

## A Unique XVII<sup>th</sup> Century Source on the History of Central Asian-Indian Musical Connections (*Zamzame-ye Vahdat* by Nā'inī)

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**Abstract:** *There are varied and many-sided connections between the musical cultures of the peoples of India and Central Asia are reflected, in part, in the medieval manuscript sources. The XVIth-XIXth centuries are the richest in manuscripts. A series of specialized tracts on music in Persian appeared during the epoch of the Baburids. The unique treatise on music in the Persian language by Bāqiyā Nā'inī, Zamzame-ye Vahdat (Humming of Unity), to which a preliminary introduction has been provided in this article. The penetration of poetry into treatises on the science of music increases noticeably in the XVI century. The basic content of Nā'inī's treatise on music does not step out of the framework of description of the system of maqam-s and rag-s, the forms and genres related to them, and a few other questions. The most important factor which allowed Nā'inī to compare different musical cultures was that the musical culture of Northern India – one of the fundamental objects of study in his treatise – was itself for a long time historically related to the Central Asian musical traditions, and in general with the culture of the Muslim world.*

**Keywords:** *Musical cultures, Persian language, Philosophical treatise, Raga-system*

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## Introduction

The connections between the music of Central Asia and India constitute one of the important problems in which Soviet Orientalism has barely begun to take its first steps. About this question, the well-known Indian musicologist B. C. Deva has justly remarked: “There are many clear indications of the commonality of musical cultures between our countries. However, the information that we have at our disposal at the moment is exceedingly fragmentary, and insufficiently systematized. It is a

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matter of regret that this interesting domain has not yet become the subject of special investigation by Soviet and Indian scholars.”<sup>2</sup>. The varied and many-sided connections between the musical cultures of the peoples of India and Central Asia are reflected, in part, in the medieval manuscript sources. The XVIth-XIXth centuries are the richest in manuscripts. A series of specialized tracts on music in Persian appeared during the epoch of the Baburids. The notable feature of these tracts is the comparison and the contrasting of the musical cultures of India and Central Asia: *rag-s* and *maqam-s*.<sup>3</sup> This makes it possible to treat them on the same level as the property of both Indian and Central Asian cultures, and as the most important sources of musical inter-connections.

The unique treatise on music in the Persian language by Bāqiyā Nā'inī, *Zamzame-ye Vahdat* (*Humblings of Unity*), to which a preliminary introduction has been provided in this article, also belongs to the class of sources mentioned above. This treatise, known only from a single record, has not yet been studied from a musicological point of view, nor has it been translated into any other language.<sup>3</sup> Its manuscript is preserved in the Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies (Academy of Sciences in Uzbekistan) Tashkent, MS 10226/II,<sup>4</sup> which possessed many unique manuscripts. The treatise is contained in a single volume, which is a compendium of Nā'inī's essays, which also include a philosophical treatise, and a *divan* of poetry. The date of the composition of the musical treatise must evidently be reckoned to be 1064 Hijri/ 1654 CE.<sup>5</sup> If this date is also taken as the date of the copying,<sup>6</sup> the time of composition of the treatise on music can be approximately determined to be the second half of the XVIth or the first half of the XVIIth century. This hypothesis is based on the fact that, in his treatise, Nā'inī relies on a number of suppositions by the famous Bukharan theoretician of music, Najm al-Dīn Kawkabī Bukhārī (d. 1532-33 CE)<sup>7</sup>. The treatise on music, whose literary “genre” the author identifies variously as “*mukhtasar*” (short note) or “*risala*” (treatise)<sup>8</sup>, consists of a foreword, introduction, six chapters named “*zamzame*” (humblings), and conclusions. Due to the loss of the order of the sheets, the collection of Nā'inī's works was rebound. In it, the treatise on music came to occupy the following folios: 156-166, 3a-76, 71a-80b.

The treatise is written in prose, interspersed with numerous verses of poetry. Nā'inī's inclination towards poetry is obvious. The author was a good poet and composed a *divan* of verse. The tendency of expounding scientific matters in poetic form puts Nā'inī in the same class as the typical music theoreticians of the late Middle Ages. The penetration of poetry into treatises on the science of music increases noticeably in the XVI century. It becomes their characteristic feature, replacing mathematics, which falls out of use. Now follows a short description of the contents of the treatise. The foreword (ff. 15b-16b, 3a-4a) expounds the philosophical and aesthetic conception of the perfect and the beautiful, partly related to Sufi ideas of the unity of being and of the Creator. The author defines the five attributes (“things”) of the external world (pleasant smells, melody, wine, beauty and words), whose impact on the corresponding five inner senses of man which bring him pleasure. Information about the structure of the treatise and the titles of chapters is then given. In the introduction (ff. 4a-5a- “On the reason for the composition of this note and the correspondences between some Indian melodies and some Persian melodies”), the reasons for the composition of this work, its relationship to its predecessors, writing about Indian and “Persian melodies”.<sup>9</sup>

The first chapter (ff. 5a-7b, 71a – “On the names of the Persian melodies and the relationships of the *avazeh-s*, *maqam-s*, *shu'beh-s* and *gusheh-s* to each other”<sup>10</sup> is devoted to an exposition of the system of the six *avazeh-s*, 12 *maqam-s*, 24 *shu'beh-s* and 48 *gusheh-s*. The author barely lists their names, methods of formation, and derivation. In explaining the *avazeh-s*, *maqam-s*, *shu'beh-s*, the author uses quotations from the versified essay of Najm al-Din Kawkabi Bukhari, and he introduces

the names of the 48 *gusheh*-s from the book “Jami‘-al-alhan” (“Compendium of Melodies”) by Haji Abd-al -Qadir Maraghi (though in the text, on account of a scribal error, the name is incorrectly given as “Jami‘-al-ahsan” by Haji Abd-al -Qadir Marake).

The second chapter (ff. 71a-74a – “On the correspondences between some Indian melodies and some Persian melodies and their names”) discusses the six ragas, 30 raginis, 30 putras and 30 bharjas; the times for performing the ragas; contradictions regarding the question of assigning raginis to ragas. The author expresses his opinion on the possibilities of making comparisons between individual ragas and raginis and *maqam*-s, *shu‘beh*-s, *avazeh*-s and *gusheh*-s.

The third chapter (ff. 74a-75b – “On the rules of composition, performance of Indian compositions and their names”) briefly describes the individual forms and genres of Indian music, in particular, *git*, *chand*, *khayal*, *dhrupad*, *farsi*, *tarana*, etc. The structure is remarked upon in relation to the structure of poetic text, in individual cases (*dhrupad*) – with a collection of typical poetic images for the genre.)

The fourth chapter (ff. 75b-77b – “On composing and singing of Persian compositions, and their names” consists of laconic descriptions (components, *usuls* (rhythmic patterns/formulas), poems – Arabic, Persian and others, examples of compositions) of individual forms and genres of Central Asian music: *dubayt*, *pehrev*, *kar*, *amal*, *qaul*, *ghazal*, *tarona*, *rikhta*, *sawt*, *naqsh*, etc.

The fifth chapter (ff. 78a-79b – “On the time for playing Persian melodies” gives the times prescribed for performing the 12 fundamental “Persian” *maqams*.

The sixth chapter (ff. 78a-79b – “On the relation of the Indian melodies to the times, as determined by the masters of this art, and on the times for singing Persian and Indian melodies which correspond to each other” provides a brief justification for the necessity of following the prescribed times and gives a “layout” of Indian ragas according to the time of day.

In the conclusion, (ff. 79b-80b) Nā’inī talks about the importance of words for music; he expresses his gratitude towards his royal patron, touching upon some autobiographical matters from his own lifetime.

The basic content of Nā’inī’s treatise on music does not step out of the framework of description of the system of *maqam*-s and *rag*-s, the forms and genres related to them, and a few other questions. Nā’inī not only alternately examines both systems, but he also establishes the interconnections between them, and finds common and parallel features. This is what makes the work particularly valuable. Who was Bakiya-yi Nā’inī, and what was he, to be able to grasp the essence of the musical cultures of Central Asia and India, on the same plane, and to inquire after their relationships in his work? The affiliation of Nā’inī’s Sufi epistemological and ethical-didactic treatise in verse (Inv. No. 10226/1) led D.G. Voronovskii to propose that he was “evidently, a little-known theologian and litterateur from India”.<sup>11</sup> The composition of a *divan* (Inv. No. 10226/III),<sup>12</sup> as well as the frequent use of poetry attests to the fact that Nā’inī was a poet. From the contents of the treatise on music it follows that Nā’inī was above all a musician and an outstanding performer of his time. Poetry and philosophy only complemented his artistically gifted nature. He evidently lived some kind of creative life in Central Asia. Here he learned the art of composition in the science of music as expounded by the Bukharan musician Najm al-Din Kawkabi Bukhari and became a follower of his views on the system of 12 *maqams*.

Kawkabi, the author of several treatises on music, was a remarkable poet writing in the Persian-Tajik language. In his verses, he gave a description of the 12 *maqams*, 24 *shu‘behs* and 6 *avazehs*. These very verses were also known to Nā’inī. A comparison of Kawkabi’s verses which have found their way into another anthology of poems of Hasan Nisari Bukhari “Muzakkir al-Ahbab” (composed in 1566 CE), with those which have been reproduced by Nā’inī, shows that they are definitely of identical poetical provenance, and belong to Kawkabi.<sup>13</sup> However, in citing them Nā’inī had introduced

a series of changes (rearrangement of verses etc.). As Kawkabi does,<sup>14</sup> Nā'inī also devotes individual chapters in his work to the exposition of forms and genres associated with the system of *maqamat*. The ones common to both are *peshrav*, *amal*, *naqsh*, *sawt*, *rikhta*, *qaul*, *ghazal*, *naubat*. However, they treat the internal structure and other components each in their own way. They were conditioned by different variants of creative interpretations. Another point which draws Nā'inī's treatise close to the Central Asian scholarly tradition of the XV-XVII centuries, is the theme of prescribed times for the system of 12 *maqams*.<sup>15</sup> However, even in this matter there are significant differences between Nā'inī's prescriptions and those of Kawkabi.

Nā'inī was also aware of the works of the other outstanding Central Asian theoretician and performer of music, who spent the greater part of his life in Samarkand and Herat, Haji Abd-al Qadir Maraghi (died in 1435 CE in Herat). It is from his tract "Jami'-al-alhan" ("Compendium of Melodies") that Nā'inī draws the names of the 48 *gusheh*.<sup>16</sup> The range of Nā'inī's sources regarding the system of 12 *maqams* was evidently quite wide. This is how he begins the chapter the system of 12 *maqams* "Know that among the ancient and modern Iranians, Turanians and Rumis (Ottoman Turks) the masters of the (science of) sound have determined and established the following: there are no more than 6 *avazehs*, 12 *maqams*, 24 *shu'behs* and 48 *gusheh*, which together constitute 90 melodies".<sup>17</sup> Besides the already mentioned works of Kawkabi and Maraghi, Nā'inī also introduces the versified description of 48 *gusheh* from the not so well-known writing of Maulana Husain Kawkabi.<sup>18</sup> It is possible that here Maulana Hasan Kawkabi is meant, whose name has ostensibly been incorrectly given as Hussain, on account of an error by the scribe. Maulana Hasan Kawkabi (XVIth century) was a person who was wholly conversant with music, produced many compositions, and "occasionally devoted some attention to verse"<sup>19</sup>

Nā'inī's creative activity took place at that period in medieval history when Central Asian and Indian cultural relations became operative and were strengthened. Favourable conditions for the development of art and literature and a climate of relative religious tolerance encouraged an influx of poets, scientists and musicians into Northern India from Central Asia, especially from Bukhara. As the outstanding Bukharan scientist-musician Darvish Ali Changi (second half of the XVIth century-first two decades of the XVIIth century)<sup>20</sup> noted in his treatise, several Central Asian musicians swarmed into courts of the Great Moguls Humayun and Akbar. They brought with them the system of the *maqamat* accepted in the Central Asian centres, and in Bukhara. Nā'inī also brought it with him (and it is with his treatise – the first known work on *maqam-s* and *rag-s* – that the penetration of the scientific ideas of Kawkabi Bukhari begins.) The evidence shows that Nā'inī was already an adult when left his homeland for unknown reasons and immigrated to India. In the introduction he writes: "Yea, it will become known that when this humble person's (i.e., the author's) heart was madly in love with music, and began to delight in the science of music, this humble person traveled to the charming land of India, and with the eyes of understanding beheld the faces of the idols of India, listening with the ears of understanding to the Indian melodies, discovered the beauties of this flower-garden."<sup>21</sup> After settling down in India and becoming acquainted with its culture, Nā'inī was captivated by the sophistication and beauty of its musical art (especially by the *rag-s*). He begins to learn them earnestly, reading works on music by Indian scholars, and mastering the basics of *rag*. In the conclusion of his treatise, he narrates how he began to create compositions Indian in form and style, whose fame reached the ears of members of the royalty. As a result, he was drawn closer to the court, and "then followed the noblest commands that this humble person's compositions be sung in the paradise-like *majlises*".<sup>22</sup> This understanding of Indian music gave the musician the right to say in one of his poems:

Come, listen to the six rag-s of Bakiya,  
Blessed science they are for music.<sup>23</sup>

The scientific sources for exposition of the raga-system which Nā'inī used were the works of Indian theoreticians of music. Nā'inī mentions this in the very introduction to his treatise.<sup>24</sup> While describing the genres and forms of Indian music, he says that the information about *git* “has been drawn from the “Book of Music” (“Kitab-i Sangit”), which happens to be a practical guide to the various grades of the Indian melodies and rhythmic patterns (*usuls*).”<sup>25</sup> Nā'inī does not name the author of this work, and even the Hindi term “sangit” has a rather wider meaning for him. In India, a great many works on music with the word “sangit” in their title have been composed. How deeply Nā'inī delved into the theoretical systems of Indian scholars can be deduced from the fact that he was able to notice contradictions that existed among various authors on the question of the classification of *ragini*-s and their relationship to the *rag*-s. “From the majority of manuscripts, it became clear that among scholars of this art, there are contradictions on this question. For example, the *ragini*-s attached to the *rag* Bhairon, as listed in some manuscripts, are said to be the *ragini*-s of [the rag] Malkusat [Malkust] in other manuscripts.”<sup>26</sup>

Nā'inī lays down three important aspects in the examination of the systems of *maqams* and *rag*-s:

- their general description by means of classification into fundamental and derivative modes,
- characterization of the forms and genres, in which these two systems find expression in practice,
- the time of performance of the systems of *maqam*-s and *rag*-s.

Nā'inī presents the system of *maqam*-s as a conglomerate of fundamental and derivative modal forms, which are mutually related, at the same level or hierarchically. Interestingly, he calls all these forms “melodies” (*ahang*).<sup>27</sup> Does this word not hide inside itself a dual conception: as a term for a modal-tonal framework, and a term for the musical compositions created within them? However, then, what is implied by the term “melodies” above all is that the all the modal-tonal frameworks follow from the following descriptions of the methods of forming their derived groups (*avazeh*, *shu'beh*, *gusheh*). Each of the six is derived by the combination of the lower (*bam*) and the upper (*zir*) parts of two *maqam*-s. Likewise, from each of the 12 *maqam*-s two *shu'beh* are formed, and from each of the 24 *shu'beh*, two *gusheh*.

Nā'inī lists the names of all these modal forms in the following order:

- (a) **The six avazeh:** Nauruz, Gavasht, Salmak, Gardaniye, Mayeh and Shahnaz;
- (b) **The 12 maqam-s:** Ushshak, Husaini, Rost, Busalik, Rahawi, Nawa, Buzurg, Isfahan, Irak, Zanguleh, Hijaz, Kuchak;
- (c) **The 24 shu'beh:** Mubarka, Panjgah, Dugah, Muhayyar, Nauruz-i-Hara, Mahur, Zail, Awj, Rui Mukhalif, Maglubetc.
- (d) **The 48 gusheh (following Maraghi):** Bahar, Nishat, Farib, Muqarrar, Hujjat, Bayat-i-Turk, Sarafraz, Baste Nigar, Bayat-i-Kurd, Vaye, Akiyat, Dilbar, Nahavendak, Safa, Awj-i-Kamal, Gulistan, Vahai, Nairez-i-Kabir, etc.<sup>28</sup>

Nā'inī does not examine the system of *rag*-s quite so minutely. He writes that “the names of Indian melodies [constitute] an infinite collection”, but the well-known ones are six *rag*-s, 30 *ragini*-s, 30 *putra*-s and 30 *bharja*-s.<sup>29</sup> The main six *rag*-s are the following: Bhairon, Malkusat (Malkust), which is also called Malkosak (Malkosk), Hindol, Meghrag, Srirag (Shrirag) and Dipak. He notes that each *rag* has 5 *ragini*-s, 5 *putra*-s and 5-*bharja*-s, but does not list their names explicitly, justifying the

exclusion as being due to the brevity of his treatise.<sup>30</sup> However, from the exposition, it is clear that they are all related to each other either horizontally, or hierarchically, as was the case with the *maqam-s*, *avazeh-s*, *shu'beh-s* and *gusheh-s*. Thus, for Nā'inī, the essential basis for comparing the two systems was the common principle of organizing medieval modes from the systems of *maqam-s* and *rag-s* was that they form peculiar “nested families”: the *maqam-s* with their *shu'beh*, *avazeh* and *gusheh-s*, and the *rag-s* with their *ragini-s*, *putra-s* and *bharja-s*. These nested families had deep “kinship relations” on the modal-tonal plane (which, unfortunately, cannot be traced.)

To carry out his comparative study of the two systems, Nā'inī makes appeal to a large number of *rag-s* which have not entered his classification. (In all, the names of more than 50 *rag-s* and *ragini-s* figure in his treatise.) Besides, in the words of the author, every “Persian” and Indian melody has its own variants and forms. It is especially important to emphasize the author’s idea that it is only possible to find correspondences between “Persian” and Indian melodies at the time of singing,<sup>31</sup> that is, in the process of direct, live intonation, perception and comparison. This indicates that to Nā'inī comparison was not a formal matter. To him it signified some genuinely existing intonational-melodic commonalities. Thus, in his words, Kat *rag* in some of its forms corresponds to Gazali and Rakba; Tudi (Todi) – to Chahargah, Segah, Mayeh, Basteh, Nigar, Zanguleh, and Maglub; Kafi – to some forms of Dugah, Husaini, and Ajam; Sarang – to Nava, Nishapurak and Nehavandak, etc.<sup>32</sup>

The *rag-s* listed are characteristic of the North Indian Classical tradition “Hindustani”.<sup>33</sup> According to Nā'inī, some other *rag-s* are also related to it, such as, Bhairavi, Lalit, Bilaval, Dipak, Marva, Puriya, Bhupali. That Nā'inī’s work largely reflects the North Indian tradition of music is also confirmed by some other facts. In particular, the artistic/aesthetic feature characteristic of Hindustani which is the strict dependence of performance on the time of day. Typical of this feature is a number of forms and genre (*dhrupad*, *khayal*, *taronā*, and others), which are studied in the third chapter. As mentioned already, Nā'inī provides valuable evidence about the forms and genres about the systems of *rag-s* and *maqam-s*, as they were realized in practice. Here the existence of distinct points of similarity can be observed. Some of them, evidently, arose independently of direct connections between musical cultures. Thus, “every melody, which is sung without rhythmic patterns (*usul*) in Iran and other [countries] is called *dubaiti*, and among the Indians, *alap[alapa]chari*”.<sup>34</sup> In the list of “Persian” compositions considered by Nā'inī also appears the *rikhta*, which is described as “charming and beautiful” form of composition. Its particular feature is the combination of Arabic or Turkic, Indian and sometimes Persian words.<sup>35</sup> Finally, we come to a discussion of the concrete prescriptions for the times of performance according to the system of 12 *maqam-s* and that of *rag-s*.

Here Nā'inī undoubtedly bases himself on the general aesthetic premise that the impact of the performance of *maqam-s* and *rag-s* is stronger if they are performed at strictly prescribed times. “The author’s conviction is that if Persian and Indian melodies, which are related to each other, are sung or played according to the above-mentioned rules, their effect will be stronger.”<sup>36</sup> Out of the fundamental aspects of examination of *maqam-s*, *rag-s* and the concomitant questions of similarity, as proposed by Nā'inī, similarities and parallels emerge at various levels: to use terminology from the modern European theory of music, at the levels of formation of modes, formation of forms, melodic intonation and functionality. Some of them, evidently, are doubtlessly due to pan-Oriental types of musical thinking and creativity. Others, such as intonational-melodic proximity, general prescriptions, are possibly due to centuries-old contact between the musical cultures of India and Central Asia:

- The similarity of principles of construction of modal structures in the *maqam-* and *rag-* systems (their lower and higher registers, having corresponding terminological designations in Persian and in Hindi);<sup>37</sup>

- General features of the principles of organization of musical material, and its development of forms (metrical-rhythmic freedom in the *dobaiti* and *alapachari*);
- The presence of closely-related melodic-tonal forms and variants of *rag-s* and *maqam-s*, *shu'beh-s*, *avazeh-s*, and *gusheh-s*;
- Similarity between the artistic-aesthetic principles of performance and functionality of the systems of *maqam-s* and *rag-s* (prescriptions for times of performance).

The list of possible modern interpretations of Nā'inī's points of view regarding *maqam-s* and *rag-s* does not end here. The most important factor which allowed Nā'inī to compare different musical cultures was that the musical culture of Northern India – one of the fundamental objects of study in his treatise – was itself for a long time historically related to the Central Asian musical traditions, and in general with the culture of the Muslim world. It organically absorbed much that was newly brought into its soil. This point clearly was recognized by Nā'inī himself, who inferred and admitted the possibility of interaction and fruitful cross-fertilization of cultures. The reader who becomes acquainted with Nā'inī's work, composed in the Middle Ages, will be amazed at the consonance of his ideas with those of our age. It would not be an exaggeration to say that in this lies its particular uniqueness and value. Nā'inī's treatise, which enriches our knowledge of the history of cultural interactions between the peoples of Central Asia and India, and which is itself an example of its importance and fruitfulness, will facilitate further deep research, and an introduction to contemporary Oriental musical studies.

## Notes

1. Deva, B.C., *Indiiskaya muzyka*, Moscow: Muzyka, 1980, p. 38.
2. In the late Middle Ages, the pan-Oriental system of 12 *maqams* underwent decay, and local systems and cycles with regional or national features attained their definite forms. These processes were also reflected in treatises on the theory of music, and this makes it possible to identify the variations in pronunciation (such as *maqam*, *mygam*, *makom*, *muqam*). In this respect, the Central Asian (or more precisely, Uzbek and Tajik) tradition in the late Middle Ages appears in the same form as in our time, namely, as *maqom*/*maqomat*, and this form has been taken as the standard in the present article.
3. Dilbar A. Rashidova formerly worked on the transcription and translation of this source. Her handwritten materials have been preserved in the library of the Khamza Institute of Art Researches (Tashkent, 1973, P28, Inv. No. 679).
4. For a description of the manuscript, see Oriental Manuscript Collection of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR, Vol. X, D.G. Voronovskii, ed., Tashkent, Publications of the Academy of the Sciences of the Uzbek SSR, 1975, p. 133, No. 68/4. (OMC hereinafter).
5. Naini, *Zamzame-yi Vahdat*, Mss. of the Al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the AS of the Uzbek SSR, Inv. No. 10226/II, f. 80b (Naini, hereinafter).
6. The compiler of Vol. X of the OMC D. G. Voronovskii believes so. – Ibid., p. 133.
7. For information on Kawkabi, see D.A. Rashidova, Najmiddin Kawkabi Bukhari, in *History and Modernity. Problems of the Musical Culture of the Peoples of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan*, Moscow, Muzyka, 1972, pp. 365-375; Джумаев А.Б. Наджм ад-Дин Кавкаби Бухари: поэт, музыкант, ученый XV–XVI вв. Жизнь и творчество (исследование и переводы). Ташкент: Baktria press, 2016. - Djumaev, Alexander. Nadjm al-Din Kawkabi Bukhari: Poet, musician, scholar of XV-XVI cc. Life and creative work (studies and translations). Tashkent: Baktria press, 2016].
8. Naini, f. 3b, 4a, 72a, 74b.

9. The term “Persian melodies” used by Naini to indicate the system of *maqoms* and their concomitant issues, calls for some explanation. By this term we must understand not only the music of Iran, but above all that of the whole of Central Asia. The use of this term in medieval treatises on music (many of which, as is well-known, were composed in Central Asia) and in this instance in Naini’s treatise does not require proof. The specified term, and some others, have been introduced in the present article in order to preserve the author’s original terminology. That said, it is enclosed in quotation marks in those cases when it follows outside the quotation from the author’s text.
10. There are discrepancies between the titles of the chapters in the foreword of this treatise and at the heading of the chapters themselves. In this article, the titles are taken from the headings of the chapters.
11. *OMC*, Vol. X, p. 240, No. 6966.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 76, No. 6822.
13. Kawkabi, *Dar Bayan-i duvazdah maqom*, Mss. of the Al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the AS of the Uzbek SSR, Inv. No.9264/II, f. 05a; Nisari, *Muzakkir al-ahbab*, Mss. of the Al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the AS of the Uzbek SSR, Inv. No. 56, f. 86a-87a; Naini, f. 5b, 6a.
14. Kawkabi, *Maqamat al-aliye*, Mss. of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts of the Russian AS (Saint-Petersburg), Inv. No. 2257, f. 270a-271b; *ditto*, *Risale-yimusiqi*, Mss. of the Al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the AS of the Uzbek SSR, Inv. No. 468/IV, f. 696-706.
15. Naini, f. 77b-78a; Kawkabi, Mss. Inv. No. B2257, f. 271b-272a; Mss. Inv. No. 468/IV, f. 70b-71a.
16. Naini, f. 6b-7a.
17. Naini, f. 5a.
18. Naini, f. 7a.
19. Nisari, *Muzakkir al-ahbab*, Mss. of the Al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the AS of the Uzbek SSR, Inv. No. 56, f. 101a-101b.
20. Darwish Ali Changi, *Risale-yi musiqi*, Mss. of the Al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the AS of the Uzbek SSR, Inv. No. 449, f. 88a-88b, 90a-90b, 93a, 104a. For information about Darwish Ali, see Rashidova, D.A., *Darwish Ali Changi and his Treatise on Music (Mawerannahr, XVI-XVII centuries)*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation., Moscow, 1982. She also carried out the first translation of the treatise into Russian (whose manuscript is in the Khamza Institute of Art Researches).
21. Naini, f. 4a.
22. *Ibid.*, f. 80a.
23. *Ibid.*, f. 71b.
24. *Ibid.*, f. 4a.
25. *Ibid.*, f. 74a.
26. *Ibid.*, f. 71b. Here and hereinafter, the names of *rag-s* are given in the form in which they occur in Naini’s manuscript, except for individual corrections caused by obvious distortion of the text or imperfect condition of the manuscript. The possible correct reading or variants that appear in the literature are given in round or square brackets.
27. Naini, f. 5a.
28. There may be discrepancies in the names of the *gusheh-s* as reported by Naini and by his source, Maraghi. It is not possible to ascertain these discrepancies, since there is no possibility to examine both originals.
29. Naini, f. 71a-71b.



30. Ibid., f. 71b.
31. Ibid., f. 72a.
32. Ibid., f. 72b-73a.
33. See: Danielou, A., Northern Indian music, vol. I-II, London, 1950, 1953; Danielou, A., The ragas of Northern Indian music, London, 1968; Deva, B.C., op. cit.; *Muzykal'naya estetika stran Vostoka*, Moscow, Muzyka, 1967.
34. Naini, f. 75b.
35. Ibid., f. 76b-77a.
36. Ibid., f. 78b, 79a-79b.
37. Ibid., f. 5a.