

THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF INDIAN MUSIC

VINAYAK PUROHIT

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The Indian Institute of Social Research

5, 2nd Floor, 372-A, Cadell Road,
Dadar, Bombay - 400 028.
Tel. Nos: 4220854, 4225875, 4309049.

to,
Labhu, childhood chum,
with whose loan I acquired my first and only sarod;
and to
Radhikababu,
who gave me my first lessons in Raga Sarparda;
and to
Kesarbai Kerkar,
Omkarnath Thakur,
and Ali Akbar,
whose magnificent singing and playing
inspired and sustained
my musicological inquiries.

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I

THE TRIADIC FORM OF ART

Art is primarily artifact, either actual or potential. It is actual when perceived as an architectural monument or a mural painting or a page of a literary composition. It is potential when a performance is re-enacted in memory or is frozen forever as a film or a video-tape or an audio-tape.

As an artifact, art represents congealed labour. This labour is performed by Man in interaction with nature under specific socio-historic conditions, under specific stages of development of forces, relations and modes of production.

Man labours socially in co-operation or in confrontation with other men. He cannot labour alone. In fact he cannot even think alone since language, the essential tool of thought, is itself a social product.

Labour is inherently expressive. As soon as man takes up an object or participates in performing an event, he impresses the resultant with his being. He cannot labour without leaving an impression on reality which mirrors, represents or refracts, his feelings, aspirations, thoughts, hopes, despairs and frustrations. It is in the nature of labour to manifest expressibility.

By the same token, there is no art which is not made by man. The setting sun on a beach may be colourful, but it is not art till it is painted, captured in words "recollected in tranquillity", or photographed or filmed. Even a readymade art object has to be isolated and framed or placed in order to become art.

In other words, any man-made object can be viewed as art if it is viewed as an expression of human labour under specific material and historic conditions.

The intensity of expression, the facility with which it is made and the acuity or comprehensiveness of the vision crystalised within an artifact may vary, thus setting up a graded level of expressions, some ardent, some casual. The scribbles and colour-splashes made by a child artist are within the domain of art, but in an entirely different level from the strokes of a master calligrapher of China or Arabia. A bird may build a nest, but it is not architecture, while an illiterate mason may build a clumsy, ramshackle hut, which is still vernacular architecture, for the bird expresses nothing which is not imputed by man to the nest. The bird is merely behaving, man articulates. The bird has acted instinctively while even the unskilled

illiterate villager has acted deliberately and consciously. Self-consciousness is the hallmark of human society, as it is of the human being at labour.

Every social formation projects art objects which correspond to the prevalent social climate. Not any kind of art can be the projection of a specific society, nor can any kind of society underlie a specific art form. A slave society will necessarily project a certain kind of art which it flatteringly calls "humanistic", since in the slave-society the human being, as the principle means of production, is of prime interest. Such "humanistic" art is far from ideal, it is actually contemptible and childish, as much as Greeco-Roman art is.

Contrary to popular notion, art is not eternal and everlasting. Like everything else created by human labour, it is capable of becoming out-dated and even dead. The films of Leni Riefenstahl are no longer inspiring or even relevant. They have become merely symptomatic of the sickness of German society of the 1930s which produced the horrors of Nazism. The huge portraits of Imelda Marcos, the statues of Shah of Iran, Voodoo music favoured by Papa-Doc and Baby-Doc Duvaliers, the monuments of Haile Silassie, are all dying or dead forms of art. They may be kept in museums to study the infamous period of political rule by these petty tyrants, who were American stooges to boot. But they are no longer pulsating forms of art which stimulate either adulation or hostility. They are nothing. The labour incorporated in them remains and therefore they can be analysed and understood as art. But real ideological life has departed from them. They no longer move. They remain works of art so long as we continue to look at them as ideological expressions of labour. But like Kilpling's imperialist fantasies and idiocies, they no longer count as serious or profound works of art, except to the lunatic fringe of surviving ex-nazis, ex-collaborators of fascism, ex-lovers of imperialism and such other exes and discards of history.

Art as a triadic form - the artist, art object and audience - is a tripartite dynamic system of vectors. It not only dies, but it is subject to change. An art object may be mutilated, as in a ruin, or a part of a literary text of a by-gone era may be lost. The resultant 'antique' has often to be fundamentally re-interpreted. The original painted athletic statuary admired by the homo-sexual slave-owners of Greece and Rome may be eroded into cold marble figurines that boastfully proclaim their pompous nothingness. Such was not their original impact and import, and as "painted dolls" they might have had a greater "naive" charm. They are, as of today, comic carriers of out-dated ideological positions.

The work of art is a real physical object created by an artist and projected before an audience. The artist is socially bound and personally brain-washed by his upbringing. He must extract a living under specific

constraints and in order to extract such a living, he must think the thoughts which the ruling class has imposed upon him, his society and his times. If he does not conform, then he will be forced to, either, compromise, or, get totally crushed, or he must be willing to remain an isolated and insignificant member of a rebellious minority allowed to exist, but not allowed to become influential.

That is why the ruling ideas of every society are the ideas of its ruling classes. Of course, at each stage, revolutionary art too exists, but in normal non-revolutionary conditions, such revolutionary artists and the art objects created by them, must necessarily remain the voices of a derided minority.

A ceaseless class struggle rages in each nation and in every society. This struggle may be overt or covert, it may be relaxed or intense. But class society cannot exist without internal turmoil. It is impossible to criticize the politics and economics of such a society without commenting upon and denouncing the art objects through which such a society projects and protects its ideological and material interests. In their over-whelming bulk, the art objects have been promoted and permitted to be created by the ruling classes to embody their own interests and positions. Not to attack such ruling class status-symbols and message transmitters is tantamount to abject surrender.

Great art in the present context has to be revolutionary art. For men become conscious of their interests, nay, become conscious of themselves, only through the congelations of ideological drives that are art objects.

Men become aware of themselves and their surroundings as they battle. Art is understood not in the abstract, not at all in the class rooms or in the ivory towers, but only in praxis.

Art is a weapon to be wielded before putting up the barricades and also along with the performance of the labour of defending the barricades.

Truth cannot be apprehended by those who are interested in lies and in perpetuation of exploitation, by a minority, of the vast majority. Truth can emerge only from the point of view of those who are interested in exposing the lies of the upholders of the status-quo.

Thus revolutionary art is not only necessary but is inevitable. If society is to progress, exploitation of man by man must end. If man is to cease to exploit man, the status-quo must change and the elite must be overthrown. Unless the expropriators are expropriated, it is not possible to have peace, civilization, and general cultural upliftment.

Everything that is beautiful on earth has been created by man himself at labour. Unfortunately in class society his creations bear an alienated and fetishistic look. This appearance will dissolve only when man, the artist, repossesses the objects of his labour collectively, unitedly, lovingly and inevitably.

II THE UNIQUENESS OF THE STRUCTURE AND FORM OF INDIAN MUSIC

Imperialist musicology has played havoc with our understanding of the history and the current practice of Indian music. Superficial statements by learned pundits abound in which it is stated that Indian music is based on melody in contrast to European or Western music which is supposedly based on harmony. This is arrant nonsense because music, as such, has to possess harmonic relations amongst its sounds, in order to be perceived apart from noise.

The structure of the ear and our hearing apparently require that successive pulsations be felt as partials or multiples of the initial sound. In fact, a sound becomes a note when it is harmonically related to other sounds and only when it is so related. It is absurd to suggest that Indian music lacks harmony. This is silly imperialist propaganda. No music anywhere in the world ever has lacked harmony. Only Racialists and Apartheidists have denied culture or civilization, or history or harmony, to non-European peoples.

Let us exclude this lunatic fringe from our purview and let us enumerate and illustrate harmonic aspects of Indian musical practice:

- (i) The drone is generally acknowledged to be indispensable to our music. As a matter of fact, most Indian music concerts these days require a sound-screen created by two or more drones.
- (ii) The drones have to be tuned in conformity with the selected 'sa' (base note) of the principal musicians.
- (iii) In addition to the *tanpura* duo, the principal performer needs two, three, four or more accompanists. At the minimum level, there is the duo of the *tabla* player and the *sarangiwalla*, i.e. with the two *tanpuras*, the ensemble forms a quintet. Additionally, there could be other master-instrumentalists wielding the *harmonium*, the *ghatam*, the *manjira*, the *moorsing*, and the *khanjari*. All sorts of percussion instruments like the *mridangam*, the *nagara*, the *dukkad* may be included and in place of the *sarangi* and or the *harmonium* there may be *tar-sanai*, *violin*, *dilruba*, the second *shahnai*, (in a *shahnai* ensemble), apart from a *sur-mandal* handled by the principal vocalist himself.

Western imperialist propaganda has dinned into the minds of our semi-educated middle classes that Indian music is performed by a lone musician. This is a blatant lie, while the Indian music ensembles certainly are smaller than symphonic orchestras, they are usually as large as, or bigger than, many Chamber music ensembles of the West, playing

concertos and similar less ambitious compositions for "a piano and two violins", or "a piano, a cello, a viola and a violin", or some such combination of 3 or 4 wind and string instruments.

In a *tal-vadya katcheri*, within the Carnatic musical ambience, there could be as many as a dozen performers, three times the normal size of the Western Chamber music ensembles.

But music is not a matter of numbers. As a matter of fact, from within the Indian ambience, the sight of approximately 110 members of a symphony orchestra playing mechanically from written scores like automations, is both ludicrous and contemptible. A creative Indian musician will not allow himself to be so degraded and will not function as a soldier within a military formation, or as a boy in a class room. In that sense he is much closer to the members of the jazz band, who will proudly insist upon their improvisational ability and impromptu interventions.

- (IV) The very structure of Indian instrument belies the imperilist musicologists. Most Indian string instruments possess sympathetic strings, which vibrate in harmonic relationship to the notes played on the main string. Furthermore, among the main strings are usually to be found the *jhala*-strings or *chikaris*, which are essential for several significant sections of the *raga*-elaboration performed. In the case of the vocalists, very often, secondary supporters (usually senior pupils of the master) serve the same function.
- (V) It is important to stress that the *tabla* has to be tuned with the *tanpura* and *sarangi*, and on the same level as the chosen base-note of the main singer or instrumentalist. Otherwise the musicality of a concert will be completely disrupted.
- (VI) The use of the *jawari*, whether "closed" or "open" (*bandhi* or *khulli*) is vitally important. A piece of fluff is usually placed by the musicians at the point of contact of the string and the sounding bridge, which "queers the pitch ever so slightly", thus producing not a sharp clear sound, but a bundle of notes, each with their multiple over-and-under-tones, which strengthen and sustain the acoustic perfume that pervades every Indian music concert. This sound screen is the one against which the performer continuously throws what the audience in an Indian concert hears - a simultaneity of sounds all harmonically related.
- (VII) Indian music does not restrict itself into a succession of sounds flowing along a linear melodic stream. An Indian musician fundamentally plays his chosen *raga* against a sound screen created by *tanpuras*, accompanying instruments, sympathetic strings, *chikaris*, supporting voices and secondary players, *bandhi* and *khulli jawaris*, and so on.

We shall not labour the issue any further. Sufficient has been stated to establish that Indian music is as much based upon harmony and upon simultaneously projected harmoniously related sounds, as is Western music. Of course, harmony is used in a structurally different manner in Indian music, just as melody is used in a structurally distinct manner in Western music. At the same time, whilst we are not interested in defining the structure of Western music, let us make clear that it is absurd to suggest that Western music lacks melody. In fact, no concentration of musical thought, or conceptualization of music can take place without the elevation of a relief line, a leit-motif, a figure or a theme. Even a large scale symphonic composition necessarily uses melodic lines, and such melodic movements must arise and must be musically resolved.

The imperialist musicologists attributed melodic obsession and exclusivity to Indian music mainly out of prejudice and also partly out of ignorance. They didn't know how to interpret Indian music and could not grasp and explain its hypnotic attraction. Gradually the musicians of the West began to reject the nonsense propagated by their own musicologists and slowly came to not only understand, but studiously imitate Indian ragas and airs and tunes. That is a long story and we shall not go into it at this juncture.

Returning to the topic of the structure and form of Indian music, let us recognize that ignorance and prejudice have been promoted from within India too. For instance, it has been very often stated that "ranjayati iti ragah", i.e., "that which taints or colours the mind is raga". To say the least, this is a childish and misleading proposition.

A raga is an objective phenomena, a composition with musical notes which is created and projected by an artist on a definite occasion. How can a material objective phenomena be defined in terms of the reception which it occasions in a listener, who may not only refuse to get mentally tainted but who also may be severally tainted at different times by the same tune, or who, as a group of listeners, can be simultaneously tainted in various different ways by the same raga!

A raga must be defined objectively. Some musicologists in India have sought to define raga structure by enumeration of all sorts of technical features, eg., Bhatkhande, who has enumerated some 42 rules which must be observed in order to render a raga. Such defining minutiae are irrelevant. By positing vadi (a dominant note), the samvadi (a sub-dominant note), aroha (an ascending pattern), avroha (a descending pattern), griha (an opening note), nyasa (a closing note), pakad (a typical turn) and so on, we will not succeed in defining a raga.

Since neither vague generalities, like melody and rasa-carrying capacity, nor umpteen minute rules, can define raga or explain to us the uniqueness of the Indian musical ambience, we must reject all such pre-conceived notions and look at the scene squarely and afresh.

Let us examine the scene realistically. What is it that actually happens at an Indian musical concert?

First, even before the main performer begins, the tanpuras have established the acoustic perfume or the sound-screen. The base-note is the selected 'sa' to which the main performer has already tuned or got tuned the tanpuras, the tablas, and rest of the accompanying instruments.

Next, the main performer proceeds to render a patternized series of notes which he calls the raga. This chosen group of notes are thrown by him against a sound-screen which is constantly re-inforced and endlessly reiterated.

Having chosen the raga, which is an open matrix form, he immediately proceeds to set its limits, to restrict its generic possibilities. An infinite number of combinations of the basic raga notes are possible, and he would flounder if he attempted to exploit all the possibilities at one concert.

Therefore, he dialectically proceeds to first limit by selecting the basic treatment, whether it is to be a chhota-khayal, or a bada-khayal, or a tarana, or even a lighter thumri, dadra, chaiti, kajri, dhun or some such type of treatment. This basic treatment he must decide upon before he opens his mouth, so to speak.

The next limiting shell is of the chosen cheeza or bandish. This is a song or an instrumental composition which has its definite peculiarities. Each cheeza or bandish, within the same raga, will exploit a distinctive range of musical possibilities. Of course, the performer may choose more than one cheeza for his rendering. But he cannot possibly exhaust all the cheezas within one raga at one sitting.

Having chosen the raga, the basic treatment and the cheeza, he will then make obvious to the audience the characteristics of his gharana or his school of music. This gharana has a peculiar manner of rendering each and every cheeza in every conceivable raga. The gharana also has a specific style of voice projection or intonation. There are certain cheezas which are the favourites of particular gharanas. There are certain gharanas which are known for their peculiar voice culture and for their heavy-handed or light-handed treatment of specific ragas, and/or cheezas.

In other words, having selected the raga, the musician has not thrashed about running after an infinite series of variations in all directions. First of all, the raga is to be given a certain base note and scale. Secondly, it is to be given a basic treatment. Thirdly, it is a particular cheeza, and fourthly, it is in the idiom of a specific gharana. but the story does not end there.

He has to choose his tempo, and rhythmic line or tala. I do not want to go into the complexity of laya-tala and raga enmeshing before this learned audience. Anyway, the tala is an extremely complex pulsation pattern arranged in an endless cycle which re-inforced the cheeza motifs which

have been already selected. The selection of the **tala**, which may be also conceived as an endless circle of variable accents, and the gearing of these accents to the form of the **cheeza** is an extremely sensitive exercise.

While all the foregoing dialectical limitations are being imposed upon the open matrix form of the **raga**, it should be noticed that in the initial part of the concert, the performer, through the **alaap'** and its various sections, and later even through the **vilambit**, **madhyam** or **druta laya** (slow, medium, and fast tempi) compositions in one specific **tala** (eg. **adi-tala**, **chau-tala**, **ek-tala**, **kaharva**, etc.) is repeatedly re-inforcing and firmly establishing a singular pattern.

At the same time, he is taking liberties with this very pattern. It is not necessary that he should invariably employ **vivadi** (as discordant notes). He may do so or he may not. But after tremendous re-inforcement through **aakar**, **nom-tom**, **sol-fa** intonations and so on, as also **bol-taans**, or **sapat-taans** etc. (there are hundreds of varieties of **taans** known), he almost simultaneously and dialectically attempts to disrupt this pattern by performing a never-ending series of variations upon the basic movement, specially in that portion of the total rendering, which is known as the **druta-laya-taan** part.

Let us try to understand the same phenomena from another angle. There are any number of closely related **ragas**. In fact, every **raga** is bound to have other **raga-forms** closely related to it. As the artist proceeds to vary the chosen **raga**, and its motif line, especially in the **taan** part, he is bound to separate himself from and at the same time over-lap with, the near-by **raga** formations. It is a complex task that he has to carry out. He must render the **raga** which he has chosen as a distinct musical entity. At the same time he is required to perform a series of convoluted and brilliant variations or creative re-interpretations, upon this chosen **raga** matrix. This pushes him constantly in the direction of nearby **ragas**, with which his efforts constantly over-lap and also turn away to remain distinct. It is an amazing phenomena. Only those who have experienced in depth and in comprehensive richness, the unfolding of a **raga** structure in an Indian musical concert will appreciate fully, the fascinatingly complex task which an Indian musician has to accomplish in the course of a single concert.

Initially, the chosen **raga** matrix is made to emerge out of a still centre, to emerge out of the 'sa' or base note, especially in the **aalap** section of his rendering. Having delineated with innumerable strokes and shadings, the principle limbs of the chosen **raga-cheeza-gharana**, he is at the same time engaged in the task of demolishing the limitations that bind the **raga** structure. Mind you, all this is taking place against the heavy acoustic screen. At some point, the tensions built up by the musician become unbearable. The variations and the tensions can no longer be contained within the chosen framework. It is at this point that the **raga** rendering ends in a crescendo, and the sound screen and the chosen matrix form, both dissolve in an almost explosive fission-fusion reaction.

To sum up, Indian music is raga-music. The raga is an open matrix form or pattern, which is de-limited by a series of parametric shells, for each musical occasion, the shells being: the basic treatment, the *cheeza*, the *gharana*, the *tala*, and the *laya*, the spur-of-the-moment improvisation, and so on.

The occasion is created by the throwing of a series of variations against a steady sound-screen, and also within itself by rendering variations against a firm internally structured raga pattern. There are constant permutations and combinations that are gestated from within the chosen structure. Having reached a climax, the sound-screen, the theme and the variations, all three are made to suddenly dissolve.

In short, the raga is a structural form woven around a base-note which is initially fissioned off to become a distinct entity. It is then developed and varied against the general sound-screen and varied against its own internal parts as when an instrumentalist renders *jod* or as when a singer reiterates the *mukhra*, while rendering a plethora of *taans*. The raga rendering ultimately reaches a point when the sound-screen. The raga matrix and the variations - all three merge into a crescendo. At this point the raga ends. No more variations are for the moment possible. In fact the tensions have been built up to such a point that further development is unbearable and inconceivable. The *taan* patterns have become so intricate and follow each other and pile up in such rapid succession that variations are no longer discernible or audible.

The raga may be considered as an open-ended dynamic patternized movement, which is simultaneously reinforced, varied, delimited, transgressed, crystallized and dissolved, and rendered in this manner against a steady harmonic sound-screen.

III MEDIEVAL MODERNITY OF INDIAN MUSIC

As I have shown in my two volume study, "Arts of Transitional India - 20th Century", 1988 (Popular Prakashan), the law of Fundamental Dichotomy in Modern Indian Art operates. This is largely due to the fact that the upper crust of Indian society was modernized and compradorized under the bourgeoisification process carried out by British Imperialism in the 19th century. The mass of the people were, at the same time, brutalized, barbarized, pauperized, de-industrialized and de-urbanized.

It was not possible for the submerged mass of the oppressed and the exploited to raise any effective demand for products of visual and literary arts.

They could not commission architects or civil engineers to build huts and slums for them. The masses could not buy sculptures, paintings, furnitures and furnishings for their hovels, called variously *bastis*, *zuggi-zorpadis*, *chawls*, etc. in different parts of the country. They were illiterate and could not buy novels, short-stories, poetry, dramas, or even news-magazines and newspapers.

The only thing that they could purchase was an evening's entertainment from itinerant *jatra* and *nautanki* troops, participate themselves in folk music and dance ensembles, listen more or less free to the radio and visit a rare tented bioscope show. However, it was necessary for the rulers to communicate with the masses, to strive to brain-wash them and to control their minds through performing art displays.

Thereby arose the Fundamental Dichotomy of, Modernized and Bourgeoisified Visual and Literary Arts in India, while the Performing Arts remained feudalised.

That is why Indian Music and Dance and to a large extent Theatrical Arts, and also surprisingly to a degree, the mass media of the radio, TV and films, have remained tethered to feudal stumps. The Indian art scene provides a strange spectacle. Some arts are relatively modernized and appear to be in touch with contemporary reality. These are the arts which involve the lives of the middle classes and the rich, especially in the cities. While poverty-stricken rural India revels in art forms that are still medieval in spirit and form.

This is especially true of our classical music, which has changed so little from the state in which it was when Indian feudal society was breaking up. From about the 15th and 16th centuries to the early 18th century, the vigorous and prosperous central feudal court and the temples of those days, provided the social bases for the pre-eminence of the *dhrupad* *gayakis*. But from the time of Mohammad Shah and of Adarang-Sadarang, his court musicians, we saw the rise of *khayal* *gayakis*, as feudal India went into absolute decline. By the middle of the 19th century, especially in Wajid Ali

Shah's Avadh Court, arose the degenerate and loose thumri gayaki. In other words, khayal marks the beginning of the downfall of feudalism, as thumri marks its total collapse and the simultaneous implantation of foreign capitalism.

Modern Indian music ranges from khayal and thumri to certain light classical forms (dadra, chaiti, kajri, pahadi, dhun, bhajan, pawada, tamasha, jatra, bhavai, mand, bhand, etc., in different regions and sub-regions). Also there are an immense numbers of brass (military, wedding, and others) bands playing Euro-Turkish Musical Instruments. Lastly, there are also isolated groups propagating Rabindra-sangeet, Nazrul-geeti, adhunik sangeet, bhavgeet, film music and jazz-pop-disco numbers.

Let us recognize that music is an abstract or conventional art. The significance of certain musical notes and tunes is not inherent, but socially ascribed. Any melody can mean anything which the society concerned chooses to ascribe to it. The same tune can be used in vastly different contexts and each time it will mean something different, as society chooses. It takes a long time for a society to establish those conventions, whereby a certain tune gets associated with funeral marches, wedding festivities, army exercises and similar social occasions. But once the link is established, it is almost impossible to disrupt it. That is why music is janus-faced, one face is turned to the past and certain tunes are generally thought erotic or awe-inspiring or devotional, and so on, while the other face is turned towards the future, where the meaning of specific pop and disco conventions are not yet known to the people at large and therefore such music appears to be *avant garde* and cacophonous.

IV THE FIVE ALTERNATIVES FOR THE FUTURE

Thus, our musical scene is extremely complex. A small minority at the top of the social tree, English-knowing, affluent, owning durable consumer goods, finds it possible to love and patronize Indian classical music, western classical music, film music, disco music, ghazals and thumri concerts and light music ensembles in general, all simultaneously. Their taste is rootless, eclectic and hysterical. For them anything that can while -- away the time, or smoothen their social uneasiness with loud vulgarity, is absolutely fine.

This is the class which has been in power since Independence. They are the new rulers, the brown-sahibs, who find that the medieval feudal musicians of Indian enjoy high international prestige and therefore must be respected. They also know that under the guise of promoting Indian culture, they can not only control Indian political economy but also persuade the Indian masses that the middle classes themselves are natural born cultural leaders and will be able to take society forward into a bright 21st century.

But what are the alternatives actually before us?

(1) The first option is for continuation of the present creeping crisis. The National Emergency, which was in operation after the Indo-China conflict of 1962 for many years, which fully exposed its horrors during 1975-77, which has been imposed in selected parts of the north-east states at different times in recent years, and which is in operation right now in Punjab, will become fused with the normal law of the country. In other words, we shall come to live perpetually under a state of emergency, Indian prisons will continue to hold thousands of "terrorists", "naxalites" protestors, militants and dissidents. Elections may be held, but always under police and civilian gangster terror, financed by big business through the Congress Party at the centre and through regional lumpen bourgeois leaders like the film heroes MGR and NTR. Under this alternative the economic direction will be in the hands of the non-resident Indian bourgeois from abroad, and of the lumpen bourgeois and the corrupt bureaucrat within the country. Under such conditions, joint-sector enterprises will be rapidly multiplied into a Chaing-kai-shek type of dictatorial rule, as is to be found today in Taiwan and South Korea, the "economic miracles" of the 3rd World.

Under this eventuality, the arts will acquire a distinctive profile. Pre-censorship will be extended from film and theatre to all the arts. Underground arts and samizdat (self-propagating mimeographed publication) would flourish. Since the gangster rule would be extorting enormous sums from all sections of the people, a whole range of assault would develop against the regime. There will be liberal bourgeois protests against the abridgements of democracy and there would also be Marxist proletarian nascent struggles. On the whole it would spell out a low level



Faiyyaz Khan 1886—1950,
Agra Gharana



Omkarnath Thakur, 1897—1967
Gwalior Gharana



Bade Gulam Alikhan, 1902—1968
Patiala Gharana



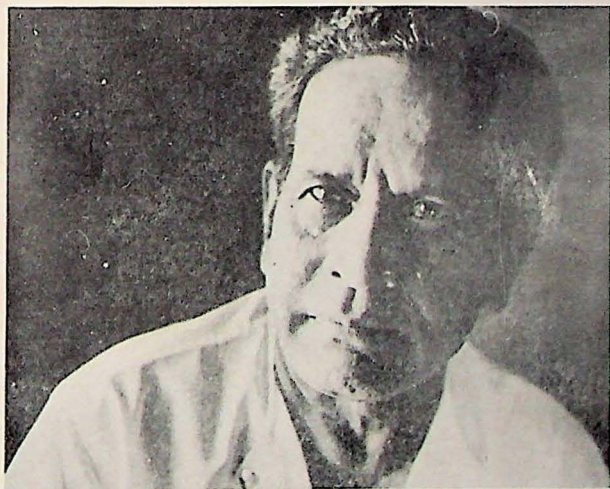
Amir Khan, 1912—1974
Indore (Mixed Kirana) Gharana



Kesarbai Kerkar, 1892—1977
Jaipur - Atrauli Gharana



Bismillah Khan, b. 1908
Benaras Baaj



Bhimsen Joshi, b. 1922
Kirana Gharana with other influences



Ali Akbar Khan, b. 1922
Maihar - Allaudin Khan Baaj



Kishori Amonkar b., 1931
Jaipur - Atrauli Gharana

of Indian cultural accomplishment, through bombastically tom-tomed through the Festivals Of India Abroad and Apna Utsavs. Music would continue to be, largely, what it is today, with a few more tamed sychophantic courtiers like Ravi Shanker composing a few more offerings to the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty. In short it would be largely the continuation of our low-level status-quo with the addition of a few more degenerative tendencies.

(2) The second possibility is that of a military takeover. This could be a little cheaper for the Indian ruling bourgeois, since the corruption level may be a trifle lowered. It may also be a little more efficient in relation to the current ponderous working of the gargantuan bureaucracy. In such a case, the arts would assume a different form. There would be a great deal of Westernization. Jazz-yatras may multiply. Military band music will be increasingly publicly performed and be popularized in concert halls. At the same time, Indian folk dances, that would please the ordinary jawans, would also be encouraged. In fact, for many years the Indian army has been looking after the thousands of folk dancers who parade in Delhi on each 26th of January. Architecture would take on a standardized and regimented contonment style aspect, sculpture would recede to the Royal-Academic manner for the greater glorification of military heroes whether of Jaffna or Siachen, and perhaps Formalist Cosmopolitan, Abstractionalism may be totally banned and in any case, it would be discouraged. In literature, a simplified story-line may be stressed. In paintings, a kind of crude Socialist Realism would be combined with a dash of Royal Academic flavour and possibly films would move close to the "Sex-and-Violence" ideal. In fact the 'dhisum-dhisum' type would almost become as popular as the erst-while stunt film, which was the favourites of the jawans in Cantonments and Forward Areas not so long ago.

Music would of course, feel the powerful impact of Euro-Turkish military bands. Gradually this would become the prestigious type of music and while a few classical airs may be retained, most music would use written scores and everything would be simplified and standardized. The situation would approximate to the one that obtained during the last days of British Imperialist dictatorship over India. That is to say, we would have a revival of sorts of the 1934-47 phase. Some intellectuals may remain free, but many would be in jail and their jailor-militarists will pretend to possess high intellectual and cultural standards. The latter will lay down the law in all areas of Culture. Outside the concentration camps, a regime of dull conformity and simplified vulgarity would come to prevail. .

(3) The third alternative, is of an internal revolt in the Congress Parliamentary Party, together with a combination of several right-of-centre groupings, like the Jana Morcha, and of several regional parties like the Telegu-Desam, the DMK, and the AGP and others, to try out a new experiment of miniscule reforms. The third alternative would be highly

unstable and volatile. It is possible that the arts could experience a sort of cancerous and rapid growth in such a case. The state would promote a Gandhian type of anti-intellectualism and encourage some sort of Sarvodayist Puritanism. "Pornography", widely misinterpreted, would be banned. Together with such apparently pro-women measures, a lot of hypocritical suppression of individual liberties would take place. Pessimism and apocalyptic visions of disaster would become prestigious and tragedies, may once again flourish on the Indian screen. Classical music may be neglected and may be allowed to wither on the vine, but semi-classical forms especially bhajans, kirtans, folk forms, etc., could flourish more vigorously. Under such a left-of-centre regime, it is more than likely that a whole host of pseudo-leftist and pseudo-militant trends may come to dominate the cultural scene. In other words, under such a regime, the Maharashtra-type Dalits, the Andhra-type Digambaras, the Bengal-type Naxalites, the Hindi-type Pragatishils, -the Gujrati - type Nava-Nirmanists, the Tamil-type Self-Respectors, the Oriya-type Populists, the Kannada-type Equalitarians and the Malayalam-type Purogamanas, would flourish as never before.

On the whole, the situation will be of great excitement and immense variety. But it would be extremely unstable and probably would collapse explosively.

(4) The fourth alternative is for a truly fascist take-over. The Congress Party under Rajiv or his equivalents would organize a special force of security guards (such a force has already come into being). At the same time, professional gangsters belonging to the Congress Trade Union, Student and Women Wings will be armed to eliminate all rival formations. A regime very similar to the Banana Republics of Central America, very close to the regimes of the Shah of Iran, Helle Sellasie of Ethiopia and of Marcos of Philippines, would be established.

The arts would be suppressed, strictly censored and put inside a straight jacket. No dissent would be permitted.

In such a condition, classical music may remain relatively unmolested, since in any case it is isolated from our real life. It has remained divorced from contemporary reality and has never directed attention to the causes of the contemporary cultural crisis. Indian classical music may in fact, be more vigorously utilized for foreign propaganda by the new and uncertain fascist regime of India. However, the low-level cultural taste of the lumpen bourgeois and the gangster political leader would eventually prevail. Pop and Disco music should experience unprecedented growth; cabarets should flourish as never before; brothels and bars would multiply; ghazal singers and mujra dancers would have a great time. All state functions would gradually turn into grand quawwali parties.

Each gaudetier would decide the policy for his own areas. He would seek complete conformity and obsequious flattery. There would be many

poems, comparing Rajiv to the sun, moon, and the stars and children would be required to start the day in schools and colleges with a hymn to the Nehru-Gandhi family. Many sensitive artists, intellectuals and scientists would be bought, openly and shamelessly.

The press would be taken over as completely as the radio and the TV. No dissenting voice will be allowed. Commercial cinema, masala-films, and Amitabh-type of acting would not only flourish but would be posed as ideals.

More East-West encounters will be organized. More foreign troupes would visit India, especially Italian opera companies, television crews, American and French fashion houses, and Neo-Realist film directors. Along with the Indian masala movie, there would develop genres like the spaghetti-Westerns that the Italians made for the American market.

From the point of view of art-culture this would be the blackest alternative. There would be a terrible and permanent destruction of all cultural values. Nothing will remain sacrosanct. "Anything goes" will be the motto of the rulers and their hench-men.

There would be a quick turn-over of favourites. Artists would come up suddenly, shine for a short while and then fade out without a trace, just as ministers are reshuffled endlessly today and party secretaries come and go without rhyme or reason. Favourites in the arts will similarly perform like shooting stars. Nobody will respect or remember anyone else. It will be the scramble of the worst sort and it would take a long time for India to recover from such a fascist trauma, both politically and culturally.

(5) There is of course, a fifth alternative. But in the absence of a nation-wide Marxist and Nationalist Revolutionary Party such a favourable alternative scenario is unlikely to be realised.

If a revolution were to take place and it is very big 'if', the arts would be completely transformed. After centuries of class rule, the Indian artist would breathe freely for the first time, and will reach undreamt of heights of creative endeavour. Man will be on the way to cease exploiting man, and will therefore cease to wield ideological weapons of brain-washing and conformity. I do not wish to elaborate upon this alternative, for the prospect of such liberation simply overwhelms me. All that I can say now is that the total art scene would resemble that of post-revolutionary Russia of 1917-24.

In short the five alternatives are:

- (a) a continuation of the present rotten status-quo, with the prospect of a further degeneration;
- (b) a military take-over;
- (c) a mildly reformist centrist regime, highly unstable;
- (d) a fascist victory;
- (e) a revolutionary proletarian triumph.

The most likely course will be some combination of the first and the third alternatives, i.e. the retention of the status-quo with minor reformist changes, in either a negative or a positive direction, which would be highly unstable in either case.

We may present our projection of the prospects for the immediate future in the form of a chart:

Prospects Before Indian Music

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
|---|---|--|--|---|--|
| | Status Quo with Some Degeneration | Military Takeover | Centrist Reformist Triumph | Fascist Solution | Revolutionary Overthrow |
| Main Thrust | 1. Hypocritical hysteria of an eclectic nature to the forefront, especially on dynastic (Nehru-Gandhi) anniversaries. Sycophancy on the highest pedestal. | 1. Military band music and folk music would be vigorously promoted. | 1. Classical Music may retain primacy. | 1. Filmic and cabaretic music to hold centrality. Total Goonda Raj. | 1. True flowering of all the visual, literary and performing arts. |
| Revivalist Forms | 2. Communal Revivalism and Vulgar Eroticism would be promoted. | 2. Night clubs, brothels and <i>mujra</i> music, alongwith other pornographic shows, would be promoted. Gay-clubs, with 'enunch' singing may become respectable. | 2. Religious singing would be vigorously projected. A Puritanical Censorship code may be enforced. | 2. Strong support to religious revivalism and a strict political censorship law would be imposed. | 2. Religious and Revivalist tendencies would be countered. Censorship would be gradually eroded. True freedom will prevail in all the creative arts. |
| Participatory Forms and General Ambience | 3. NRI influence and promotion of tourism will press forward and give rise to many hybridized ephemeral forms, e.g. Camatic-Jazz, Disco-Dandia, Bhangra-Pop, etc. | 3. Western ballroom music and some kinds of jazz, pop, disco and rock concerts may be encouraged. | 3. Cancerous growth is very likely, especially of the pseudo-left populist variety. | 3. The most heinous forms of vulgarity, to the taste of the lumpens, would be projected. | 3. Forms of Choral and Ensemble singing will be promoted and a new national revolutionary style may emerge. |

V MUSICAL REFORMS

In line with this prognostication, with tongue-in-cheek, and a twinkle in my eye, I would like to urge this Round Table to give its verdict in favour of a few musicological reforms. Whatever cynics may say, it is the duty and task of musicologists to pronounce upon musicological matters. In the early decades of this century Prof Bhatkhande, had tried to gather musicians in support of certain big issues, though not always successfully. We may try a more modest approach.

I think that we musicologists and musicians owe a responsibility to society. We should not passively witness the revolting scene of nauseating sychophancy of the ruling dynasty and the abject surrender to the whims and fancies of the ruling caucus.

At the same time, we need not be active partisans in politics. Our concern is with musical matters. Therefore, let us steer a course that, while not being hard-hitting, is also not one of lethargic acquiescence. After all we are responsible citizens and there is nothing wrong in advocating a few simple and humble improvements.

(1) I think that it is high time that we in north-India followed the south and scrapped the time-raga linkage. I think that there is no sense in this convention, which probably originated when musicians played or sang in palaces and temples, in shift cycles. Anyway, in air-conditioned, artificially-lit auditoriums, in external service broadcasts or telecasts beamed to different time-zones of the earth, and in pre-recorded performances, it is impossible to observe time-raga linkages and it is sheer conservative inertia which prevents us from accepting the logic of the state-of-the-art technology. We should firmly and clearly state that no seasonal and diurnal slots will be observed by us any longer.

(2) At least for all new and mixed ragas, we should not invent time-slots.

(3) I also feel that all the south-Indian ragas should be adopted wholesale by the North and vice-versa. All musical schools, north and south of Vindhya should reciprocally promote this integration.

After all, the south-Indian ragas are capable of being treated in the raga fashion and what could possibly be the objection to all of them, when a few have already been accepted?

(4) I also feel that the domination of the 'kriti' in the South-Indian or Carnatic music should cease. After all the greatest percentage of atheists and rationalists in India is to be found in Tamil Nadu. Why should not the musicians of that state take the initiative in breaking the strangle-hold of religious Telegu kritis upon Carnatic music? Let there be more secular, patriotic and militant songs, not only in the South, but also in the North. I think musicians should impose a voluntary ban upon themselves. It is nauseating and irritating to listen for the thousandth time to some silly

descriptions of 'krishna radha' antics. I expect the more rationalist South to take the lead in diminishing the role of religious mombo jumbo music.

(5) I also think that the musicians should cultivate a more trade-unionist type of outlook. They should refuse to give 'all night concerts'. Music concerts must begin earlier in the evening and should end within 2 or 3 hours. This gives sufficient time to the musician to express himself and no sensitive and intelligent listener can absorb good music at a stretch for over 3 hours. Both need rest and the 'sabhas' and the music circles should be prevented from exploiting both the musicians and the gullible members of the sabhas. Especially, if the bogus time-raga linkage is broken, it will be quite feasible to render every raga between 6.30 - 9.30 in the evening.

(6) I also feel that in the North the principal musician should allow about quarter or half an hour's time to his accompanists, particularly to the 'tabalchi' to display his prowess exclusively and uninterruptedly, just as they do in South-Indian kutcheris. This will prevent unnecessary and quarrelsome tensions between percussionists and principal performers, and will add to the enjoyment of the concert by the average listener.

(7) I also feel that there is no harm in some north-Indian musicians presenting their performances together with programmatic notes. I think he should be able to attempt to render certain ideas and specific emotions through his compositions. On an occasion he may fail, but why should he not state in advance that through the night's mulkaus, or bageshri or darbari-kannada bilaskhani-todi he is attempting to tell such and such a story, or he is trying to paint such and such a natural scene or such and such a movement of a pretty damsel's behind? During some concerts, musicians are known to have stopped singing and tried to explain their efforts through impromptu comments. Some musicians have, after the concert, claimed that they had sought to reflect through their recital the pluck and knock of a stormy sea. Instead of doing such post-mortems, I think Indian audiences should be allowed to get used to Detailed Programme Notes.

(8) I also feel that there should be greater utilization of contemporary lyrics, songs and poems by North-Indian musicians. Just imagine the impact of "mera rang de basanti chola" or some such revolutionary song sung by a master musician in a major raga! How wonderful it would be! It would move the audience, make classial music more popular and force the musician to seek to express a revolutionary martyr's valour through his music. He will be freed from the 'nanadiya' and 'saajaniya' nonsense. And as the audience response spontaneously materialises, he will know what real musical excitement means. We have relied upon old feudal deities and cheap erotic vulgarities far too long. Our music is isolated from the problems of real life and some attempt is over-due to re-establish the connection between reality and music.

(9) At a more technical level, I feel that the North-Indian musician should try to thicken or stiffen the sound-screen against which he is developing his

musical motifs. I do not know exactly how he may achieve this end. He may use more **tanpuras** or he may employ other accompanists to reiterate a 'lahera' or may be some voices can periodically reinforce certain **bols** of the **cheeza**. I think the time is ripe to try out this experiment on a large scale. Such an experiment is in line with the true definition of the structure of Indian music, and should therefore be entirely workable.

I think that a few musicological conventions and conferences should be held in the north to popularize these and other reforms. Let us try to work out an agenda for such conferences.

(10) I do not know how far we can succeed in initiating important reforms through the forum of this Round Table. But I strongly feel that, at least, relic feudal behaviour should be banned from music concerts. The gushing praises, the high-faulting panegyrics, the excessive garlanding and nauseating flattery from the dias on such occasions is getting more and more repellent. I wish I could attend a music concert, where the seats are occupied five minutes before the doors are closed, where the musician on the stage begins his concert in time without any fuss, where the audience is supplied with programme notes and with fairly detailed descriptions of compositions to be presented, and where the nature of the poetry used is secular and modern. I doubt if I will live to attend such a concert, but at least let the coming generation have such an opportunity as a result of these deliberations.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF INDIAN MUSIC: 1707-1989

I 1707-1860

- (a) **Khayal Gayaki** becomes dominant, particularly under Sadarang and Adarang, court musicians to Muhammad Shah (1719-48).
- (b) **Gwalior Gharana** is most prestigious, as Sindhia rulers become the dominant power in Northern India under Mahadji (1761-94) and then gradual decline sets in under Daulat Rao (1794-1827).
- (c) **Thumri** comes into prominence, as the crisis of Indian feudalism deepens, particularly under Wajid Ali Shah who ruled over Avadh (1847-1856) and then lived as pensioner of British imperialism in Calcutta (1856-1887) - **Kathak** dance enmeshed with **Thumri** singing.
- (d) **Music Education** is imparted strictly in the feudal mode by **Guru-Shishya Parampara**, i.e., through teacher to pupil oral transmission and training.
- (e) **Musicology** represented in Sanskrit works by Srinivasa, Srikantha, Bhava Bhatta, the ghost writer for Raja Tuljaji of Tanjore, Purshottam Mishra, Narayandeve, and perhaps Ahobala Pandit; and in Persian by Mohammad Rezza; in Urdu by Hakim Mohammad Karim Imam and in Hindi by the ghost writer for Maharaja Pratap Singh of Jaipur.

II 1860-1905

- (a) **Bombay and Calcutta** rise in prestige, power and wealth and become the new metropolises of culture and art.
- (b) **Gwalior Khayal** annexes Maharashtra (Bombay) and **Oudh Thumri** captures Bengal (Calcutta).
- (c) **Princelings and Prostitutes** are principal patrons of music. Huddu Khan and Hassu Khan, sons of Naththan Khan, in Gwalior, Moulabux and Faiz Mohammad Khan in Rampur, Alia-Fattu, brothers, in Punjab-Rajputana, and the Muradabad Trio in Bombay.
- (d) **Classical Music Concerts** acquire a new format with **Khayals** followed by **Thumris**, the latter to draw attention of the prostitutes desiring to acquire competent teachers.
- (e) **Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjkar**, **Devjibuwa** and **Vasudevbuwa** receive training in Gwalior. **Balkrishnabuwa** recrosses **Narbada** to spread music in Maharashtra, starts first music school and publishes first music journal, composes for stage musicals.
- (f) **Musicals on Stage** **Annasaheb Kirloskar** pioneers in Maharashtra (1881) and **Jyotirindranath Tagore** in Bengal, following in the footsteps of semi-musicals presented by the **Parsi-Urdu-Gujarati Stage**.
- (g) **Military and Civil Bands** of the British Imperialist Army in India, and of the Princelings; and **Missionary Schools and Churches** introduce western harmony, touring groups entertain Englishmen living in cities and cantonments of India - Western instruments like violin, harmonium, organ, clarinet and mandolin penetrate the sphere of Indian music.

III. 1905-1923

- (h) **Music Education:** Beginnings by Balkrishnabuwa (date of starting of school not known), Moulabux in Baroda (c. 1880) and Bombay's Gayan Utejak Samaj (founded in 1870)
- (i) **Musicology:** C.R. Day, Anne C. Wilson, A.J. Ellis and other English "amateurs". And Raja Sourindro Mohun Tagore, who led the most important research team of the period.
- (a) **Zamindars, Prostitutes and Music Schools** become the principal sources of income for classical musicians. Princeling patronage rapidly declines. Commercial bourgeoisie begins to support music - mainly light-classical or thumri.
- (b) **Nationalism** initially under bourgeois zamindar leadership, begins to influence music - Vishnu Digambar Paluskar, Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande and Rabindranath Tagore emerge into limelight.
- (c) **Imperialist-Zamindar Compromise** promotes Bhatkhande music in Western and Northern India and Rabindra sangeet in Eastern India. Willingdon, Clements, Bhatkhande and Deval organise music concerts to aid war fund drive.
- (d) **Ravindra Sangeet** and later **Nazrul Geeti**, essentially varieties of the Thumri Ang, become popular with the middle classes of Bengal.
- (e) **Stage Music** retains popular appeal - Khadilkar and Gadkari in Maharashtra and G.C. Ghosh and D.L. Roy in Bengal.
- (f) **All-India Music Conferences** inaugurated by Bhatkhande (1916-1925) and Paluskar (1918-1922).
- (g) **South Indian or Carnatic Music**, influenced by revival of Bharat Natyam and Kathakali dancing gives up Raga-Time association.
- (h) **Mixed Gharanaz** with the replacements of Princeling patronage, the spread of music schools where "collective" teaching is imparted, the organisation of All-India Music Conference, etc., the isolation of traditional gharanas begins to break down, and newer mixed gharanas come into limelight.
- (i) **Music Concerts** become all-night marathon performances to please the new bourgeois patrons who want their pound of flesh.
- (j) **Paluskar** starts Gandharva Mahavidyala (1901-1924) in Lahore, Bombay, Poona and Nagpur; stages first concert with paid admissions (1897 at Rajkot); writes over 60 works on music; establishes instruments factory and printing press attached to his schools at Lahore and Bombay; publishes two music journals; later takes to religious mysticism.

- (k) Bhatkhande publishes *Hindustani Sangeetpaddhati* in four parts (1912-1932) and advises Bombay Municipality on music education - a Second Class of Simplified Classical Music comes into being.
- (l) Other musicological studies by A.H. Fox Strangeways, Coomaraswamy, K.B. Deval, E. Clements, R. Tagore, Shahinda or Atiya Begum Fyzee, Rahmin, H.A. Popley and H.P. Krishna Rao.
- (m) Alladiya Khan, Abdul Karim Khan, Bhaskarbuwa Bakhle, Rahimat Khan, Allauddin Khan and Faiyaz Khan rise into eminence.

IV. 1924-1933

- (a) "Dyarchy" compromise between bourgeois zamindars and British imperialism, leads to founding of Marris College of Music, Lucknow, under Bhatkhande's supervision in 1926.
- (b) Commercial bourgeois interests centred around M.K. Gandhi promote *Ashrambhajanavali*, a nationalist and religio-mystic collection of songs, whose music was composed by Paluskar and his pupils.
- (c) Trade Crisis and Depression lead to collapse of All-India Music Conferences and of important music schools run at private risk, like Abdul Karim Khan's.
- (d) Radio and Gramophone popularise light and light-classical music. Imperialist control of music. Imperialist control of music made absolute by state take-over of the major radio stations of Bombay and Calcutta, whilst gramophone records fall within the net of a British monopoly.
- (e) Theatre-Owners hire Anglo-Indian orchestras for Silent Movie Shows - Madan Theatres become impressions for classical singers, particularly Abdul Karim Khan.
- (f) South Indian or Carnatic Music diverges still further from Hindustani music with the formation of the Madras Music Academy (1927) and organisation of its annual music conferences - the economic crisis reveals the weaknesses of Indian bourgeoisie and its failure to achieve unified musical image.
- (g) Very lean period of musicology, and for music schools, music circles and for classical music in general. Scattered studies by E. Rosenthal, P. Sambamoorthy, G. Venkatachalam and a few others.

V. 1934-1956

- (a) Film Music becomes the dominant form of popular music, and radio and gramophone spread their influence to every nook and corner of India. Film music banned by AIR from 1952, and AIR surrenders in 1957 (Vividh Bharati) and 1967 (Commercial Advertising) as film music returns to take over bulk of listening hours.
- (b) Music Clubs sponsored by industrial bourgeoisie and the urban upper middle classes try to project a national identity through classical music - Economic recovery underpins spread of classical music through the Music Sabhas.
- (c) Instrumentalists, especially from Eastern India, come into prominence.
- (d) All-India Music Conference revive and multiply.
- (e) Feeble Progressivist Current - Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) attempts to revive folk music, rural drama and Indian style ballet for the entertainment of imperialist troops - IPTA collapses in the late forties as British negotiate with comprador bourgeois for a smooth transfer of power.
- (f) Transfer of power in 1947 to Indian comprador bourgeoisie brings about further strengthening of "Second Class" of Classical Music or the Bhatkhandeite Schools of Music.
- (g) Partition of India curtails the area of Hindustani music.
- (h) State Intervention in the field of music anticipates the turn towards state capitalism - Sangeet Natak Akademi funded in 1953, Weekly National Programme of Music on AIR started 1955, Annual Radio Sangeet Sammelan inaugurated 1955, Annual Akademi Awards for Hindustani and Carnatic Musicians given from 1953, Fellows elected by Sangeet Natak Akademi from 1953, musicians included in National Honours List from 1954.
- (i) Musicological Studies by A. Danielou, O.C. Ganguly, G.H. Ranade, G.S. Tembe, B.R. Deodhar and Omkarnath Thakur.
- (j) Kesarbai Kerkar, Ali Akbar Khan, Omkarnath Thakur, Vilayat Khan, Timir Baran, Amanali Khan, Bade Ghulam Ali Khan, Amir Khan, Sawai Gandharva, Pannalal Ghosh, Bismillah Khan and Ravi Shankar emerge as representative musicians of Hindustani system.

IV. 1957-1967

- (a) State Capitalist policies continue in the field of music, as bureaucracy launches a neo-classical revival that is safe, conservative and respectable.
- (b) Internationalisation of Indian classical music takes place as the youth of the West turns in despair to Indian mysticoreligious doctrines, to hallucinogenic drugs and pop music. Ravi Shankar, Ali Akbar, Yehudi Menuhin, George Harrison, Alain Danielou, John Higgins, etc., lead the way.

- (c) Film Music, Samuha (group) Gaan in Colleges Indianisation of Army Band-music, Choral Singing, and similar efforts to introduce western harmonised music gather momentum.
- (d) Considerable increase in publications relating to music. Many music journals flourish. Daily newspapers play up Indian classical music concerts and appoint music critics of the purpose. Audience for classical music increases by leaps and bounds - individual concerts on occasions command audiences of many thousands of listeners.
- (e) Musicological Studies by Swami Prajnanananda, Sukumar Ray, S.N. Ratanjankar, Vamanrao Deshpande, Kapileshwaribuwa, B.C. Deva, Ravi Shankar, B.R. Deodhar, P. Sambamoorthy, T.V. Subba Rao, S. Krishnaswamy, Alain Danielou, R. Ranganamanuja Ayyanagar, Ram Swarup, S. Bandopadhyaya, K.C.D. Brihaspati, Antsher Lobo, and many others.
- (f) Monopoly in gramophone records yields place to duopoly-Polydor joins HMV in supplying the Indian market. Many electronic films - with foreign technical collaborations - make radios, tape recorders. etc.
- (g) Bhimsen Joshi, Gangubai Hangal Kishori Amonkar, Moghubai Kurdikar, Malikarjun Mansur, Nikhil Bannerjee, Indranil Battacharya, Shivkumar Sharma, Hariprasad Chourasia, Jasraj and Amjad Ali Khan are the representative musicians.
- VII. 1968-1977
- (a) State capitalist controls tighten - absolute conformity with the Establishment becomes the norm. Song and Drama Division of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting becomes the biggest organisation in the field of performing arts.
- (b) International Interest in Indian music begins in flag.
- (c) "New Wave" Films and "Parallel" Cinema induce many classical musicians to turn to composing for films.
- VIII. 1977-1989
- (a) NRI Bourgeois influence spreads as Festivals of India in Britain (1984) and in USA and France (1985) revives interest in Indian folk and elite arts and East-West encounters multiply, heavily reinforcing comprador currents.
- (b) International interest in classical Indian music revives under NRI patronage.
- (c) Jazz is combined with both North and South Indian classical music at new forms of Raga-Rock combinations develop.
- (d) The state interventions in music now takes massive and monumental shape. "Apna Utsavs" and Seven Supra-Regional Culture Centres waste many crores of public money lavishly and recklessly as Indian compradors adopt the old Roman strategy of "bread and circuses" for the city middle classes and "aristocracy of the urban slums".

Postscript

Extracts from my latest monograph, *Periodization and Phasization the Central Concerns of Cultural History*, 1980

MUSIC:

The performing arts have followed a radically different patterns from that of the visual arts.⁹

During the Mughal period; 1556-1765, especially in Akbar's Court, the dominant style was **Dhrupad**.

During the transitional period 1707 - 1765, especially during Muhammad Shah's reign (1720s-1740s), Dhrupad style began to break down, and under the aegis of Sadarang and Adarang, court composers of Muhammad Shah, Khayal began to come into prominence.

Khayal was the dominant form from 1765-1860 and beyond. But here again, during the next transitional phase 1818 - 1860, Khayal began to break down and Thumri emerged, especially in and around the Avadh Court of Wajid Ali Shah.

From 1860-1924, one might say that Khayal and Thumri vied with each other in the dispersed courts of the petty successors of the Mughals and the currently dominant styles of Gharana Gaiki came to prevail. Each Gharana was naturally the off-shoot of each princeling court.

At the same time, especially during the transitional phase of 1905-1924, other varieties of light classical and light music began to assume prominence, namely Rabindra Sangeet, Nazrul Geeti, Marathi Natyasangeet, South Indian Javali, etc.

During the next period 1924-1966, increasingly the Film Song became the most popular form of music. Simultaneously, Revivalism took hold and middle class patronage increasingly promoted the surviving Khayal Gharanas.

During the last ongoing period of 1966-1989, all the signs of total collapse have become quite apparent. The Revivalist tendency continues, but Folk-music, Ghazal, Disco and Pop music are now highly popular and prestigious. (Vulgar Pop-songs by Charles Remo were featured conspicuously in Festivals of India Abroad, along with the revivalist mixture of Ravi Shankar, and the Folk music and dances of various regions of India)

9. See Chp. 4, 5 & 6 of my *Arts of Transitional India: 20th Century*, Vols. 1 & 2.

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VINAYAK PUROHIT

b.1927; freedom fighter 1942 Movement (compound fracture of the skull due to imperialist police atrocity; thrice arrested, once on charge of trying to burn a policeman alive, followed third time by preventive detention without trial); graduation B.A. (Hons.) with History, Economics and Politics, Bombay University, 1948; trade unionist 1948-52 (Gen. Secy., Bombay Press Employees' Union); art, architectural, music, dance, drama, film and literary critic from fifties; art advisor to a major industrial group from late fifties to seventies; playwright (*Byalis and Steel Frame*) from late sixties; designed monumental *Gitai Mandir*, Wardha, seventies; Ph.D. 1976 for *Arts of Transitional India: 20th Century*, 2 vols; Senior Fellow, ICSSR and UGC, 1976-82; Visiting Professor, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1980-82; Visitor, Arts Council of Great Britain, sponsored by ICCR, 1982; Visiting Professor, Chalmers Institute, Gothenberg, and Royal Technical Institute, Stockholm, 1982; Visiting Scientist, CSIR, 1980-82; Visiting Professor, University of Philippines, Manila, 1984; Consultant, ILO Project, Maharashtra, 1984-85; at present writing a novel *Parodh Pahelano Andhakar* (Gujarati, *The Darkness Before the Dawn*). At the same time he is also writing *A New History of Indian Art: A Marxist Reappraisal*.

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