

## Tracing the Musical Tradition in the Mughal Period during the 17<sup>th</sup> century as gleaned through *Rag Darpan* and *Tuhfat ul Hind*

Huma Aizaj

Research Scholar, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh

**Abstract:** *This paper aims to examine the musical tradition in the Mughal Period during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. During this time, music was a vital part of Mughal culture. In this paper, emphasis is placed on musical texts like Rag Darpan and Tuhfatul Hind, which provide details on musical tradition in the seventeenth century. Examining these sources provides a wealth of information on vocal technique, instruments, ensemble composition, musicians, and various kinds of performers. This paper will also focus on the changes that occurred in the seventeenth century in the field of music culture, both in terms of theory and jargon used by musicians through these musical texts. A study of establishing a connection between Indian and Persian musical culture continued in one tradition known as Hindustani music. These works serve as evidence that throughout the seventeenth century, the music went beyond its traditional function as a source of amusement and advanced to a new degree of excellence.*

**Keywords:** Go indahs, Nayak, Nayika, Rag, Tals.

During the seventeenth century, music expanded beyond its role as a form of entertainment. It proceeded to grow into a very minute intellectual sign and reached new levels of perfection starting in the time of Shah Jahan. The principles and ideas relating to different parts of music have attracted the interest of many music experts. According to Madhu Trivedi, the influence of Sarangadeva's *Sangitaratnakara*<sup>1</sup> written in the thirteenth century, was diminishing. It remained the most essential text until about the start of the sixteenth century for those looking to study Indian music or bring it to the Persian cultural sphere. *Sangitaratnakara* is heavily referenced by the authors of *Ghuniyat al-Munya*<sup>2</sup> and *Lahjat-i Sikandar Shahi*,<sup>3</sup> even *Lahjat-i Sikandar Shahi's* translation of *Sangitaratnakara*. However, those types are not described in these texts, which became popular after the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate. The Persian text of the seventeenth century emphasizes the value of only those works written by the practising expert, such as *Mankuthahal* of Man Singh, *Nartananirnaya* of Pandarika Vitthala Sangit

*Darpan* of Damodara Mishra, *Raganava*, *Sabha-Vinod*,<sup>4</sup> and *Shadrag-Chandrodaya* of Pandarika Vitthala. This contrasts with such works, which take a conservative stance regarding Sanskrit textual tradition.<sup>5</sup>

During the seventeenth century, the compilation of numerous musical texts in Persian and the rise in the number of professionals with a scientific understanding of music, particularly when music was supposedly banned, are additional evidence that the musical arts flourished.<sup>6</sup> The *Rag Darpan*<sup>7</sup> and *Tuhfat al-Hind*<sup>8</sup> are both excellent examples of the rich musical tradition of the seventeenth century. These sources provide a treasure of knowledge regarding vocal styles, instruments, ensemble composition, musicians, and categories of performers. These two works provide a good overview of the changes that occurred in the seventeenth century in the field of music culture, both in terms of theory and jargon used by professionals. Faqirullah Saif Khan's *Rag Darpan* (1666 A.D.) was a translation of *Mankutuhala* which was put together by musicians of Man Singh Tomar's court. Faqirullah says that:

*Bar rāye mehr anjalāye mut\$āl'e kunandgān makhfi namānand ke ānche az māt kutuhāl wa Rāg sāgar wa Rāg parkāsh tarjume namūdam mutarjumī bīsh nīstam. Ānche az rāh-e-dar yāftō-e-nāqasō-e-khūdnewishtam dar ān har che be khātir-e-āt\$ir-e- 'azīz ān bar sud az rāh-e-'ut\$ūfatdarqām numāīnad.*<sup>9</sup>

"It should be clear to the eliminated mind that I have simply translated from *Mankutuhala*, *Ragsagara* and *Ragprakash*. Apart from it, whatever has been added by me based on my research (*daryaft*), is open for correction."<sup>10</sup>

He claims that merely a mirror can depict the forest and mountain in a tiny area, and the same is true of this treatise's ability to distinguish between the *rags*. He has named it *Rag Darpan* because of this.<sup>11</sup> Faqirullah Saif Khan claimed that although the musicians of Akbar's reign were *ata'i*, or gifted, they still performed without understanding the principles. He admired the musicians of Raja Man Singh Tomar's (1486–1516 A.D.) court who wrote about music based on their knowledge and experiences.<sup>12</sup> Thus, in the seventeenth century, having knowledge of and expertise in music was crucial; without it, a musician could not be considered acceptable. To acquire knowledge of music, which Faqirullah Saif Khan considered to be the hardest science to study.<sup>13</sup> According to Faqirullah:

*Bar zōamīr-e-munīr-e-azkīā rūsh ast ke 'ilm-e-maūsīqī mushkil tarīn 'ulūm ast. Pūr sīnā be bar 'ilm ke rasīdī āmūkhtōi wa gūftōi ke "mardehast". Imān'ilmū chun behr yāzōīr sayyīd, kehajzū-e-Ā 'zamā-o-maūsīqīst, i'tr afbahajazn mūdhegufte "ilmhest". Amāmīr dakū? Inzr hasr gar dānebādīehīr tūhīmānar achhiyār u kūdām nīrad ke darīn 'ilm-e-shgūf az khūd chīzī nāūsīd, wa bar ān misōr bāshd ke man ham chīzī dānam, misōrā'āniste shud ke hich zad aniste īm mā<sup>14</sup>*

"It is known to wise that music is the most difficult science. Avecina learnt every science; when he put his hand on mathematics the major part

of learnt every science; when he put his hand on mathematics the major part of which is music, he admitted his inability to learn it. For, it is nothing but science. Hence this humble writer cannot add to it. Verse:"<sup>15</sup>

"It is recognised (known) that I know nothing".

However, Faqirullah Saif Khan, a talented musician and expert in the study of music, attempted to update the *Rag Darpan*, making it more than just a translation. His friend, who was knowledgeable about the issue but did not entirely agree with the *Mankutuhāl's* account, persuaded him to write *Rag Darpan*. They encouraged him to modify and finish the text he had begun in Kashmir.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, Faqirullah Saif Khan provided a few elements that he thought would be helpful for those looking to learn more about music based on his observations of contemporary performing techniques. Along with listing the *rags* found in *Mankutuhāl*, he also highlighted those found in *Chandrodaya*, *Rag Sagar*, and *Rag Prakash*, as well as those created by Amir Khusrau, Sultan Hussain Shah Sharqui (1458–1506 A.D.), Shaikh Baha al-Din Zakariya Multani, and others. Additionally, based on his observations of contemporary performance practises, he added a few *rags* that were not included in the treatise, such as *Bharat Sangit (Natya Shastra)*, *Sangit Darpan*, *Sangitaratnakara*, and *Chandrodaya*. The comprehensive list provided in *Mankutuhāl* was supplemented with a few *rags*; some of them were taken from *Nartananirnaya* and *Chandrodaya*, while others were chosen with the help of experienced singers and instrumentalists.<sup>17</sup>

The author of *Tuhfat al-Hind*, Mirza Khan ibn Fakhruddin Muhammad, is a direct descendant of Abdu Rahim Khan-i Khana. At Kokaltash Khan's request, *Tuhfat al-Hind*, a unique study on the fine arts and sciences of the Hindus, was produced around 1675 A.D. for the Mughal emperor's son, prince Mahammad Mu'iz al-Din Jahandarshah, who reigned in 1712–1713 A.D. This work was written under the reign of Aurangzeb, according to the preface of the author. *Tuhfat al-Hind* is a major work on Indian science that describes many other areas such as poetics and lexicography, among others. It should be noted that this work is not a treatise, especially on music. Each of its chapters contains moments of innovation, and the fifth chapter goes into great length about the music known as *ilm-i Sangit*.<sup>18</sup>

During seventeenth century was a watershed moment in the evolution of Indian music, the process of fusing Persian and Indian art forms reached its zenith. Both Indian and Persian music lose their unique characteristics and merge into a distinct Indo-Persian style. From the time of Shah Jahan onwards, many music connoisseurs, including the high grandees, developed a keen interest in the theories and principles underlying various facets of music, as they found *amal* without *ilm* intolerance. While claiming originality for the musicians of Akbar's court were 'Quacks' in comparison to those of Shah Jahan's musicians because all of their knowledge was based on *Rag Sagar*.<sup>19</sup> According to Faqirullah:

*Cherâ ke ân waqt nâyikân bûdand, goîndehâye zaman aks\$ar hîchkudâm dar 'ilm mis\$îl nâyikân waqt râje mân nabûdand. Ânhâ maûfiq-e-qirârdâdqalmî be 'aml awarde newishte andekdalîlân; dowwum ânkegoyindehâ îzmân Akbar Bâdshâh aks\$ar 'ut\$â'ibûdand; qawâ'id ustâdân ânast (ke hark e 'amal habî 'ilm dâshte u râ 'at\$âkî goîn.<sup>20</sup>*

“In the former days, the great *nayakas* were there. Among the *go'indahs* of a later period, most of them lacked the knowledge that the *nayakas* of the time of Raja Man Singh had. They had written in accordance with their *ilm* reduced into *amal*. This is only one of the arguments. The second is that the *go'indahs* of the time of Akbar *Badshah* where most of *atayis* and the *Ustad* have made it into a rule that whosoever has *amal* to his credit but not *ilm* is an *atayi*.”<sup>21</sup>

Although it appears that Faqirullah was exaggerating a lot in this assertion, he is trying to convey to his readers that musicians during the 17<sup>th</sup> century especially at Shah Jahan's court were more familiar with the new musical techniques and styles that Raja Man Singh of Gwalior had brought.

Faqirullah Saif Khan goes on to explain the introduction of other *rags*<sup>22</sup>, such as *kapargauri*, which were regionally distinctive to Gujrat. Additionally, he added some of the *rags* of his own invention, like *jayata-basant*, *pisindhavi adanakedar*, and *syamsarang*, among others. His inclusion of a few *rags* in the list that he identified or acknowledged as such represents his most significant contribution. He adds that he was limited in his choice of these *rags* since he lacked free time and access to skilled instrumentalists, and he is continuing to research this subject.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the list of *rags* provided in his book was diverse and described the specifics surrounding the quantity and types of *rags* thoroughly. This is the author's significant contribution to the realm of music during the seventeenth century.

*Hanuman-mat*, *Bharat-mat*, *Kallinath-mat*, and *Someshvar-mat*<sup>24</sup> are four modal classification systems (*Rag-Ragini* classification) mentioned in *Tuhfat-al Hind*. *Tuhfat-al Hind* was written by the *Hanuman-mat*, which was regarded as the most authentic of the four modal classification systems during this time.<sup>25</sup> When Mirza Khan contrasts the list of *rags* categorised under the various *mats*, he notes that the *Hanuman-mat*, in use at the time, had five *ragini* and eight *putras*, with one *bharja* for each *putra*, while other *mats* had six *ragini* and eight *putras*.<sup>26</sup> Also listed are such *rags*, which the people regarded as *shuddha*.<sup>27</sup> He also makes note of the *rags* produced by working artists that are not included in treatises. Additionally, he lists the names of the individual *rags*. He says the list is thorough and current. Mirza Khan provides Persian equivalents for each of the six seasons of the Indian calendar, known as the *khat-rut* (*shad-ritu*), which are each made up of two months. Additionally, he gives information about the *rags*, including information about their class, forms, costumes, and the proper season and time for their rendering according to *Hanuman math*.<sup>28</sup>

In the *Rag Darpan* and *Tuhfatal Hind*, we find a thorough description of

the *rags*. Faqirullah Saif Khan explicitly states that he also referenced literature like *Rag-sagar*, *Rag-Prabandha*, and *Risala-i Saiyid Mansur* in addition to *Mankutuhāl*.<sup>29</sup> According to oral tradition, Amir Khusrau developed a large list of such *rags* by fusing *rags* and *maqam*, as shown by the following examples: *kharja* was made by fusing the Persian *muqam kharja* with *deskar*, and *ghanam* was created by fusing *nairez* with *kalyan*. In actuality, Amir Khusrau utilised *sazgari*, *kharja*, *usshaq*, and *muvafiq* frequently to create new *rags*, which were then combined with existing *rags* and *muqam*.<sup>30</sup> He lists the *rags* that Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi is said to have invented. He is credited with creating twelve different *syam* variants, each of which kept the names of the two contributing *rags*. *Tori*, *malshri*, and a Persian *muqam* were combined to create the new *rag Jaunpuri tori*.<sup>31</sup> Along with his own creations, his list also contained *rags* made by Tansen, Nayak Bakshu, and Shaikh Baha al-Din Zakaria Multani.<sup>32</sup>

*Raganarva*, *Sangit Darpan*, *Mankutuhāl*, and *Rag Darpan* served as the foundation for the classification of *rags* in *Tuhfat al-Hind*. *Shuddha*, *Sankirn*, *Salang* (*Chhaya-lag*), *Sampurna*, *Khadav* (*Shadav*), and *Audav* are the six different types of *rags*.<sup>33</sup> There are three classes of *rags* namely, *purush-rag*, *stri-rag*, and *putra-rag*.<sup>34</sup> The *bharjas* are also described by Mirza Khan in addition to the six *purush-rags*, each of which has five *raginis* and eight *putras* (daughter in law).<sup>35</sup> All *rags*, in Mirza Khan's opinion, fall into one of three categories: *shuddh*, *salang* (*chhaya lag*), or *sankirn*. The *Shuddha* *rag* is pure. *Salang* is also not made up of other *rags*, but it does contain some of their shades. *Sankirn* is made up of two or more *raga*.<sup>36</sup> He adds that some music experts believe that *rags* are *sankirn*, while others believe that *rags* are *shuddh* and that current musicians' compositions of *ragini* and *putras* are *sankirn*. According to certain musicologists, even some *shuddh* *rags* qualify as *salang*.<sup>37</sup> It demonstrates that there was discussion among music experts throughout the period under examination regarding how to classify the *sankirn* and *salang* variations, as some *shuddh* *rags* are now referred to as *salang*.

The *ragini* and *putras*, however, are *sankirn*, and *salag* *rags* were produced by contemporary musicians who blended *rags* of their choice by their understanding and will, claims Faqirullah Saif Khan.<sup>38</sup> In accordance with *Mankutuhāl*'s description, he lists the *shuddh*, *sankirn*, and *salag* *rags* as well as their component *rags*.<sup>39</sup> He specifically calls out those *rags* that were produced by fusing Indian and Persian *rags* and *muqams*, and which great musicians like Khusrau, Sharqi Sultan, Nayak Bakhshu, and many other musicians who were his contemporaries of note gave new names to by their understanding and preferences.<sup>40</sup> For instance, Amir Khusrau created *sanam* (also known as *dewali*), which was a blend of *berari*, *hussaini*, and *malshri*. Faqirullah Saif Khan adds that some musicologists believe *barkhito* be the *shri* *rag* whereas *Ustad* see the *Bhairon* *rag* as the *sarmand*. Additionally, he provides the time when these *rags* were rendered, particularly the *sampurn*.<sup>41</sup> His list is therefore exceptionally thorough because he also includes *rags* that were not included in musical treatises but had persisted

in oral tradition among working experts. When writing about the component *rags* of the *sankirnan* and *salag* types, Faqirullah Khan is extremely detailed.

These sources demonstrate that the seventeenth-century musicians did not appear to adhere closely to the *gram* system, which is the partition of the *gram* into *rag* and *up-gram* as recorded in *Lahjat-i Sikandar Shahi*. The *gram* system/ classification, however, continued to be dominant in textual tradition. The *gram* of some of the *rags* mentioned in the *mankutuhāl* has also been given by Faqirullah Saif Khan. For instance, he claims that the *kharajgram* should be used to create *kamodi*.<sup>42</sup> However, the description of the Persian music expert from the seventeenth century does not use the word *thata*.<sup>43</sup>

Additionally, these authors look at the *margi* and *desi* setting. Mirza Khan categorises *margand desi rag* based on current thinking rather than on ancient Sanskrit writings. It is interesting to note that some forms that Abul Fazl classifies as *margi*, like *jhumra* (derived from *jhombada*), *vartant*, the *suryaprakash*, the *chandraprakash*, and *man*,<sup>44</sup> Faqirullah Saif Khan considers to be *git*. For example, he mentions *chandraprakash* as a type of *git*, which is a *marg* composition.<sup>45</sup> In addition, he notes that *marg* composition was rarely performed in north India and that *suddharag* and *marg* composition were nevertheless popular up until the development of *dhrupad*. Except for a handful, they all lost their prominence as *dhrupad* became more and more well-liked. The *sudes* people started translating these in the *desawali* language.<sup>46</sup> However, he makes it clear that *marg* composition was still in use in the Deccan. According to Faqirullah Saif Khan's account, it also started to gain popularity in the Deccan at this period.<sup>47</sup>

The establishment of a correspondence or relationship between *rag* and *parda* had become a new tendency in musical arts practice throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century. In *Nartananirnaya*, a Sanskrit treatise written in the sixteenth century under the patronage of Akbar, Pandarika Vitthala initiated this style. He takes note of a few Persian *rags* that were incorporated into the Hindustani system throughout the centuries that Muslim rulers ruled India. Some of the *rags* are referred to by him as a companion or relative of the Persian musical forms. He claims that *Bhairav* is a follower of the Persian mode *ujjhala* (*ujjhalasyanuyayi*), *bakherej* is friends with *desikar*, *desi ragini* is the granddaughter of the Persian mode *Ahang* (*ahangasyaprapotri*), and *dhannasiragini* is the friend of *dhavalrag*, also known as *irak* (*iraq*). *Turushkatodi*, according to him, dresses and acts like a *yavana* woman, a name for the Persian people.<sup>48</sup> *Dhannasi* (*ragini*) dresses strangely.<sup>49</sup> *Rags* that resemble Persian modes (*parda*) are also mentioned by Pandarika Vitthala when defining the characteristics of *rags*. He takes note of a few Persian *rags* that were incorporated into the Hindustani system over the centuries that Muslim rulers ruled India. According to Bhatkhande, he was maybe the first musicologist to connect Persian melodies to Indian *rags*.<sup>50</sup> It is interesting to note that Pandit Somnatha, a scholar from the south who wrote *Rag Vibodh* in the year 1610 A.D., included in his list the names of

several *rags* that are uniquely Persian as well as their equivalents. These include names like *nauroz*, *zeelaf*, *erakh*, and others. For instance, *rehayi* and *deogiri*, according to Pandit Somnath, are akin to *devagandhar* and *mushak*, respectively.<sup>51</sup> According to Bhatkhande, even if Persian and Indian melodies are not identical to one another, the fact that they are based on the same scale demonstrates that the two are related.<sup>52</sup> Northern musicians were familiar with a significant number of Somnaths' *rags*. In common speech, the word *rag* can also be referred to as *parda*, which is a term that Somnath has popularised.<sup>53</sup> demonstrates that Southern music experts were well-versed in Persian music and that both Northern and Southern music scholars began to use the terms *parda* and *rag* interchangeably.

The practice of establishing a connection between Indian and Persian musical modes continued, as evidenced by the fact that Faqirullah Saif Khan wrote about the similarities between Indian *rags* and Persian *naghma*. However, he did so in a more scientific manner by enlisting the assistance of musicians who were actively performing in both styles. He remarked, "I could not recognize some of the Persian *naghmas* and I enquired about these from that instrumentalist and musicians who were conversant with Persian performance tradition and in this manner, I could trace about eleven *naghmas*, which were found similar to one or the other Indian *rag*: *ghazal* has striking resemblance with *khat rag*, *mukhalif* is similar to *ramkali*, *nairezand kalyan*, *aishon* and *bidhans*, *dogah* and *shuddh tori*, *nava* and *sarang*, and *iryen* and *puriadhanshri*, *shahnaz* and *sri rag*, *maghlub* and *basanth* were closely associated. The *mujadat* and *naghmat* in which *parda* or musical airs were rendered in the current language of the populace were similar to *birwa*, and called *thumri* by some people."<sup>54</sup> In *Rag Darpan*, the term 'Thumri' appears for the first time; more specifically, it is discussed in the context of a *rag* rather than as a type of music. Faqirullah Khan continues by stating that Indian *rags* were neither trendy or well-liked in Kashmir at the time. The only other *rag* that can be said to be completely equivalent to its Persian counterpart, according to him, is *khat rag*, which is known as *ghazal* in Persian.<sup>55</sup> According to his account, Persian instrumental music compositions were also becoming less common.<sup>56</sup>

The Persian *sho'ba*, *gosha* and *muqams* are described by Mirza Khan.<sup>57</sup> He compares them to *putra* and *rag-ragini*. His description of these *rags* with the melding of *rag* and *muqam* is included in a portion of his work, and he also compares the two. He claimed that a significant number of Persian *muqams* were related to or linked with Indian *rags*. He claims that *zangulas* ounds are similar to *tori*, while *husaini*, *do-gah*, and *nauraz* of Azam have the sound of *kafi*. He has mentioned twenty such *muqams*, which in one or another way are similar to Indian *rags*.<sup>58</sup> He also makes notice of *rags* that were performed by working musicians but weren't included in musical treatises. He also lists the names of the individual *rags*. He asserts that the list is thorough and current.

The ninety-two *tales* that were popular at the time are described in-depth by Mirza Khan in a section devoted to *tal* patterns. His list includes

*tals* like *chahartal* (*chautal*), *yak-tal*, *rupaktal*, and *jhamptal*, which are still popular today.<sup>59</sup> However, some of them, like *Parvati lochantal* and *kamandtal*, sound dated.<sup>60</sup> Mirza Khan offers insightful information on Persian *usuls* (*tals*), also known as *Bahar u Da'ira*. He lists seventeen patterns, including *khafif*, *bahar-ifakhta*, *bahar-iturkzarb*, also known as *tarkashtizarb*, and *bahar-ichaharzarb*.<sup>61</sup>

Mirza Khan has provided information about the many types of musicians of the period. He claims that *Nayak* is a musician (*mughanni*) who is proficient in both theory and practise (*sahib-iilm u amal*) and who has knowledge (*maharat-itamam*) in *sangit*, that is, in singing, playing instruments, and dancing (*naghma*, *saz-u raqs*), and who is capable of instructing even *baikars*. There were two types of *nayak*: *gandharpan* and the *gunkars* who were skilled in the performance of *dhrupad*, *taivat*, and similar other forms were known as *kalavant*; those who were knowledgeable in *qaul-tarana* and related variants were known as *qawwals*; those who were knowledgeable in *karakka* and such other forms were known as *dhadhi*; and those who were only familiar with the theoretical aspects of music were known as *pandit*.<sup>62</sup>

An additional list of eighteen medieval *nayak* is provided by Mirza Khan. Gopal *Nayak*, a musician from the South, comes in first and foremost on this list, followed by Amir *Khusrau*. This suggests that there was extensive interaction between northern and southern musicians at the time, and it also leads one to speculate that there was not a distinct difference between northern and southern music, at least during this period. Some of the *nayaks* on the list, including *Nayak Bakshu*, *Nayak Bhannu*, *Tansen*, *Subhan Khan Nauhar*, *Ravi and Sasi (Shashi)*, and *Baz Bahadur*, were employed by the courts of *Raja Man Singh* and *Akbar*. He claimed that the number of *gandharps* and *gunkars* was limitless.<sup>63</sup> *Faqirullah Saif Khan* gives a thorough description of the vocalists and instrumentalists of the current period. He makes it very clear that only practising experts whose performances he had seen are included on this list.<sup>64</sup>

These sources provide information on several of the themes of *Riti*<sup>65</sup> poetry, including *nayak*, *nayika*, *sakhi* (the princess and upper-class women), and *duti* (female messenger, a go-between a hero and heroine). They also portray the stereotype of a *duti*, a smart, quick-witted, intelligent woman who is skilled at reading people's minds. She was presumably hired from the group of performing women. However, her service was greatly needed during this time of study. In the Persian musical treatises *Rag Darpan* and other works, she is mentioned with *nayak*, *nayika*, and *sakhi*. Her types were described in depth by *Pandarika Vitthala* in the late sixteenth century.<sup>66</sup> In contemporary Mughal paintings, the heroin-type theme, or *nayika-bhed*, was also very common. *Rag Darpan* covers the form, the dress, and the classes of *rags* in *rag-adhyaya* because music iconography was becoming increasingly important during this time.<sup>67</sup>

The professional castes and tribes of dancers and singers, as well as the extremely sophisticated and refined performance women like the *kanchani*,<sup>68</sup>



are all conspicuously absent from these sources. However, one learns from these records about the unique musical ensembles of female singers, which demonstrates that female musicians were developing their own distinctive style in vocal and instrumental music, many of which were identified as *ustad*. During the time period under consideration, the practice of *akhara*, in which performing women were employed by the aristocracy and the nobility for the purpose of providing entertainment for them, gradually faded into irrelevance. Instead, musical ensembles that included members of both genders became increasingly common, particularly in the context of courts.<sup>69</sup>

The description of the sources seems to indicate that the condition of the *dhadhi* community has improved. These musicians were masters of a variety of musical styles and instruments, including *dhrupad* and *chutkula*, as well as the *pakhwaj* (double-headed barrel drum), *daff*, and *rubab*. They also played exceptionally well. Some of these individuals were particularly well-known for their expertise in making music. Mention may be made here of several prominent vocalists and instrumentalists from this community such as Miyan Dalu Dhadhi, who was unsurpassed in performing *dhrupad*, and Rahim Dhadhi, a composer-musician who excelled in *marg* music. Both of these individuals come from this community. Others, such as Rasbin, Allahbad sarangi-nawaz, Firoz Dhadhipakhawaji, and Salih Dhadhirubabi, were renowned for their outstanding performances. Some of them were particularly skilled in the style of (*tarz*) practised by Amir Khusrau and Sultan Hussain Sharqi. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the *dhadhi* gradually overtook the *nats*, also known as the *natwa*, in the role of music instructors.<sup>70</sup>

These books also detail both the changes and the continuity that have occurred within the sphere of instruments. *Bin* and *Pakhawaj* eventually emerged as the two most prominent instruments. The *patah* and the *huruk* have both become archaic. The *rubab* is still widely played and is typically heard as an accompaniment to *khayal* and *chutkula*. As a result of these two musical styles being performed in a high register, the accompaniment for them was a *rubab* that had twelve or more strings. The *tambur* was utilised both as a drone and as an instrument for generating melodies. About *jal-tarang*, Faqirullah Saif Khan refers to an instrument that did not have a specific name in Persian culture but referred to as the *chiniawaz*. As a solo instrument, the *sarangi* was also gaining popularity at the time.<sup>71</sup>

These books, too, are written in the Persian format, just like the preceding treatise on Indian music that was written in Persian. The information that Faqirullah Saif Khan presents is segmented into ten chapters. Similarly, the *Tuhfat al-Hind* is divided into seven chapters, each of which is further subdivided into sections, according to the tradition of the Persians. Even though Mirza Khan has not followed the traditional *saptadhyaya* division for arranging his material (such as *sur adhyaya*, *taladhyaya*), he begins his discussion by elaborating concepts such as *ilm-ipingal* and *ilm-ituk* etc., in the manner of an accomplished Sanskrit music

scholar. These concepts, according to him, are the elements and fundamentals of this art form. This is significant about his account. He does this clearly and concisely that demonstrates his familiarity with the phrase utilised in current professional terminology.

The language used in these texts is deserving of a mention at this point. The authors have employed the terminology of the practical experts, which is a blend of Persian and Sanskrit phrases used in professional usage. This terminology was adopted by the authors. The use of language in everyday conversation takes priority over literary language here. Mirza Khan, for instance, frequently employs the expressions *funn-i Bhav*, *funn-iarth*, etc. Some of the words and phrases he employs are: *sichhyakar* (*shikshakar*), *nikast* (*nishkarshit*, inferior). Similarly, Mirza Khan substitutes *nag-bani* for *bhakha* (*Braj-bhasha*).<sup>72</sup> Similarly, Faqirullah Saif Khan makes use of a language that does not employ weighted Sanskrit phrases in the same manner that the earlier Persian musicologist did. The author of this text makes frequent use of expressions and phrases that are a fusion of Sanskrit and Persian, such as *fasl-igrikhm/grishm* (summer season), *prat kal bayadsurod* (to be sung or danced to during morning hours), *awwalpahri-iroz* (in the first quarter of the day), *vaqt-isayan kal* (evening time), *chahargharirozmanda* (to be sung when fourgharis of the day are still to go), *darbarkha kal bayadkhwand* (to be sung in rainy days), *asavarisampurndar karuna rasbayadsurod* (its song should be in *karuna rasa*), *darvirras* (suited to heroic mood), and so on.<sup>73</sup> Texts about music tended to use a hybrid language. The Braj-bhasha, which also contained a small amount of Sanskrit and *sahas-parsi*, exhibits the same pattern. The seventeenth century saw the end of this custom. The compositeness that is so distinctive of medieval north Indian culture is so clearly captured in these musical texts. These offer reliable and insightful information about the current styles of Indian music and dance. In conclusion, it can be said that these sources accurately depict how several musical traditions came together to form the north Indian Hindustani tradition.

The only work to extensively examine contemporary dance is *Tuhfat al-Hind*. Particularly in the field of North Indian dances, significant changes appear to have occurred in the lexicon and idioms of the art, in the performance rules, and the repertoire. Mirza Khan takes full notice of the classical and folk idioms of dancing, those current among the performers of the day. *Bandh* and *anibandhnritya* are not defined by him. Instead, he has described in *Tuhfat al-Hind* the characteristics and performance methods of contemporary dance. There are four distinct dance forms, *tana* (*tandav* dance of shiva), *las* (*lasya* dance of parvati), *chain/chindu* and *sudhang*. The *tana* dance style, which was characterised by quick, energetic movement, in contrast to the *las* dance style was delicate, graceful, and beautiful with an overwhelming attractiveness. *Kanha* (Krishna), who after his victorious defeat over the monstrous serpent Kaliya, danced on its hood to the sound of his flute, is credited with inventing the *chain/chindu*, a type of bending, twisting, and vacillating walking movement. This dancing technique, called *sudhang* (*shuddh-ang*), is not referenced in any other source when it comes to

Krishna. It features graceful body motions, expressive mime, and suggestive poses.<sup>74</sup>

With in the context of our discussion about musical texts like *Rag Darpan* and *Tuhfatul Hind*, we may conclude that musicians of the seventeenth century placed considerable emphasis on the worth of only works written by accomplished musicians. These musical texts, therefore, do a good job of reflecting the quality of compositeness that was so prevalent in the culture of the seventeenth century. These offer genuine and useful information regarding the current developments in the field of Indian music and dance. To summarise everything, one could conclude that these sources are the actual representatives of the integration of various music cultures into one tradition known as Hindustani music. These musical works, serve as evidence that, throughout the seventeenth century, music went beyond its traditional function as a source of amusement and advanced to a new degree of excellence.

#### Notes and References (Endnotes)

1. Sarangdeva's *Sangita-Ratnakara*, a book written in Sanskrit during thirteenth century. Sarangdeva provides a thorough summery of the general system of Indian music theory and practise as it had evolved in the years before the thirteenth century as well as that which was in use at the time of his own time.
2. This Persian treatise was written on the basis of seven Sanskrit works in 1374-75. These seven Sanskrit works, *Bharata*, *Sangita Ratnakara*, *Sangit Ratnawali*, *Sangit Binod*, *Sangit Mudra*, *Satanak* and *Raga Aranava*.
3. During the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodhi, the *Lahjat-i-Sikandar-Shahi* was composed on the basis of seven musical treatise by Hammad, better known as Yahya al-Kabuli.
4. Details about *Raganava*, *Sabha-Vinod* are not found.
5. Madhu Trivedi, *Emergence of Hindustani Music*, (New Delhi: Three Essays Collective, 2012), pp. 53, 54, 55
6. The reign of Aurangzeb is often regarded as the period during which music had a period of declining popularity but we have found different type of information which we can assume that Aurangzeb banned music for himself not for others, even during his period it flourished in a different way. See, Scofield, Kathrine Butler, 'Did Aurangzeb Ban on Music? Question for the Historiography of his Reign', *Modern Asian Studies*, (Cambridge University Press, 2007), Vol. 41, pp. 77-120.
7. Faqirullah Saif Khan, *Rag Darpan* ed. Shahab Sarmadee, *Tarjuma-i-Mankuthuhal & Risala-i-Rag-Darpan*, (Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts, 1996)
8. Mirza Khan, *Tuhfat al Hind*, Vol. I, ed. Nurul Hasan Ansari, (Tehran: Intisharat-i-Buniyad, 1950).
9. Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 75
10. *Ibid.*, p. 75
11. *Ibid.*, 1996, p. 1xiii
12. *Ibid.*, 1996, p. 183
13. *Rag Darpan* p. 75
14. *Ibid.*, p. 74

15. *Ibid.*, p. 75
16. *Ibid.*, 1996, (Introduction), p. 1x
17. *Rag Darpan* pp. 1996, pp. 1xiii, 11, 183
18. Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 2
19. *Rag Darpan*, pp. 184-185
20. *Rag Darpan*, p. 182
21. *Ibid.*, p. 183
22. A melody.
23. *Rag Darpan*, 1996, pp. 73-75
24. In Indian music, *mat* stands for system regarding the classification of *rag-raginis* and arrangement of tunes. There are four leading *mats*: *Someshvoarmat*, *Kallinathmat*, *Bharatmat* and *Hanumanmat*. While first two *mats* the 6 *rags* have 6 *raginis* and 8 *Putra*, in the *Hanuman* and *Bharat mat* the 6 *rags* have 5 *ragini*, 8 *putras* and 8 *bharjas* (wives). The variation in these two *mats* is marginal.
25. *Tuhfat-al-Hind*, pp. 323, 371-2
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 402, 405, 406-7, 408-9, 410
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 390, 396, 401-10, 411
28. *Tuhfat-al-Hind*, p. 395
29. *Rag Darpan*, 1996, p. 1xiii, the details about these texts are not found except that *Rag Sagar* was written during the reign of Akbar, and that the list of *rags* given in this work differ from the list of *Mankutuhhal*.
30. *Ibid.*, 1996, p. x1vi
31. *Ibid.*, 1996, p. x1vi
32. *Ibid.*, 1996, pp. xxxiii-xxxviii
33. *Ibid.*, p. 40, *Tuhfat-al-Hind*, p. 371
34. V.N. Bhatkhande, *A Comparative Study of Some of the Leading Music System of the 15th, 16th 17th Centuries*, (Delhi:Low Price,1943), p. 51
35. *Tuhfat-al-Hind*, p. 371
36. *Tuhfat-al-Hind*, p. 411
37. *Ibid.*, p. 411
38. *Rag Darpan*, pp. 13, 16
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 23-24
41. *Ibid.*, p. 14
42. *Rag Darpan*, p.15
43. V.N. Bhatkhande, p. 35
44. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. III, ed. M.N. Kishore, (Lucknow: Nawal Kishore, 1869), p. 108, Eng. tr. H.S.Jarret, (Calcutta: Asiatic Society Bengal, 1948), p. 265
45. *Rag Darpan*, pp. 40-1
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35
47. *Ibid.*, p. 33
48. Pandarika Vitthala, *Nartananirnaya*, edited and translated by R. S. Sathyanarayana, (Delhi: IGNCA, 1994), pp. 34, 36, 40, 44
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35
50. Bhatkhande, p. 60. *Ragmanjari*, sloke, 2-14 cited bhatkhande.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 88, 96
52. *Ibid.*, p. 60
53. *Ibid.*, p. 88
54. *Rag Darpan*, p. 85

55. *Ibid.*, p. 84
56. *Ibid.*, p. 75
57. *Tuhfat al-Hind*, p. 429
58. *Ibid.*, p. 437
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 438, 447, 453
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 438, 452
61. *Ibid.*, p. 453
62. *Tuhfat-al-Hind*, pp. 358-59
63. *Ibid.*, p. 371
64. *Rag Darpan*, pp. 67-78
65. Riti poetry is the Braj-Bhasha poetry of the seventeenth century, which revolves around the theme of love. It adheres to a strict code of prosody and poetics.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 51
67. *Rag Darpan*, pp. 46, 52
68. *Kanchanis* was the most popular dancers during Akbar's reign. See, Abul Fazl, *Ain I Akbari*, Vol. III, ed. p. 112, tr. p. 272
69. Madhu Trivedi, 'Music Patronage in the Indo-Persian context: A Historical overview', Bor, Joep & Delvoye Nalini, ed. *Hindustani Music during Thirteenth to Twentieth Centuries*, (Delhi: Manohar, 2021), p. 83
70. *Rag Darpan*, pp. 67, 68, 70, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78
71. *Rag Darpan*, p. 45
72. *Tuhfat-al-Hind*, pp. 324, 325, 353, 358, 371
73. *Rag Darpan*, pp. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20
74. *Tuhfat-al-Hind*, p. 439