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# INAYAT KHAN

## THE COMPLETE RECORDINGS OF 1909



31 classical Indian  
songs from the  
legendary  
Sufi musician  
Hazrat Inayat Khan

**2CD**

## Preface

Hazrat Inayat Khan's music inspired him in his search for the divine truth. This became his main object in life. He travelled throughout the Indian continent to meet the great musicians, sages, yogis and holy men of India's different religions. He found his own spiritual teacher, who initiated him into the Chistia Sufi Order. His spiritual training and his music developed together, the one deepening and inspiring the other. He reached a stage where, playing his music, he would reach Samadhi, the highest meditative state.

Music as the most abstract aesthetic value leading on to mysticism as ultimate spiritual attainment, thus became to him a real answer to the spiritual search of modern times. For the further development of that inspiring perception, he left India for the West in 1910. There, his universalizing renewal of mysticism and its related philosophy defined as Sufism (after its esoteric method and cultural framework) proved far more readily appreciated than the Indian musical component of his work.

The next 16 years of his life were completely devoted to this great task. It made such demands on his time and energy, that in the end he had to give up his music. As he explained in his own words:

I gave up my music because I had received from it all I had to receive. To serve God, one must sacrifice the dearest thing, and I sacrificed my music, the dearest thing to me.

Now if I do anything, it is to tune souls instead of instruments; to harmonize people instead of notes. If there is anything in my philosophy, it is the law of harmony: that one must put oneself in harmony with oneself and with others.

I played the vina until my heart turned into this same instrument; then I offered this instrument to the divine Musician, the only Musician existing. Since then I have become His flute and when He chooses, He plays His music.

What is this Sufi Message, to which this great master of mysticism and music devoted his life? He called it a *message of spiritual liberty*, because it does not have any dogmas or fixed beliefs. It shows a way of spiritual development that is open to everyone, but can only be followed by one's own free will, when the soul's longing has awakened for the divine reality that is hidden behind the intoxication of the outer life.

Inayat Khan established an inner school within the Sufi Movement, where those who wish to make the inner voyage can be initiated and receive personal guidance and spiritual training.

This Sufi Message is *universal*: it reaches out to followers of all religions. It seeks the inner unity of all the great religions; their ways of teaching converging to the essential meaning of awakening men's deeper consciousness. This idea of the unity of religious ideals is of special significance in the present time, when all cultures and religions have come into such close contact.

Inayat Khan describes his teachings also as a *Message of love, harmony and beauty*. This can be the guiding ideal in our life. Harmony creates beauty and this is what gives real happiness to our hearts. To create and to maintain harmony in our personal life under different circumstances is the moral ideal of Sufism.

As the body was created to enable the soul to live on earth, so Hazrat Inayat Khan has established the Sufi Movement in 1923 as an instrument to protect and spread his spiritual message. The Sufi Movement publishes Inayat Khan's teachings on all aspects of human life, covering philosophy, psychology, religion and mysticism, as well as his lectures on their relationship with tone and rhythm, sound and music.

Dr. H.J. Witteveen

## INAYAT KHAN THE COMPLETE RECORDINGS OF 1909

What makes Inayat Khan (1882-1927) a unique artist is that he was a highly gifted musician, composer, poet and writer, and at the same time a Sufi with a mission to bring "East and West together through music." His mystical poetry, like that of his elder contemporary, Rabindranath Tagore, is obviously the creation of someone deeply devoted to music. He communicates his ecstatic appreciation, but also reveals something of his struggle and despair in his writings.

Inayat Khan was the first Indian musician to perform and lecture extensively in Europe and the USA. For him, Indian music was a "divine" and "sacred" art, "which has a tendency to produce calm and peace" (1979: 254). In a lecture of 1921 he stated: "Music, the word we use in our everyday language, is nothing less than the picture of our Beloved" (1988: 73).

One of the few Indian musicians born in the 19th century to write an autobiography, Inayat Khan recorded 31 classical songs in the first decade of this century. Nobel prizewinner Tagore had "a very great respect for [his] extraordinary musical talent and acquirements" (1979: 329), and Claude Debussy referred to him as a remarkable musician-philosopher. Many other celebrities in India and the West paid tribute to his art and thought.

Inayat Khan attained fame as a spiritual leader and founder of the western Sufi Movement. Although his publications *The Mysticism of Sound and Music* may be considered classics, as a musician and composer he has virtually been forgotten, both in India and the West. These recordings, made in Calcutta on 26 and 28 September 1909, were recently discovered in the EMI Archives, London. They give us a mere glimpse of his powerful music. Brief as the recordings are, we experience the vigour and clarity of his musical conviction.

## Lost and found

For a few years I had occasionally corresponded with Michael Kinnear, an Australian scholar who had carried out impressive research into historical Indian recordings. He had access to a collection of rare Indian discs at the EMI Archives, London. Most of the records, I was given to understand, were in mint condition, never played. Needless to say, this had aroused my interest.

We finally met in Bombay some two years ago. As our conversation progressed, we talked about the popular singers Gauharjan of Calcutta and Jankibai of Allahabad, who were recorded as early as 1902 and 1907 respectively. Michael told me they had made hundreds of discs, many of them available at EMI. Most of the records of Zohrabai of Agra (d. ca. 1911) were also preserved there. She was considered one of the most accomplished classical singers of the time. Many other names were mentioned, including some I had never heard of before.

Suddenly, Michael confided to me that he had found all the 1905 recordings of the vocalist Abdul Karim Khan (1872-1937), who was somewhat of a legend in his own lifetime. Then he told me that he had discovered the discs of Inayat Khan as well. "The sitar player Enayat Khan?" I asked. "Well, his records are available too. But I'm talking about *Sufi* Inayat Khan (...) Do you know anyone who might be interested in publishing them?" I was dumbfounded.

The next day, I began to realize that Michael had made a very important discovery. Friends in the Sufi Movement had told me that Inayat Khan had brought a complete set of his 1909 recordings to the West, but that they disappeared in Paris during the First World War. Up to now several people had made an effort to trace the discs in India, but returned virtually empty-handed. The few records found were in such poor condition that Inayat Khan's voice was barely audible.

I started to reminisce about the many conversations with my guru, Dilip Chandra Vedi (1901-1992), who had just passed away. Vedi was a disciple of the great singers Bhaskarbuwa Bakhle (1869-1922) and Faiyaz Khan (1886-1950), contemporaries of Inayat Khan who had strong links with Baroda. As a boy, Bhaskarbuwa had received some training at the public music school that Inayat Khan's grandfather, Maula Bakhsh, started in Baroda. Later he studied with the renowned vocalists Faiz Mohammad Khan, Natthan Khan and Alladiya Khan, becoming one of the most celebrated singers at the beginning of this century.

In 1912 Vedi's other teacher, Faiyaz Khan, was appointed by Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwar of Baroda as his principal court singer. Vedi told me many anecdotes about his famous teachers. He had an encyclopedic knowledge and enjoyed talking about the musicians of times gone by, but somehow the name of Inayat Khan had not rung a bell with him. I had asked several other musicians if they knew anything about Inayat Khan; in reply, they related stories about the well-known vocalist Inayat Hussain Khan (1849-1919) and the above-mentioned *sitar* and *surbahar* player Enayat Khan (1894-1938), Vilayat Khan's father. But none of them could recall the Inayat Khan I was referring to. One musician had heard an old recording of Professor Inayat Khan R. Pathan. "Was he perhaps the Sufi musician, the grandson of Maula Bakhsh?" he asked. Indeed he was, I realized much later when I read his biography.

Obviously Inayat Khan's name had faded from local memory after he left India in 1910. The records he made were "subject to a special artist's royalty" and "must on no account be given foreign labels or fresh catalogue numbers", according to a letter from The Gramophone Company, Ltd. (London, 14 April 1910). In other words, they never appeared in the regular catalogues and they were probably never played on the radio.

None of the musicians I encountered were aware that Inayat Khan was one of the first artists to bring Indian music to the West. They did not know that he

had been invited to participate in the first, prestigious All-India Music Conference, held in Baroda in 1916 (although he was unable to attend, as it happened). Most of these musicians were not even born when Inayat Khan departed for the West. And of course, when he finally returned at the end of 1926, few of them could have known who he was.

What surprised me most, however, was that Inayat Khan's name appeared nowhere in the literature on Indian music, and that his most important publication on music, *Minqar-i-musiqar* (1913), had never been translated. Was he such a remarkable musician after all? I sometimes wondered. The meeting with Michael Kinnear was a breakthrough in my search for Inayat Khan the musician. The recordings confirmed what I had known all along, and I had witnessed with my own eyes in the 1970s and 1980s: India had neglected and forgotten some of the most remarkable musicians it had produced. As P.L. Deshpande states in his foreword to B.R. Deodhar's *Pillars of Hindustani Music* (1993: x-xi): "We claim to be very proud of our forebears and our history – this is self-deception. Really speaking, we are extraordinarily indifferent to the life histories and achievements of our own ancestors (...). We hardly have records of the lives of great musicians – male and female – of the last generation."



Prof. Inayat Khan R. Pathan (ca 1905)

## Indian music in the late 19th century

Writing about the classical music of India in 1917, well-known art historian Ananda K. Coomaraswamy observes: "It is the chamber-music of an aristocratic society, where the patron retains musicians for his own entertainment and for the pleasure of the circle of his friends; or it is temple music, where the musician is the servant of God. The public concert is unknown, and the livelihood of the artist does not depend upon his ability and will to amuse the crowd. In other words, the musician is protected. Under the circumstances he is under no temptation to be anything but a musician; his education begins in infancy, and his art remains a vocation" (1976: 88).

Yet, as P.L. Deshpande (1993: ix) remarks, "Music, but not musicians had a place of honour in the temples and the palaces of the princes. The melodious strains of the *shehnai* formed the prelude to the puja of temple deities in the morning, but the shehnai player himself, who made the whole atmosphere exhilarating, did not enjoy any social prestige whatsoever." The fate of *sarangi* and *tabla* accompanists was the same. In fact, the social status of musicians, whether they were vocalists or instrumentalists, was not very high. A number of accomplished artists acquired prestigious positions at the courts of music-minded rulers and nobles; others were employed by wealthy landlords. But in general, musicians were looked down upon, particularly by the English-educated urban middle classes who had little interest in classical Indian music. As the author of an article in the *Indian Mirror* (18 February 1877) observes: "Singing and immorality are in the popular estimation closely united".

Reading life sketches of musicians whose careers flourished during the second half of the last century, and books and articles on Hindustani art music published at the time, there emerges a somewhat confusing picture of a changing society in which both artists and writers idealize India's musical and spiritual past. The writers complain that the music had decayed and that the majori-

ty of professional musicians were "illiterate" and had little knowledge of music theory, either ancient or contemporary. Some of them had preserved the musical heritage of their ancestors, but very few of them were willing to part with this knowledge, let alone teach outsiders. There are numerous anecdotes about well-known musicians who literally took their jealously-guarded compositions to the grave. Other anecdotes recount how talented disciples had to endure years of obedience, hardship and humiliation before their gurus were finally prepared to teach them. Unless one was a wealthy courtesan or born in a hereditary family of musicians, it was extremely difficult to have access to musical tuition.

However deeply-rooted the belief may be that the practice of Hindustani music had degenerated, it now seems flawed to present-day music historians. It is true that the traditional centres of artistic patronage lost much of their prestige and stopped supporting artists on a large scale after the Mutiny of 1857. Yet this period under the British Raj is no longer regarded as an era of musical stagnation and decay, but rather as a period of innovation and transformation. In the urban centres of English education, civil service, industrialization and trade, the Indian intelligentsia tried to adapt their lifestyle by embracing aspects of both modern western and traditional Indian thought. Although European music and western education had little direct impact on Indian music and the traditional pattern of professional music training, the response of the Indian upper and middle classes to a rapidly changing environment affected music at a number of levels. The public music schools emerging in Calcutta, Baroda, Pune and Bombay, stimulating amateur participation in music and resulting in the publication of instructional books, would ultimately raise the social prestige of music and musicians.



## Maula Bakhsh (1833-1896)

The musical eclecticism and reform inspired by progressive western thought of the time were personified by vocalist and bin player Maula Bakhsh, whose portrait appears in Captain C.R. Day's important study *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan* (1891). It is told that Maula Bakhsh became a disciple of the renowned *dhrupad* singer and *bin* player from Delhi, Ghasit Khan, after listening to him in secret and copying his singing for many months, or perhaps several years (Khan 1971: 13). Travelling all over north India and performing at numerous courts, Maula Bakhsh acquired a wide knowledge of Hindustani music by listening to and associating with many great artists. In south India he studied Carnatic music and the ancient theory of music with Patnam Subrahmanya Ayyar (1845-1902).

In the 1860s Maula Bakhsh was appointed chief musician at the court of Mysore, and endowed with the royal insignia. He was also a court musician at Hyderabad, but finally settled in Baroda where he was employed as one of the main court musicians of Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwar (ruled 1875-1939). Maula Bakhsh's eclectic approach to music made him a highly respected figure. He was well-known both in the North and South as a pioneer who campaigned for modern music education, with a syllabus and a system of musical notation. In 1881, with the support of the progressive maharaja, he founded one of the first public music schools in India. This school, the Gayanshala, later developed into the College of Music of Baroda University.

Maula Bakhsh was one of the few 19th century non-hereditary musicians able to challenge the often narrow-minded family musicians of his generation. Bringing in a written notation system for Indian music was a hotly debated topic in the 1870s and 1880s, not only in Baroda but also in Calcutta, where a new type of syllable notation designed by Khsetro Mohan Goswami was introduced into the Bengal Music School, founded by Raja Sourindo Mohan Tagore in 1871.



Maula Bakhsh

Compared with western music education, which relies to a great extent on detailed notation, the new notations for Indian music were merely approximate, certainly not intended as a replacement for oral transmission. However, writing music down meant that compositions long regarded as secret family property could now become widely available, and this drew the opposition of many conservative musicians.

As a chief musician of the Baroda court it was Maula Bakhsh's responsibility to judge the accomplishments of visiting artists, and it is therefore hardly surprising that although he was respected by many, others despised him. There are several anecdotes about the rivalry between Maula Bakhsh and another



Rahmat Khan, Inayat's father, with *sursingar* (1843-1910)

Baroda court musician, the famous singer Faiz Mohammad Khan, who was actually the younger brother of Maula Bakhsh's guru, Ghasit Khan. It is also told that the great singers Natthan Khan and Alladiya Khan could not obtain employment at the prestigious Baroda court because they were unable - or refused - to apply Maula Bakhsh's musical notation system.

In the mid-1880s the question of notation was the cause of a heated quarrel between a young Abdul Karim Khan and Maula Bakhsh. Despite this, Abdul Karim's rendering of Carnatic ragas and their *sargam* variations have been

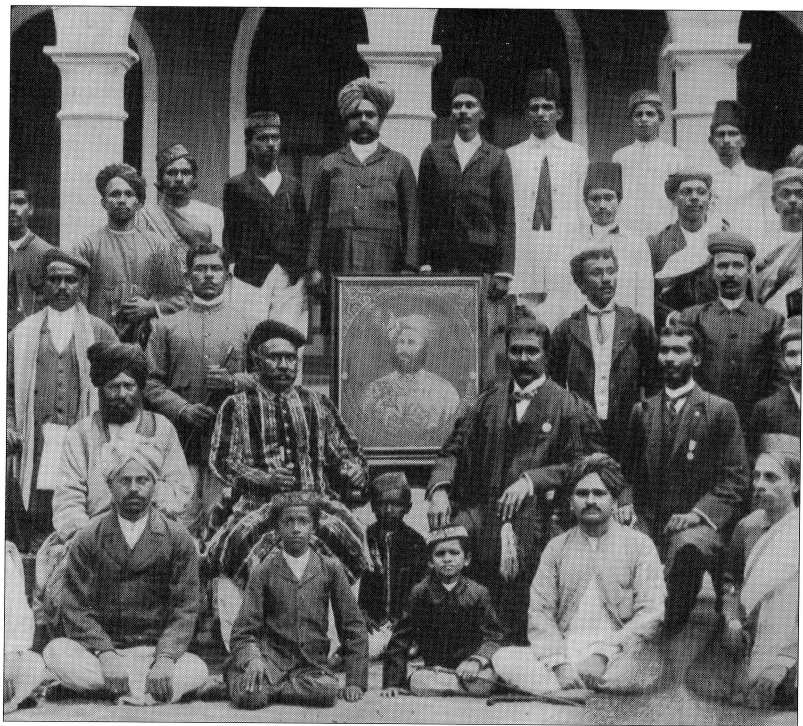
said to show marked influences of Maula Bakhsh and his eldest son Murtaza Khan. It is rather ironic that around 1909-10, Abdul Karim Khan began collaborating with Krishnaji B. Deval, and later with Ernest Clements, both of whom were adamant in their belief that western notation was the most suitable means of transcribing Indian music. Yet, as S.M. Tagore put it in 1874: "Anglicized as we have become in many respects, we confess we prefer our national system of notation for our national music" (1965: 366).

Maula Bakhsh's notation system served as a basis for the notations developed by the well-known music reformers Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande and Vishnu Narayan Paluskar, which are used today all over the North. There are many music schools and colleges in present-day India, but the traditional method of training with one guru for an extended period of time (propagated by Maula Bakhsh's adversaries) is still regarded by many as the only way of becoming a professional artist. Even today, the "textbook musicians" are somewhat looked down upon by the professionals.

### **Inayat Khan, the musician**

His grandfather Maula Bakhsh and later his Sufi master, Murshid Madani, were undoubtedly the most influential figures in the life of Inayat Khan. Although his father Rahmat Khan (1843-1910) was a renowned *dhrupad* singer and a court musician at Baroda as well, it was mainly Maula Bakhsh who taught music to Inayat.

Born 5 July 1882, Inayat was a lively, restless child who disliked school intensely. He had a marvellous musical memory, however, and liked to learn languages. He started writing poetry at the age of eleven, which worried his parents. Little is known about his musical training with Maula Bakhsh, except that he spent the mornings with his grandfather and the evenings in the Gayanshala.



The Gayanshala, ca 1906.

Seated in the second row, left to right: Rahmat Khan, Murtaza Khan, Dr. A.M. Pathan, Inayat Khan.

The death of Maula Bakhsh in 1896 was a serious blow to the young Inayat. In the same year, the king of Nepal, Maharaja Bhim Shamsher Jang Bahadur, invited the most celebrated Hindustani musicians to participate in a grand musical conference. Rahmat Khan went in place of Maula Bakhsh, and took Inayat along with him. The long journey to Nepal made a deep impression on him. In Gwalior he visited the tomb of the legendary 16th century singer Tansen, and heard the disciples of the famous vocalists Haddu and Hassu Khan and Tanras Khan. In Kathmandu he had an opportunity to listen to the greatest artists of the time, but he also began to realize that the vain and powerful maharajas thought they knew more about music than they really did, and that music was just another form of entertainment to them.

When Inayat and his father returned to Baroda by the end of 1897, his uncle Allauddin Khan had also come back from England. He was probably the first Indian to study western classical music at the Royal Academy of Music, London. Dr. A.M. Pathan, as Allauddin was called after his return from Europe, was appointed superintendent of music at Baroda State. Under his guidance, Inayat learned to play the harmonium and violin and wrote instructional books for these instruments. Using the notation system of his grandfather, Inayat's first-published textbook was *Bala sangitmala*. His *Inayat git ratnavali* (1903) contains 75 songs including *ghazals*, *thumris*, *bhajans*, *khyals*, and even a few English songs.

After the death of his mother in 1902, Inayat left Baroda on a musical tour to Madras and Mysore, sharing the stage with the great South Indian *vina* player Seshanna (1979: 302). Performing in Bombay, he was dismayed by the unresponsive nature of the audience. Inayat Khan relates in his biography how shocked and depressed he was about the decadent state of music in this metropolis. Was he simply unlucky not to find a receptive audience? Did the influential rivals of his grandfather ignore him, or did he begin to have doubts about his career on the public stage?



Inayat Khan playing the *jaltarang*.

Biographers of well-known contemporaries of Inayat Khan report that at the turn of the century, Bombay began to develop as one of the major centres for classical Hindustani music. Certainly, most of these artists were in one way or another associated with courtesans, as their ancestors had been since time immemorial. But some of the courtesans were highly trained and respected singers themselves. In the secluded and somewhat puritanical atmosphere of Maula Bakhsh's home there were no professional women singers. In fact, the girls of the house were strictly prohibited from cultivating any music whatsoever. Music was glorified as a sacred art, particularly *dhrupad* and the Carnatic songs of Tyagaraja and Muthuswamy Dikshitar. Yet in reality Indian

classical music had always been just as much a worldly art, even the music of the legendary singers Haddu and Hassu Khan. Saint singers such as Tyagaraja and Mian Shori were as rare a phenomenon in 19th century India as they had been in the past.

In Bombay, Inayat Khan met the famed musicologist V.N. Bhatkhande, who asked him according to what *shastra* (doctrine) he could prove that his ragas were correct. Inayat retorted: "According to my own *shastra*. It is man who created *shastra* and not *shastra* that created man" (1979: 67). From Bombay, Inayat travelled to Hyderabad, where he made friends with the well-known court photographer Lala Din Dayal. Through a friend of Dayal he was able to perform for the Nizam, Mir Mahbub Ali Khan (ruled 1869-1911), who was a good poet himself. He was deeply moved by the purity of Inayat's music and his total devotion to the art. The Nizam presented him with an emerald ring and a purse of gold coins, and gave him the title "The Modern Tansen", which also figures on his records. The first song, *Shad Raho Sarkar* in raga Pahari Jhinjhoti, is in fact "the Nizam's Jubilee Song".

The long stay in Hyderabad and his performances at the prestigious court were a breakthrough in the life and career of Inayat Khan. He had many pupils and sang for the Parsi high priest, rendering a number of Parsi religious chants into *ragas*. In Hyderabad he also met his spiritual master, Murshid Madani. Once again, Inayat became a disciple, "training to serve God and humanity", and studying Sufi literature with Maulana Hashimi. It was during this period that Inayat completed his main work on music, *Minqar-i-musiqar*.

The period in and after Hyderabad reveals Inayat Khan's struggle between his two vocations. On the one hand he sought recognition as a performing artist, musical scholar and reformer; on the other hand he tried to free himself from the courts and society which gave him fame, honours and awards. After the death of Murshid Madani in 1907, Inayat set off on another extended musical tour through India, singing, playing *jaltarang* and *vina*, and lecturing about



the theory of Indian music and the necessity of educational reform. Visiting Mysore, Bangalore, Madras, Kumba-konam, Negapatam, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madurai, Cochin, Travancore, Colombo (Ceylon) and Rangoon (Burma), he finally ended up in the (then) capital, Calcutta, where he recorded the songs presented on this double CD.



Inayat Khan playing the *vina*, Hyderabad, ca 1907/1908.

In an article published in *The Hindu* (15 May 1909), Inayat Khan gives an interesting account of his tour in south India, mentioning the names of the famous artists of the time (1979: 342-6). From the testimonials and newspaper cuttings he collected during this tour, it is obvious that his singing was highly appreciated, particularly in the South. In various reviews he is praised for his virtuoso "solmizations", i.e. the *sargam* improvisations he introduced in his songs. Professional South Indian artists of the calibre of Vina Seshanna (1850-1926) and Tirukkodikaval Krishna Ayyar (1857-1913) took great delight in the fact that he had mastered Hindustani music and had studied Carnatic music as well, "of which he has a fair and keen knowledge" (1979: 296).

### **The West: 1910-1914**

In a lecture delivered on 28 November 1907 in Mysore, Inayat Khan remarks: "After finishing my tour in India I intend to visit foreign countries if life permits" (1979: 301). However, before he could carry out his long-cherished plan to travel to the West, Inayat needed to be freed from the ties which bound him to India. On 13 September 1910, not long after his father died, he boarded the ship which carried him, his younger brother Mahbub Khan and his cousin Ali Khan to New York.

In his *Autobiography* (1979), Inayat Khan draws a vivid picture of his experiences in the West, his encounters and his work delivering the Sufi message. From a musical point of view, the period 1910-14 was the most important because it was during these years that the focus of his activities centred around performing and lecturing on Indian music. It was also a period in Europe and the USA when intellectuals and artists were attracted towards the Orient, or at least a western interpretation of it. Because it was rarely the real Orient which appealed, but an imaginary Orient composed of stereotypes.

Soon after their arrival in New York, Inayat, Mahbub and Ali, together with a local *tabla* player, Ramaswami, gave a programme at Columbia University and joined the well-known dancer Ruth St. Denis. Her performance of *Radha* in 1905, to the music of Léo Delibes' *Lakmé*, had brought her international fame. St. Denis produced many other fanciful shows based on oriental themes, making dance history. But her association with Inayat Khan soon ended, announced in a newspaper by the headline: "Caruso of India no longer with Ruth St. Denis" (Jong-Keesing 1974: 95). Inayat Khan remarks that "it was not satisfactory to combine real with imitation. However, it helped to keep the wolf away from our door" (1979: 124). Although the lecture-demonstrations at the University of California in Los Angeles and Berkeley were a great success, according to the dean W.F. Skeelee, "the music was, of course, strange and at times almost amusing to Western ears" (1979: 355). His music, remarks Inayat Khan, "was put to a hard test in a foreign land, where it was as the old coins brought to a currency bank" (1979: 123).

From the USA, Inayat Khan travelled to England in 1912 where he met composers Cyril Scott and Percy Grainger, and the well-known music critic A.H. Fox Strangways, author of *The Music of Hindostan* (1914), who advised him to go to France. In Paris in 1913 he met "many musicians and artists who showed sympathy with the art and philosophy of India, among them Isadora Duncan", pianist Walter Rummel and Claude Debussy, "who became very much interested in our ragas" (1979: 129). In France, the Royal Musicians of Hindustan (as Inayat Khan and his ensemble were called) also performed with the controversial dancer Mata Hari.

In Russia, Inayat Khan met the famous bass singer Fyodor Chaliapin and the composer-pianist Alexander Skryabin who "thought that there was much in the East which could be introduced to the music of the West, in order to enrich it" (1979: 138). Back in Paris in June 1914, Inayat Khan performed at the

International Music Congress, and it was "suggested that some records should be taken and kept at the University". He was invited to perform in Germany, "but before I had made up my mind, the most disastrous war showed itself on the horizon, and we had to pack up and go to England" (1979: 139).



The Royal Musicians of Hindustan.  
Left to right: Ali Khan (*dilruba*), Inayat Khan (*vina*),  
Musharraf Khan (*sitar*), Mahbub Khan (*taus*).

To a certain extent, the First World War caused the end of Inayat Khan's musical career and the beginning of the Sufi Movement. Gradually he gave up performing altogether. Later, when asked why he stopped singing, he replied: "If the world had not been deaf, I would still have continued to sing" (1979: 265). And in one of his lectures on music he says: "Maybe one day the Western world will awaken to India's music as now the West is awakening to the poetry of the East, and beginning to appreciate such works as those of Rabindranath Tagore. There will come a time when they will ask for music of that kind too (...)" (1988: 105).

### **The music**

Today we are spoiled by the availability of high-quality recorded performances of almost unlimited length. In Inayat Khan's day, however, artists and listeners were faced with the limitations of the 78 rpm records. There were only a few minutes available in which to compress a raga, which might last half an hour, an hour or more on the concert stage. Listening to these two CDs is not, then, equivalent to hearing a full concert of Inayat Khan, but rather a number of excerpts from many different concerts. In these recordings Inayat Khan performs a wide range of ragas and vocal genres.

The songs Inayat Khan presents are listed mostly by raga. Each raga is characterized by its tone material, its ascending and descending scale, typical melodic phrases and notes emphasized. On the less musically definable side, a raga expresses a certain atmosphere or mood, and should be played at a particular time of day or in a particular season. Some ragas are for the rainy season, such as the Malhar set of ragas (e.g. CD 1: 5, Surat Malhar); some are spring ragas, such as Paraj (CD 2: 2). There are ragas for all different times of day. Bihag (CD 1: 13) is sung in the late evening, for instance, and Malkauns

(CD 1: 15) in the middle of the night. In Malkauns, Inayat Khan sings his own poetic composition:

*The days are just passing uselessly,  
And finally, those lacking wisdom remain with regret.  
Childhood is spent in play and playfulness,  
Youth goes on in the search for (external) perfections.  
Once handsome feet start weakening,  
Then observing all that, they become afraid.  
And so, days just keep passing aimlessly.  
Then, having gathered a full bag of sinfulness,  
When death's angel's noose is falling around the neck,  
When they come to taste the fruit of sin,  
Then they become ashamed of themselves.  
Such property and wealth by which they are misled,  
The faces swollen by self-righteous pride,  
This fraternal company and those links of relationship,  
All those are to be withheld, remaining here, just here,  
Where the days are merely passing by.  
Please do thou understand: all is false, God's name alone is real.  
They say that when Inayat sings, his eyes are filled with tears,  
And so the days go wandering on.*

On the original 78 rpm recordings the vocal genre is sometimes mentioned in the title, such as Khyal Yaman Kalyan (CD 1: 12). This is a fine example of Inayat Khan's virtuoso khyal singing style in the grand, popular raga Yaman Kalyan. Paraj (CD 2: 2) is another excellent khyal piece demonstrating a great variety of vocal techniques within the short space of time available. On this track Inayat Khan again sings his own composition:

*At all times, remember the name of God, the Sustainer.  
When becoming immersed in and effaced by the ocean of life,  
When trying to swim through the ocean of life,  
Then continue to remember the name of God, the Sustainer.  
By repeating His name, Inayat attains felicity.  
Only that name is dear to everyone.  
So forever remember God the Sustainer's name!*

As the predominant modern classical genre in vocal music, *khyal* features a composition with poetry set to a raga-based melody, in two parts (*sthayi* and *antara*) around which improvisations are based. Different rhythmic cycles can be employed, in 7, 10, 12, 14 or 16 beats, for instance. There are various vocal techniques for the improvisations: the raga is gradually developed, phrase by phrase, often using syllables from the words of the song, or the names of the notes. On these recordings Inayat Khan particularly sings many fast improvisations, rapid melodic patterns known as *tanas*.

Two *taranas* are presented (CD 1: 13, 14). A *tarana* is similar to a medium or fast tempo *khyal* composition, except that the words consist of apparently meaningless syllables such as "ta na de re na dim", which may or may not have been derived from percussion stroke syllables. Inayat Khan, however, believes that the syllables are in fact Persian words with an esoteric meaning.

Another classical piece (CD 1: 2, Shahana) is in the *sadra* genre, characteristically set to a 10-beat rhythmic cycle called Jhaptal. Inayat sings his own poem:

*I dedicate myself to the generous Creator  
Who shaped so many lovely forms.  
Wherever I look, there in Thine image,  
In such astonishing diversity!  
Inayat lovingly submits to God's divine Omnipotence.*

As we can see from Inayat Khan's compositions, the poet or lyric writer often mentions his own name towards the end of the text.

On CD 1: 6 the popular raga Kafi is sung in the *tappa* genre, which has extra-fast, almost bullet-like *tanas*. Inayat Khan's virtuosity in *sargam* improvisations (singing the names of the notes) is clearly demonstrated here. Yet another popular raga, Khammaj (CD 2: 8), is sung in the traditional classical genre known as *dhrupad*, set to Chautal, a 12-beat rhythmic cycle.

There are three songs in the *hori* (or *holi*) genre (CD 1: 7 and 8; CD 2: 7). The theme of horis is the Hindu spring festival, Holi. The texts can be romantic or devotional in mood. Traditional compositions include descriptions of the games played by Lord Krishna and the *gopis* (milkmaids), as on CD 1: 7, Kafi Hori:

*When Kanhai (Krishna) is playing Holi,  
I have seen your cleverness!  
Now hold that colour-pump – my sari is all wet.  
But he hits my body with a dagger of colour,  
With all the company, the God with the ankle-bells is dancing.*

Inayat Khan sings several *ghazals* and *qasidas* (CD 1: 9, 10 and 11; CD 2: 3, 4, 12 and 13), which consist of poems in Urdu or Persian set to music. *Ghazals* are poems of love, both secular and mystical, the latter celebrating the union of man with God. The modern *ghazal* has become very stylized, with a soft, romantic singing style and recognizable drumming techniques on the tabla. Inayat Khan here sings *ghazals* in the older style with an "open" voice. The name of the poet is given in the titles, as in Ghazal-i-Asif (CD 1: 10). Asif is in fact the pen-name of the Nizam of Hyderabad (Mir Mahbub Ali Khan). A translation by Inayat Khan and Jessie Duncan Westbrook of this *ghazal* can be found in *Hindustani Lyrics* (1919: 17):



*Of no use is my pain to her nor me:  
For what disease is love the remedy?  
My heart that may not to her love attain  
Is humble, and would even crave disdain.  
O traitrous heart that my destruction sought  
And me to ruin and disaster brought!  
As, when the chain of life is snapt in twain,  
Never shall it be linked, so ne'er again  
My utterly broken heart shall be made whole.  
I cannot tear the Loved One from my soul,  
Nor can I leave my heart that clings to her.  
O Asif, am I not Love's minister!  
Who has such courage in Love's ways to dare!  
What heart like mine such bitterness can bear!*

Ghazal Jogia (CD 2: 13) is written by Inayat Khan himself:

*When the sun has lifted the veil from its countenance  
The morning sends one and all on every kind of business.  
Some go to the sanctuary, others go touring around,  
Some go clamouring for attention.  
When I ask my spirit: "And where are you going?"  
Then, filling the eyes with tears, it speaks out thus:  
"I am the invisible likeness of past imposters  
enveloping the heart of love in a shroud".*

Qasida-i-Inayat (CD 2: 12) is also Inayat's own composition:

*In such beautiful tones, time and the world have made it clear:  
Muhammad's countenance is the image of divine truth.  
It is of this, Thy vision, that all our comfort derives.  
This ocean of beauty is our Messiah.*

*An adorning belt girded so clingingly, all this embroidery –  
Come now, it will be as well to let it all go!  
I am bound up with renunciation's ascetics, the yogis.  
There is what endures: our linkage with Divine Being.  
Inayat: To the surs of the Arabs intone the melody.  
Come, give up now this over-extension in the world's deception.*

Another popular genre is the *bhajan*, a Hindu devotional song or hymn. Bhajani-Inayat (CD 2: 5) is a famous song of Mirabai, a princess who became an ascetic and devoted her life to the worship of Lord Krishna. Inayat adds a final line:

*Once having taken up the practice of renunciation,  
Then let there be no heartaches;  
Then always remain immersed, conscious of the Radiant One,  
Sometimes in joy and peace, sometimes with eyes full of tears,  
But always continue being satisfied with the Radiant One alone.  
Sometimes with the Guru's knowledge, sometimes with divine awareness.  
– Inayat, for ever remain in music and sing, conscious of the Radiant One.*

With these 31 songs of Inayat Khan we have a historical document of a great musician and a mystic. It is a record of a vocal style which is no longer so readily heard in the contemporary Indian music scene. This is probably because the disciples of Maula Bakhsh, including Inayat Khan, seem to have had no major successors who continued performing and teaching throughout their lives.

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English translations of Inayat Khan's songs by Harunnisa Khanim Maula Bakhsh.  
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## Discography of Prof. Inayat Khan R. Pathan (The Modern Tansen)

The recordings were taken in Calcutta by George Walter Dinutt on 26 and 28 September 1909. The exact location of the recording sessions is not known, but they are most likely to have been conducted at the recording room of The Gramophone Company Ltd. at 139 Beliaghata Road, Sealdah, Calcutta.

The recordings were made subject to a contract concluded between Inayat Khan R. Pathan of 145 Lower Chitpore Road, Calcutta, and The Gramophone Company Ltd. at 139 Beliaghata Road, Calcutta on 25 September 1909. Inayat Khan R. Pathan was required to make at least 36 records within three months from the date of the contract, and if required by the Company, to make at least 24 records per contract year for the second and third year of the contract.

In the event, no further records were taken by The Gramophone Company, Ltd., Calcutta.

All 78 rpm discs were issued in April 1910 as GRAMOPHONE CONCERT RECORD labelled discs.

Matrix	Coupling		Issue
11222o	8-12386 date: 26/9	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Shad Raho Sarkar PAHARI JHINJHOTI (H.H. The Nizam's Jubilee Song) c/w 8-12390	(HINDUSTANI)  Apr 1910
11223o	8-12387	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Main Dadar Kar Taar Par Aaun Vari SHAHANA c/w 8-12389	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11224o	8-12388	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Chhab Dikhlay Lujhay SHAHANA KHYAL c/w 8-12432	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11225o	8-12389	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Kamli Wale Tope Sabkuchhvare PURABI KHYAL c/w 8-12387	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11226o	8-12390	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Raam Naam Bin Sukh Nahi Pare SURAT MULLAR c/w 8-12386	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11227o	8-12391	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Kuchh Ajab Khel Hainge Is Pak Parvard KAFI c/w 8-12393	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11228o	8-12392	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Hori Kelat Kanhaee KAFI HOLI c/w 8-12430	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11229o	8-12393	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Mopai Barajori Kar Rang Daro SINDHURA HOLI c/w 8-12391	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11230o	8-12394	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Dil Band-e-Mehbub-e-Khuda Shud Che Baja Shud KASIDA-I-MAKDUM c/w 8-12397	(PERSIAN) Apr 1910
11231o	8-12395x	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN (Rejected)	(HINDUSTANI)
11232o	8-12396	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Jab Uske Kamka Na Mere Kamka Hai Dil GAZAL-I-ASSIF c/w 8-12427 (Disc label is printed as HINDUSTANI MALE SONG)	(PERSIAN) Apr 1910

11233o	8-12397	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Tegdar Kafash Didam Khun Man Bajosh Aadam – GAZAL-I-NASEN c/w 8-12394	(PERSIAN) Apr 1910
11261o	8-12417	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Piharva Tiharo KHYAL YAMAN KALYAN c/w 8-12418	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11262o	8-12418	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Dani Dar Dar Dem TARANA BEHAG c/w 8-12417	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11263o	8-12419	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Tarana Dirna TARANA KONSIE KANARA c/w 8-12420	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11264o	8-12420	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Din Yahi Bite Jate Hai MALKOUS c/w 8-12419	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11265o	8-12421x	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN (Rejected)	
11266o	8-12422	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Kan Na Kar Mo So Rar JAUNPURI TODI c/w 8-12424	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11267o	8-12423	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Jaun Balihari Aavo Maara Nath MAND c/w 8-12429	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11268o	8-12424	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Tu Simar Naam Rab Ko PARAJ c/w 8-12422	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11269o	8-12425x	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN (Rejected)	
11270o	8-12426	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Vuh Murag Gum Karda Aashiyannah Ki Urke Ruy Chaman Na Dekha KASEEDA-I-SHOHRAT c/w 8-12437	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11271o	8-12427	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Naavak Aandaj Jidhur Didye Janan Honge GAZAL-I-MOMIN c/w 8-12396	(PERSIAN) Apr 1910

11272o	8-12428	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Kama Fakiri Fir Pappa Dilgiri c/w 8-12433	BHAGAN-I-INAYAT	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11273o to 11275o		NOT TRACED	_____	
11276o	8-12429	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Nand Ke Nand So Prit Kari c/w 8-12423	BHAIRVIN	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11277o	8-12430	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Tore Jiyamen Kapat Re Kandhaiya c/w 8-12392	HOLI SINDHURA	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11278o	8-12431x	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN (Rejected)	_____	
11279o	8-12432	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Laag Rahi To So Lagan c/w 8-12388	DHURPAT KHAMMACH	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11280o	8-12433	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Yah Jo Surat Hai Teri Surat Jaanan Hai Haha c/w 8-12428	YAMAN KALYAN	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11281o	8-12434 s-s	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Nain Non Diyan Nokan Vo Buriyan Sindh single-side	SINDHU BHAIRVIN	(PUNJABI) Apr 1910
11282o	8-12435x	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN (Rejected)	_____	
11283o	8-12436	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Pritam Pe Kurban Jaun c/w 12439	PILOO BARWA	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11284o	8-12437	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Sunile Suron Mein Kahe Hai Jamana c/w 8-12426	KASIDA-I-INAYAT	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11285o	8-12438x	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN (Rejected)	_____	

11286o	8-12439	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Nikab Jab Chehre Se Kurshid Jab Uthay Hai GAZAL JOGIA c/w 8-12436	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11287o	8-12440	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Is Wakt Bahar Hai Sakiyen Man Ek Daur Sharab Chalado Na (Part 1) PARSEE'S POPETTI SONG c/w 8-12441	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910
11288o	8-12441	INAYAT KHAN R. PATHAN Is Wakt Bahar Hai Sakiyen Man Ek Daur Sharab Chalado Na (Part 2) PARSEE'S POPETTI SONG c/w 8-12440	(HINDUSTANI) Apr 1910

The copies of the 78rpm discs used were ALL in virtually MINT condition – mostly unplayed. Most discs however reveal blemishes and generally rough surfaces – inherent with the type of 'shellac' disc record that was being manufactured at the time of issue.

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