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Development Of Music During Akbar's Reign - 1556-1605 A.D.

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Abstract: -

This paper aims to examine the development of music during Akbar's reign. Akbar's period was very important in terms of socio-cultural aspects. In this paper, my focus is on Akbar's inclination towards music. In this paper, we have undertaken to trace the influence of Akbar on Indian tradition and vice versa. Also, to ascertain the multi-dimensional influence on the music, highlight the various types of musical instruments used by musicians during Akbar's reign. We also attempt to examine the development of music at the court level and at the regional level. This paper will also have a focus on various aspects, like what major developments occurred in the musical arts' sphere during the period of Akbar. A study of the patronization of performers like singers and musicians from various regions and countries during Akbar's reign. The synthesis of Turko-Persian musical tradition with classical Indian music and its far-reaching influence on the development of Hindavi-Persian tradition, which later developed into Hindustani music. Also, the role of Bhakti and Sufi traditions in the promotion of music during the period will be examined. Thus, an endeavour will be made through this research to highlight the multi-dimensional influence of cultural elements of the Mughals on Indian tradition and vice versa.

Keywords: *Khuniyagaran, Nadira Karan, Dhrupad, Goyinda.*

Introduction: -

Music of a particular period reflects contemporary socio-cultural dynamics. It captures the essence of the period and also has certain symbolic importance. The Mughal period had a rich cultural heritage, and music was an indispensable part of that heritage. Mughal emperors were fond of music. Especially important developments appeared in the sphere of musical arts during the age of the Akbar (1556–1605). There are a large number of excellent musicians and singers patronised by Akbar. The cultural heritage of Turko-Persian was very much unlike in many respects. Before the Sultanate period, the concept of music was a combination of singing, dancing, and acting. During this period, the ability to act on stage was appreciated by the people of Indian society. The theatre system was the means of entertainment for the people, but after the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, the system of theatre was no longer available. During the medieval period, the definition of music was different from earlier. There are three types of musical art: instrumental music, vocal music, and dancing.¹

According to Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, Akbar was very much fond of music. He gave much attention to music and patronised musicians on a large scale. Mughal Emperor Akbar's court was adorned with accomplished musicians from India (Gwalior, Malwa, Agra, Delhi), Persia (Mashhad), Central Asia, and Kashmir, both men and women. Akbar enjoyed music every day in the court, accordingly musician divided into seven divisions, which one musician could perform for each day of the week. When Akbar allowed it, they allowed the harmony to flow and thus increased intoxication in some and sobriety in others.² Akbar was not only a listener; he also had knowledge of music and a curiosity about acquiring knowledge of the science of music. Akbar was also a musician, and in addition, he was an expert in playing the *naqqara*.³ According

to Abul Fazl, Akbar had composed more than two hundred old tunes, the most excellent of which were the *Jalalshahi*, *Mahamir Karkat*, and *Nawrozi*.⁴

Musicians and singers also played an indispensable role in the royal court of the Mughals, even before Akbar. Firstly, Babur mentions the poets, scholars, artists, performers (musicians, singers, and dancers), and wrestlers at the court of Sultan Hussain Mirza.⁵ But during the reign of Akbar, musicians and singers were embellished in a fresh way. There were a large number of musicians and singers from India, Persia, and central Asia at the court of Akbar.⁶ Abul Fazl listed the names of thirty-six various musicians who composed music known as *khuniyagaran* and were experts (*nadira karan*) under the patronage of Akbar. Surprisingly, there is no mention of a single woman musician in Akbar's court. The musicians and singers performed numerous instruments based on their background (caste).⁷ To draw attention to the fact that most Indian musicians belonged to Gwalior, both Hindu and Muslim, in this manner, Abul Fazl mentioned about Tansen that "he was a singer like whom had not been in India for the last thousand years." While, according to Jahangir, there are no singers like Tansen in any age or time.⁸ Abul Fazl mentioned about all singers which belonged to Gwalior like Tansen, Shihab Khan, Subhan Khan. Tansen's gave excellent contribution in the field of music and in composition: *Dhrupad* as a musical genre was brought to perfection during Akbar period. Subhan Khan Nohar was another musician who composed dhrupads in praise of the Prophet (*na't*). There were many other outstanding performers, such as Surgyan Khan Fatehpuri, Chand Khan, Suraj Khan (Rabi-Shashi), Tan Tarang Khan, Ram Das, Madan Rai, and Hafiz Nad 'Ali goyinda, and so on.⁹ Abul Fazl mentioned refer to another Indian musician were Rangsen who belonged to Agra and the ruler of Malwa named Baz Bahadur. Baz Bahadur was a great singer during this period. According to Faqirullah Saif Khan, Akbar also patronized *Khayal* singers of Delhi, which attained perfection as a classical genre under his patronage.¹⁰ A very interesting information by Badauni says that there were many good artists, singers, poets, composers and instrumentalists competing with one another to win Akbar's Favour.¹¹

At the court of Akbar, a larger part of foreign musicians and singers came from Persia, and central Asia. Abul Fazl mentioned the list of foreign musicians like Sultan Hashim Usta Dost and Mir Saiyed Ali which belonged to Maashhad from Persia. Tash Beg Qipchaq and Qasim Khobar were from Central Asia.

It is very interesting to note that Naik Bakhshu known as Bajju was a prominent musician and celebrated as Tansen does not mention by Abul Fazl. Abul Fazl speaks briefly about Naik Bakhshu that he was well known court musician of that time, under the patronisation of Man Singh Tomer, the King of Gwalior.¹² Besides, Asad Beg Qazwini refers to that Bajju also known as *Kalawant-i-Badshahi* (musician of the king).¹³ It is said that *Dhrupad* was invented by Nayak Bakhshu but a more refined and developed form was presented by Tansen Gawaliyari at the court of Akbar.¹⁴

There is no reference on written record to the amount of salary given to musicians by the Mughal ruler. But it is periodically mentioned that musicians received various prizes and gifts from the king. One of the events reported by the Badayuni, when Tansen arrived at the Mughal court and received two hundred thousand rupees from Akbar. Another incident reported by Badayuni, sometimes spontaneous singing competition organised at the court, winner of the competition received 1,000 rupees.¹⁵

Although we have inadequate information about whether there was any hierarchical status among musicians, singers, and dancers. In Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, we have little information about hierarchical order among musicians, singers, and dancers. Abul Fazl mentioned different categories of musicians and singers, like the *Khawanadgan*, the *Goyinda*, the *Dhari*, the *Kalawants*, and the *Khuniyagaran*. In this manner, Abul Fazl mentioned goyindas like Tansen, his son Tantarang Khan, Subhan Khan Gwaliyari, his brother Bichitr Khan, Baba Ramdas Gawaliyari, Miyan Chand (or is it Junaid?) Sarod Khan Gwaliyari, Sri Gyan Gwaliyari, Miyan Lal Gwaliyari, Surdas, Chand Khan, Nanak Jarju Gwaliyari, Rangsen, and Rahmatullah. Pirzada was *Khwanda* (a chanter) and *Goyinda* as well.¹⁶ The first category of vocal singers were *Vaikars* and *Sahkars* in India. *Vaikars* chanted ancient hymns, and their teachers were *Sahkars*. In the category of vocalist singers, a large number of *Kalawants* (known as singers of *Dhrupad* songs) were included. *Dhrupad* singers were also known as *Hurukiya*, both males and females sang dhrupad and recited *karkha* as well.¹⁷ Another category of vocalist singers known as *Dharis* were Punjabi singers belonged to Punjab. Abul Fazl reported that who sang the songs to heroes on the battle field were *Dharis* singers. The *Qawwals* were also included in the category of vocalist singers (*giroh*). Generally, they adopted the style (*tarz*) of Delhi or Jaunpur.¹⁸

A musician who had knowledge of instrumental music, performed through instruments known as *khuniyagaran*. They are excellent at performing numerous musical instruments. Abul Fazl mentioned the court musicians and bazaar musicians¹⁹(who performed in local area not in the court) and performed in *Naqqar Khana*,²⁰ which it seems that there was any kind of distinction between court musicians (Tansen, Baz Bahadur and Baba Ramdas),²¹ members in the ensemble of *Naqqar Khana* and *Bazaar* musician. Although, In the discussion of *Naqqarkhana*, Abul fazl refers only about instruments and tunes which performed in *Naqqarkhana*. Instruments used at *Naqqarkhana* like *surna*, *nafir*, *kuwargah* and the *Naqqarah*; tunes to be played at *Naqqar khana* like *mursali*, *badshahi*, *ikhlati*, *ibtida i*, *shirazi*, *qalandari* and others. In the depiction, these singers and musicians are not once individualised but just a group of musicians in a corner where they perform music. In this scenario, it seems that instruments play a more important role than those who perform them.

Abul Fazl gives an account of stringed instruments like *ghichak*, *bin*, *surmandal*, *rabab*, and *qabuz*, which were performed by the musician. Other instruments also mentioned are the *qanun*, *surna*, and *tambour*.²² Thus, every musician played own specialized instruments like Bir Mandal khan Gwaliyari was a performer of *surmandal* known as Surmandal Nawaz. Shihab khan and his son Purbina khan were performer of *bin* known as bin Nawaz, Usta Dost performer of flute known as *nai*. Mir Saiyid Ali and Shaik Dawan Dhari performer of *ghichak* known as *ghichaki*. while Usta Yusuf Harvi and Usta Muhammad Hussain played *tambura*.

Information about community performer known as *Bazaar* musicians is very limited. The first reference about Bazaar musician (community performer) by Abul Fazl in his *Ain* is very fascinating. Banarasi Das also gives the information about *Bazaar* musicians.²³ Nizam al Din Ahmad, in his account *Tabqat i-Akbari*, gives brief information about musicians, singers, jesters, and various classes of harlots in India.²⁴ Abul Fazl, in his *Ain i-Akbari*, gives an account of community singers and musicians to some extent, he elucidates that mostly performers like singers and musicians are attached to particular backgrounds on the basis of caste or tribe. Their profession of singing and dancing is according to their caste or tribe. Community musicians had proficiency in performing various instruments that imparted their name to their caste, like male performer *Hurkiya* performing on the *huruk* (instrument), in this manner, female performer *Hurukini* danced on the *tal*. Both *huruk* and *hurukini* gave excellent performances on the strenuous forms like *Dhurupad* and *Karkha* (*kadak*, *Karaka*). Musical forms were specified on the basis of their cast or tribe, so they performed only those musical forms that were attached to their cast or tribe.²⁵ There are many types of musicians (*Shumara-i-naghma Sarayan*); consequently, *Ain-i-Akbari* gives reference to *dafzan*, the tambourine performer, and a female *Dhar'i* performer who did not sing *dhrupad*, performed *daf* and *dhol*. The *sizdah talli* were the ones who performed big drums, and the females performed thirteen pairs of *talas* while they sang. They normally belonged to Gujrat and Malwa. *Natwas* were a prominent class of dancers during this time period. They were excellent on playing *pakhwaj*, *rubab* and *tala*.²⁶ The Punjabi singers, known as *Dhadhi*, performed on musical instruments like the *dhadda* and the *kingara*. Punjabi singers mainly contributed songs in honour of heroes. They adopted the styles of Jaunpur and Delhi and Persian verses in this manner. The female Punjabi singers, *dhadhi*, also known as *daffzan* (tambour performers), performed on the *daf* and *dihul* (small drum). On special occasions like marriage, birthdays, and holidays, they performed *dhrupad* and *sohla* in a very embellished manner. Initially, *Dhadhi* women were the only performers at women's gatherings, but later they began performing at male assemblies as well. The *Natwa* class was excellent in dancing in numerous styles and also gave a performance of singing at the same time as dancing. They were excellent at playing *pakhwaj*, and the *Kanjari* class also performed on *pakhvaj*, *tal*, and *rabab*. Women performed singing and dancing.²⁷ During the medieval period, the importance of theatre was no longer important, but various performers like *kirtaniyas*, *bhagtiyas*, *bahrupiyas*, and *bhands* give a hint that these classes may be medieval theatre artists. *Kirtaniyas* are referred to as *Brahamanas*. This community performer had a smooth face and dressed up like the women. They performed their performance in praise of Krishna and rendered his act.²⁸ The class of *Kanchanis* was the most respected among all community performers; they were attached to the *Kanjari* cast. Their profession was dancing only, and they received the title of *Kanchanis* from Akbar for their social class.²⁹

During Akbar's period (1556–1605), Indian classical music crossed the threshold into a sumptuously productive phase. The theory of Indian performed *dhrupad* music, as given in Sanskrit text, was well understood. Abul Fazl described the Indian system of music in a methodical way in the portion of the *Ain-i-Akbari* devoted to the culture and intellectual life of Hindustan.³⁰ The first section is named 'Sangita', the art of singing, accompanied by music and dancing.³¹ Second classes of singers (*Shumara-e naghmasarayan*)³² and the third class with 'Akshara' A night of amusement arranged by the nobles, in this assembly many domestic servants (women) performed dancing and singing.³³ The sixteenth century Mughal historian 'Abdul Qadir Badayuni (1596) mentioned that various Sanskrit works in the name of Sultan Firoz Shah (1351–88) give details about types of akshara, and then he mentioned that in these works the *akshara* are called *patur-bazi*. He simply reported that *akshara* is very popular in Hindustan.³⁴ Initially, *akshara* seems to be a sort of playhouse. However, later, *akshara* became synonymous with musical assembly.³⁵

During the late sixteenth century, new components took place in the contemporary practises of the musical arts. It was the establishment of connections between model forms of Indian and Persian music that established the relation between *rag* and *parda*. This trend was started by Pandrika Vitthala in *Nartananirnaya*, a Sanskrit treatise of the sixteenth century, which he wrote under the patronage of Akbar (*Akbarripasyaruchyartham*).

He takes notice of a few Persian *rags*, which were introduced into the Hindustani system over the centuries of the reign of Muslim rulers in India. He characterises a number of the *rags* as related to Persian musical methods. For example, he mentioned that *bhairav* follows the Persian mode *ujjhala* (*ujjhalasyanuyayi*); *desikar* is the friend (*janam-mitra*) of *bakherej*; *desi ragini* is the great granddaughter of the Persian mode *ahang* (*ahangasyaprapotri*); and *dhannasi ragini* is the companion of *dhaval rag*, born under the name *Irak* (*Iraq*). About *Turush ka Todi*, he mentioned that she wears the guise and a *yavana's* dress (a term used for Persian people) for women (*yavana-suvanita-vastraveshadhikadhya*).³⁶ *Dhannasi (ragini)* wears strange clothes.³⁷ While describing the characteristics of *rags*, Pandrika Vitthala also mentions those *rags* that have semblances with Persian modes (*parda*). He takes notice of a few Persian *rags*, which were introduced into the Hindustani system over the centuries of the reign of Muslim rulers in India.

Mughal attention was lavished on Persian music, but in the time of Akbar, distinguishable preferences took place in northern Indian music, also known as Hindustani music. Hindustani music is the assimilation of Turko-Persian elements of music into Indian music, which was introduced during the Delhi Sultanate and further reached its peak under the Mughals, especially in Akbar's reign. From a cultural point of view, Agra flourished and encouraged the art of music under Akbar. From the beginning of Mughal contact with Braj literary culture, it is hard to pinpoint Akbar was very much inclined towards music, especially in Braj. He listened to *Dhrupad* songs composed in Braj. Devotional poetry and songs flourished in the Braj region during that time. In that place, various musical forms like *shabad*, *dhrupad*, and *bishnupad* eventually arose. In *Ain-i-Akbari*, there is a brief account of music and a portion on *Bishnupad* (songs to Vishnu).³⁸ The origin of *bishnupad* was credited by Mirza Khan.³⁹

The Braj-Bhasha treatises *Chaurasi Vaishnava ki Varta* and *Do Sau Bavan Vaishnava ki Vrata* reveal Akbar's interest in music in vernacular languages, especially Braj. Some examples selected from Braj sources present various episodes illustrating the musical interest Akbar manifested for songs composed by the saint-poets Surdas, Kumbhandas, and Nand Das, as well as by the ascetic musician Swami Haridas. Akbar heard a lyric (*pad*) composed by Surdas and sung by Tansen. Akbar was impressed by the poet Surdas's spirituality and even wanted to give him a reward, which he bluntly refused.⁴⁰

Akbar was interested not only in the performing aspect of music but also in the lyrics sung by court musicians. Another episode of Akbar and a musician (*Kalavat*) who is not named and who sung a composition by Kumbhandas, a saint-poet disciple of Vallabha, to the emperor at Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar was so impressed by Kumbhan Das that he invited him to the court.⁴¹

Akbar's curiosity about music is also found in *Do Sau Bavan Vaishnava ki vrata*. In the *vrata* of Govind Svami, it is mentioned that Akbar went with Tansen in disguise to listen to the music of Govinda Svami, and that he was mesmerised by his divine performance. Akbar could not control himself to give the appreciative word 'vahnava' (sic) (Wah! Wah!), which Govind Svami became very angry. As a result, Svami Govind decided to stop singing *Raga Bhairav*, as that had been polluted.

Nand Das, one of the great poets of *Astachap*, or Eight Seals', the main saint-poet of the Vallabhita sect. His vrata is presented in the *Do sau bavan vaishnavan ki vrata*, and also has an important variant in the *Astachap ki vrata*. In one episode of the *Astachap ki vrata*, Tansen sings a beautiful *kirtan* (sic) composed by Nand Das to Akbar, who is so impressed by the description of Krishna in the ras dance that he desires to meet its author, who is summoned to the court by Birbal. When, finally, Akbar meets Nand Das in Mansi Ganga, he asks him the meaning of a certain line of the poem, which the poet is reluctant to give; instead, he suggests to the emperor that he ask a particular woman in his court; leaving Birbal with Tansen, Akbar goes back to the court and asks the woman, who faints and dies instantly. Then Akbar runs back to Nand Das, who at once 'left his body and entered the divine play (*lila*)'. Birbal explains to the puzzled emperor that both true devotees had to keep the meaning secret and instead preferred to die.⁴²

Svami Haridas Das was a poet-saint, excellent musician, singer, and composer. He lived in Vrindavan, is often presented as the Guru of Tansen. The very first account mentioning Tansen, Akbar, and Swami Haridas seems to be the *Pad-prasamg-mala* attributed to Nagridas (1699–1764), who, as Savant Simh, was the former ruler of Kishangarh (from 1744), and retired to Vrindavan in 1757, where he was known as 'Nagridas'.⁴³

During this period, Vaishnavism gained enormous popularity here because it interpreted people through their own language and through the mediums of music, dance, and drama, which formed an indispensable part of the socio-religious rituals and festivities. Braj sources like *Chaurasi Vaishnava ki Vrata* and *Do sau bavan Vaishnava ki Vrata* and Persian land grants of the period acknowledge that Akbar generously granted land to the existing and to new temples in the vicinity of Mathura and Brindavan.⁴⁴ His generosity and tolerant attitude towards other religions attracted a large number of Vaishnava poet-saints belonging to the Chaitanaya and Ballabhacharya sects from diverse places of the sub-continent to settle in the Braj region, which gradually became renowned as a great centre of the Krishna Bhakti cult. The temple precincts became the centre of various cultural activities, attracting a large number of performing artists and poet-saints, who composed poetry and rendered it as part of devotion. These poet-saints, who included the *asht-chhap*, or the eight distinguished poet composers such as Sur Das and Nand Das, had thorough knowledge of poetics and prosody.⁴⁵

There are many aspects that contribute to the Mughal rulers' inclination towards *braj bhasha*. The initial capital of the Mughals was Agra, located near Vrindavan and Mathura, which were the great centres of Hindu culture. Vaishnava religious communities flourished with the contribution of Mughal and Rajput rulers. During Akbar's reign, Todar Mal and Man Singh played a very influential role in the administration, they gave patronage to Vaishnava centres, and Mathura was included in the subah of Agra.⁴⁶ Mughals patronage of Persian language demonstrated their firmly established presence in the Islamic world; listening to Braj poetry was a mode of engaging with the locals. This would have been at once a cultural and political space.

Medieval centuries witnessed the evolution of Hindustani music, wherein the contribution of *Chishti Sufi* saints was immense. During this period, the *Chishti Silsila* had a great development of the *dargah* cult, which led to an enormous rise in popularity for the *Chishti Silsila*. There were many reasons responsible for the rise of *Chishti Silsila*. One of the major reasons for the popularity of the *Chishti* order was its capacity to adapt itself to the usage and customs of the country.⁴⁷ They used local and simple language, which easily connected them to the people. There are many *Chishti Sufi* dargahs at Ajmer, Agra, and Fatehpur Sikri, which are considered significant centres of pilgrimage and provide a platform for the socialisation of followers of different faiths and encourage a liberal and eclectic attitude through various means. There were various similarities between popular Hindu practises and *Sufi* practises.

We have mentioned how the spiritual value of music influenced *Chishti Sufi* saints. Professional singers of talent who belonged to it, irrespective of their caste and creed, were patronised by *Chishtis*. It resulted in the Indianisation of some of the Parso-Arab musical forms, such as *qaul* and other allied variants, which began to be rendered in desi, and the *Sama* 'was indigenised by the community of qawwals who rendered these musical forms. In *Chishti Silsila*, music played an important role in the context of religious devotion. A large number of people of every caste, rich and poor, came into contact with music during this period.⁴⁸ Although, music neglected by many orthodox Muslim like Shaikh 'Abd un- Nabi, the Sadr.⁴⁹ Badauni mentioned the *Chishtis* practise while mentioning Akbar's visit to the *dargah* of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, which is situated in Ajmer. He says:

“At the beginning of the blessed month of Ramzan he [Akbar] arrived with 7 *cosses* of Ajmer, and dismounting in his accustomed manner made a pilgrimage to the shrine, and presented a pair of kettledrums of Daud’s, which he had vowed to the music gallery of his reverence Khawaja Mu’in (God sanctify his glorious tomb). And daily according to his customs held in that sacred shrine by night intercourse with holy, learned, and sincere men and seances for dancing and Sufism took place. And the musician and singers, each one of whom was a paragon without rival, striking their nails in to the veins of the heart used to rend the soul with their mournful cries. And dirhams and dinar were showered down like raindrops.”⁵⁰

Not only that, but it appears that Akbar himself participated in Sufi music, including the Sama’ and qawwali. To quote Abul Fazl:

“At this time, Bakhshu qawwali recited before him [Akbar] two heart ravishing stanzas in a pleasant manner. The syllabus of the roll of recognition (of God) displayed a countenance flashing with Divine lights. Those whose vision did not extend beyond the plain outward appearance received spiritual delight (from the singing)”⁵¹

Akbar’s inquisitiveness extended not only to Persian and Indian music, but also to European music, which is attested by Badauni, who says that Akbar showed a spirit of inquiry about a European musical instrument, an organ (orghanum) displayed in Fatehpur Sikri, 1581.⁵² There is hardly any evidence in this period to suggest the adoption of European musical instruments brought by Haji Habibullah in 1575 to Akbar’s court from Goa, a special mention has been made of the organ.⁵³ According to Badauni,

“It was like a great box, the size of man. A European sit inside it and plays the strings there of, and two others outside keep putting their fingers on the five peacock – wings the [bellows], and all sorts five peacock – wings the [bellows], and all sorts of sound come forth. And because the emperor was so pleased, the Europeans kept coming at every moment in red and yellow colour, and went from one extravagance to another. The people at the meeting were astounded at this wonder, and indeed it is impossible for languages to do justice to the description of it.”⁵⁴

Even so, it appears that Indians were using some European instruments. For example, Abul Fazl gives information about musical instruments in Akbar’s *Naqqar-Khana* and says that three kinds of nafir—Persian, European, and Indian (*Ajami*, *Fairagi*, and Hindi)—were blown as a matter of routine.⁵⁵

Conclusion: -

In the end, we may conclude that Akbar was the archetype of the ideal patron in medieval Indian history. He encouraged performing arts such as music and dance, both Indo-Persian and Indian in inspiration. Combining all of the various stories mentioned above would allow one to analyse the evolution of music during the Akbar era. It could be said that gifted poet-composers responded with an abundance of vernacular lyrics compiled into repertoires that serve as the surviving evidence of their prolific creativity, enduring in the memory of living musicians. Musicians were a vital part of the Mughal court and society, and they were among the few individuals specifically mentioned by court historians. Akbar’s interest was not only in the performing aspect of music, but also in the lyrics sung by court musicians. Medieval centuries witnessed the evolution of Hindustani music, where the contribution of Chishti Sufi saints was immense. We have remarked that Chishti Sufi saints were influenced by the spiritual value of music. For the truly gifted, the extraordinary power of their music and their close association with the emperor cemented their place in India’s cultural history.

¹ Fazl, Abul, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, ed. M.N. Kishore, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1893, p. 98, Vol. III, tr. H.S. Jarret, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1948, p. 260.

² Fazl, Abul, *Ain-i-Akbari*, text, Vol. I, ed. M.N., Kishore, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1893, p.183, tr., Vol. I, H. Blochmann, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1873, p. 611.

³ *Ibid.*, Text, Vol. I, p. 47, tr., Vol. I, p. 54, also see in ed. Habib, Irfan, *Akbar and his India*, Oxford University Press, 1999, p.190.

⁴ *Ibid.*, text, Vol. I, p. 47; tr., Vol. I, p.53, *Akbar and his India*, p.191.

⁵ Babur, *Babur Nama*, tr. A.S. Beveridge, Low price Publication, Delhi, 1921, pp. 291-92.

⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, ed. p.183, tr. 611.

- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, ed Saiyid Ahmad, Aligarh, 1864, p. 204; Eng. tr., A. Rogers, Munshiram Manoharlal Delhi, 1968, Vol. I, p. 413.
- ⁹ Ibid., Vol. I, ed. p. 161, tr. p. 317, Khan, Mirza, *Tuhfat al-Hind*, Vol. I, ed. Nurul Hasan Ansari, Intisharat -i Bunyad -i farhang-i Iran, 1950, p. 362, Faqirullah, Saif Khan, *Rag Darpan*, Persian edn. and English as *Tarjuma-i Mankuthuhala and Risala -i Rag* by Sahab Sarmadee, Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts and Moti Lal Banarsidas, New Delhi, 1996, p. 67.
- ¹⁰ *Rag Darpan*, pp. 38-9. *Qawwals* are referred to as Delhi singers by Jahangir, see *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, Vol. I, ed. p.81, tr. p. 169.
- ¹¹ Badauni, *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Vol. II, ed. Ali, Ahmad, Kabiruddin Ahmad & L. W Nassu Lee, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1869, p. 265, Eng. tr. S.A. Ranking, Atlantic Publisher, 1990, pp. 272-3, also see in ed. Habib, Irfan, *Akbar and his India*, p. 198.
- ¹² *Ain*, op. cit., Vol. III, ed. p. 108, tr. pp. 265-66.
- ¹³ Beg. Asad, *Waq'a'i Asad Beg*, Ms. Or.1996, Orient and India Office Collection, London, Rotograph, Deptt. Of History Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, f.24a.
- ¹⁴ Saif Khan, Faqirullah Nawab, *Rag Darpan*, p.11
- ¹⁵ Badauni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. II, p.273.
- ¹⁶ Wade, Bonnie C., *Music in India*, Manohar publisher, Delhi, 2016, p. 108.
- ¹⁷ *Ain*, Vol. III, ed. p.111, tr. p. 271.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ *Ain*, I, ed. p. 30, tr. pp.52-53.
- ²¹ *Ain*, I, ed. p.183, tr. 611.
- ²² Ibid., see *Ain*, Vol. III, ed. pp. 105-111 where divides Indian musical instruments in to four kinds.
- ²³ Banarasidas, *Ardhakathanak*, tr, & annotated as *Half A Tale*, ed., & tr., Mukund Lath, Rupa Publication Pvt. Ltd. Delhi, 1981, p.79.
- ²⁴ Ahmad, Nizam al Din, *Tabqat- i-Akbari*, Vol. I, ed. B. De, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1913-1935, p.27, Eng. tr. B. De, South Asia Books, 1992, p.120.
- ²⁵ *Ain*. Vol. III, ed. p. 112, tr. p. 272.
- ²⁶ *Ain.*, Vol., III, ed. p.112, tr. p. 272.
- ²⁷ *Ain*, Vol. III, ed. pp. 111-112, tr., pp. 271-72.
- ²⁸ Ibid., ed. p. 112, tr., p. 272.
- ²⁹ Ibid., ed. p. 112, tr. p. 272.
- ³⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, ed. pp. 98-113, tr., Vol. III, pp. 260-73.
- ³¹ Ibid, text, Vol III, ed. pp. 98-112, tr. Vol. III, pp. 260-71.
- ³² Ibid, text, Vol. III, ed. pp.112-113, tr., Vol. III, pp. 271-73.
- ³³ Ibid, text, Vol. III, ed. p.113; tr., Vol. III, p.273.
- ³⁴ Badauni, Abdu-I Qadir, *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, ed. Ahmad Ali, Kabiruddin Ahmad & L.W. Nassu Lee, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1869, pp. 249, 384, tr. George S.A. Ranking, Atlantic Publisher, 1990, Vol. I, pp. 332, 496.
- ³⁵ Ibid., Vol. I, ed. p. 384, tr. p. 496.
- ³⁶ Vitthala, Pundarika, *Nartanananirnaya*, edited and translated by R.S. Sathyanarayana, Motilal Banarasi Das, Delhi, 1994, pp. 34,36,40,44.
- ³⁷ Ibid., *slok*, 69, pp. 34-35.
- ³⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, ed. pp. 98-112, tr. pp. 260-272. A more general discussion of music at court of Akbar (in which Tansen is mentioned) is *Ain*, Vol. I, ed. pp. 183-184, tr. pp. 611-613.
- ³⁹ *Tuhfat al-Hind*, Vol. 1, p. 353.
- ⁴⁰ Nath, Gokul, *Chaurasi Vaishnava ki Varta* ed. Kamla Shankar Tripathi in *Raag Sarang*, Hindi Sansthan, Lucknow, 2008, pp. 148-159. See also Braz, Richard, *The Bhakti sect of Vallabhacharaya*, Munshi Manoharlal Publisher pvt. Ltd, 1992, p. 111.
- ⁴¹ Ibid. pp.176-177, Braz, Richard, p. 176.
- ⁴² Rai Ji, Shri Hari, *Astachap ki vrata*, edition (based on two MSS date 1640 and 1695) by K.M. Sastri, Kankroli, 1952, pp.587-92.
- ⁴³ On Nagridas and his work, see McGregor, R.S., *Hindi Literature from its beginning to the nineteenth century*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1984, pp. 158-9 and 210 (description of *Pad-Prasamg-mala*); see also Entwistle, A.W., *Braj: Centre of Krishna Pilgrimage*, Groningen: E Forsten, 1987, pp. 270- 71.
- ⁴⁴ For details of these grants see Tarapada Mukherjee and Irfan Habib, 'Akbar and the temples of Mathura an Its environment,' paper presented at the 48th session of Indian History Congress, Goa, '1987. (A.M.U. Mimeograph), pp. 65-117.
- ⁴⁵ Trivedi, Madhu, *The emergence of the Hindustani Tradition: Music, Dance and Drama in North India, 13th to 19th Centuries*, Three Essays collective, Delhi, 2012, p.92.
- ⁴⁶ Entwistle, Alan, *Braj: Centre of Krishna Pilgrimage*, Groningen: E Forsten, 1987, pp. 151-166.
- ⁴⁷ Chand, Tara, *The influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, The Indian press, limited, Allahabad pp.36, 82.
- ⁴⁸ Qureshi, Regula Burckhardt, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: sound Context and meaning in Qawwali*, University of Chicago press, Chicago, 1995, p.82.
- ⁴⁹ Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III. ed. Ahmad Ali, Kabiruddin Ahmad & L.W. Nassu Lee, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta. 1869. p. 80, tr. Sir Wolseley Haig, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. 1925.

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⁵⁰ Badauni, Vol. II, ed. p. 185, tr. p. 188.

⁵¹ Fazl, Abul, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, ed. Ahmad Ali and Molvi Abdur Rahim, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1873-77, p. 261, tr. H. Beveridge, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 2000, p. 378.

⁵² Badauni, *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, ed. p. 291, tr. p. 299.

⁵³ Fazl, Abul, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, ed. p.146, tr. p. 207,

⁵⁴ Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. II, ed. p. 291, tr. p. 299.

⁵⁵ *Ain*, Vol. I, p. tr. p. 51.

