tianity and Islam, Macmillan, New York, 1959; M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Muhammadan Art*, Hartsdale House, New York, 1947; S. Gray, *Persian Painting*, Batsford, London, 1948; B. Gray and Goard Andre, *Iran, Persian Miniatures*, Unesco World Art Series, 1956; Sir Mohammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1958; C. G. Jung, *Practice of Psychotherapy*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1954; Laurence Binyon, *Spirit of Man in Asian Art*, Harvard University Press, Harvard, 1936; Louis Massignon, "Time in Islamic Thought," *Eranos Yearbook*, Rhein-Verlag, Zürich, 1951; R. P. Wilson, *Islamic Art*, Ernest Benn, London, 1957.

Chapter LVII

MUSIC

"To some people music is like food: to others it is like medicine: and to others like a fan."

Alf Lailah wa Lailah.

These prefatory lines, serve as they do to provide a text on the lintel of the doorway to this subject, reminds one how widely dissimilar is the attitude of Islamic peoples towards the art and practice of music to that of others; music is indeed "like food," since it often sustains when all else fails. You may scan Greek literature in vain for any such parallel sentiments. Music in its literal connotation was alien to Greek philosophy. Aristoxenus certainly dealt with it, but his approach, devoid of the slightest hint of philosophic appeal *per se*, was a purely scientific one.[1] It is true that the Pythagoreans had given a foretaste of the Islamic spiritual conception of music, but that was in the dim and distant past of Greece. What is more in keeping with the Greek evaluation of this art is to be found in Athenaeus of Naucratis (fl. 200 A.D.), whose utterances are mere entertaining chatter.[2]

A
THE MUSIC IN ITSELF

"This art . . . is the foraging ground of audition, and the pasturage of the soul, and the spring grass of the heart, and the arena of love, and the comfort of the dejected, and the companionship of the lonely, and the provision of the traveller, because of the important place of the beautiful voice in the heart and its dominating the entire soul."

Ibn 'Abdi Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd.*

[1] *The Harmonics of Aristoxenus*, edited with translation . . . by Henry S. Macran, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1901.

[2] *The Dieomonophists*, English translation by J. E. King, Heinemann, London, 1937, vi, Bk. xiv.

After reading the prologue to this chapter, one cannot help realizing how vastly different are the sentiments of Islamic peoples from those of the peoples of Greece and Rome on the assessment of music. And by music we mean that art which the noblest minds in Islam believed to be capable of being informed with and ennobled by *thought*, and in turn to adorn and enforce *thought*, and to be thus understood and felt. No better example of that percipience is to be found than one in the utterances of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafa of the fourth/tenth century of Baṣrah, the home of learning, who spoke of music as "an art compounded between the corporeal and the spiritual."[3] To these transcendental philosophers "all the arts had bodily forms except the art of music, whose substance was a spiritual essence." With what felicity do the "Brethren" laud that type of music "which softens the heart, brings tears to the eyes, and makes us feel penitent over past misdeeds." How well they knew the value of those soothing melodies "that lightened the pain of disease and sickness," and those affecting airs which "comforted the aching hearts and eased the grief of the afflicted in times of calamity." More practical still was their recognition of those songs "that relieved the toil of heavy work and wearisome undertakings," as well as that music which gathered "joy, pleasure, and happiness . . . at weddings and banquets."[4] Indeed a veritable ocean of literature in praise of music has flowed down to us from the Islamic past, whilst poets have sung the sweetest verses in adulation.[5]

On the other hand, there have been many pious and honourable men among the legists *(fuqahā')* who have considered music a useless pastime *(lahw)* which sometimes became an urge to commit actions which were unlawful *(ḥarām)* or abhorred *(makrūh)*. Among those who condemned divine art were some of the most sincere of the Muslims, from ibn abi al-Dunya (d. 281/894) in his "Censure of Forbidden Pleasures" *(Dhamm al-Malāhi)*,[6] to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Haithami (d. 973/1565) in his "Restraint of Impetuous Youth" *(Kaff al-Ra'ā')*.[7] Nobody can censure those opponents of music who sincerely believed that it was among the things prohibited *(muḥarramāt)*, since even Christian Europe linked "wine, woman, and song" among the "idle pleasures" *(malāhi)*. Yet, strictly speaking, the objections of the purists in religion to "listening to music" *(al-samā')* has no logical *raison d'être*. Calligraphy cannot be blamed on account of forgers, nor can accountancy be condemned because of defalcators. It would be just as illogical to forbid fruits and viands because of their concomitance with wine and woman as to censure music owing to its proximity to the latter. Music, *per se*, is neither good nor evil,

[3] *Kitāb Ikhwān al-Ṣafa*, ed. Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allah, Bombay, 1306–07/1888–89, i, p. 84.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 85–87.

[5] Al-Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Cairo, 1925, v, pp. 113 *et seq.* Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, *Safinat al-Mulk*, Cairo, 1892, p. 464.

[6] J. Robson, *Tracts on Listening to Music*, London, 1938.

[7] W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der . . . Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 1887–99, No. 5517.

although it may accompany both, yet it cannot be categorized or submitted to predicament.

In spite of all our probings and searchings we still do not know the inner causes of emotion. Al-Fārābi (d. 339/950) denied that music inspired a passion or soul-state.[8] His guess was that music, whether in the performer or the listener, was itself inspired by a passion or soul-state. Ibn Zailah (d. 440/1048) held much the same view. He says: "When sound *(ṣaut)* is adorned by harmonious and mutually related composition, it stirs the soul of man. . . . Beginning on a low note and ascending to a high note, or *vice versa*, according to a *particular* arrangement and a *known* composition, it becomes related to the sentiments of the soul of man. As one note *(naghmah)* after another changes in the music, one state after another changes in the soul. One composition will transport the soul from weakness to strength, and another from strength to weakness. . . . Therefore the composition which is possessed of certain sounds is possessed of certain qualities by which the soul is influenced."[9] All that is manifest to the meanest observer, but no one has yet told us what those "qualities" are. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi (d. 606/1209) states a more "up-to-date" opinion, and this, in substance, is what he has to say: "In the animal world sounds come into existence by reason of grief, pain, or joy. Those sounds, according to these circumstances, are different, being high or low: so, by the law of association, those sounds become bound up with the different mental states which prompt them. Thus, when those sounds are renewed, they inevitably call up the related mental states, which may be grief, pain, or joy."[10]

From the purely Islamic point of view, ibn Zailah also raises a point worth mentioning. He says: "Sound produces an influence on the soul in two directions. One is on account of its special composition (i.e., its physical content); the other, on account of its being similar to the soul (i.e., its spiritual content)."[11] A Persian mystic, al-Hujwīri (fifth/eleventh century), divides those who listen to music into two categories: those who *listen* to the material sound and those who hear the spiritual meaning. That ecstatic maintained that those who *heard* spiritually did not apprehend mere notes *(naghamāt)*, modes *(maqāmāt)*, or rhythms *(īqa'āt)*, but music *per se*, insisting that such audition "consists in hearing everything as it is in quality and predicament."[12] That doctrine takes us to the very core of Sufi teaching in which "listening to music" under such spiritual control conduces to ecstasy, which leads to a revelation of the Divine. Did not Schopenhauer suggest that the world itself is but music realized, and was not that what the Ikhwān al-Ṣafa had taught a thousand years earlier?

[8] R. d'Erlanger, *La Musique arabe*, Geuthner, Paris, 1930, i, p. 39.
[9] *Kitāb al-Kāfi fi al-Mūsīqi*, British Museum MS., Or. 2361, f. 220v.
[10] *Jāmi' al-'Ulūm*, British Museum MS., Or. 2972, f. 153.
[11] *Loc. cit.*
[12] *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, tr. R. A. Nicholson, Brill, Leiden, 1911, p. 403.

Yet of all the great thinkers of Islam no one has probed to the heart of the problem with such power of persuasion and solicitude of purpose, and reached a conclusion of such profundity as al-Ghazāli (d. 505/1111). How penetrating are his words: "Hearts and innermost thoughts are mines of secrets and treasuries of precious stones. Within their confines are jewels which are as sparks contained in iron and steel. . . . And there is no other way of extracting their secrets except by the flint of 'listening to music' *(al-samā')*, because there is no means of reaching the hearts except through the portals of the ears.[13] . . . Verily, 'listening to music' is a factual touchstone, . . . for as soon as the soul of music reaches the heart, it brings out whatever predominates in it."[14] That was also the dominating thought of abu Sulaimān al-Dārāni (d. c. 205/820), who averred that "music and singing do not produce in the heart that which is not in it."

As our opening lines from the *Alf Lailah wa Lailah* reveal there is much more in music than its being merely an ancillary to those things which are unlawful and abhorred, and those who base their objection to music on the Holy Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth must know that they can be answered by proofs to the contrary from these identical and revered sources.[15] Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), the greatest of the philosopher-historians of Islam, did not touch directly on the question of *al-samā'* in the legal aspect. We do not know his reasons for that apparent neglect, but the fact that he devotes a chapter in his *Prolegomena* to music is sufficient proof of his attitude, which was that of the rational man. To him, man was a social animal who was good by nature.[16] It follows, therefore, that man should seek to satisfy certain natural desires in his leisure hours, such as the need for healthy relaxation, the wish to acquire knowledge, and the urge to listen to sweet music.[17] All such longings were perfectly reasonable, and since man could discern what was good or evil in those desires, he could, by experience, make such desires always beneficial both socially and spiritually, provided the *intention* in those desires were good. If that were the case, the desires were lawful.[18]

The Sufi and the *darwīsh* have eloquently defended their attitude in the usage of music in their ceremonials by proofs that are unanswerable by its condemners. Perhaps the most trenchant defence was made by the brother and successor of the great al-Ghazāli, who was known as Majd al-Dīn al-Ṭūsi (d. 520/1126), and this is what he said: "If anyone says that audition is absolutely unlawful, he has declared forbidden in the Law that about which no statute has come down, since no statute forbidding audition and dancing

[13] Cf. Cicero, who spoke of the eyes as "windows of the soul."
[14] Al-Ghazāli, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Cairo, 1326/1908, Vol. II, pp. 88, 182.
[15] H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, Luzac, London, 1929, Chap. 2.
[16] Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena, Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1858, xvi, p. 155, xvii, pp. 42, 363.
[17] *Ibid.*, xvi, p. 365.
[18] *Ibid.*, xvii, p. 254.

has come down in the Book of Allah, or in the usage of Allah's Apostle, or in the words of the Companions (of the Prophet). And he who declares to be forbidden in the Law anything which is not in it, has invented something against Allah, and he who invents anything against Allah is an infidel by general agreement."[19] Yet we, in this work, are primarily concerned with the purely secular approach, although it may unavoidably include that which is divine. Not only is the case for secular music unassailable, but the teaching, acquisition, and practice of it can be proved to be rational since it affords healthy exercise to the body, mind, and emotions. It has been said that "men die for want of cheerfulness as plants die for want of light." And, what can supply that want better than music? Therein is refreshment for the body, cheer for the mind, and relief for the emotions, or, more grandiloquently, the repairing of lost energies, the soothing of chafed sensibilities, and the kindling of finer feelings and aspirations. Everybody knows, especially in Islam, the wondrous power of the "beautiful voice,"[20] particularly in the reading *(qir'ah)* of the Qur'ān and the chanting of the "call to prayer" *(adhān)*. They give back musical impressions which not only delight the ear but thrill the soul, because that chanting harmonizes with the divine message.[21] And why should not secular music *per se* do likewise, since there seems to be a natural alliance between radiant music and moral beauty? Surely man's faculties and susceptibilities for the acquisition and enjoyment of music were not bestowed but that they should be a glory to the Giver and a joy to the possessor, for they are as essential to the social and spiritual welfare of man as the influence of the sun and rain is to the fruitfulness of the mother earth.

"Get away from evil and sing"
(Ab'id al-sharr wa ghanni).

Syrian Proverb.

B

THE MUSIC LOVERS

"I like the man who cultivates poetry for self-instruction, not for lucre; and the man who practises music for pleasure, not for gain."

Ibn Muqlah (d. 238/940).

Since Islam was born among the Arabs and was cradled in the Ḥijāz, one must give prior consideration to these two important facets. In the "Days of

[19] J. Robson, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[20] Ibn 'Abdi Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, Cairo, 1305/1887, iii, p. 177, tr. H. G. Farmer, in *Music: The Priceless Jewel*, Bearsden, 1942, p. 6.

[21] Although some urge that one must discriminate between *takbīr* (raising the voice) and *ghinā'* (singing), the fact remains that purely secular melodies were used. See "La Qir'ah bi al-Alḥān" by M. Talbi, in *Arabica*, Leiden, 1958, v, pp. 183–90.

Ignorance" *(al-jāhilīyyah)* music was practised in the whole of Arabia by the matrons of the towns and tribes as well as by professional singing-girls *(qaināt)*. These not only cheered many a home and encampment, but strengthened the resolve of those in the battle throng, as we read in the *Ḥamāsah*. Their singing *(ghinā')* was based on a simple type of song called the *naṣb* which was but an improved form of camel-driver's chant *(ḥudā')*. They accompanied themselves on an instrument of strings *(muwattar)*, although more generally it was a harp-like instrument *(mi'zafa)*, a percussion wand *(qaḍīb)*, or a tambourine *(mizhar)*.[22] In default of the latter they could adapt the perforated skin sieve *(ghirbāl)* for that purpose: this received the approval of the Prophet later.[23] When Islam came upon the world of intellectual darkness, the first male musician to make history was Tuwais (d. c. 88/705). He accompanied himself on a square tambourine *(daff)*, and when performing would perambulate along the lines of his audience.[24]

The wide conquests of the Arab armies, notably in Persia and Syria, had sent crowds of captives into the towns of the Ḥijāz. Among these were singers and players whose alien types of music captivated the people of Mecca and Medina. The result was that Arab musicians found themselves compelled to master the new kinds of singing and playing. That was only one of the many cultural influences which affected Arabian modes of life, for "when the revelations of the Prophet flashed on the world, a message was delivered which could not be confined to the Ḥijāz, the cradle of Islam. As a result, the banner of the Prophet was planted eastward at the extremities of Transoxiana, southward by the banks of the Indus, northward to the shores of the Black Sea, and westward on the slopes of the Pyrenees."[25] As we march through the pages of the history of music we shall see how manifold artistic ingredients contributed to Islamic civilization. Al-Ḥīrah, the capital of the Arab Lakhmids, had already imbibed much of Persian culture including the lute *('ūd)*.[26] The Meccans had used a rustic type of pandore *(mi'zaf)* which had a parchment "face" *(wajh)*, but as the Persian lute *(barbaṭ)* had a "face" of wood, the Meccan lute was called the *'ūd* (wood). The holy cities of the Ḥijāz resounded with the strains of music and song,[27] and the artistic career of the songstress 'Azzat al-Mailā' (d. c. 88/705) in the Ḥijāz attested to that fact. At her auditions the greatest musicians, poets, litterati, and the most distinguished citizens, including 'Abd Allah ibn Ja'far, a cousin-germain of the Prophet, took part. Even Ḥasan ibn Thābit, the first poetic extoller of Islam, sang her

[22] H. G. Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music*, London, 1929, Chap. 1.

[23] Al-Ghazāli, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 206.

[24] Al-Iṣfahāni, *Kitāb al-Aghāni al-Kabīr*, Būlāq, 1285/1869, ii, pp. 170–76; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1913–38, iv, p. 983.

[25] H. G. Farmer, in the *New Oxford History of Music*, Oxford University Press, London, 1956, i, p. 421.

[26] *Idem*, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, Reeves, London, 1931, i, pp. 91–99.

[27] *Idem*, *Music: The Priceless Jewel*, Bearsden, 1942, pp. 9–17.

praises.[28] Among the great musicians of the glorious days of the Orthodox Caliphs *(al-rāshidūn)* were Sā'ib Khāthir (d. c. 83/683), Ḥunain al-Ḥīri (d. c. 100/718), and Aḥmad al-Naṣībi, a kinsman of the poet A'sha Hamdām (d. 82/701).[29]

The Umayyad Caliphs removed their capital from Medina to Damascus, where their Courts, with the exception of that of 'Umar II (d. 101/720), were thronged with singers and players. Of al-Walīd (d. 126/744) it was said that "the cultivation of music spread not only among the leisured class, but with the people also."[30] Those were the flourishing days of the great *virtuosi* whose names adorn the pages of Islamic history, notably ibn Muḥriz (d. c. 97/715), ibn Suraij (d. c. 108/726), al-Gharīḍ (d. c. 106/724), and Ma'bad (d. 127/743), usually dubbed as "the four great singers."[31] Such was Islam, the territories of which knew no racial boundaries, that those four musicians were foreigners by blood, the first being of Persian origin, the second of Turkish descent, the third and fourth claiming respectively Berber and Negro extraction.[32] Because of such a large-hearted tolerance of racial differences it is quite explicable why the hybrid and exotic in music became an allurement and fascination. Throughout Islam the technical nomenclature in music was almost wholly Arabic, and that was still the case when the first Persian treatises on music appeared in the eighth/fourteenth century.[33] Still, the Arabs borrowed the Persian *chang* (harp) which they confusedly called the *ṣanj* and *jank*. They also adopted the Persian tuning *(taswīyyah)* of the lute, and the frets *(dasātīn)* on the neck of the instrument.[34]

When the first of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs, al-Manṣūr (d. 158/775), built that wondrous city of Baghdād, it soon became not only the capital of the vast dominions of the Caliphate, but the cultural centre of Islam. The early 'Abbāsid period has well been styled "the Augustan Age of Arabian literature,"[35] although an even greater encomium could be justly used in respect of music during that era, if we take the golden pages of the "Great Book of Songs" *(Kitāb al-Aghāni al-Kabīr)* as our authority. The first outstanding 'Abbāsid minstrel was Ḥakam al-Wādi (d. c. 180/796), a singer and performer who carried all before him.[36] Almost as exquisite were the vocal accomplishments of ibn Jāmi' (d. c. 189/804).[37] He had been taught by the doyen of the Court minstrels, Yaḥya al-Makki (d. c. 215/830), the fountain-head of the old music of the Ḥijāz. Indeed his "Book about the Songs" *(Kitāb fi al-Aghāni)* was a

[28] Al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, xvi, pp. 13–20.
[29] *Ibid.*, vii, pp. 188–90; ii, pp. 120–27; v, pp. 161–64.
[30] Al-Mas'ūdi, *Les prairies d'or . . .*, Paris, 1861–77, vi, p. 4.
[31] Al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 98, 151; ii, p. 127.
[32] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 19–29, 97–129, 150–52; ii, pp. 128–48.
[33] *Kanz al-Tuḥaf*, British Museum MS., *Or.* 2361, f. 247v.
[34] A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, O.U.P., London, 1938, p. 2790.
[35] H. G. Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music*, London, 1929, p. 99.
[36] Al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, vi, pp. 64–68.
[37] *Ibid.*, vi, pp. 69–92.

repository of the classical art;[38] his son Aḥmad (d. 250/864) issued a revised edition of 3,000 songs.[39] Greater still was Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣili (d. 189/804) who outshone all others by his versatility. Nine hundred compositions stood to his credit, whilst his training school for singing-girls became renowned.[40] Fulaiḥ ibn abi al-'Aurā' was another favoured singer, being the only one allowed to appear—professionally—without the customary curtain *(sitār)* which screened the musicians from the Caliph. Fulaiḥ, with Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣili and ibn Jāmi', compiled a collection for Hārūn al-Rashīd known as "The Hundred Chosen Songs" *(al-Mi'at al-Ṣaut al-Mukhtārah)*.[41] Prince Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdi (d. 224/839)[42] and his step-sister Princess 'Ulayyah (d. 210/825)[43] had both been carefully trained in music at the instance of Caliph Hārūn, at whose Court music received so munificent a patronage that it set the whole world in wonderment. Prince Ibrāhīm possessed a voice with a compass of three octaves, and was considered the "most proficient in mankind" in that art.[44] By that time the impingement of Persian and Khurāsānian novelties in music became quite pronounced. Singing-girls from Khurāsān were "the rage." They performed on a long-necked pandore *(ṭanbūr)* which gave an alien scale, whilst the Persian lute produced a scale that was dissonant to the Arabian system, as we shall see in Section C. Prince Ibrāhīm and his henchmen favoured these exotic ideas, and even applauded the open violation of the recognized patterns in both the melodic and rhythmic modes. This defiance of the old classical procedure divided the Court minstrels into two camps, viz. the "Romanticists" led by Prince Ibrāhīm, and the "Classicists" headed by the chief Court minstrel Isḥāq al-Mauṣili (d. 235/850), the most famous of the musicians of the Muslim world.[45] Against those neoteric fancies, Isḥāq took a firm stand, and eventually was able to re-establish the old Arabian scale and modes, which seem to have been set down in his "Book of Notes and Rhythm" and his "Great Book of Songs."[46]

After the mid-third/ninth century, the Baghdād Caliphate began its political decline, although music still prospered at its Courts. Al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861) gave constant encouragement to that art. His son, abu 'Īsa 'Abd Allah, was an accomplished musician and a composer of some three hundred songs.[47] Al-Muntaṣir (d. 248/862) was both a poet and a musician; the words of his

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[39] *Ibid.*, xv, p. 63.
[40] *Ibid.*, v, pp. 2–48.
[41] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 2, 4–6.
[42] *Ibid.*, x, pp. 120–32.
[43] See Mas'ūd Ḥasan Shamsi, "'Ulayya, a Less Known 'Abbāsid Princess," *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, April 1937.
[44] Al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, ix, p. 49.
[45] *Ibid.*, v, pp. 52–131.
[46] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, Leipzig, 1871–72, pp. 141–43.
[47] Al-Mas'ūdi, *op. cit.*, vi, p. 191; vii, p. 276; al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, ix, p. 104.

songs have been preserved by al-Iṣfahāni who devotes a chapter to him.[48] Another such devotee was al-Mu'tazz (d. 255/869), whose songs have also been saved for us.[49] His son, 'Abd Allah, was a highly gifted musician who penned a "Comprehensive Book on Singing" *(Kitāb al-Jāmi' fi al-Ghinā')*, the first of its kind, although Prince Ibrāhīm too had written a "Book on Singing."[50] Yet if the Court minstrels did not produce *virtuosi* of the same class as of old, that defect was overcome by their pens, notably by ibn Ṭāhir al-Khuzā'i (d. 300/913) who wrote a "Book about the Modes and the Reasons for the Songs" *(Kitāb fi al-Nagham wa 'Ilal al-Aghāni)*,[51] Quraiṣ al-Jarrāḥi (d. 326/936) in his "Art of Singing and Stories of the Singers" *(Ṣinā'at al-Ghinā' wa Akhbār al-Mughanniyyīn)*, Jaḥẓat al-Barmaki (d. c. 328/938) who published a "Book of the Pandorists" *(Kitāb al-Ṭanbūrīyyīn)*, and the great al-Iṣfahāni who produced "The Propriety of Listening to Music" *(Adab al-Samā')*.[52]

Turning to the west, we see the same high cultural uplift in Muslim Spain as in the home of the Eastern Caliphate. After the Arabs and Berbers had conquered (91/710) the Iberian Peninsula, a vast portion of the land was held by them until the year 479/1086, and during that period, especially under the Umayyad rulers, music and all the arts were cultivated ardently. Singing-girls, called *jarīyyāt*, were in great demand, and schools for their training had been established.[53] Yet those who came from the East were especially favoured, such as the famed lutanist 'Afzā' at the Court of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I (d. 172/788),[54] while al-Ḥakam I (d. 206/822) was specially proud of 'Ulūn and Zarqūn.[55] His chief male minstrels were 'Abbās ibn Nasā'i and Manṣūr al-Yahūdi.[56] Concerts were the "order of the day."[57] At the palace of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (d. 238/852), there arrived in the year 206/821 the world famous Ziryāb, who was treated with unheard-of esteem, for he had been taught by Ibrāhīm and Isḥāq al-Mauṣili in Baghdād. He was credited with knowing ten thousand (one thousand ?) songs by heart, and for being the equal of Ptolemy in his knowledge of music. It was he who added a fifth string to the lute, linking it—in the cosmic system—with the soul. The musical system in al-Andalus was that of the Arabian east, the scale being the Pythagorean. Ziryāb's music school—which had some reputation—was carried on after his death by his descendants, and was still flourishing in the days of the "Party

[48] Al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, viii, pp. 175–78.
[49] *Ibid.*, viii, p. 178.
[50] Ibn al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
[51] Al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, viii, p. 43.
[52] Ibn al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
[53] J. Ribera, *La Música de las cántigas*, Madrid, 1922, pp. 53–74.
[54] Al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, xx, p. 149; al-Maqqari, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden, 1855–61, ii, pp. 97–98.
[55] Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, xvii, p. 361.
[56] Al-Maqqari, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 85.
[57] Al-Khushani, *Historia de la jueces de Cordoba*, Madrid, 1914, p. 88.

Kings," while traces of it could be found in North Africa in the eighth/fourteenth century.[58]

Under 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (d. 350/961) we have an anomalous situation of the Court outwardly condemning music—so as to placate the Māliki legists who frowned on music—but inwardly patronizing it, since he encouraged his children not only to dabble in the art, but to rise to virtuosity. One of them excelled on the pandore *(ṭanbūr)* and guitar *(kaitārah)*,[59] whilst another, abu al-'Aṣbagh, said that so long as Allah permitted birds to sing he would do likewise.[60] In the reign of al-Ḥakam II (d. 366/976) concerts became special events,[61] and under al-Mahdi (d. 400/1009) orchestras of a hundred lutes *('īdān)* and as many reed-pipes *(zumūr)* could be heard in the palace salons.[62] Those were the brilliant days of ibn 'Abdi Rabbihi (d. 328/940) who, in his *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, gave Muslim Spain some idea of the greatness of the music of the Eastern Caliphate. He was a veritable treasure-chest of Andalusian poetry and song.[63]

We know little of Persian music in those early days save what may be gleaned from the *Murūj al-Dhahab* of al-Mas'ūdi (d. c. 345/956), who quoted ibn Khurdādhbih (d. c. 300/912).[64] As we have seen, both Persia and Arabia borrowed from each other in matters musical, and we know that Persian as well as Arabian music was being taught at Rayy in the time of Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣili.[65] Certainly there were several brilliant writers on music in Baghdād who were of Persian origin, notably al-Sarakhsi (d. 286/899),[66] 'Ubaid Allah ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Ṭāhir (d. 300/913),[67] and Zakarīya al-Rāzi (d. 313/925).[68] A famous singer of the Ṭāhirid period was Rātibah of Nīshāpūr;[69] and so also was the renowned Rūdagi—patronized by the Sāmānid Naṣr II (d. c. 331/942)—a lutanist and harpist, as well as a singer and poet.[70] Most of the contemporary poets, such as al-Mi'māri of Jurjān and al-Daqīqi of Ṭūs, sang in rapturous praise of music.[71] Persian music percolated everywhere; Turkomanian influence also made itself felt. The Caliph's praetorian guards at Baghdād and elsewhere were made up of men of Turkoman race, and they

[58] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1913–38, Suppl. Vol., pp. 266–67.
[59] Al-Maqqari, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 396.
[60] *Ibid.*, i, p. 250.
[61] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭauq al-Ḥamāmah*, Leiden, 1914, p. 29.
[62] R. Dozy, *Historia de los Musulmanes Espagnoles*, Sevilla, 1877, iii, p. 348.
[63] Cairo edition, 1301; see H. G. Farmer, *Music: The Priceless Jewel*, London, 1942.
[64] Al-Mas'ūdi, *op. cit.*, viii, pp. 90–91.
[65] Al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, v. p. 3.
[66] H. G. Farmer, *Sources of Arabian Music*, Bearsden, 1940, p. 22.
[67] Al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, viii, p. 43.
[68] Ibn abi Uṣaibi'ah, *'Uyūn al-Anbā'*, Königsberg, 1882–84, i, p. 320.
[69] Minhāj Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, tr. H. G. Raverty, London, 1881, i, p. 153.
[70] E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, University Press, Cambridge, i, p. 456.
[71] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 458–59.

dominated in most things. In such circumstances it can be well understood how Turkomanian music, especially on the instrumental side, was highly appreciated. A lute-like instrument called the *rūd* was favoured by them, and an arch-lute the *shāhrūd*, invented by Khulaiṣ ibn al-Aḥwaṣ of Samarqand about 306/918, had already spread to Iraq, Syria, and Egypt.[72] In Egypt under the Ṭulūnid and Ikhshīdid rulers of third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, Turkoman influence spread by leaps and bounds, and music was enjoyed by all. Ibn Khallikān praises the excellent voice of ibn Ṭulūn when chanting the Qur'ān, while his son Khumārawaih actually adorned his palace walls with pictures of his singing-girls.[73] The art rose to greater heights under the next rulers. Al-Mas'ūdi delineated a delightful scene at a palace by the Nile in 330/940 in which the "sounds of music and singing filled the air."[74] Kāfūr (d. 357/968) was devoted to music and was liberal-handed to its professors.

What was this music of Islam, enthralling sounds of which charmed all ears from Bukhāra in the east to Cordova in the west? Obviously, there were linguistic differences and indigenous musical preferences in so vast a region. Yet Islam, because of its universal outlook, had leavened some of those diversities. Basically, the scale of all was the Pythagorean, as we shall learn presently.[75] Yet Arabic technical terminology seems to have had dominion everywhere, as one sees in the term *maqām*. Unmistakably, Baghdād was still the artistic and literary centre, for even abu Bakr al-Kātib, who served the Sāmānid Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad (d. 295/907), saw in Iraq "an ocean of learning and a mine of culture."[76] If one scans the *nisbahs* of the great men of literature, science, art, and music who sought Baghdād to win fame and fortune, it becomes clear what a magnet the "City of Peace" had become to the world of Islam.[77] To the Arabic-speaking peoples vocal music was the peerless art. Part of that was due to the beauty of the language, *plus* the allurement of its variegated metres. The outstanding vocal piece was the ode *(qaṣīdah)*. Within its folds a singer could decorate the melody of each verse with endless embellishments *(taḥāsīn)*. Less classical, but far more popular, was the ballad *(qiṭ'ah)*. There were also folk-songs of the *mawāl* type, and we know that even the Caliphs enjoyed the simple songs of the people.[78] The accompanying instruments were generally the lute, pandore, flute *(qaṣṣābah)*, or reed-pipe *(zamr)*, which played the simple melody, whilst the rhythmic accompaniment was furnished by a tambourine or drum. Purely instrumental items were also featured, especially as interludes between vocal items. When these were

[72] R. d'Erlanger, *op. cit.*, i, p. 42.
[73] Al-Maqrīzi, *al-Mawā'iẓ*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Cairo, 1906, iii, pp. 217–18.
[74] Al-Mas'ūdi, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 364–65.
[75] See section C.
[76] E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, i, p. 466.
[77] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
[78] Al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, xxi, p. 101.

combined the performance was termed a *naubah*.[79] Although we read occasionally of a hundred or so performers at Court functions, such events were for special display. The ideal in 'Abbāsid days when listening to music was what Europe would term "Chamber music." Two other instruments, which had independent usage were the psaltery *(qānūn)* and the rebec *(rabāb)*. The former was a special solo instrument, whilst the latter was often used to accompany the chanted verse of poets, which had been its function in pagan days. Since Arabic was still the language of the "classes" in Persia, one imagines that much that passed for the immaculate and indefectible in Arabic poetry and song was heard in Iranian lands as late as the fourth/tenth century, notably under the Ṣaffārids and Sāmānids. The Persians, less intrigued by the lengthy Arabic ode *(qaṣīdah)*, produced a pure love-song *(ghazal)* and the quatrain *(rubā'i)*, one class of the latter, the *rubā'iyy tarānah*, showing its musical adaptation. The melodic modes in Persia were far more numerous in different tonal structures than those of the Arabs, and they retained their older fanciful names such as *'ushshāq*, *iṣfahān*, *salmaki*, etc., although most of them had scalar affinities with the Arabian finger modes *(aṣābi')*. Their most favoured instruments were the harp *(chang)*, pandore *(ṭanbūr)*, lute *(barbaṭ)*, double-chested lute *(rabāb)*, spiked voil *(kamānchah)*, flute *(nāy)*, and tambourine *(dā'irah)*.

The Baghdād Caliphate had gone into the protective custody of the Persian Buwaihids (320–404/932–1015), at whose palaces—as well as at those of the Caliphs—music was subventioned with liberality. In fact, the regime of 'Izz al-Daulah was condemned because of its infatuation for music.[80] 'Aḍud al-Daulah was more discreetly interested in the art.[81] However, the power of the Baghdād Caliphate—both politically and culturally—was gradually slipping away, and the centre of Islamic culture passed meanwhile to the Fāṭimids of Egypt. Here Amīr Tamīm, the son of al-Mu'izz (d. 365/975), was absolutely appassioned of music,[82] and no less could be said of al-Ẓāhir (d. 427/1036), who spent fabulous gold on minstrels.[83] The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusrau wrote about the splendour of the Fāṭimid military bands a little later.[84] One of its famous men, al-Ṣadafi, better known as ibn Yūnus (d. 399/1009), wrote a book the title of which sparkles with delight. It was called the "Book of the Unanimities and Felicities in the Praises of the Lute" *(Kitāb al-'Uqūd w-al-Su'ūd fi Auṣāf al-'Ūd)*.[85] Another, a great historian, al-Musabbiḥi (d. 420/1029), compiled a book of "Selected Songs and Their

[79] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1913–39, iii, p. 885.
[80] J. Amendroz and D. S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate*, Oxford, 1920–21, ii, p. 234.
[81] *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 41, 68.
[82] Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, Paris-London, 1843–71, iii, p. 494.
[83] Al-Maqrīzi, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
[84] *Safar Nāmah*, Paris, 1881, pp. 43, 46–47.
[85] W. Ahlwardt, *op. cit.*.

Significance" *(Mukhtār al-Aghāni wa Ma'ānīha)*.[86] We still discern the Turkomanian pressure on Egypt's music, due to the crowd of men from the Qirghiz steppes in its army, and that was only one facet of the "new phase of culture" which arose in Egypt in those days.[87]

Although Muslim Spain had "advanced with incredible swiftness to a height of culture that was the envy of Europe," the break-up of the central government and the rise of the "Party Kings" halted the progress of the arts for a time. Yet here and there were some hallowed spots of culture. Indeed, a few of these "Party Kings" *(mulūk al-ṭawā'if)* "made their Courts the homes of poets and minstrels," as al-Maqqari testifies. The last of the 'Abbāsid kings of Seville, al-Mu'tamid (d. 484/1091), was not only a distinguished poet, but a singer and a lutanist, as was his son 'Ubaid Allah al-Rashīd.[88] The song-poems of ibn Ḥamdīs (d. 527/1132) were the delight of the Sevillians. When the Almoravid Berber hordes from the Maghrib suppressed the "Party Kings," music came to be looked upon as one of the "wiles of Satan," although the older Muslim inhabitants took little heed of such rebukes. Their successors, the Almohades, under the *fiat* of ibn Tumart (d. 524/1130), made decrees against music more stringent, even to the destruction of instruments. Yet there were many who opposed these fanatical legists, including ibn Quzmān (d. 555/1160), the song-writer *par excellence*, who chided the puritans saying: "The *faqīh* cries 'Repent'; but how can one be contrite with the air so fragrant, the birds warbling, the flowers perfuming, and music *(ghinā')* from a clever reed-piper *(zāmir)* and a heavenly voice?" Yet, in spite of fulminations, music and songs were heard on every side. The newly fashioned *zajal* and *muwashshaḥ* were so easy to set to melodies that the same tune would be adapted to different words, as ibn Quzmān tells us, and songs spread like the wind in the matter of months as far afield as Baghdād, as ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribi (d. 685/1286) avers.[89] Among the best known Andalusian composers were abu al-Ḥusain al-Hamrah al-Qarnaṭi and Isḥāq ibn Sim'ān al-Qarṭabi. The highest in the land were enchanted by the art. Ibn Bājjah (d. 533/1138), according to ibn Khāqān, "spent his life singing and playing," whilst a celebrated physician Yaḥya ibn 'Abd Allah al-Bahdabah, wrote *zajals* for the accompaniment of wind instruments.[90]

Returning to the hub of Islam, we find that the Saljūq Turks had irrupted into the land, Baghdād having been entered in 447/1055. Their rulers took charge of the Caliphs, and they and their later *atābegs* controlled the world of Islam from the borders of Afghānistān to the frontiers of Greece. All of them were keen lovers of music, and the favoured minstrel of Sanjar (d.

[86] Ḥājji Khalifah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, Leipzig, 1835–58, i, p. 367.
[87] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1913–39, i, p. 223.
[88] R. Dozy, *Scriptorum Arabum de Abbasidis*, Leiden, 1846–63, i, p. 394; ii, p. 16.
[89] J. Ribera, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[90] *Ibid.*

552/1157) was Kamāl al-Zamān, whose cognomen indicates his renown.[91] Further east the Ghaznawids and Ghūrids were patronizing minstrelsy at their Courts. Maḥmūd of Ghaznah (d. 421/1030) had the poet Farrukhi as his panegyrist, who was also a "skilful performer on the harp" *(chang)*.[92] Among the Ghūrids of Afghānistān and Hindustan, especially at the Court of Ghiyāth al-Dīn ibn Sām (d. 599/1200), music was encouraged bountifully.[93] Greater still was the favour shown to the art by 'Ala al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 617/1220), the Shāh of Khwārizm, who gave Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi protection.[94] In Baghdād the chief minstrel of the Caliph al-Musta'ṣim (d. 656/1258) was Ṣafi al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mū'min (d. 693/1294). His greater fame is as an author, notably for his "Book on Prosody" *(Fi 'Ulūm al-'Arūḍ w-al-Qawāfi w-al-Badī')*, but greater still for his two books on the science of music which brought him world renown.[95] In the year 656/1258, the Mughul conqueror Hulāgu invaded the famous city of Baghdād, the centre of the world of Islam, and captured it. Ibn Khaldūn avers that 600,000 inhabitants were slaughtered, including the Caliph and his family, and although Ṣafi al-Dīn was spared because of his eminence as a musician, scholars and *littérateurs* were massacred as cruelly as libraries, colleges, and palaces were destroyed.

These Mughul barbarians, who had become masters from the borders of Egypt to India, were converted to Islam, and, softened by its culture, they made music one of the delights of their Courts, and the murdered Caliph's minstrel, Ṣafi al-Dīn, passed into the service of the Mughul vizier Shams al-Dīn al-Juwaini. Ibn Taghrībirdi tells us that abu Sa'īd (d. 736/1335) "cultivated music, played well on the lute, and composed songs," and ibn Baṭṭūṭah (d. 778/1377) describes the royal galley at Baghdād, flanked by boats filled with musicians and singers.[96] By this time Persian, not Arabic, had become the language of art and science in the Middle East, and from Persian works we are able to see what types of instruments were in vogue. In addition to the older lute and pandore was a new arch-lute *(mughni)* and a rectangular psaltery *(nuzha)*, together with a Turkoman viol *(ghishak)*, whilst the pandore was more particularly described as a two-stringed *(dūtār)* or a three-stringed *(sītār)* instrument.[97] It was Egypt alone that offered a stubborn resistance to the Mughuls, and its Mamlūk Sulṭāns, like their predecessors, the Ayyūbids, favoured music and song. Here the *muwashshaḥ* had been popularized by ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (d. 608/1211) in his *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, and al-Sarūji (d. 693/1294) bettered the instruction as a song-writer, while ibn Mukarram (d. 711/1311)

[91] Minhāj Sirāj, *op. cit.*, i, p. 153.
[92] Niẓāmi-i 'Arūḍi, *Chahār Maqālah*, London, 1910, p. 38.
[93] Minhāj Sirāj, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 387–88, 404.
[94] H. G. Farmer, *Sources*, p. 45.
[95] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Suppl. Vol., pp. 191–92.
[96] Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Voyages*, Paris, 1853–58, ii, pp. 116–17.
[97] H. G. Farmer, "Persian Music," in *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, 1954, vi, pp. 676–82.

edited a collection of the older songs which had wide acceptance.[98] Al-Nuwairi (d. 732/1332) also devoted much attention to the subject in his *Nihāyat al-Arab*.[99] It was the Sulṭān Qalā'ūn (d. 689/1290) who built the hospital *(māristān)* at Cairo, where "music soothed the wakeful hours of the sufferers."[100] An outstanding feature of the Baḥri and Burji Mamlūk Sulṭāns was their military bands,[101] which opened the eyes of the Crusaders to the value, both tactically and musically, of martial music.[102]

Sind had been conquered by Muslim armies as far back as the year 92/711, but it was with the Ghūrids of Afghānistān that modern Pakistan had its real foundation in 571/1175 at the hands of Muḥammad Ghūri (d. 602/1206). Here, the powerful *fuqahā'* were able to enforce views in condemnation of music upon Iltutmish, the Sulṭān of Delhi (d. 633/1235), who, later, having been impressed by the *samā'* of the Chishti *darwīsh* fraternity, soon abolished that ban against the art, when the plaintive chanting of its *qawwāls* became a distinctive feature throughout the land, as we know from the *Siyar al-Auliyā'*. Secular music was openly encouraged by Fīrūz Shāh I (d. 634/1236), and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* says that his bounty to musicians led him to be called "a second Ḥātim." Under Balban (d. 686/1287) one evening per week was devoted to audition of music. The succeeding Khalji Sulṭāns, the first of whom was Fīrūz Shāh II (d. 695/1295), were all music-lovers. At the Court of the latter were Ḥamīd Rājah, Naṣīr Khān, and Muḥammad Shāh Hutki, all noted musicians, although the greatest of them all was Amīr Khusrau (d. 725/1325), who was "no less notable as a musician than a poet." He had served at the Courts of the two preceding Sulṭāns. In his *Qirān al-Sa'dain*, he has described the Court music of his time. In the *I'jāz Khusrawi*, he tells of the rivalry between the Khurāsān and Hindustān minstrels at Court. It is said that a fusion between Persian and Indian music was brought about by him, and in the book called *Rāg Darpan* many novelties in music are attributed to him. Music was still to the fore with the Sayyid dynasty, and Mubārak Shāh II (d. 837/1433) was deeply attached to the art. On the elevation of the Lodhi Sulṭāns to the throne in 855/1451 there was a change of attitude towards music. Yet Sikandar II (d. 923/1517) employed four exceptional performers on the harp *(chang)*, psaltery *(qānūn)*, pandore *(ṭanbūr)*, and gourd-lute *(bīn)*, only the last-named instrument being of indigenous origin. In the extreme north the kings of Kashmīr were ruling a famed "land of song" since 735/1334. Among the most cultured of them was Zain al-'Ābidīn (d. 872/1467), during whose reign music schools were established by Persian and Tūrānian teachers, which won

[98] *Idem*, "Egyptian Music," *ibid.*, ii, pp. 891–97.
[99] Cairo edition, 1344/1925, v, pp. 1–122.
[100] S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London, 1901, p. 284.
[101] H. G. Farmer, "Ṭabl Khānah," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Suppl. Vol., pp. 217–22.
[102] *Idem*, "Oriental Influences on Occidental Military Music," *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, April 1941, pp. 235–38.

some celebrity. In the Deccan, one of the kings of Gulbargah named Tāj al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (d. 825/1422) had seven hundred damsels who were skilled musicians and dancers. His brother, however, was never absent from the *darwīsh* ceremonials, where the religious chant gave him contentment of a different kind. Both Aḥmad Shāh I (d. 839/1435) and Aḥmad Shāh II (d. 862/1457) were captivated by their Court minstrelsy, and the wife of the latter, says Firishtah, was without equal in her musical accomplishments. The singers and dancers of Muḥammad Shāh II (d. 887/1482) came from Georgia, Circassia, and Abyssinia. So indulgent was his successor Maḥmūd Shāh II (d. 924/1518) in his passion for music that minstrels were attracted to his Court not only from Delhi and Lahore, but also from distant Persia and Khurāsān. Truly, Muslim India was in the forefront in music among her sister nations.[103]

Persia had reawakened culturally under the beneficent Muẓaffarids. The renowned Shāh Shujā' of Shīrāz (d. 786/1384) patronized the minstrel Yūsuf Shāh and the music theorist al-Jurjāni (d. 816/1413). The art was particularly conserved by the Jalairid Sulṭāns of Iraq. Ḥusain (d. 784/1382) actually neglected his realm through his abiding love for music, whilst the greatest living musicians, Riḍwān Shāh and 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaibi (d. 840/1435), were the chief Court minstrels of Sulṭān Aḥmad (d. 813/1410).[104] When Tīmūr (d. 807/1405) had accomplished his world-wide conquests, most of the above kingdoms passed into the night, and Samarqand became the artistic as well as the political centre of the Tīmūrid Empire. During the reign of Shāh Rukh (d. 850/1447) the Court minstrelsy rose to perfection, and the *fêtes* have been eloquently described by 'Abd al-Razzāq.[105] Yūsuf-i Andakāni was his favoured minstrel for he "had no equal . . . in the seven climes."[106] Mīrān Shāh (d. 810/1408), the brother of Shāh Rukh, was also infatuated with music as discoursed by al-Khaṭīb al-Mauṣili and Ardashīr-i Changi. Baisunghur (d. 836/1433), the son of Shāh Rukh, was devoted to Amīr Shāhi (d. 857/1453), possessed of three-fold talents as minstrel, poet, and painter. Under the guidance of the vizier Mīr 'Ali Shīr (d. 907/1501) the rule of the last of the great Tīmūrid rulers Ḥusain Mirza Baiqara (d. 911/1506) became the byword of the cultured world of Islam, and the names of his minstrels—Qul-i Muḥammad, Shaikhi Nāyi, and Ḥusain 'Ūdi—became a part of history.[107]

In Muslim Spain, in spite of the increasing reconquests by the Spaniards in the seventh/thirteenth century, the Moors still held that part of the land known as Granada. Here they were hemmed in from all sides, and in 897/

[103] *Idem*, "Pakistani Music," *Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam*.
[104] *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. iv, v. 1845, p. 448; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1954, i, p. 66.
[105] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Paris, 1843, xiv, p. 137.
[106] Daulatshah, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, London, 1901, p. 350.
[107] *Bābur Nāmeh*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London, 1921, pp. 272, 291–92.

1492, they were forced to capitulate. Then followed the most despicable persecutions and ruthless destruction of Arabic literature which had been treasured for centuries. Moorish music and instruments were declared *anathema*, although that did not prevent the Moors from finding solace from their woes in their music. All that the Spanish priesthood could do was to issue edicts forbidding their congregations to listen to those *mouriscas* and *aravias* of the Moors.[108] In the mid-tenth/sixteenth century, they were not only denied their national costume, language, and customs, but forbidden the *zumrah* and *lailah*, i.e., the musical gatherings.[109]

The whole of the Maghrib—from Morocco to Tunis—had been deeply influenced by the culture of Andalus, and both the Marīnid rulers of Morocco and the Ḥafsid Amīrs of Tunis had encouraged music at their Courts. Yet more bountiful was the revivification of the art due to the exodus of the Muslim exiles from Spain. The first of these arrived at Tlemcen after the fall of Cordova in 633/1236, followed by another to Tunis at the capture of Seville in 646/1248. Then came refugees to Tetuan after the submission of Granada in 897/1492, which was succeeded by an emigration to Fez from Valencia in 943/1526, and finally the wholesale expulsion of 1018/1609. These newcomers brought a cultural benefit to the Maghrib, and the Moriscos became the artistic and literary aristocracy of the land. In music, one can actually trace the regional variations in classical Granaṭi or Andalusi art to those immigrants. The Cordovan interpretation belongs to Algiers and Tlemcen, the Sevillan style is that of Tunis, while the Granadan and Valencian modes are to be found in Fez and Tetuan.[110]

The Ottoman Turks now became a power in the world of Islam to be reckoned with. Having settled originally in Anatolia, they soon extended their power in every direction, and by the year 857/1453 Constantinople and the whole of the Byzantine Empire were in their hands. After defeating the Shāh of Persia, they took Kurdistān and Mesopotamia into their hegemony, finally to overrun Syria, Egypt, and Arabia after crushing the Baḥri Mamluks in 922/1517. From that date Turkish music began to assert itself gradually in Arabic-speaking lands and beyond, even as far as Tunis and Algiers where Turkish *beys* and *deys* were masters. From remote times the *ōzan* or bard of the Turkish tribes, with *chōgūr* or *qopūz* in hand—they were lute-like instruments—entertained the people with the *turku* or folk-song. That had not changed, but a new era had dawned since Constantinople had become—by edict only—the pivot of Islam, and it was no wonder that artists, musicians, poets, and literary men should have sought fame and fortune in the new capital, as well as in the *pāshāliks* of Cairo, Damascus, Mosul, and Baghdād. Instrumental music had ever delighted the Turks, and the overture *(pīshrau)* and the decorative "divisions" *(taqāsīm)*, which had been constitutent parts of the old

[108] J. Ribera, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
[109] H. G. Farmer, in *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, v, pp. 863–76.
[110] See "Maghribi Music," *Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Perso-Arabian *naubah*, were in great demand. The poets sang eloquently of the joy of instrumental music in the ninth/fifteenth century, notably Niẓāmi of Qūniyah and Aḥmad Pāsha; and Sulṭān Murād II (d. 855/1451) enticed the finest minstrels to his Court. Nor should we allow the influence of the *maulawīyyah* or Jalālīyyah dervish communities, founded by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmi (d. 672/1273), to escape our notice, since their hymns *(ilāhīs)* had a great spiritual influence. In the next century, the poets Fighāni, Fusūli, and Rewāni still continued to rhapsodize on music's spell. The instruments praised were mostly of Arabian or Persian origin, although the Turkish *qopūz* had its share of appreciation.[111] New instruments came on view. Qūdūz Farhādi invented the *qaradūzan*, a lute of three strings, and a son of Ḥamdi Chelebi (d. 915/1509) introduced two new pandores called the *yōnqar* and *yaltmah*.[112] During the eleventh/seventeenth century music took a prominent part in the general cultural improvement, as we know from a manuscript of Cairo by Mulla Muḥammad ibn As'ad, of the time of Sulṭān Aḥmad (d. 1026/1617), which contains the lives of the famous Turkish musicians.[113] Ewliya Chelebi was famed in those days. His teacher was 'Umar Gulshani, who was taught by Ibrāhīm Gulshani of Cairo (d. 940/1533). The description of the musical life of Constantinople is contained in the "Travels of Ewliya Efendi" *(Siyāḥat Nāmeh)*; much of it, based as it is on the *Auṣāf-i Qusṭanṭinīyyah* (Praises of Constantinople) composed in the year 1048/1638, gives precise details of musicians and instruments, guilds and makers, in the great emporium of the Near East.[114] In that century there arose the poet-minstrels *(sāz shā'yrleri)* who were honoured not only in military but also in religious circles. One direct influence from outside came after the capture of Baghdād in 1048/1638 by Murād IV, who took back with him to Constantinople the Court minstrel of the Persian Shāh 'Abbās I, named Shāh Quli, whose performances on the *shashtār* had pleased him.[115] The late Ra'ūf Yekta thought that the advent of Shāh Quli "opened a new era in the history of Turkish music."[116]

In the Muslim east the 'Ādil Shāhs of Bījāpūr, the first of whom was Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh (d. 916/1511), were revealing themselves as munificent patrons of musicians. Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh had a skill in music almost equal to that of a professional, and even essayed composition. Ismā'īl (d. 941/1534) rather favoured Tūrānian and Persian music at his Court. *Per contra*, Ibrāhīm I (d. 965/1557) preferred the arts of the Deccan. Ibrāhīm II (d. 1035/1626) is claimed to have written a work on music called *Nauras* with an introduction penned

[111] E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, London, 1900–09.
[112] H. G. Farmer, *Turkish Instruments of Music in the 17th Century*, Glasgow, 1937, pp. 37–38.
[113] *Tārikh Turki*, Vols. II & III, Dār al-Kutub, Cairo.
[114] *Narrative of Travels . . . in the Seventeenth Century* by Evliya Efendi, London, 1846–50, I, pp. 225–28, 233–40.
[115] D. Cantemir, *The History . . . of the Othman Empire*, London, 1734, pp. 248–49.
[116] *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, Paris, 1922, p. 2980.

by Ẓuhūri, the Persian poet (d. 1027/1618). The Quṭbi Kings of Golkunda were no less enthralled by minstrelsy. Sulṭān Quli (d. 940/1543) brought Persian customs to his Court—which lasted forty years—and his military *naubah* sounded at the five hours of prayer. In those days the Gwalior school of music was the subject of conversation. Its renown was due chiefly to Rājah Mān Singh (d. 932/1517), and the most famous of its pupils was Tān Sīn, who had been taught by Muḥammad Ghauth. Another of the same circle was Bakhshū, whose *dhurpads* became the repertory of the best minstrels. When Bābur (d. 936/1530) became the first of the Mughul Emperors of Hindustān (India), most of the preceding dynasties were absorbed. He had been reared in Courts where music prevailed.[117] From statements in the *Bābur Nāmeh* it would seem that the Emperor was even a composer, and it is believed that his compositions once existed.[118] His son Humāyūn (d. 963/1556) also encouraged music, and sincerely believed that the Sufi dance was the complete expression of the *ḥikmat-i ilāhi*. At Court, musicians had their special days for audition, and some of them—'Abd Allah Qānūni, Muḥammad Surnā'i, and the vocalists Ḥāfiẓ Dōst Muḥammad Khwāfi and Ustād Yūsuf Maudūd—are registered in the *Akbar Nāmeh*. The Court of the renowned Akbar (d. 1014/1605), as described in the *Ā'īn-i Akbari* of abu al-Faḍl, shows how important music was both to the policy and the taste of the Emperor. The musicians were formed into seven groups, thirty-six of whom are named in abu al-Faḍl's work. He was catholic in his choice, for not only were minstrels selected from famed Kashmīr and Gwalior, but the best of them came from Herāt and Khurāsān, and they were singers, chanters, and instrumentalists. More than half of these had Muslim names. The Emperor is said to have himself composed two hundred items of music. Among the art treasures of his day there is one depicting the arrival of Tān Sīn at his Court. Abu al-Faḍl tells us of the widely spread net that was cast to capture the best of vocal music—the *dhurpad* of Gwalior, the *chind* of the Deccan, the *qaul* and *tarānah* of Delhi, the *kajri* or *zikri* of Gujrāt, the *bangula* of Bengal, and the *chutkalah* of Jaunpūr. Jahāngīr (d. 1037/1627) followed his father in his love of music, his favoured minstrel being Shauqi, who sang Hindi and Persian songs in a way that "cleared the rust from human hearts." There is a portrait of him in Fox Strangway's *Music of Hindustān*.[119] Many other musicians of Jahāngīr's Court are mentioned in the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīri* and the *Iqbāl Nāmeh*. In the first-named work is described the military band of this Emperor. Shāh Jahān (d. 1068/1658) made the Court music one of the glories of his reign. It was he who collected the *dhurpads* of the Gwalior composer Bakhshū, which numbered one thousand items. On the wedding of his son, Aurangzīb (d. 1119/1707), he expended a small fortune on music alone. Alas! when Aurangzīb ascended the throne he dispensed with his Court minstrelsy, to the

[117] *Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "Pakistani Music."
[118] *Bābur Nāmeh*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London, 1921, i, p. 422.
[119] *The Music of Hindustān*, Oxford, 1914, p. 83, where he is called "Numa Khān."

dismay of the people at large. Fortunately, Bahādur Shāh (d. 1124/1713) reinstated the musicians and raised them to *manṣab* ranks. By this time, owing to internecine strife, the great Mughul Empire began its political and cultural decline.

Of the state of music in Persia during the eleventh/seventeenth century, we know but little save what the pictorial art reveals, although at the brilliant Court of 'Abbās I (d. 1038/1629) the older instrumental art still held its own.[120] Four European travellers—Raphael du Mans, Chardin, Poullet, and later Kaempfer—supply many important details. A picture of the Court minstrels of Ṣafi I (d. 1052/1642)—actually portraits—has been preserved.[121] Persia seems to have been less troubled by the objections of the legists to *al-samā'* than was the case elsewhere. Perhaps they still remembered Ḥāfiẓ who once said: "When the harp is sounding who cares about the objector?" Yet there were some Persians, for example, Muḥammad ibn Jalāl Riḍwi (d. 1028/1619) and 'Abd al-Jalīl ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1061/1651), who replied at length to the legists.[122] Incidentally, Chardin shows that the Indian *vīna* was used in Persia as the *kingira*,[123] and even Mersanne (1046/1636) delineated it in Europe.[124] Strangely enough, it is mentioned by the Arabic writer al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), who writes it—probably a scribal error—as *kinkila*, and it is also specified by al-Jurjāni (d. 816/1413).[125] By the twelfth/eighteenth century, when Nādir Shāh (d. 1160/1747) brought a brief resurgence to Persia's greatness, many of the older instruments of classical times—the harp, lute, and psaltery—had disappeared, although the dulcimer *(santīr)* found a place.

Iraq and Mesopotamia, now in the hands of the Turks, favoured only the Tūrānian art. Baghdād was the centre of this imported culture, and it spread to Ḥillah and Baṣrah. To the north, Kurdish tastes prevailed. The most artistic centres were those where the Mamlūk pāshās had control, and where Georgians and other Caucasians were given preferment, which meant that quite a new Oriental type of music gained ground.[126] Karsten Niebuhr, after visiting Baghdād in that century, gave a fair description of its music. He noted the use of what he called a *basse continue* by accompanying instruments, although he seems to have meant a *point d'orgue* or pedal point.[127] He mentions and delineates three types of pandore, and the rectangular and spiked viols. Syria was little better off, as we know from the books of Alexander and Patrick Russell written in the twelfth/eighteenth century.[128] They aver that

[120] C. Hurt, in A. Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, p. 3073.
[121] A. U. Pope, *op. cit.*, p. 2802.
[122] British Museum MS., *Or.* 2361, ff. 2 v., 15.
[123] *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin*, Amsterdam, 1735, iii, pp. 158–61.
[124] *Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, 1636–37, ii, Traite de instrumens, p. 228.
[125] British Museum MS., *Or.* 2361.
[126] *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, 1954, iv, pp. 528–33.
[127] *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam, 1776–80, i, pp. 142–51.
[128] *The Natural History of Aleppo*, London, 1756, pp. 93–96; edition 1794, i, pp. 150–57.

the Allepans were "fond of music," and in their performances the instruments generally were well in tune, and . . . kept excellent time."

Chapter LVIII

MUSIC (Continued)

C

THE MUSIC THEORISTS

> "There is one and the same principle which, if prevailing in the attempered particles of the elements, is equipoise of temperament; *if produced in tones is pure and delightful interval*; if apparent in gestures is grace; if observable in languages is rhetoric and eloquence; if created in the limbs is beauty; if in the mental faculties is equity."
>
> Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwāni: *Akhlāq-i Jalāli.*

In addition to those who conceived music to be "like a fan" on a sultry day were those to whom it was "like medicine," as we have heard in the opening fanfare to this chapter. That was precisely how the Pythagoreans viewed music, and it was from them that the notions of the "theory of numbers," the "harmony of the spheres," and the "doctrines of the ethos *(tāthīr)*" were handed down to Muslim peoples as methodical systems, although the history of the Semitic and Aryan races in pre-Islamic days teems with these beliefs. In fact, the Greeks derived their theses on those matters from the ancient Semites of Babylonia-Assyria, as shown elsewhere.[1] Iamblichus affirms that Pythagoras learnt those secrets from the *Chaldaei* of Babylon,[2] and books on music and arithmetic by Pythagoras were known in Arabic,[3] as were the works of his disciples Iamblichus, Porphyry, Proclus, and Nicomachus.[4] Perhaps the first impact came through that pseudo-Aristotelian production known as the "Book of Government" *(Kitāb al-Siyāsah)*, said to have been translated into Arabic, *via* Syriac, by Yūḥanna ibn Baṭrīq (d. c. 200/815),[5] and this is what we read therein on the influence of music and the harmony of the spheres. Mental diseases are amenable to cure by means of musical instruments which convey to the soul the harmonious sounds which are (ultimately) due to the motions of the spheres in their natural movements. When those

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[1] H. G. Farmer, in the *New Oxford History of Music*, i, pp. 252–53.
[2] Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorae*, iv.
[3] Ibn al-Qifṭi, p. 259.
[4] Ibn al-Nadim, pp. 252–53.
[5] British Museum MS., *Or.* 3118, ff. 52v.–53.