

THE GREAT TURK GENIUS AMIR KHUSRAW AND HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN MUSIC

N. A. BALOCH*

In the annals of the history of the South Assian Subcontinent, Amir Khusraw stands out as a great personality of his times. He was a distinguished courtier, eminent literature a great poet par excellence, an unsurpassed chronicler, and an accomplished musician. Enough is known and recorded about his accomplishments. In the following pages, it is proposed to consider his contribution in the field of music.

Born of Turkish parents, Amir Khusraw was conscious of his Turk descent. His father, Sayf al-Din Mahmud was a distinguished Turk soldier who, after his arrival in Delhi, became an army officer under Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish (1211-1236 A.D.). Khusraw was born to him in 651/1253 while he was in service at Patiyālī (the Etah district, U.P., India). In contrast to his father who had come to Hindostan from outside, Khusraw was born and bred up on the soil of Hindostan and, therefore, he considered himself to be a *Hindostani* (of Hindostan). And yet, he would identify himself as a Turk, even though a "Hindostani Turk" (Turk of Hindostan). He affirmed in his two memorable verses¹ which purport to mean:

I am a Turk but a Hindostani Turk and, teherfore
I marvel in Hindvi, and not in Arabic;
I am a parrot of Hind, and so if you want to appreciate me

Ask for and listen from me sweet notes in Hindvi.

So much affirmation of his identity postulates that he was accomplished in Turkish cultural tradition with the best of assimilitaion from the local Hindostani environment. Nowhere was this synthesis more pronounced than in his accomplishments in music.

* Professor Ph. D., Sindh University Hayderabad, Pakistan.

N.B. Unless indicated otherwise, all the textual quotations are from the and section of the Third Treatise of *Rasā'il al-'Ijāz*.

ترک هندوستانم من هندوی گویم جواب شکر مصری ندارم کز عرب رانم سخن
چون من طوطی ہندم ار زانت پرسی زمن ہندوی بپرس تا نغز گویم

(Introduction to *Diwan-i Ghurra al-Kamal*, the Panjab University Library Mss.).

Amir Khusrau's name is a legend in the history of Hindostani music. His creative contribution was so great that both the written record as well as the oral tradition have continued to extol him, to this day, as a genius who stood shoulders above his contemporaries and whose like was not born during the course of the subsequent centuries. He is generally regarded as the herald of a new era in the history of the 'Classical Hindostani Music' as it is known and understood to this day.

With all this applause and recognition and the continued commemoration of his name through centuries, Amir Khusrau's real contribution in music is not, and cannot be, fully known for want of adequate authentic record. He had written three volumes on music, and had these survived, we would have been more sure of his specific contributions to the theory and practice of music. What is known now is but incidental to his writings on other subjects, except for his brief but brilliant discourse on music which, being a primary source of authentic information, is of great value in understanding Amir Khusrau's ideas on music.

The Second Section in the Third Treatise of his monumental work on rhetorics and exposition of literary style, entitled *Rasā'il al-I'jāz*,² is the subject of a 'discourse on differentiation in the fundamental and the subsidiary principles of music' (*Inshī'āb 'Usūl wa Furū'-i Mūsīqī*). Though the Discourse primarily aims at producing a piece of creative prose in music terminology, it simultaneously throws into bold relief the perspective which has given birth to it. It was Amir Khusrau's intimate knowledge of the historical development of music and his actual experience of the contemporary music scene which inspired this Discourse. Each term and phrase representing a music figure, concept, technique or form is used artistically to produce music panorama in words. The author does not stop to explain the significance of any term or phrase which he uses: he takes it for granted that his reader understands the music concepts underlying the terms used by him. For, without such an understanding, his excellence and accomplishment in terms of professional knowledge and mastery in music can hardly be appreciated.

² *Rasā'il al-I'jāz* (Treatise on Miracle in Literary Style) also known as *I'jāz-i Khusraui* (Khusrau's Miracle) is composed of five treatises, each divided into chapters or sections. It is mainly a work in Rhetorics and Exposition of Literary Style, but while expressing himself on any topic the author not only demonstrates his ability and art in the use of words and idioms appropriate to the subject but also recreates the very environment reminiscent of the contemporary scene. It is here that one gets a glimpse into the historical perspective and the contemporary music practice of Amir Khusrau's own times.

The most important by-product of this superb exercise in artistic expression is the music panorama which it creates and which brings to light both the back-ground of the previous music tradition and also the contemporary achievements. As such, this Discourse which was under composition on 7 Shawwal, 716 H.³ (beginning of January 1317 A.D.), becomes, in effect, an important document on the historical development of music in the Hindostan sub-continent by the turn of the 13th century A.D.

Among others, the Discourse contains significant observations on (i) the nature and theory of music, (ii) the past tradition, (iii) the contemporary scene and practice, (iv) the level of achievement in technique and performance, and (v) the need for further education.

Theory and Nature of Music

The main observations on the fundamentals of music are as follows:

Music is a science ('ilm), very vast in scope, and extremely technical in nature. The subtleties of this science are too delicate to be mastered by an individual.⁴ Its principles were defined early by the learned men of Rum⁵ (i.e. Greek/Byzantine philosophers). The theory of the rhythmic modes ('ilm-i 'usūl) is important: the 'usūl extending to four, *pardah* to twelve and *ibresham* to six: these are the basic ones, all the rest being the branch modes (*furū*) derived from them.⁶

It is important to note that Amir Khusrau considered music to be essentially a science ('ilm). He has used the word 'ilm eight times in this Discourse in the sense of a 'field of study', 'a science', 'knowledge' and 'education'. The importance attached by him to the theory of rhythmic modes shows that according to him the science of music had essentially a mathematical basis. Long before Amir Khusrau, the eight Modes (*usūl*) of the Byzantine theorists and the eight Modes of the Arab-Persian system had already laid down a mathematical basis for music.⁷ Amir Khusrau's

³ تخریر در میان شوال و تاریخ عام یاد کرده شد یعنی از شوال هفت و سال هفتصد و شانزده.

⁴ موسیقی که هم از آغاز باریکی دارد که کسی بر سر آن نشود.

⁵ دقائق این علم باریکی که مسلک حکماء روم است چون وضع شد.

⁶ علم اصول ... اصول منحصر بر چهار است و پرده بر دوازده و ابریشم برشش و ما بقی فروعیست که هم ازینجا شاخ می زند.

⁷ Cf. Farmer, H. G., *A History of Arabian Music*, Luzac Co., London 1929, p. 151.

restatement of the 'usūl and furū' system of the fretting ratios was a confirmation of the scientific basis of Music.

Knowledge of Music Traditions and Criticism

Amir Khusrau had an intimate knowledge of the music tradition of Hindostan and of the Arab-Persian system. Having been born in Hindostan and having a natural talent and aptitude for music from his childhood, he grew up with the indigenous system and mastered it thoroughly. On the other hand, as a personal and cultural pursuit, he studied the Arab-Persian system in detail and acquired a thorough mastery over it.

(a) *The Arab-Persian Tradition.* To underline its historical continuity, he refers to the Greek/Byzantine theorists who had first defined the principles of music. Then he speaks of the great exponents among 'the Arabs and the Persians', 'the experts of Iraq and Isphahan',⁸ for their creative contributions in the domain of music. Among the Arab masters, he refers to the renowned musicians of Baghdad and Egypt.⁹ Of the Persians, he specifically mentions the two early masters, Nikesa and Barbad¹⁰ and the renowned contemporary musicians of 'Bākhaz and Nahāvand'.¹¹ The name of 'Abdul Momin is mentioned figuratively, but he could be none else than the great music theorist Abd-al-Momin b. Safi al-Din b. 'Izz al-Din Muhyi al-Din b. Ni'mat b. Qābūs Washmgir Jurjani who had flourished during the Ghurid period in the twelfth century A.D., just 50 years before Amir Khusrau was born. He had written an important work on music entitled *Bahjat al-Rūh* during the reign of Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad Ghuri (1173-1206 A.D.).¹²

Amir Khusrau's repeated mention of the *pardah* would indicate that he was fully conversant with the development of the Rhythmic Modes first mentioned by al-Kindi (d. 874) and al-Farabi (d. 950). The naming and manipulation of the rhythmic modes and fretting ratios such as Ibresham, Si-Pardah, Sarā-Pardah, Dastak, Khafif, Usul-i Thaqīl, Basīt, Zīr-i Khirad and Zīr-i Buzurg shows that these were fully known in the contemporary music circles. The Melodic Modes, mentioned earlier by Ibn Sina (d. 1037),

⁸ مشکل سازان عرب و عجم ... استادان سپهان و عراق .

⁹ گویند کان بغداد و مصر .

¹⁰ بغزهای پارسی از لخنه که در چنکب نکسا گرفتاری آرند که یارید را زخمه بر انکشت بریغندند .

¹¹ خنیا گران باخرز و نهاوند

¹² Cf. Farmer, *Arabian Music*, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

and their artistic performance also come under reference. From amongst the basic Modes, *Rahāwī*, *Husaini*, *Rāst*, *Būsalmīk*, *Ushshāq*, *Hejāz*, *Irāq*, *Sefāhān* (*Isfahān*), *Nawā*, *Buzurg*, *Mukhālif* are specifically named. Subsidiary Modes (melodic/rhythmic) such as *Zāwal*, *Khurāsāni*, *Shārik*, *Nahāvand*, *Bākhaz* and *Marāghah* are also mentioned.

Though well-versed in the Arab-Persian tradition, Amir Khusrau probably held a different view from the traditional 'doctrine of harmony of spheres' according to which music notes (*naghmāt*) and melodies (*alhām*) originated in the movement of spheres and stars. It would follow from this doctrine that all music being co-extensive with the fixed movements of the Spheres, must conform to some set modes and stereotypes. Amir Khusrau mentions *dawāir-i aflāk* in this context, but he makes a significant statement elsewhere which purports to mean that the world of man's creative experience is far more extensive than the limited scope of the Moving Spheres. "In wise judgment" says he, "this Science (of Music) is more extensive in scope than the expanse of the Celestial Spheres because there (in the spheres) are only nine *pardāhs* while here (in the human world) there are twelve."¹³

(b) *The Hindostani Tradition.* Amir Khusrau was fully conversant with the indigenous music tradition of Hindostan. He was all praise for the high artistic talents of some of the contemporary Indian masters (*Kalāvantān-i-Hindi*),¹⁴ but was very critical of Hindu musicians in general because their level of understanding and achievement was poor.¹⁵ They had learnt to perpetuate the centuries-old tradition through hearsay, but had hardly any knowledge of the scientific principles. This needs to be explained in order to see the significance of Amir Khusrau's criticism.

The Hindus had an ancient and rich tradition of music going back to the early singing of the Vedic hymns. Having originated as a form of worship, music among the Hindus became sacrosanct, and it was in temples that it developed during the course of centuries. The 'music forms' developed by the early *rishis* and the *pundits* in homage to the different deities came to be preserved as a religious heritage and handed down from

¹³ در دانائی این علم از عرصه سپهر وسیع تراست ازان جهت که آنجا نه پرده است و اینجا دوازده.

¹⁴ See below ft. n. 19.

¹⁵ جو هندو نوازند عجب رود خویش بخندد عجب رود بر دست او...

Also see ft. n. 16.

generation to generation. The whole tradition, in its earlier oral and the later recorded form, was based essentially on hearsay, represented by the different legacies (*mutts*) ascribed either to gods (because of their very ancient origin) or to their early originators and perpetuators, both mythical and real. The different regions had their own *rishis* and *pundits* with their own locally developed, named and preserved music forms (*rāgas*). In the different regional or institutional traditions, the 'same name' of a *rāga* did not necessarily mean the 'same performance'. In absence of a scientific / mathematical basis, the *rāgas* could not be exactly structured or defined. Not that scientific or mathematical studies were lacking at any given period: these were rather highly developed in ancient India; and yet it is a great paradox of the traditional Hindu music that application of mathematical concepts to it could not be conceived by the early masters. Says Sir William Jones:

“Let us proceed to the Indian system (of music), which is minutely explained in a great number of Sanskrit books by authors who leave arithmetic and geometry to their astronomers, and properly discourse on music as an art confined to the pleasures of imagination.”¹⁶

This was mainly because music among the Hindus was sacrosanct and non-secular, and as such, it was to be preserved and perpetuated as a sacred legacy of the *rishis* and *sages* rather than to be developed as a secular art permitting innovation, or as a science subject to mathematical reasoning.

Amir Khusrau was the first to give his criticism of this aspect of the traditional Hindu music and of the Hindu musicians. The indigenous music tradition, though ancient and rich in variety, had lacked a scientific basis; and the Hindu musician though talented was like a craftsman who, on the basis of hearsay, had learnt to copy by pattern and to reproduce faithfully the set models without any idea of the underlying 'principles'. In a significant pronouncement, Amir Khusrau observed:

It is the theory of the classical Greek/Byzantine masters to go by the underlying principles of this subtle science. They formulated principles to differentiate the fretting ratios. The Hindostani musicians hardly understand this, and are mostly ignorant of it.

¹⁶ Sir William Jones' Essay "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus" (1799), reprinted in "Music of India", Calcutta 1962, p. 95.

The poor Hindus have hardly any knowledge of the principles.¹⁷ This criticism was not based on religious or racial differences, it was rather an objective judgement of an accomplished master who was anxious to emphasise and establish scientific basis for music.

The Discourse, in its vivid imagery, depicts the contemporary music scene in detail. It presents a very lively and life-like description of the court musicians, organizers and conductors, individual reforming artists, expert instrumentalists and of the colourful music festivals.

(a) The mention of the symbolic names of talented musicians such as the late Khalifa Husaini, *Kāmil al-Zamān* Badruddin, *Kāmilat al-Zamān* Turmtay-Khātun, Khwaja Latif, Qawwāl, Daud Jabali, Sha'bān Qamari etc. and references to expert instrumentalists (*sāzindgān/surāi'dgān*) indicate that there were a number of accomplished musicians in Amir Khusrau's time. As a profession, contemporary music had undoubtedly reached a high level of attainment. Speaking figuratively, the spring of music was in full bloom and thousands of nightingales were singing in the garden of Delhi in this music spring of Hindostan'.¹⁸

(b) An important contemporary development underlined in the Discourse is visits by the expert musicians from outside. Because of the high level of local attainment, Delhi had become a place of pilgrimage for musicians from outside of Hindostan. Amir Khusrau pays rich tribute to the professional talents of the Hindostani musicians (*Kalāvantān-i Hindī*) who could very well compete with their contemporaries in any other part of the world: nay, they would excel and even instruct the champions elsewhere.¹⁹ The name and fame of these master-musicians of Hindostan had travelled far and wide, with the result that some of the renowned musi-

¹⁷ دقائق این علم باریک، که مسلک حکماء روم است، چون وضع شد از ورق سپید ریاب و جدول رود ابریشم نا نبشته بتوان خواند. هندوستانیان کنگره زن چه معلوم کند.... و از معرفت پرده چنان بیگانه... دهقانان هندو از علم اصول ایشان راجه علم...

¹⁸ و هزار عندهای دیگر که در بوستان دهلی پراکنده اند : کتا درست شود قمریان بالا را که مرغ چون بود اندر بهار هند وستان

¹⁹ کلا و نتان هندی .. که از تار آلاون عبدالمومن رازنار بنداندند بر لهجی باعث باشند که مردم بیگ مجلس و از هندوانه سوزی در دل اصحاب شیون رسانند.

cians from outside, particularly from Iran and Central Asia, were now coming to Delhi.²⁰

(c) Most of the following musical instruments mentioned in the Discours, were being played with great skill at that time: *Barbat* (lute), *Tanbur* (pandore/tambourine), *Tanbur-i Zāwalānah* (the Ghaznian pandore), *Rud* and *Ajabrūd* (psaltery), *‘Ud* (lute), *Duff* (tambourine), *Nay* (reed flute), *Duhl* (drum), *Duhlak* (small drum), *Qānūn* (dulcimer/harp/psaltery), *Nai* (flute), *Shah-nai* (clarion), *Nai Nāi’rah* (trumpet), *Chang* (harp), *Rabab* (rebeck), *Mashkak* (a small bagpipe (?), *Āvlāvan* (?), *Nawālak* (?), *Khistiti* (?), *Surfi* (?) and *Batirah-i Hindi* (?). There were groups of specialists for each instrument such as *Barbat-nawāzān*, *Nai-nawāzān*, *Rud-nawāzān*, *Changiyan*, *Rababiyān* or *Rabab-Suraidgan*, *Duhl-zanan*, *Duhlak-zanan*, *Tanburiyān* or *Tanbur-zanān* and *Churrah-bazan* (?). The mention of *Amir-i Ajabrūd*, *Amir-i Nai*, *Amir-i Changi* would indicate that each group formed an orchestra by itself and had organizers/conductors of their own.

(d) A mention is made of the royal court musicians—the ‘King’s Musicians’ (*mutribān-i Badshah*), and of the Chief Organizer (*amir-i mutribān*). Other musicians outside the capital and in the provinces had also received due recognition giving birth to the idea that there should be a central functionary to organize and administer all the musicians both at the Court and in the country.²¹

(e) ‘Royal Music Festivals’²² with tasteful etiquette²³ were the fashion of the day. For such grand functions, there was a special conductor/organizer known as *‘Amir Shādi wa Tarab*. Among participants were the leading vocalists and instrumentalists, and the most distinguished stars would grace these royal festivals.²⁴ As an example, two master musicians under the improvised names of *Kāmilat al-Zamān* Turmtay-Khatun and *Kāmil al-Zamān* Badruddin are presented to the reader with a vivid description of their superb performances and artistic achievements. Tributes paid

²⁰ گوینده چند از جانب باخرز و فرغانه که آوازهای بریط کمال الزمان (بدرالدین) آنجاها درگوش ایشان رسیده است و ایشان راگوش گرفته این طرف کشیده رسیده اند.

²¹ شغل امیری مطربان حضرت و نواحی واقاصی ممالک

²² جشن های سلطان - مجلس سلطنت - بزم شاهی - مجلس همایون

²³ طریق مجلس هنر پسند ما.

²⁴ نوازش بزم آرایان مجلس سلطنت

to Turmtay-Khatun indicate the very high professional status enjoyed by female musicians.

Presentation, Technique and Artistic Excellence

Achievement of excellence both in vocal and instrumental music, is amply underlined throughout the Discourse. Specific references and the relevant terminology used also reflect the highly developed modal concepts, and excellence in technique and artistic performance.

The vocalists consisted of two main categories: the accomplished singers in general (*mutriban/guyindgan*), and the specialists who excelled in particular styles. The latter consisted of (i) experts in the indigenous Hindostani style (*Kalavantan-i Hindi*), (ii) those who excelled in the Persian *ghazal* style (*Parsi Zubanan* in *ghazal-hai-Parsi*), and (iii) the *qawwalan* specializing in the presentation of *Qaol* or *Samā'*; as distinct from *Ghinā'*. Reverential references to those who listened to *Qaol*²⁵ indicate that it was a devotional form of music which the learned men of piety and the sufi saints preferred to listen. The *qaol* might have had its early origin in the Arabic mode of singing (*qaol-hai-Hejazi*), but this form of presentation had been so very highly developed in the local circles that the masters of this art (*qawwalan*) could compete with their renowned contemporaries in Baghdad and Egypt,²⁶ The greatest exponent of this performance is represented by the symbolic personality of Khwaja Latif Qawwāl.

Among the artistic techniques employed by the expert vocalists, mention is made of *tarannum* (psalming or sound modulation) and *tarānah* (trilling or voice modulation). The *qawwals* improvised a highly artistic rhythmic accompaniment with the resounding echo of the clapping of hands,²⁷ just as the expert instrumentalists achieved it through the tonic resonance of their instruments²⁸ represented by the *tarannum* of Chang,

²⁵ بحرمة علماء صاحب قول وسماع - سماع اقوال مقبول

²⁶ گاهی بقولهای حجازی که برهان عرصه عرب محیراست حیرتی انگیزند که گویندگان بغداد و مصر را زبان چون زخمه چرب گردانند.

²⁷ دستک قوال - ضرب دستش - قوالان که دست بر دست زنند - قوالانی که می گفتند که چون دو دست را باهم زنیم هزار داستان را گنجشک دست آمدن خود سازیم

²⁸ آهنگ ساز - نوائی طنطنات

zamzamah of Nai, *damdamah* of Nai-i Nairah, *dastān* of Khishti, *bāgak* of Mashkak, *dum* of Surfi, *bāblak* of Shahnai and the *ma'rūfak* of Rabab.

The performance was based on a professional knowledge of the underlying concepts which are indicated by the mention of *naghmāt* (Notes), *lahan* (Melody), *maqām* (Principal Mode), *awāzhā* (Secondary Modes), *Shu'ab* or *Furū* (Branch Modes), *asābi'ah* (Melodic Modes or Formulas),²⁹ *usūl* (Rhythmic modes), and *jadval* (scale?). The performance was to be presented in a recognized form, technique and style. *Masalak* probably signified an 'individual style' of performance. *Tariq* and *turaq*³⁰ possibly represented the ways of rendering a melody in different rhythms, one of which was *tariq-i Sabuki*.³¹ The term *rawish* would seem to indicate the earlier concept of *majrā*, i.e. the 'Course' of the Mode, with each 'course' being distinguished by its Tonic (the base Note). Accordingly, the terms *Du-bahrah* and *Si-bahrah* possibly stood for the two different types of 'Courses'.³²

Mastery in skill and excellence in performance consisted in: (a) being able to *play apart* the fine constituent notes of a (melodic/rhythmic) mode and again to *recompose and integrate* them;³³ (b) to change the modes by ad-

²⁹ Cf. Farmer ('Arabian Music'): *āsba'* (أسبع) pl. *āsābi'* (أسابع) = melodic modal formula.

³⁰ According to the terminology used before Amir Khusrau, *turaq* or *tara'iq* (sing, *tariq*) meant 'melodic modes', while *turaq* (sing, *turqa*) meant 'modes' as well as 'rhythms' (Cf. Farmer, 'Arabian Music').

³¹ The concept of *tariq-i sabuki* following expression is possibly that of the presentation in a low pitch, a low key-note or a tonic, or slow succession of rhythm.

اگر طریق سبکی رآب دهند دیدگان سنگین را مانند چشمه کوه درطراوش آرند

³² This interpretation may need consideration. Amir Khusrau marvels at the musicians' attainment who: سه بحری چنگ در رش دو بحره داشته و سحری انگیخه

In case 'دو بحره' is equated with the earlier concept of 'سجری'; then 'سه بحره' and 'سه بحره' may be interpreted as the two different species of the 'Course'. The following classification suggested by Farmer (*Arabian Music*, pp. 71-72) is relevant in this regard:

"The melodic modes ('asabi' were classified according to their 'Course' (*majra*), as either in the *binsir* (third finger, i.e. with the Major Third) or *Wusta* (middle finger, i.e. with the Minor Third). The 'courses' had their species named after their tonics (*mabadi*), such as *mutlaq* (open string), *sabbaba* (first finger), *wusta* (second finger), *binsir* (third finger)."

³³ شعبه های بهم در یافته راکه از پرده گن تنگ عرصه قرنیدیم چون یاد صبا یکی را از یکی بی آسبب جدا کرده و غنچه وار باز بهم پیوسته
و میان ابریشم های چون موی باریک زخمه زخمه که چون دندانه شانه موشگاف است ، موی در موی فرق کرده و باز در هم یافته بحدت طبع دو عرصه را از یگ دیگر جدا تواند کرد یابه تار ابریشم دو پرده را با هم توانند دوخت.

justing the fretting ratios;³⁴ (c) to change the tonic structures and bring about a transition from one mode to another;³⁵ (e) to re-set an instrument from *DU BAHRAH* (the Major Third) to *SI BAHRAH* (the Minor Third) Course so that the one Branch Mode would change into another Branch Mode.³⁶

Need for Music Education

To be able to develop an understanding of the underlying principles and gain a mastery in practical skill and performance, it was but necessary to be properly educated in Music. It required teaching and instructing the young to produce accomplished artists. Those who had not been educated, and sang and played by pattern, were much below the standard. It is on this account that Amir Khusrau criticised even those who had attained the rank of 'King's Musicians', specially the Rabab and the Chang players who boasted a great deal; but had hardly any knowledge of the underlying principles:

We have also listened to the voices of the kings' musicians. Most of them hardly know anything. They should be given education to come up to the standard so that they are able to construct complicated instruments and frame the finest melodies.³⁷

³⁴ اصول ثقیل رادر چه میزان سنجند که خفیف شودو خفیف را بکدام وزن سنگین کنند که ثقیل گردد.

³⁵ مخالف را در چه طریق نوازند که راست آید بوسلیک ونواکه مشابه یک دیگر اند، پرده هر دو از چه وجه بر باید گرفت که یکی را از دیگر بتوان شناخت - ورهاوی و حسینی که همسایه اند، میان ایشان چه پیدا باید کرد که از یک دیگر جداشوند - ونهاوند را که بیشتر آهنگ عشاق بدوست، از دل چگونه بر آرند که در جان بروآید - نر گس بیدار عشاق را در مراغه باز آرند.

³⁶ سه بحری چنگ رادر روش دو بجره داشتن - زیر بزرگ را چگونه شکنند که خرد گردد - وزیر خرد را کدام جانب برکشش دهند که بزرگی کشد.

³⁷ و مطربان بادشاه را هم آوازاها شنوده ایم که بیشتر چون تار نخستین چنگ پیش گوشه نشینان معطل اند، و مانند ابریشم سر انگشتر رباب سرائیدگان بی کار مانده سر ناخنی را از گرفت چنگ خبر ندارند و سر انکشتی ازگیرای رباب شان علم نه. ایشان را علم می باید داد که بساخت سازهای مشکل و نغمه های لطیف پیش آیند .

The achievement goals thus laid down by Amir Khusrau obviously called for a high standard of music education. It would seem that instruction in music was being imparted, but Amir Khusrau stood for raising the standards. A reference to the budding talents among the youngsters whose attainment was high indicates that music as a profession was attracting younger pupils and that the quality of training imparted to them was satisfactory.³⁸

Amir Khusrau's Personal Attainments

Amir Khusrau's own personality is writ large in the Discourse which he has authored. Throughout, it unfolds his own creative genius in Music. More specifically, those expressions which are couched in 'first person', even though put into the mouths of others, underline his own professional attainments. These are to be discerned as follows:

- (a) As a vocal singer he was endowed with a voice which was superb both at high and low pitch. "In its height our voice goes beyond Venus."³⁹
- (b) He had achieved the highest artistic skill in instrumental music to be able to manipulate the fretting ratios and to play apart and again integrate the 'notes' into the differing 'courses'.⁴⁰

Also in the Fifth Treatise (*Risalah-i Khamis*), of *Rasail al-'I'jaz* he proposes, in a witty and lighter vein, corrective measures for those instrumentalists who brag about their excellence but are ignorant of the principles.

چنگی راهیج تارِی در چنگ نه مگر تار بالا قرنای را - هیچ دمی در شکم نه مگر دم فرود
 - ودی را هیچ طہانچہ بر دف نہ مگر بر قفء خویش - وربانی راهیج گوشمالی در رباب نہ
 مگر در گوشہای خویش - از سر ذوق این ترانہ دادہ بودند:
 چون چنگی با نوای فی ساز زند جز لاف ز زیبائی آواز زلد
 کوه ارشوند صلا بر آرد این صوب باسنگ بہم بروی ما باز زند.

³⁸ مطرب ہچکان توخیز قامت

آواز ماکہ در بلندی از زخمہ زہرہ بگذرد اگرچہ خراشیدہ شود اما بیفتد و فرو بشکند .
³⁹ احسنت زہی بلندی کفّت کاواز افتاد و فرو بشکست

⁴⁰ ما توایم زاہریشم باربک چوموی ذیل دو پردہ بیگانہ بہم بر دوزیم

- (c) He had a sound knowledge of the nature and structure of most of the musical instruments, and he could set right any of he defective instruments.⁴¹
- (d) Being a great genius, even the top-most musicians of his time turned to him for guidance and instruction. "The musicians also play before us and learn and get seasoned, so that they do not commit the mistakes of ordinary players".⁴² He taught some of the great stars of his time to play specific forms of music. "We showed her (Turmtay-Khatun) the way towards the playing of *Shahānah*".⁴³
- (e) *Maslak-i Khwish* would signify that he had a distinctive style of his own.
- (f) He structured new 'courses', and innovated new modes, both principal and subsidiary.⁴⁴

His creative compositions, his criticism, his guidance and instruction, his immense popularity in music circles and his own music assemblies which were attended by both the apprentices and the more accomplished artists, had an all-pervading influence. He had heralded a new era in music, and the modes and melodies of this *new music* resounded all over and inspired all.⁴⁵

Conclusion

An evaluation of Amir Khusrau's contribution, in its all dimensions, in the field of music can be made only after a thorough study of all his

41 وصحت وعلت مزامیر نیکو دانیم که چون چنگ از سفیدی اندام سر افکنده ماند ونای که شکمش از نفع آواز دهد و مشکک که از دمش در نالیدن آید و نوالک که تنکی نفس گلو کیرش کند و کوفتگی دف که از حرارت مدقوق گردد، اصلاح هر یگ به چه طریق باید کرد - وگرفتن نبض رباب وزدن رگ بربط چنان بر قانون حکمت دریافته ایم که بیمار را طیب نوانیم شد.

42 مطربی که پیش مادیقهای جو و گندم چنگ موی بموی شعر بیز کند نانش در گرمی های مجلس چنان بخته گردد که هر گز دستش بزلات مطربان نیالاید.

43 ویرا سونی نواخت شاهانه راه دادیم

44 گرفتن نبض رباب وزدن رگ بربط چنان بر قانون حکمت دریافته ایم شعبه ها بهم دریافته را....

45 ور از مجلس ما برد تو نوائی - رساند نوائی بدان بی نوابان

works and any other authentic record that may become available. He wrote this Discourse in the first quarter of the 14th century A.D. (716 H./1317 A.D.), and in so far as he underlined the concept of music as a science and emphasised the need for its continued development through education, he is to be regarded as a great savant in the history of world music and a genius of unequalled stature in the history of music in the Hindostan sub-continent.

He was the first great theorist and performing artist, talked of music as a science. Not only in this Discourse, but also in his well-known *Qita*⁴⁶ he refers thrice to the 'Science of Music' (*Ilm-i Mūsiqui*) on which he had written three volumes.⁴⁶ In this *Qita*, he gives a comparison between Poetry and Music and adjudges Poetry to be superior to Music. This was the judgement of a great poet and a literary genius and, though a sound one, it was pronounced mainly on an intellectual level. At the level of 'feeling', Amir Khusrau was essentially a musician. For, in an aesthetic mood he invokes the *Mutrib* (musician) more often than the *Saqi* (cup bearer)⁴⁷ and, according to him, even after his death, if some one were to lend an ear to his grave, he would hear not the echo of his verse but the sweet music of a superb melody.⁴⁸

نظم را کردم سه دفتر ور به تحریر آمدی⁴⁶
علم موسیقی سه دیگر بود، ار باور بود

⁴⁷ In his *A'inah-i Sikandari* (Ed. M. Saeed Ahmad Faruqi, Aligarh 1917), Amir Khusrau calls out the *Saqi* only once but invokes the *Mutrib* again and again to the extent that Khusrau may rightly be regarded as the innovator of *Mutrib Nameh* in poetic composition which, perhaps, no one followed up later. Some of his typical invocations:

بیا مطرب آن نغمه زن در سرود کز آب حیوان درآید برود
بجام طرب زنده کن جان پاک که محتاج جرعه است سرده بخاک
بیا مطرب آن نای راکن بدست کز ارغنونهای یونان شکست
بیا مطرب آن علم باریک را که روشن کند جان تاریک را
بعد از من اگر گوش نبی بر سر خاتم⁴⁸
از خاک همه نغمه داؤد برآید