./1969-1972: 3921). Munzawī (ibid.: 3898) introduces a treatise with the heading Sāz-i čīnī (Chinese instrument), mentioning that the author of the work is al-Marāḡī. It is probable that this treatise and Bayān-i qaṭa‘āt-i čīnī are the same. This interesting work is about the construction of the percussion instrument, Chinese metal bars.

**Dar asāmī-dawāzdaḥ maqām**

The second work is also a very short and concise treatise with the heading Dar asāmī-dawāzdaḥ maqām (On the names of the twelve modes). The only extant Ms of the work, which is in IR-Tss, with no. 565 (ff. 122a – 123a), has many mistakes and the list is confusing and, therefore, unreliable. However, there are some pieces of information regarding the ṭarkibāt (combinations) in this treatise that are interesting, if they are correct. Parts of the treatise (al-Marāḡī 1370 H.S./1991: 38 f.) are as follows:

105 The number of the šu‘ābāt (auxiliary modes) were twenty-four, while in this treatise the author has presented only twenty-three of them. In addition, there are differences between the names of šu‘ābāt in this work and other works written in Persian-speaking areas which can indicate the differences in the musical systems of these regions. However, it should be pointed out that there were disunity regarding the šu‘ābāt (auxiliary modes) among the music theorists of that time.


Concerning the tarkhāt (combinations): bastah-nikār [bastah-nigār]; nayrīz; banjkāh [panjgāh]; isfihānak; zīlkaš [zīrkaš?]; sūrān; zīr-kašīdah; ‘ašīrān; nikār [nigār]; kardāniyāh [gardāniyāh]; bāsalik; muḥayyir; wajh-i-husaynī; qarčagā; ṭāy-i ‘irāq known as nahuft; sipīhr; husaynī-yi ‘ajam; ‘uzzāl; nahāwand; humāyūn; bahr-i-nāzuk; ħiṣār; hizāż-i turkī; hijāż-i buzurk [buzurg]; muχālfak; hijāż-i muχālf; rāḥat al-arwāḥ; nawā; ‘aʃīrān; ‘irāq-i mahāy; zāwul; mubarqa’; zamzam; nawrūz-i rūy; rakh-i nawrūz; zirafkhan; sāzkār; nahāwand; rūy-i ħiṣār; awj-i rāst; māyah-i nawrūz-i ‘ajam; sabz-andar-sabz; nišāwūrak [nišābūrak?]; ‘irāq-i ‘ajam; hijāż-i ‘ajam; sikāh [sigāh]; māyah, ‘uššāq-i māyah; nikarnik [nigarnik], ‘uzzāl-i ‘ajam.

In the above-mentioned list the name nawā is mentioned first among the twelve main modes (maqāms) and then also among the combinations. In addition, the combinations nahāwand and ‘ašīrān are mentioned twice. The list, therefore, is confusing and to some extent unreliable.
Chapter 7
Summary, conclusions and periodization

Summary and conclusions

The rise of Persian musical literature as a part of Persian learned literature was a result of the political and cultural decentralization of the Abbasid Caliphate. According to the treatises, tracts and works that have been found, Persian writing on music took shape in the first half of the 11th century. In comparison with other genres of Persian learned literature, writing on music was, however, established fairly late. This perhaps indicates that the genre was not established in the Middle Persian literature and in the region where New Persian began to emerge, due to lack of interest in it. Like most other genres of learned literature in Persian, translation and abridgements of and commentaries (šarḥ) on Arabic works played a crucial role in the rise and establishment of Persian musical literature.

Before we go further we need a system of classification of the works presented in the six previous chapters in order to make it easier to understand the process of development of the genre. This system can be essentially based on the authors’ approaches to subjects. The types of subjects or texts and the literary forms, i.e. prose or verse/rhymed prose, can be other parameters in the classification of the genre.

As we have seen, the authors of this literary genre had different approaches to music. We can identify two main approaches, that is to say the religious approach and the non-religious approach.

As for the non-religious approach, we can, in my opinion, recognize and classify five types or categories of texts. They are theoretical texts, didactic texts, medical texts (both psychological and physical), texts in verse/rhymed prose and finally collections of songs. The theoretical texts are the most common type among these five types, while, in the four other categories very few works have been written during the time-frame of this study.

The religious approach is, in contrast to Arabic where it has a wider scope, confined entirely to the field of ‘samā’. Three main categories of texts are also distinguishable in this type of approach, that is to say factual prose texts, texts in verse/rhymed prose107 and collections of songs. The most

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107 Meskooob (1992: 106) points out that the employment of verse/rhymed prose presumably eased the memorization of the contents of the works.
frequent type of texts among these three categories is factual prose texts, whereas, according to our knowledge, in the two other types altogether less than five works are to be found.

It is clear that each of these different approaches and categories of texts respond to different demands of their times. However, two features bind them together as a literary genre:

1. they are on music;
2. they are essentially written for enlightening, educational and learning purposes.

Below, I am first going to summarize and draw conclusions from what has been presented in the six previous chapters, and then I will suggest a periodization of Persian writings on music in accordance with the classification and the conclusions.

The 11th century

During the first century of the development of the genre, the 11th century AD, a total of six works were written. Two of these works have the non-religious approach to music and four the religious. In addition, two translated works, which were presumably written during the 11th century, are also extant. The first one is Mujmal al-ḥikmah, which is a rendering and abridgement of Rasāʾil al-īxwān al-ṣafā, and the second one is a translation of Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥah. Interestingly enough, all these Persian works on music were written during a period when sweeping political, social, and cultural developments began to result in the disappearance of local Iranian dynasties and the establishment of Turkish dynasties in the Persian-speaking areas.108

The four surviving works of the non-religious approach (here I have also included Mujmal al-ḥikmah and Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥah among the works written during this century) represent three different categories of texts, namely the theoretical, the didactic, and the medical texts. They also exemplify two different traditions, i.e. the Greek tradition and a more native tradition. All these works form chapters or sections of larger works, namely of an encyclopaedia, of a pand-nāmah (book of counsels, [Rypka, 1968: 37]) and of a medical work.

The works that represent the music theoretical texts, the chapters on music in the Dāniš-nāmah and Mujmal al-ḥikmah, belong to a type of music theory that has been termed musica speculativa, which has its roots in Greek learned literature and the Greek philosophers’ approaches to music and music theory. These two works also outline two different Greek traditions;
the first one is the Aristotelian tradition, which is exemplified by Dāniš-
nāmah, and the second is the Neo-Platonic, which is represented by Mujmal
al-hikmah. The Aristotelian tradition that is presented in Dāniš-nāmah has a
more strictly scientific and descriptive character than the Neo-Platonic
tradition, which has been presented in Mujmal al-hikmah, and which
emphasized the “doctrine of ethos, cosmological speculation and
numerology” (Wright, EI, s.v. Mūšḵ). The chapter on music in Mujmal al-
hikmah is the only work in Persian which is entirely based on the Neo-
Platonic tradition and approach to music. These two trends are clearly seen
in definitions, explanations, and the choice of topics. For instance, the topics
of various intervals and tetrachords, on the one hand, are lacking in Mujmal
al-hikmah (even in the original Arabic work), whereas they are the most
significant topics in Dāniš-nāmah, shaping the main part of the section. On
the other hand, Dāniš-nāmah with its strictly scientific approach to music
theory avoids dealing with topics like the relation between the four strings of
the instrument barbat and the four body liquids (ṣafra [yellow bile], xān
[blood], sawdā [black bile], balgam [phlegm]) or the moral and medical
effects of music on people.

The most important topics that are dealt with in the theoretical texts of the
11th century are:

- the definition of the science of music and its scope (Dāniš-nāmah, Mu-
jmal al-hikmah);
- the definition of sound (theory of sound, classification of sound, the cause
  of acuteness and gravity) (Dāniš-nāmah, Mujmal al-hikmah);
- the psychological impacts of music on people and animals (Mujmal al-
hikmah);
- the two main elements of music, i.e.
  - melody (note, interval, different types of intervals and tetrachords,
    combination of tones [composition]) (Dāniš-nāmah);
  - rhythm (definition of rhythm, the various species of rhythm, beat,
    rhythmic cycles [with the help of an onomatopoetic system])
    (Dāniš-nāmah, Mujmal al-hikmah [very concisely]);
- the most common musical instruments in connection with their tunings
  and frets (Dāniš-nāmah, Mujmal al-hikmah);
- the various types of melodic and rhythmic ornamentation of melody,
  (Dāniš-nāmah);
- the music of the spheres (Mujmal al-hikmah).

It should be borne in mind that the two written works on music theory are
translations and summaries of Arabic works and, in comparison with Arabic

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109 The treatment of rhythm in Mujmal al-hikmah is generally based on the ‘arāz (the Arabic
poetic metrics).
works like al-Fārābī’s Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr or the section on music in Ibn Sīnā’s al-Šifṭ ‘or Rasā’il al-ixwān al-ṣafā, they are entirely colourless. The works, however, clearly display the theoretical orientations, trends and discussions of their time, a time when music theory was not an independent subject but a part of the science of mathematics and philosophy, and therefore the concern of scientists, philosophers and mathematicians and not musicians.

According to our knowledge of Pre-Islamic times, in this case the Sasanian period, music was not dealt with in any didactic work (pand-nāmak or andarz-literature). The first and at the same time the last such work in Persian was written in the Islamic period and during the 11th century. The work is Qābūs-nāmah. It is a unique work in Persian musical literature. Furthermore, the chapter is the only work prior to the 13th century that deals with the practical aspect of music, containing very valuable and illuminating pieces of information concerning practical music customs of that time. The main topics that are treated in this chapter of the work, and thereby the topics that are found in the didactic texts of the 11th century, are,

- how a musician should behave;
- how a musician should chose particular modes for different occasions;
- what rhythmic and melodic modes are proper for different peoples with different colour of skin.

These topics were to be absorbed later in the theoretical treatises and works written during the 13th and 15th centuries, like Kanz al-tuhaf, and Jāmi’ al-alhān.

Significantly, the chapter on music of Qābūs-nāmah is the only work on music in Persian written prior to the 13th century and the rise of “the Systematist School” that mentions the names of the modes (pardahs). In this chapter is mentioned the names of ten modes most of which were to re-emerge in both Arabic and Persian works of the mid- and late 13th century. The names of modes which are mentioned in these works are either identical with Qābūs-nāmah, e.g. ɾāst, navā, ʿirāq, ʿuššāq, or with some modifications, e.g. sipāhān which is modified to isfāhān, or bādah to mādah. It perhaps hints that there is a concept of modes with somewhat clear structures in Xurāsān and in nearby provinces already during this period. It

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110 It should be remembered that this category, the didactic category, was established in Arabic in the 9th century, and a number of works were written on this category by Arabic authors. Among the earliest Arabic works on this category can be mentioned Kitāb al-tāj fi axlāq al-mulāk by (attributed to) al-Jāḥīz (b. 780 - d. 868) written during the reign of the Abbasid al-Mutawakkil (232/847-247/861), Kitāb adab al-nadīn in verse by Abū’l Fath Muhmūd b. al-Sindī al-Ma’rūf bi-Kuṣājim (d. 961 or 971) (for further information on these works see Shiloah 1979).
seems that these names and probably their structures gradually spread to
different parts of the region along with the Persian language itself.

Another unique work in Persian is the Persian translation of Taqwîm al-
sîhâh which is the only treatise that deals with the medical effects of music
during the period this dissertation studies. This type of texts, as well as
didactic texts, did not manage to establish themselves in Persian musical
literature even after this period. The most significant topics which are treated
in this work and thereby this category of texts are:

- the definition of music;
- the explanation of two musical elements, melody and rhythm;
- the medical uses of music;
- the five moods or simple psychological states (joy, sorrow, timidity, an-
  ger, fear) that music arouses;
- the benefits and disadvantages of vocal music, instrumental music, and
dance and rhythm for people of different ages, temperaments and natures
in connection with the climate of the cities these people live in and the
different seasons of the year;
- the opinions of famous Islamic and Greek philosophers and scientists on
  melody, rhythm, dance, the benefits of instrumental music and the psy-
  chological states of joy, sorrow, timidity, anger and fear.

To sum up what has been said about the non-religious approach and the
different categories of texts in which it occurs during the 11th century, it is
not musical practitioners who are the authors of the different categories of
this approach. This fact played a decisive role in the choice of topics. Thus,
it is not incorrect to state that the sections on music of Dânî-nâmâh and
Mujmal al-hîkmah diverge from the musical practice of their time. But it is
difficult to judge to what extent. On the other hand, Qâbus-nâmâh, which
was written by a non-musical practitioner but definitely a person with
somewhat good knowledge of the musical practice of his time, which is
reflected in the treatment of topics, has a firmer basis in the musical practice
of the period. Because of the fact that the author was not a practitioner of
music, it is also difficult, however, in this case to judge to what extent the
work is based on the musical practice of its time.

Writing on samâ’ began in Arabic in the 10th century as a response to
intensive attacks on samâ’ and the samâ’-sessions by orthodox religious
leaders who claimed that it was an innovation and contrary to Islamic law
and therefore unlawful (Pûrjâwâdî 1367 H.Š./1988: 18). It must be also
added that the growth of Sufism itself and its rituals and the spread of it to
different parts of the region is perhaps another reason for this development
which we witness during the 10th century. At any rate, writing on samâ’ was
established during this period through works by Abû Naṣr Sarrâj Tûsî, Abû
‘Abd al-Râhmân Šulamî and other Sufi authorities and leaders. Five frequent
topics of this early stage of the development of the writing on samā’ in Arabic were:

- the beauty of voice;
- the definition of samā’;
- different opinions of religious leaders and authorities about samā’;
- defence of samā’-sessions and its legality (through the Koran, Muhammad’s Traditions, the early Islamic leaders and authorities);
- different classes of listeners.

As regards the religious approach and the category of factual prose texts in Persian, in contrast to the theoretical category, at least one out of three works in this approach written during this period, i.e. Kašf al-mahjūb, shows more originality and the work is among the most celebrated Sufi works written in the region during this period (and even later). Nevertheless, the limited spread of Persian at that time left it unknown to Arab-speaking authors and readers.

The section on samā’ in Hujwīrī’s Kašf al-mahjūb indicates radical changes in the treatment of the subject samā’ and its topics during the second half of the 11th century. This section is a milestone regarding Persian writing on samā’ because of its originality of ideas and the treatment of a number of topics for the first time in this type of text in Persian. For instance, the topic “the rules of good conduct in samā’”, which later was to be the central and the most important topic in this category, “the conditional (religious) legality of dance in samā’-session” and “the rending of the garment” are treated separately and comprehensively for the first time in this work. Broadly speaking, to deal with these topics shows a move from a defensive attitude to a more offensive one. Yet, the four main topics of the section, to wit: “the beauty of voice”, “the definition of samā’”, “different opinions of religious leaders and authorities about samā’” and “defence of samā’ and its legality”, are based on earlier Arabic works, and therefore do not introduce new ideas.

Although Mustamli’s commentary on Kalābāzī’s Ta’arruf li-maţhab al-tasawwuf is less important in the development of the factual texts on samā’ in the region due to the fact that the work is based on an early Arabic work, it is significant for New Persian and Persian musical literature. It is the first treatise that deals with the subject samā’ in Persian which has been found. The author’s rejection of just translating the Arabic work suggests that he considers that the original work has to be adjusted to the new time and new tendencies.111 The change of the heading of the chapter from fi samā’ (concerning samā’) in the original Arabic work to qawlu-hum fi al-samā’ wa

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111 It seems that to comment on an earlier work was often an effective way of adjusting old ideas to a new phase in Persian.
ādāba-hu (“their [Sufis’] doctrine on samā’ and its rules”) (with a particular emphasis on rules of samā’ in the heading) reinforces the above-mentioned idea. However, because the work was on the threshold of the new phase of the treatment of subject samā’ and its topics in the region, it cannot show clearly the tendencies of the new era and stage of the development. Furthermore, the commentator partly failed to deal with the topic “the rules of samā’” which was to feature in works written during the coming era.

The first translation of the Risālah-i Qušayriyyah by Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad al-‘Uṯmānī, is of minor importance in the development of the category in Persian due to the fact that it is merely a translation, and not even a successful one, of an Arabic work which itself was not, in my opinion, a successful work regarding the treatment of the topics of the subject samā’. As has been noted, the translator omits paragraphs and sentences of the chapter, but we do not know for what purposes and aims he does so. One speculation, besides many others, is that the translator considers that a number of the stories and anecdotes in the original Arabic work are redundant and unnecessary, and by cutting them out he feels that he makes the work easier to read.

The importance of the field (maydān) of samā’ in Anṣārī’s Šad maydān does not lie in the treatment of the topics, but in the employment of rhymed prose (naṭr-i musajja’) in writing on samā’. We can consider the work as the first attempt to introduce the category of verse/rhymed prose texts in the genre.

It is of interest to note that, from the evidence of the surviving works, no treatise or tract was written on the banning of music, even though a number of tracts and treatises on this subject had already been written in Arabic during the 10th century, at a time when intensive discussions on the lawfulness or unlawfulness of music and samā’ was going on.

The locations of the composition of the works are also interesting. The first Persian work on music, i.e. Dāniš-nāmah, was written in Isfahān in the central part of present-day Iran, one of the areas where Pārsī-yi Darī was, presumably, established relatively early. Nevertheless, the Kākūyids, who ruled over this part of the region at that time, did not have Pārsī-yi Darī as their mother tongue but the Šabār, which was the language spoken by the people who lived on the shore of the Caspian Sea. According to Nuzhat-nāmah-i ‘Alā’ī by Šahmardān b. Abī al-Xayr, ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah, for whom the work was written, was not satisfied with Dāniš-nāmah, thinking that it was too difficult to understand (Muhīṯ-Ṭabāṯābāẏī 1359 H.Š./1980: 125). The reason for ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah’s dissatisfaction was probably that he spoke

112 I am saying an unsuccessful work because of the author’s unsystematic and fragmentary treatment of the topics in the chapter on samā’.

113 This category was to establish itself in the genre five centuries later during the Šafawid period.
Ṭabarī and had Tabarī as his mother tongue and was therefore to some extent unfamiliar with Pārsī-yi Darī, which was the language that Ibn Sinā and Jüzjānī had brought with them to his court (ibid.). However, this linguistic circumstance changed rapidly, and forty years later, one of these rulers who did not have Persian as his mother tongue but, like ‘Alī al-Dawlāh, spoke Tabarī, i.e. ‘Unṣūr al-Ma‘ālī Kaykāwūs, wrote a book in Darī or Pārsī-yi Darī. Furthermore, thanks to the Ġaznavīds, Persian also began to spread rapidly to the east. The place of composition of the Kašf al-mahjūb, which is Lahore, is an example of this development. The other three works, viz. Ṣad maydān by Anṣārī, the translation and commentary on Kitāb al-ta‘arruf li-ma‘āzhab ahl al-taṣawwuf; and the first translation of al-Risālah al-Qušayriyyah, were written in the area that has been known as the cradle of New Persian (Darī). It should be remembered that it was during this period that the province of Xurāsān began to lose its central role in the development of Persian and thereby Persian literature.

It should be borne in mind that the 11th century was still the epoch of the dominance of the Arabic language, and that Persian would only be able to challenge Arabic first two centuries later.

The 12th century

As concerns the 12th century, four works about whose dates of composition we are sure have been found. The two approaches employed in these works are the non-religious and religious which are present in two categories of texts, i.e. theoretical and factual prose texts respectively.

Regarding the non-religious approach and music theoretical category, only one work from this century has survived. It is the section on “the science of music” in Ḥadā‘iq al-anwār by Faxr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. The work is a continuation of the encyclopedic tradition that was established by Ibn Sinā-Jüzjānī and Mujmal al-hikmah in Persian. It shows, therefore, strong influence from the approach to music of the Greek and early Islamic scholars and philosophers, and is generally based on the Aristotelian tradition of Greek writing on music theory. In a comparison with the Daniš-nāmah, the author of Ḥadā‘iq al-anwār deals, however, with topics that are less strictly scientific and objective. For instance, the eighth principle of the section where the author deals concisely with different types of melodies or songs and their suitability for particular psychological conditions or the last principle of the section, which is on the invention of the first instrument by Pythagoras, clearly display this tendency in the work. It is interesting to point out that the author did not mention anything about rhythm, and he failed to deal with that topic, which was one of two main topics that almost all music theoretical treatises and tracts had hitherto treated. We do not know why Rāzī did not deal with rhythm. Nevertheless, the principles on the intervals (5-7) shape the most important part of the section. These principles
are based on the Ibn al-Zaylā’s theory of the intervals (Pūrjavādī, [Faxr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, 1372 H.Š./1993]). The significance of the section lies in the fact that it is the first original Persian work on music theory which is not a commentary or a translation of an Arabic work.

It is of interest to note that no Persian work on music theory was written in the territories that were ruled directly by the Ƥaznawīs or Saljuqs, the dynasties that dominated the political scene of most of the Persian-speaking area during the 11th and 12th centuries, and it seems that they showed no interest in this type of texts in Persian, while writing on music theory in Persian was the interest of local dynasties.114 However, the situation changed during the period of the Ƥwārzm-Šāhs and, as we have seen, the only work about whose date of composition we are sure, i.e. Hādīq al-anwār, was written for ‘Alī al-Dīn Ƥwārzm-Šāh Muḥammad b. Takaš. During the 12th century, the interest in music theory, and accordingly its development, remained broadly the concern of the court, and it is still philosophers and scientists who are the authors of the works on music theory.

During the 12th century, the religious approach and the subject samā’ and factual prose texts still continued to dominate the Persian writings on music, and of the four surviving works from this century, three belong to this approach and this category of texts, which was actually the most frequently treated type of texts of writing on music both in Persian and Arabic during the 12th century.

It is true that the section on samā’ of Kīmiyā-yi sa’ādat is nothing more than a rendering and abridgement of Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn, but it is still an important work in Persian due to the fact that it was translated and summarized by the author himself who was one of the most prominent theologians of his time not only in Persian-speaking areas but also in the whole region.115 He is the first Persian theologian to write on music, or rather on samā’, in Persian. Kīmiyā-yi sa’ādat also displays the growing importance of Persian among theologians who had hardly considered Persian a “proper language”. In comparison with earlier works written on samā’ during the century, Gazālī’s treatment of topics is more systematic and methodical, showing a definite improvement in dealing with the category.

114 It should be noted that a decrease in the production of scientific treatises and works took place after the seizure of power by particularly the Saljuqs, and these two dynasties did not generally show any interest in scientific and encyclopaedic writings.

115 Gazālī is considered to be an Islamic theologian rather than a Sufi writer, although he played a very significant role in the development of Sufism. Bertel’s (1960: 525) emphasises that Gazālī was not a Sufi, writing:

Though during the years of study in Nayšābūr he was also connected with local Sufi circles, he was not at all a Sufi, and as he says, his interests were directed mainly to the subtleties of Aš’ārīan theology – scholasticism.
‘Abbādī is the second celebrated theologian to write on samā’ in Persian. His work, in comparison with that of Gazālī, is, however, less systematic and methodical. All the same, this work shows the general tendency during the century and indicates the increased significance of New Persian as an appropriate language for religious usage and purposes. It also displays a second important tendency regarding the factual prose texts during the century namely, the arrival of a new type of writer, i.e. theologians, on the scene. This development had a decisive effect in the religious legalization of samā’ in the region.

In conclusion, one would have expected that, regardless of their approaches, the number of works written on music in the 12th century would have increased, especially in view of the spread of Persian in the region. But as we have seen, in this century only four works survived whose dates of composition we are sure about. If this decrease had been confined to the Persian-speaking areas, we would have been cautious in our conclusions, but we also witness the same tendency regarding Arabic writing on music.116 It, therefore, suggests that the 12th century there followed was, generally, a period of stagnation concerning the production of this literary genre not only in Persian-speaking areas but also in the whole region. Two possible explanations for this decrease in production can be, 1) lack of support and interest concerning this literary genre from especially the courts and higher social classes and 2) the political and social unrest, which profoundly and negatively affected intellectual activities in the region.

The 13th century

With the invasion of the Mongols, major political, economic, social, cultural, religious and literary changes began to take place in the region during the 13th century. Under the first assault by the Mongols the area that is considered to be the cradle of Persian language and literature, i.e. Xurāsān, was badly affected. The shift of the cultural and literary centre from the northeast to the central and south-western parts of the Persian-speaking areas, i.e. the central part of present-day Iran had, however, already begun during the 12th century. The second assault, which resulted in the conquest of Baghdad and the fall of the Abbasids, interrupted cultural and literary development for a short time. With the fall of Baghdad, Arabic also lost its importance as the lingua franca among scholars in the region, and Persian began in part to replace it. Towards the end of the 13th century cultural and literary activities were accelerated and intensified once again.

116 According to Farmer (1940: 43-45) a total of 11 works were written during the 12th century, while during the previous century, i.e. the 11th century, the number of written works on music is 18. However, Shiloah (1979: 14) mentions the number of works written during the 11th century as nineteen and during the 12th century also nineteen. It must also be pointed out that there is obscurity in both catalogues regarding the dating of the composition of the works.
A total of eight works on music for which we are sure about the dates of
composition were written during the century. Furthermore, a work which
was presumably written at the beginning of the 13th century, that is to say
Najm al-Dīn Kubrā’s Ādāb al-ṣūfiyyah, and a very interesting Ms of a
Persian work on music theory, i.e. Nayšabūrī’s treatise on music, have also
come down to us. The three categories of texts represented by these extant
works are the categories of the theory of music, factual prose and
verse/rhymed prose.

Concerning the non-religious approach, three works on music theory were
written, of which the most significant one is the section on music in al-
Ṣarāfī’s encyclopaedia, Durrat al-tāj. This work manifests two crucial
developments that took place during the second half of the 13th century:
1) the fusion of the musical practice of that time with speculative approaches to
music theory (see also below); 2) the establishment of writings on the theory
of music as a musico-literary activity. One important result of the above-
mentioned developments was a more comprehensive and detailed treatment
of music theory and its topics by authors. If we compare the topics treated in
three earlier works on music theory, viz. Dāniš-namah, Mujmal al-hikmah
and Ḥadā‘iq al-ansārī with those of Durrat al-tāj, we can clearly see this development.

As for the fusion, we can, as has been pointed out above, distinguish
between two main sources in this fusion: firstly, the earlier speculative
approach to the theory of music, which was established by al-Sarāxṣī, al-
Kindī, al-Fārābī and Ibn Sinā in Arabic and Ibn Sinā-Jūzjānī in Persian and
which was generally developed in Baghdad and nearby provinces, and
secondly, the musical practice of that time. It will not be fallacious to state
that the foremost source of the musical practice in this fusion was the
musical practice of the province of Xūrūsīn (and its modal system) which as
it spread, adopted and assimilated other musical practices of the region. 117
One fact that leads us to this conclusion is the appearance of fanciful names
of Persian modes (pardahs), which were mentioned in Qābūs-nāmah 200
years earlier, in both Arabic and Persian works on music theory written after
1250. 118 Doubtlessly, the Arabic tradition of musical practice, particularly

117 Like the New Persian language itself.
118 However, it was in al-Ṣīfā’ by Ibn Sinā that for the first time in an Arabic work on music
time the names of the four modes are mentioned. These four modes are salmākī, mustaqīm
(Arabic translation of rāst), ippāhan and navā. Three of these modes were mentioned in
Qābūs-nāmah. Nevertheless, the number of modes mentioned in Qābūs-nāmah is ten, and the
names of two other modes are lacking in the chapter on music. It is probable that the mode
salmākī is one of the two modes that have not been mentioned in Qābūs-nāmah. It should also
be remembered that it was not the first time that the province Xūrūsīn, which was much wider
than the present province of Xūrūsīn in present-day Iran, contributed to the development of
the music of the region. For instance, al-Fārābī in his celebrated work Kūthār al-mūsīqī al-
kabīr based his theory of division of strings, which played a central role in his description of
intervals, on the instrument Ṭanbūr al-Xūrūsīn. The adoption of this instrument in connec-
rhythmetrical patterns or circles, are also adjusted and assimilated into the new system.

_Durrat al-tāj_ is the first Persian work on music theory to deal with the intervallic analysis of the modes in order to explain the modal system practiced during that period. The importance of _Durrat al-tāj_ also lies in the author’s critical approach to the modal system presented by al-Urmawī in _al-Adwār_ (for further information see Wright 1978). This critical approach puts the work in sharp contrast to earlier works in the same category, which are just shadows of the ideas that had been introduced in Arabic works (even a work such as _Ḥadā‘iq al-anvār fī ḥaqā‘iq al-asrār_). Consequently, the section on music in _Durrat al-tāj_ contributed to the enrichment of discussions on theory of music in the region. Hence, _Durrat al-tāj_ is the first Persian work of such importance that it was acknowledged beyond the Persian-speaking area. In other words, the work was the turning point regarding the role of Persian writings on music in the development of the music theory of the region, and indeed after this work the period of dominance of Persian writings on music theory in the region began.

The attention to and interest in writing down music increased towards the end of the 13th century, and it was from this period that a chapter in some treatises was devoted to that topic, and _Durrat al-tāj_ was, in fact, the first Persian music theory book that dealt with the topic “the recording melodies”. One reason for this interest and attention can be the composition of more complex musical pieces during that time. Munajjim mentions this new compositional trend among the composers and musicians of that time in a complaining tone (see chapter four). This trend contributed presumably to more individualization of the musical language of composers and musicians.

The shift from encyclopedism to specialization in writing on music theory in Arabic was brought about as early as during the first part of the 13th century by al-Urmawī’s two celebrated works, _i.e._ _Kitāb al-adwār_ and _Risālah al-Šarafiyah_, while in Persian still during this century works on music theory were written by philosophers and scientists who applied the encyclopedic tradition. It is presumably an explanation of al-Šīrāzī’s more speculative approach to the modal system than al-Urmawī’s, which was to be criticized by al-Marāḡī later. Nonetheless, _Durrat al-tāj_ is, in my judgment, the last successful work in the spirit of the encyclopedic tradition in the whole region. That is another important aspect of this work. After this work the role of encyclopedism in the development of music theory came to an end.

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119 The first attempt to write down music was made by al-Urmawī; however, he did not deal with writing down music as a topic in music theory.
It should be emphasized that the development of music theory, which took place during this century, was a result of changes in the musical practice of that time, and the newly-established Systematist School just adjusted theoretical approaches to those practical changes.

Among the two other works in music theory, Kāšānī’s treatise, “On the science of music” (Dar ‘ilm-i mūšiqī) is of major importance for the development of Persian writing on music from the point of view that it is among the first treatises, if not the first, that have been entirely devoted to music theory. The contribution of Kāšānī in the development of Persian writing on music is that through his treatise he aided the establishment of writing on music as an independent literary genre. From this century onwards, to write on music was recognized as an independent field of study in Persian learned literature. This development had a direct impact on the background of writers of this genre. (I shall return to this discussion later in this chapter).

Concerning Munajjim’s work Ašjār wa atmār, although the author’s approach to music theory was based on encyclopedism, his definitions and explanations differ in some respects from those of earlier works on the subject. The work was written almost 45 years later after al-Adwār and seven or eight years before Durrat al-tāj, but the author’s approach to modes diverges considerably from those of al-Urmawī’s and Šīrāzī’s, even in the most basic elements as the number and order of the main modes (pardahs). Judging from Munajjim’s approach, the structure of the modal system he introduces differs from that of al-Urmawī’s and Šīrāzī’s. For instance, he talks about seven main modes and later about seven secondary (far‘ī) modes derived from the seven main ones. It indicates the existence of other modal systems that are used in various parts of the region, beside a dominant modal system, during this period (and presumably even later). Nevertheless, the rhythmic system that Munajjim introduces in this chapter is, in general, similar to that of al-Urmawī. Interestingly, the work has pieces of practical information that are unusual in this type of work, e.g. the reason why music theory was popular during the period, how to accompany a female and a male singer and what instruments are the most pleasurable and suitable for different types of music.

As regards Nayšābūrī’s treatise, Dānišpažūh (Nayšābūrī 1344 H.Š./1965: 99) and Pūrjawādī (Nayšābūrī 1374 H.Š./1995: 36-40) state that it was written prior to 1124 and that it is the first Persian treatise to be wholly devoted to the theory of music. It seems that the author of the treatise had a very good knowledge of the musical practice of his time and was presumably a musical practitioner. The treatise however follows another pattern or approach to music theory that drastically and radically differs from the period that Dānišpažūh has suggested for the composition of the work. As we have seen, almost all works on the theory of music written prior to this work follow a clear pattern and treatment of certain topics, which almost
always begin with the definition of sound, acuteness and its gravity, definition of notes, melody, and at the end a definition and explanation of īqāʿ (rhythm or the rhythmic modes), whereas this treatise does not follow this pattern. Besides, the employment of the key term bān̄g that began to be used, according to works that have been found, first at the beginning of the 16th century, is very confusing. Another problem regarding the date of composition proposed by Dānišpažūh is that this is the only work written in this way and manner at this time, and no other work of this kind from the suggested century by Dānišpažūh has come down to us. Therefore, we have, in my judgment, reasons to doubt the date proposed by Dānišpažūh for the composition of the work. Even if we assume that the treatise was written one or two years before copying the extant Ms, which was copied in the 13th century, it is, to some extent, still an unusual work for its time in Persian writings on music in view of its totally practical based approach to music theory and the employment of the key term bān̄g. In any case, Nayšābūrī’s treatise, together with al-Šīrāzī’s Durrat al-tāj, is a milestone regarding writing on music theory in Persian. Another important aspect of the treatise is that it is written by a musical practitioner for people who want to learn to practice music. Indeed, it is the first Persian treatise written by a musician for musicians, which has come down to us. In other words, the treatise represents another tradition regarding writing on music that Shiloah (1979: 6) describes as a “written form of an oral course provided by the author for musicians and laymen”.

Briefly, the second half of the 13th century is one the most important periods in the development of writing on music theory in Persian. In the words of Wright (1978: 1),

The latter half of the thirteenth century constitutes one of the most important periods in the history of Arab and Persian musical theory. It witnessed the emergence of a corpus of theoretical writings that not only demonstrate a considerable degree of originality, but also provide the framework within which all the major theorists of the following two centuries were to operate.

This century is also very significant in the development of the religious approach to music and the subject samā’. During the century the only

120 In no other work prior to the end of the 15th century is the term bān̄g mentioned. This term was to be of central importance for the description of the modal system presented in the treatises written after the 15th century. Among the works which were written after the 15th century and which employed the term bān̄g can be mentioned Bihjat al-rūḥ by ‘Abd al-Mu’mīn b. Sa’īf al-Dīn, written some times during the 16th century, and a treatise on music probably by ‘Abd al-Rahmān Sayf Ğaznawī, written probably at the beginning of the 16th century. To this extent, in my opinion, we can date it among the work written much later than Dānišpažūh has suggested, but exactly when, I regard as a major question.
treatise that was entirely devoted to samā’, i.e. Risālah-i sīr-i samā’ by ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah Simnānī, was written. It suggests the increasing importance and interest in this subject. Furthermore, it suggests a tendency to more specialization of the treatment of the subject samā’ in Persian.

Although Xūrazmī’s translation of Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn, and Abū Manṣūr Māsāzāh’s translation of ‘Awārif al-ma‘ārif are merely renderings of two celebrated Arabic works, they have contributed to the establishment of the category and thereby Persian as a religious language in India. Another interesting and significant development which generally speaking began during the 13th century was the increased contribution of Indian-born authors in the development of Persian musical literature (I shall return to this discussion later in this chapter).

During the 13th century a new stage in the treatment of the topics of the factual prose texts takes shape. The authors from this period begin to deal with the rules and manner of samā’ as the main and central topic of their works, while topics like “the various opinions of religious leaders and authorities on samā’” and “the legality or illegality of samā’” lose their importance. As a result, these topics are often dealt with either in the last part of the section/chapter (e.g. Fī jawāz al-samā’ in Ḥadiqat al-haṣiqah) or very briefly and concisely or have disappeared from the works (Ādāb al-ṣūfiyyah, see also below).

Probably the most important contributor to the establishment of the new tendencies in the category is Najm al-Dīn Kubrā with his work Ādāb al-ṣūfiyyah. At first sight Najm al-Dīn Kubrā’s work seems too short and concise to have any crucial significance for the development of the factual prose texts. But closer consideration reveals that the author’s treatment of only one topic, i.e. “the rules of good conduct in samā’” (ādāb-i samā’) was revolutionary, and it was indeed a turning point regarding the treatment of the topics in this category in Persian (and even in the region). Interestingly, the author did not at all bother to defend samā’ and samā’-sessions even in a few words at the beginning of the chapter, which was, as mentioned, a feature in earlier stages of the development of the subject. Therefore, the chapter definitely suggests the beginning of a new phase of the development not only in Persian but also in the whole region regarding the writings on samā’.

After the section on samā’ in Ṣad maydān no attempt was made to apply either rhymed prose or verse to write a work in Persian musical literature until the second half of the 13th century and by Harawī in his Ḳanṣ al-rūmūz. After this work the authors began to apply this category more frequently and a number of poems on samā’ and even theory of music were to be composed during the coming centuries.

To sum up, we witness an increase in production (quantitative development) in this literary genre after a period of stagnancy during the 12th century. The increase was partly a result of the intensification of literary
activities after a period of decline and partly a result of support from the courts, aristocrats and other patrons from higher social classes.\(^{121}\) We can observe four characteristic tendencies during the century:

- the treatment of only one topic (\(\text{Adāb al-sūfiyyah}\));
- a more detailed and comprehensive treatment of the topics (\(\text{Durrat al-tāj}\));
- the first sign of the shift from encyclopedism towards specialization (Kāšānī’s treatise \(\text{Dar 'ilm-i mūsiqī}\));
- the establishment of the genre (musical literature) as an independent genre in Persian literature (\(\text{Dar 'ilm-i mūsiqī, Risālah-i sirr-i samā’}\)).

The 13th century was just a “prelude” to the coming century and the first Golden Age of Persian musical literature.

The 14th century

Despite the political and social unrest, which characterizes the 14th century, the cultural and literary activities not only continued but were also intensified thanks to support from the courts of different principalities in the region. Persian strengthened its dominance as a literary and scientific language in the region, and the production of Persian literature and scientific writings outside the present Persian-speaking areas, that is, in present-day Turkey, India and Pakistan, increased remarkably. Generally, we also note a considerable increase in the production of Persian writings on music in the whole region. The period between ca 1330 and 1380, when a large part of the Persian-speaking areas was ruled by different principalities who were eager patrons of art and culture, was the most productive period of this century.

Perhaps the most important work written on music theory during the 14th century is \(\text{Kanz al-tuhaf}\). This treatise has already drawn the attention of many specialists due to its comprehensive treatment of musical instruments and unique illustrations of them. However, this treatise deserves more attention. The work is one of the landmarks in Persian writing on music due to the fact that it is the first Persian treatise written by new categories of authors, that is to say musicians and musician-poets (I have not taken into account Nayšābūrī’s treatise because of the ambiguities concerning the date of composition of the work which were discussed earlier in this chapter). Moreover, this treatise is among the earliest works, if not the first work, that manifests the impact of Indian musical literature on Persian (I return to this discussion later). The treatment of new topics in the treatise is

\(^{121}\) It should be noted that during the 13th century, according to Shiloah (1979) and Farmer (1940), the number of Arabic works on music increased considerably too.
another significant aspect of the work. The two first discourses (maqālahs) in this treatise, which were written under the influence of the al-Urmawi and his theory concerning the systematization of the modes, are of minor importance. In these discourses almost all the theoretical discussions of music treated in al-Urmawi’s books were considerably simplified and summarized. However, the most interesting and significant parts of the treatise are the third and fourth discourses where new topics, i.e. “musical instruments” and “practical advice to music students”, are introduced (see also below). Moreover, Kanz al-tuhaf is the first work that returns to the tradition of Qābus-nāmah and the pre-Islamic tradition of pand-nāmah, in treating such topics as “how a musician should behave before audience”, “what a musician should play in different situations”. In other words, the work is the first surviving treatise on music theory in Persian that absorbs the didactic texts in texts on musical theory.

As noted above, Durrat al-tāj was the climax of encyclopedism in Persian writings on music theory, and after this work the tradition almost died out, and only one work worth mentioning was to be written in this tradition, namely Āmuli’s Nafā’is al-funūn fi ’arā’ is al-‘uyūn. Although the work is, generally, nothing but a concise version of Durrat al-tāj, in one aspect Āmuli’s work, nevertheless, diverges from that of Širāzī, namely in its treatment of the topic “musical instruments” which is lacking in Širāzī’s Durrat al-tāj. To treat this topic separately reflects the increased interest and importance of this topic during the 14th century.

Another significant development during the 14th century is that musica speculativa is adjusted more to musica practica in treatises on music theory. This trend is an outcome of the engagement of musical practitioners in writing on music theory and theoretical discussions. Some clear signs of this development, besides the discussions of modes and scales based on music practice, are the interest in instruments and other musical practical aspects of music in the works written during the 14th century. The discourses “on the construction of musical instruments and tuning them” and “on the advice that is useful for students of this art and in the mention of poems that are suitable for composition” in Kanz al-tuhaf, and the chapter “on musical instruments” in Nafā’is al-funūn, well exemplify this development.

One general tendency among 14th century’s Persian authors was, as mentioned above, the relatively comprehensive treatment of musical instruments in a distinct chapter. It is obvious that dealing with the instruments and particularly the classification of them was a necessity of that time, since there had been an increase in numbers of musical instruments adopted from China, India and Mongolia during the previous century. Presumably, dealing with this topic partly reflects the impact of Indian musical literature on the Persian one. According to our knowledge, the Sanskrit book Nātyaśāstra, is the oldest treatise in the world to deal with musical instruments comprehensively in connection with their constructions.
tunings, classification, etc. (for more information about the work see chapter one).\(^{122}\) And we know, during this period many works in Sanskrit, among them even musical treatises, were translated into Persian. These translated works provided a good basis for knowledge about Indian (Sanskrit) musical literature among Persian authors. These facts can support our above-stated hypothesis that the influence came partly from India and Indian musical literature to Persian. However, it should not be forgotten that at least in two early important Arabic works, \(i.e.\) Kitâb al-mûsîqî al-kabîr by al-Fârâbî and al-Šifâ‘ by Ibn Sinâ, the topic is treated comprehensively, and therefore we can add that the interest in the topic is also partly a resumption of a trend that was established three centuries earlier in Arabic but was abandoned until the 14\(^{th}\) century.

To write on “musical instruments” indicates probably that music itself, or to be exact instrumental music, had undergone changes, and that the role of instrumental music in music increased during the century. Some instrumental music forms, which were to be described in the musical treatises from 15\(^{th}\) century, \(e.g.\) zaxmah, pišraw, were possibly created during this period (see also below).

Another outcome of the intensification of the cultural exchange with the Indian sub-continent was an increase of production of Persian musical literature in India. It was during this century that the first Persian treatise on Indian music theory, \(i.e.\) Ğunyat al-munyat, was written. As has been pointed out, it was through this type of work that many Persian theorists and writers were to get in touch with Indian music and Indian music theory and thereby Indian musical literature.

Al-Urmawi‘s approach to modes (adwâr, maqâms) and sub-modes (šu‘bahs) and his new modal system had aroused many discussions among music theorists and musicians already during the 13\(^{th}\) century. One result of these discussions was that the names of the modes, secondary modes and sub-modes and their grouping became a subject of interest among the writers of music treatises, and a number of very short works (often one or two pages, and often in verses but also in prose), in which the authors grouped and listed the names of modes and sub-modes, came into existence from the 14\(^{th}\) century onwards.\(^{123}\) The first work of this type is a Qaṣîdâh by an anonymous poet in 45 verses, which belongs to the verse/rhymed prose category.

\(^{122}\) This work had a crucial role in the establishment and development of Indian musical literature and was presumably the most referred to work and celebrated work on music in India.

\(^{123}\) The importance of grouping modes shows itself in Iranian art (classic) music in the form of different radîfs (order, grouping of dastgâhs and their gûsâhs) by different musical authorities. It seems that this difference in opinions on grouping the modes decreased in Iran during the 19\(^{th}\) century through the dominance of Mîrzâ ‘Abdallâh’s radîf. We can, however, still see differences in grouping and order of gûsâhs in Mîrzâ ‘Abdallâh’s radîf which are taught by Iranian musicians today.
Furthermore, as a consequence of the intensive discussions on al-Urmawi’s treatise, al-Adwâr, and his theory, a new type of treatise of theoretical texts on music, which were called šarḥ (commentary), began to develop during the 14th century. According to the treatises and works that have come down to us, writing šarḥ within this category of texts began during this century with one of the most important Persian commentaries on al-Adwâr (Mašhûn, 1373 H./1994, vol. 1, p. 185), that is to say ‘Imâd al-Dîn Yahyâ b. Aḥmad Kâšî’s Kitâb al-Adwâr and continued with  Khálaṣât al-afkâr fî ma’rifat al-advâr by  Śîhâb al-Dîn ‘Abdallâh  Şayrâfî and al-Samaqandî’s Kitâb al-Adwâr.

This century was a notably productive and creative period as regards the religious approach, and a number of prominent treatises on samâ’ were written in Persian. Probably the most significant treatise written on samâ’ during this period is, in my judgment, the section on samâ’ of Bázarzâd’s  Āvrâd al-ahbâb wa fuṣūs al-ādâb, in which the author deals with almost all aspects of the subject. For instance, there are separate chapters on such topics as “the rules governing what garments should be put on in samâ’”, “the explanation of crying in samâ’”, “the definition of terms used in samâ’” by musicians (qawwâls)”. Dealing with these topics shows clearly a further development of the treatment of the factual prose texts. This work is in fact the most comprehensive work on samâ’ in Persian, and it can be regarded as an encyclopaedic work on the subject samâ’.

Another important work written during the period is the chapter on samâ’ in Miṣbâh al-hidâyat wa miftâh al-kifâyat by Kâshâni. This work is the most quoted Persian work regarding samâ’. Even though the work is based on Suhrawardî’s  ‘Awârif al-ma’ârif, the chapter on samâ’ from the point of view of contents, form and treatment of topics diverges remarkably from that of Suhrawardî, which has made Miṣbâh al-hidâyat wa miftâh al-kifâyat a relatively good representative of the tendencies of its time. For example, while some of the topics that were central in the earlier periods of the development such as “the opinion of the religious leaders on samâ’”, “the legality or illegality of samâ’” were treated very briefly in the work, the topic “the rules of good conduct in samâ’” was treated comprehensively.

The subject samâ’ and the factual prose became so important and popular that even in a biographical work like The Firaydûn b. Ahmad Sipahsâlîr’s treatise on Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Mawlawî’s biography (Risâlah-i Firaydûn b. Ahmad Sipahsâlîr dar āhvâl-i Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Mawlawî) or an encyclopedic work like Nafâ’î’s al-funûn, a whole chapter was devoted to the subject. The chapter on samâ’ in the last mentioned work is, however, a summarizing and rewriting of Kâshâni’s work Miṣbâh al-hidâyat wa miftâh al-kifâyat. It should be pointed out that Nafâ’î’s al-funûn is the only encyclopaedia in Persian that deals with the subject samâ’ prior to the 16th century.

208
The newly-established category in both approaches of the genre, the verse/rhymed prose category, was further developed through the two works, *i.e.* a *gašīdah* by an anonymous poet and *Faqīh Kirmānī*’s *maṯnawi*.

With the collection of songs of the *Mawlawiyyah* path (*taʿrīqah*) another new category of the religious approach, *i.e.* the collections of songs, was also established. The work is the first and only work in this type of text of the religious approach.

Briefly, according to the works that have come down to us, the 14th century shows the following tendencies:

- an increase in the production of musical literature, particularly with non-religious approach; 124
- the musical and musical literary exchanges with India and China intensified;
- as a result, particularly Indian and Persian musical literature affected each other to a much larger extent than the previous century;
- the categories of the authors began to change and new types of authors, *e.g.* musician-poets, musicians, music theorists and Sufi-poets, began to participate more and more in the composition and writing of works in the genre;
- the theoretical works on music reflect more the musical practice of their time;
- commentary (*šarḥ*) writing theoretical treatises on music was established;
- the new category of texts “collections of songs” in the religious approach was formed and established;
- the last period of the development of writing on the subject *samāʿ* came to an end towards the close of the century,125
- new topics began to be treated in the both approaches of the genre.

All these developments suggest that the first Golden Age of Persian writing on music begins with the 14th century.

**The 15th century**

Under the patronage of the Timurid court the development of court art accelerated at the beginning of the 15th century. It was during the first half of this century that the most important Persian treatises hitherto on music

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124 During the 14th century as many works were written as throughout the whole of the 12th and 13th centuries together.
125 After this century, which was one of the most important periods for the development of the non-religious approach and its different categories in the region when some of the most celebrated works on *samāʿ* were written, the production in this class of approach almost totally stopped, and it seems that it was to hibernate until the middle of the 16th century when once again the discussions on the legality and illegality of *samāʿ* and music were to reawaken.
theory were written, and despite the dominance of just one musician and music theorist, namely ‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâqî, the first three decades of the century represent the climax of the development that began with al-Šîrâzî’s *Durrat al-tâj* on music theory.

If the 10th century was the epoch of al-Fârâbî, and the 13th century the epoch of al-Urmawî and consequently the epoch of Arabic writing on music, the 15th century is undoubtedly the epoch of al-Marâqî and Persian writing on the theory of music. Nevertheless, this century indeed marks the end of an epoch concerning writing on music theory (see also below). During this century the Greek-Islamic speculative, scientific and mathematically based tradition, which was developed by al-Kindî, al-Fârâbî and later al-Urmawî, came to an end. With the beginning of the 16th century this approach to music, which mainly focuses on topics such as intervals and the derivation of intervals from strings of string instruments like *barbat* and *‘ud*, almost vanished, and was replaced by a less speculative approach which produced works that were easy to understand, e.g. by employing anecdotes, poems and *tasnîfs*.126

During the previous centuries the main groups of authors of treatises and tracts on the theory of music consisted of scientists, encyclopedists, philosophers, like al-Râzî, al-Šîrâzî, Âmulî, whereas in the 15th century, in particular, we witness a striking change in this regard, namely that musicians and poet-musicians have totally taken over this literary activity and have become the only classes of authors of theoretical treatises on music. It was, to some extent, a result of the change in attitude towards music and writing on music, in which music theory was no longer considered to be a part of “the science of mathematics” but a musico-literary activity. After the 15th century and as a consequence of the changes and developments during the period, the *musica practica* approach was to be the dominant approach to music theory, while the *musica speculativa* was to die out completely. We can already see such tendencies in the treatises and tracts written during the 15th century.

Among the new topics that came to be more focused on by music theorists and writers during the 15th century can be mentioned:

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126 A comparison between the topics treated in the treatises written prior to the 16th century and after it will show this change of thinking about music theory. The first two treatises with such a new way of writing on music theory in Persian are *Bihjat al-râh* (in some Mss with the heading *Bihjat al-arwâh*) by a certain ‘Abd al-Mu’mín Şâfi al-Dîn and a treatise on music (*Risâlah-i mäşîq*) that is attributed to ‘Abd al-Rahmân Sayf al-Dîn Ǧaznawî. The use of popular folk elements in other genres of art can also be seen in poetry and painting. (For further information see Morrison [Shaft’s Kadkan’s article] 1981; Canby 1999; Savory 1980; Şamsî 1362 H.Š./1983). This development in musical literature was, partly, a result of the engagement of poet-musicians and musicians in the writing of musical theoretical treatises. This different way of writing on the theory of music has often been interpreted as the decline of scientific writing on music in Persian by most scholars, among others Farmer (1940: 9), Bîniş (1376 H.Š./1997: 56), Farhat (1989: 5).
the musical forms [Jāmī‘ al-alhān, Šarḥ al-Adwār, Maqāṣid al-alhān, Mi‘mār’s treatise on music];

- practical instructions for performing music [Jāmī‘ al-alhān, Šarḥ al-Adwār, Maqāṣid al-alhān];
- different instrumental and vocal techniques [Šarḥ al-Adwār];
- the names and short memoirs of the most celebrated music theorists and musicians (Šarḥ al-Adwār).

As was mentioned above, interest in musical form was enhanced, and almost all significant treatises written during the century have a chapter on that topic. The interest in form in music theoretical treatises can, in my opinion, be a result of developing a more practically oriented music theory. Moreover, it was, probably, a result of a strong demand among musicians of that time for a clearer structure in music. This development can also be a result of an increased diversification between instrumental and vocal forms during this period. At any rate, the establishment of form as a significant musical parameter in this category took place during this century.

Towards the end of the 15th century interest in the topic “musical instruments” declined considerably. This tendency was to show itself distinctly in treatises written in the 16th century, in which this topic almost vanished. We can already observe this development in the works written during the second half of the century and in the works of Mi‘mār and Jāmī. These works hardly mention any other instrument than the ‘ūd and then only in connection with the intervals in their treatises.

Concerning the category of collections of songs of the non-religious approach, only one work which was written by al-Marāḍī has survived from the century. This work, in which the melodic modes and rhythmic modes that are employed for each song are mentioned, is, even in its present shape and form, one of the most valuable works from this century. It was to be a model for the works that were to be written during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

Judging by the works which have come down to us, the production of tracts and treatises on samā’ stopped almost totally. Even a poet-Sufi like Jāmī preferred to write on music theory rather than on samā’. The disappearance of the religious approach, that is to say samā’, is to some extent expected, because after the 14th century there was no longer any reason to write on samā’ which was accepted by almost all religious leaders and authorities.127 However, I prefer not to draw any other conclusion before further studies.

127 It is necessary to remember that the subject samā’ emerged and was formed during the religio-social circumstance of its being attacked by orthodox religious leaders, but during the 15th century, when the region enjoyed a religiously relaxed atmosphere, was different, and
It should be pointed out that the development during the 15th century was qualitative rather than quantitative, because, as we have seen, the number of the works written during this century, judging by what has survived, did not increase. Furthermore, four works were written by just one music theorist, i.e. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāḡī, and three out of these four works are so similar to each other that they can be considered as one monumental work written and revised by one person during different periods of his life.

Geographically, almost all significant treatises on music which were written during the 15th century were produced in the northeastern part of the Persian-speaking area, that is the area which was ruled by the Timūrids. If this area was the most important centre for the production of the treatises on *samāʾ* during the 11th century, during the 15th century it again became the most significant centre for the production of treatises on music theory. It is obvious that the Timurid court played a decisive role in this regard.

To sum up, the first half of the century was the climax of Persian writing on music theory. New topics, e.g. “musical forms” (the most important of these new topics), “the explanation of beginning and ending a musical piece”, “the names of virtuosos of this art”, began to be treated during this century.

Nevertheless, the production of musical literature was reduced during the second half of the century. It was a consequence of the almost total stop in the production of works with the religious approach. One significant development was the intensification of the mutual influences between Persian and Turkish musical literature through the composition of the first Persian music theoretical treatises in the Ottoman realm. The end of the century was indeed the end of a period which can be called the classical period of writing on music which had lasted for almost five centuries.

**Periodization: Time and feature**

In this final part of the last chapter I will suggest a time division in the development of Persian musical literature written from the beginning of the 11th century to the end of the 15th century. The periodization which will be suggested here is based on the classification that has been introduced at the beginning of the chapter. Here, I shall attempt to define the most common tendencies in each period of the development of each approach and category of texts in order to trace the general features that are valid for the development of the genre as a whole. It should be emphasized that the almost all opposition to *samāʾ* had stopped. The subject was to re-emerge during the 16th century when once again music and listening to music and thereby *samāʾ* were considered unlawful activities.
suggested periodization is based on works that have come down to us and on our present knowledge of these works.

Micro periodization: periodization of the approaches and their categories

**Non-religious approach**

Below, I am first going to deal with the periodization of the non-religious approach and its five categories of texts and then the religious one and its three different categories of texts.

**Theoretical texts**

This category of texts forms the main body of the works and treatises written in the non-religious approach of the genre. According to my suggestion, we can divide the development of the theoretical texts on music into two main phases;

- the period from the first half of the 11th century and the writing of Dānīš-nāmah up to the second half of the 13th century or rather before the writing of Durrat al-tāj;
- the period from the writing of Durrat al-tāj up to end of 1500.

Here, I will borrow two terms from European music history to name and distinguish these two main phases in the development of the theoretical texts on music in Persian, namely the terms *ars antiqua* and *ars nova*. In my opinion, these two borrowed terms well describe the developments that took place during the period of almost five centuries that this dissertation has studied. It should be emphasized that I will employ the terms in connection with theoretical development in the first place. In other words, here the term *ars antiqua* partly indicates the old music theory and *ars nova* the new music theory. As regards the term *ars nova*, I believe, however, that the theoretical development that took place during this period were the results of practical developments in music as well as the changes of attitude towards writing music theory. As far, however, as the practical developments in music are concerned, it is difficult to prove that these developments took place due to the lack of written music in the form of notes.

**Ars antiqua**

The *ars antiqua* period which began with the first Persian work on music theory, Dānīš-nāmah, is not a completely homogeneous period and during

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128 In European music the terms *ars nova* is used of practical and theoretical development that took place particularly in French music during the 14th century, as opposed to the *ars antiqua* of the 13th century France.
this period we witness different tendencies. Therefore, it can, in its own turn, be divided into two different phases, an early phase which begins with *Dáníš-námah* during the first half of the 11th century and ends in the first half of the 12th century, and a second phase which begins from the second half of the 12th century up to the end of the 13th century, yet before the composition of *Durrat al-tâj*.

Perhaps the most general feature of the early phase of the *ars antiqua* is the total dominance of *musica speculativa* and Greek-Arab developed music theory. The two works from the first phase, *Dáníš-námah-i ‘Alâ’î*, *Mujmal al-híkmah*, clearly show this general characteristic tendency. Due to the fact that Arabic musico-literary works were the main source of inspiration and information for Persian authors during this phase. The direct impact of the Arabic musical literature including its treatment of topics is constantly present in the works written during this phase. Furthermore, translation was the only way to write treatises and works during this early period of musical writing in Persian.

As we have seen, no separate treatise or tract that was fully devoted to music theory was, as far as we know today, written during this phase, and the two surviving treatises formed parts of a larger encyclopedic works. This is another striking feature of the first phase of the *ars antiqua* period. The Persian authors not only translated from Arabic, but they also summarized and abridged these works and this made conciseness another characteristic feature of the works written during this phase.

In addition, we can clearly see the existence of two different and separate views on music theory, *i.e.* the Aristotelian one which was to a large extent employed in *Dáníš-námah-i ‘Alâ’î* and the Neo-Platonic one which was applied in *Mujmal al-híkmah*. In other words, in the first phase of the *ars antiqua* the differences between the two existing views, *i.e.* the Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic, in speculative music theory was clear.

The category of authors can also be a factor to be considered in the characterization of the phase, because if we look at the background of the authors we can observe that they were not professional musicians, but rather scientists, mathematicians and philosophers. As a consequence, the works were often written for students of science and philosophy and not for musical students.

The second phase of the *ars antiqua*, which began during the second half of the 12th century, can be considered as an intermediate phase between the *ars antiqua* and the coming *ars nova*. The most characteristic feature of the second phase is, in my judgment, the considerable decrease of the direct influence and impact of Arabic music theoretical literature on Persian works. I speak of direct influence because the works and treatises from this phase are no longer direct translations or summarizations of Arabic works. However, the indirect influence of Arabic music theoretical works, at least in the early part of the phase, continued to a large extent. We can have a good
example of such an indirect influence of Arabic works in Ḥadāʾiq al-anwār fī ḥaqāʾiq al-asrār and the discussion on intervals which forms a major part of the work, and which, as already mentioned, is based on Ibn al-Zaylāʾ’s theory of the intervals. It should be pointed out that also the indirect Arabic influence was to decrease considerably towards the end of the phase.

One interesting tendency during the second phase was that the Persian authors from this phase began to discuss their local musical traditions as an alternative to the dominated speculative approach to music theory in the region. We can clearly see this tendency in works like Ašjār wa aṭmār by ‘Alāʾ Munajjim and Risālah-i musīqī by Nayšābūrī. As a consequence of the above-mentioned development, the first signs of a decrease in the dominance of musica speculativa manifest themselves too. The two above-mentioned works also display this characteristic feature.

The second phase of ārs antiqua also shows another significant development. It was during this phase that writing on music theory began establishing itself as an independent musico-literary activity. Maraqī Kāšānī’s treatise “On the science of music” (Dar ʿilm-i mūṣiqī) and Risālah-i musīqī by Nayšābūrī distinctly show this development which also characterizes the phase.

Judging by the surviving treatises and works, the second half of the 13th century was the most productive period of the second phase of the ārs antiqua period, while the production of works almost totally ceased between 1180 and 1260.

Ars nova

As has been discussed earlier, new approaches to music and music theory appeared in the works written during the second half of the 13th century in Arabic and later in Persian. This was presumably partly the result of the fusion between the Greek-Arab-Islamic music theory tradition, which mainly developed in Baghdad, and Persian music practice that had its base in the local traditions of the area that today includes the Xūrāsān province in Iran, parts of Afghanistan and Transoxania. In other words, a new era in the treatment of music theory dawned during this time.

The period ārs nova begins with al-Šīrāzī’s epoch-making section on music theory in the encyclopaedia Durrat al-tāj. This work, as pointed out earlier, is a milestone in Persian writing on music theory. The work shows some of the characteristic features of the earlier period, i.e. ārs antiqua, of which the most important are, the scientific and philosophical background of the writers and the fact that it is part of an encyclopaedia. The work, however, can be considered as the first work written during the ārs nova period, due to the following factors: 1) the comprehensive treatment of the topics; 2) the originality of the ideas in the work and its independent attitude, as well as the critical approach to the broadly accepted modal system in the
region that was introduced by al-Urmawī; 3) its more music-practical based approach to music theory than the three earlier encyclopedic works.

As for the whole period, we can characterize it in the following way:

- notable increase in production;
- considerable increase in the number of new topics (Durrat al-tāj, Naftāʾis al-funūn fiʿ arāʾis al-ʿuyūn, Kanz al-tuḥaf, Ǧunyat al-munyat, Jāmīʾ al-ḥān, Maqāṣid al-ḥān, Šarḥ-i Advār, Miʾmārʾs music treatise);
- a more comprehensive treatment of the topics (Durrat al-tāj, Šarḥ-i Adwār, Maqāṣid al-ḥān, Jāmīʾ al-ḥān);
- a noteworthy growth in the contribution of Persian music theoretical works in the development of the category in the region (Durrat al-tāj, Marāḡīʾs treatises);
- encediplomacy definitely dies out;
- the rise and dominance of new classes of the authors, i.e. poet-musicians, musicians, poets, music theorists (the authors of Kanz al-tuḥaf, Jāmīʾ al-ḥān, Maqāṣid al-ḥān, Šarḥ-i Advār, Naqāwat al-adwār, Maqāṣid al-adwār, and two treatises on music, i.e. Miʾmār, Jāmī);
- as a result of the above mentioned development, musica speculativa lost its importance and dominance on a large scale and musica practica gained much more ground among the authors (Kanz al-tuḥaf, Jāmīʾ al-ḥān, Maqāṣid al-ḥān, Šarḥ-i Advār, Naqāwat al-adwār, Maqāṣid al-adwār, al-Muxtasar al-mufiddī bayān al-musiqī wa usūl ʿahkām);
- the intensification of music theoretical exchanges with China and especially with India and, later, Anatolia (Ǧunyat al-munyat, Farīd al-zamān fī maʿrifat al-ḥān, Šarḥ-i Advār, Naqāwat al-adwār, Maqāṣid al-adwār);
- the category of music theory became the most written category of all the categories of the genre;
- the insertion of didactic and partly medical texts into the theoretical ones (Kanz al-tuḥaf, Jāmīʾ al-ḥān, Maqāṣid al-ḥān, Šarḥ-i Advār).

Verse/rhymed prose, medical and didactic texts and collections of songs

The four texts categories which are here labeled as verse/rhymed prose, medical, didactic and collections of songs are less frequent in the genre. A total of five works were written in these four categories of texts, that is to say one work in medicine (A Persian translation of Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥah), one work in didactics (Qābus-nāmah), one work containing collection of songs (al-Marāḡīʾs collection of songs), and two works in verse/rhymed prose (Risālah-i čang and a Qaṣīdah). These works individually do not show any

129 Naftāʾis al-funūn fiʿ arāʾis al-ʿuyūn is the last encyclopedic work in Persian.
130 The treatment of new topics was a result of this development.
131 The presentation of a number of Chinese instruments.
development of their own categories due to the fact there are too few works to base a judgement concerning changes in the categories, but they give us a better picture of the whole development of the non-religious approach.

As for medical texts, the only work of this type of text is just a translation of a famous Arabic work; no original work was written in this category of texts in Persian. The only treatise in the didactic category of texts, i.e. Qābūs-namah, is, however, an original work and has its roots in Middle Persian literature in a type of text that has been named pand-nāmak and andarz-nāmak (book of counsels) literature. But to our knowledge music was not treated in this type of text until the 11th century, i.e. in Qābūs-namah. These two categories of non-religious approach disappeared after the first century of Persian musical literature, but most of the topics treated in them (especially in the didactic texts) were to be absorbed in theoretical texts of the 14th and 15th centuries.

The verse/rhymed prose category and the collections of songs were established much later than the two above-mentioned categories in Persian musical writing. Their emergence was a result of the rise of new classes of authors in the genre, i.e. poet-musicians and professional musicians, which took place during the 13th century.

**Religious approach**

*Factual prose texts*

As we have seen, the factual prose texts were the most common category within the religious approach during the centuries under discussion. In terms of my suggestion, we can divide the development of factual prose texts into two distinctive phases:

- the initial period which covers nearly the whole of the 11th and 12th centuries;
- the climax of the factual prose texts which begins with Najm al-Dīn Kubrā’s short but significant treatise Ādāb al-sūfīyyah and lasts to the end of the 14th century.

According to the works and tracts available to us, at the beginning of the 15th century all activity regarding writing on samā’ ceased and a period of silence began which lasted to the middle of the 16th century.

**Initial period**

The early period of the development of the factual prose category began during the first half of the 11th century and ended in the late half of the 12th century. In order to get a more correct picture of the development, we can divide the initial period into three separate phases.
The first phase, which can be regarded as the opening phase of the initial period, began with the composition of the earliest treatise on *samā’* (i.e. Mustamli’’s commentary on Kalābāzī’’s *Ta’arruf li-mašhab al-taṣāwuwuf*) during the first half of the 11th century and ended in ca 1070, to be exact, before the composition of *Kašf al-mahjūb*. During this phase, the impact of Arabic works is more or less obvious on Persian ones. Beside the above-mentioned work, the first Persian translation of *Qušayrī’s* treatise also belongs to this early period.

The second phase, which can be considered as the zenith of the initial period, began with the composition of *Kašf al-mahjūb* and lasted to the middle of the 12th century, or rather, down to the composition of *al-Tašfiyāh fi aḥwāl al-mutāsawwifāh* by ‘Abbādī. The most important works of the initial period, to wit *Kašf al-mahjūb* and *Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat*, were written during this phase. One noticeable development which took place at this time was the emergence of a new class of writers, i.e. theologians, writing factual prose on *samā’*.

The third and last phase of the initial period was a period of inactivity and silence which lasted ca fifty years or the whole of the second half of the 12th century. According to our present knowledge, no work or treatise was written during this period.

As a whole, we can characterize the initial period of the development of the factual prose texts in the following way. The category of factual prose texts was the most common category of the genre. Contrary to the theoretical category of the non-religious approach, the factual prose texts from the beginning played a relatively important role in the development of the religious approach and the genre in the region. The direct impact of Arabic in this category is less noticeable in comparison to music theoretical texts. The class of authors of the works consists of two types of writers, namely theologians and Sufis. As we have seen theologians dominated the classes of writers on *sama’* in the later part of the period and actually the two last works of the period, *Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat* and *al-Tašfiyāh fi aḥwāl al-mutāsawwifāh*, were written by theologians. All the works written during the initial period were parts of larger works on Sufism and indeed no treatise or work which was entirely devoted to the factual prose texts was written during the period.

The most common topics in this category during the period were: “the definition of *samā’*”, “different opinions of religious leaders and authorities about *samā’*”, “defence of *samā’*-sessions and their legality (through the Koran, Muḥammad’s traditions, the early Islamic leaders and authorities)” and “the rules of (good conduct in) *samā’*”. The last-mentioned topic always formed the last part of the chapter or section of the works and it was almost always treated briefly. If we look at the three surviving works from this period, *Kašf al-mahjūb*, *Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat*, *al-Tašfiyāh fi aḥwāl al-mutāsawwifāh*, we can notice this tendency.
The climax

The second period of the development of factual prose texts was the most productive and creative period of the category in Persian, and indeed the production of works was redoubled in comparison to the earlier phase. The period began with a section on samā’ of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā’s concise treatise Ādāb al-ṣūfiyyah and lasted into the second half of the 14th century. One of the most significant features of the period was that the authors made less use of the Koran and Muhammad’s Traditions and the speeches of religious and Sufi leaders, and instead focused on the social and ritual aspects and rules of samā’. Furthermore, the authors of the 13th and 14th centuries argued more rationally (During EI, s.v. Samā’).

It was during this phase that there was written the first and only Persian factual prose work that was entirely devoted to the subject samā’, “The treatise on the secret of samā’” (Risālah-i sīr-i samā’) by Alá’ al-Dawlah Simnānī. The development indicates that the factual prose category was definitely established and was recognized as a religio-musical literary form.

Another noticeable development was the introduction of this category in India through works like the first Persian translation of ‘Awārif al-ma’ārif and Ma’dan al-ma’ānī. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the works written in India were generally not appropriate representatives of the tendencies of their time.

One of the main characteristics of the period was the comprehensive treatment of the topic “the rules of good conduct in samā’-sessions”. The authors began to deal with this topic much more comprehensively and exhaustively than in the earlier period and it became the main topic of the category. As a consequence, topics like “the beauty of song”, “the positive opinions of religious leaders and Sufi authorities on samā’”, “the legality of samā’” lost their central roles in this category and they were either treated briefly in the beginning of the works, for example in Miṣbāḥ al-hidāyat wa miṣfāṭ al-kifāyat by Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Kāshānī and Awrād al-ahbāb wa fuṣūṣ al-ādāb by Abū al-Mafāfir Yaḥyā Bāxarzī, or disappeared totally from the works, for instance in Ādāb al-ṣūfiyyah by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, or were shifted from the initial part of the work (chapter or section) to the last part where they were treated briefly, for example in Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqat by Aḥmad Jām. Moreover, new topics begin to be taken up and discussed during the period. Among these topics can be mentioned “the commentary on the terms (that are used by) the singer and musician at samā’”, “the explanation of the true nature of tearing at samā’” in Yaḥyā Bāxarzī’s treatise and “the benefits of samā’” in Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Kāshānī’s work.

Broadly speaking, the treatises and works from this period are either more comprehensive or focused more on one or two specific topic/s. And indeed
the most comprehensive work on samā‘ in Persian, viz. Yaḥyā Bāxarzī’s treatise, was written during the phase.

New classes of authors also appeared and the subject samā‘ began to be treated in other type of works than religio-Sufi works, to be exact, in the encyclopaedic work Naḥī‘īs al-funūn fit ‘arā‘īs al-‘uyūn by Āmuṭī. It displays the increased popularity of the subject and of factual prose texts among the writers of the genre in this period.

As we have seen, the production of factual prose treatises and tracts on samā‘ in Persian almost ceased during the 15th century.  

Texts in verse/rhymed prose and collections of songs
A total of four works in two other categories of texts of the religious approach, i.e. texts in verse/rhymed prose and collections of songs, were composed between the 11th and 15th centuries. In these two categories, collections of songs were the least frequent ones, while a few tracts were composed in the verse/rhymed prose category.

As early as during the first century of Persian musical literature the first attempt to introduce the category of verse/rhymed prose texts was made by al-Anṣārī in Šad maydān. Even though we come across verses in the prose works from the 11th century onwards, we have to wait almost two centuries for the next work entirely written in verse on samā‘, i.e. Kanz al-rumūz. During the 14th century another work in verse, viz. Ṭarīqat-nāmah by Faqīh Kirmānī, was written in Persian. After this century, this category of texts ceased to exist. Generally, we can state that the category was established during the 13th century when the class of authors began to change and a new class, Sufi-poets, established itself. The topics treated in this category were under the strong influence of the factual prose texts of the period in which they were composed.

As for the category of collections of songs, only one work of this type was written during the five centuries this study has dealt with, and it is, as mentioned, the least written category using the religious approach. Although we are not altogether sure about the exact date of composition of this collection, it was probably written during the second half of the 14th century when the only Ms of the work was copied and when writing on samā‘ became very popular.

132 The production of works in Arabic, however, continued even during the 15th century and a few insignificant works were written. Among these works can be mentioned: Al-Anṣārī’s commentary on the al-Risālah al-Quṣairiyah, Ibn Zaqdūn’s Farah al-samā‘ bi rux al-samā‘ (for more information about these works see Shiloah 1979: 59 and 227).

133 For example, there are verses in Kaṣf al-mahjūb (Arabic verses), Kīmiyā-yi sa‘ādat, Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqah (both in Persian and Arabic).
Macro periodization: periodization of the genre

Despite different parameters and models in periodization of each of the two above-mentioned approaches and their categories of texts, there are some prevalent features which bind them together and which make them constitute a literary genre. We can with the help of these characteristic features periodize the development of the genre regardless of its approaches and categories.

According to my suggestion, the development of the genre can be divided into five distinctive periods:

1. The initial period: ca 1000-1110

The most distinctive features of the period are, as we have seen, that the direct impact of Arabic musical literature was perceptible during the whole period. Consequently, most of the works were translations or abridgements of Arabic works and treatises. Because of social, religious and even political circumstances, the religious approach and the category of factual prose texts were predominant in this period.\(^\text{134}\) The genre had not yet been recognized as an independent literary genre, and all the works written during the period formed minor parts, sections or chapters of larger works. As a result, almost all works from this period were brief and concise in comparison to later periods.\(^\text{135}\)

Last but not least, the writers of the genre consist of scientists, philosophers and Sufi authorities.

2. The first intermezzo: ca 1110 up to 1175

This period which lasted ca sixty years was a period of decline. The production of works and treatises in both approaches was remarkably reduced. The only work of which we are sure about its date of composition during the period is \textit{al-Tasfiyah fi alwāl al-mutasawwifah} by ‘Abbādī.\(^\text{136}\)

3. The period of establishment: ca. 1175-1299

This period began with the first Persian original work on music theory which was not translation or abridged Arabic work, namely \textit{Hadā’iq al-anwār fī ḥaqā’iq al-asrār} by Fāxr al-Rāzī and Najm al-Dīn Kubrā’s significant

\(^{134}\) Of a total of eight works surviving from this period five belong to the religious approach and three to the non-religious.

\(^{135}\) The only exception in this regard is Huwār’s \textit{Kaṣf al-mahjūb}.

\(^{136}\) The average time distance between the composition of works and treatises during the earlier period was 15 years (regardless of their approaches).
treatise “The rules of good conduct (Ādāb) of the Sufis” on the subject samā’.

The most notable feature of the period was that Persian musical literature became more and more independent. This development particularly accelerated by the fall of Abbasid Empire and the capture of Baghdad by the Mongols, when the Arabic language and its influence and dominance reduced considerably in the region, and Persian began to play a more creative and important role in the development of musical literature. As a result of the decreased influence of Arabic musical literature on particularly the musical theory category of texts, more original works were written in Persian. Thanks to this development, musical literature was established as an independent genre in Persian through the writing of treatises and works that are entirely devoted to one of the categories of the genre.

There was a tendency among some of the authors of the period to treat the topics more individually \(^{137}\) and the focus shifted from some topics to other ones.

Another development, which would clearly manifest itself later in the next period, was the emergence of new classes of writers, i.e. Sufi-poets and musician-poets. As a result, a new category of texts, texts in verse/rhymed prose, was established. The development was to have a significant impact on the choice of topics and the treatment of them.

4. The first Golden Age: ca 1300-1435

In my periodization of the Persian musical literature, the period which began with Šīrāzī’s Durrat al-tāj and Bāzarzī’s Awrād al-ahbāb wa fuṣūs al-ādāb and ended with the death of al-Marāǧī forms the first Golden Age of the genre in Persian literature. The period, which lasted ca 130 years, had as characteristic features that the variety of the topics increased and many new topics in both the religious and non-religious approach began to be dealt with by the writers.

From this period, the impact of Persian musical literature on neighbouring regions began. \(^{138}\) The area that was deeply affected by Persian influence was, in the first place, the Indian sub-continent, but the influence even reached parts of Minor and Central Asia.

The changed political, religious and social circumstances in the region resulted in the dominance of the non-religious approach and specifically of the theoretical category.

Generally, it was the most productive period during the five centuries that this dissertation has studied. The average time distance of composition

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\(^{137}\) The Ādāb al-ṣūfīyyah by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā is the clearest example of this tendency.

\(^{138}\) This impact was to endure for almost four centuries or to be more exact before the emergence of European influence.
between the works was \textit{ca} eight years during the period, while during the most productive earlier period it was 15 years.

One of the most noticeable changes and at the same time a characteristic feature of the period was that poet-musicians, poet-Sufis and musical practitioners almost totally replaced the earlier classes of writers of the genre. The immediate consequence of this development was that new topics began to be treated.

Furthermore, the most comprehensive and influential and important works in the genre, not only in Persian-speaking areas but in the whole region, were written during the period.

5. The second intermezzo: \textit{ca} 1435-1500

The period which began after the death of al-Marāği and ended with the death of Jāmī in 1497 was a period of decline in production. Probably, one of the most significant changes which took place during the period was the total stop in the production of works and treatises in all categories of the genre except the musical theoretical one. In addition, no new ideas or theories were introduced during the period, and all treatises and works were based on the ideas and theories that were presented during the previous period.

As we have seen, the number of topics treated in the works was also considerably reduced. However, it was during this period that the impact of Persian musical literature on Ottoman Turkish became clearer. As a result, the two first treatises on musical theory, \textit{i.e.} Naqūwat al-adwār by one of al-Marāği’s sons and \textit{Maqāsid al-adwār} by the grandson of al-Marāği, were written within the territory of the Ottoman Empire.\footnote{It is possible that these two works are just another versions of al-Marāği’s main work ‘Jāmī’ al-alhān, re-written by his son and grandson in order to find a job at the court of the Ottomans sultans.}

This “intermezzo” led up to a period of intensification concerning the production of Persian musical literature which runs from the 16\textsuperscript{th} century to the beginning of the European influence towards the end of 19\textsuperscript{th} century.

Already from the end of the 15\textsuperscript{th} century we can observe the beginning of crucial changes and developments that will determine the direction of musical writing in coming centuries.
Epilogue

At the beginning of the 16th century, the region was divided into three main political zones, i.e. the Ottoman realm, the Şafawīd realm and the Mogul realm, and interest in the Persian language and its literature was to be a common cultural characteristic and tendency within these three realms from the 16th century up to the 19th century. This geographical expansion of Persian literature is an explanation of the increase in the production and the flourishing of new ideas in Persian literature after the 16th century.

Concerning writings on music, we shall meet new tendencies within the musical theoretical texts, which were to diverge radically from the Greek-Islamic-Arabic scientific and mathematical tradition. After a period of tacet, the religious approach appeared once again, and this time other subjects of approach, e.g. the religious illegality of music, were treated. The impact of Persian on its neighbouring regions was to continue and even grow, particularly in northern India. Shortly, a new important and exciting period in the development of Persian musical literature was to begin, a period which was, according to Massoudieh’s catalogue, to be the most productive one in Persian musical literature, and at the same time a period that has been the least studied and the most prejudged. This was a period when neighbouring regions were to play a more pivotal role in the development of the genre than the earlier periods, and a period when the European impact was to begin.

I hope that the existing prejudice against this period will successively decrease, and more serious research about the period will begin. As the first step, it is crucial that more works from this period be critically edited and published. This important step will help us towards a better understanding of the period and thereby the process of the development of Persian writings on music in particular.

I also hope that the libraries where these treasures have been lying for decades will use new technology and be more willing to allow scholars and specialists to have access to manuscripts of these works, and that they do not let these treasures lay there year after year and century after century without being used. They are part of mankind’s intellectual achievement and do not

\[140\] Perhaps, we can add a minor political zone in these main zones, i.e. Transoxania and parts of the Central Asian area, which was ruled by Turkish-Uzbek dynasties and which was also to play a minor role in the development of Persia during some periods of the time between the 16th and 18th centuries.
belong only to a nation, a country or a group of people, but are also a legacy that has been left to all of us humans.

My hope is that this study will be continued and include the period from 1500 up to 1800 AD. Although such a study seems very problematic just now because of the huge bulk of materials and works from this period and the lack of enough edited and published works, I believe that such a study will remove many ambiguities and prejudgments as well as answer many of our questions about the rise and decline of Persian writing on music. As long as we do not have such a total picture of the development, which also includes the period between 1500 and 1800, our understanding of the development of Persian writings on music is incomplete.
Appendix 1

A chart of the classification of Persian writing on music

Persian writing on music

Non-religious approach
- Categories of texts
  - Theoretical texts
  - Didactic texts
  - Medical texts
  - Verse/rhymed prose texts
  - Collections of songs

Religious approach (Ṣamā‘)
- Categories of texts
  - Factual prose texts
  - Verse/rhymed prose texts
  - Collections of songs
Appendix 2

A list of the most frequently treated topics in Persian writings on music (1000-1500 AD)

Non religious approach

Theoretical category

- Etymology of the word music
- Definition of the science of music
- Origin/definition of music
- Innovators of music
- Definition of sound
- Production of sound (by musical instrument and human beings)
- Causes of acuteness and gravity of notes
- Definition/explanation/names/rank of modes, scales, cycles of modes (maqâm, pardah, āzwâz, šu'bâh)
- Definition of intervals/explanation of different types of them (abʿâd, jins, jamʿ, dissonance, consonance, izāfât), transposition of intervals (tabaqât)
- Connection between strings and intervals and derivation of intervals from the musical instruments
- Notes/combination of notes (taʿlîf)
- Ornamentation
- Instructions on composition of melody
- Definition of rhythm
- Various types of rhythm
- Connection between melody and rhythm
- Musical forms
- Musical instruments (construction of musical instruments/tuning of musical instruments/names of strings of musical instruments/classification of musical instruments)
- Advice on performance and practicing of music (advice on performance of different types of music/advice on the time of per-
formance of music/advice on performance of music for different races and persons/advice on exercising music
- Impact of music on the soul
- Connection of music with other subjects
- Recording of music

Category of collections of songs
- Secular Songs (non-religious approach)

Didactic category
- The behaviour of a musician
- The choice of modes for various occasions and times of the day
- The choice of modes in a performance
- The choice of rhythmic and melodic modes for different types of people (races, ethnic groups) and with different natures

Medical category
- The definition of melody and the effect of various types of melodies on soul and body
- The definition of rhythm and the effect of various types of rhythm on soul and body

Verse/rhymed prose category
- The Names of main modes, auxiliary modes (non-religious approach)
- The names of instruments (non-religious approach)

Religious approach

Factual prose category
- The beauty of voice
- The definition of samā’
- Different classes of listeners and to which classes the samā’ are permitted or forbidden
- Different degrees of samā’
- The opinions of religious leaders and authorities on samā’
- The legality or illegality of samā’
- Classification of various types of samā’
• The rules of good conduct in samā’
• The rules of dance in samā’-sessions
• The rules of the tearing of garments in samā’-sessions
• Samā’ of sufi leaders
• Benefits of samā’
• The effect of samā’on people in different psychological conditions

**Category of collections of songs**
• Sufi Songs

**Verse/rhymed prose category**
• The definition of samā’
• On appreciations of samā’
• The rules of good conduct in samā’
Appendix 3

Classification of Persian works on music
(1000-1500 AD)

The Initial Period: ca 1000-1110

Total: 9

1

Dānīš-nāmah-ī ‘Alā’ī

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: between 1023 and 1046
Place: Isfahān
Dedicated: ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah of the Kākūyids
Mss: 18
Published: 1941, 1992

2

Šarḥ-i Kitāb al-Ta’arruf li-mażhab Ahl al-Taṣawwuf
Abū Ibrāhīm Islāmī Il b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd-Allāh al-Mustamlī

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: during the first half of the 11th century
Place: Buxārā
Written for: the author’s companions
Ms: 1
Published: in India 1912

3

Ṣad Maydān
Abū Ismā‘īl ‘Abd-Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī

Approach: religious
Category: verse/rhymed prose
Date: 448/1057
Place: Harāt
Written for: the author’s disciples
Mss: 4
Published: 1962

4

Kašf al-Mahjūb li-Arbāb al-Qulūb
Abul-Ḥasan Ṭābi‘ ʿAlī b. ʿUṯmān b. Ṭābi‘ al-Ḡaznāwī al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: between 1065 and 1076
Place: (probably) Lahore
Written for: a certain Ṭābi‘ al-Hujwīrī
Mss: 4
Published: in Russian 1926

5

Qābūs-nāmah

Approach: non-religious

232
Category: didactic
Date: 475/1082
Place: the province of Ṭabaristān
Written for: the author’s son, Gīlân-Ṣāḥ
Mss: 53

6

Tarjumah-i Risālah-i Qušayriyyah
Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-‘Uṭmānī

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: during the second half of the 11th century
Place: (probably) Nayšābūr
Translated for: -
Mss: 1
Published: 1967

7

Kīmiyyā-yi Sa‘ādat

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: (finished) 1106
Place: Nayšābūr
Written for: ordinary people
Mss: 189
Published: 1862, 1871, 1874, 882, 1894, 1976

8
[A Translation of] Taqwīm al-Ṣīḥḥah
Translator: anonymous

Approach: non-religious  
Category: medical  
Copied: ? (written before 1123; probably during the 11th century)  
Place: ?  
Dedicated: ?  
Mss: 3 (the oldest copy is from 517/1123)

Mujmal al-Ḥikmah
Translator: anonymous

Approach: non-religious  
Category: theoretical  
Date: before 608/1211; presumably during the 11th century  
Place: (probably) the province of Xurāsān  
Written for: ?  
Mss: 42 (the oldest Ms was copied in 608/1211)

The First Intermezzo: ca 1110-1175

Total: 1

1

Al-Tasfiyyah fi Aḥwāl al-Mutiṣawwifah

234
The Period of Establishment: *ca* 1175-1299

**Total:** 10

1

*Ḥadāʾiq al-Anvār fi Ḥaqāʾiq al-Asrār or Jāmiʿ al-ʿUlūm*
Faxr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd-Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: the last redaction was completed 575/1179 (Tauer, 1968: 480)
Place: the province of Xurāsān
Dedicated: written at the command of the Khwārazm-Šāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Takaš
Mss: 40
Published: 1993

2

*Tarjumah-i Risālah-i Qušayriyyah*
Translator: Anonymous
Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: during the second half of the 12th century
Place: Kirmān
Written for: -
Ms: 1

3

Ādāb al-Ṣūfīyyah
Abū ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh Xaywaqī Xwārazmī (known as Najm al-Dīn Kubrā)

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: towards the end of the 12th century and more probably at the beginning of the 13th century
Place: the province of Xwārazm
Written for: -
Ms: 6
Published: in France 1960, in Iran 1984

4

[A translation of] Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn
Translation: Mu’ayyid al-Dīn Muḥammad Xwārazmī

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: 620/1223
Place: Delhi
Written for: Abū Sa’īd Muḥammad al-Junayḍī
Ms: 18

5

236
Dar ‘Ilm-i Mūsāqī
Afżal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḫūsayn Maraḍī Kāshānī or Kāshī (known as Bābā Afżal)

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: before 1268
Place: Kāshān
Written for: ?
Mss: 5
Published: 1952-1958

6

Ḫaḍīqat al-Ḥaqqat
Abul-Fath Muḥammad b. Muṭṭahhar b. Aḥmad-i-Jām

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: 642/1244
Place: the province of Xurāsān
Written for: ?
Mss: 2
Published: 1944

7

Risālah-i Sirr-i Samā‘
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Biyābānī (known as ‘Alā’ al-Dawlah Simnānī)

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: (probably) toward the end of the 13th century
Place: Simnān
For: one of the author’s pupils
Ms: 1 (copied in 687/1288)
8

[A translation of] *‘Awārif al-Ma’ārif*
Translator: Iṣmā‘īl b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min Abū Manṣūr Māšīzah

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: 665/1266 (Munzawī [vol. II: 1])
Place: India
Dedicated: ‘Abd al-Salām Sīḵ Kāmnāwī
Mss: 6

9

*Aṣjār wa Aṭmār or Aṭmār wa Aṣjār also Tamarah wa Šajarah*

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: between 679/1280 and 691/1292
Place: ?
Written for: Šam al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad Mubārakshāh
Mss: 79

10

*Kanz al-Rumūz*
Amīr Ḥusaynī Ḥarawī

Approach: religious
Category: verse/rhymed prose
Date: towards the end of the century
Place: (probably) Mīlūtan
Written for: -
The First Golden Age: *ca* 1300-1435

Total: 23

1

*Durrat al-Tāj li-Ḡurrat al-Dubāj (al-Dabāj)*

Qiṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Maʾūd al-Ṣirāzī

- Approach: non-religious
- Category: theoretical
- Date: between 693/1293 and 699/1299-1300
- Place: the province of Gīlān
- Dedicated: Dubāj b. Fil-Šāh
- Mss: 52

2

*Risālah-i Mūsīqī*

(A certain) Mūḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Nayṣābūrī

- Approach: non-religious
- Category: theoretical
- Date: ?
- Place: the province of Xurāsān
- Dedicated: -
- Ms: 1 (copied in 663/1264)
- Published: 1965, 1995
3

Risālah-i Firaydūn b. Aḥmad Sipahsālār dar Aḥwāl-i Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Mawlāwī

Firaydūn b. Aḥmad known as Sipahsālār

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: 720/1320 (according to Nicholson and Nafīsī)
Place: Qawniyah
Written for: -
Mss: 3

4

Awrād al-Aḥbāb wa Fuṣūs al-Ādāb

Abu al-Mafāxīr Yahyā Bāxarzī

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: 724/1323
Place: Buxārā
Written for: sufi disciples and devotees
Mss: 2
Published: 1946

5

Miṣbaḥ al-Hidāyat wa Miḥtaḥ al-Kīfāyat

‘Īzz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Kāšānī

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
Date: before 1334
Place: (probably) Īṣfahān
Written for: -
Risālah-i Čang
Sirāj al-Millat wa-al-Dīn Qamarī Qazwīnī

Approach: non-religious
Approach: verse/rhymed prose (?)
Date: during the first half of the 14th century
Place: ?
Written for: ?
Ms: 1

Nafīʼis al-Funūn fī ʿArāʾis al-ʿUyūn
Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Āmulī Ḥanafī

Approach: religious/non-religious
Category: factual prose and theoretical
Date: between 740/1339 and 742/1341
Place: Širāz
Dedicated: Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Īnjū
Ms: 28 (which have the chapters on music theory and ʿsamāʾ)
Published: 1959

Kitāb al-Adwār
Translator: ‘Imād al-Dīn Yahyā b. Aḥmad Kāshi (Kāshānī) al-Qāzī

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: 746/1345

241
Place: probably Šīrāz
For: Jamāl al-Dīn abū Ishāq Īnjū
Mss: 4

9

Ţarīqat-nāmah
Xaŷājah ‘Imād al-Dīn ‘Alī Faqīh Kirmānī

Approach: religious
Category: verse/rhymed prose
Date: ca 756/1355
Place: ?
Dedicated: Amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn Nuḥammad Muẓaffar
Mss: 2
Published: 1995

10

Kanz al-Tuhaf
Ḥasan Kāšānī

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: between 1340-1362 or 1387
Place: Šīrāz or Isfahān
Dedicated: Ḥiyyāt al-Dīn
Mss: 5
Published: 1992

11

Xulūṣat al-afkār fi maʿrifat al-adwār
By a certain Šīhāb al-Dīn Ṣayrafl

Approach: non-religious

242
Category: theoretical
Date: some times between (757/1356 – 776/1374)
For: Sultân Uways
Ms: 1 (missing)

12

Gbnyat al-Munyah
Anonymous

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: 776/1374
Place: Gujarat (India)
For: Ibrâhîm Ḥasan Abû Rajâ
Ms: 2

13

Kitâb al-Adwâr
Luṭf-Allâh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmûd b. Muḥammad b. As’âd al-Samarqandî

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: 778/1376
Dedicated: Amîrzâdah Sayyadî
Ms: 2

14

Ma’dan al-Ma’ânmî
Šarâf al-Dîn Aḥmad b. Yahyâ Manârî

Approach: religious
Category: factual prose
A Qașidah
Anonymous

Approach: non-religious
Category: verse/rhymed prose
Date: 785/1383
Place: ?
Dedicated: -
Ms: 1

Tarānah-hā-ye Mawlawiyyah
Collector: anonymous

Approach: religious
Category: collections of songs
Date: presumably during the 14th century
Place: ?
For: -
Ms: 1 (copied in 799/1396)

Al-Muxtaşar al-Mufīd fī Bayāb al-Mūsīqī wa Uṣūl Aḥkāmah
Anonymous

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: presumably during the 14th century
Place: ?
For: -
Ms: 1 (copied some times between 750/1350 and 812/1409)

18

A Collection of Songs
(Probably by) ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ğaybī al-Ḥāfiz al-Marāḡī

Approach: non-religious
Category: collections of songs
Place: ?
Date: presumably between 1425-1435
For: ?
Ms: 1

19

Jāmi‘ al-Alḥān
‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ğaybī al-Ḥāfiz al-Marāḡī

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: 816/1413
Place: Harāt
For: Author’s son Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abs al-Raḥmān
Ms: 5
Published: 1987

20

Maqāṣid al-Alḥān
‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ğaybī al-Ḥāfiz al-Marāḡī

Approach: non-religious

245
Category: theoretical
Date: 821/1418
Place: (probably) Harât
Dedicated: to different person in different Mss
Mss: 12
Published: 1966

21

Šarḥ-i al-Adwâr also Zubdat al-Adwâr
‘Abd al-Qâdir b. Gaybî al-Ḥâfîz al-Marâqî

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: between 1419 and 1433
Place: (probably) Harât
For: 
Mss: 7
Published: 1991

22

Bayân-i [Sâz-i] Qaṭṭâ‘ît-i Čînî
Anonymous

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: (probably) 1433
Place: 
For: 
Mss: 3 (the Ms of MK was copied in 837/1433)

23

Dar Asâmî-yi Dawâzdaḥ Maqâm or Qawâ‘îd-i Uṣûl wa Furû‘
Anonymous

246
The Second Intermezzo: *ca* 1435-1500

**Total:** 4

1

*Naqāwat al-Adwār*

‘Abd al-‘Azīz ’b. Abd al-Qādir b. Ġaybī al-Ḥāfīz al-Marāḡī

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: between 855/1451 and 886/1481
Place: Ottoman realm
For: Sulṭān Muḥammad II
Ms: 2

2

A Music Treatise

‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mi’mār (known as Banā’ī or Bannā’ī also Banāyī)

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Risālah-i Mūsīqī
Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: 890/1485
Place: (probably) Harāt
For: -
Ms: 53 (see also below)
Published: 1965, 1912, 1933, 1960

Maqāṣid al-Adwār
Mahmūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Ġaybī al-Ḥāfīz al-Marāqī

Approach: non-religious
Category: theoretical
Date: towards the end of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th century
Place: Ottoman realm
Dedicated: Sultān Bāyazīd b. Muhammad – Xān of the Ottomans
Ms: 3
Appendix 4

The only founded Ms of Nayšâbûrî’s treatise on music*
250
Appendix 5

An Ms of the Persian translation of Taqwīm al-ṣīḥhah*
حاشیه‌نامه سفرنامه‌های فلاحت‌نامه از تکیه عینالی لند

کریم خان بیگبلloo

در سال ۱۳۳۷ از تکیه عینالی لند استاد علی‌الدین نصیرالدین طاهری شیرازی با دکتر کریم خان بیگبلloo مشغول به تدریس کردند. در این دوره، این دو استاد با مطالعات مشترکی در زمینه‌های علم و فلسفه، اثبات‌های باستان‌شناسی و تاریخ نوشتار و چکیده‌هایی از آثار این دو استاد را به مدت دو سال به دانش آموزانشان بیان کردند.

در این دوره، استاد علی‌الدین نصیرالدین طاهری شیرازی با استاد کریم خان بیگبلloo مشغول به تدریس کردند. در این دوره، این دو استاد با مطالعات مشترکی در زمینه‌های علم و فلسفه، اثبات‌های باستان‌شناسی و تاریخ نوشتار و چکیده‌هایی از آثار این دو استاد را به مدت دو سال به دانش آموزانشان بیان کردند.

کریم خان بیگبلloo
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256


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Index

‘Abbād, 75
‘Abbādī, 75, 76, 78, 199, 218, 221
‘Abd al-‘Azīz, 179
‘Abd al-Qādir Afandi, 152
‘Alī al-Dawla Muḥammad, 42
‘Alī al-Dawlah, 41
‘Afi Pashā, 90
‘Aṣmā’, 176
‘Anqā, 132
‘Arūfn, 109, 192
‘Aṣlār, 183
‘Aṣrān, 154, 178, 189
‘Atṭār Nayṣābūrī, 9
‘Awfī, 39, 110
‘Ibadī, 86
‘Ilm, 49
‘Ilm al-kalām, 71
‘Irāq, 11, 64, 111, 113, 114, 140, 144, 154, 179, 183, 189, 193
‘Irāq-i ‘ajam, 189
‘Uḏ, 34, 100, 105, 107, 132, 139, 141, 158, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 171, 183, 187, 211
‘Ulamā’, 68, 71, 75, 126
‘Unsūr al-Ma‘āli, 61
‘Unsūr al-Ma‘āli, 61, 197
‘Unsūrī, 9
‘Uṣṣāq, 11, 64, 99, 106, 112, 113, 114, 140, 144, 154, 178, 183, 189, 193
‘Uṣṣāq-i māyah, 189
‘Uṭmānī, 65, 66, 84, 196
‘Uẓzāf, 112, 183, 189
‘Uẓzāf-i ‘ajam, 189
Abū āḏ, 44, 47, 187
Abū ‘āḏ-i ‘uznā, 162
Abū ‘āḏ-i laḥnī, 104
Abūgāha, 98
Abbāsid, 68, 87
Abhinavagupta, 26
Abū al-Dunyā, 34
Abū al-Xayr, 79, 196
Abraham, 26
Abīrūsam, 113
Abū Ishāq, 129, 133, 134
Abū Rajā, 12, 146
Abū Sa‘īd, 92, 116, 128, 129, 156
Adab, 7
Adāb, 90, 129, 135
Adwār, 145, 207
Afghanistan, 7, 19, 22, 100, 215
Afsār, 121
Ahmad Jām, 94
Ahwāl, 50, 75
Ajnās, 44, 47, 188
Akkadian, 22, 23
Alankāra, 24
Alātī al-Ma‘ūn, 174
Alwāḥ-i fūlād, 165
Al-wustū, 163
Al-ẓī bi-l-arba‘ah, 47
Al-ẓī bi-l-kull, 48
Al-ẓī bi-l-xamsah, 48
Amīr Najmī Tānī, 182
Āmul, 129
Āmulī, 128, 129, 130, 131, 206, 210, 220
Anatolia, 118
Anderson, 23
Anṣārī, 53, 90
Antaravadya, 25
Anwā‘, 48, 168
Anwāti, 78
Āq-quyunlū, 155
Aqqāl-i mufradah, 174
Arabic, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, 22, 26, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 47, 48, 50, 52, 65, 71, 79, 84, 89, 90, 92, 93, 102, 107, 109, 110, 118, 121, 125, 131, 134, 145, 146, 149, 163, 169, 173, 174, 176, 185, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 204, 205, 207, 210, 214, 215, 217, 218, 220, 221, 222, 224
Aρbāb-i qalām, 88
Aρbāb-i ṣayf, 88
Arberry, 49, 51
Argūnūn, 85
Aristides Quintilianus, 29
Aristotle, 26, 110
Aristoxenus, 26, 27
Ars antiqua, 213, 214, 215
Ars nova, 213, 214, 215
As’a rism, 71
Assyrian, 22
Asāhī’i sittah, 173
Asāhī’, 165
Asl, 72, 179
Atābeg, 87
Avanaddha instruments, 25
Āswāz, 43, 85, 94, 106, 140, 153
Avicenna, 40, 41, 42, 71, 79
Avūj, 183
Avūj-i rāst, 189
Asbār, 50
Āzārbāýjān, 155, 157
Ba’d, 175
Bāb, 9, 55, 57, 59, 62, 125, 135
Babylonian, 22
Bādah, 9, 64, 193
Badawī, 61
Bağdād, 12, 84
Baghdad, 38, 65, 68, 71, 75, 87, 89, 158, 199, 222
Bahār, 36, 89, 102
Bahr, 105
Bahr-i-nāţūk, 189
Bal’am, 7, 39
Ballick. Se Morrison
Balx, 120, 151
Bam, 80, 113
Banā’î, 182
Bāng, 113, 203
Bānā’î, 181
Baykt, 151
Bysun, 156
Bīzgašt, 179, 185
Bīsašt, 179, 185
Beat, 192
Beaurecueil, 54, 90
Boethius, 29
Chamberline & Thompson, 16
China, 23, 35, 206, 209, 216
Chinese, 22, 23, 89, 117, 188, 216
Clarke, 125
Consonance, 44
Corinna, 99
Daf, 74, 100
Dā’irah-i awval, 99
Dā’īr, 125
Daw, 183
Dawlatshā, Samarqand, 61, 100, 128, 134
Dawr, 45
Dawr-i ‘adl, 158
Dawwānī, 10
Daylam, 38
Dayr, 125
De Goeje, 167
De Jong, 167
Delhi, 19, 92, 93, 117, 149
Dendara, 23
Devānārī, 11
Dešākh, 11
Dhantri/dhanashri, 11
Dhātu, 24
Dhravā songs, 25
Diatonic, 48
Dihr, 36
Dihr, 36
Dihlaw, 117, 118
Diyār, 142
Dīyārān, 96
Boethius, 29
Boyce, 36
Browne, 17, 134, 156
Brusa, 117
Bu’d, 47
Buhār, 168
Būq, 147
Burqa’, 183
Būṣalik, 111, 112, 113, 114, 140, 152
But, 125
But-xānah, 125
Buxūrā, 42, 49, 98, 121
Būyids, 38
Buyt, 185
Buzurg, 140, 144, 183, 189
Byzantium, 35
Čahārgāh, 152
Canby, 210
Čang, 9, 73, 100, 128, 132, 142, 165
Caspian Sea, 38, 129, 196
Čelebi, 151
Cent, 160
Chamberline & Thompson, 16
China, 23, 35, 206, 209, 216
Chinese, 22, 23, 89, 117, 188, 216
Chromatic, 48
Chronos, 27
Clarke, 125
Consonance, 44
Dā’irah-i awval, 99
Daf, 74, 100
Damascus, 71
Dānīṣpāzūb, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 102, 110,
 Dānīṣpāzūb, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 102, 110,
111, 115, 137, 138, 145, 149, 150,
152, 188, 202, 203, 256
Dardura, 25
Darā, 19, 38, 40, 47, 48, 186
Dastān-i Xusravānī, 63
Dawāyir, 183
Dawlatshā, Samarqand, 61, 100, 128, 134
Dawr, 45
Dawr-i ‘adl, 158
Dawwānī, 10
Daylam, 38
Dayr, 125
De Goeje, 167
De Jong, 167
Delhi, 19, 92, 93, 117, 149
Dendara, 23
Devānārī, 11
Dhantri/dhanashri, 11
Dhātu, 24
Dhravā songs, 25
Diatonic, 48
Dihlaw, 117, 118

260