South Asia: The Indian Subcontinent

THE GARLAND ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD MUSIC

The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music

Volume 5

South Asia

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THE GARLAND ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD MUSIC

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The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music

Volume 5

South Asia

The Indian Subcontinent

Alison Arnold
Editor

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Cover illustration: A Kalbeliā Jogī ensemble plays *tālī* 'brass plate' and *puṅgī* 'gourd with two single-reed pipes for melody and for drone' to accompany a female dancer whose movements imitate the hooded cobra, at the annual camel fair in Pushkar, Rajasthan. CORBIS / © R. Ian Lloyd. Used by permission.

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List of Audio Examples

CD materials can be found at https://www.routledge.com/9780824049461

The following list identifies the recorded selections on the compact disc that accompanies this volume and gives page references to text discussions of each selection. Track numbers on these pages allow immediate location of the discussion. Descriptive notes on the audio selections can be found on pages 1029–1034 and on an insert in the CD pocket.

List of Maps

About *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*

Scholars have created many kinds of encyclopedias devoted to preserving and transmitting knowledge about the world. The study of music has itself been the subject of numerous encyclopedias in many languages. Yet until now the term *music encyclopedia* has been synonymous with surveys of the history, theory, and performance practice of European-based traditions.

In July 1988, the editors of *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* gathered for a meeting to determine the nature and scope of a massive new undertaking. For this, the first encyclopedia devoted to the music of all the world's peoples, the editors decided against the traditional alphabetic approach to compartmentalizing knowledge from A to Z. Instead, they chose a geographic approach, with each volume devoted to a single region and coverage assigned to the world's experts on specific music cultures.

For several decades, ethnomusicologists (following the practice of previous generations of comparative musicologists) have been documenting the music of the world through fieldwork, recording, and analysis. Now, for the first time, they have created an encyclopedia that summarizes in one place the major findings that have resulted from the explosion in such documentation since the 1960s. The volumes in this series comprise contributions from all those specialists who have from the start defined the field of ethnomusicology: anthropologists, linguists, dance ethnologists, cultural historians, folklorists, literary scholars, and—of course—musicologists, composers, and performers. This multidisciplinary approach continues to enrich the field, and future generations of students and scholars will find *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* to be an invaluable resource that contributes to knowledge in all its varieties.

Each volume has a similar design and organization: three large sections that cover the major topics of a region from broad general issues to specific music practices. Each section consists of articles written by leading researchers, and extensive glossaries and indexes give the reader easy access to terms, names, and places of interest.

Part 1: an introduction to the region, its culture, and its music as well as a survey of previous music scholarship and research

Part 2: major issues and processes that link the musics of the region

Part 3: detailed accounts of individual music cultures

The editors of each volume have determined how this three-part structure is to be constructed and applied depending on the nature of their regions of interest. The concepts covered in Part 2 will therefore differ from volume to volume; likewise, the articles in Part 3 might be about the music of nations, ethnic groups, islands, or subregions. The picture of music presented in each volume is thus comprehensive yet remains focused on critical ideas and issues.

Complementing the texts of the encyclopedia's articles are numerous illustrations: photographs, drawings, maps, charts, song texts, and music examples. At the end of each volume is a useful set of study and research tools, including a glossary of terms, lists of audio and visual resources, and an extensive bibliography. An audio compact disc will be found inside the back cover of each volume, with sound examples that are linked (with a TRACK in the margin) to discussions in the text.

The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music represents the work of hundreds of specialists guided by a team of distinguished editors. With a sense of pride, Garland Publishing offers this new series to readers everywhere.

Preface

This volume, on the music and dance of South Asia, is the first of its kind to cover such a broad range of material—from ancient traditions to modern pop genres, from village folk music to classical art forms, and from the Pashtun music of Afghanistan to the Sinhala music of Sri Lanka. To say that the task has been challenging would be an understatement indeed. And yet, given the limitations on time, energy, and expense that naturally affect any single publication, the South Asia volume represents a wonderfully rich source of information on music making and music theory, musicians and dancers, performers and audiences, musical transmission, mass media, and many other topics.

Over sixty-five authors—representing fourteen countries on four different continents—have contributed to this work. Each has carried out field research and gained firsthand experience of the peoples, cultures, and musics they have written about. Several are also performers and dancers. It is their combined expertise and their shared respect for the music and dance of South Asia that fill the pages of this volume.

HOW THIS VOLUME IS ORGANIZED

Like most of its companion volumes, volume 5 of *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* follows a three-part structure. Part 1 introduces the region of South Asia as a whole, first in an overview article profiling its geography, societies, cultures, religions, and history. For places whose names have been changed within the last few decades, readers will generally find the older, more familiar names in use throughout the book: Madras instead of Chennai, Bombay rather than Mumbai, Banaras in place of Varanasi. Following the overview are two complementary articles that examine the history of musical scholarship, from the most ancient treatises, possibly dating from before the Common Era, to works of the late twentieth century. The chronological division into these two chapters, THEORETICAL TREATISES and SCHOLARSHIP SINCE 1300, reflects the approximate time in the history of South Asian music when theoretical concepts and ideas being written about in the northern regions began to show the influence of the conquering Muslim (Persian) culture. However, the duration and extent of this influence is a matter of debate among specialists.

Issues and Processes

Part 2, the largest section of the volume, focuses on issues and processes general to South Asia as a whole and encompasses the great traditions of classical and religious music; the relation of music to art; musical instruments; the social organization of music; learning and transmission; music in theater and dance; mass media; and the music of the South Asian diaspora. Certain topics, such as musical instruments and dance, are divided into separate articles on northern and southern areas, which follow the contrasting histories of these two halves of the Indian subcontinent through recent centuries, as well as the resulting gravitation of scholars toward the one or the

other area. In one sense, these general themes reflect the way researchers today view and study performance theory and practice in South Asia; however, they often overlap. To gain an understanding of the complex worlds of North Indian (also known as Hindustani) or South Indian (also called Karnatak) classical music, for example, the interested reader might consult not only the respective articles in THE CLASSICAL TRADITIONS, but also the sections on MUSICAL MATERIAL CULTURE, for instruments used in their performance; MUSIC AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, on performers and patrons; MUSIC LEARNING AND TRANSMISSION, on the ways performance traditions are passed on; as well as MASS MEDIA AND CONTEMPORARY MUSICAL EXCHANGE, for an account of the spread of these musical traditions nationally and internationally through both recordings and live performances. Other sections of Part 2 focus on music in relation to religion, ritual, drama, and dance, and on music in the South Asian communities to be found in many other parts of the world. Within these broad topics, fundamental issues are examined regarding how and why music is made, where and when it is performed, by whom and for whom it is created, what role it plays in South Asian society, and how it has changed over time in both conception and practice.

Geographical and musical regions

The sections of Part 3 are organized by geographical region. We begin in the north, grouping Indian states into three regions—the northwest, north, and central—and the far north bordering on China into the Himalayan region; and the countries of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh are each treated as a single region. Due to the strong historical and musical links between the present-day Indian state of West Bengal and the neighboring Republic of Bangladesh, these two lands are grouped as one region. In the south, two regions cover the four states of South India and Sri Lanka. Since peoples and cultures do not necessarily fall neatly within such political boundaries, the grouping of states and countries into regions aims to bring together discussions of peoples and cultures with similar or shared musical practices, and to highlight different musics to be found within geographically close communities—differences that often relate to people's social, cultural, or religious backgrounds. The articles within these "music regions" deal with musics specific to them; in most cases, they focus on "regional traditions," a term that is used in the context of South Asian music to refer to nonclassical music, that is, the traditions usually called "folk" or "tribal."

These "musical regions" are not intended as strict geographical categories; they serve as a useful structure for the volume, though at the price of some apparent contradictions. The Indian state of Orissa, for example, is grouped within central India in Part 3, whereas its musical instruments are discussed in MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: NORTHERN AREA, and its classical dance tradition is described in MUSIC AND DANCE: SOUTHERN AREA. Such overlapping only serves to underscore the links and connections that make categorization very difficult, as well as the flexibility one must adopt when attempting to fit any dynamic cultural tradition into a coherent structure.

Over the centuries, writers and scholars have tended to study and document theoretical concepts and traditions relating to the great traditions of South Asian music, and culture in general, paying little or no attention to the more local "little traditioins." It was in the 1950s that the terms "great" and "little" traditions were first proposed in connection with South Asian culture, by a group of scholars at the University of Chicago led by the anthropologist Milton Singer. The "great" traditions, in particular the classical art forms, were those that enjoyed wide geographical

dispersion, a codified theory, and an orally transmitted performance tradition practiced by a professional class of artists. The "little" traditions, roughly analogous to the "folk" category of European scholarship (see the introduction to Volume 8, *The Music of Europe*), were local forms of expression circumscribed by linguistic, ethnic, sectarian, or social-caste identities. In the twentieth century, the performance practices and theories of Hindustani and Karnatak classical traditions have remained the primary focus of music researchers both native and foreign; however, a relatively small but growing number of musicologists and anthropologists have explored regional and local musical traditions maintained by villagers, tribal groups, and ethnic populations. These musics are the subject matter of Part 3, and although no single work can really do justice to the enormous variety of local musics in South Asia, this part of the volume goes well beyond the scope of any previous publication in presenting information on so many "little traditions."

The approach of the authors of Part 3 has generally not been one of individual case studies; rather, an attempt is made to introduce readers to the broad variety of traditions found in any one region. Coverage differs from one author to another, but the articles largely begin with a brief summary of a region's geography, peoples, cultures, and languages, and go on to discuss such topics as indigenous concepts of music and their relation to performance and behavior; music and identity; musical styles, genres, and instruments; aesthetics; learning and transmission; performance contexts; and the impact of mass media. All the authors give colorful descriptions of musical life in the villages and towns of South Asia, and the variety of focus and style among them is one of the strengths of this book.

Much research remains to be done, as evidenced by the omission of articles on geographical areas, such as the states of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh in northwest India, the northeastern states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, and Tripura, and certain parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Recent political unrest—particularly in Kashmir and Afghanistan—is just one of a number of reasons why music research has been hindered or is lacking.

Research Tools

The volume provides a variety of research aids, beginning with a table of contents that guides readers to broad areas of interest and to specific articles. Each article starts with an outline of its major subdivisions and ends with a list of references; this list generally includes only works cited in the article. Some articles include a section identifying further reading and listening materials, and some include musical examples, either in Western notation or in Indian solfège notation (explained in HINDUSTANI RAGA). The top of every fourth page highlights a key excerpt from the article text; cross-references cited in brackets (as, for example, "[see MUSIC AND TRANCE]") provide links to other articles.

Throughout the book readers will find many illustrations, including photographs, drawings, tables, and charts, which enhance the presentation of possibly unfamiliar material, whether it be musical instruments, dance costumes, or intricate musical concepts. A series of maps, listed at the beginning of the volume, help locate the places mentioned in the text; for place names referred to in Part 2, readers should consult either the general maps of South Asia in Part 1 or the more detailed regional maps of Part 3. Although the peoples, cultures, castes, and communities of the region cannot be shown on the maps due to their enormous number, Map 3 does provide information on South Asian populations in other parts of the world, and ethnic groups, musical communities, and musicians discussed in articles will be found in the index and glossary at the end of the volume.

Glossary

The Glossary provides brief definitions and page references for many of the terms mentioned in this volume; in the articles, definitions are generally given following the first occurrence of a term and are often repeated within the text for the benefit of readers who are consulting individual article sections only. In the text, a quick definition or gloss usually follows the term immediately in single quotes. Glossed terms include musical genres, instruments, performance techniques, theoretical concepts, and musical communities. If two or more terms have the same meaning, the variant spellings or words appear in parentheses following the initial term; those with their own glossary entry are in boldface.

Guides to Publications, Recordings, and Films and Videos

Selective lists of published materials are to be found at the end of this volume, representing a compilation of sources in broad areas of the performing arts of South Asia. These lists include references from articles in the volume as well as further sources on particular topics that can supplement knowledge or steer readers in new directions, and they reflect an emphasis on written materials in English. Effort has been expended to keep articles relatively free of academic text references, with the guides at the end of the volume providing more extensive listings of written, aural, and visual sources.

The guiding principle in selecting the recordings listed, as in the selection of publications, films, and videos, has been availability to a wide variety of readers. Commercial recordings of North and South Indian classical music are numerous, and the Guide to Recordings provides a sampling of this rich resource. Relatively fewer recordings of regional, devotional, tribal (*ādivāsī*), and other musical traditions—including South Asian popular music—are readily available in the West; consequently, they form a smaller part of the volume's guide. Finally, a growing number of CD-ROMs relating to South Asian music and dance is now available in the marketplace, and the Guide to Recordings includes a small number of these materials.

Compact disc

The compact disc accompanying this volume contains thirty-four samples of music illustrating topics covered in the articles. The selected examples include field recordings made in various regions of South Asia, by the authors, that in some cases represent music not readily available on commercial recordings. In the interest of providing a broad representation of the musical sounds in South Asia, excerpts from Hindustani and Karnatak classical performances have been included as well. These samples allow those listeners unfamiliar with such traditions to experience the unique soundscape of Indian classical music, and those with limited familiarity to compare similar genres in the Hindustani (tracks #1–3, 7) and Karnatak (tracks #4–6, 8) traditions. Tracks 1 and 4 are both slow vocal improvisations; 2 and 5 are instrumental improvisations with an underlying rhythmic pulse but no strict meter; excerpts 3 and 6 present metered compositions that then serve as the basis for further improvisation; and 7 and 8 are examples of solo drumming. The North Indian tabla performance (track 7) is of particular value due to its age, as it was taken from a 78-rpm recording believed to date from the 1930s or 1940s.

TRANSLITERATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY

In this volume, the romanization of terms follows the Library of Congress system, to be found in *ALA–LC Romanization Tables: Transliteration Schemes for Non-Roman Scripts*, compiled and edited by Randall K. Barry (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991). While this system specifies Roman letter equivalents for all charac-

ters of the non-Roman scripts of South Asian languages, the sheer quantity of different languages spoken in South Asia and represented in this volume has made consistency a near impossibility. For the languages of the northern regions, the pronunciation guide below encompasses many of the sounds encountered in Hindi, Urdu, and regional languages and dialects. For South Indian languages, the Telugu transliteration scheme, also reflected in the pronunciation guide, has generally been adopted for terms associated with the Karnatak music tradition. Consequently, for Tamil terms certain general principles have been adopted for consistency, such as a preference for *ḍ* or *d* over *ṭ* or *t* in medial position (for example, *naḍai* not *naṭai*), for *b* rather than *p*, and for *g* rather than *k*; also a preference for *t* over *d* in initial position (*tēvāram* not *dēvāram*) and likewise for *p* over *b*, and *k* over *g*.

For ease of pronunciation, personal names and the names of gods and deities are presented in this volume with anglicized spelling and without diacritical marks (Krishna rather than Kṛṣṇa, for example), as they are commonly written in English. Social, religious, and musical groups likewise appear in roman and not italic script, although these, like the names of festivals, seasons, and song titles appear with diacritics for more precise representation. Musical genres, instruments, theoretical terms, and titles of books and treatises are largely in italics. So too are general terms for musician, singer, instrumentalist, and so forth. However, a number of commonly used terms and titles can now be found in English dictionaries, and appear here in roman script. These include: raga, tala, sitar, sarod, tabla, ghazal, bhajan, qawwali, the Vedas, the Mahabharata, and the Ramayana. In the case of raga and tala, the North and South Indian forms of these terms have been retained when they qualify specific raga and tala names, as in the Hindustani *rāg jaunpurī* and *tīntāl*, and the Karnatak *rāga śankarābharaṇa* and *ādi tāḷa*.

The following pronuncation guide gives approximate English equivalents for the sounds of romanized letters in South Asian languages.

Vowels and diphthongs

Romanization	Pronunciation
a	b*u*t
ā	f*a*ther
i	b*i*t
ī	f*ee*t
u	p*u*t
ū	b*oo*t
ṛ	*re*turn
ḷ	*lu*cky (tongue touching the roof of the mouth)
e	l*a*te
ai	*e*ver
o	b*oa*t
au	c*ow*

Consonants

All consonants have an inherent *a* (pronounced as in "*a* letter") following their initial sound. Especially at the end of words, the romanization of South Indian terms usually incorporates the final *a*, as in *rāga*, while that of modern-day North Indian terms, following pronunciation, generally drops the final *a*, as in *rāg*. This convention has been followed in the volume.

The consonants *ka*, *qa*, *ga*, *ja*, *ta*, *da*, *pa*, *ba*, and *za* are pronounced as in English; all have aspirated forms that add an *h* sound (as in *hug*), otherwise described as an expiration of air, to the pronunciation of the consonant: *kha* as in *Kh*mer, *gha*

as in *gh*ost, and so on. Consonants *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va*, and *ma* are unaspirated letters that sound like their equivalents in English. The sounds transliterated as *ca*, *cha*, *na*, *sa*, and *sha* vary as follows: *ca* is pronounced like *ch* in *ch*urch, and *cha* has the added breath of air; varieties of *na* include *ṅa*, *ṇa*, and *ña*, and range in sound from a nasalization (*ṅa* and *ña*) to a retroflex *n* spoken with the tongue curled back and touching the roof of the mouth (*ṇa*); *sa* is pronounced as in English, and the aspirated *sha* and aspirated retroflex *sha* (different from each other in pronunciation but not in English spelling) are romanized as *śa* and *sha*, respectively. The retroflex consonants *ṭa*, *ṭha*, *ḍa*, *ḍha*, *ṛa*, and *ṛha* are all pronounced with the tongue touching the roof of the mouth.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Of all the many people who have helped to create and produce this volume, it is the almost seventy authors to whom I am most indebted. Their hard work, their specialized knowledge, their patience and understanding during the editorial process, and their support of this endeavor have been invaluable to me during my editorship. We have shared times of concentrated work and times of silence, periods of frustration and moments of humor, but in particular we have shared a sense of combined effort. For our essential communication—between the United States and South Asia, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Europe—we clearly owe recognition to the speed and reliability of electronic mail, express mail, fax, and other computer-related technologies, without which this project would certainly not have been completed in four years. But more important, for our knowledge and our skills, we as writers and performers owe our deep gratitude to our teachers, our gurus and ustads, and the countless musicians, dancers, actors, and other performing artists of South Asia who have shared with us their creativity and their love of music.

I sincerely thank my three advisors—Matthew Allen, Regula Qureshi, and Bonnie Wade—whose wisdom and experience have guided me from the earliest planning of this volume to its final stages of production. Always willing to share their thoughts and ideas, they assisted in designing the volume's structure, selecting and locating authors, determining a workable volume-wide transliteration and romanization system, and in many other aspects of the process. I am grateful to them, as well as to Charles Capwell, Daniel Neuman, and Lorraine Sakata, for reading and providing critical comments on the seventy-five articles submitted. In particular, I extend my warm gratitude to Lorraine Sakata and John Baily for their advice and assistance in planning the Pakistan and Afghanistan sections, respectively. One notable example of the dedication afforded this production by its advisors and authors occurred at the Society for Ethnomusicology meeting in Los Angeles in 1995. Matthew Allen, Rolf Groesbeck, Gayathri Kassebaum, and Richard Wolf gave of their time and energy to discuss and create guidelines for a consistent spelling and transliteration of all Dravidian languages in the Garland South Asia volume. I appreciate both their willingness to help and their invaluable transliteration supplement, subsequently submitted by Matthew Allen.

I would like to thank the many people who have provided photographs and slides, including Nancy Martin, Carol Babiracki, and George Pallivathucal, as well as the volume authors and others credited in figure captions. Cristina Magaldi at the University of California, Los Angeles, and Beth G. Raps of Tallahassee, Florida, translated articles for the volume. Bob Haddad of Music of the World and Randy Friel of Soundwave Audio Productions and Services, both of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, provided valuable assistance in producing the compact disc, of which I am most appreciative.

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and production processes. I enjoyed a brief collaboration with Jacob Love, the first copy editor of the South Asia volume, followed by a longer association with Samuel Bartos; both worked carefully and diligently copy editing article texts. I would like to thank the managing editors of this encyclopedia series during my tenure—Richard Wallis until 1998 and Soo Mee Kwon thereafter, as well as former Garland Vice President Leo Balk—for their strong commitment to the project and their efforts to bring about the timely release of this and other volumes. Two particular individuals have been enormously helpful to me during the past year: project editor Barbara Curialle Gerr and project assistant Gillian Rodger. Their friendship and their tireless work dealing with the seemingly endless details of text and illustration preparation and production have been a great encouragement. And to all other Garland employees and contracted specialists who have worked on this volume, I give my thanks.

Although deeply involved in the preparation of the South Asia volume, I have benefited from sporadic but informative and supportive communication with the other volume editors of *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* over the past four years. I am honored to have had such distinguished colleagues, and I am grateful for the sharing of ideas and experiences I have encountered at joint editorial meetings and via e-mail and telephone. To Ruth Stone especially, I extend my warm congratulations on her completion of the first published volume *Africa.* She has been an inspiration and incentive to me as a "sole" volume editor, and I give thanks for the thoughtful and helpful advice she gave me as I undertook this daunting task.

At the time I began work on this project in 1995, I was juggling teaching (both at a university and at a community music school) and raising a family. Four years later, my Garland work has temporarily supplanted teaching and has become a full-time occupation, as my long-suffering family will assuredly attest. I cannot thank them enough for their support and their understanding. My elder son Adam's clerical assistance was especially appreciated, as well as his creation of a computer database for the volume. I am also grateful to my younger son Nathan for his cheerful companionship during numerous trips to copy shops and post offices and the long hours when I sat at the computer. Throughout this period, my husband, Gordon, has been my unwavering partner—emotionally, psychologically, intellectually, and financially. Words cannot express my gratitude; this published volume is without doubt a testament to his faithful and generous support.

—ALISON ARNOLD

List of Contributors

Mohammad Akbar
Manor Park, London, England

Matthew Allen
Wheaton College
Norton, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Andrew Burton Alter
The University of New England
Armidale, New South Wales, Australia

Alison Arnold
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, North Carolina, U.S.A.

Gordon K. Arnold
IBM Corporation
Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, U.S.A.

Sabir Badalkhan
Istituto Universitario Orientale
Naples, Italy

John Baily
Goldsmiths College, London University
New Cross, England

Guy Beck
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana, U.S.A.

Jan Van Belle
Arnhem, Netherlands

Gregory D. Booth
University of Auckland
Auckland, New Zealand

Donald Brenneis
University of California at Santa Cruz
Santa Cruz, California, U.S.A.

Charles Capwell
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Urbana, Illinois, U.S.A.

Amy Catlin
University of California, Los Angeles
Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

Peter J. Claus
California State University, Hayward
Hayward, California, U.S.A.

Monique Desroches
University of Montreal
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

Brigitte DesRosiers
University of Montreal
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

Veronica Doubleday
School of Historical and Critical Studies,
University of Brighton
Brighton, England

Gerry Farrell
City University
London, England

Reis Flora
Monash University
Victoria, Australia

Karunamaya Goswami
Narayanganj Women's College
Narayanganj, Bangladesh

Paul D. Greene
Penn State University, Delaware County Campus
Media, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

John Andrew Greig
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Rolf Groesbeck
University of Arkansas at Little Rock
Little Rock, Arkansas, U.S.A.

Mireille Helffer
Centre National de Recherche Scientifique,
Musée de l'Homme
Paris, France

Edward O. Henry
San Diego State University
San Diego, California, U.S.A.

Wayne Howard
Winona, Mississippi, U.S.A.

William Jackson
Indiana University–Purdue University at
Indianapolis
Indianapolis, Indiana, U.S.A.

Gayathri Rajapur Kassebaum
Bharatiya Vidyabhavan
Bangalore, India

Saskia Kersenboom
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, Netherlands

James R. Kippen
University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Peter Manuel
John Jay College, City University of New York
New York, New York, U.S.A.

Scott L. Marcus
University of California, Santa Barbara
Santa Barbara, California, U.S.A.

Joyce Middlebrook
Brownsville, California, U.S.A.

Allyn Miner
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

Nabi Misdaq
School of African and Asian Studies
University of Sussex, England

Pirkko Moisala
Abo Akademi University
Turku, Finland

Helen Myers
Central Connecticut State University
New Britain, Connecticut, U.S.A.

Mekhala Devi Natavar
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina, U.S.A.

Adam Nayyar
Lok Virsa Research Centre
Islamabad, Pakistan

David Paul Nelson
Amherst College
Amherst, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Robert Ollikkala
Algoma Conservatory of Music
Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, Canada

Józef M. Pacholczyk
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland, U.S.A.

Joseph J. Palackal
City University of New York
New York, New York, U.S.A.

Jayendran Pillay
Hampshire College
Amherst, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Jennifer C. Post
Middlebury College
Middlebury, Vermont, U.S.A.

Regula Burckhardt Qureshi
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

N. Ramanathan
University of Madras
Chennai, India

Ashok D. Ranade
Mumbai, India

David B. Reck
Amherst College
Amherst, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

David Roche
Sonoma State University
Rohnert Park, California, U.S.A.

Gene H. Roghair
Nevada City, California, U.S.A.

Lewis Rowell
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana, U.S.A.

George Ruckert
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Hiromi Lorraine Sakata
University of California, Los Angeles
Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

T. Sankaran
Chennai, India

Susana Sardo
Universidade de Aveiro, Campus de Santiago
Aveiro, Portugal

Anna Schmid
South Asia Institute
Heidelberg, Germany

Anne Sheeran
Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.

Zoe C. Sherinian
Franklin and Marshall College
Lancaster, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

Brian Q. Silver
International Music Associates
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Robert Simms
University of Toronto, Scarborough College
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Gora Singh (deceased)
New York, New York, U.S.A.

Karna Singh
New York, New York, U.S.A.

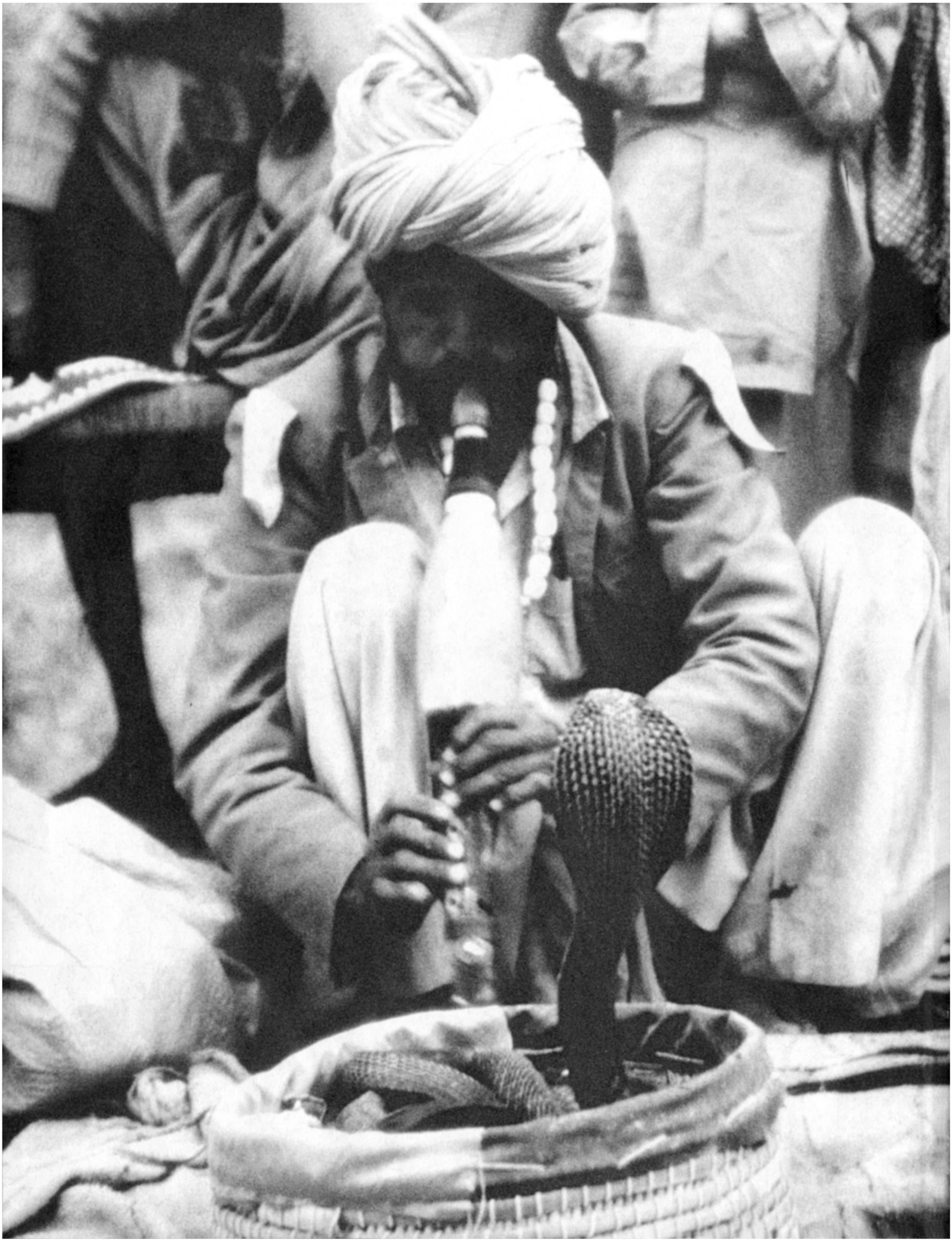
Stephen Slawek
University of Texas, Austin
Austin, Texas, U.S.A.

Gordon R. Thompson
Skidmore College
Saratoga Springs, New York, U.S.A.

Bonnie C. Wade
University of California, Berkeley
Berkeley, California, U.S.A.

Richard Widdess
University of London, School of Oriental and
African Studies
London, England

Richard K. Wolf
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.



Part 1
Introduction to the Music of South Asia

Music, dance, and drama are all integral parts of South Asian culture and society. These performing arts—classical music traditions, devotional songs, tribal dances, regional dance dramas, life-cycle songs, and many more—are passed on orally within families, social groups, and stylistic schools. In this land, home to roughly one-fifth of the world's people, performing artists and their communities infuse these musical practices of the past with vital meaning and expressivity that reflect the present. South Asian music is thus at once traditional and modern. It is also part of our global marketplace, where popular music and culture are rapidly transmitted from one continent to another. South Asians, at home and in the diaspora, are entertaining new ideas and creating new musical syntheses. These varied and vibrant expressions of culture and identity today remain a testament to the value of music, dance, and drama in the lives of South Asians.

Whether on the streets, in temples, or in concert halls, music is an integral part of life in South Asia. In Karachi, Pakistan, a snake charmer plays a *puṅgī* to entertain onlookers. Photo by Nazir Jairazbhoy, 1983.

Profile of South Asia and Its Music

Alison Arnold

South Asia covers just over 5 million square kilometers, a mere 11 percent of the Asian continent, yet it encompasses the world's second most populous nation (India), it boasts the world's highest elevations (the Himalayas), and its history extends back to one of the world's oldest civilizations (that of the Indus Valley). The region is defined primarily by its physical location, extending from the Himalayas south through the Indian subcontinent and from the eastern border of India to the western borders of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Within these geopolitical boundaries, the peoples of South Asia belong to the seven nation states of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka (map 1). Compared with the population of Europe (excluding Russia and the countries of the former Soviet Union), which comprises over twenty-five nations within an area just under 5 million square kilometers, the population of South Asia might appear less diverse. However, the identities of South Asians reside not so much in their nationalities as in their particular ethnic backgrounds, regional cultures, languages, religions, and social categories, which all cut across national and political lines.

opposite: MAP 1 South Asia.

The music and dance of South Asia reflect this diversity of peoples in their variety of regional folk genres, religious and devotional expressions, tribal forms, theater and dance-drama accompaniment, urban popular genres, and cultivated art traditions. But more than this, the many music and dance styles and genres are the products of South Asia's history, society, and culture. Modern-day performance practices therefore not only inform us about life and culture in the present but provide a window into the past. Within the Indian subcontinent two classical music traditions prevail, Karnatak in the south and Hindustani in the north (figure 1). In a manner somewhat analogous to West European classical music, these traditions are rooted in older musical practices and are performed over a wide geographical area by people of different ethnic and social backgrounds. Few other forms of music are similarly pan-regional in South Asia; devotional singing, linked with the spread of the bhakti devotional movement especially in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, is common throughout the area, and popular music in the form of film songs has gained nationwide audiences through modern-day mass media channels. But in the thousands of villages and rural communities throughout India and its neighboring countries, local

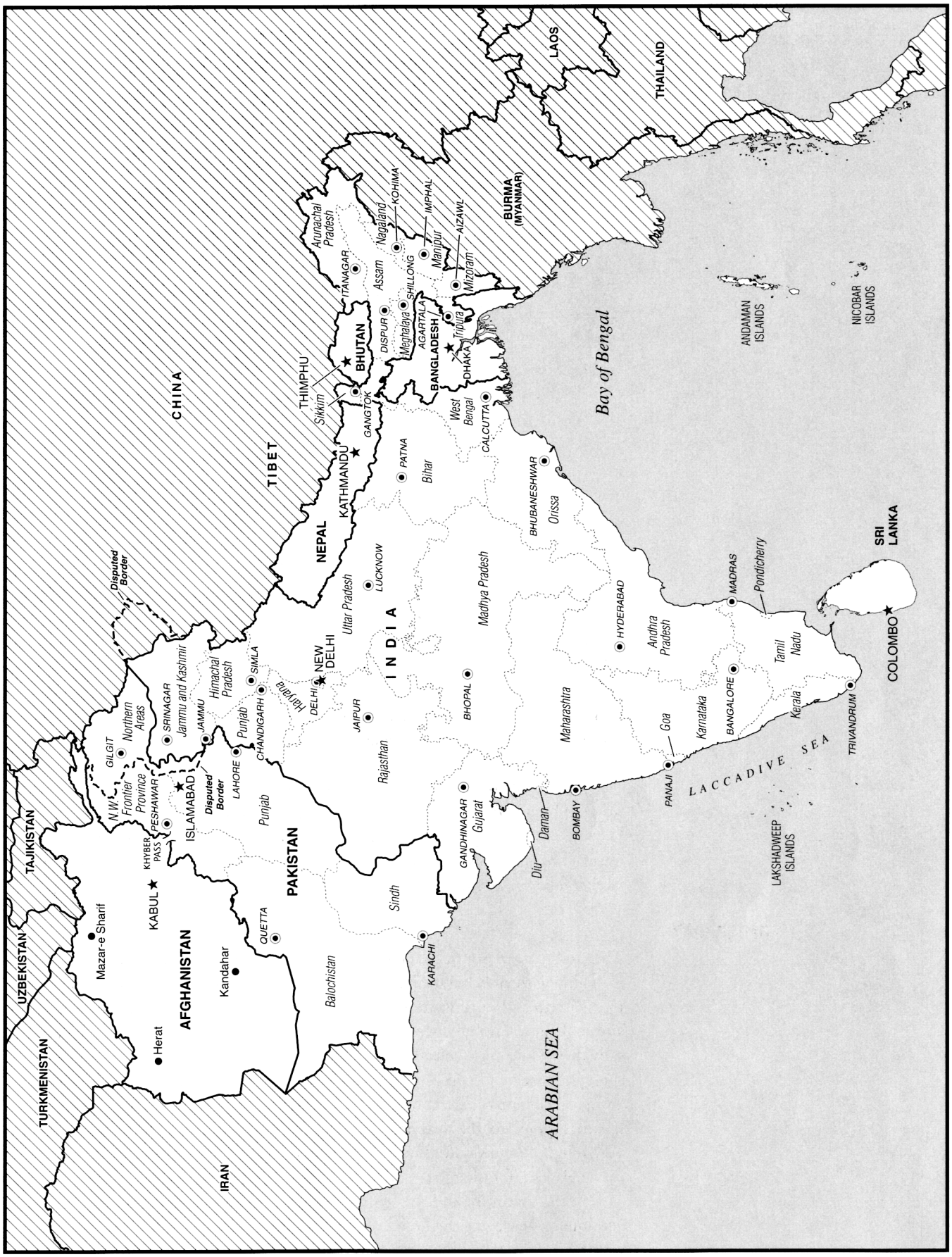

UZBEKISTAN
TAJIKISTAN
TURKMENISTAN
IRAN
AFGHANISTAN
Mazar-e Sharif
KABUL
Kandahar
Herat
QUETTA
Balochistan
PAKISTAN
Punjab
ISLAMABAD
Disputed Border
LAHORE
PESHAWAR
KHYBER PASS
N.W. Frontier Province
GILGIT
Northern Areas
SRINAGAR
Jammu and Kashmir
JAMMU
Himachal Pradesh
SIMLA
Punjab
CHANDIGARH
Haryana
DELHI
NEW DELHI
Uttar Pradesh
LUCKNOW
JAIPUR
Rajasthan
BHOPAL
Madhya Pradesh
Maharashtra
GANDHINAGAR
Gujarat
Sindh
KARACHI
Diu
Daman
BOMBAY
PANAJI
Goa
HYDERABAD
Andhra Pradesh
Karnataka
BANGALORE
MADRAS
Pondicherry
Tamil Nadu
Kerala
TRIVANDRUM
COLOMBO
SRI LANKA
LACCADIVE SEA
LAKSHADWEEP ISLANDS
ARABIAN SEA
INDIA
BHUBANESHWAR
Orissa
PATNA
Bihar
CALCUTTA
West Bengal
Bay of Bengal
ANDAMAN ISLANDS
NICOBAR ISLANDS
NEPAL
KATHMANDU
BHUTAN
THIMPHU
Sikkim
GANGTOK
TIBET
CHINA
ITANAGAR
Arunachal Pradesh
DISPUR
Assam
Meghalaya
SHILLONG
AGARTALA
Tripura
DHAKA
BANGLADESH
Nagaland
KOHIMA
IMPHAL
Manipur
AIZAWL
Mizoram
BURMA (MYANMAR)
LAOS
THAILAND
Disputed Border

FIGURE 1 Hindustani classical music performance by Ustad Ali Akbar Khan (*center*) playing sarod, accompanied by (*from left*) Zakir Hussain on tabla drums, two *tambūrā* players (Rajiv Taranath on the right), and Ali Akbar Khan's son Ashish Khan, also playing sarod. The thirtieth Sawai Gandharva Music Festival in Pune, 1982. Photo by Gordon Arnold.

music and dance traditions abound; although the pan–South Asian forms present a certain degree of musical unity, it is these local forms that manifest the rich diversity of South Asian musical culture. Such diversity results in part from the region's former political organization, particularly the subcontinent's division into 562 princely states before India's independence in 1947. Yet these regional and tribal music and dance traditions remain viable even at the end of the twentieth century. The pervasive force of mass media and technology, spreading pop music to the remotest habitats [see POP MUSIC AND AUDIO-CASSETTE TECHNOLOGY], and the greater mobility of people both migrating and emigrating [see MUSIC AND THE SOUTH ASIAN DIASPORA] are now speeding up musical change. Thus the regional forms documented here, which will doubtless take on new characters and meanings in the new millennium, present a valuable picture of South Asian musical culture c. A.D. 2000, a moment in its musical history that has not been captured elsewhere in such broad and rich detail.

This profile of South Asia introduces the world region and its music through a series of broad "frames": geography, peoples, cultures, languages, social structures, religions, and political history. Through these frames, which also serve to situate the music of South Asia within the context of the volume, the reader can view the material that follows.

GEOGRAPHY

The land mass of South Asia comprises several distinctive physical regions, prominent among them being the high mountain ranges of the Himalaya and Hindu Kush to the north and northwest, which geographically separate the Indian subcontinent and Afghanistan from northern Asia (see map 2). This physical boundary has historically divided peoples, cultures, and musical traditions, and has allowed contact only through a few mountain passes. It has also acted as a meteorological barrier, enabling a tropical climate to extend beyond the tropical zone to northern India. Rising in the northern peaks are the three major rivers, the Ganges, Indus, and Brahmaputra, fed year-round by snow and heavy monsoon rains. The Ganges meets the Brahmaputra in Bangladesh, forming the world's largest and most fertile river delta.

To the south, the Indian peninsula encompasses the Western and Eastern Ghat Mountains bordering the broad central Deccan Plateau. The Vindhya and Satpura ranges distance the southern regions of India from their northern neighbors. Beyond

India's shores, South Asia extends to several groups of islands—Lakshadweep, the Andamans, and the Nicobars—as well as Sri Lanka. Sandwiched between the southern peninsula and northern mountains lie the densely populated Ganges plain and the Indus river valley, separated by the Thar (Great Indian) Desert. These river valleys have allowed life and culture to thrive for millennia, influenced time and again by foreign invasions, by the establishment of foreign rulers, and by the introduction of new ideas, religions, languages, and musical traditions.

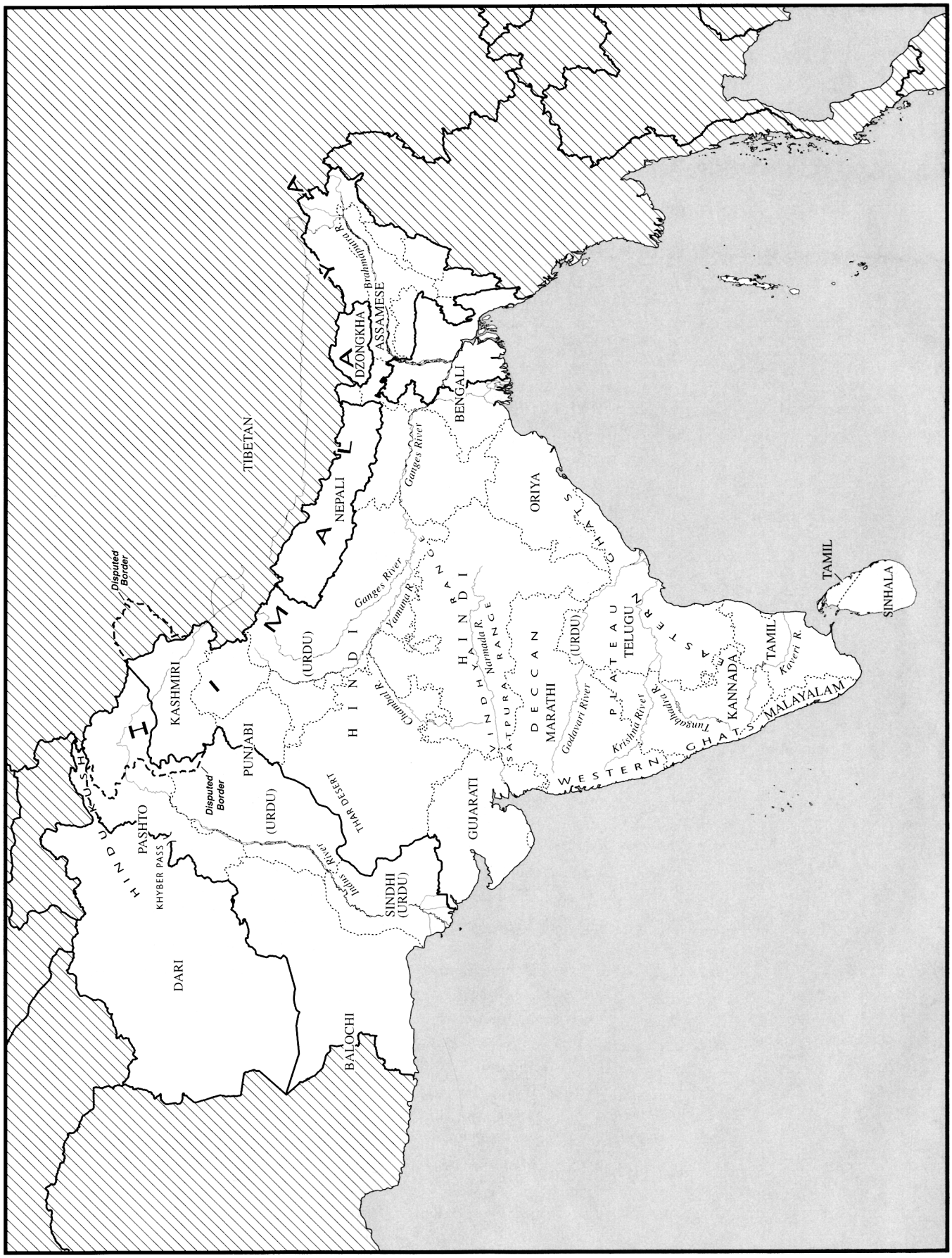
PEOPLES, CULTURES, AND LANGUAGES

The current population of South Asia constitutes over one-third of Asia's people. This statistic reflects the vast population of India, estimated in 1998 at over 984 million (Brunner 1999:153–155). Although India's population has more than doubled since independence fifty years ago, the peoples of this world region reflect a multilayering of cultures and languages brought about by millennia of migrations and invasions.

The majority of people in South Asia live outside urban areas, despite the enormous growth of the port cities of Bombay (Mumbai), Calcutta, and Madras (Chennai), which developed as important centers of trade and industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and as havens of commercial and economic opportunities in the twentieth century. Only 26 percent of India's population is urban (compared with 75 percent in the United States); the only South Asian nation with a higher urban population is Pakistan, with 28 percent (Famighetti 1997). The enormous rural population lives in predominantly agricultural villages and towns, each of which sustains cultural and musical traditions of local, regional, or national identity. Villages have always had connections with larger towns and cities through trade, politics, and religious practices, and such links have strengthened musical practices by connecting audiences and performers (especially itinerant musicians and entertainers, for example).

The peoples and languages of Afghanistan and Pakistan in the northwest, and of Nepal and Bhutan in the north, reflect their proximity and historical connections with the neighboring regions of Iran, central Asia, and Tibet. The population of Afghanistan comprises mostly Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara peoples, who speak Pashto and Dari (both of the Persian branch of the Indo-European language family), and Turkic languages; in Pakistan, the principal languages are Urdu (the national language), Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Balochi, and English (map 2). The Newars, Gurungs, and Tibetans (among others) in Nepal speak Nepali (an Indic language), Newari, and Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman dialects, as do the primarily Bhote and Nepalese peoples in Bhutan, whose official language is Dzongkha.

The Indian constitution recognizes sixteen principal languages, of which two (Hindi and English) are the official national languages; India has a further 1,652 dialects. The principal language spoken in the Gangetic plain is Hindi, of the Indic branch of the Indo-European family, with several North Indian dialects—including Rajasthani, Braj Bhasha, Bhojpuri, Magadhi, and Maithili—all considered closely related. To the south, on the Chotanagpur Plateau, various tribal groups speak languages belonging to three different language families: Indo-European (Sadani, for example), Dravidian (Kurukh, spoken by the Oraon), and Austro-Asiatic (Mundari, Santali, Ho, etc.) (Babiracki 1991). In the southern peninsula, four major Dravidian languages predominate—Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, and Telugu—with other Dravidian languages such as Gondi, Tulu, and Kota spoken by specific ethnic and tribal groups. The Dravidian (Sanskrit *drāviḍa)* language family is linked to the ancient Australoid race of that name in the Indian subcontinent. Sri Lanka has three principal languages: English, Tamil, and the Indic Sinhala spoken by the majority


HIMALAYA
TIBETAN
NEPALI
DZONGKHA
ASSAMESE
Brahmaputra R.
BENGALI
Ganges River
ORIYA
EASTERN GHATS
TAMIL
SINHALA
Disputed Border
Ganges River
Yamuna R.
HINDI
(URDU)
HINDUSTANI
KASHMIRI
PUNJABI
Chambal R.
VINDHYA RANGE
Narmada R.
SATPURA RANGE
DECCAN PLATEAU
TELUGU
KANNADA
TAMIL
Kaveri R.
MARATHI
Godavari River
Krishna River
Tungabhadra R.
WESTERN GHATS
MALAYALAM
HINDUSTANI
PASHTO
KHYBER PASS
Disputed Border
(URDU)
THAR DESERT
Indus River
GUJARATI
SINDHI (URDU)
DARI
BALOCHI

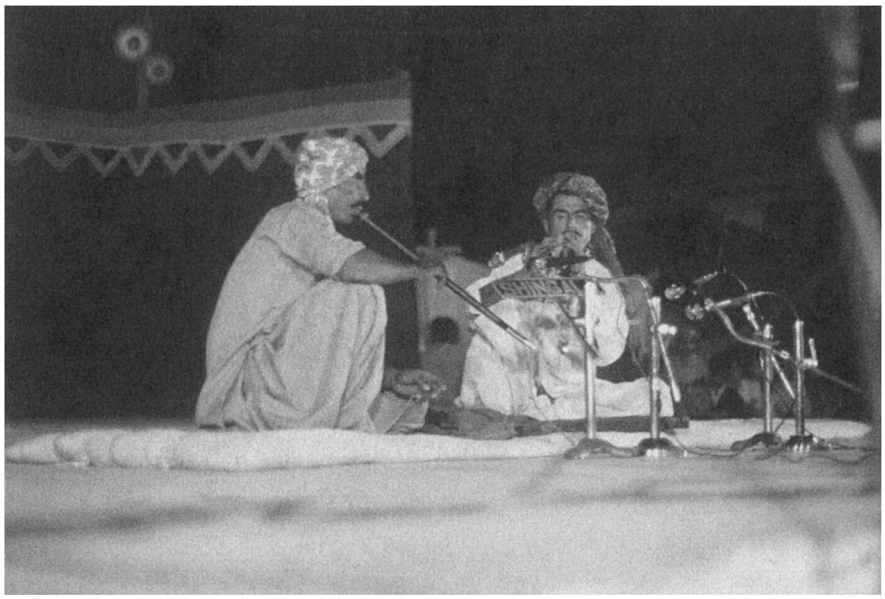


FIGURE 2 Gujarati musicians playing *alghoza* double flute and frame drum at a folk music festival in Bhuj, Kutch, organized by India National Theatre, 1982. Photo by Gordon Arnold.

Sinhala population. And to the east, the people of Bangladesh speak two principal languages, Bengali and English.

In 1956, the Indian government reorganized state boundaries on the basis of language, aiming to create a single dominant ethnolinguistic group in each state, in response to intense agitation and separatist demands (Wolpert 1997:368–370). This political restructuring recognized the importance of ethnicity and language in the regional identities of India's peoples, and resulted in the division of Bombay into predominantly Marathi-speaking Maharashtra and Gujarati-speaking Gujarat in 1960, the separation of Nagaland from Assam in 1963, the division of Indian Punjab into Sikh-majority Punjab and Hindu-majority Haryana in 1966, and the creation of tribal states in northeastern India in the 1970s and 1980s (Stern 1993:106–110). Within the new states, local cultural and musical traditions as well as local dialects and mother tongues have lived on, enriching the cultural and linguistic matrix. In Rajasthan, within the northern Hindi-speaking belt, for example, members of the Rajput caste, descended from the ancient ruling Rajput warrior clans, have patronized music and the performing arts for generations; their support of various professional hereditary musician families such as the Manganihārs and Ḍholīs has created a rich heritage of musical traditions [see RAJASTHAN]. In the same western desert region, as in other parts of northern India, men and women of various castes separately and informally perform devotional, seasonal, and life-cycle songs within their own communities, upholding local and regional cultural traditions (figure 2). Professional narrative singers, such as the various Mīrāsī groups who document genealogies and beliefs [see PAKISTAN: PUNJAB] and the *māṇ bhaṭṭ* epic storytellers [see GUJARAT], express their ethnic identity through their cultural performances.

opposite: MAP 2 Principal languages and physical features of South Asia

The new political state and province boundaries encircled large geographical areas, but some ethnic groups nevertheless found their peoples and lands divided. Balochistan, the home of the Baloch people, straddles western and southwestern Pakistan, southeastern Iran, and southwestern Afghanistan [see BALOCHISTAN]. The people of the Punjab are divided between Pakistan and India, with the present Indian state of Punjab, created in 1966, providing a homeland for the large Sikh population there [see INDIA: PUNJAB and PAKISTAN: PUNJAB]. Likewise in the east, the people of Bengal found part of their land apportioned to Pakistan at the time of India's independence, the territory now adjacent to the Indian state of West Bengal and known

FIGURE 3 A *ḍhol* drummer accompanies a troupe of Gujarati male dancers rehearsing for their performance in the Kutch folk festival in Bhuj, 1982. Photo by Gordon Arnold.

as Bangladesh. In such cases where nationality has intersected with cultural, ethnic, and linguistic populations, the issue of identity has become more complex, and musical traditions have developed in new directions.

Within ethnic populations in South Asia, gender defines roles both in life and in musical culture. Women in traditional ethnic communities rarely sing or dance in public, but they often perform in gender-segregated gatherings during wedding and childbirth celebrations [see PAKISTAN: MUSIC AND GENDER]. They tend to use minimal musical accompaniment, such as hand clapping, hand cymbals, and sometimes drumming. Instrumentalists, both amateur and professional, are typically men (figure 3). Professional musical performance is traditionally passed through family lineages, ranging from classical musicians (*gharānā*) to regional caste artists, from temple drummers to epic singers, from dance and theater accompanists to snake charmers. Some tribal populations have similar gender distinctions in social and musical contexts [see TAMIL NADU], while others foster greater intermixing of men and women in musical performance, often with no distinction between performers and audience [see MAHARASHTRA; MADHYA PRADESH].

Beyond locality, region, language, and ethnicity, other factors play a significant role in the ways the people of South Asia distinguish and identify themselves and others and in the cultural and musical traditions they foster. Most important among these factors are social and religious categories, both of which have been shaped by the region's political history.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Music and the performing arts in South Asia have been strongly affected throughout history by the evolving social organization in this world area. Both music and dance today reflect the hierarchical social order of India's dominant religion, Hinduism—in the value placed on music by different social groups, in the social status of performers, in the relationships among musicians, patrons, and society at large, and in the range of performance contexts. Unlike in the West, where extraordinary talent and expertise can lead to fame and fortune for artists regardless of their social background, in the Indian subcontinent social class and caste play a major role in defining the limits of an artist's expectations and opportunities, with the possible exception of the popular music industry. Lower-caste musicians who perform for upper-caste

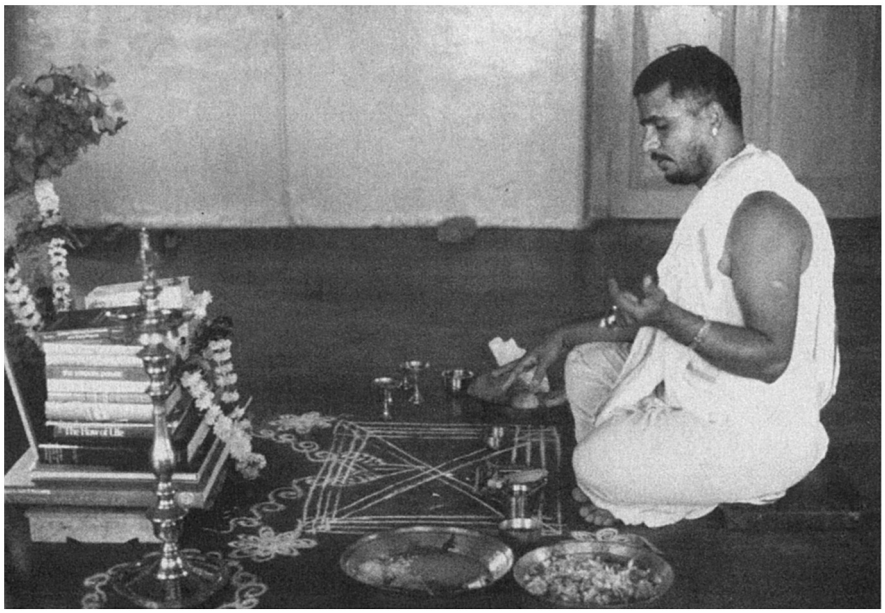


FIGURE 4 A Brahmin priest performs *sarasvatī pūjā*, blessing library books at the newly opened Archive and Research Center for Ethnomusicology at the American Institute of Indian Studies in Pune, 1982. Photo by Alison Arnold.

patrons, for example, may reach an outstanding level of artistry, but their traditional caste affiliation limits their ability to rise above a subordinate rank.

From c. 1500 B.C. to the present, Indian society has recognized a hierarchy of classes and castes, each with its own *dharma*—associated behavior patterns, duties, and obligations toward the larger society. According to ancient laws of the Aryans (seminomadic tribes who entered northwest India during the second millennium B.C.), people belonged to one of four social groups, sometimes described as classes (*varṇa*). The upper three—Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas—held initiation ceremonies for young boys, after which they were considered twice-born (*dvija*). The duties of these three *varṇa* within the traditionally articulated scheme included studying and sacrificing. In addition, the Brahmins' function was to teach, and many became professional priests (figure 4); Kshatriyas served to protect people as rulers and fighters; and the Vaishyas were merchants and traders. A fourth group, the Shudras, comprised a rich variety of professions, including artisans and musicians whose role was to serve the upper classes. According to the developing Hindu belief system, Shudras were further subdivided by profession and social behavior into those "excluded" from Hindu society and treated as outcasts, and those "not excluded." Those lowest in the social hierarchy, whose occupations included sweeping, tanning leather, and cremating corpses, later became known as untouchables (called Harijans by Mahatma Gandhi). After independence, the Indian constitution expressly abolished untouchability, but the government keeps a schedule or register of formerly untouchable castes (hence the euphemism "scheduled castes") and both legislates against discrimination and reserves educational and employment opportunities for this sector of the population. This hierarchical social order has dictated not only duties but degrees of religious purity. Within the belief system, those born into low social levels have been considered "unclean," but have always theoretically had the possibility of escaping their associated ritual pollution through proper conduct in their present life leading to rebirth into a higher level (Stern 1993:74–83).

The relationship between *varṇa* 'social category, class' and the more commonly used term *jāti* 'caste' is fluid and has little historical documentation. The English word *caste*, from the term *casta* 'tribe' or 'clan' first used by Portuguese traders in the sixteenth century to describe the many Hindu groups they encountered, refers in modern South Asia to hereditary social groups distinguished by occupation, race,

At the end of the twentieth century, caste still remains an important aspect of society in the subcontinent, and continues to play a distinctive role in regional music.

region, and religion. Caste affiliation also determines inherited status, wealth, and relationships within the caste system. Caste organization has been a strong characteristic of Hinduism for centuries, and has traditionally imposed rigid rules of social interaction and mobility. The system has allowed some degree of change—-castes have risen and fallen, castes have been formed and have died out—-but for the most part the hierarchical structure is fixed. Most significantly, the caste system has provided social identity, and not only to native-born Hindus: Sikhs, Muslims, and Christians in South Asia have all experienced the influence of the caste structure (Basham 1959:151). At the end of the twentieth century, caste still remains an important aspect of society in the subcontinent, and continues to play a distinctive role in regional music [see REGIONAL CASTE ARTISTS AND THEIR PATRONS], but its hold is being undoubtedly challenged by the increasing spread of foreign technology, communications, ideas, and education.

The social structure outlined above has penetrated all aspects of life, including music; perhaps one of its more unfortunate realities has been the relatively low social status afforded professional male instrumentalists in the past, especially those playing instruments made of animal skin or gut (considered polluting by Hindus) and those accompanying solo musicians, and professional female artists as well [see WOMEN AND MUSIC]. In South India in particular, the distinction between Brahmin and non-Brahmin musicians is an integral part of music history, which documents both separate traditions of, and interaction between, the two sociomusical communities [see THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF MUSIC AND MUSICIANS: SOUTHERN AREA].

Beyond the borders of predominantly Hindu India, the populations of Pakistan and Afghanistan to the northwest are almost entirely Islamic (97 percent and 100 percent of the populations, respectively). Here ethnic groups derive their social cohesion from locality and from the larger Muslim community. Other areas where caste is present but plays a less significant role than in India are Sri Lanka and Bhutan, both of which have large Buddhist populations (see below), as well as Bangladesh, where 83 percent of the people are Muslim.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

The two major religions practiced in South Asia today are Hinduism and Islam. With more than 850 million Hindus—65 percent of the South Asian population—living predominantly in India, South Asia is the only region in the world (besides the Indonesian island of Bali) with a dominant Hindu population (figure 5). The 375 million Muslims who reside largely in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan, make up 28.5 percent of South Asia's people; they represent only a fraction of the estimated one billion followers of Islam worldwide (Brunner 1999:406).

Hinduism arose in India from the ancient traditions and the divine pantheon recorded in the Vedas, the earliest Hindu sacred writings, comprising four canonical

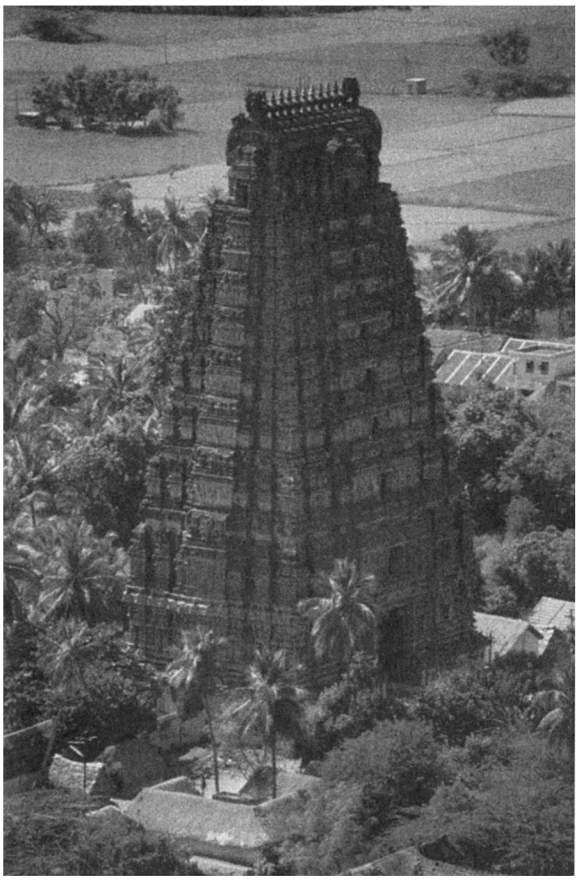


FIGURE 5 Thirukkalikundran, a South Indian Hindu temple in Tamil Nadu. Photo by Gordon Arnold, 1983.

collections of prayers, liturgical formulas, and hymns. Over time Hinduism acquired many popular divinities, as well as an enormous body of sacred literature ranging from the esoteric Vedas, Brahmanas, and Upanishads to the more widely accessible Puranas (ancient stories) and epic tales, especially the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. These writings have inspired generations of poets and singers to compose devotional songs that are still sung in both northern and southern areas [see RELIGIOUS AND DEVOTIONAL MUSIC]. Modern-day Hinduism owes much to the mendicant poet-singers of devotional hymns who traversed the Tamil region of South India in the sixth to ninth centuries and more northern areas in medieval times (thirteenth to seventeenth centuries), spreading the tradition of bhakti (devotion). The singing of bhajans and other devotional forms is now fundamental to Hindu worship throughout South Asia, and has even led to the composition of pop bhajans that appear in commercial Indian films and are played through loudspeakers at religious festivals and parades. With no single doctrine, Hinduism has always allowed its followers great freedom of belief and religious expression.

The first of several incursions of Islamic peoples into South Asia occurred in the eighth century, when Arabs from Iraq occupied Sindh, in present-day Pakistan (Wolpert 1997:105–106). A more potent Islamic force arrived with the Muslim Turks, who ruled northern India in the twelfth century and even spread into the south, until the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar (established c. 1335) pushed them back north of the Krishna River. With the Islamic empire of the Persian-speaking Mughals, from Central Asia, spreading throughout the northern regions and spanning two and a half centuries (early 1500s to mid 1700s), Islam became a pervasive influence in South Asia (figure 6). Islamic doctrine does not sanction the use of music in mosques; however, Muslims cultivated musical traditions on the subconti-

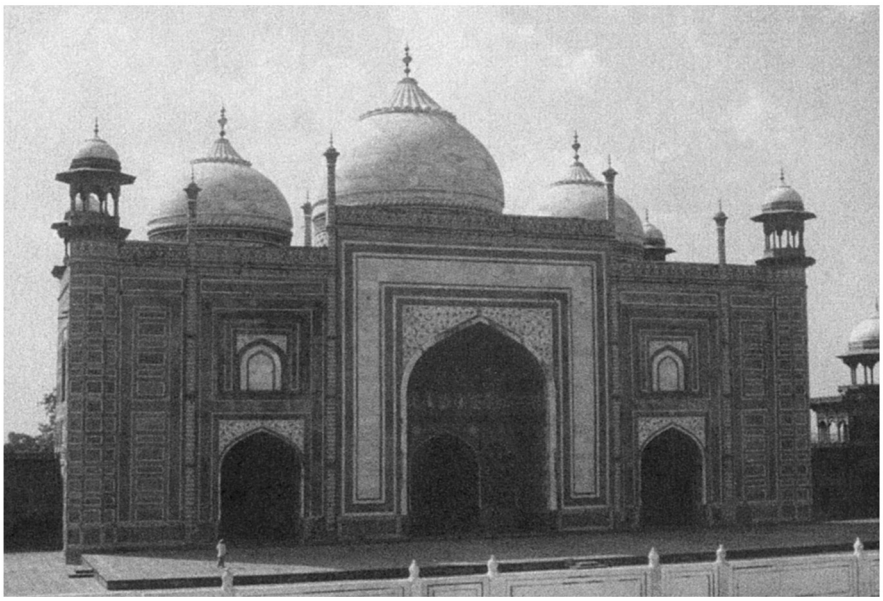


FIGURE 6 Mosque at the Taj Mahal in Agra, Uttar Pradesh. Photo by Gordon Arnold, 1982.

nent in both religious and secular life [see MUSIC, THE STATE, AND ISLAM]. Devotional music in the form of qawwali and *kāfī* is performed, particularly at the shrines of Sufi saints (figure 7; see PAKISTAN: DEVOTIONAL MUSIC).

Other minority religions in present-day South Asia include Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism, all native to the subcontinent and currently practiced by approximately 22.5 million, 5 million, and 19.5 million South Asians, respectively (1.75 percent, 0.35 percent, and 1.5 percent of the population). Buddhism began after the enlightenment of Siddhartha Gautama (c. 563–483 B.C.) at Bodh Gaya (in modern-day Uttar Pradesh) in the fifth century B.C. and spread throughout India and elsewhere in Asia through the early centuries after Christ, when Hinduism was becoming established. The major Buddhist populations today are found in China, Korea, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia, and Southeast Asia; in South Asia, Buddhists form a majority in Sri Lanka (69 percent of the population) and Bhutan (75 percent). The conservative Theravada tradition in Sri Lanka, which offers salvation only to a select few, has

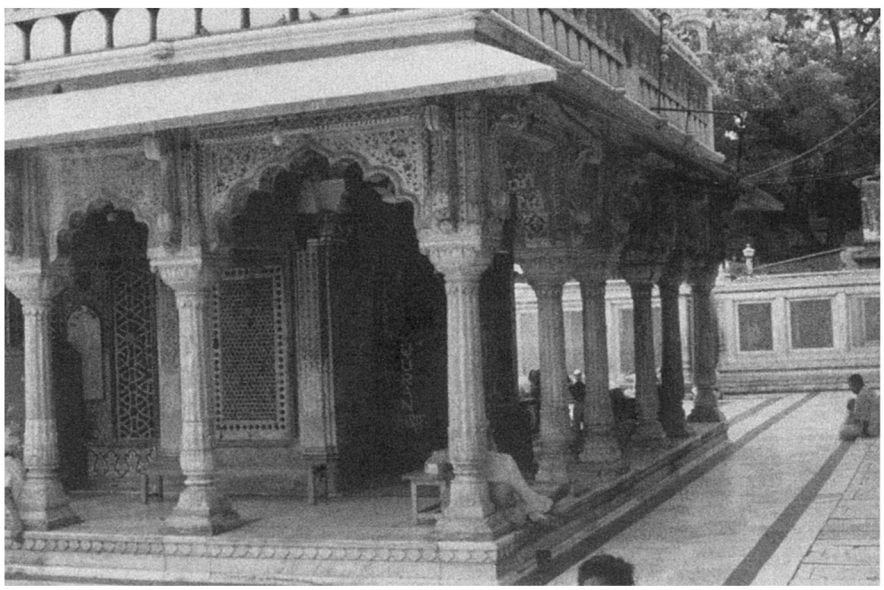


FIGURE 7 The tomb of the Sufi saint Nizamuddin in Delhi. Photo by Gordon Arnold, 1982.

employed music to a lesser extent than the more liberal Mahayana tradition of universal salvation followed in the north. Sinhala Buddhist music includes Buddhist chanting and music by a lay instrumental ensemble called *hēvisi* [see SRI LANKA]. In the Himalayan regions, the monastic communities and schools of Tibetan Buddhism continue their practices of singing (*dbyangs-yig*) and playing ritual instruments [see TIBETAN CULTURE IN SOUTH ASIA].

The founder of Jainism (the "religion of the conquerors"), Vardhamana Mahavira (c. 540–468 B.C.), was a contemporary of the Buddha and followed a life of asceticism from the age of thirty, reached enlightenment (becoming a *jina* 'conqueror') in his early forties, and thereafter preached and practiced self-torture and death by starvation. Jainism, like Buddhism, is essentially atheistic, assigning no role to personal deities, but unlike Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism, it teaches that salvation is possible only to those living a rigorous monastic life. By the first century of the common era, Jainism had split into two sects, the Digambaras, who went naked, and the Svetambaras, who wore white clothes, but their doctrines remained fundamentally the same. Jainism never spread beyond India, save in the diaspora.

Sikhism was founded in 1496 by Guru Nanak (1469–1533), the son of a Hindu living in Punjab. Its rejection of caste and idolatry and its monotheistic doctrine attracted both Hindus and Muslims at a time when Muslims were ruling this area of the subcontinent. Throughout its history, Sikh gurus and musicians have employed North Indian classical ragas and talas as a basis for their musical settings of religious texts and poetry, and in Sikh gurdwaras, or temples, *kīrtan* singing with harmonium and tabla accompaniment is an important part of worship [see NORTH INDIA: PUNJAB].

Also introduced from outside South Asia was Christianity, which reached South India and Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) during the early centuries of the Christian era. At this time, missionaries from Persia set up churches both in Ceylon and along the Malabar Coast (Moraes 1964), and the musical traditions that developed reflected both native music as well as Christian music elsewhere [see KERALA; TAMIL NADU; GOA]. More recently, waves of Hindu conversion to Christianity have occurred during the past few centuries, particularly during British colonial rule, but Christianity has remained a minority religion in South Asia, with approximately 25 million followers today (figure 8).

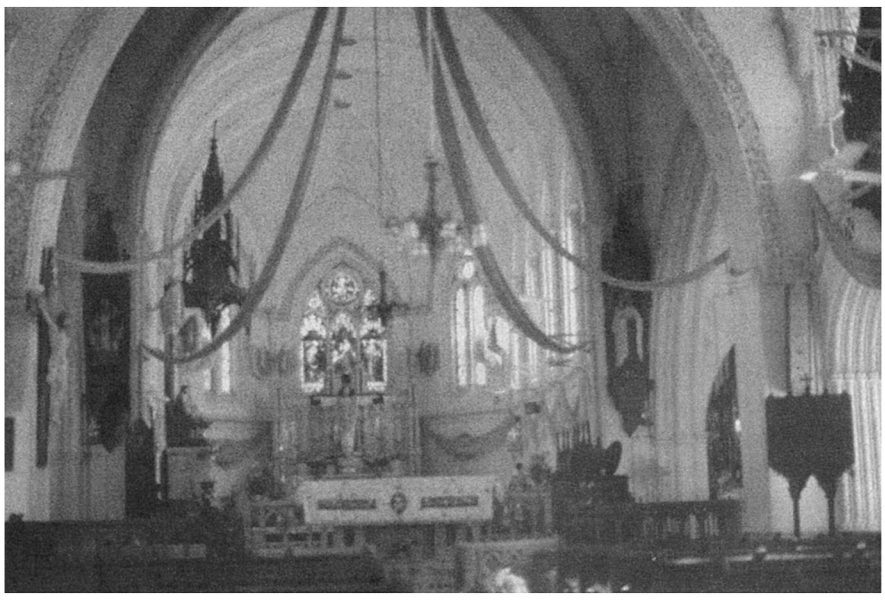


FIGURE 8 Saint Thomas Cathedral in Madras, Tamil Nadu. Photo by Alison Arnold, 1983.

Many changes occurred for classical musicians in particular during the first half of the twentieth century, in part resulting from the changeover from private and court patronage by the Muslim rulers to public support through concerts, broadcasting, and recording.

POLITICAL HISTORY

The history of South Asia, closely linked with both its social organization and religious traditions, reveals a dynamic political environment. Throughout the region's history, major migrations have moved into South Asia primarily through the high mountains of the northwest, in particular via the Khyber Pass between present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan. In the second millennium B.C., the Vedic Aryans pushed their way southward to find an advanced civilization along the fertile Indus River Valley that had flourished (especially in the great cities of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro) from c. 2600 to c. 2000 B.C. The Aryans introduced the Sanskrit language and the Vedic religion, the forerunner of Hinduism; the four canonical collections of Vedic hymns, prayers, and liturgical formulas served as the basis for religious chant [see VEDIC CHANT]. In the sixth century B.C., India's northwest region of Gandhara (whose capital was Taxila, near present-day Islamabad, Pakistan) fell to the Persian Achaemenid emperor, Darius I, and remained under Persian control until Alexander the Great of Macedonia, with tens of thousands of Macedonian and Greek soldiers, conquered lands down to the mouth of the Indus River in 326 B.C. Alexander's heirs brought Greek culture to the northwestern region. Like the later incursions by Iranian, Turkish, Central Asian, and Arab peoples up to the eighteenth century, the Greco-Macedonian invasion led to varying degrees of assimilation of people, language, culture, and music in South Asia.

FIGURE 9 Dancer carved on a stone pillar in the marriage hall, Sri Varadaraja Temple, Kanchipuram, Tamil Nadu.. Photo by Gordon Arnold, 1983.

As Aryan influence penetrated the entire Indian peninsula and led to a strong cultural synthesis with Dravidian culture in the south, Islamic rulers in the north attempted but failed to subjugate completely the Dravidian people. Hindu temples and courts in the south lavishly patronized music and dance, as did the later Mughal courts in northern cities (figure 9). Little documentary evidence of these performance practices exists, since the performing arts in South Asia have always been transmitted orally [see VISUAL SOURCES]. Theoretical treatises, however, provide us with details about early musical scales, modes, melodies, compositions, improvisation, instruments, and so forth [see THEORETICAL TREATISES]. Treatises written after the thirteenth century reveal a divergence from musical doctrines (*saṅgīta śāstra*) set down before that time, as well as a growing dissimilarity between the musical traditions *(sampradāya)* developing in the south and those in the Muslim-influenced north, comparable to the differing sociocultural settings [see SCHOLARSHIP SINCE 1300]. Musicians traveled back and forth between Hindu and Muslim courts, but by the late sixteenth century, when the center of Karnatak music shifted from Vijayanagar down to Tanjavur (called Tanjore by the British) in the far southeast, the separate canonical traditions now known as Hindustani and Karnatak music were already taking root.

Mughal emperors ruled much of the subcontinent, except for the far south and southwest, between 1526 and 1748 (in decline from 1712 onward), and their ostentatious, aristocratic lifestyles encouraged the gradual adoption of Persian culture and

language and the patronage of art and music at the imperial courts. The vocal genres now performed as Hindustani classical music—*dhrupad, khyāl, ṭhumrī*—together with the Hindustani instrumental *ālāp-joṛ-jhālā-gat* structure owe their early stylistic development largely to the vocalists and musicians patronized by the Mughal courts in Gwalior, Delhi, Agra, and elsewhere [see HINDUSTANI VOCAL MUSIC; HINDUSTANI INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC]. In the south, Karnatak music also developed under royal patronage, but in close connection with Hindu temples and the devotional (bhakti) tradition [see KARNATAK VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC]. The earliest musical compositions still performed today in Karnatak concerts were created by three poet-saints of the Tamil bhakti movement who lived in the seventh to ninth centuries. Of the later singer-composers responsible for creating the modern Karnatak repertoire, Purandara Dasa (sixteenth century) gave up a comfortable lifestyle to become a wandering religious singer. The three Trinity composers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—Tyagaraja, Muttusvami Diksitar, and Syama Sastri—spent their lives seeking to combine devotion and musical creativity.

In addition to the Mughals, who arrived by land, the sixteenth century saw yet another influx of peoples and cultures into South Asia, this time by sea. The arrival of the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama in Kozhikode (then called Calicut) in 1492 opened the gates to European colonial expansion, which not only brought about the gradual decline of court patronage of the arts but put an end to Muslim rule some two centuries later. The British presence in South Asia dates from the arrival of the first East India Company ship at Surat, Gujarat, in 1608 and the Company's ensuing establishment of trade centers, particularly in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay (Gardner 1971). As Britain's position became more dominant in the mid-1700s, leading to direct colonial rule from 1858 to 1947, thousands of English people lived and worked in India, introducing the English language and culture to the subcontinent. Their interests lay far from the performing arts of South Asia, but their views had long-lasting effects on music and dance performance. Their disapproval of temple dancing, for example, and of music and dancing connected with the courtesan tradition (a view that was adopted by the new Indian middle class in the early twentieth century) led to the prohibition of the former in Madras in 1947 (Marglin 1985) as well as the decline of the latter [see WOMEN AND MUSIC].

Many changes occurred for classical musicians in particular during the first half of the twentieth century, in part resulting from the changeover from private and court patronage by the Muslim rulers to public support through concerts, broadcasting, and recording. The family lineages (*gharānā*) through which musical knowledge had been passed down orally from one generation to the next had to find new adaptive strategies to ensure the continuity of their livelihood in the new social and political environment (Neuman 1980). Music education was broadening to incorporate public and private teaching institutions in both North and South India [see INSTITUTIONAL MUSIC EDUCATION]; with the arrival of Western technology and equipment, a new popular music was also created, produced mainly by the growing Indian film industry. The dissemination and popularization of film songs via radio, cinema, and gramophone recordings (later also via cassettes and CDs) resulted not only in the development of the largest film industry in the world but in the largest body of recorded music produced on the subcontinent (figure 10; see FILM MUSIC).

Since the final years of colonial rule, India (and indeed South Asia) has undergone major political reorganization. The redrawing of national and regional boundaries, the movements of peoples, and the accompanying social, ethnic, and religious unrest have divided populations and fractured their artistic traditions. The present division of India into twenty-five union states and seven union territories as well as

FIGURE 10 Film-song lyric booklets for sale on Grant Road, Bombay, 1982. Photo by Gordon Arnold.

FIGURE 11 Cassette store in Connaught Place, New Delhi, advertising popular Sikh devotional music. Photo by Gordon Arnold, 1982.

the creation of present-day Pakistan and Bangladesh have all occurred since India's independence in 1947.

In that year, Pakistan came into being as a new homeland created for Muslims, carved out of former Indian territory in the northwest and northeast (the two predominantly Muslim regions of the subcontinent). The massive movement of people flowing both ways across the new India-Pakistan borders led to bitter conflicts, enormous loss of life, and huge refugee populations in the new nation-states. The two Pakistan territories were united by religion but separated both geographically (by some 1,600 kilometers) as well as culturally, linguistically, and politically. Further rupture occurred in 1971, when East Pakistan declared its independence as the People's Republic of Bangladesh, an entity not officially recognized by Pakistan until 1974. Such recent reorganizations have had devastating effects on the peoples and cultures of South Asia. Yet they have also had positive effects, such as new alliances, new art forms, and the further spread of existing musical practices.

Within present-day South Asia some areas, notably Afghanistan, Kashmir, and northern Sri Lanka, continue to be affected by political turmoil and social unrest, while others enjoy relative calm and even prosperity. Modern technology and communications are spreading widely throughout the subcontinent, with computer and cable-TV networks becoming more pervasive. The popular music industry is thriving, as new styles, artists, and recording companies appear with great frequency, adding to the huge amounts of readily available pop music both native and foreign (figure 11). And both beyond and amidst the world of popular culture, local and regional, secular and devotional music genres still continue to find expression, and classical music traditions have strong followings both at home and abroad, served by recordings and world-traveling artists. South Asia today is a world region with a wealth of cultural and musical diversity, and although political, technological, and other forces in some cases threaten to homogenize or even destroy traditional practices, music, dance, and drama at the turn of the millennium remain integral components of South Asian life and culture.

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Theoretical Treatises

Lewis Rowell

We know about the music of ancient and medieval India (up to c. C.E. 1300) only through the documents in which scholars sought to describe and prescribe it. The transition between the so-called ancient and medieval eras of Indian history was gradual, and was the result more of a trend toward feudalism and an evolving state of mind than of the rise and fall of kingdoms and dynasties. Historians have consequently dated the onset of the Middle Ages anywhere from the fall of the Gupta kingdom (c. 540) to the first Muslim invasions (c. 1000). But in terms of intellectual history, the records of early Indian music reveal a tradition of relative cultural continuity. Musical ideas and the remarkable clarity of the Sanskrit language in which these ideas were expressed proved more durable than the societies in which their authors lived.

Unlike Western music, Indian music was and still is primarily an oral tradition. Musical scholars of the ancient Mediterranean employed notation perhaps a millennium before their Indian counterparts, but by doing this Western musicians paid a twofold price. First, musical notation restrained complexity and encouraged grossly simplified melodic traditions. Second, since many ancient Western musics died out, the authority of their surviving musical texts is questionable because they lack the sustaining support of a continuous oral tradition.

In contrast, the recorded details of music in South Asia have never lacked the support of a living performance tradition. Nor have Indian musicians ever regarded notation as anything more than a convenient jog to the memory. We know virtually nothing about the musical consequences of the cultural friction between the indigenous Dravidian peoples and the Indo-Aryans advancing through the northern mountain passes from c. 2000 B.C. However, for the last two thousand years, Indian culture has maintained a central core of musical understanding that can assimilate new musical ideas and yet withstand innovations incompatible with existing tradition.

Such historical explanations risk glossing over cultural upheavals that must have seemed cataclysmic at the time; moreover, the authors of early music-theoretical treatises had a habit of wishful thinking, suggesting a more homogeneous tradition than could ever have existed. Nevertheless ancient and medieval Indian music is alive in contemporary practice, whereas the musics of ancient Greece, Egypt, Sumeria, Israel,

Ancient Indian thinkers held liberation from the endless cycle of birth and rebirth to be the ultimate purpose of music.

and the rest of the Middle Eastern world survive only in a few handfuls of notated fragments and partially documented theoretical systems.

This article is an introduction to the musical documents of early India, which span over a thousand years (from the beginning of the common era to 1300). It focuses on musical concepts and systems, not compositions, because authors were primarily concerned with making new music—not preserving music that already existed. Authors sought above all to provide guidelines within which valid music making could occur—in ways that would give pleasure and take advantage of fresh sources of inspiration, but which would also be in harmony with the existing tradition. These documents record a continuous attempt to provide theoretical authority for every conceivable type of musical expression; it was expected that music makers would select the most pleasing varieties according to personal and regional tastes.

The earliest extant texts date from the first few centuries of the common era, although much of the material they contain is considerably older. The present article provides brief descriptions of eleven major monuments of early Indian musical scholarship, then examines three of these texts in greater detail, for quite different reasons: the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, for its documentation of the ritual and incidental music of the Gupta theater; the *Nāradīyaśikṣā*, for its valuable material on Vedic chant traditions and the musical influence of ancient speech science; and the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Sarngadeva, for its masterly synthesis of previous musical learning. A final section samples representative verses from early treatises.

Readers who are familiar with the present stylistic division between the musical systems of North and South India may be surprised to find here virtually no information on the history of this split. But the latest of the treatises mentioned was written before the full impact of the successive Muslim intrusions was felt. Specialists are still debating the extent to which today's North Indian music reflects Persian influence, and (more controversial) the extent to which today's South Indian music may contain traces of older, indigenous Indian musics. We know little about the origin and provenance of the major music treatises, but enough copies have been discovered in southern locations and in several of the southern scripts (e.g., Malayalam, Kannada, and Tamil) to suggest that music performed in South Indian cities today may be closer to pre-Islamic musical practice than that in North Indian cities. Nevertheless, the literary tradition recorded in the documents here surveyed is, with two exceptions, a Sanskrit one, and it remains the common heritage of modern India's art music.

MUSIC AS A SUBJECT

The anthropologist Alan Merriam has proposed a valuable model for ethnomusicology that divides the subject of music into three compartments: concepts, behaviors, and sounds—what we think, do, and hear (Merriam 1964). In the case of early Indian music, most of our information is in the form of concepts. For the actual

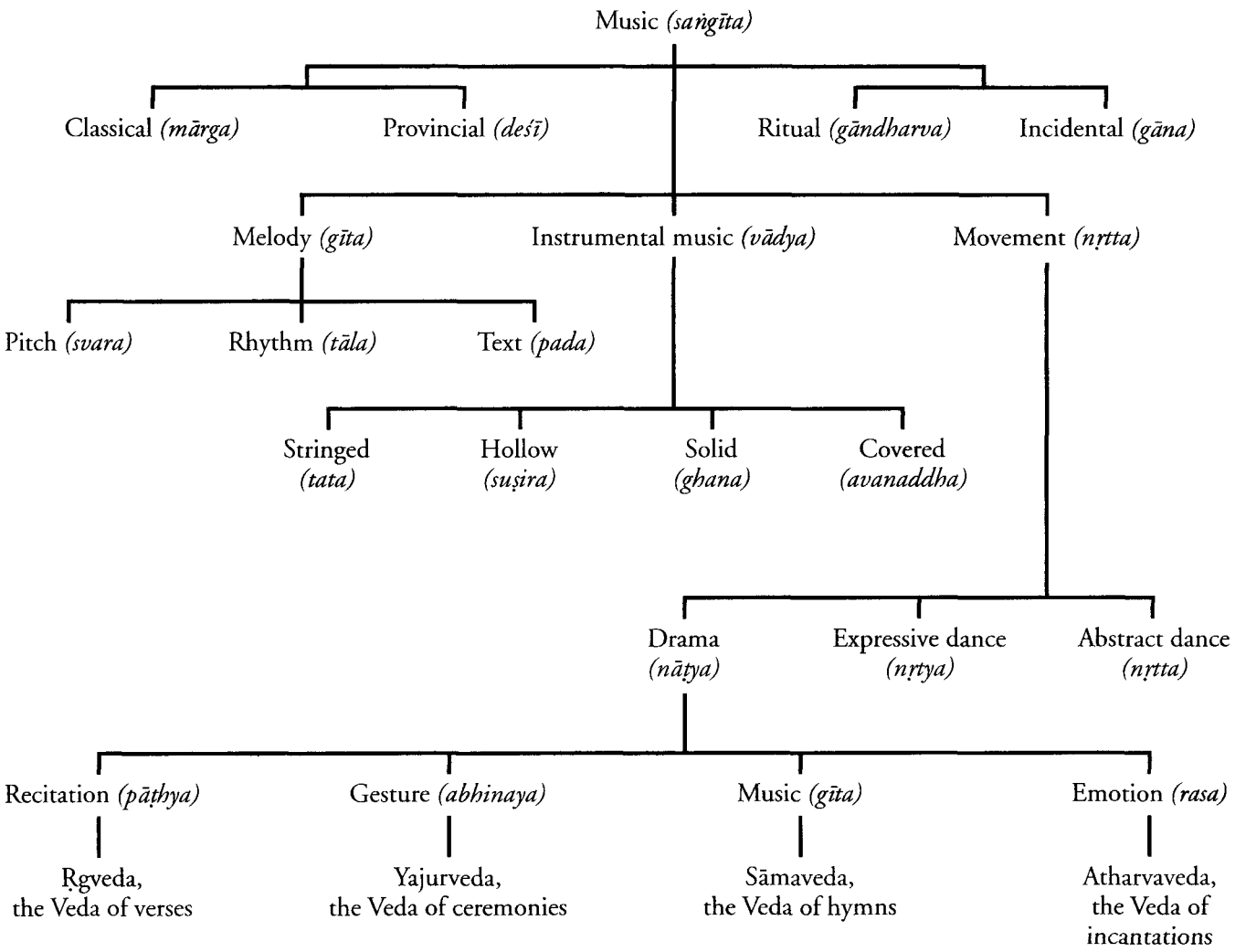

FIGURE 1 The divisions of music, representing a synthesis of categories presented in early Indian treatises on music.

behaviors and sounds of music in ancient and medieval India, we have two sources of evidence: surviving verbal descriptions and our experience of Indian music today.

The English word *music* fails to capture the exact sense of early terms such as the Sanskrit *saṅgīta* and the Greek *mousike*. Students of ancient music, in India as in the West, must make their way through a verbal obstacle course for two main reasons. First, music emerged only gradually as a subject in itself. Second, music covered a somewhat different and wider range of topics than it does today. In ancient Greek civilization, for example, music was lumped together with astronomy, dance, drama, history, and several genres of poetry, and was itself divided into categories that do not match our modern ones (see below).

Indian authors classified music according to behavioral, functional, historical, literary, and technical divisions. The schematic diagram in figure 1 is a display of the major categories, pathways, and connections. This picture of Indian classical music has not altered radically in the intervening centuries.

Music (*saṅgīta*)

The Sanskrit word *saṅgīta,* an exact cognate of the Latin *concentus* 'sung together', conveys the core of the ancient Indian conception of music. It is formed from the prefix *sam* 'together' and the noun *gīta* 'song'. *Gīta* underscores the message that the essence of Indian music is vocal sound. The larger implications of *saṅgīta* include, first, melody, and then organized sound in general. Its three technical divisions are

melody (*gīta*), instrumental music (*vādya*), and movement (*nṛtta*), the last of which includes abstract dance, mime, and acting. Each of these divisions opens out into its own array of topics and subtopics, some overlapping.

The distinction between classical (*mārga*) and provincial (*deśī*) musics was an early attempt to sort music into two simultaneous historical layers. *Mārga* meant the original, classical tradition with its emphasis on composition, strict rhythmic and metric structure, and its own set of melodic modes and formulas. Authors used *deśī* to refer to newer styles of music that developed during the second half of the first millennium. These featured song texts in the many provincial languages (in addition to classical Sanskrit), greater rhythmic and structural freedom, a greater role for improvisation, and a new assortment of modes (ragas) and meters (talas). Music was evidently shedding some of its earlier ritual restrictions and moving in the direction of entertainment for the princely courts.

The distinction between ritual (*gāndharva*) and incidental (*gāna*) musics refers to their functions in the musical theater that flourished in courts and temples throughout India during the first millennium. *Gāndharva* was music appropriate for the elaborate ceremony of dedication that preceded a play—strict, formulaic, composed music. By *gāna,* authors meant the more loosely regulated incidental music performed during a play—plot songs, instrumental interludes, entrance music, and background music.

The goals of music

There is "a place for everything" in Indian thought, and authors of music treatises did not neglect to enumerate the goals of music. Their context was the ancient Hindu doctrine of the four goals of life: righteousness (*dharma*), material gain (*artha*), pleasure (*kāma*), and liberation (*mokṣa*) from the endless cycle of birth and rebirth. Ancient Indian thinkers held liberation to be the ultimate purpose of music. Musicians and their listeners achieve this state through the control of the senses (*yoga*) that comes when performing or listening to music with total absorption. The immediate goal of music is sensory pleasure, but its ultimate goal is spiritual release.

THE DIVISIONS OF MUSIC

Melody (*gīta*)

The first technical division of *saṅgīta*, melody (*gīta*), is itself divided into pitch, rhythm, and text. This three-part subdivision recalls the ancient Greek classification of music into harmonics, rhythmics, and metrics. In writing about pitch, authors understood the word *svara* both as the subject of pitch organization in general, and the name for an individual unit of pitch—a note or scale degree. Its domain extended from individual notes, scales, and modes to the various types of ornaments and melodic frameworks on which entire compositions and improvisations were built. Tala similarly covered a wide territory that included virtually every aspect of rhythm and meter, from individual time units, patterns, and hand gestures to musical lines, sections, whole compositions, and general concepts such as tempo. The subdivision of poetic meter (*pada*) was considered to be a musical topic, but its chief contribution was the many durational and accent patterns in the musical text settings.

Instrumental music (*vādya*)

The ancient Indian classification of musical instruments was based on their acoustic principle, as was the 1914 Hornbostel-Sachs classification into strings (chordophones), winds (aerophones), self-vibrating instruments (idiophones), and drums (membranophones) (Baines and Wachsmann 1961). Most Western scholars con-

ceived of music either as human breath (whether sung or blown through an instrument) or sound produced by impact (upon a string, cymbal, or drum). Acoustical scientists of ancient China classified instruments according to the materials from which they were made: metal, stone, clay, skin, silk, wood, gourd, and bamboo.

The vina was the basic stringed instrument in the earliest Indian literature. Authors tended to focus more on its music than its performing techniques. The bamboo flute was the archetypal hollow instrument, but early authors had relatively little to say about wind instruments in general. In contrast, the chapters on "solid" instruments (idiophones) often provided an excuse for a complete exposition of the rhythmic-metric system. Only in the chapters on drums and drumming do we find equal emphasis on making and playing the instrument and on typical rhythmic and metric patterns.

Movement (*nṛtta*)

Authors construed *nṛtta,* the third technical component of *saṅgīta,* not as dance but as movement in general, which encompassed pure dance, expressive dance (pantomime), and acting. This last division, drama (*nāṭya*), was an enormous field including the composition, performance, and production of plays, and was also divided into choice and delivery of text (*pāṭhya*), gesture (*abhinaya*), accompanying music (*gīta*), and underlying emotion (*rasa*) (see figure 1). Motivated by a passion for drawing connections between different sets of categories—a tendency that is evident in all Indian literature—authors related each of the four main components of drama to one of the four Vedas [see VEDIC CHANT]. Note that *gīta* appears twice in figure 1—as one of the major technical topics of music and again as a subtopic of drama.

THE WRITTEN TEXT

The Sanskrit word for treatise is *śāstra.* As the final part of a compound word, it has the same force as "-ology"; the monuments of Indian musical learning were referred to collectively as *saṅgītaśāstra.* The term thus signifies both an individual treatise and an entire field of learning.

An ancient Indian treatise is really an expanding datafile, not a fixed, bound text. If it has a proper beginning, it is in some nucleus of primordial wisdom that was revealed to a sage—one who was worthy to receive this information by virtue of the gifts of insight, prophecy, and spiritual integrity. Such "original" knowledge may be encoded in cryptic form, but it is infallibly true, and the older, the better. The task of later scholars is to interpret and amplify—not to contradict. The sages (treatise authors) received their learning orally, hence their knowledge (as in the Vedas) is referred to as "that which has been heard" (*śruti*). Post-Vedic accumulations of knowledge are referred to as "that which has been remembered" (*smṛti*)—in a word, tradition.

The records of musical knowledge begin with short statements (*sūtra*) and poetic couplets (*śloka*), intellectual index cards that provide a base for subsequent explanation and elaboration. As the original datafile expands and scribes copy and recopy a text, it becomes impossible to distinguish between primary and secondary material. At some point scholars determine that a text is "complete"; subsequent layers of analysis and amplification are added in the form of commentaries. What began as an index card may eventually become an entire library.

In an oral tradition, book learning is never as reliable as learning from a living teacher. A student must therefore know and respect the limitations of written knowledge. No text can ever be presented exhaustively in any single version, spoken or written. The main reason for setting a text down in writing is to provide a convenient index to the information preserved in individual and collective memory.

In Hindu thought, the world of illusion in which we live draws a veil between us and the truth, but a treatise is the "all-seeing eye" that pierces the darkness like a lamp and reveals things as they really are.

From a physical perspective, a book is a pile of palm leaves or strips of bark trimmed to a uniform size, dried, and tied with cord. The perishability of these materials in India's unfavorable climate and the resulting need for scribal recopying have led to predictable results—worms have feasted on such books, semiliterate copyists have made mistakes. Scholars must assume that any manuscript may be riddled with errors and place their faith in the meaning and internal consistency of the text. Grammaticians (pandits) can provide an essential source of expertise, but their expertise quickly becomes strained in technical subjects such as music.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATES

Authorship of treatises is multiple, consisting of a team of sages, teachers, editors, commentators, and copyists—most of whom have never met, and some of whom may be as mythical as the author of the *Iliad*. In the case of ancient writings, no one can say when the process of authorship began. We must assume that the subject matter of a book was transmitted orally through a long line of teachers and students before becoming fixed in written form. In the case of medieval treatises, the team was often a group of contemporary scholars assembled by a ruler to compile a private encyclopedia or library. Their job was to sift through everything they could find on a given subject and produce a synthesis of previous learning. The author in this case can best be described as the chairman of a committee. The group may be working with a living tradition or, as often happened, with neither knowledge of a living tradition nor technical command of the subject.

We can determine the dates of later medieval texts (for example, *Mānasollāsa*, *Saṅgītaratnākara*, and *Saṅgītasamayasāra*) with some precision, but the date by which a text was compiled or reached its final form is by no means an accurate indicator of the age of the material. Books were often written over a long span of time—perhaps as long as five hundred to one thousand years. In the case of earlier texts such as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Bṛhaddeśī*, scholars have attempted to estimate the date by which the text achieved its canonical form, but these estimates may differ by as much as five hundred years. It is often possible to determine the relative order of texts by comparing them and studying the manuscript tradition. But determining the absolute date of any early treatise can only be a matter of conjecture.

THE PURPOSES OF SCHOLARSHIP

The Sanskrit word *śāstra* derives from a root meaning to correct, punish—and hence to teach(!). Music treatises seek to prescribe, not merely describe. Knowledge is always imperfect and incomplete, but false knowledge is to be feared above all else. The theory of music sets forth the details of music as they are presumed to have been, and therefore ought to be. In Hindu thought, the world of illusion (*māya*) in which we live draws a veil between us and the truth, but a treatise is the "all-seeing eye" that pierces the darkness like a lamp and reveals things as they really are.

What does a reader do with a book?

"Read it" is the obvious answer, but there is more to it than that. A reader should also memorize it, or as much of it as possible, and be prepared to recite it on demand—chapter and verse. A text exists to be delivered by the power of the spoken word, or, at times, chanted. Oral testimony is best because sound has an elemental power that can preserve or change the world. The daily rituals of Hinduism depend on the efficacy of the word. So, in the end, the transmission of musical knowledge and acts of worship have much in common. Part of a teacher's authority rests on his ability to select and recite appropriate passages (all teachers at that time were male).

A book is also an index to a larger body of knowledge stored in the reader's memory. It is a form of intellectual insurance against loss. The reader memorizes knowledge in encoded form, and the thought or sound of each keyword should call to mind further details of the subject, stored in a less accessible part of the memory. The text rhythm and metric structure and the predictable stylistic features aid this process. When a text becomes corrupt—as all texts eventually do—because of scribal error or the limitations of memory, scholars familiar with the language, codes, and tradition can often restore it. A book is thus not for everyone—only for those whose study has prepared them to decipher the codes with which the knowledge has been encapsulated. If a reader does not already know a great deal about a subject, a book is of little use.

What should a book contain?

A text on music, like a text on any other artistic or scientific subject, should begin with a benedictory verse (*maṅgalācaraṇa*) and state its authority, supported if possible by appropriate quotations for the sake of credibility. It should then proceed with a list of the topics to be expounded (*uddeśa* 'table of contents'), arranged in proper order, followed by clear expositions of each individual topic. It should conclude with a summary, which often consists of an enumeration of all that has been discussed, and a final moralizing verse.

Name, number, and definition are the goals of a proper exposition of any subject. An author should divide a given topic into a number of subtopics, state their names, and define each term in the fewest possible words. This strategy provides additional insurance against loss or corruption. Special code words and colophons serve as markers in the text. They indicate, among other things, the beginning of a new subject, the end of a quotation, or the omission of material that the reader is expected to know. Two particular strategies are popular in this body of literature: (1) definition by "characteristic marks" (*lakṣaṇa*), a particular cluster of features unique to the item being defined (see "On vocal quality" and "On ornaments," for example, in "Extracts from Early Treatises" below); and (2) sets of merits and demerits (*guṇa* and *doṣa*), practical lists of "do's and don'ts" (as in the extract from the *Nāradīyaśikṣā*, "On singing," cited below). A musical explanation must do more than merely inform; it must be an explicit affirmation of values.

DESCRIPTIONS OF EARLY TREATISES

Nāṭyaśāstra 'Treatise on Drama' is a massive text of about six thousand verses attributed to the legendary sage Bharata. Scholars believe that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was compiled during the first two centuries of the common era. The work is a comprehensive guide to all aspects of early Indian theater, including the mythical origin of drama, theater design and construction, dedication rituals, play writing, acting, declamation, dancing, music, poetry, casting, costume, makeup, and emotion. Six (or in some editions, seven) chapters on music provide detailed information on the theater orchestra

and its various instruments, the system of pitch, rhythm and meter, musical form, songs, singing, and drumming.

Dattilam (named after its author) is a short work of 244 verses by this otherwise unknown author. Written at about the same time as the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Dattilam* is limited to two topics: pitch organization (*svara*) and time organization (*tala*). Dattila, like Bharata, focuses on the ritual music for the Gupta theater and, because his approach differs considerably from Bharata's, his treatise provides valuable corroboration for the teachings of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Cilappatikāram 'The Epic of an Anklet' is a long narrative poem by the Tamil author Ilanko Atikal. Written near the beginning of the fifth century, the *Cilappatikāram* contains many references to the theory and practice of music in the ancient Tamil kingdoms at the southern tip of India.

Nāradīyaśikṣā 'The Phonetic Manual of Narada' is a treatise of 239 verses ascribed to another of India's mythical sages. Compiled in the fifth or sixth centuries, the *Nāradīyaśikṣā* is a book of practical instructions for young priests learning to chant the hymns of the Sāmaveda.

The Kudumiyamalai rock inscription (seventh century) is carved into a cave temple wall on a hill near Pudukkottai in Tamil Nadu. The short inscription is a musical notation illustrating an important set of early ragas.

Bṛhaddeśī 'The Great Treatise on *Deśī*' is attributed to the sage Matanga and was written in the ninth century. Provincial music (*deśī*) is the subject of this text of about five hundred verses, indicating that the ancient Indian musical tradition was gradually becoming enriched by the local ragas, talas, styles, and tastes of India's various geographical regions.

Abhinavabhāratī 'Abhinavagupta on the treatise of Bharata' is a long and elaborate commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Abhinavagupta. It was written c. 1000.

Sarasvatīhṛdayālaṅkāra 'Ornament of the Heart of Sarasvati' was written by King Nanyadeva of Mithila (now Tirhut, in northern Bihar), c. 1100. Because of its alternative title, *Bhāratabhāṣya* 'Commentary on Bharata', scholars have incorrectly presumed the work to be a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Mānasollāsa 'Diversions of the Heart' was compiled in 1131 by a team of scholars under orders from King Somesvara III of Kalyani (in modern Karnataka). An enormous treatise on royal sports and entertainments, *Mānasollāsa* includes three substantial sections on music (song, instrumental music, and dance), along with material on politics, elephant taming, architecture, painting, jewelry, perfumes, hunting, and games.

Saṅgītaratnākara 'The Jewel Mine of Music' was written by Sarngadeva in 1240. The author was an Ayurvedic physician and royal accountant at the court of King Singhana at Devagiri (now Daulatabad, in Maharashtra).

Saṅgītasamayasāra 'The Essence of Musical Teachings' was written in 1250 by the Jain author Parsvadeva. It consists of 1,168 verses on raga, tala, sound, songs, dance, and instrumental music.

THREE MUSIC TREATISES

A closer examination of three important texts will provide a more comprehensive picture of the world of early Indian musical scholarship. Each of the texts represents a distinctive point of view and reflects the professional concerns of its author(s). Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the major monument of ancient musical learning, approaches the subject of music from the perspective of a theatrical producer and director. The *Nāradīyaśikṣā*, a work of uncertain age but unquestioned authority, is an instruction manual for chanting the hymns of the Sāmaveda and places music within the field of articulatory phonetics. Sarngadeva's *Saṅgītaratnākara*, a massive synthesis of the subject of *saṅgīta* as it was understood near the end of India's medieval era, situates music within the Ayurvedic world of human anatomy and physiology, and summarizes the entire field of musical theory and practice. This unique mixture of dramatic and poetic theory, speech science, religious practice, the healing arts, and princely entertainment is the heritage of Indian music today.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* and music for the theater

The name Bharata (literally 'he who is to be maintained') has many meanings in India: the fire god Agni, the Vedic priests who upheld the world order by their stewardship of the sacred fire, numerous ancient rulers who took the name as a symbol of their role as protectors of their subjects, the legendary author of this treatise, and the Sanskrit/Hindi name for the modern state of India. No one knows who the sage Bharata was or when he lived, but much of the material in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* must have been set down before the beginning of the common era. The text apparently achieved its final form sometime between A.D. 100 and 500, and copies spread widely throughout the subcontinent in the original Sanskrit and then in all major regional languages. Virtually every Indian musical author knew it and quoted from it extensively; the eleventh-century Kashmiri commentator Abhinavagupta amplified and illustrated its six thousand verses in great detail.

Drama, for Bharata, was a blend of ritual and entertainment, from a play's elaborate ceremonial prelude (*pūrvaraṅga*) to the romance, comedy, and conflict of the play itself. The music described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* includes both formal (*gāndharva*) and informal (*gāna*) genres of song, instrumental music, and dance. The plays, which were originally performed in temple corridors and open fields, eventually migrated to the royal courts, where they were lavishly presented. A theatrical performance was at once a ritual offering to a deity (usually Shiva), a feast for the senses, and a lesson in appropriate emotion and social behavior. Dramatic critics and theorists held that a successful performance would not only be pleasing to the gods, but would also help to maintain the established world order and lead to "unseen benefit" (as Abhinavagupta put it) in this world and the next.

Ritual and incidental music

The elaborate opening ceremonies are the most remarkable feature of early Sanskrit drama. From descriptions of these prologues in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* we can glean specific information about theater music. The musical ensemble, seated in a niche at the rear center of the stage, consisted of a male singer and several female singers, vina and flute players, a drummer, and another percussionist who played the small cymbals and regulated the metric structure (tala). The ensemble thus employed a minimum of seven to eight performers and (on festive occasions) a maximum of perhaps fifty to sixty. The singers sat closest to the audience and faced each other, while the percussion section faced the audience from behind the singers (see "On the theater ensemble" below). It was essential that the players and singers maintain eye contact with

If the *Nāṭyaśastra* were the only text to focus on rhythmic/metric patterns and not poetic meters, we would still know more about time organization in Indian music than in any of the other musics of the ancient world.

one another in order to synchronize their actions with the tala gestures that controlled the metric structure of the music.

The prologue consisted of as many as nineteen separate items of music, recitation, and dance. Lasting from five minutes to more than a half hour, it began with a suite of nine purely instrumental numbers, each marking a gradual transition from tuning and musical exercises to formally conceived music. The final ten numbers featured the stage director (*sūtradhāra* 'he who holds the strings') and his two assistants—all of whom played roles in the following play—and a small group of female dancers. The purposes of this latter half of the prologue included a blessing of the stage, a salutation to the patron deity, "warming up" the audience, and a gradual introduction of poetic text, physical movement, the play's theme, and the dominant emotion to be evoked (*rasa*). The final item was the director's address to the spectators, after which the play proper began. Because of its ritual function, the prologue's music followed strict rules governing its text, rhythm, and meter. It was composed, not improvised, and therefore meticulously rehearsed.

The other main category of theater music was the incidental music performed during the play. This included songs, dance numbers, instrumental interludes, and music for entrances and exits. We know little about the music in this category apart from the many sample song texts given in chapter 32 of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and some general material on rhythmic patterns, accompaniment styles, and synchronization of music with stage movement. Some of the song texts were part of the formal text of a play; others were to be inserted in individual productions, often with topical references that would be familiar to the audience. As a performance unfolded, spectators would experience a general progression from strict formality (in the prologue) to greater freedom (in the incidental music).

Musical organization

Our knowledge of ancient Western musics is, for the most part, limited to matters of pitch organization such as scales, intervals, and modes. Indian theoretical treatises are therefore all the more valuable because of the specific information they provide on rhythm, meter, tempo, and form. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* tells us little about the melody and rhythm—the actual notes, durations, and tunes—of Sanskrit theater music but much more about the musical system—rhythmic/metric patterns, underlying scales, and poetic meters. If the *Nāṭyaśāstra* were the only text to focus on these slippery issues, we would still know more about time organization in Indian music than in any of the other musics of the ancient world.

Rhythmic and metric patterns

Chapter 31 of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, on tala, contains the most valuable information. In that chapter we learn how complete musical compositions were constructed from a variety of short rhythmic patterns, phrases, and larger formal units. Bharata describes

these patterns, phrases, and sections with code words indicating the number and order of their events—not the individual drum strokes, melodic durations, and groupings of poetic syllables, but the underlying structural rhythms of the music. Two important principles govern the ancient Indian concept of musical form. First, hand motions symbolize and communicate the metric patterns and structural rhythms. Second, rhythmic structure is inflatable—somewhat like a design on a balloon—in that the same patterns control musical organization over short, intermediate, and long spans of time.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* and later treatises refer to rhythmic and metric patterns by listing their prescribed sequence of hand gestures: claps, silent waves, and finger counts similar to many of the gestures used in modern Indian music (see figure 2, and the passage "On tala" below). In performance, each such pattern was expandable by prefixing additional gestures or "beats." Generally, each musical component could appear in three different versions or "states": (1) a syllabic state, in which audible gestures accompany various combinations of the three basic durations (short, long, and protracted, in a strict ratio of 1:2:3); (2) a twofold state, in which a silent gesture precedes each sounding beat; and (3) a fourfold version with three silent gestures preceding each sounding beat.

Figure 2 is a diagram of one of the compositions described in the tala chapter. The *uttara* consists of an opening epigram (a typical beginning strategy in this repertoire) followed by a pair of parallel stanzas, each with a brief refrain, and a coda that features a set of permuting variations. The name *uttara* means the "northern" song, or perhaps the "best" or "last" song (because it is the last listed of the seven major types of compositions). The reconstruction in figure 2 is a selection from among the many authorized performance variables. In this interpretation the *uttara* comprises ninety-four beat units, with an estimated performance time of about two minutes, twenty seconds. Each formal section is displayed in numbered beat units and in letters representing the four silent and three audible gestures. In interpreting this diagram, it is important not to assume that the foursquare sequence of identical durations would have limited the melodic lines and drum patterns to repetitive binary rhythms. The text descriptions make it clear that the melodic curves and arabesques of the vocal and instrumental lines were spun out over this solid metric framework in intricate, overlapping patterns.

The spacing in figure 2 (into groups of one, two, or four units) indicates the "state" of each formal section—syllabic, twofold, or fourfold. The sequence of gestures is also a clue to the state, with silent gestures appearing only in the expanded (twofold or fourfold) states. The *uttara* further demonstrates three formal features that are characteristic of ritual theater music. First, beats 1 through 6 of each of the two stanzas are sung with meaningless syllables; meaningful text begins only on the seventh beat. This procedure is an obvious ancestor of the improvised presentation of a raga that begins most performances of modern Indian music. Second, each of the two refrains is a repetition of the text and melody of the previous stanza at twice the speed; Karnatak music today features similarly abrupt changes of speed. Third, the process of systematic permutation of melody and rhythm was (and still is) a typical strategy of closure. Music, like the world, exists in a perpetual state of transformation.

Musical scales

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* also provides the first detailed information on the scales of ancient India. In chapter 28 the author has outlined a set of eighteen modes (*jāti,* sometimes referred to as mode classes). Seven of these form a complete set of rotations of the diatonic scale, that is, equivalent to white-key scales running from C to C, D to D,

FIGURE 2 Reconstruction of the *uttara* form described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, chapter 31 (on tala). Numbers indicate beat units, letters represent hand gestures.

Epigram	1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8		9	10	11	12		13	14	15	16									
	A	B	C	Y		A	B	C	X		A	Y	C	X		A	B	C	Z									
Stanza 1	1	2		3	4		5	6		7	8		9		10	11	12											
	B	D		X	Y		B	X		B	Y		X		D	B	Z											
Refrain	1	2	3	4	5	6																						
	Z	X	Y	X	Y	X																						
(durations)	P	S	L	L	S	P																						
Stanza 2	1	2		3	4		5	6		7	8		9		10	11	12											
	B	D		X	Y		B	X		B	Y		X		D	B	Z											
Refrain	1	2	3	4	5	6																						
	Z	X	L	L	S	P																						
(durations)	P	S	L	L	S	P																						
Permuting Coda:																												
set 1 ("even" variations)							1	2		3	4		5		6		7	8										
							B	Y		B	X		B		D		B	Z										
							1	2		3	4		5		6		7	8										
							B	Y		Y	X		Y		X		Y	Z										
							1	2		3	4		5		6		7	8										
							B	Y		B	X		B		D		B	Z										
set 2 ("odd" variations)							1	2		3	4		5		6													
							B	Y		X	D		B		Z													
							1	2		3	4		5		6													
							Z	X		Y	X		Y		X													
							1	2		3	4		5		6													
							B	Y		X	D		B		Z													

A = palm with fingers folded (silent)
B = palm down with fingers extended (silent)
C = open hand waves to the right (silent)
U = fingers closed with palm downward (silent)
X = left hand slaps down on right hand or left knee (audible)
Y = right hand slaps down on left hand or right knee (audible)
Z = hands clap together (audible)
S = short duration (M.M. = 60–72)
L = long duration (twice as long as the short)
P = protracted duration (three times as long as the short)
All durations long unless otherwise indicated.

and so forth; the remaining eleven are mixtures. These are clearly ancestors of the later ragas. Combinations of ten characteristic features (*lakṣaṇa*) provide the basis for identifying and classifying each of the modes: the initial note, the most prominent note, the highest note, the lowest note, versions with only five scale degrees, versions with six scale degrees, scarcely used notes, frequently used notes, the final note, and notes appropriate for internal cadences. Other possible variants include chromatic alterations, back-and-forth swings between two notes and—most interesting of all—note sequences that mark an "internal pathway" (*antaramārga*). This intriguing concept of internal pathway strongly suggests that the modes were more than neutral scales, and that they were in fact skeletal melodies with individual contours.

Performance practice

Throughout the chapters on music, we find more attention paid to theoretical topics than to performance topics. The details of the musical system were evidently a matter of greater importance than learning practical techniques. The purpose of a treatise was, after all, to support the oral tradition, not to take its place. The brief chapter on the flute (chapter 30) consists of only thirteen verses and is limited to tuning variations produced by fingering. The material pertaining to the vina in chapter 29 dwells mostly on different finger strokes and ornaments. And the chapter on tala (chapter 31) has nothing to say about making or playing the cymbals and everything to say about the system of rhythm and meter.

Only in the drum chapter (chapter 33) do we find a comprehensive exposition of instrument-making and performance techniques, organized around sixteen major topics—from individual drum syllables, strokes, and their combinations to matters of tempo, accompaniment, style, and the ceremonies for installing and dedicating a drum. The fact that abstract principles of rhythm and meter and practical instructions in drumming appear in two separate chapters illustrates an understanding of their roles in Indian music as valid and important today as it was two thousand years ago. The drummer is not solely responsible for timekeeping; tala is the mutual responsibility of all the performers, freeing the drummer to develop his role as antagonist to the soloist, playing a rich sonic counterpoint to the main melody. The popular stereotype of Indian music as solo melody over a drone and a timekeeping drummer is not and never has been true to the fact. Indian music is more accurately conceived as an interaction between two sets of syllables—one (the melody) distinguished primarily by pitch and the other (the drum accompaniment) by a wide variety of both pitched and nonpitched sounds that are controlled and synchronized by the patterns of tala.

One crucial matter is entirely absent in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and its successors. There is no evidence whatsoever that the continuous drone of modern Indian music was a part of ancient and medieval practice. Not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries do we find evidence for the drone in music treatises, and it is most unlikely that early authors would have ignored such an important musical component. One important reason for the absence of a drone lies in the tonal structure of the earliest modes and ragas. The text descriptions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* reveal that modes and scales did not share a single tonic note at their lower end. They revolved instead around a prominent note in the middle of their range, a note that was not always the same—something like the way reciting tones of Gregorian chant revolve around the dominant of their mode. If indeed the melodies of ancient India did not feature this impulse to sink to a common final tone, it follows that one set of drone tones would not serve for all.

Emotion

As valuable as the foregoing information on India's ancient musical systems is, another strand of material in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is still more valuable. The theory of aesthetic emotion (*rasa*) outlined in detail in chapter 6, and never far beneath the surface throughout the rest of the treatise, is India's most significant contribution to the philosophy of art. Although well developed by the time the *Nāṭyaśāstra* had reached its canonical form, the fullest explanation of this idea came in Abhinavagupta's eleventh-century commentary (*Abhinavabhāratī*). The literal meaning of *rasa* is 'juice', as in the sap of a tree. It signifies a continuous current of emotion—emotion that composers imagine, that actors and dancers represent, and that arises spontaneously in the awareness of spectators as a play unfolds. In Abhinavagupta's elegant phrasing, the dramatic spectacle transforms the hearts of the spectators into "spotless mirrors"

The theory of aesthetic emotion (*rasa*) is India's most significant contribution to the philosophy of art. It signifies a continuous current of emotion that composers imagine, that actors and dancers represent, and that arises spontaneously in the awareness of spectators as a play unfolds.

that receive and reflect the main emotion and subsidiary emotions called forth by the play.

It is rare to find in any ancient culture such an explicit catalogue of the range of human feeling. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* identifies and illustrates eight main emotional states: erotic, comic, compassionate, furious, heroic, terrible, disgusting, and wondrous. Later authorities added a ninth *rasa*, a state of beatific peace (see "On emotion in performance" below). The task of each play and production was to develop a single pervading emotional theme.

The idea of *rasa* is still valid today. It is taken for granted in Indian musical thought that each raga has its own distinctive emotional flavor and is therefore assigned to one of the traditional sentiments, in much the same way that each raga signifies a particular time of day. What these conventional associations rest on is not clear. There are too few main emotions and too many distinct melody types to permit any one-to-one correspondence between mood and mode. But the concept is self-fulfilling: if we assume that a given musical construction represents and communicates a particular emotion, awareness of that emotion will automatically inform the intent of the poet and composer, the actions of the performer, and the perceptions and reactions of the empathetic listener. We do not need to search for meaning in Indian music; it is there.

The *Nāradīyaśikṣā* and Vedic chant

It is an abrupt transition from the glittering secular world of Bharata's theater to the mystical asceticism of the Sāmavedic priest's world described in the *Nāradīyaśikṣā*. The title means "the phonetic manual [*śikṣā*] of Narada." There are numerous legends about the sage Narada but no solid information on when or where he lived, if there ever was such a person. The *Nāradīyaśikṣā* is a short treatise of 239 verses, divided roughly half and half between musical and phonetic issues. Its age is uncertain (although estimated as being from the fifth or sixth century C.E.), its text is hopelessly corrupt in many places, and many of its meanings are far from clear. The earliest layers of text duplicate passages in other phonetic treatises compiled before the beginning of the common era, but editors may have added the rest of the material as much as a thousand years later. The text was substantially complete by sometime in the eighth or ninth century. Despite its textual problems, the *Nāradīyaśikṣā* is the best surviving representative of this important school of thought.

The contents are a hodgepodge of material, including a brief history of the evolution of Vedic chant, technical details of the system of musical pitch, mythical associations between musical notes and animal cries, the qualities of good and bad singing, the hand motions and ceremonies of Vedic chant, the three Vedic accents, poetic meters, correct enunciation and word separation, and practical advice for the daily life of a priest in training. The *Nāradīyaśikṣā* offers both general instructions for chanting the four Vedas and specific precepts that apply only to the Sāmaveda. What

little coherence there is in this material lies in the conventional belief that the sounds and organizing principles of music arose from the sounds and organizing principles of sacred chant. This may or may not be true. Just as recitation and chanting are heightened forms of speech (the argument continues), so is song a heightened form of recitation and chant. The line between them is impossible to draw.

The standard list of the six topics of phonetic theory applies equally to music, chanting, and reciting: (1) individual sounds and letters, (2) qualitative distinctions of sound (accent, pitch, timbre), (3) quantitative distinctions of sound (duration, syllable, meter), (4) dynamic distinctions of sound (force, resonance, place of articulation), (5) performance and delivery, and (6) the proper separations and transitions between sounds. Authors of the phonetic treatises were obsessed with word separation and continuity between syllables because of the distinctive nature of the Vedic language, the ancestor of classical Sanskrit. Because an oral language does not need the graphics of the printed page, speakers delivered the sacred texts in a continuous flow and depended on conventional phonetic changes at the junctions between words (*sandhi*) to convey the meaning of the text. This concern for melodic continuity with minimal (but clear) interruptions is responsible for two characteristic features of Indian singing today: the precision with which singers enunciate song texts and the preference for ornamental transitions (*gamaka*) between notes.

Musical pitch and duration

The first two verses of book 1, chapter 5, contain one piece of vital information that appears nowhere else in ancient Indian musicological literature. The author of the *Nāradīyaśikṣā* has outlined a set of correspondences between the scale used for chanting the Sāmavedic hymns and the "worldly" musical scale. The passage in question appears below (see "On scales"), and the two scales appear in Western staff notation in figure 3. Their exact tunings are unknown, and modern schools of Sāmavedic chant differ considerably in their choice of intervals between the notes, but it is clear that the secular musical scale described here was equivalent to a diatonic scale widespread in the ancient world. Its pattern, expressed in figure 3 as the series of white notes starting on D, was known both to the ancient Greeks and the composers of Gregorian chant, and is known today as the Dorian mode. The two scales differ in that the Sāmavedic scale runs downward from a nucleus of three of its upper notes (as their names indicate), whereas the secular scale runs upward.

Narada's main objective was to demonstrate the variety of ways in which one tone could differ from another: in pitch, in timbre, in dynamic force, in duration, and in function within a scale. Two terms, *svara* and *śruti*, are particularly important. The general term for a single conceptual unit of pitch is *svara* 'note', meaning either (1) one of the degrees of a musical scale, or (2) one of the accents in Vedic chanting.

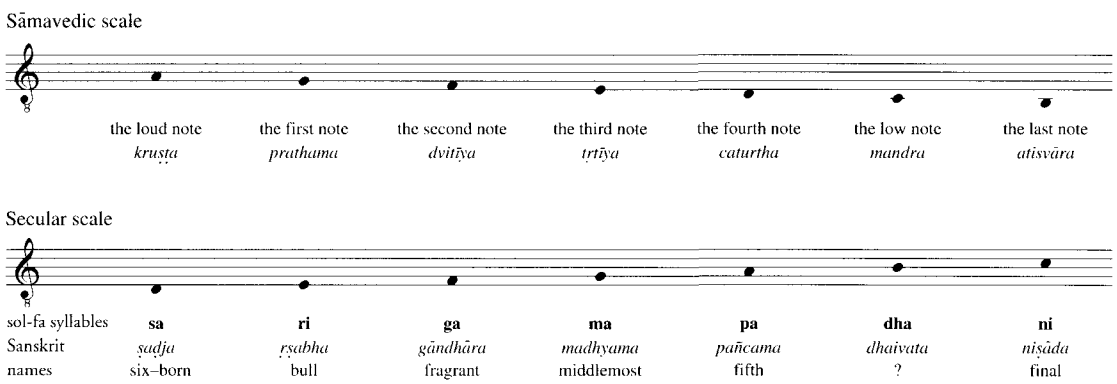

FIGURE 3 The Sāmavedic and secular scales, based upon the *Nāradīyaśikṣā*.

Western equivalents are, for example: (1) the sol-fa syllables (*do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, ti*) and (2) the acute, grave, and circumflex accents of French. *Śruti* is another general term for smaller distinctions of pitch, color, and dynamics. Although the mind can grasp musical tones (*svara*), the ear cannot distinguish potential musical tones arranged in a continuous scale of microintervals (*śruti*).

Distinctions between durations are more obvious; individual syllables are short, long, or protracted, in a ratio of 1:2:3 (as previously indicated in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*). The distinctions between pitches, tonal colors, and accents, which are both complex and interesting, demonstrate how difficult it is to describe musical sound with words. If we hear a sound as "sharped" when compared with another sound or to some neutral standard we have in mind, is it higher, brighter, louder, more impacted, more tense, or a combination of some or all of these? The author of the *Nāradīyaśikṣā* mentions three sets of distinctions: (1) the seven notes of the scale (Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, and Ni), (2) the five qualitative types of tonal color (bright, extended, mournful, soft, and moderate), and (3) the three Vedic accents (high, low, and compound, equivalent to acute, grave, and circumflex).

The Vedic accents are difficult to equate with other musical characteristics, no doubt because they functioned as accents of poetic recitation, not musical tones. In modern practice they appear to be a complex blend of pitch, intensity, and timbral distinctions.

The sol-fa syllables derived from the names of the seven scale degrees remain the standard oral notation of modern Indian music and the basis by which it is learned, remembered, and taught. The Sanskrit names for the notes are

Sa	from *ṣaḍja,* born of the six organs (of speech)
Ri	from *ṛṣabha,* like a bull
Ga	from *gāndhāra,* the fragrant note
Ma	from *madhyama,* the middlemost note (of seven)
Pa	from *pañcama,* the fifth note
Dha	from *dhaivata* (etymology unclear)
Ni	from *niṣāda,* the final note

The *Nāradīyaśikṣā* presents this technical information in a colorful tapestry of mythological and cosmological references, in which each of the seven musical notes refers to a specific color, animal cry, social class, place of resonance within the human body, sage, and deity. Indian musicians thus conceived of musical sounds as an index to all the audible, visible, tangible, and mental components of the chanter's world, a world structure that the priests helped to maintain in proper order by the symbolic resonance of their gestures and by the sounds they uttered during their daily routines of prayer and praise.

Performance and daily life

Physical gesture is an important issue in the *Nāradīyaśikṣā.* Narada gives precise instructions for the hand motions that accompany and must be synchronized with the chant syllables. The right and left hands have specialized functions: chanters use the right hand primarily to mark the various notes and the bodily regions from which the notes derive their special resonance; they use the left hand to signal durations, accents, and text repetitions. In these gestures we see the possible ritual origins of the hand motions used to represent the patterns of tala. We may also compare these practices to the hand diagrams of the European Middle Ages, which assign each note of the scale to one of the finger joints. The function of the hand motions in Vedic chanting is thus both symbolic and mnemonic.

The *Nāradīyaśikṣā* also offers valuable (and often humorous) glimpses of the daily life of a young priest, a grinding routine of study, practice, and the obligations of ritual performance in an all-male environment. Certain salutations, prayers, and hymns were recited daily, and other, more elaborate sacrifices were performed on demand and for special occasions. These included recitation of Vedic hymns, fire offerings, and the ceremonial pressing of juice from the intoxicating soma plant—which has not been conclusively identified. The purpose of the sacrifices was to maintain the cosmic order, and the *Nāradīyaśikṣā* warns chanters of the fearful consequences that would result from a slip of the tongue, mind, or finger.

The *Saṅgītaratnākara*, a medieval synthesis of musical learning

In Sarngadeva's massive *Saṅgītaratnākara* 'The Jewel Mine of Music' we encounter a third perspective. The author, like his father, the royal accountant to King Singhana of Devagiri (now Daulatabad) on the Deccan Plateau, was of Kashmiri ancestry, a devotee of Shiva, and an Ayurvedic physician. The treatise, written in the first half of the thirteenth century, reflects the author's physiological, musical, and arithmetical interests in its focus on the generation of sound within the human body, its masterly synthesis of previous learning, and its attempts to formalize the details of the ancient Indian musical system. It circulated rapidly throughout India and became the subject of at least seven commentaries, of which three are extant. The *Saṅgītaratnākara* is unquestionably the most important and influential of all medieval Indian treatises on music.

Sarngadeva's organization of musical knowledge into seven major topics became a model for later authors. The topics are (1) pitch organization in general (*svara*), including microtones, notes, intervals, consonance and dissonance, scales and their variables, melodic contours, ornaments, mode classes (*jāti*), text setting, and melodic styles; (2) raga, under which the author classifies and illustrates the characteristics of a large number of ancient and contemporary ragas and explains procedures for improvising a raga; (3) miscellaneous topics (*prakīrṇa*), which include sets of standards for singers and instrumentalists, descriptions of performance ornaments (*gamaka*), further material on improvisation, and a description of the theater ensemble; (4) "art" songs (*prabandha*); (5) tala, including outlines of both ancient and medieval talas and the musical forms assembled from the various tala patterns; (6) instruments (*vādya*), including physical descriptions, playing techniques, and appropriate repertoires for the four classes of musical instruments; and (7) dance (*nartana*), including individual movements, poses, expressive styles, and a valuable discussion of the nine emotions (*rasa*).

The organization and emphases of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* signaled important developments in Indian musical scholarship in the closing years of the Middle Ages. First, *saṅgīta* had by now evolved into something approaching what modern Westerners would define as "music." It had become an independent subject, no longer dependent upon its previous dramatic and liturgical contexts; its main context was now the world of princely courts and royal patrons, its main aim entertainment. Second, the musical details of the ancient *mārga* system of pitch, rhythm, and form had become a closed system, and medieval authors had begun to place equal emphasis on the scales, meters, and talas of the various provincial "little traditions" known collectively as *deśī*. Sarngadeva outlined a total of 120 *deśī* talas and 264 ragas, of which some have still further subdivisions.

Third, improvisation now occupied a much larger role in musical practice than before, and treatises on music had begun to offer more detailed instructions for presenting and developing a raga in performance. Fourth, instrumental music had become a single category; authors now began to treat organological information and

The *Saṅgītaratnākara* is unquestionably the most important and influential of all medieval Indian treatises on music.

performance techniques in greater detail and with more respect. Fifth, the aim of musical scholarship was still to enumerate and describe more than to systematize and formalize, but much progress had been made in the latter direction. And finally, treatises had become much more explicit in addressing aesthetic issues.

Students of Indian music are often surprised by Sarngadeva's leisurely introduction to the opening chapter, in which he literally traces the generation and emergence of sound within the body "back to creation" and beyond. ("Back to creation" is a standard learned Indian answer to the question "Why?") He devotes 168 verses to primordial sound (*nāda*) produced in the human body, beginning with ultimate, timeless, unmanifested reality (Brahman) and drawing upon various doctrines of the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Vedanta philosophies, as well as on Ayurvedic teachings. The result emphasizes that the principles of musical sound are ultimately grounded in metaphysics, and that the quintessence of musical sound is human, vocal sound.

Raga

The subject of raga had become highly developed by Sarngadeva's time; the number of raga classes and individual ragas had proliferated greatly. The opening chapter explains the principal topics of pitch, including the mode classes (*jāti*), by then a closed category of ancient music and neither subject to change nor relevant to contemporary practice. In chapter 2 Sarngadeva turns from the abstract to the concrete, from melodic material to tune—recalling the distinction ancient Greek authors drew between melodic substance (*melos*) and melody (*melodia*).

The chapter on raga classifies the many types of ancient ragas and those currently in vogue, to show lines of development from one class to another and to illustrate the most important of these with short notated examples and descriptions of their features. In this enormously valuable chapter, the author enumerates a total of 264 ragas and groups them into ten distinct classes representing evolutionary stages. He identifies five general styles of ragas: pure and plain, curving and delicate, ornate, elaborate and athletic, and "mixed"—a typical final category in Indian classification schemes.

Sarngadeva was not the first Indian author to include musical examples in notation, but his corpus of notated raga melodies is by far the most comprehensive and informative collection in any of the early treatises. Because he reproduced many of the examples appearing in earlier works such as Matanga's *Bṛhaddeśī* (eighth or ninth century), and because several later authors reproduced his examples, it is often possible to detect the many errors and omissions and arrive at accurate replicas of the original melodies. The ethnomusicologist Richard Widdess has written a valuable guide to the early history of the raga system (Widdess 1995).

Several types of notated examples appear in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*: short melodies demonstrating ornamental contours, melodies illustrating typical performance options in the mode types, short examples of text setting, instrumental melodies in

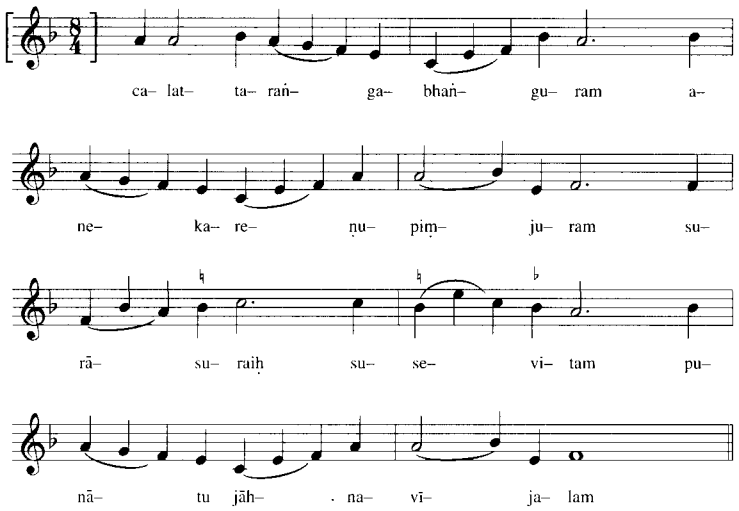

FIGURE 4 Transcription of a metrical song from Sarngadeva's *Saṅgītaratnākara* 'The Jewel Mine of Music' (2.2.79ff), adapted from Widdess 1995:183. By permission of Oxford University Press.

unmeasured rhythm suitable for establishing the characteristic features of a raga (*ālāpa*), and metrical songs (*ākṣiptikā*) with texts in Sanskrit or regional languages. Figure 4 is a transcription of one of these metrical songs (*Saṅgītaratnākara* 2.2.79ff). The transcription and translation are adapted from Widdess 1995:183.

calattaraṅgabhaṅguram	May the water of the Ganges,
anekareṇupiṃjuram	wrinkled with shifting waves,
surāsuraiḥ susevitam	golden with much sand,
punātu jāhnavīјalam	much revered by gods and demons, be purifying.

The basic notation for the musical examples in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* consists of sol-fa syllables, modified by dots and other signs to indicate a lower or upper octave or a lengthened duration. In texted melodies, the texts appear in the Devanagari script of Sanskrit, with syllables of short and long durations distributed under the corresponding melodic syllables. Vertical strokes often divide the melodies into groups of four syllables, giving the misleading impression of a regular, pervading binary rhythm. There is no implication, however, that these examples represent anything other than a skeletal version of the melody; what they demonstrate is that the idea of raga was considerably more specific than a scale with special functions, such as initial, predominant, final, profuse, and scarce notes. Individual ragas were further particularized by their own melodic shape and characteristic patterns.

Performance

The third chapter, on miscellaneous topics, offers the most vivid glimpses of performance practice in the musical life of medieval India. Sarngadeva focuses mainly on singers and singing, but the chapter concludes with a brief but valuable section on the theater ensemble. As elsewhere in the treatise, the author's purpose is more to classify, to name and enumerate, than to give full details. Sarngadeva's perceptive and often amusing remarks begin with job descriptions—what composers, poets, male singers, female singers, and members of the ensemble ought to know and be able to do. These requirements include mental and physical characteristics, knowledge of specific subject areas, sensitivity, various talents, and proficiency in a wide range of performance skills. Nowhere else in the musical literature of the ancient and medieval world do we find such revealing descriptions of what is expected of musicians, although we may rightly wonder how often such demanding specifications were met. "On dancing" below includes one such set of qualifications.

Blatant gender stereotypes pervade this and other early Indian treatises. Sweetness, youth, and beauty are universal requirements for "songstresses," requirements from which male performers were apparently exempt. We learn not only the attributes of ideal singers and composers, but also what characteristics would place performers in the mediocre or deficient categories, often accompanied by blunt and sardonic descriptions of what was to be avoided. Censured singers fall into twenty-five types: those who close their eyes in apparent rapture, those whose voices are harsh like a crow's, those whose limbs shake with fear, those whose facial veins stand out, those with voices of limited range, those who make frequent musical errors or memory slips, and so on.

Sarngadeva next proceeds to vocal sound in the abstract. He divides it into four main categories based on the predominance or mixture of the three humors (phlegm, bile, and wind—not four as in the West), with thirty subcategories based on combinations of fourteen descriptors: creamy, wide-ranging, sweet, hollow, dense, deep, shrill, dry, heavy, tender, delicate, blending, harsh, and soft. The author continues with definitions of fifteen "merits" and eight "demerits" of singing. Many if not most of these performance standards did not arise in the context of music but were borrowed from poetic and dramatic criticism.

Sarngadeva enumerates and describes a large number of other performance accomplishments in the remainder of the third chapter. These fall into two main categories—ornamentation and improvisation. Compositional ornaments (*alaṅkāra*) are included in an earlier chapter. Here the author focuses on two types of performance ornaments: *gamaka* (of which Sarngadeva lists fifteen) and *sthāya* (of which there are ninety-six). Although the term *gamaka* appears in many earlier treatises, this new focus on performance ornaments is characteristic of thirteenth-century music treatises and signals the growing role of improvisation in musical practice. A contemporary description of a set of seven *gamaka* appears in the *Saṅgītasamayasāra* (see "On ornaments" below). Sarngadeva's *gamaka* are all varieties of shakes (*kampita*). Other types of ornament, including slides between notes, ornamental clusters, and other variations in pitch, duration, and/or dynamics fall under the heading of *sthāya*, for which there is no common denominator. We may compare them to the repertoire of "licks" that a jazz musician must have at his command. The chapter continues with some brief but important advice on how to present and explore a raga in performance.

Songs

Songs (*prabandha*) are the subject of the fourth chapter. The term *prabandha* signifies a formal "art song," not a spontaneous improvisation (although some of the song sections could be and probably were at least partially improvised). These were the songs sung in royal courts, usually in praise of the ruler. Sarngadeva tells us nothing about the accompaniments, if there were any, but focuses instead on matters of text, poetic meter, form, and style. Matanga's *Bṛhaddeśī* was the first treatise to discuss song forms; by Sarngadeva's time the number of possible types had grown from Matanga's forty-eight to many thousands. Most of this chapter is an ingenious, mind-boggling exercise in classification, but several vital pieces of information give us a penetrating glimpse into the tradition of secular court song.

Art songs generally began with an extensive introduction followed by a short ornamental interlude, a main section of text, and a final section introducing the names of the royal patron and the singer/composer—in effect a signature. A variant of this pattern exists today in the structure of the *kriti,* one of the main forms of Karnatak vocal music [see KARNATAK VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC].

Remaining chapters

Chapters on tala, instruments, and dance conclude the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. The most notable feature of Sarngadeva's chapter on tala is the list of 120 *deśī* talas. These consist of cyclical rhythmic patterns gathered from various geographical regions and ranging from one to twenty-two durations, each having one of five relative lengths: three, two, one, half, and quarter. Sarngadeva did not specify the type and sequence of gestures for these newer talas, but describes in another passage a set of gestures similar to those seen today.

With tala as with raga, ancient and contemporary practice remained in separate compartments: a venerated central tradition of ritual music (*mārga*) that was closed to further innovation and inaccessible except through treatises, and a living tradition (*deśī*) blended from a large number of regional preferences—in effect, a classical and a vernacular music. But this division cannot compare to the division between ancient and modern music in the West. Indian musical traditions have not suffered the disruptions and stylistic upheavals that have marked the history of music in Europe and the rest of the Western world. Indian musicians today can thus rightly claim the support of a continuous tradition extending back more than two thousand years. We may know the early stages of this tradition only through the surviving documents, but the past is clearly audible in what we hear today.

EXTRACTS FROM EARLY TREATISES

The following seventeen passages from early Sanskrit theoretical treatises provide a sample of writings on various aspects of Indian music and dance. Translations are by Lewis Rowell unless otherwise indicated.

On sound:

> We worship that divine sound, the life of consciousness in all beings and the supreme bliss, manifested in the form of the universe. By the adoration of sound, the gods Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva are truly worshiped, for they are the embodiment of sound. The Soul, having a desire to speak, stirs the mind. The mind strikes the fire abiding in the body, and that fire strikes the wind. Then that wind . . . , rising along the upward paths, manifests the sound successively in the navel, the heart, the throat, the head, and the mouth. (*Saṅgītaratnākara* 1.3.1–4)

Commentary: The ancient Indian concept of sound is based not on the five elements (atmosphere, fire, wind, water, and earth) but on their properties: (1) the World Soul (Atman), a vaporous continuum of vital spirit, consciousness, atmosphere, and latent energy; (2) the stimulating warmth and friction produced by fire; (3) human breath; (4) the watery channels of the respiratory system; and (5) the gross form of earth, once sound has emerged from the body and become manifest in the outer world. Sound is a link between the human and the divine worlds. The utterance of sound is at once an act of worship and an affirmation of its role in the creation, maintenance, and ultimate dissolution of the universe.

On vocal quality:

> Sound is fourfold, divided into the following varieties: excess of air, excess of bile, excess of phlegm, and balance of the humors. And thus the sage Tumburu spoke: "Dry, higher sound is acknowledged to be born of air. . . . Sound that is deep, solid, and continuous is known to be born of bile, while sound that is creamy, delicate, and sweet is born of phlegm. The sound that results from a harmonious balance of these three qualities is declared to be born of conjunction. (*Bṛhaddeśī* 1.24)

Commentary: The author's classification of vocal sound is similar to the Western doctrine of the four bodily fluids or "humors," each with its characteristic tempera-

Even legendary sages were unable to perceive the individual microtones because of their subtlety. How can we of limited ability hope to do better?

ment: blood (sanguine), yellow bile (choleric), black bile (melancholic), and phlegm (phlegmatic). Ancient Indian science recognized only three humors. The keywords in the above descriptions still provide a practical catalogue of the desirable qualities of Indian vocal sound.

On singing:

> The ten meritorious qualities of singing are these: color, abundance, ornament, clarity, distinctness, loudness, smoothness, evenness, great delicacy, and sweetness. These are the faults of singing: lack of confidence, timidity, excitement, lack of clarity, nasality, a shrill tone, a tone produced too high in the head or in the wrong register, a discordant sound, tastelessness, interruptions, rough enunciation, confusion, and inability to keep time. (*Nāradīyaśikṣā* 1.3.1, 1–12)

Commentary: Indian authors set down their system of musical and other artistic values in the form of practical lists of "do's and don'ts" (*guṇa* and *doṣa*). The above lists are a mixture of composition and performance values, and it is not clear whether they pertain specifically to singing, to chanting (of the Vedas), or both. In no other ancient musical culture do we find such explicit aesthetic statements.

On instrumental music:

> . . . He took up
> A seven-stringed lute and tuned its scale
> By tightly fastening the leather straps
> On the curved arm. He placed the bridge
> Along the fingerboard, and tuned the strings
> Beginning with the fourth and ending with the third.
> On his ear he then tested the mode
> That had seven notes in its descending scale
> And five in the ascending, and was dear to the goddess
> Of the leaping stag. He played it
> With three variations according to tradition. (*Cilappatikāram* 13.131–41, translated by R. Parthasarathy)

Commentary: In this passage from a great Tamil epic, we find a description of tuning that permits an accurate reconstruction of the musical system (when combined with information from other sections of the poem). It also provides an early glimpse of the raga system, in which a scale often differs in ascent and descent and serves as a melodic framework for improvised variations.

On scales:

> The first note of the Sāman singers corresponds to Ma on the flute. The second corresponds to Ga, the third to Ri. The fourth note corresponds to Sa, and the fifth to Dha. The sixth note corresponds to Ni, the seventh to Pa. (*Nāradīyaśikṣā* 1.5.1–2)

Commentary: Figure 3 displays this equation between the Sāmavedic and secular scales, in Western staff notation. The word *sāman* means hymn, hence the title Sāmaveda, the Veda of hymns. The text contains one glaring contradiction, reversing the positions of Dha and Ni of the secular scale. Despite all the efforts of scholars to explain this contradiction away, it is probably the result of scribal miscopying.

On notes and intervals:

> The scale steps composed of four microtones (*śruti*) correspond to the priestly class; those of three, to the warrior class; those of two, to the merchant class; and those of one, to the menial class. (*Bṛhaddeśī* 1.61)

Commentary: The author here compares the intervals between notes of the scale to the traditional four classes of Hindu society: the priestly (*brāhmaṇa*), warrior (*kṣatriya*), merchant (*vaiśya*), and menial (*śūdra*) classes. Indian musicians divided the octave into twenty-two microtones (*śruti*), and the scale into intervals of four, three, or two such microtones. The interval of one microtone was only a theoretical possibility.

On intonation:

> Just as the path of fishes swimming in the sea cannot be perceived, nor that of the birds in the sky, so is it with the microtones that pass through the steps of the musical scale. Just as one cannot churn butter from curds or strike fire from wood without effort, so is it when one attempts to perceive the microtones. (*Nāradīyaśikṣā* 1.6.16–17)

Commentary: The author continues to say that even legendary sages such as Tumburu and Matanga were unable to perceive the individual microtones because of their subtlety. How can we of limited ability hope to do better? Indian music is hard to hear in all its full detail but then, how can anyone hope to perceive the world in all its reality?

On ornaments:

> The seven ornaments (*gamaka*) are these: bursting forth, quivering, melting, meandering, impacting, oscillating, and manifesting [the three registers]. (*Saṅgītasamayasāra* 1.47)

Commentary: This passage is one of the earliest lists of performance ornaments. The author proceeds to describe them as follows: (1) a rapid ascending scale passage; (2) a rapid shake on a single note; (3) portamento from one note into another; (4) a rapid, aimless succession of notes; (5) one note impacting sharply upon its neighbor; (6) a delicate back-and-forth swing between two notes; and (7) a passage swooping through the low, middle, and high registers without interruption.

On tala:

> The gesture known as *āvāpa* is formed by folding the fingers with the palm upwards. *Niṣkrāma* is formed with palm downwards and the fingers extended. Casting of the hand to the right is defined as *vikṣepa*. And folding it with palm downwards should be known as *praveśa*. The beat made with the right hand is *śamyā*, that with the left, *tāla*. The clap of the hands together is known as *sannipāta*. (*Dattilam* 118b–121a)

Commentary: Dattila here defines the four silent and three audible gestures of the ancient tala system. See figure 2 for an entire composition delineated by these gestures.

On raga:

> The *ālāpa* of a raga is that section in which there is a manifestation of the initial, low, and high notes; likewise of the final and confinal, and also of the scarceness and profusion of certain notes and of the hexatonic and pentatonic versions of the raga. (*Saṅgītaratnākara* 2.23–24)

Commentary: This passage is one of the earliest descriptions of the process of *ālāp*, in which a soloist begins a performance with an improvised display of the characteristic features of the chosen raga. Each raga has its own set of characteristic marks, which will not necessarily include all of those mentioned in the above passage.

On style:

> The three styles are slow, moderate, and colored. In the first, song dominates; in the second, vocal and instrumental music are equal; and in the third, instrumental playing dominates. (*Dattilam* 43)

Commentary: Indian musical concepts tend to come in sets of three, that is, with a moderate version and two extremes. In this passage we have very early evidence of a slow, drawn-out vocal style and a brilliant, fast instrumental style.

On the theater ensemble:

> The members of the group should be seated on the stage facing east. The orchestra is placed between the two entrance doors. The player of a *muraja* should face the stage; to his right should sit the player of a *paṇava,* and to his left the player of a *dardara*. . . . A male singer will face the north, with a vina player to his left and two flute players to his right. A female singer will face the male singer. So much for the seating of the orchestra. (*Nāṭyaśāstra* 33.221)

Commentary: It is not clear whether the three drums mentioned in this passage were played by one or more drummers. For additional information on the theater ensemble, see "The *Nāṭyaśāstra* and music for the theater" above.

On listener preferences:

> Master teachers prefer evenness in performance, whereas learned pandits prefer the distinct separation of words. Women prefer sweetness in music, but men prefer loudness. (*Nāradīyaśikṣā* 1.3.14)

Commentary: Scholars prefer to hear clear delivery of the text, both in singing and in chant, while teachers are more attracted to an even musical line. Gender stereotypes are rampant in Indian musical texts: a similar verse from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* states that women may be forgiven for poor intonation, but not men.

On emotion in performance:

> There are nine accepted emotional states: the erotic, the comic, the pathetic, the furious, the heroic, the fearful, the odious, the wondrous, and the tranquil. . . . The actor does not enjoy any emotion; rather the audience tastes the emotion. The actor is the vessel from which they taste. (*Saṅgītaratnākara* 6.1358–61)

Commentary: For the theory of aesthetic emotion (*rasa*), see "The *Nāṭyaśāstra* and music for the theater" above.

On songs:

> That song which is sung with raga at its beginning, with ornaments, and is then accompanied by tala, well-rendered with sol-fa and recited drum syllables, and also containing passages of meaningful text in various regional languages—this one is named 'parrot-beak,' a favorite of people everywhere. (*Bṛhaddeśī* 402–03)

Commentary: The meaning of raga is 'colored', and the author is drawing a punning comparison between the improvisatory beginning of this song and the colorful beak of a parrot. This description of a particular type of medieval song would probably fit a typical song heard in modern Karnatak music.

On dancing:

> Beauty of limbs, perfection of form, a charming and full face, large eyes, lips red as the Bimba fruit, attractive teeth, a neck beautiful like the spiral conch, arms straight like moving creepers, slender waist, hips that are not too heavy, thighs resembling the trunk of an elephant, not too tall, crippled, or too fat, without prominent veins, conspicuous in charm, beauty, sweetness, courage, and generosity, and being either fair or dark in color—experts declare these to be the merits of a [female] dancer. That dancer who with delicate movements of the body, beautiful rhythms, and correct timing seems to bring out the very letters of the songs and instrumental music, and who seems to make visible through her limbs the sound of the songs and instruments, and dances while carrying her limbs like flowers, fully manifesting the dominant emotion, is declared by experts to be the best dancer. (*Saṅgītaratnākara* 6.1231–36; translation adapted from K. Kunjunni Raja and R. Burnier.)

On drumming:

> I shall next relate the characteristics of an excellent drummer. He must be expert in songs, instrumental playing, rhythm, and timing, and must know how to begin a song and bring it to a proper conclusion. He must have a nimble hand, be able to play all the strokes, know what leads to success in performance, and should be able to sing. He must also be able to concentrate, to produce a pleasing tone by applying paste to the drumheads, and he must be strong in body, regular in his physical and intellectual habits, and an accomplished artist. Such a drummer is declared to be the best. (*Nāṭyaśāstra* 33.293–94)

Published editions of these works are listed in the Guide to Publications at the end of this volume.

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Scholarship since 1300

Robert Simms

In broad terms, the history of scholarship on Indian music begins with the insular elaboration of a tradition by Indian writers and proceeds toward increasing Western influence, international authors, and a multitude of approaches. This has been by no means an evolutionary progression, but rather the Indian scene responding to the impact of Western colonialism and the global spread of technology. Scholarly sources during the first half of the period are generally theoretical treatises and court chronicles; later contacts with European scholarship resulted in increasingly diversified forms of monographs.

The most significant difference between scholarship of this period and that of earlier centuries is the emergence of two distinct classical music traditions, which evolved into the present-day Northern (Hindustani) and Southern (Karnatak) traditions. The exact nature and causes of the split are complex matters of some conjecture, and have been discussed by scholars throughout the twentieth century. The most common explanation is that music in the North was increasingly influenced by the conquering Muslim (specifically Persian) culture from the thirteenth century on and gradually drifted away from the "original" Indian tradition, subsequently maintained in the South. This explanation, however, glosses over the fact that common musical features were often merely given Persianized names, and that the political situation was constantly changing, with musicians shifting between Muslim and Hindu courts. There has always been considerable interchange and communication between the two musical cultures. The Hindustani vocal style of *dhrupad*, for example, shares many structural, aesthetic, and stylistic affinities with the Karnatak *kīrtana* genre. In terms of scholarship after the mid-sixteenth century, most texts are clearly aligned with one or the other tradition, and readers view them exclusively from that perspective.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL TOPICS

Scholarship since 1300 has dealt with a broad range of topics, with varying degrees of emphasis throughout this long period. As in earlier scholarship, most topics have reflected one of two basic points of view, the theoretical (*śāstra*), or the practical (*sampradāya*), dealing with music as it was performed at particular points in history.

In many ways this division (like the scholarly enterprise itself) highlights the social, intellectual, and practical boundaries of literary and applied musical activity. To this day, musicians still transmit orally the knowledge and information required to perform Indian music—instrumental and vocal technique, repertoires of ragas, talas, and individual compositions, formal structures, performance practices, and pedagogical technique. The presentation of practical information in the form of instructional and scholarly texts is the work of Indian writers who tend to treat a subject as a theoretical science, and show a proclivity for organizing and categorizing the diverse range of human, natural, and supernatural phenomena.

The theoretical/practical bifurcation of Indian scholarship is useful, but should be viewed with flexibility, since topics overlap and the study of one inevitably leads to another. Theoretical topics include acoustics and tuning systems, instrument structure and categories, aesthetics, the cosmological and spiritual significance of music (in Western terms, speculative music theory), and melodic and rhythmic principles—raga and tala. Writers since 1300 have also been increasingly concerned with contemporary musical performance; they provide insights into the practical conventions of musical form, instrumental technique, melodic ornamentation, improvisation, and concert structure. Beginning in the nineteenth century, these descriptions were often consolidated in the form of more or less comprehensive instruction manuals for various instruments. Establishing criteria for judging good performance (that is, music criticism) could be considered both a practical area of scholarship and a theoretical one, as it relates to the topic of aesthetics. Some of the early writers in this period offered notated repertoire (usually very skeletal), a highly practical enterprise that expanded markedly in the twentieth century.

Another important branch of scholarship has dealt with the social aspect of music history, describing important musicians, collecting anecdotes and lore, and describing the social context of music and musicians. Visual art has provided a key source for studying the development and history of musical instruments as well as for insights into the social context of musical performance. The Western and Western-influenced ethnomusicological approach of the late twentieth century forms a scholarly area of its own, incorporating a variety of approaches and perspectives. Perhaps the most significant twentieth-century development is the study and archival storage of sound recordings.

GENERAL FEATURES OF SCHOLARSHIP

Throughout this historical period—though to a lesser extent in the twentieth century—writers exhibited a concern for the continuity of musical tradition, and tried to reconcile contemporary practice and theory with ancient theory. Music normally undergoes change in any musical culture, and undoubtedly did so quite radically in India between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, but Indian theorists seem to have had difficulty letting go of old ideas and generating new ones that would more accurately account for contemporary practices. Sarngadeva's thirteenth-century treatise, the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, itself a consolidation of ancient music theory and tradition, casts a particularly long shadow in this respect, as it became the standard by which most writers worked for several centuries.

This concern for the continuity of musical traditions reflects the respect for tradition that is general in Indian culture. Key treatises such as the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and Bharata's second-century work, the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* appear to have functioned similarly to revealed sacred scriptures (*śruti* in Hinduism), which writers comment on and supplement (*smṛti*). Throughout the period, writers of theoretical treatises frequently followed Sarngadeva's seven-chapter format and quoted portions of his text to establish their authority and to retransmit his original statements. In general, by

following Sarngadeva's format, the early writers produced comprehensive works discussing speculative theory, tuning, features of the tonal system, raga classification, performance practice, ornamentation, improvisatory techniques, compositional forms, tala, instruments, and dance. Many treatises served mainly to restate the ideas of previous writers, but they show varying degrees of emphasis and often include important exceptions, details, or supplementary sections that provide new insights into a topic.

Across the broad range of subjects within Indian musical scholarship, perhaps the most common threads in the literature of the entire period were a pervasive focus on tuning theory and the definition and categorization of the existing raga repertoire. On the whole, writers increasingly tended to treat music as a unique activity, distinct from its traditional role as a component of dance (*nṛtya)* and theater (*nāṭya*).

The earliest scholarship on periodization remained consistent until a decisive shift in the mid-sixteenth century, which established theoretical and practical approaches common to the Hindustani and Karnatak traditions today. The late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw vast political changes as a result of British colonization and marked another phase of scholarship, showing increasing European involvement while laying a practical foundation for Indian (especially Hindustani) music as it entered the age of recording technology. In the twentieth century, the diverse nature and enormous quantity of research can be seen roughly as forming two halves: early Indian and British studies, and the thoroughly international contributions made and influenced by Western ethnomusicologists after 1960. Sources on Indian music through this time period are in Sanskrit; Farsi; vernacular Indian languages, particularly Hindi and Urdu; English; German; and French.

SCHOLARSHIP FROM 1300 TO 1550

Texts and commentaries on the *Saṅgītaratnākara*

Scholarly writings of this period generally reinforced the ancient canon, deliberately consolidating earlier scholarly views; they particularly reflected and commented upon Sarngadeva's thirteenth-century treatise, the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. At least seven such commentaries emerged during this time, constituting almost a genre of scholarship in themselves (figure 1). These early sources are all in Sanskrit, and are significant for several reasons. Their authors often quote or draw upon sources that are now lost; they clarify obscure passages in treatises that may reflect the oral tradition of the period; and they occasionally provide insights into contemporary practice and theory by a method of comparison with classical models. Modern scholars have tried to piece together this complex jigsaw puzzle of somewhat random source fragments, sources quoted in other sources, and bits of contemporary information likely considered incidental and digressive by the original authors.

A treatise by the Jain author Sudhakalasa, *Saṅgītopaniṣad-sāroddhāra* (c. 1350), together with Parsvadeva's twelfth-century work, *Saṅgītasamayasāra,* made important contributions to early scholarship; the writers describe a tradition that differs in some ways from that of the *Saṅgītaratnākara,* supporting the notion that musical practice and theory were not entirely uniform during this period. Unlike most music treatises of the time, Sudhakalasa's points forward with its discussion of tala, including the kind of definitive drum patterns that later find currency in the prescribed drum syllable patterns (*ṭhekā*) of Hindustani talas, and with its iconographical personifications of ragas (*rāgmālā*)—an approach that would occupy Hindustani scholars from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Two other significant treatises are commentaries on the *Saṅgītaratnākara.* Simhabhupala's *Sudhākara* (c. 1330) basically paraphrases and clarifies Sarngadeva;

FIGURE 1 Some important Indian treatises, 1300–1550.

Title	*Author*	*Date*	*Language*
Sudhākara	Simhabhupala	c. 1330	Sanskrit
Saṅgītopaniṣad-sāroddhāra	Sudhakalasa	c. 1350	Sanskrit
Gunyat al-Munyat	Anon.	c. 1375	Persian
Saṅgītaśiromaṇi	under Sultan Malika Shahi	1428	Sanskrit
Kalānidhi	Kallinatha	c. 1450	Sanskrit
Saṅgītarāja	Kumbhakarna	1453	Sanskrit
Lahjat-i Sikandar Shāhi	Umar Sama Yahya	c. 1500	Persian
Mān Kutūhal	Man Singh	c. 1500	Hindi

the writer adds little of his own by way of supplementary material, but draws on other earlier sources. Kallinatha's commentary *Kalānidhi* (c. 1450) is valuable for its additional insights into contemporary practice in his native Vijayanagar (in modern Karnataka), especially with regard to raga. Kallinatha's work is generally more critical and incisive than Simhabhupala's.

Scholarship sponsored by aristocratic patrons

The patronage of royalty and nobility has played a major role in Indian musical scholarship. The Muslim ruler Sultan Malika Shahi organized a conference of musicologists to review and edit his musicological manuscript collection into a single volume, which resulted in the *Saṅgītaśiromaṇi* (1428). The work, in Sanskrit, follows Sarngadeva's seven-chapter archetypal format. It reveals little about contemporary practice, focusing instead on concordant points of the ancient texts: descriptions and classifications of ragas and compositional forms according to the ancient *grāma-jāti* scale system—which was at that time no longer relevant. The text is significant, however, for it includes treatises now obscure or lost, and reflects the cooperative rapport that often existed between Hindu and Muslim musicians and music scholars. The chapter on compositional form provides details not found elsewhere.

The *Saṅgītarāja* (1453), written by or under the direction of King Kumbhakarna of Rajasthan, is a large compilation of musical theory. The work draws heavily upon the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Saṅgītopaniṣad-sāroddhāra*, and also refers to the *Saṅgītaśiromaṇi*. Because of its large size, only two chapters of the *Saṅgītarāja* have been published, but these contain many details that both corroborate other works and provide fresh insights into lost sources. Kumbhakarna is credited with other musicological works, including a commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, but the *Saṅgītarāja* seems to stand as an untapped resource for future scholarship.

Around 1500, the first translations of Sanskrit sources into vernacular and foreign languages appeared, including the Hindi *Mān Kutūhal*, compiled under the patronage of the Hindu raja Man Singh, and Umar Sama Yahya's *Lahjat-i Sikandar Shāhi* in Persian. This attraction toward translating sources marks a growing interest in musical scholarship beyond a Sanskrit (and Brahmin) readership, with vernacular translations reaching out to an unprecedentedly large audience. Not only was Sanskrit an exclusive, erudite language, but most practicing musicians were illiterate. Even the literate minority probably would not have been able to read Sanskrit.

SCHOLARSHIP FROM 1550 TO 1780

A greater number of treatises appeared during the first half of this period than during the second half: many of them expounded fresh approaches and ideas (figure 2). The Karnatak/Hindustani division is clearly apparent; while there are some interesting cases of overlap, most treatises from this time onward are generally affiliated with one

Around 1550, the rise of scholarship on the Hindustani musical tradition coincided with the establishment of the Mughal empire and its court patronage of music.

FIGURE 2 Some important Indian treatises, 1550–1940.

Title	*Author*	*Date*	*Language*
Svaramelakalānidhi	Ramamatya	c. 1550	Sanskrit
Sadrāgacandrodaya	Vitthala	c. 1590	Sanskrit
'Ain-i Akbarī	Abu Fazl	1597	Persian
Rāgavibodha	Somanatha	1609	Sanskrit
Caturdaṇḍī Prakāśikā	Venkatamakhi	c. 1620	Sanskrit
Saṅgītaśudha	Raghunatha Naik	c. 1620	Sanskrit
Saṅgītadarpaṇa	Damodara	c. 1625 (Hindi trans. 1673)	Persian
Saṅgītapārijāta	Ahobala	c. 1650 (Persian trans. 1724)	Sanskrit
Tuhfat al-Hind	Mirza Khan	c. 1675	Persian
Saṅgītasāramṛta	under Tukkoj II	c. 1730	Sanskrit
Saṅgītsār	under Maharaja Pratap Singh	c. 1800	Hindi
Naghmāt-i Āsafī	Mohammad Reza	1813	Persian
Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha	S. M. Tagore	1875	Sanskrit
Saṅgīta Sampradāya-Pradaśinī	Subbarama Diksitar	1904	Telugu
Hindustānī Saṅgīt-Paddhati	V. N. Bhatkhande	1910–1932	Marathi
Kramik Pustak-Mālikā	V. N. Bhatkhande	1920–1937	Marathi

or the other tradition. Scholarship of the period describes practices and advances theories that establish direct continuity with the modern tradition. The dominant topics are the definition and classification of the contemporary raga repertoire. Three basic approaches to classification emerge: according to scale type (Karnatak *mela*, Hindustani *ṭhāṭ*), iconographic and poetic personification (*rāgmālā*), or position in a hierarchical structure of raga families. Karnatak scholars were largely concerned with developing a tightly structured system based on scale types, while the Hindustani tradition maintained a looser and more subjective conception of raga characterized by iconographic and familial categorization. Summary discussions in English of treatises from this period may be found in Gangoly (1989) and Bhagyalekshmy (1991).

Scale-type raga classification

Early sixteenth-century musicians and scholars of Vijayanagar developed a raga classification system based on scale type (*mela*), first described by the writer Ramamatya in *Svaramelakalānidhi* (c. 1550). A series of treatises from Tanjore further refined the concept, the most significant being *Caturdaṇḍī Prakāśikā* (c. 1620) by Venkatamakhi, whose system, with slight modifications, prevails to this day in the Karnatak tradition. Venkatamakhi theoretically posits seventy-two scale types (*mela*), each capable of generating many ragas [see KARNATAK RAGA]. Following in the schol-

arly tradition of speculative theory, the author numbers each and associates them with particular deities and cosmological correspondences (the moon, winds, seasons, Vedas, directions, and so on). His discussion of scale types also includes verse descriptions, showing an affinity with Hindustani practices. The *Saṅgītasāramṛta,* written under Tukkoj II (c. 1730), further paves the way to modern Karnatak theory by refining theoretical ideas dating back to Sarngadeva and synthesizing them with contemporary practice.

Iconographic and family raga classification

Around 1550, the rise of scholarship on the Hindustani musical tradition coincided with the establishment of the Mughal empire and its court patronage of music (except during the rule of Emperor Aurangzeb, r. 1659–1707). Hindustani scholars adopted and advanced approaches to raga classification based on iconographic and poetic personifications that dated back to Sudhakalasa (fourteenth century) and Matanga (ninth century), and on categorization according to gender as discussed in Narada's *Saṅgītamakaranda* (c. eleventh century). The latter text was possibly a precedent for linking raga performance with specific times of day, a doctrine that many music theorists, particularly Hindustani writers, have been developing ever since [see HINDUSTANI RAGA].

The family system of classification generally posited six main ragas, each with five subordinate ragas (*rāgiṇī*), resulting in a thirty-six-mode system. The essential duality of the *rāg/rāgiṇī* scheme was masculine/feminine (lord and lady, husband and wife). Especially after 1600, iconographic and verse representations usually accompanied descriptions of raga families (figure 3). Writers generally listed the relationship and presented the verse iconography without attempting to explicate the musical structure of the ragas. By the standards of the Karnatak *mela* scheme and Western scientific sensibilities, the *rāg/rāgiṇī* taxonomy is imprecise. But the extramusical associations are deeply rooted in Indian speculative values, where music exists in the continuum of a greater cosmological harmony. This perspective places more value upon (and focuses attention toward) the subtle and ultimately inexplicable inner essence of a raga, and how this corresponds with the essence of other seemingly disparate phenomena. As with many expressions of Hindu and Sufi metaphysics, this approach downplays exterior forms that veil the true inner nature of things.

FIGURE 3 A *rāgmālā* verse iconography for *rāgiṇī megh malhār*, from Rajasthan, c. 1725. (Shirali 1977:50). Courtesy of the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Mumbai.

Damodara's *rāg/rāgiṇī* classification, in the *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* (c. 1625), gained wide currency and by 1800 had become the standard system. Damodara's work is essentially a *rāg/rāgiṇī* compilation with verse iconographies; his classification system is based on the legendary school (*mata*) of Hanuman, a system of obscure origin that had not previously been documented. Translated into Hindi in 1673, the *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* became influential among both Indian and early European scholars. In the *Saṅgītapārijāta* (c. 1650, translated into Persian in 1724), Ahobala likewise based a raga classification on the Hanuman *rāg/rāgiṇī* system. He was also perhaps the first to describe intervals in terms of string-length divisions, although a treatise by Hrdaya Narayana Deva from the same period features this as well. The work devotes attention to performance time and sentiments associated with particular ragas.

Interaction of Hindustani and Karnatak scholarship

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a significant number of Karnatak scholars migrated northward seeking patronage, and the resulting interaction between the two musical traditions produced treatises somewhat ambiguous in their traditional affiliation. The biography and writings of Ahobala (author of the *Saṅgītapārijāta*) suggest that this writer may have been a Karnatak scholar who moved north and wrote about

Hindustani music (Powers 1980). A similar but smaller migration of Northern scholars moving south completed the exchange, and musical practices that shared characteristics of both traditions may well have existed in the sixteenth century. A key scholar of this mold is Pundarika Vitthala, whose *Sadrāgacandrodaya* (c. 1590) lies on the cusp of both traditions, and who was among the first writers to introduce the concept of scale type into the Hindustani tradition. His other works point more decidedly toward the North: *Rāgamālā* (1576) follows the Hindustani system of raga family classification with verse iconographies, but also includes descriptions of their musical structure; his *Rāgamañjarī* (c. 1600) mentions Persian modes and notes their correspondence with particular ragas.

Another important figure straddling Hindustani and Karnatak traditions is the Telugu author Somanatha, whose Sanskrit work *Rāgavibodha* (1609) is significant for openly acknowledging the normality of musical change. Like Vitthala, Somanatha describes ragas in terms of scale type and provides verse iconographies. But unlike authors of other *rāgmālā* sources, Somanatha provides a theoretical basis for the visual raga representation. He also provides detailed notations of the short improvisatory introductions *(ālāp)* to various ragas, as performed on the vina, which shed light on raga structure as well as on other general aspects of raga performance such as ornamentation, variation, development, and instrumental technique. Somanatha's repertoire of ragas has modern equivalents in both Karnatak and Hindustani traditions, highlighting his pivotal historical position—and modern authors variously claim him to be a Karnatak or Hindustani scholar.

After initial contacts in the fourteenth century, or possibly earlier, Muslim rulers and scholars showed considerable interest in Indian music. The *'Ain-i Akbarī* (1597), Abu Fazl's Persian chronicle of the Emperor Akbar's Mughal court, includes a summary of classical Indian music theory, and documents the movements, origins, and social status of court musicians, as well as their repertoire, and various aspects of the social context of musical activities. The work describes a multicultural court, where many of the musicians were from South India and Persia, reflecting both the general historical situation and Akbar's own outlook. Musicians were expected to know the styles, repertoire, and texts of Hindustani, Karnatak, and Persian traditions. There is no contemporary scholarly equivalent on the scale of this chronicle, but effects of the musical interaction quite likely trickled into scholarly perspectives. A portion of Mirza Khan's *Tuḥfat al-Hind* (c. 1675) compiles Indian music theory, chronicles musical patronage and other lore, and lists several *rāg/rāgiṇī* systems and Persian modes.

SCHOLARSHIP FROM 1780 TO 1900

European involvement

Missionaries and travelers were the first to provide Europeans with descriptions of Indian art and music as early as the late seventeenth century. Although their documentation was not always scholarly, their works provide early source material for the study of Indian music history. Indeed, these early descriptions of Indian music are part of a literature that was truly global. Accounts of "Customs and Habits of Local Inhabitants" appeared, covering every region visited by European missionaries, settlers, and traders. European scholarship in Indian music was fostered during the Enlightenment, a philosophical movement of the eighteenth century that emphasized essential human equality and the value of rational and systematic research.

Along with the more practical enterprise of colonial expansion, the Enlightenment sparked European interest in exotic cultures. Writers glorified the naiveté of "the noble savage," sheltered from the complexities of modern European

society. They also showed respect for the great ancient civilizations of the East, whose impressive histories and cultural legacies dated back millennia before the rise of Europe. But their glory was in the distant past, and European writers viewed contemporary Eastern cultures as being in a state of total decline, a historiographic bias that, in addition to the ethnocentric claim of European superiority, is pervasive throughout the early European literature on Indian and other non-Western musics.

English authors, both travelers and colonial administrators, wrote the vast majority of this literature. In 1835, when English became the official language of British India, the language itself became an important agent, shaping Indian scholarship for both European and Indian writers, and establishing a unique dialectical process between Eastern and Western approaches that henceforth characterized scholarship. Just as Latin functioned as the language of scholarship in medieval Europe, providing a common ground for scholarly discourse, English became the language in which both Indian and European scholars addressed an international audience. English supplanted Sanskrit, texts of which become increasingly rare after the late 1700s; Indian-language texts were usually in a vernacular. To this day, English is the primary means of communication between Indians from diverse areas of the subcontinent whose mother tongues are among the countless dialects and different language families. The pragmatic sharing of this common language certainly results in the exchange and sharing of ideas.

Early European scholars

Sir William Jones (1746–1794), a famous judge in Calcutta, made the first significant European scholarly efforts in Indian music. After founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, Jones was among the first Europeans to learn Sanskrit and translate key Sanskrit texts. He recognized the close relationship between Sanskrit and classical Greek and Latin, and posited the existence of the Indo-European language family, thereby contributing to the foundation of comparative philology and linguistics. The notion of Indian and Western civilizations sharing a common heritage aroused Western interest in Indian music; from the Western perspective, Indian music was perhaps a surviving relative of the irretrievable musical traditions of classical Western antiquity, and could shed light on them. Jones wrote on a wide range of topics. His article "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus," published in *Asiatic Researches* in 1792, drew scholarly interest toward Indian music by showing that it deserved respect and attention (Tagore 1965:123–160). The article was reprinted several times, and was translated into German in 1802. Jones's scholarly efforts reflected biases in European historical writing, showing interest only in the ancient texts, for example, not in existing practices. This partially reflects the traditional, canonical values of some Indian writers themselves, as evident in their Sanskrit treatises.

Asiatic Researches became the venue for further articles on Indian music, which increased in scope and methodological precision: Francis Fowke's article "On the Vina or Indian Lyre" (1788) is a short but very precise description using increasingly objective methods (Tagore 1965:191–197). Fowke was an early example of the European musician who admired and grew deeply interested in Indian music, one of the many who would later emerge.

The path of "proto-ethnomusicology" among European writers took an interesting turn in the person of Augustus Willard, whose *Treatise on the Music of Hindoostan* (1834) set some remarkable precedents (Tagore 1965:1–122). Apparently, Willard himself learned to play Indian music, an advantage for scholarly methodology and perspective (sometimes called bimusicality) that immediately sets his work apart from all other European efforts before the second half of the twentieth century. Willard was also interested in contemporary practice, not ancient theory. Taking a stance that

English scholarship generally focused on Hindustani music; it was not until 1891 that an important European study of contemporary Karnatak traditions was written.

later became the fundamental credo of modern ethnomusicology, Willard conducted fieldwork with "living professors" and "famous performers" both Hindu and Muslim who, though illiterate, possessed vast amounts of knowledge about music. Finally, Willard's overall tone and outlook on Indian music was generally positive, thus contrasting sharply with the condescension of much European scholarship of the time. Like seminal works in other fields in the past, Willard's book was not well received by his contemporaries, who minimized its contribution or simply ignored it.

Throughout the nineteenth century, European scholarly writing on other topics of interest appeared in Orientalist journals published in Europe and India. Musical instrument studies, translations of historical documents (often only portions of large works), and ethnographies, as well as works on Indian music history, the nature of Indian scales and tuning theory, and Vedic chant were published in this period. General music histories and encyclopedias appeared in Europe written by armchair scholars who, having neither traveled nor experienced for themselves the musical cultures they studied, wrote comprehensive descriptions of non-Western traditions based on the research of others. There were volumes on India, usually drawing heavily on Jones and Willard, as well as on a mélange of Far Eastern, Middle Eastern, African, and New World traditions, in an attempt to write music history from a more universal perspective. Works such as those of William Stafford (1830), François Fétis (1869), and Adrien de La Fage (1844) represent the most complete nineteenth-century collections of world music data.

English scholarship generally focused on Hindustani music; it was not until 1891 that an important European study of contemporary Karnatak traditions was written by Charles Day. Day was a captain in the British army and provided a cogent summary of South Indian music history and theory, ancient and contemporary. He drew comparisons between European and Hindustani music and instruments, and also offered observations on the social aspects of performance. Day's description of classical music as being in a state of decline at the hands of the Muslims reinforced the European historiographic bias that equated the Karnatak tradition with primordial Hindu practices and greater "purity"; this attitude persists today among musicians and some scholars. Filled with tables, transcriptions, and illustrations, Day's study presented the most comprehensive and reliable account of Karnatak music written up until that time, and set new standards for subsequent work.

Indian writers

Around 1800, there appeared a Hindi compilation of ancient and contemporary theory called the *Saṅgītsār*. This work, which presented descriptions of current Hindustani ragas, was the result of a conference of musicians sponsored by Maharaja Pratap Singh of Jaipur (1779–1804), in the Indian tradition of royal patronage and interest in musical scholarship. Mohammad Reza's Persian treatise *Naghmāt-i Āsafī* (1813) continued the scholarly focus on Hindustani raga families but rejected the

rāga/rāgiṇī classification in favor of a closed system showing clear scalar affinities between family members. His work crystallized ideas that had been first proposed in the *Saṅgītsār*, and set a precedent in establishing *bilāval ṭhāṭ* (a "source scale," identical to Western C major) as the foundation scale to which all ragas relate, representing a shift from the principal D-modal, or Dorian, scale (*grāma*) of earlier theories, and which still remains a part of modern theory.

A treatise published in the mid-nineteenth century in Lucknow, *Ma'dan al-Mūsīqī* 'Mine of Music', represents a significant crossing point of scholarly styles and goals, as well as an amalgam of contemporary music theory and practice. Written around 1860 by Hakim Mohammad Karam Imam, a courtier of Wajid Ali Shah, this text also provides insight into the local history of late-eighteenth-century Lucknow (see translated portions in Vidyarthi 1959).

The East-West dialectical process in nineteenth-century scholarship is clearly exemplified in the contributions of Raja Sourindro Mohun Tagore (1840–1914), a wealthy intellectual who published extensively. Although his goal was to present to the world research that showed Indian music in a positive light, in contrast to the general European tone, he adopted the methods and approaches of European musicologists. His anthology of early European writings is still the single most useful source of early English-language scholarship, providing important examples from the breadth of the field (Tagore 1965); it is also valuable in showing how the origins of modern ethnomusicology predate the alleged founding of the "Berlin School" by at least a century.

In this early stage of the East-West dialectic, authors typically understood either Indian or European music, but not both; this mutual ignorance resulted in distortions and misunderstandings on both sides. Tagore contradicted the stereotype, for he grew up playing Indian music and later studied Western music performance and theory. He had a practical as well as a scholarly bent and established music schools in Bengal for which he wrote elementary handbooks for a variety of instruments. Many such introductory handbooks by Indian authors were published in the late nineteenth century, often including musical notation and illustrations, and aimed mainly at literate amateur musicians. They offer interesting grass-roots insights into late-nineteenth-century musical practice, values, and culture. Allyn Miner's *Sitar and Sarod in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (1993) draws on this interesting literature, which has otherwise received little scholarly attention.

Tagore's scholarly works, as well as the books and instrument collections he donated to individuals and organizations in Europe and North America, influenced Western musicologists. Alexander Ellis's influential article "On the Musical Scales of Various Nations" (1885) was indebted to Tagore's work and resources. Tagore's account of the four categories of musical instruments described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* laid the foundations for the Sachs-Hornbostel system of instrument classification, which appeared in 1914. His *Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha* 'Theory of Sanskrit Music' (1875), written in Sanskrit, reignited interest in ancient treatises among Indian and European scholars, resulting in translations and critical editions of important treatises and (more commonly) portions of larger texts. B. A. Pringle continued Tagore's function as a catalyst in the East-West dialectic: his *History of Indian Music* (1894) emphasized details of contemporary performance, using both practical musical jargon and Western scholarly methods and citations.

SCHOLARSHIP FROM 1900 TO 1960

Indian scholarship

The most influential early-twentieth-century Indian scholar of Hindustani music was

undoubtedly Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande, who lived from 1860 to 1936 [see INSTITUTIONAL MUSIC EDUCATION: NORTHERN AREA]. Bhatkhande combined an Indian emphasis on reconciling theory and contemporary performance practice with Western methods of fieldwork, data collection, and musical notation (though not actually Western staff notation). His early work, which he published as the four-volume *Hindustānī Saṅgīt-Paddhati* (1910–1932), analyzed raga in terms of both contemporary practices and the ideas of certain sixteenth-century treatises, some of which he had discovered and published himself (whole or in part). He traced the emergence of the modern tradition through history and contended that these treatises were still relevant to modern musical practice, whereas the authoritative *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Saṅgītaratnākara* were not.

A system of raga classification that Bhatkhande devised and described in many of his works has been very influential. In accord with the South Indian theories he had studied, Bhatkhande based his system on ten scale types (*ṭhāṭ*). The concept of scale types was hardly new to Northern scholarship. Various earlier writers had discussed it (as far back as Vitthala in the sixteenth century), but despite the widespread and adamant criticism leveled at it for being too simplistic and arbitrary, Bhatkhande's system gained wide currency among theorists and performers, both Indian and Western. Indeed, Bhatkhande's influence is evident in much of North Indian scholarship since his time, and his works are considered authoritative by Western scholars.

Bhatkhande traveled extensively and collected enormous amounts of orally transmitted musical repertoire from master performers, including many old and rare compositions. He notated the basic structure of some two thousand examples in *sargam* (Indian sol-fa) notation, which he collected over decades and published in six volumes as *Kramik Pustak-Mālikā* (1920–1937). In this work, Bhatkhande also discusses ragas according to both classical sources and his own views, providing many structural details.

Anthologies of repertoire from both Northern and Southern traditions appeared with increasing frequency during the first half of the twentieth century. Subbarama Diksitar's treatise *Saṅgīta Sampradāya-Pradarśinī* (1904) established notational techniques and presented transcriptions of orally transmitted Karnatak repertoire as well as biographies of important eighteenth- and nineteenth-century musicians. Omkarnath Thakur's *Saṅgītâñjalī* (1938–1962) is the most comprehensive collection of notated traditional Hindustani music, including both compositions and improvisatory models. Among the publications of Vishnu Digambar Paluskar (1872–1931) are collections of compositions, although these do not hold great scholarly significance. Paluskar promoted Indian music, especially among middle-class Indians, by establishing music schools and organizing public concerts. He encouraged a more accessible musical aesthetic that was criticized by more traditional musicians and connoisseurs (Deodhar 1973).

British scholarship

In the early twentieth century, European scholarship was still primarily British and generally retained nineteenth-century orientations, albeit viewing Indian music with increasing respect and insight. Western writers conducting fieldwork in India were usually there already in some colonial capacity, although in this period travel to India with exclusively musical research agendas became increasingly common among scholars. General introductions to Indian music, covering history, theory, and practice, continued to appear (Fox Strangways 1914; Popley 1950). Fox Strangways's study, although based on only eight months of field research, was the most sympathetic, astute, and comprehensive of these. With charts, illustrations, and hundreds of accu-

rate and meaningful musical examples, and written with a keen objective sense, it became a classic of twentieth-century Indian musical scholarship. Fox Strangways was also among the first to warn Indians of the danger to their music posed by Westernization.

General features

Indian and European scholars, such as K. B. Deval, C. S. Ayyar, and Ernest Clement, shared an interest in the mathematical analysis of modal structures and tuning apart from their practical musical context, and often combined these analyses with references to classical texts. Out of this focus grew a small scholarly movement extending through the 1940s (especially with Alain Daniélou) and into the 1960s. Jairazbhoy and Stone's article on intonation in music (1963) still stands as a milestone in this long scholarly heritage. The authors used oscillograph measurements to show a wide range of discrepancies in contemporary intonation and cast doubt on the relevance of the theoretical topic of interval measurement in general.

Some Indian and European writers have also shared a renewal of interest in the philosophical, spiritual, and cosmological aspects of the Indian musical tradition. This branch of study was highly developed in traditional Indian theory, beginning with Matanga's *Bṛhaddeśī*, and was also important in medieval Europe, where it was known as speculative music theory. Twentieth-century studies of speculative music theory vary greatly in their scholarly standards—some are merely vehicles for the subjective views and beliefs of the author—but this renewed emphasis and focus is a significant twentieth-century development. Hazrat Inayat Khan (1882–1926), a Chishti Sufi and musician, wrote many articles and short books that contain his personal glosses on important traditional speculative doctrines from written and oral sources (Khan 1983). His personal mission, apparently the dying wish of his spiritual master, was to communicate his knowledge of Sufism and music to the Western world. He lectured extensively in Europe and North America, and his presentations and writings remained influential among speculative authors through the 1960s and to this day [see MUSIC AND INTERNATIONALIZATION]. Dane Rudhyar, a French composer who settled in the United States in the 1920s, was among the first Europeans to reexamine speculative doctrines, largely from a theosophical perspective, in his *Rebirth of Hindu Music* (1928). Alain Daniélou, who undertook extensive fieldwork in India between 1935 and 1950, included in his studies of raga and instrument tunings speculative perspectives that were generally rejected by subsequent scholars. Although there are indeed problems with his mathematical explications and his use of ancient sources, Daniélou's work should be reassessed for its contribution to the interpretation of speculative doctrines.

SCHOLARSHIP IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Ethnomusicology

In general, toward the end of the twentieth century scholarship has continued with the topics of previous periods but has developed them extensively with new approaches and perspectives (figure 4). Since 1960 contributions by Western and Western-educated ethnomusicologists have become more frequent and prominent. Whether dealing with India or any other world tradition, this ethnomusicological literature has generally tended toward a normative perspective—establishing and describing phenomena that are commonly shared or "normal" within a certain aspect of a musical culture; idiosyncrasies are noted but not emphasized. Since the late eighteenth century, Western scholars have attempted to establish a bird's-eye view of the vast field of Indian music; much of the literature since the 1960s can be viewed as a

When viewed collectively, master's theses and Ph.D. dissertations form probably the most significant body of late-twentieth-century scholarship in Indian music.

FIGURE 4 Some twentieth-century approaches (mainly ethnomusicological) to studying Indian music.

Performance Practice	*History*
Bimusical	Comprehensive surveys
Coauthored	Documenting oral history
Repertoire	Micro-histories
Instrument-centered	Translation/edition
Repertoire-centered	
Theory	*Speculative*
Tuning	Explicating classics
Tala/raga catalogs	Documenting oral traditions
Recording	*Nonclassical Music*
Collective/archiving	Devotional music
Artist discography	Folk music
	Popular music

more objective redrafting of this approach. The primary vehicle of this scholarship is graduate-student writing—master's theses and Ph.D. dissertations. When viewed collectively—whether in their original form or revised as books—such theses and dissertations form probably the most significant body of late-twentieth-century scholarship in Indian music.

Practical performance

A prominent feature of recent ethnomusicological scholarship is the increase in studies of contemporary practice reflecting the performer's perspectives and sensibilities. Indian performing artists themselves, such as T. Vishwanathan (1975) and L. Shankar (1974), have made such valuable contributions. Also contributing to this trend are Western musicians and scholars who have acquired proficiency in the performance of Indian music; the archetypal figure of this group is Jon B. Higgins (1939–1984), who studied and performed Karnatak vocal music (Higgins 1994).

The most interesting and potentially fruitful aspect of this performance-oriented research is coauthored studies that focus specifically on the dialectic between the performing bimusical ethnomusicologist and the artist. These studies depart from the normative stance of earlier research and reflect the complexities of individual artists. The authors aim for a more precise view of a tradition by examining the significance of the individual in both aesthetic and scholarly terms. This scholarly approach toward the Indian artist is analogous to Western musicologists' pattern of focusing on the works of "great composers," not merely surveying Baroque music or Romantic

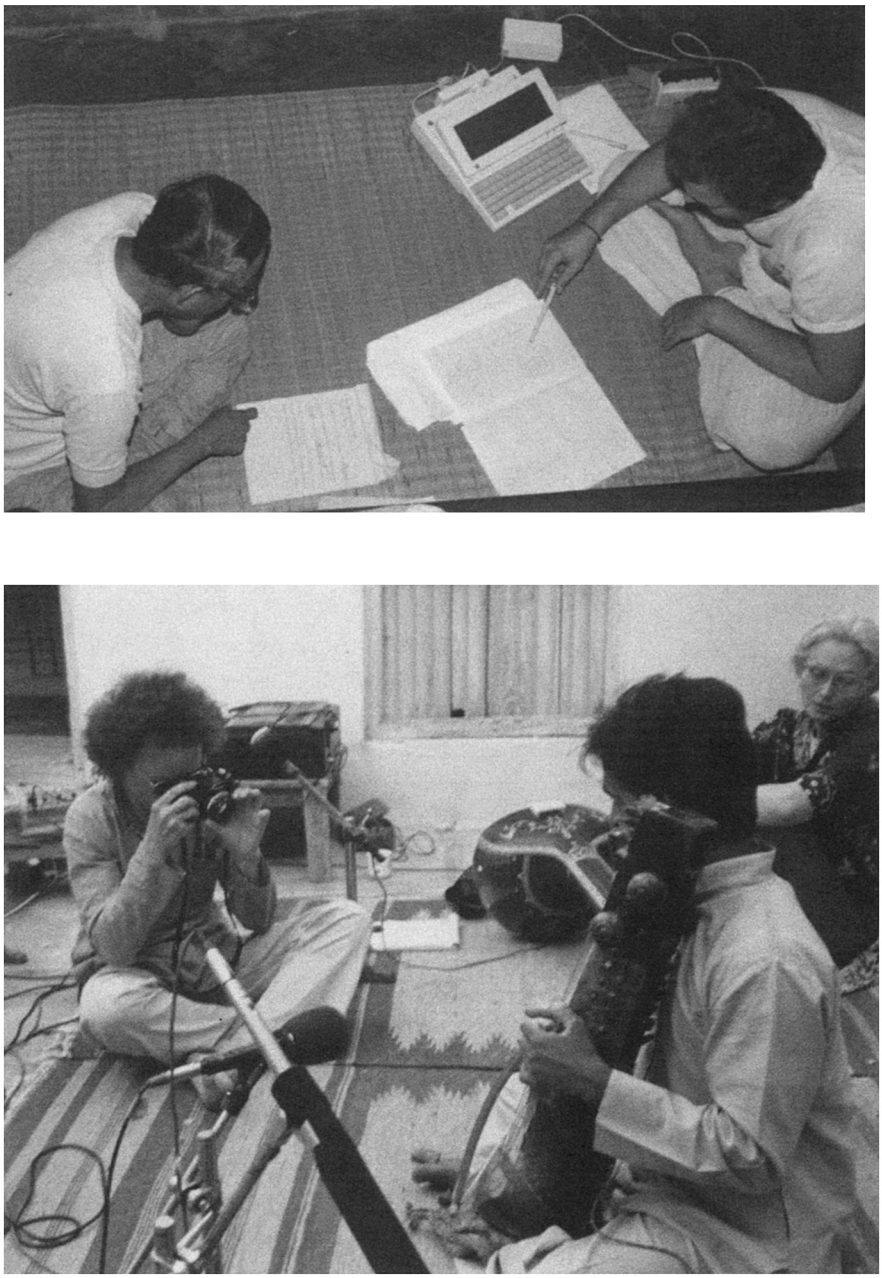

FIGURE 5 Western ethnomusicologists conducting field research with Indian musicians: *above*, James Kippen working with informant Bhupal Ray Choudhuri of the Lucknow tabla *gharānā*, using the Bol Processor system to elicit notes for tabla improvisation, Calcutta 1986; *below*, Joep Bor documenting the *sāraṅgī* 'bowed fiddle', Vrindavan 1984. Photos by James Kippen.

piano repertoire. Neil Sorrell's work with the great *sāraṅgī* 'bowed fiddle' master Ram Narayan exemplifies this approach, which has likewise been adopted in many recent Ph.D. dissertations on Indian as well as other musical cultures (Sorrell and Narayan 1980).

Many studies focus on the history, technique, repertoire, performers, and performance practice of particular instruments or vocal styles (figure 5); to some extent these works are contemporary extensions of the late-nineteenth-century instructional manuals by Indian authors. Like the earlier manuals, current studies on Indian instruments also document oral histories and traditions. They tend not to be coauthored, but often represent the style of a particular individual or lineage. Western and Indian writers and perspectives are fairly equally represented in this branch of scholarship, from which many valuable studies have emerged (Brown 1965; Kippen 1988;

Manuel 1989; T. Sankaran 1994; R. Shankar 1968; L. Shankar 1974; Wade 1984). The six-volume *Saṅgītāñjalī* (1938–1962) by the great Hindustani vocal master Omkarnath Thakur can be viewed as an important contribution to this movement as well.

Studies in nonclassical music

Ethnomusicologists have further extended musical scholarship to include areas outside the realm of art music, contrasting sharply with the classical exclusivity of almost two millennia of musicological scholarship. Several studies have dealt with devotional singing (Beck 1996; Capwell 1986; Qureshi 1986; Slawek 1986, 1988), a vital aspect of Indian musical activity throughout history that remained largely neglected. Vedic recitation has also received ethnomusicological attention (Howard 1986). The vast and rich traditions of Indian folk music, often overlapping with the category of devotional singing, are only beginning to be documented (Deva and Kuckertz 1981; Henry 1988; Thompson 1987), as are the musical traditions of tribal (*ādivāsī*) populations (Babiracki 1991; Wolf 1997). Furthermore, popular music such as Hindi film song (Arnold 1991) and other genres are also now within the purview of musical scholars (Baily and Oliver 1988; Manuel 1993).

Speculative and historical studies

The revival of speculative music theory in the early part of this century has continued in later decades, with the examination of Indian doctrines figuring prominently in general studies of the topic by popular Western authors such as Peter Hamel (1984) and Joachim Berendt (1987—directly influenced by Hazrat Inayat Khan). Prem Lata Sharma's contributions are more erudite and focus exclusively on India; her translation (with R. K. Shringy) of *Saṅgītaratnākara* (1978–1989) includes valuable and extensive glosses on the long speculative portion of the first chapter, based on traditional Indian sources and perspectives. Suresh Chandra Dey's *The Quest for Music Divine* (1990) surveys the topic from the perspective of the Indian scholarly tradition. Much recent scholarship on this topic comes from disciplines other than musicology, such as philosophy, religion, and Indian literature.

Meanwhile, primarily historical studies have appeared that build on the work of earlier scholars. Both Indian and Western authors have regularly published comprehensive music histories. Bhatkhande's historical work was a particularly influential contribution; other important Indian authors include R. Ayyangar (1972), O. C. Gangoly (1989), O. Goswami (1957), Swami Prajnanananda (1981), and P. Sambamurthy (1963–1973). Among the important Western scholars of Indian music history are Emmie te Nijenhuis (1992), Harold Powers (1980), Lewis Rowell (1992), and Richard Widdess (1995).

Harold Powers (1965) points out the differing scholarly standards of Western and Indian writing on Indian music. He expresses Western readers' criticisms of certain aspects of Indian scholarship, such as insufficient documentation of references and the assumption of familiarity with early sources. The author explains that these criticisms reflect both a Western scholarly bias and the nature of traditional Indian scholarship: in the latter, scholarly protocol assumes knowledge of important texts and considers general references to previous writers sufficient, making fully documented citations unnecessary. Powers notes that medieval Western scholarship made the same assumptions. These factors have led to occasional East-West conflicts that are usually the result of varying or incompatible standards on both sides. A common bias among South Asian and Western scholars is the great attention paid to Sanskrit

sources; studies of Persian and Urdu sources are comparatively few and present an open field for further research.

Another form of historical study is the translation of musical sources, begun in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and continued by both Indian and European scholars such as Alain Daniélou (1959), Manomohan Ghosh (1951–1961), C. Kunhan Raja (1945), Prem Lata Sharma and R. K. Shringy (1978–1989), and Emmie te Nijenhuis (1992). Throughout the twentieth century, Indian scholars have continued to produce authoritative and critical editions of Sanskrit sources in the original Sanskrit; although most important treatises have now been edited and published, much work remains to be done. Some scholars have focused on a narrow historical period or on the history of a particular region or musical lineage (*gharānā*), often drawing considerably upon oral histories for which the scholarly studies serve as documentation. Indian authors, and occasionally musicians, have realized the value of this work and made significant contributions, such as Vilayat Hussain Khan's *Saṅgīt-gyoṇ ke saṃsmaraṇ* (1959). Musical studies focusing on other topics, particularly instrument-based studies, can contribute to the documentation of oral history and tradition as well. Daniel Neuman's *The Life of Music in North India* (1980) is an interesting consolidation of various *gharānā* histories, offering a general view of the social structure of the professional Hindustani musical milieu. Wim Van der Meer (1980) presents an excellent survey of Hindustani music in the twentieth century with effective treatment of various aspects of history, musical structure, and performance practice.

Sound recording, archives, and journals

As in all areas of musicology, the development of recording technology marks a new era in the study of Indian music. The implications of this development are vast, and scholars have yet to appreciate them fully or to realize their potential even partially. The historical perspective that early-twentieth-century sound recordings afford can hardly be overstated. Sorting through the accumulated documentation (wax cylinders, vinyl records, and cassette tapes) of almost a century of recorded Indian music in all its variety and complexity—Karnatak, Hindustani, and regional styles, and the individual styles of masters, students, innovators, and mediocre amateurs—is surely a task that will occupy scholars in future centuries. Sound recordings have facilitated the study of transmission, musical change, stylistic features, raga and tala definitions, compositions, and improvisational processes in ways hitherto impossible. Scholarly archives of Indian music exist in the West at universities and in private collections, and in India at the American Institute of Indian Studies and the Sangeet Natak Akademi in Delhi, and the National Centre for the Performing Arts in Bombay, among others. But vast archives remain in private hands and are generally inaccessible to the public, such as the vaults of record companies and of the state-run All India Radio, and private connoisseur collections. Although Kinnear has performed important discographical work (1985, 1994), systematic documentation and preservation of huge, historically significant collections are urgently needed. Awareness of this enormous research area recently emerged when in 1990 the Society of Indian Record Collectors was formed in Bombay to preserve, promote, and research collections of recorded Indian music. Furthermore, recording companies regularly produce reissues of portions of this legacy, though as a commercial and not a scholarly enterprise.

Finally, in addition to the steady production of academic dissertations and the publication of books on Indian music, significant articles appear regularly in Western ethnomusicology journals, particularly *Asian Music*. Prominent journals in English

Throughout the twentieth century, Indian scholars have continued to produce authoritative and critical editions of Sanskrit sources in the original Sanskrit; although most important treatises have now been edited and published, much work remains to be done.

devoted exclusively to Indian music include the *Journal of the Music Academy, Madras*, the *Journal of the Indian Musicological Society*, the *Indian Music Journal*, the *Sangeet Natak Akademi Bulletin*, and *Bansuri*.

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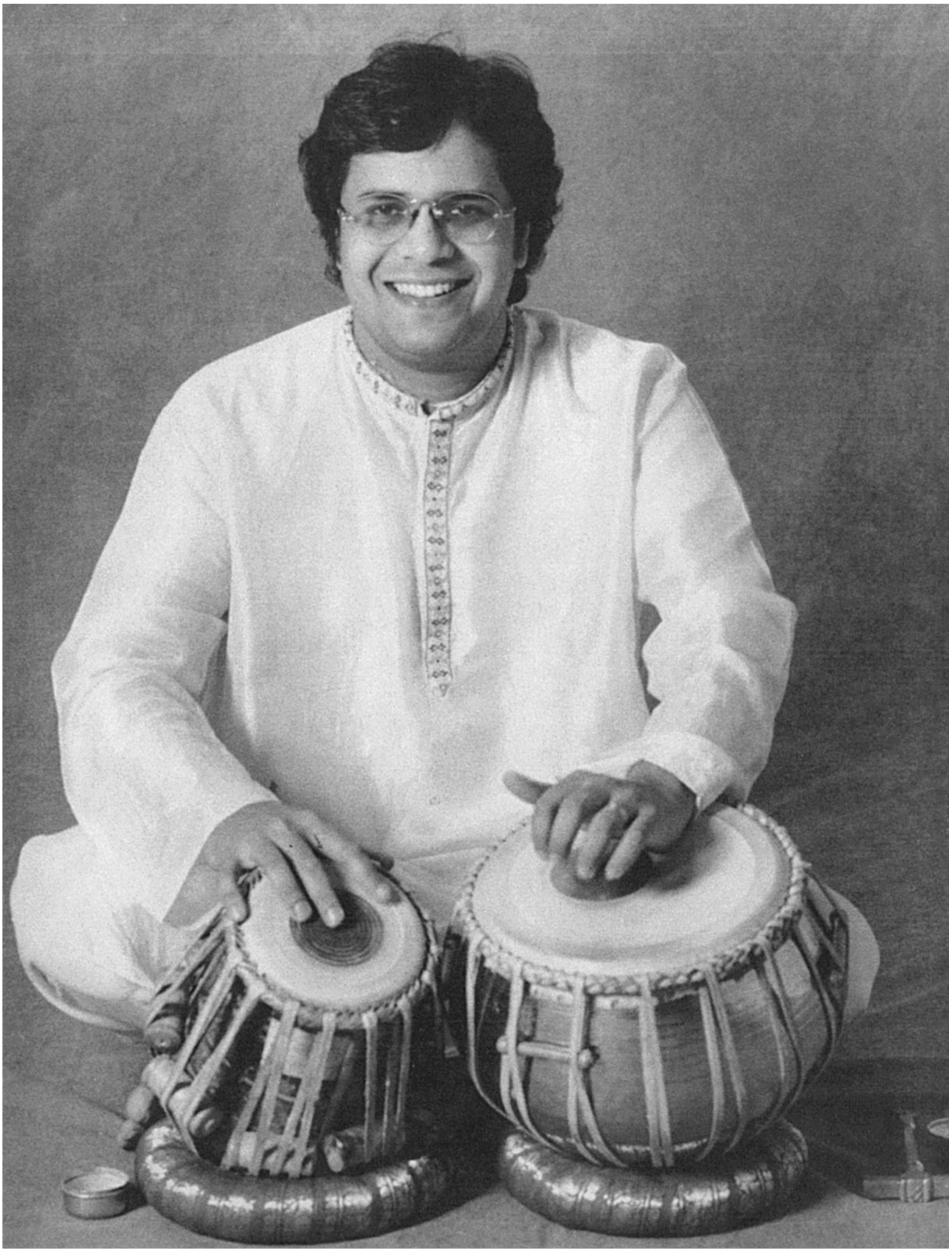
Part 2
Issues and Processes

The world of South Asian music and dance expresses the diverse cultures, societies, economies, religions, history, and politics of this geographical area. To penetrate this world, to gain an understanding of South Asia's performing arts, we must ask questions not only about the music itself but about the musicians, the audiences, the performance contexts, the modes of learning, the impact of modern technology and communications, and much more. The issues and processes addressed here, grouped within broad areas such as music in religion and ritual or music learning and transmission, reflect questions asked by scholars, students, and performers, as well as the topics they consider important. These discussions open up for us the world of music and dance in South Asia; they also remind us that other topics remain unexplored and other questions unanswered.

In Indian cinema, producers highlight the juxtaposition of modernity and tradition by drawing on historical, religious, and mythological themes to create popular films and film songs. *Sant Tukaram* (Prabhat Films, 1936), on the life of a sixteenth-century Marathi poet-saint (shown here in the film lyric booklet), attracted huge crowds to cinemas throughout India. Photo courtesy Alison Arnold.



The Classical Traditions

As in the West, classical art music in South Asia has been passed down through many generations of performers, and has become a music based on ancient practices yet encompassing modern ideas. Unlike its Western counterpart, classical music in India gradually diverged into two separate streams from the thirteenth century on, resulting in today's Hindustani musical tradition in the north and Karnatak tradition in the south. Both these Indian musical systems have highly developed theories, musical forms, performance contexts, and stylistic lineages that pass on practical knowledge orally. Musicians from the two traditions occasionally perform together, integrating performance styles and genres; for the most part, however, the two classical traditions remain separate, cultivated by artists and students devoted to maintaining their musical heritage.

The tabla drum pair is a fundamental component of most Hindustani vocal and instrumental music ensembles. The tabla player Bikram Ghosh of Calcutta, who studied with his father and guru, Pandit Shankar Ghosh, performs regularly as a soloist and as an accompanist for major Hindustani artists, including Pandit Ravi Shankar and Ustad Ali Akhbar Khan. Photo by Greg Plachta, courtesy Music of the World.

Hindustani Raga

George Ruckert
Richard Widdess

The essence of what is meant by the term *rāga* (a Sanskrit word) in Indian music is latent in much of the rest of the world's music. In its broadest sense, the word refers to the "color," and more specifically the emotion or mood produced by a particular combination or sequence of pitches. Etymologically, the word is related to *raṅga* 'color'; a Sanskrit saying from classical times is often quoted: *rañjayati iti ragaḥ* 'that which tinges the mind with color is a raga'. Throughout history and in most cultures musical experience has been clearly tied to emotional meaning and affect. From the earliest writers on music to those of the present day, discussion of mood and color and the production of emotion in music has often been a starting point. The ancient Greeks related states of mind to their modal theory; the Chinese connected music with Confucian ideals of serene harmony with nature; the Indonesians refer to the unique color of each gamelan's sound; the West Asians to their multicolored *maqām*; Western medieval composers talked of melodic color, and Baroque composers thought in terms of *Affektion;* the early twentieth-century Russian composers Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov and Alexander Skryabin had their famous color theories; and in modern music we have "the blues" at the same time that computer microchips are transforming sound instantly into color patterns.

WHAT IS A RAGA?

In a technical sense, raga can be described as lying on the continuum between a scale and a mode, encompassing both straight, emotionally neutral lines of ascent and descent and a fixed song or melody full of feeling. In their abstract form, most ragas lie somewhere between these two extremes: in terms of the scale, the performer is permitted to move freely between the raga notes without the rigors of following tune patterns; in fixed compositions, however, the performer must keep to the rigid confines of a melodic grid. Most musicians spend their time in the midground fulfilling the ecstatic possibilities of compositions and dealing with the restrictions of a raga, for in this middle area they can find and exploit most of the tonal possibilities that are typical of all ragas. Tonal characteristics include transilience in the scale (ascending or descending patterns of five, six, or seven tones); observing tonal centers as well as strong and weak notes (*vādī-samvādī* and *alpatva-bahutva* relationships; see

"Theoretical Terms" below); controlling the microtonal tuning; concentrating on the emotional effect; remaining within a given range; starting and ending sections on the correct note; resting at the correct places; and, perhaps most important of all, observing the subtle melodic ornaments and features of the raga that traditionally characterize it. (If the various restrictions are glided over or ignored, mature artists consider the "picture of the raga" faulty and carelessly executed.)

We still face the question, What is a raga? Simply, it is "some combination of notes which charms the mind and produces the moods of love, joy, pathos, heroism, and peace" (Ali Akbar Khan, personal communication). Such a definition actually belongs to no particular culture. However, a North Indian classical raga is a musical complex with a great history and significant spiritual implications, with extramusical associations regarding time, personality, and mood, and which, as it is iterated again and again, runs the gamut of tonal structure from simple scale to fully formed composition. A raga performance may be a huge structure, permitting large-scale expansions in time and melodic variation; or it may be quite small and confining, with no more than a short exposition of its delicate miniaturism. The realization of a raga through performance reveals the nature of the balances of pitch and mood inherent in it. Any single performance may or may not faithfully portray its character and potential affect. Even in the hands of a master musician, one raga may take repeated renderings to reveal its seemingly endless charm and developmental possibilities. For a less experienced musician, singing or playing any raga is fraught with pitfalls as one attempts to avoid such errors as bringing in other ragas of similar pitch content, introducing wrong balances or tunings, neutralizing or destroying the mood, or blurring the differences among ragas by subjecting them all to the same sort of development. The understanding of the movement of a raga is gained through years of association with a teacher, and the student practices hundreds of compositions in order to develop the discernment and understanding of how ragas differ one from another as well as the ability to realize all the possibilities within a single one.

When we hear the term *rāga*, several visual images may come to mind: a sitar player and a tabla player sitting on an oriental carpet in the concert hall, blazing away at a breakneck tempo; a detailed medieval miniature painting in the Persian style depicting a prince and his lady in a flowery garden; a solitary vocalist, accompanying himself on a stringed drone instrument, humbly going about his daily meditative music practice. Each image conveys an important facet of the elusive musical pattern called a raga—a kind of personal musical inquiry into pitch and rhythm that has come to be enhanced with courtly refinements and which has gathered to itself important extramusical and spiritual associations. It is also a devotional yoga nurtured on Indian soil and at the same time the musical substance of public concerts and recordings produced for the entertainment of audiences worldwide. It is a vehicle for the beautiful expression of breathtaking virtuosity, intoxicated flights of fancy, and profound feeling. And there are no perfect models, for ragas are never rendered twice the same way.

To restate the musical parameters, a raga is an abstract, tonally centered combination of pitches, often as simple as a scale but more often a series of melodic motives within a scale; in a few cases, these can add up to a complete composition—a song, for example—with fixed melodic contours and rhythmic implications. Some ragas use a series of motives that may span a range of from three to ten notes, while others are conceived of as full-blown melodies. In the former case (by far the most prevalent) the performer combines and rearranges the motives when rendering the raga; in the latter case (more common in folk melodies and in certain ragas of the classical tradition) a larger contiguous melody is fragmented in the rendering. In general, the word *rāga* implies a set of performance practices by which these abstract melodic ker-

nels are revealed in formulaic patterns. In this sense, a raga is a map a musician follows in his or her creation of a musical performance: a catalog of melodic movements that the artist unfolds, details, and expands while following a traditional performance format that has been passed down orally from teacher to student.

Musical practice has been evolving in India for more than three thousand years, and the origins of raga date back to the chanting of the Vedas, the scriptures of the Aryans, who settled in modern India's Ganges River plain, probably moving from original settlements in the Indus Valley, in about 1500 B.C. The four Vedas (the Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda, and Atharvaveda) form an oral tradition maintained and performed by specialists, the priests of the Brahmin caste. The hymns that make up the Sāmaveda were chanted on the seven notes of the diatonic scale, later named Sa, Re, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, and Ni. Scholars suggest that the Vedas may also have absorbed melodies of pre-Aryan origin (Tarlekar 1985). Classical Indian music inherited many features of these Vedic foundations: it is an oral tradition largely of monophony with spiritual dimensions whose theory and practice have been maintained and developed by specialists over the centuries. A central part of the theoretical evolution has been the grammatization of the melodic concepts collectively known as raga.

The pool of musical theory and melodies, eventually classified under the raga system, is immense in terms of diversity both of character and context, having developed over such a great time span and containing vastly differing cultural admixtures. Because of the wide variety of sources, it remains difficult to come up with a simple and satisfactory definition of raga. When direct description becomes elusive, metaphors of water recur continually in the speech of musicians describing ragas: "This raga is a swift-moving stream; that one a deep lake; another a majestic river; and overall, the music is a vast ocean." Besides the Vedic systems of musical thought, the music of the dance and theater played a central role in the formation of early melodic theorizing. Regional musical styles, including what we might now term folk songs, have always teemed with great variety in India and have been sung in the hundreds of languages and dialects. Ever since the fifth-century treatise of Matanga, the *Bṛhaddeśī*, this vast literature of regional music has been acknowledged as vital to the classical traditions, and has continued to inform them. To make sense of this very profusion of melodic types was at the heart of the early theoretical systems.

There are four broadly based areas from which the ancient and modern ideas and practices of raga must be discussed. First, there are the many extramusical associations that have always been germane to the spiritual and cosmic understanding of music in India. These include the religious bases, as well as time and mood associations, natural cosmologies, and poetic and visual images suggested by the music. Second, there is a vast theory of raga pitch configurations that details the scales, tonal centers, and principal movements in a terminology that has much in common with both early Greek and Western medieval theory. Third, there are the more pragmatic dimensions of raga, which result from the observation of practice throughout the centuries—in short, raga seen through performance styles. And fourth—though for a trained musician primarily—is the tradition of passing on the technique and literature of raga through the *guru-śiṣya paramparā* (teacher-student teaching tradition), a grasp of which is essential to understanding the ethos and balance of the first three. In this article reference is made to two ragas in particular, *jaunpurī* and *darbārī kānaḍā*, to show how these components interrelate. Preceding these sections is a general introduction to the terms used in Hindustani raga theory.

THEORETICAL TERMS AND CONCEPTS IN THE HINDUSTANI RAGA TRADITION

Despite the number of theoretical works available, a definitive statement of raga the-

ory in the Hindustani tradition does not exist. Of course the practice is definitive, but this varies in detail from one *gharānā* 'stylistic school' to another; attempts to encapsulate or conceptualize the practice in words are a secondary phenomenon. Nevertheless, a number of generally accepted basic concepts can be identified. Terms for these concepts have generally been adapted from the Sanskrit theoretical tradition, often with some modification of meaning to reflect changes in both system and practice since ancient or medieval times.

Śruti and *svara*

Fundamental to raga theory is the distinction between *śruti*, the infinite gradations of pitch that the voice (and most Indian melodic instruments) can produce, and *svara*, the selected pitches from which scales, ragas, and melodies are constructed. *Śruti* means that which is audible, in the sense of the smallest perceptible increment of pitch. The earliest treatises (the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Dattilam*) laid down the number of *śruti* in the octave, or rather, "heptad" (*saptak*) as twenty-two. This number is still accepted in principle, although it is of doubtful relevance to modern practice. Infinite gradations of pitch are employed in the decorative or expressive inflection of each *svara*, and in different ragas the same *svara* may be given a microtonally higher or lower intonation (*uccār* 'pronunciation'). Such inflections and intonations may help to distinguish one raga from another, but cannot be reduced to a rigid system.

As in Karnatak music, there are seven scale degrees (*svara*) to the octave; they have Sanskrit names (see figure 1), of which the abbreviations (Sa, Re, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni) are used as a solmization or "oral notation." Sa is the tonic (*kharaj*), and Pa is always a perfect fifth above the tonic, if it is present in the raga; both pitches may be included in the drone, but if Pa is not present in the raga, it may be replaced in the drone by Ma or Ni. The other pitches are movable. In their basic (*śuddh*) positions, the *svara* approximate the Western major scale; in addition Re, Ga, Dha, and Ni may be flatted by a half tone (more or less, depending on context), and Ma may be similarly sharped, to give twelve notationally equally spaced positions (*svara-sthān*) in the octave. (See "A sampling of Hindustani ragas in letter notation" below for a description of the Hindustani notation system.)

Ṭhāṭ and raga

Different selections of the twelve *svara-sthān* provide the basic scales (*ṭhāṭ*) of Hindustani music. Theoretical systems have almost always been based on seven-note scales; Bhatkhande's system of ten heptatonic *ṭhāṭ* is the most successful such system for Hindustani music, but it is important to remember that such systems are derived from the ragas as performed in practice, not the reverse. Thus individual ragas may diverge from the *ṭhāṭ* to which they are theoretically assigned by taking fewer than seven pitches or by taking both positions of the same pitch (*śuddh* 'natural' and *komal* 'flatted' or *tīvra* 'sharped'). The scale of a raga is often stated theoretically in both ascending (*āroh*) and descending (*avaroh*) forms, since different pitches may appear in ascending and descending contexts; the order of pitches may deviate from strict scale order, in which case they are *vakra* 'crooked'.

A raga is a mode, as that term is currently understood in ethnomusicology: a concept operating between the domains of "scale" and "tune." It is not a tune, because an infinite number of tunes can be based on the same raga; it is not a scale, because numerous ragas can be based on the same scale. A raga is distinguished from a scale, and from other ragas based on the same scale, by its unique array of melodic features, which give rise to a unique aesthetic sentiment (*rasa*). Whereas the analyst might define a raga in terms of a basic scale and the different functions of its constituent degrees, to the performer it is an aesthetic whole, identified mainly by its melodic motifs or phrases.

Still important to musicians today is the "time theory": each raga is to be sung at a specific time, in one of the eight divisions of the day and night, or one of the six seasons of the year.

Vādī and *samvādī*

From an analytical perspective, an important feature of many ragas is the relative degree of importance or emphasis given to different pitches. Normally at least two pitches in any one raga are made prominent by being sounded clearly and frequently, whereas other pitches will be passed over more lightly or occur only in limited contexts. In many ragas, two prominent pitches are found a perfect fourth or fifth apart, balancing one another in the lower and upper halves of the scale. One pitch of such a consonant pair may be more prominent than the other, in which case it will be regarded as the *vādī* 'speaker', while the other is termed the *samvādī* 'co-speaker, consonant'. Other relatively strong pitches may be termed *anuvādī* 'assonant', while *vivādī* 'dissonant' refers to a note foreign to the basic scale that is used judiciously in certain phrases. Related terms are *alpatva* and *bahutva*, denoting the "weakness" and "strength" of particular pitches. Even a relatively weak (*alpa*) pitch, one that is not prolonged or otherwise emphasized and that appears only in limited contexts, may be essential to the character and identity of the raga. Thus, two ragas may be identical in scalar material, but the different disposition of *vādī, samvādī,* and other emphasized and nonemphasized pitches will give rise to (or result from) different melodic phrases and distinct tonal and aesthetic identities.

The theory of *vādī* and *samvādī* is problematic, however, in that there are often more than two emphasized pitches in a raga, and hence more than two pitches that could theoretically be identified as the *vādī-samvādī* pair. For example, the tonic and fifth (Sa and Pa) may be important points of repose, while other pitches (such as Ga and Ni) are emphasized during the course of the melody. There is no infallible rule by which the *vādī* may be identified, unless it is given overwhelming prominence by the performer. More commonly, there is an interplay of emphases on different pitches in different phrases or stages of improvisation. Practice is thus considerably more flexible than the theory that has been derived from it (or imposed on it).

The theoretical *vādī* nevertheless has an important role in relation to the time of performance of the raga (see below).

Motives and phrases

From the performer's perspective, a raga is identified less by scale and individual features such as emphasized tones than by the phrases and motives that belong to it and from which all melodies or improvisations are constructed. A basic outline of the raga is called *calan* 'way of moving'; *pakaḍ* 'catch' means a particular motive or phrase that encapsulates the identity of the raga. A distinction is sometimes made between phrases that emphasize the lower part of the scale (*pūrvāng*) and those that emphasize the upper part (*uttarāng*). Some motifs may be common to a group or "family" (*kula*) of ragas, although the members of such a family need not all use the same basic scale; thus the motive Sa re ga re Sa (C–D♭–E♭–D♭–C) occurs in both *miyāṅ kī ṭoḍī* and *bilāskhānī ṭoḍī*, but the scales of these ragas are respectively C–D♭–E♭–F♯–G–A♭–B–C

and C–D♭–E♭–F–G–A♭–B♭–C. Some ragas include an "echo" or "shadow" (*chāyā*), a phrase reminiscent of a different raga, and some are composite ragas that combine phrases from two or more independent ragas; however, as noted above, the inadvertent introduction of a phrase from a different raga is regarded as a gross error. The practitioner must learn to distinguish each raga from similar ragas with which it might be unintentionally confused: the aesthetic impact of each raga depends on the preservation of its unique melodic identity (*svarūp*).

Other features

Many other features might be cited as distinctive to particular ragas. A particular *svara* may be ornamented in a particular manner or given an especially high or low intonation. One raga may be suitable for fast, vigorous melodies emphasizing the upper register, and another for slow, contemplative melodies emphasizing the low register. Some ragas are considered to be serious (*gambhīr*) in character and therefore suitable for *ālāp, dhrupad*, or *khyāl*; others are light (*halkā*) and suitable for *ṭhumrī* and other semiclassical genres.

The quasi-emotional effect of a raga on the listener is sometimes defined with reference to the classical theory of *rasa* (literally 'juice', 'flavor', or 'essence'), according to which the connoisseur (*rasika*) derives enjoyment from savoring the mood (*bhāva*) portrayed by the performer. Nine aesthetic "flavors" are traditionally identified: love (*śṛṅgāra*), heroism (*vīra*), disgust (*vībhatsa*), anger (*raudra*), mirth (*hāsya*), terror (*bhayānaka*), compassion (*karuṇa*), wonder (*adbhuta*) and peace (*śānta*); a tenth, devotion (*bhakti*), is sometimes added (see figure 2). Theorists or musicians may describe a particular raga as evoking one or more of these "flavors," but such descriptions are subjective, not systematized; in any case the aesthetic effect of each raga is unique and cannot be completely defined in such terms.

Traditionally, ragas were believed to have magical or therapeutic powers, and to exist as divine beings whose presence or blessings were invoked by their performance. Still important to musicians today is the "time theory": each raga is to be sung at a specific time, in one of the eight divisions (*pahar*) of the day and night, or one of the six seasons (*ṛtu*) of the year. According to Bhatkhande and other theorists, the daily cycle of ragas is correlated with scale type and with the position of the *vādī*. The latter is in the lower half of the scale in evening ragas, in the upper half in morning ragas. A progression of scale types can be seen in both morning and evening ragas; and ragas for dawn or dusk (*sandhiprakāś* ragas) often reflect the transition between day and night by using both *śuddh* 'natural' and *tīvra* 'sharped' forms of the fourth degree (Ma, that is, F and F♯). In practice, there are exceptions to these theoretical correlations; but musicians tend to observe the traditional timings at least approximately, and in the correct sequence. One rarely hears a morning raga in the evening or vice versa—or even an early evening raga after a late evening raga.

EXTRAMUSICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF RAGAS

To refer to the cosmic and natural imagery associated with Indian musical traditions as extramusical is to at once betray an outsider's orientation. Those familiar with Indian scholarship know the predilection of early Indian philosophical writers for classifying and organizing their knowledge with endless taxonomic lists that included intricately worked cosmologies covering the remotest corners of theology, philosophy, and natural science. For example, a recent edition of the beacon thirteenth-century musical treatise *Saṅgītaratnākara* (Shringy and Sharma 1978) begins with no less than a hundred pages explaining the relationships of sound, celestial sources, and the human body. Lewis Rowell, in his essential study of Sanskrit writings on music, refers to this in condensed fashion (Rowell 1992:6):

> The most powerful and generally accepted ontological conception of music is rooted in a profound cultural metaphor, in which the emanation of vocal sound from deep within the human body has been linked with a process of creation as a "bringing forth" of the divine substance that lies at the heart of our innermost being.

Modern Indian musicians and theorists tend to suspend comment on the practical importance of this type of metaphysical elaboration; however, far from a refutation, such silence usually only hides great reverence for the infinite possibilities of music and a profound respect for the forefathers of the tradition, even if the specifics of the ancient and detailed lists mystify most modern musicians and music lovers. Contemporary practitioners' more casual inquiry into the past does not invalidate their veneration: at the very heart of the tradition lies a reverential sense of the sanctity of antiquity. In music, as in other areas of Indian tradition, old is infinite. Old is good. Old is true.

A second aspect of the larger, more cosmic idea of raga is the notion that the rendering itself is considered a spiritual practice, the practitioner a yogi whose discipline consists of meditatively managing a devotional musical process. The unfolding of the raga is often likened to that of a flower opening or seed awakening and growing. Although this dimension of raga belongs properly to the discussion of performance practice below, it should be noted that the ultimate nature of this musical practice is considered by many to have the lofty personal goal of *mokṣa*—liberation, salvation, and release. Hence the musician practices a multifaceted role: beyond his or her worldly duties as a performer and entertainer, he or she is on a very personal spiritual path, in which the ragas are the mantras, the sacred formulae of meditation. The musician has taken a role of priest and *guni* 'learned one', who maintains a sacred literature and storehouse of technique, as suggested in the words of the legendary instrumentalist Allauddin Khan (Dhar-Chowdhury 1982:41):

> Do you know what true music is? To a musician, music should be the Supreme Deity who will be worshipped with the eagerness of an undivided mind, and tears shall be his ritual ingredients.

A central idea in the cosmology is the sacredness of sound itself (a concept that derives from Vedic thought); *sruti* 'hearing' the scriptures was considered as important as actually understanding them. Indeed, due to the archaic language, poetic constructions, and formulaic permutations of the verses, the meaning of any given Vedic recitation could easily be lost on everyone but its professional reciter. From ancient times, sound (*nāda*) itself has been looked on as a manifestation of the divine, and has been regarded as *Nāda-brahman* 'the language of God'. A recital of a raga still begins with this principle in mind (Shringy and Sharma 1978:108–109):

> We worship *Nāda-brahman,* that incomparable bliss, which is immanent in all the creatures as intelligence and is manifest in the phenomenon of this universe.

Thus was the learning of the ancient writers summarized in the famous thirteenth-century treatise *Saṅgītaratnākara.* Sarngadeva, its author, drew on a written theoretical tradition, already at least a thousand years old, that provided him with detail in its descriptions and, more important, flexibility in its guidelines, thus enabling the tradition to accommodate future additions to the literature and practice of music.

FIGURE 1 Notes and their associated colors, animals, and gods, according to the first-century treatise *Nāradīyaśikṣā*.

Name of Note	Color	Source	Patron
Ṣaḍja (Sa)	lotus colored	six parts of the body	Brahma
Ṛṣabha (Re)	parrot colored	bull	Agni
Gāndhāra (Ga)	golden	goat	Soma
Madhyama (Ma)	jasmine colored	curlew	Vishnu
Pañcama (Pa)	black	cuckoo	Brahma
Dhaivata (Dha)	yellow	horse	Kshatriyas (warriors)
Niṣāda (Ni)	all the above	deer	Yakshas (demons)

One of the earliest pieces of writing devoted to music was the first-century *Nāradīyaśikṣā* (Banerji 1983), a short treatise on the chanting of the Sāmaveda that associates the seven pitches (generally accepted as a diatonic scale, probably the medieval Dorian mode) with colors, animal sounds, and gods (or other patrons) (figure 1).

Since there was no necessity to develop the concept of absolute pitch at this time, exemplified by such later notions as the Western A = 440 cycles per second, these relationships must be understood as relative pitches. The natural associations of pitches in the *Nāradīyaśikṣā* was a tradition that was greatly augmented by later writers. By A.D. 1500, there were several such systematic cosmologies in circulation, often with contradictory color and natural associations. (For a comparative chart, see te Nijenhuis 1993:6)

Mood: The theory of rasa

The most important of the early treatises that include discussions of music is the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which is attributed to a scholar named Bharata who lived during the early centuries of the Christian era. Though dealing primarily with the dramatic arts, it included chapters on the combined arts of singing, instrumental music, and movement (dance and drama), calling them *saṅgīt*, a word used by later authors to refer to music alone. In the course of trying to correct perceived excesses in sacred-drama performance practice, Bharata described the dramatic and musical arts in great detail. In chapter 6 of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, he codified the aesthetic nature of the arts of *saṅgīt* into a theory of *rasa* (Sanskrit, 'juice', 'sap'), which is essentially a list of eight primary moods (Rangacharya 1986:39) (figure 2).

The similarities between figure 1 and figure 2 are striking, in associating pitch with colors and deities on the one hand, and moods on the other. Abhinavagupta, a later commentator (eleventh century), added a ninth *rasa*: *śānta* 'peace', stating that a dramatic performance would be complete if it included the eight *rasa* and left the audience with the feeling of peace. The concept of the *nava rasa*, the classical "nine moods," has been a central aesthetic feature of the performing arts ever since.

FIGURE 2 The eight moods (*rasa*) and their associated colors and deities as listed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Rasa	Translation	Color	Deity
śṛṅgāra	love	dark blue	Vishnu
hāsya	humor	white	Pramatha
raudra	anger	red	Rudra
karuṇa	compassion	pigeon color	Yama
vīra	valor	yellowish	Mahendra
adbhuta	wonder	yellow	Brahma
vībhatsa	disgust	blue	Mahakala
bhayānaka	fear	dark	Kala

Perhaps for ease of classification, writers assigned relationships to ragas according to their male and female aesthetic qualities, grouping them into families with husbands, wives, sons, and grandsons.

But the moods of Bharata and Abhinavagupta were designed to describe dramatic arts and dance; musicians used only a portion of this list to identify the moods of a raga. Thus one finds no angry ragas, or disgusting, fearful, or wondrous ones (or rather, every raga is filled with wonder). The dramatic effect of performance in one of the latter *rasa* can certainly be enhanced by music, but there are no specific ragas that embody them. Love, compassion, laughter, valor, and peace: these are the moods the classical sources use to describe raga affect.

Musicians today also normally use several other words to describe raga moods. Among these are *bhakti* 'devotion', the more pietistic aspect of the *śṛṅgāra* 'love' mood. The link between bhakti and *śṛṅgāra* is age old in Indian philosophy, personified in the love-play (*līlā*) of Lord Krishna and the milkmaids of Vrindavan, a favorite metaphor of the bhakti poets of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. Their poetry is frequently used in song texts, and this playful ambiguity of mood, a union of divine and erotic love, is a favorite of musicians.

Tyāga 'renunciation' is used to describe those ragas suited to personal devotions. Often a musician will suggest that only certain compositions within a raga convey strong elements of bhakti and/or *tyāga;* they may also maintain that the sincere feelings of these two moods cannot be conveyed in concert situations, owing to the conflict of private devotion with public entertainment. The word *chamatkāri* 'marvelousness' describes the effect of wonder or surprise achieved by a raga rendition in which a certain note or phrase is delayed and then presented with special care as a sudden revelation. In addition, ragas are described in terms of their basic nature (*prakrit*): either *gambhīr* 'solemn' or *chanchal* 'restless'. Of our chosen examples, *rāg darbārī kānaḍā* is considered to be a *gambhīr* raga; it is played in the late evening, and its moods are those of devotion, peace, pathos, and heroism. A regal quality, here spoken of as "heroism," can be inferred from the name *darbārī kānaḍā* 'Southern court'; the raga was said to have been a composition of the famous Tansen of the grand court of the sixteenth-century Mughal Akbar the Great. *Jaunpurī* is less grand, although it is still devotional, and is rendered in the late morning. Its moods are pathos and love.

In their personal vocabularies, most musicians no doubt use many recurring terms to explicate the emotional content of particular ragas. Figure 3 presents an overview of ancient and modern words that give a general feeling for the way modern musicians categorize the emotional content of the ragas.

Mood	Translation
gambhīr	serious, solemn
chanchal	restless, flighty
bhaktī	devotion, devotional love
śṛṅgāra	romantic love, eroticism
karuṇa	compassion, sadness
śānta	peace
hāsya	comical, laughter
vīra	heroism, valor
tyāga	renunciation, sacrifice
chamatkāri	marvelousness, surprise

FIGURE 3 Common words used to describe the emotional content of a raga.

Gender and time associations

From a group of treatises written between the seventh and eleventh centuries (the *Sangītmakaranda, Panchamasārasamhitā, Nātyalochana*, and *Sarasvatīhṛdayālaṅkāra*), we can see that writers had started to classify ragas according to male and female qualities, to assign them to particular times of day, and to give them specific ritual functions (Gangoly 1989:21–31). A great number of the melodies listed are simply so many names to modern musicians—it is important to note that the

ancients did not supply us with the pitch content. Nevertheless, from this time period we do begin to hear the names of the ragas still current today: *bhairav, bilāval, bhupāla, shrī, sāranga, kāmbhōjī,* and the like.

Perhaps for ease of classification, these writers assigned relationships to the ragas according to their male and female aesthetic qualities, grouping them into families with husbands, wives, sons, and grandsons. These came to be called *parivār* 'family' groupings and were quite popular in the early medieval period. Six primary male melodies (ragas) were each paired with five or six wives (*rāgiṇī*), making up a core group of thirty to thirty-six melodies that could be related to times of day, different seasons of the year, and festive functions, as well as to moods and colors. These raga personifications often became quite elaborately symbolic in character. Poetic descriptions (*dhyāna*) were written about such ragas, as for example the following regal sixteenth-century description of *rāg mālkauṁs*, from Rajasthan (Ebeling 1973:118):

> A golden crest is on his head; various sorts of ornaments glitter (on him); an auspicious lion-throne has been arranged (for him); in front of him stands a woman like gold, who has taken *pān* [betel leaf] from a most elegant *pān*-box and felicitates him with it. Behind him a female friend waves a fly-whisk. He is in a house of gold; everything is covered with gold. Happily he eats betel. His body is said to be like gold. His mind is happy—the *Malakosa rāg.*

We have no medieval descriptions specifically mentioning *rāg darbārī kānaḍā* or *rāg jaunpuri.* The following is one for a variant, *rāg kanada,* which captures some of the royal quality of *darbārī kānaḍā* (Kaufman 1968:500):

> Kanada is an impressive regal figure holding a sword in one hand and a tusk of an elephant in the other. The gods and a host of bards are always singing his praises.

By the end of the medieval period, the tradition of associating particular extramusical ideas with particular ragas had become systematized, though the system also encompassed many local variations; many painters produced visual images of ragas grouped in family series called *rāgmālā* 'garlands of ragas', which could comprise as many as a hundred miniature paintings [see RAGMALA PAINTING]. These delightful visual raga associations have always fascinated music lovers, but in the process of their elaboration during this period practical musicians seem to have been left quite far behind. Today many who become enchanted by the magic of these often exquisite miniatures are disappointed when they find that modern musicians have difficulty understanding the aesthetics and associated visual representations of earlier music.

ANCIENT WRITERS AND PITCH THEORY

The *Nāradīyaśikṣā*, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (first to second centuries, mentioned above in connection with *rasa* theory) and a companion treatise, the *Dattilam*, also provide us with our first extensive look at early "pure" music theory (Banerji 1983; Rangacharya 1986; Lath 1978). In them, the word *rāga* is not used to describe melodic formats; in fact, the word does not even appear in a musical treatise until the *Bṛhaddeśī*, possibly of the ninth century. Nevertheless, the characteristics of a number of melodic types (*jāti*) are expounded on, and these clearly are prototypical of the scale varieties later identified as ragas. Bharata, the legendary author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, illustrated his two basic scale classes (*grāma*) by comparing the precise tuning of two arched harps (*vina*); he noted the relationships of the fifth intervals when he induced slight

changes in one of the tunings. His experiment has resulted in volumes of controversial literature over the centuries, both on the exact nature of these early scales and the significance of his microtonal tunings (*śruti*).

The fact that Bharata used a harp to explain his theory helps us understand how musicians of his era thought. In playing a harp, which has strings tuned in diatonic pitch sequence, the importance of the interlocking scales (*murchhana*) is quite important: any string may be taken as the starting point for a new scale in which the order of whole and half steps is thus changed. In the same way as the Western medieval modes are successive permutations of each other, interlocking scales have continued to play an important role in the generation and interrelationships of ragas. Furthermore, they are an important aspect of performance practice: they are not realized in the same way as modulated polyphonic music, and yet they create important tonal variety within the raga by aurally suggesting alternative "tonic" notes.

Also, one cannot infer that a drone, such an essential feature of modern Indian classical music, was then in use, for although some of a harp's strings could have been plucked as drones, there does not appear to have been an imperative to return to the fundamental tone (a fixed Sa, *do*, or "tonic"). Bharata in fact described a number of possible final tones in each scale type. The drone, and hence the fundamental tone ("tonic") in its modern sense, became an essential theoretical and practical feature only in the medieval period, when plucked lutes with stopped strings had long superseded harps as the preferred stringed instruments. The *tānpūrā* (*tambūrā*), the stringed drone instrument common to the modern classical ensemble, does not appear as a regular feature in musical iconography until the seventeenth century. During the medieval period there would continue a turning away from the harp-based organizational theories of Bharata and their implied complex system of tuning.

In Bharata's time, a *jāti* system based on two scales, the *sa grāma* and the *ma grāma*, generated other related scales. The basic scale, *sa grāma*, was the same as the Western medieval Dorian mode, nearly the intervallic equivalent of a scale generated on the white keys of a piano from D to D. This is essentially the scale used for the modern-day *rāg kāfī*. In Bharata's *ma grāma*, the tuning of notes of the same name is changed slightly, generating a scale with which ragas in the modern *bāgeshrī* family may have affinities. The resulting scale system was much like the medieval modes of the West, which also interlocked in a similar fashion and were associated with different moods.

Bharata further stated that all these scales were more than simple lists of notes in ascending or descending order: each scale had dominant notes, strong notes, and weak notes. And within each scale were tones recommended as beginning and ending tones for compositions. Additionally, ideas of consonance (*samvādī*, the intervals of a fourth or a fifth) and dissonance (*vivādī*, the interval of a second) were important in early theoretical conceptions and continue to distinguish one raga from another. In *darbārī kānaḍā*, for instance, the *vādī* is Re and the *samvādī* is Pa, whereas in *jaunpurī*, the pairing is Dha and Ga. This is consistent with the usual registration of the two, for it is generally held that morning ragas have their dominant notes in the upper tetrachord (*uttarāng*, Ma to Sa), whereas evening ragas have theirs in the lower tetrachord (*pūrvāng*, Sa to Pa). In actual practice, however, these rules allow for a lot of variation, due to the sprawling growth and "intermarriage" in the raga literature. Often it is impossible to know what the *vādī-samvādī* relationship is in a raga by simply hearing, as expressed in the words of the master musician Ustad Ali Akbar Khan (personal communication):

> Each raga is like a small state. There is a king (*vādī*) who rules with the help of his prime minister (*samvādī*). But all rulers are different. In this state the ruler is

strong, in that one the council makes decisions for the king; in a third the king sleeps all day and the prime minister takes all the money. So you cannot know a raga simply by stating the *vādī-samvādī*.

We can see that many ancient characteristics have been carried over into the modern concepts of raga. When we look at the early treatises, we can find the terminology and endless lists confusing, for there are often many undefined terms, unexplained possibilities, and puzzling variations. For example, Bharata states that the final note (*nyāsa*) can come in twenty-one ways (Rangacharya 1986:121), but does not explain how. And there are of course no notated examples.

The author of the *Bṛhaddeśī*, Matanga, was the first musicological writer to use the word *rāga* for what Bharata had called *jāti*. (Sometimes his work is dated in the fifth century.) He did not make much of introducing its use, which suggests that it was in widespread circulation. His purpose was to include under the theoretical umbrella of classical music (*śāstrīya saṅgīt*) regional music and the music of "women, children, cowherds, and kings" (Sharma et al. 1992:5). We gather from his descriptions that this regional (*deśī*) music was primarily in the form of songs—what we would now call folk songs, as opposed to the sacred or dramatic music described by earlier writers. He noted the existence of transilient scale patterns of five, six, or seven notes. Matanga also introduced the term *varṇa*, referring to four kinds of melodic motion: upward (*āroh*), downward (*avaroh*), stable (*sthāī*), and meandering (*saṇcāri*). Matanga's role in India was similar to that of Pope Gregory (who was actually a figurehead for his musical scholars): both examined an existing body of literature and classified it, thereby creating a foundation for later theory—the world of raga on one hand, Gregorian chant on the other.

The great treatise *Saṅgītaratnākara*, of the 1200s, stands out as one of the last writings on the ancient theory in which no distinction is made between the two modern schools we now call North Indian and South Indian, Hindustani and Karnatak music. The *Saṅgītaratnākara* is a classic summation of early theory, which conveys a stronger feeling for the individual ragas themselves and the types of compositions based on them. Some of the vaguer concepts of Bharata become clear in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, which goes further in the elaboration of its ideas and gives many musical examples. It is clear that the author, Sarngadeva, was working with a theoretical palette that included the twelve modern pitches and described the scales in terms of melodic types (*jāti*), which omitted notes. These were the three types described by Matanga, pentatonic (*auḍav*), hexatonic (*sharav*), and heptatonic (*saṃpūrṇ*). In other words, ragas could be made up of five, six, or seven notes, in ascending or descending patterns; these could also be combined, making nine possibilities in all.

Rāg darbārī kānaḍā is said to be a *saṃpūrṇ jāti*, that is, with all seven notes in its ascent and descent. The elaborate descending scale pattern is not straight but rather *vakra chal* 'crooked movement', following a sinuous path. A straight descent—Sa ni dha Pa ma ga Ri Sa—would be considered a violation or "breaking" of the raga. *Jaunpurī* permits this straight descent of tones but omits the minor third in ascent; hence it has a hexatonic-heptatonic scale pattern (*sharav-saṃpūrṇ jāti*) (figure 4).

The *Saṅgītaratnākara* clarifies the concept of the three registers alluded to by earlier writers, and suggests features of the notation system that are still in common use: a lower register (*mandra*), indicated with a dot under the note; the middle one (*madhyam*), without any marking on the note; and the high register (*tār*), with the dot above the note. Many types of compositions are described, and quite a few notated—although the skeletal rhythmic simplicity of this notation suggests a sing-song regularity in the music that is undoubtedly misleading. Nevertheless, this beacon treatise effectively carries the ancient, flexible principles of raga into the medieval

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the specifics of the Great Tradition of ancient Sanskrit theory became less and less a part of music practice.

rāg darbārī kānaḍā
Ascent: Sa Re ^{ma}ga — ma Pa ^{ni}dha — ni Ṡa
Descent: Ṡa Ṙe ni Ṡa Ṙe ^{ni}dha — niPa ni ma Pa ni ^{ma}ga — Re Sa Re Sa

rāg jaunpurī
Ascent: Sa Re ma Pa dha ni Ṡa
Descent: Ṡa Ṙe ġaṘe Ṡa ni dha Pa ma ga Re Sa

FIGURE 4 The ascending and descending scale patterns of *rāg darbārī kānaḍā* and *rāg jaunpurī*.

period and ultimately to us. It was a primary reference point for many writers during the next five hundred years.

RAGA IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

In the eleventh century, just before Sarngadeva's era, Islamic conversions and the broad impact of West Asian culture began to have their effect on India. By the time of the generation following Sarngadev, the Ghazni (Turkish and Afghani) court of Allauddin Khilji (1293) was established in Delhi. Although the exact nature of the musical contributions of Khilji's famous court musicians, Gopal Nayak and Amir Khusrau, may be difficult to trace, clearly a new style emerged after this time, born of ancient Indian roots but with new practical ramifications—the accents and instruments of western Asia.

Medieval theorists still felt it important to build their models on the writings of the ancients as summarized by Sarngadev. They carried forth the old ideas and copied out the taxonomies, and the *parivār* system of raga classification enjoyed great popularity in the artistic and courtly imagination. However, for these writers the archaisms of ancient theory and the realities of contemporary practice were problematic; they remain so to this day. This rift was exacerbated by the cultural changes sweeping North India, as many of the most important patrons of the arts were Muslim, especially after the founding of the Mughal court in Delhi-Agra in the sixteenth century. Mughal artists set the style trends in musical presentation. At the same time that West Asian fashions were a part of court life, the traditions that these regal emperors nevertheless became immersed in for diversion and edification—and which they ultimately absorbed so thoroughly—were largely Hindu in origin. In the important spiritual realm (ever intertwined with music in India), the Hindu bhakti movement emphasized a personal devotion expressed in common languages as against a formal kind of religion presided over by a Sanskritized priesthood. A mystic branch of Islam, Sufism, also seized on the intoxicated spirit in the poetic and musical expression of a similar fervor to bend the orthodoxy of Islam toward a more tolerant and personal religion; this appealed strongly to many musicians. If Matanga in the ninth century first argued for the incorporation of the *deśī* music into the classical theory, eight hundred years later it was again the song of the people that clamored to gain entry

into the sacred spaces of the musical canon. It is to the credit of the ancient theorists that there was room for these new ideas.

Raga classification always lay at the heart of the theorists' reaction to changes in musical practice. Relating ragas to one another in family organizations (the *parivār* system) was convenient, practical, and useful for teaching. The legendary musician in the great Mughal emperor Akbar's court, Miyan Tansen, subscribed to the grouping of the Hanuman school, one of four (or more) scholarly traditions (*mat*): *Shiv-mat, Kallinath-mat, Hanuman-mat, Bharat-mat*, and so on. In the Hanuman *mat*, the six male ragas were *hindol, shrī, bhairav, megh, mālkauns,* and *dīpak*. Also in the late 1500s, the respected theorist Pundarika Vitthala suggested the list should include *hindol, shrī, bhairav, deshkār, naṭ,* and *naṭ-narāyan*; the last three ragas of the two lists are different, which makes but one illustration of the frequent disparities among classification systems. Furthermore, it is often difficult to understand the bases for such classifications. Should all morning ragas relate to *rāg bhairav* because of their similar time? Or should ragas be related by mood or pitch content? During the medieval period, music theorists started to think in terms of parent scales based solely on pitch. Ramamatya, writing in 1550, departs from the husband-wife associations in favor of father (*janaka*) scales and their offspring (*bhāsā*). In a second, later treatise by Pundarika Vitthala, nineteen parent scales are suggested.

In the seventeenth century, the separation into Northern and Southern musical styles—which had been present in the preceding centuries due to the overlay of Persian social and artistic conventions in the North—became theoretically established with the writings of Venkatamakhi, a South Indian [see KARNATAK RAGA]. This system was eventually accepted as the theoretical basis for modern Karnatak music, but the response to it has been mixed in the North. Many musicians today see it as an objective, comprehensive structure relating scales that otherwise have no logical relationship to any existing Northern system. Others use the system to find new combinations of notes, generating other new or long-forgotten ragas. Venkatamakhi's creation of two successive minor seconds in his scale system (Sa ri Ri and Pa dha Dha) was uncommon in raga literature; this, along with the sweeping away of the emotional and old family associations, was enough to render the novel system suspect to many theorists and musicians. In addition, the perennial veneration of old ideas, so basic to India, makes many musicians wary of new systems, even one like this, now nearly four hundred years old.

Other seven-tone scale systems have been proposed, such as the thirty-two-*ṭhāṭ* 'framework' system (Jairazbhoy 1995:46–47, 181–185), which systematically configures all possible combinations of sharps and flats (but only one form of each per scale) starting with a "natural" (Western major) scale. It, too, has had limited acceptance, for similar reasons: all such systems grow from mathematical permutations of the notes, and not out of a response to the musical literature.

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN RECENT CENTURIES

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the specifics of the Great Tradition of ancient Sanskrit theory became less and less a part of music practice. Part of the reason was pragmatism: why would a Muslim musician want to spend his time learning Sanskrit, an archaic language of the Hindus, when he himself was master of a living tradition within which an Islamic voice had been prominent for several hundred years? Moreover, a literature in Persian was accumulating, some of it translations of Sanskrit source materials. More immediately, it was the practice to incorporate the lessons of the ancients into the texts of special songs about music, in which the history and theory became the topic of the songs, rather than for musicians to explain these to their students. Such song texts have been used for centuries as an educational

tool by the inner circle of teachers and students; although the texts are not elaborate, they serve as springboards for discussion. As late as the 1860s, we can see that theory played a backseat role for the practical musician, as seen in this description of a lesson with the Hindu vocal master Balkrishna Bua (Deodhar 1973):

> The students got the [lessons] at the guru's residence in the morning, and more often at night. All of them, the juniors and the seniors, learnt together simultaneously. They were not permitted to sit comfortably, but had to sit in the kneeling position in a semicircle in front of the guru, seniors to the fore and juniors to the rear. Guru-ji would teach the compositions but rarely, if ever, tell the name of the raga. It was not in vogue in those days to state the rules of the raga, the ascent and descent scale patterns, the prominent scale pitches (*vādī-samvādī*), etc. Theory, latent in practice, was not analytically conceived as a separate entity to be taught to the students. They learned whatever the teacher taught, and writing the lesson was taboo. No one could ask questions, and if one were so bold as to do so, one courted expulsion from the house.

With the twentieth century came a new perspective on the ancient musical traditions. The noted musicologist, lawyer, and educator Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande looked toward the future of India and saw a need for a simpler, less cumbersome, more practical approach to theoretical matters. The age-old gulf between practice and theory still persisted, as well as the break with the written traditions of the past that had started in the medieval period and had become more strident in the eighteenth century. And looking around him, Bhatkhande saw that musicians of his era were as reluctant to part with the techniques of their craft as they were incapable of explaining the theoretical bases for them. He deemed these attitudes to be fragile postures for the maintenance of the illustrious tradition. Wishing to save the music from getting crushed by the steamroller of the emerging new world order that India was intent on joining, he developed a comprehensive, streamlined new theory and a new basis for raga classification. He collected six volumes of songs from many sources, as reference depositories for the ragas. He wrote books explaining his theoretical ideas and composed songs for students that explained the characteristics of the music (*lakśaṇa gīt*). He also opened schools throughout North India to teach the basics of music.

Most important among Bhatkhande's theoretical contributions is his system of ten *ṭhāṭ*, which has had wide acceptance. Today they are memorized by every student of Hindustani music. The virtue of his system is its simplicity; it is easily learned. He took ten common ragas and made seven-tone (heptatonic) scales in which every pitch was neutral with respect to directional implications; every scale, as a whole, was devoid of emotional or temporal associations. It is easy to see that the ragas *darbārī kānaḍā* and *jaunpurī* are related to Bhatkhande's *āsāvarī ṭhāṭ*; the basic pitch collection is the same (figure 5).

The difficulties of this system are the same ones that have plagued musicians since at least the time of Matanga (ninth century): the corpus of ragas is so vast and disparate that to relate it to ten framework scales inevitably creates a host of anomalies and ambiguities. The common ragas *bhūpālī* and *kāmod*, for example, with the pitches Sa Re Ga Pa Dha Ṡa and Sa Re ma Pa Dha Ni Ṡa (with Ma and Ga in descent), respectively, could be classified in *kalyāṇ* or *bilāval ṭhāṭ* (musicians generally relate them to *kalyāṇ*). Other ragas, such as *ahīr bhairav* (Sa re Ga ma Pa Dha ni Sa), seem to sit astride more than one *ṭhāṭ*.

TRACK 1

Many musicians and scholars have still not embraced Bhatkhande's theories and methods, sensing in them a compromise that fully encompasses neither the ancient

FIGURE 5 The ten scale types (*ṭhāṭ*) of Bhatkhande.

Kalyāṇ	Sa Re Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Ṡa	
Bilāval	Sa Re Ga ma Pa Dha Ni Ṡa	(Western major scale)
Khamāj	Sa Re Ga ma Pa Dha ni Ṡa	
Kāfī	Sa Re ga ma Pa Dha ni Ṡa	
Āsāvarī	Sa Re ga ma Pa dha ni Ṡa	(Western natural minor scale)
Bhairavī	Sa re ga ma Pa dha ni Ṡa	
Bhairav	Sa re Ga ma Pa dha Ni Ṡa	
Toḍī	Sa re ga Ma Pa dha Ni Ṡa	
Pūrvī	Sa re Ga Ma Pa dha Ni Ṡa	
Mārvā	Sa re Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Ṡa	

theoretical contributions nor the traditional ways of thinking of trained artists. Some who reject the *ṭhāṭ* theory prefer raga family groupings, whether based on common melodic ideas or seasonal and mood affinities.

In summary, it would be a mistake to think that there is today one Hindustani raga theory or classification system to which all musicians subscribe. The ancient writers talked of time and emotional qualities, pitch-content classifications, and strong- and weak-note attributes of melodic configurations that may have run the gamut from simple scale formations to extended compositions. In essence, it is the same today. A student is instructed to keep in mind the characteristics that theoretically describe a raga (see "Theoretical Terms" above) when he or she chooses one to perform. The modern teacher is likely to emphasize a few of these as he or she imparts the compositions in a particular raga to the student over time.

A sampling of Hindustani ragas in letter notation

The letter notation system for Indian music, here adapted to Roman letters, employs the abbreviated Sanskrit pitch names. An initial upper-case letter indicates the higher form of a note (*tīvra*), while an initial lower-case letter indicates the lower form of the note (*komal*). Since there is only one Sa and Pa (always spelled with initial capitals), the twelve notes of the chromatic scale, here compared with a scale starting on the Western C, can be rendered as below. Indian classical music is usually thought of as being in three registers—low, middle, and high. A dot above the pitch name indicates the upper register, a dot below indicates the lower register, and the middle register has no dots.

Sa	re	Re	ga	Ga	ma	Ma	Pa	dha	Dha	ni	Ni	Ṡa
C	D♭	D	E♭	E	F	F♯	G	A♭	A	B♭	B	C

The Hindustani ragas presented in figure 6 are grouped to show structural similarities in their ascending and descending scale patterns. Ragas of *sandhiprakāś* (literally 'the meeting of the light') are those traditionally performed at dawn and dusk. These ragas (see figure 6*a*) often have the augmented second between the second and third degrees of the scale (re to Ga) and then again between the sixth and seventh degrees (dha to Ni). In the morning, the natural fourth (ma) is stronger than the raised fourth (Ma); in the evening, the opposite is true.

RAGA PERFORMANCE

Tuning the notes

In sitting to play or sing a raga, the musician first turns his or her attention to the tuning of the pitches of the particular raga. For the serious musician, this is a meditative process that continues with great intensity throughout the rendering. It is often mystifying for an uninitiated listener to watch as a performer takes great care in get-

It is often mystifying for an uninitiated listener to watch as a performer takes great care in getting the tuning of the instruments correct before the performance begins.

FIGURE 6 A selective list of Hindustani ragas, presented in Indian letter notation and grouped according to scale structure.

a. Ragas of *sandhiprakāś*:

Dawn ragas:

bhairav
Sa re Ga ma Pa dha Ni Ṡa Ṡa Ni dha Pa Pa dha Pa ma Ga ma Pa Ga ma re Sa

ahīr bhairav
Sa re Ga ma Pa Dha ni Ṡa Ṡa ni Dha ni Dha Pa Dha Ga Pa ma Ga ma re Sa Ḍha ṇi re Sa

rāmkalī
Ni Sa Ga ma Pa Ma Pa dha Pa dha Ni Ṡa Ṡa Ni dha Pa Ma Pa Ga ma re Sa

TRACK 2 *bairāgī*
Sa re ma Pa ni Ṡa Ṡa ni Pa ma re Sa

Sunset ragas:

pūriyā dhanāshrī
Ṇi re Ga Ma Pa Ma dha Ni Ṡa Ṡa Ni dha Pa Ma dha ṙe Ni dha Pa Ma Ga Ma re Ga re Sa

pūrvī
Ṇi re Ga ma Ga re Ga Ma Pa Ma dha Ni Ṡa Ṡa Ni dha Pa Ma Pa Ma Ga Ma Ga re Sa

nārāyaṇī
Ṇi Sa Ga Ma Pa Ni Ṡa Ṡa Ni Pa Ma Ga Ma Ga re Sa

mārvā
Ṇi re Ga Ma Dha Ni ṙe ṙe Ni Dha Ma Ga re Ṇi Ḍha re Sa

b. Four ragas of the *bilāval* family primarily use tones of the Western major scale.

Morning ragas:

alhaiyā bilāval
Ṇi Sa Ga Re Ga Pa Dha Ni Ṡa Ṡa Ni Dha ni Dha Pa Dha ma Ga Re Ga ma Pa ma Ga Re Sa

devgirī bilāval
Sa Ṇi Ḋha Sa Re Ga ma Ga Re Ga Pa Pa Dha Ni Ṡa Ṡa Ni Dha Pa ma Ga ma Ga Re Sa

Evening ragas:

durgā
Sa Re ma Pa Dha Ṡa Ṡa Dha Pa ma Re Sa

hemant
Sa Ga ma Dha Ni Ṡa Ṡa Ni Dha Pa Dha Ni Pa Dha ma Pa Ga Ga ma Re Sa

(*continued*)

FIGURE 6 (*continued*) A selective list of Hindustani ragas, presented in Indian letter notation and grouped according to scale structure.

c. Four ragas of the *āsāvarī* family primarily use tones of the Western natural minor scale.

Morning ragas:

āsāvarī
Sa Re ma Pa dha Ṡa Ṡa ni dha Pa ma ga Re Sa

jaunpurī
Sa Re ma Pa dha ni Ṡa Ṡa Ṙe ġa Ṙe Ṡa ni dha Pa ma ga Re Sa

Evening ragas:

darbārī kānaḍā
Sa Re ma ga ma Pa ni dha ni Ṡa Ṡa Ṙe ni Ṡa Ṙe dha ni Pa ni ma Pa ni ga Re Sa Re Sa

aḍānā
Sa Re ma Pa dha ni Ṡa Ṡa ni dha Pa ni Pa ga ma Re Sa

d. Four ragas have similar ascent and descent patterns but use different forms of the pitches.

bhīmpalāsī
ṇi Sa ga ma Pa ni Ṡa Ṡa ni Dha Pa ma ga Re Sa

paṭdīp
Ṇi Sa ga ma Pa Ni Ṡa Ṡa Ni Dha Pa ma ga Re Sa

multānī
Ṇi Sa ga Ma Pa Ni Ṡa Ṡa Ni dha Pa Ma ga re Sa

madhuvanti
Ṇi Sa ga Ma Pa Ni Ṡa Ṡa Ni Dha Pa Ma ga Re Sa

e. The following three ragas are traditionally associated with the rainy season.

megh
Sa Re ma Pa ni Ṡa Ṡa ni Pa ma Re Sa

deś
Sa Re ma Pa Ni Ṡa Ṡa ni Dha Pa ma Ga Re Sa

TRACK 3 *miyāṅ malhār*
Sa Re Pa ma Pa .ma Pa ni Dha Ni Ṡa Ṡa ni Pa ma Pa Dha Pa ga ma Re Sa

ting the tuning of the instruments correct before the performance begins ("Why didn't they take care of that backstage?"), or stopping suddenly midway to make adjustments, bringing the momentum to a halt. In a similar manner, right in the middle of a performance, a musician will often return to the simple intonation of the tonic note, Sa, to reestablish this prime point of reference. Again, to a new listener, this will most likely seem to halt or mar the onward flow and developmental sense of the performance. To the performer, however, it is a return to, a reminder of, the essence of what he or she is trying to create; a performance without such returns may well be viewed as careless. Tuning the notes of the raga is metaphorical, as the musician puts himself in tune with the raga, which is of course regarded as a vehicle for sacred exploration and realization.

Another aspect of tuning is the microtonal nature of the shadings certain ragas require. In *darbārī kānaḍā*, these microtones (*śruti*) are critical to the correct rendering of the raga. The notes Ga and Dha in *darbārī kānaḍā* are not found in the

Western tempered-tuning system. Both are flatter (microtonally lower) than their minor-third and minor-sixth counterparts in Western scales. The third is in fact considerably flatter, but what makes them so different is that both are rendered with a slow and controlled wavering called *āndolan.* Unlike the more rapid vibrato of Western music, the undulations of *āndolan* clearly expose degrees of flatness that would certainly be considered out of tune in a Western minor scale. Correct performance of these waverings is a mark of virtuosity to which most Hindustani musicians aspire.

The performer thus takes great care with the microtonal tuning in the music; it is essential to both getting the raga's aural persona correct and to its proper rendering. This is "natural," which is similar to Pythagorean, tuning; nevertheless the basic twelve pitches remain similar in the Western and Hindustani systems, tempered tuning notwithstanding. Hence, one hears the tempered harmonium (a Western reed instrument similar in mechanics to an accordion) accompanying many classical singers in performance; but one rarely hears a harmonium solo, for the instrument is incapable of the finesse of slide, ornament, and pitch control, and exactness of intonation that are expected. Instruments of the classical tradition are constructed with attention given to the variable placement of the twelve pitches and the ability to slide between them. In modern performance, however, one does often hear the *santūr,* the hammered dulcimer, and other instruments such as the saxophone and even the piano which, despite their limitations, are capable of rendering other aspects of raga—even though they restrict the performer's ability to execute slides and ornaments.

Composition in a raga

How does one learn to perform a raga? The ways of approaching the performance are almost as varied as the elusive raga concept itself. The most common way of imparting a raga to a student is by teaching a fixed composition in it. Compositions are in fact a kind of catalogue of a raga's configurations; one ordinarily learns many compositions in a given raga before one really grasps the movements within it. The fact that one "knows" a few ragas will help in rapidly assimilating others, but one must still practice each composition over and over again until it becomes suggestive of raga movement.

From ancient times, musicians have rendered ragas in two ways—with meter (*nibaddh*) and without meter (*anibaddh*) (literally 'bound' and 'unbound'). Metered compositions have a tala framework, in modern times always marked by an accompanying tabla or *pakhāvaj* drums. There are two unmetered, unaccompanied (*anibaddh*) instrumental forms, *ālāp* and *jor.* The former has no ostensible rhythmic pulse; the latter has a pulse but no recurring meter or accent pattern [see HINDUSTANI INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC]. Some teachers will teach *ālāp* as a fixed composition with a looser sense of phrasing but will insist on the relative durations of the pitches, which are necessary for a meaningful musical statement. More commonly, the student will learn compositional skills in *anibaddh* forms only after prolonged studies of *nibaddh* ones.

In the words of the modern sarod master Ali Akbar Khan (Ruckert 1991:4):

> *Ālāp* is like, you go someplace nice for a visit—like you go to France for a vacation. Then you come home and write a letter or tell your friend about where you were—where you stayed, what you did, what you saw, what you ate—like that, the memory of the compositions comes in the *ālāp.*

Simply stated, the fixed compositions are respected as the repository of a raga's configurations. As a snapshot of a family member provides a visual identification of

the person, a given composition shows the main details and outlines of the raga. But an old photo album will show many shots of that person in a variety of situations and at different ages in life, thus giving a more profound impression of the person's background, personality, and character. In the same way, a musician who knows many compositions in a raga, or "has a large photo album," will be highly esteemed by his peers or juniors. Collecting compositions from one's teacher, from visiting artists, from recordings, and from concerts—from any source the student can find—yields rewards in the form of a depth of understanding of how a given raga behaves in different musical situations, rhythms, registers, and stages of development.

Compositions in the *dhrupad* tradition are considered a historical watershed concerning conceptions of raga. The word's etymology helps us to understand this position of respect: it is a combination of *dhruva* 'fixed' and *pad* 'verse'. Thus, a *dhrupad* composition was a fixed setting of a song text that was itself a metrical construction, often with as many as four stanzas [see HINDUSTANI VOCAL MUSIC]. A singer would sing each precomposed stanza the same way each time, respecting the composition in the same way a Western singer renders a Schubert song faithfully at every recital. In this way the melodic course of individual compositions became embedded in the minds of musicians, and the songs themselves came to be regarded as authoritative repositories of a raga's melodic characteristics.

The *dhrupad* tradition was in sharp contrast to the other prevailing vocal style, the *khyāl*, compositions in which style varied greatly from one tradition (*gharānā*) to another. In some styles, the composition (*cīz* literally 'thing') is a minimal part of the presentation, often only one or two lines, which are then repeated and freely embroidered with ornamentation. One song is often adapted to fit alternate talas, which involves changing the length of the lines or adjusting the long and short notes to fit the new metric scheme. The compositions are frequently used in this way as springboards for an artist's improvisatory skills with *alankār* 'ornament', *vistār* 'expansion', and *tān* 'melodic runs'. In some *khyāl* styles—notably those of Gwalior, Agra, and Jaipur—the compositions themselves may be more elaborate and held in high regard for their individual melodic, rhythmic, and poetic merit, thus becoming, as in the *dhrupad* style, focal points in a presentation. Indeed, compositions of the Gwalior school have especially high merit in the eyes of many musicians today.

It follows that not all compositions carry the same weight as bearers of the images of raga; besides the issue of style, consideration of factors such as the age, composer, source, dissemination, and purity of rendering of a composition is also part of the discussion. A venerable old song in a raga can sometimes be fine as an individual composition but may no longer convey the feeling of the raga as it is rendered in contemporary practice. In such a case, it would have to be recomposed and adjusted in order to fit a master's conception of the true picture of the raga. On the other hand, if it is said to be a song by one of the greatly admired musicians of the past, it may be rendered intact in spite of its archaic qualities. Since it is common for a composer to sign his name to a song text, it is sometimes easy to identify such old compositions, although the oral tradition can play some tricks with the authority of the original songs, and it is sometimes difficult to say who composed a melody even though the identity of the poet is known.

In any *gharānā*, there is usually a repository of from five to ten compositions that form the basis of that *gharānā*'s conceptions of a given raga. Individual musicians of this school may know many other compositions in that raga of a more peripheral nature, more like personal acquisitions that do not carry the full weight of the *gharānā*'s knowledge and endorsement. Time is often the test: if a composition is rendered for three or more generations, it becomes clearly labeled *gharānādār* 'of the *gharānā*'. Some songs and compositions are widespread in several *gharānā* as well as

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over several generations; widespread circulation may give them authority as repositories of the raga's true image.

The personal authority and experience of the performer must also be taken into account. Musicians will typically say, "To hear such-and-such raga, you must listen to so-and-so"; for ragas, though they bear a *gharānā* coat of arms, are truly products of personal research and practice, and have become individually identified with the foremost interpreters. An artist who renders a raga throughout the course of a lifetime will almost invariably change his or her perspectives, presumably adding depth and refining the delivery over the years. The picture of the raga will thus undergo a slow metamorphosis, and anyone clinging to fixed ideas of the identities of *āroh-avaroh*, *vādī-samvādī*, and other characteristics as described in "Theoretical Terms" above (which lag behind performance practice), will definitely be confused by unexpected changes in balance and emphasis. As the same artist renders the raga over and over, the colors change slightly each time, as they do in the famous legend of the nineteenth-century sitarist who was said to have played the same raga for his royal patron on fifty successive evenings, each evening bringing out a new shade.

Raga realization

Starting with a basic conception founded on the knowledge of fixed compositions, an artist builds a raga in performance according to compositional maps provided by his teacher and style. These may be carefully plotted beforehand, or arrived at very spontaneously in performance. As in cooking, a younger artist is likely to stay close to the "recipes," while a mature one will feel freer to innovate and blend, in an interplay of learning, experience, and personality. In this tradition, the greatest artists have often spent vast amounts of formative time first following the precomposed routes—the prodigies, eccentrics, and geniuses notwithstanding.

The way a raga is developed in performance is spoken of in terms of its *baṛhat* 'growth'. In the *dhrupad* tradition, an artist begins with an *ālāp*, an "improvised" invocational unfolding of the raga, first without rhythm and then slowly introducing a pulse that gradually increases in tempo to a fast conclusion, usually in a lax duple meter. Although musicians would be reluctant to admit or follow any strictly imposed meter, in some presentations of the *ālāp* a drummer may even tap a downbeat in slow duple rhythm. In the *khyāl style*, the unmetered section is played over a drumbeat that is often very slow (each beat can be four to five seconds in length) and the melodic materials may relate only loosely to this pulse. This overall pattern of raga presentation—starting with slow and abstract movement and proceeding through a section of slow rhythm that grows more metrical as it accelerates to a presto conclusion—is typical of the *baṛhat* in many Indian styles. Teachers use various metaphors to explain it, ranging from a seed growing to the act of love. The management of this unfolding—for it is a careful process in which any stray note emphases can easily distort the balanced picture of the raga—is an artistic tour de