Maharashtra Art Music

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MAHARASHTRA : ART MUSIC

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Maharashtra as it is known today can easily be described as a musical region. Firstly, because a majority of its social strata are involved with music of one type or the other. Secondly, all the four major musical categories, namely primitive, folk, art (or classical) and popular, find adequate representation therein. Finally, music is both studied and practiced in the region. The performing as well as the scholastic musical traditions are developed with equal vigour.

In fact it is in literature and music that Maharashtra can justifiably claim to have a reasonably continuous evolution. Maharashtra had of course responded positively to aesthetic stimuli in visual and plastic arts - Ajantha, Ellora as well as the folk arts and crafts are a convincing testimony! However, the criteria to be applied are continuity of expression and breadth of popular involvement. Only music and literature pass the test of these two. They certainly have proved to be the two prominent influences in shaping the cultural identity of Maharashtra. The proposed brief and descriptive account focuses on music.

As mentioned earlier, there are four fundamental categories of music and their significance warrants separate treatments. The present monograph concentrates on classical or art music. However, a final musical portrait of Maharashtra would emerge when developments in the four categories are taken into consideration. At the same time, it is to be remembered that musical categories influence mutually, even when all the four may not be equally active in all historical periods. In other words, two seemingly paradoxical procedures are to be simultaneously adopted: events in art music and the concerned details are to be deliberately separated and discussed while the other three categories are also to be kept in view.

The Historical Perspective

To gain a proper historical perspective is to ask and answer three basic questions: when, where and who. The three historical dimensions are therefore chronology, geography and personality. It is pertinent to note that of the three, when and who become almost irrelevant in case of primitive and folk musics. Art music is by definition supposed to transcend the barriers of time and the other two dimensions, too, seem to have a diminished relevance in case of art music. On the other hand personalities through whom one experiences music surely have a local habitation, name as well as definite time-spans of activity! In other words, the historical perspective and the three dimensions need to be used with considerable flexibility in attempts to trace musical development of the region. Cultural events display an inherent reluctance to be bound by the limitations of place, time and person, and this is amply borne out by the way music is shaped in Maharashtra. Broadly speaking the history of Maharashtra is divided in the following nine periods:

(1)	Pre-Satavahana	
(2)	Satavahana	(B.C. 73 - A.D. 218)
(3)	Chalukya-Rashtrakuta	(218—983)
(4)	Yadav	(1187—1346)
(5)	Muslim	(1347—1630)
(6)	Shivaji	(1631-1680)
(7)	Maratha	(1681—1820)
(8)	British	(1821–1947)
(9)	Post-Independence	(1948 onwards)

For all practical purposes the first three periods can be grouped together as the data is scanty and very few definite deductions are possible. Thus only six chronological periods need be discussed separately.

At this stage a question may arise: What is art or classical music?

For the purposes of the present monograph, art music is to be defined as, 'a highly urbanized, sophisticated musical expression oriented aesthetically. It is also characterized by its tenuous and indirect connection with events in the day to day life of the people producing it, unlike folk and popular musics. In addition, art music also boasts of a complex and a largely written grammatical codification.'

CHAPTER TWO

The Pre-Yadav Period

Maharashtra as it is seen today was outside the pale of early Aryan civilization. The Aryans named all the territory to the south of the Vindhya mountains as dakshinapath (i.e. a path to the south).

This wider term came to be replaced by a narrower and a more specific term-Maharashtra, around the fifth century. In fact Mahavamsha, a Sri Lankan Buddhist text of the same period refers to three Maharashtrakas which however exclude aparantaka i.e. Konkan, and Vanavasa i.e. parts of northern Karnataka of modern times. The most ancient place-name in Maharashtra is Vidarbha, probably the first Aryan settlement in their southward movement. From the early references to the Maharashtra of today it appears that only Konkan and Vidarbha have a definite geographical location. This is the reason why the non-Sanskrit sources and references to music of Maharashtra therein assume significance especially when the early period is under discussion. The non-Sanskrit sources are also important because they contain more varied information. It is in this context that Gathasaptashati (lit. seven hundred gathas), the well-known compilation by King Hala attracts critical attention. Hala's collection is important for the following reasons:

Being a non-musicological work, the light it sheds on musical matters could be taken to signify the most widely accepted part of the total musical reality of the times.

Secondly, it is composed in Maharashtri Prakrit, a language which is two steps away from the present-day Marathi (Maharashtri - Apbhransha being the intervening language). In other words the 'grandmotherly' relationship of Hala's language to that of contemporary Maharashtra should serve as an indicator of the direct cultural relationship of the peoples speaking these languages.

Thirdly, it is significant that gatha, the basic unit of the work, is by definition a 'singable verse'. N. G. Joshi has strongly argued that gathas owed their origin to folk songs and there is reason to believe that they enjoyed instrumental and rhythmic accompaniment.

Hala the compiler is said to have made his selection from over a crore gathas in general circulation! The point is that the wide use of an inherently musical unit suggests an abundance of music in daily lives of the ordinary people.

Fourthly, as has been argued by S. V. Ketkar, Maharashtri Prakrit was itself musical as a language because it was characterized by a high percentage of vowels. He has also pointed out that female characters in early Sanskrit plays sang in Maharashtri Prakrit though they employed Shouraseni Prakrit etc. for prose portions.

This assumes importance in the light of the fact that Maharashtri Prakrit was recognized as a highly developed language. Vararuchi's Prakritprakash, an early grammatical work, chiefly relied on it for source-material.

Finally, the compilation sheds light on the life and language of the people in Maharashtra around the second century, which is obviously a very early phase in historical progress.

On this background, the data on music provided by the Gathasaptashati might be examined.

Hala's Gathasaptashati

In a detailed analysis of the work, S. A. Joglekar brings out the following relevant musical data:

(1) The mention of *dundubhi, pataha* and *mridanga* prove an established existence of potters, tanners and metal-workers as occupational groups.

(2) There were troupes of dancers, singers and actors touring the urban areas as well as the countryside to give performances during festival seasons.

(3) A broad indication of the extent to which music had spread and an idea of the variety of social strata involved with music is obtained by listing some of the *gathas*.

Gatha number(s)	Refer(s) to
29, 172, 254, 526, 557, 560	*nagara*, bells, *mridang*, royal drum, flute and *vina* respectively
114	a group-dance of *gopis*
128, 334	songs of separation sung by women
304, 361	a married woman dancing to her husband's accompaniment
381	a love-song sung by a male singer in the morning
642, 643	professional female singers and bride's friends singing marriage-songs
689	male singer singing a song of plenty after a rich harvest

It is safe to conclude that Hala's compilation impressively reflects the variety of musical instruments, the multiple modes of their use, the varied status of the performers, as also the different kinds of occasions on which music was performed in Maharashtra nearly two thousand years ago. Music of all the categories existed and the prevailing culture was permeated with music.

After the Hala-period to the twelfth century, there remains a gap as far as the written sources are concerned. During this span, Apbhransha Marathi (also known as Jain-

Apbhrasha) flourished for about eight hundred years. This was succeeded by Marathi which became a linguistic and literary force around the twelfth century.

For the intervening time-span it is therefore necessary to explore alternative sources of information. Fortunately, the Ajantha paintings and the Ellora caves taken together cover the period extending approximately from 200 B.C. to 1200 A.D.

Ajantha Paintings and the Ellora Caves

Yazdani's documentation shows that the Ajantha paintings repeatedly depict the following musical instruments: Conch, flute, trumpet, drums, cymbals, harp, *ek-tara*, *do-tara* and *vina*.

It is manifest that the successive Buddhist, Hindu and Jain artists differed in their respective craftsmanship. The three faiths were restrictive (in varying degrees) in respect of freedom allowed as to the choice of themes, techniques adopted etc. Therefore, it is likely that only a few of the total number of musical instruments actually in vogue found their way in the depictions. However, all the four major categories of musical instruments, namely *ghan, avanaddha, sushira* and *tata* are represented. (The terms can be generally understood as solid, membrane-covered, wind-blown and stringed respectively.)

The occasions on which musical instruments were played also need to be noted. For example, they are the votaries' approach to a *Stupa*, a king's alms-giving, coronation ceremony, singing minstrels and a dancing girl. The instruments were often played together, which meant deliberate controlling of instrumental resources, as the instruments were of different timbres. The *kinnaras* and the *apasaras* have been shown to belong to a class of heavenly musicians, the significance of which will be touched upon later. The form in which it is depicted, the *vina* appears to be in an advanced stage of development around the fifth century. Considering the overlap of the time-spans involved, the Ellora cave-sculptures cannot be expected to add much to the data supplied by the Ajantha paintings. However, it is to be remembered that only a part of what was originally conceived and executed has come down to us. This must account for some of the curious lacuna in the musical facts represented. For example, no musical concert appears, though courtly life is depicted. Similarly, not all instruments presumably in currency during the period find a place. Udakvadyam, an instrument of a promising timbre though mentioned in Kamasutra as early as 200 A.D. is not seen.

The non-depiction of an instrument can perhaps be set aside without further comment. But the matter of non-depiction of a music concert has a musico-cultural aspect to it, which needs to be discussed.

In India there has been a love-hate relationship between society and artistes, especially the performers. Manifestations of art are accepted but the artistes have to face social hostility! Arts are legitimized with ease if they are related to the pantheon

or at least to super humans. In this context it seems meaningful that in the early Indian culture, music always appears as an invariable adjunct of devotion, worship or an analogous event of religious import. Both Ajantha and Ellora are not secular efforts of artistic creation and to that extent both were Influenced by the prevailing religious inhibitions or taboos. The point is that music concerts or occasions when music in itself comes to the foreground are hardly conceivable unless music is accorded an independent status.

Another causal factor also necessitates a looking into. The overall Indian reluctance to accept music on its own as also its inevitable legitimization on special occasions is related to the social ostracization of castes practicing performing arts to earn livelihood. It is no secret that till very recent times music was not encouraged as a vocation amongst the higher classes. Music was regarded as a necessary evil to be accepted after due sanctification through association with religious practices or super humans (with whom royal blood was also invariably connected), because music was chiefly practiced and performed by people of the lower castes. The apparent circularity in the performer-low caste link ceases to be problematic when the equation between being a performer and a low societal positioning in the traditional social hierarchy or organization is appreciated as a fact of history.

In all probability, the rationale for the equation maintained between low castes and performers is to be sought in the early Brahmanical fear that performing arts encouraged inter-*varna* marriages. The latter posed a direct threat to the *chaturvarna* system and hence performers were branded as social inferiors!

However, a question still remains: Why did Buddhism frown upon music? Is it because both Hinduism and Buddhism were from the Aryan north while the performing arts mainly owed their development to the contribution of the non-Aryan south?

If the argument is accepted, two different reasons seem to have contributed to a similar consequence i.e. the love-hate relationship of the society with the performers and the performing arts. It may be that the early performers were outsiders or aliens to the native culture. Alternatively, performing professions alone could allow unrestricted entry to the outsiders. In this way they could be accommodated and yet be kept separate from the existing core! Is this the reason why musicians, as depicted in the Ajantha, display an lien physiognomy? One may speculate!

Coming back to the importance of music in itself (i.e. to the existence of music concerts), it is symptomatic that an unambiguous depiction of a dance concert is seen late in the thirteenth century in the Ramlinga temple at Gursab (district Satara). This is the only one of its kind found so far! In it are seen heavily dressed males and females sitting on sofas and benches as an audience witnessing performance of a female dancer and drummers.

CHAPTER THREE

In the historical development of culture in Maharashtra the Yadav period is of special significance for many reasons. As far as the present inquiry is concerned the most important factor is the availability of an impressive array of musicological and non-musicological works dating from this period. Secondly, during the Yadav-times the territorial boundaries of the region approximate closest to those of Maharashtra as it is today. This is worth knowing because there subsists a close inter-relationship between territorial integrity and cultural identification of the people. People in Maharashtra today can identify with the people living in the kingdom of the Yadavs because both have the same territorial roots. Thirdly, during the Yadav-times the region developed a consciousness of distinctive territorial and cultural identity. The regional identity had become so unmistakable a force that intra-*varna* differentiation was made on the basis of regional ties. (This is indicative of a complex social organization). At the beginning of the thirteenth century the writer of the Bahal inscription declares himself to be a Brahmin of a *nagar* caste. In India the complexity of the caste-structure has invariably resulted in a multiplicity of rituals, festivals and such other phenomena that generate forms of music especially of the folk category. It is not coincidental that many of the musical forms described as 'folk' today have their first confirmed appearance during the Yadav period. Finally, it is at the end of this period that Islam makes its first cultural impact on Maharashtra.

However, it becomes necessary to step out of the boundaries of contemporary Maharashtra and turn to a dynasty which the Yadavs had to overpower before their rule was established. It is a fact of history that cultural and political mappings remain unidentical!

Someshwara's *Manasollasa*

King Someshwara III belonged to the Chalukya dynasty which had its seat in Kalyani (District Bedar). His encyclopaedic and non-musicological work known as *Abhilashitarthachintamani* or *Manasollasa* (1130) throws significant light on musical conditions prevailing in Maharashtra before the Muslim advent.

Someshwara III has been described as being more of a scholar than a soldier. The inscriptions of his times spoke of Someshwara's wide-ranging knowledge and the title Sarvadnya Chakravartin (i.e. the Omniscient Emperor) could therefore be more valid in its first half !

The work consists of twenty chapters, the contents of which range from theology, ethics, administration of polity, organization of army, music, dance, recreation, to the art of love! However, the variety of themes discussed may indicate cooperation from other experts, thus making the work more valuable. Of direct interest are the chapters devoted to music and musical instruments. They are entitled respectively as *Gitavinod* and *Vadyavinod*. The term *vinod* means amusement and hence the discussion need not be expected to be highly technical. Such a non-technical approach would also mean that only the more obvious and stabilized musical

features have been included in the compilation, music being one of the many! Some relevant musical features noted.

(1) Music seems to have been accorded a concert status. The chapter *Gitavinod* opens with an enlightening description of a *sabha* i.e. an assembly. What marks off a *sabha* from a mere gathering is the observance of a certain protocol and the purposefulness evinced in the composition of the audience present. Hence it is interesting to note that Someshwara lays down qualifications of the *sabhapati* (i.e. the president), the *sabhya* (i.e. the member of the assembly) etc. Further it is stated that the king would arrive with his consort after the *sabhyas* have assembled. The princes, the *kaladakshas* (i.e. experts), the *rasikas* (i.e. the connoisseurs) and the scholars are to sit on either side of the royal couple and in front of the *sabhapati*.

(2) A little later Someshwara refers to the various components of the audience vis-à-vis the musical compositions that appeal to them. The classification employed is in itself thought-provoking! In this context he enumerates the following:

Acharya (preceptor), *pandit* (scholar), *pramada* (damsel), *shura* (valiant, connoting probably the soldiers), *virahatura* (those suffering from separation), *vita* (courtesan well-versed in music, dance etc.), *yoginijana* (female musicians), *mahila* (ladies) and finally the *bhaktajana* (devotees).

(3) It is highly significant that regional contributions to the prevailing music have been noted in a number of ways. For example:

(a) Someshwara made the established distinction between the *margi* (i.e. the ancient, the traditional) and the *deshi* (i.e. the regional), but he went further and opined that the latter is more entertaining than the older twenty-eight varieties of ragas of the *grama, jati* and *bhasha*.

(b) The author makes clear reference to the regional origin of certain melodic moulds. The *raga*-names that occur in his listing are derivable from the names of regions such as Bengal, Gujrath etc.

(c) A yet more interesting reference suggests that Someshwara had watched the musical situation very closely. He states that the *raga sandhali* originated in Andhra. The statement shows that the attribution of regional qualities to certain ragas is not based upon similarities between their respective names alone. The example of the *raga varati* proves the point. The author mentions *raga shuddha varati* and goes on to list *karnat varati* and *varati dravidi* as its variants.

In this connection it is worthwhile to refer to S. B. Joshi's argument about raga-names that reflect regional origins. Establishing connections between various raga-names and regions in India, Joshi concludes that *Varati* is obviously the regional melody of Maharashtra. The oldest inhabited part of Maharashtra has been *Vidarbha*, also known as *varhad*. Under the circumstances, raga varati to have southern variations could be taken to suggest that specific regionalization was on the increase. This foreshadowed the major bifurcation of art-music systems in India.

(d) A musical form called *dollari* is described as consisting of two non-Maharashtrai languages, namely, *lati* (probably related to Gujrath) and *turushki*.

(e) Of special interest is Someshwara's practice of giving illustrative texts of musical compositions. Composition-texts in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannada are identifiable. It is symptomatic that Someshwara's dynasty disintegrated with the Maharashtri-speaking territory going to the Yadavs and the Hoyasala taking over the region that was destined to become Kannada-speaking.

(f) Direct references to musical forms current even today are notable. Firstly Someshwara states that women in Maharashtra sing *ovis* while pounding the grain. Secondly, he mentions *dhaval* as marriage-songs. Thirdly, Someshwara is also credited to have encouraged a dance-form called *chitra-gondali*. This was based on *gondali*-performance originating in a Bhil-dance from Maharashtra. According to Nrittaratnavali of Jayapa (1253-54) Someshwara witnessed a song-and-dance performance of a girl clad in a Bhil-vesha in the capital city of Kalyani during the festival of *bhuta-matru-devata*. He liked it to the extent of getting it choreographed. He named it gondali following the usage of the Bhil women in Maharashtra.

In this connection it must also be mentioned that in all probability the first complete stanza of a Marathi folk song (referred to as that) is to be found in *Manasollasa*. The stanza is in praise of the *matsyavatara* and could be treated as a devotional composition. It is in the form described as *vichitraka*.

(g) It is very important to note a fuller presence of the four musical categories in the world of *Manasollasa*. The matter of chitragondali explains the existence and awareness of the category of primitive music. Statements about ovi, dhaval are clear indications of the folk expression. The elaborate treatment of *raga*, *tala* and *prabhandhas* (i.e. musical forms) unambiguously proves a well-developed tradition of art-music. Reference to *tripadi* being employed to heap reproaches on a defeated wrestler or the instruction to play the *trivali* (a type of atonal drum) at the drinking parties suggest existence of a popular category of music.

The general remarks put forward so far should prove adequate to infer that a minute reading of *Manasollasa* is bound to yield valuable information about the entire life-style of the times. However, it is intended here to focus attention on art-music.

Hence a brief account of Someshwara's treatment of two important musicological themes namely, musical forms and musical instruments is to be undertaken.

Prabandhas in *Manasollasa*

The chapter entitled *Gitavinod* deals with the types of singers, *gamaks*, gradation of artistes, seating arrangements etc. prior to discussing song-types and their qualities. From verses 198–537 the author takes up most of the medieval musical forms. As mentioned earlier, illustrative song-texts are quoted in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannada, making the descriptions of the forms more interesting.
Someshwara takes a very logical step of treating *chhandas* (i.e. metres) as musical forms. It is not well appreciated that Indian prosodic moulds exhibit the unique

feature of having definite tunes associated with them though they may not be in a *tala* (i.e. a closed rhythm-pattern). *Sloka, Bhujaga, Indravajra, Vamshastha, Vasanttilaka, Malini, Mandakranta, Shardulvikridita et al* are described (verses 202—241). The author then proceeds to define prose (verse 247) and begins description of song-types (verse 249 onwards). Someshwara's observation is minute enough to initiate the discussion by a brief reference to *dandaka* which is 'sung prose' in the sense that it has some melody which just stops short of having a rhythm.

The author touches on more than seventy-five *prabandhas*. It is unfortunate that all of them are not comprehensible, Music, its language etc. have so changed since! However, it is necessary to explain at least some so that the intricacy of the musical fabric is appreciated.

Shatpadi - Sung in Karnat language and full of alliteration, it narrates a story in a *tala*-less rendering (verse 289).

Jaymalika - Jayamalika is sung in *jayatala*, uses word *jaya* and similar others. It may uses any raga (verse 308).

Matrika - Characters of the alphabet, when used singly, in their sequence and at the beginning of each line meaningfully create the *matrika prabandha*. It is neither bound by the raga rules nor those of tala and may be composed as one wishes (verse 310-315).

Shukasarika - The composition uses two talas, meaningful lines and syllables of the rhythm-instruments. Whether in prose or in verse, the language-lines are couched as questions and answers. The form employs Karnata and Lata languages. (verse 326-329).

Vichitraka - The form employs many regional languages. It is set to tune in a raga and many talas. Auspicious words such as *tennaka* (verses 339–344) are used.

Chaturang - The form employs four languages (with the first stanza of the composition in Sanskrit), ragas and talas and hence it is known as *chaturang* i.e. four colours.

Swararth - It combines the syllables of the note-names in sequence or otherwise (From the Bikaner manuscript, verses 11-12).

Chaturmukh - Tune i.e. melody, syllables of rhythm instruments, meaningful lines and auspicious words create the form (verse 398).

Ragakadambaka - It is created when prose is employed with or without tala with dance. It exploits many ragas (verse 373).

Talarnava - The form is created when prose or prosodic moulds in one raga and many *talas* are employed (verse 374).

Stavamanjari - It is in praise of gods, couched in appropriate words and sung by many (verse 375).

Instances can of course be multiplied but that is hardly necessary. Some important deductions from the data provided by the *Manasollasa* need to be noted chiefly because they represent trends which continued to exercise considerable influence in the later centuries:

(1) Prosodic features governed the formulation of musical forms to a great extent. Sequence of letters or their clusters, lengths of individual sounds, presence or absence of rhymes and their varieties, therefore, came to play an important role.

(2) Regional languages and their combination constituted an important factor in determining the form of music.

(3) As the author himself indicated, musical forms came into being because of the themes or subjects they dealt with. The occasions on which they were performed or presented also operated as an equally important form-giving principle.

(4) Musical forms of the four musical categories were not separated from one another too sharply. A great deal of musical and conceptual overlapping existed on account of the total cultural situation. It is symptomatic that *geet, vadya* and *nrittya, katha* (i.e. story telling) and *chamatkara* (i.e. miracles, magic-acts) are all grouped together in the *vinod vimshati*.

Musical Instruments in *Manasollasa*

Vadyavinod, the discussion of musical instruments forms part of the section entitled *vinod vimsati* (lit. twenty amusements or diversions).

At the outset, Someshwara refers to musical instruments in a novel four-fold division. He seems to give usage the predominance it deserves and points out that musical instruments are seen in four contexts-solo, accompaniment to song, as followers of dance and finally, with singing and dancing combined. This is followed by a reference to the conventional classification viz. *tata, ghana* etc. The author then states that musical instruments are also classifiable according to the mode of playing. On the background of general classification of instruments specific attention is paid to the making of *vina*, the playing-mode, and merits-demerits of a *vina*-player. Special references are made to varieties of *vinas* such as *ek-tantri, alapini* and *kinnari* etc.

Mridang is taken up next for a description of the construction, the process of applying a coat on its left face, the producible sound-syllables and the merits demerits of the player. *Manasollasa* confirms the general Indian abundance of *patahas* i.e. drums. The method of playing the drums, as also the sounds producible from them, are well attended to. Grading of the players, the occasions on which various drums are employed are also duly mentioned. A similar methodical approach characterizes the discussion of the *ghana* and the *sushira* variety of instruments. The more theoretical matters of defining *tala*, describing its characteristics are also taken up. It is not possible to go into the details of this brief, though clear, chapter, but some features of the instrumental world of *Manasollasa* need to be mentioned:

(1) Instruments associated with specific occasions are important clues to the acceptance of music in the general life-pattern of the people. For example the following references are noteworthy:

(i) the *pataha* is useful in female-dances (v. 701-710).

(ii) the *urdhvavaktra* drum (lit. the 'uplifted' face) is employed in dramas.

(iii) *trivali* accompanies *lasya* dance of an inebriated professional woman (v. 743-751).

(iv) *selluka*, a struck stringed instrument, is used in temples.

(v) *karata* is employed during festivals, marriages, at palaces and on pilgrimages.

(vi) *damar, dhakka, bheri, dundubhi, nissana* etc. are played during festivals and in temples.

(2) On a number of occasions the author describes the sounds of the instruments under discussion onomatopoetically, suggesting not only a keen phonetic sensibility but also an awareness of the importance of timbre as a dimension of sound. Instruments assume significance on account of their 'personalities' which they acquire largely as a result of their timbres. Identification of instruments is greatly aided by the description of their sounds. Some instances of Someshwara's phonetic pictures are given below:

Instrument	Sounds emitted
(1) kudup	ru, dhen (v. 742)
(2) trivali	ru, do, don (v. 750)
(3) selluka	dhin, jhin (v. 757)
(4) karata	ka, ta, ra (v. 771)
(5) damar	da (v. 780)
(6) dhakka	dhenka (v. 780)

(3) Someshwara makes a separate mention of forms of instrumental music (*anaddha* variety, v. 787–829). In view of the general predominance of vocal music in India a recognition to an independent hierarchy of instrumental musical forms shows perception.

(4) The concise descriptions of notating the *tala* (v. 844-846) and of the combined playing of the *jhanjh, damaru, dhakka* (v. 890–893) are instances of increasing sophistication in musical expression.

(5) Even a cursory glance at the *kathavinod* (from v. 1407 onwards) shows that instruments and music were purposefully combined with the craft of story-telling executed in varying formats such as *ek-vaktrika, dwi vaktra, chaturmukha* and *bahupurusha*.

On the whole, Someshwara's work suggests a culture in which music was assiduously cultivated in its academic as well as performing aspects. It also depicts a Maharashtra influenced by musical traits distinguishable both ethnically and geographically. The broad division of Indian art music into two entirely separate musical systems had apparently yet to take shape but there is a foretaste of the great bifurcation in the author's pointed references to regional contributions to the prevalent music. Some indications of the musical impact of Islam are also obtained.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Musico-literary Scene: The Yadavas

Strictly speaking, *Manasollasa* deals with the pre-Yadava period. The Yadav ascendancy over Maharashtra became a reality subsequent to their victory over the author of *Manasollasa*. However, the pre-Yadava work surely indicates a direct relationship with what took place in Maharashtra during the Yadava-period. in fact an examination of the Yadava times suggests that the period deepened or accentuated the musical trends suggested somewhat tentatively in *Manasollasa*.

In the history of Maharashtra the importance of the Yadava-period can hardly be overestimated. The Yadava presence in the region has been firmly traced to King *Dridhaprahari* (900 AD). However the Yadavas became the main cultural force only after King Bhillam had defeated the Kalachuris and assumed the throne at Devgiri in 1187. Jaitugi (1193), Singhandev (1210) *et al* followed and ruled with credit. Malik Kafur, Allauddin Khilji's general, was responsible for the final overthrow of the dynasty in 1310.

During this period important works on musicology were produced, with Sharangdeva's *Sangeet Ratnakara* in the lead. Supporting data is provided by *Sangeet Chudamani* of Jagadekamalla (1138—1150) of the Kalyani Chalukya dynasty, *Sangeetsamaysar* of Parsvadeva, a Jain king (1134–1145) and by *Sangeet Sudhakar* of Haripaldeva (c.1248).

Of equal meaningfulness is the data provided by the literary traditions of the times, namely, the Mahanubhav and Varkari devotional expressions. The Mahanubhav sect originated in Maharashtra during the latter part of the thirteenth century, with its dissemination more or less confined to Maharashtra Madhya Pradesh and Punjab. (In the 1920s the followers of the sect numbered around 20,000). The relevant point is that the sect inspired a corpus of eight biographical works, two philosophical tracts, six commentaries, eight narrative poems and a number of miscellaneous prose or verse pieces up to the year 1350. The corpus provides an early and invaluably wide ranging data on the musical expression revealing even in the non-elite strata of society. Another important literary corpus (much of it in circulation even today) is the one inspired by the varkari sect. An offshoot of the *bhakti* movement sweeping over the country from the eighth century, the varkari sect came into prominence during the latter half of the fourteenth century. The 'ocean' of the varkari literature consisted of Dnyaneshwari and other philosophical works, thousands of abhangs compiled in the gathas of the saint-poets, narratives and miscellaneous compositions of various genres such as *bharud, gaulan, virani, stotra, arati, palane* and *bhupali*. The sect attained the peak of its popularity in the seventeenth century and still continues to be a live force. The discussion of its contribution to music or of the musical data which could be gleaned from it comes to an end in the present section at 1350, the year Sant Namdeo, the senior most of the first phalanx of the varkari saints, expired. By that time the Yadavas were a spent force. The last major Mahanubhav acharya (preceptor) Baidevbas died around 1315. The sect suffered heavily due to Islamic onslaught. The endangered followers feared destruction and abuse of the

Mahanubhav literature and lore. Therefore Ravalobas the then chief *acharya*, formulated a secret script called *nagari* or *sakalit* around 1353. Since then the major portion of the Mahanubhav literature was preserved in this script, in the process making it less accessible as well as less influential in the years to come.

On this background, *Sangeet Ratnakara* and the Mahanubhav as well as the varkari literary sources are to be considered to reconstruct the musical past of Maharashtra during a period of about three centuries. The period successively saw the Islamic rule of the Khilji, Tughlaq and Bahamani dynasties in the Deccan as well as the founding of a southern Hindu dynasty of Vijayanagar, playing important cultural roles.

Sangeet *Ratnakara*

Sharangdeva, the author of the seminal work on music, was *shrikaranagrani* i.e. auditor general at the Yadava court during the reign of Singhandeva (1212-1247). The author's grandfather, Bhaskara migrated from Kashmir to the south in search of patronage and Sodhal, the author's father, was in the employ of Bhillama, the first Yadava king to found a dynasty. It therefore seems safe to conclude that Sharangdeva was born in Maharashtra. Today his work is equally respected by the followers of both Hindustani and Carnatic systems of art music. In fact *Sangeet Ratnakara* may be described as the last traditional musicological text to claim this distinction. Needless to say the work remains a mystery in many places as music has changed considerably since Sharangdevas' times. Yet it affords rare insights into the prevailing musical reality. More importantly the musical magnum opus also represents a critical stage in the development of Indian music confronted with cultural forces of unprecedented tenacity and intensity of purpose engulfing the whole country. At the same time a close reading of the text allows a conclusion that in spite of the apparent disruptions, music enjoyed a continuity because it is essentially a performing art. In addition to sounding musicological depths Sharangdeva is credited to have made significant contributions to poetry, prosody, metaphysics and *ayurveda*. Salient features of the *Sangeet Ratnakara* could be usefully summarised:

(1) The three thousand and fifty three verses of the *Ratnakara* are grouped into seven chapters to discuss *swara, raga, prakirnaka* (i.e. miscellaneous), *prabandha, tala, vadya* and *nritya* respectively. The last chapter also includes discussion of the rasa theme. The author refers to more than forty authorities and quotes directly from fourteen. The entire plan underscores a wide base of treatment.

(2) Sharangdeva's approach to music borders on being interdisciplinary. Philosophy, *yoga* and *ayurveda* are brought into picture meaningfully. Genesis of human life, description of human body, origin of sound are therefore linked. To describe qualities of human voice in terms of *ayurveda* also reflects a similar approach on the author's part. The discipline of cultural musicology affirms its faith today in viewing music as a part of a total cultural pattern in order to appreciate the real nature and value of music. The same total approach is discernible in Sharangdeva's frame of reference.

(3) As is to be expected from a medieval writer on music, distinction between *margi* (i.e. traditional) and *deshi* (i.e. the regional) musics is made clear. More importantly, Sharangdeva differentiates between *purva prasiddha* (i.e. well-known earlier) *ragas* and those which are *adhuna-prasiddha* (i.e. well-known today) *ragas*. In itself the distinction shows an awareness of the ever changing nature of music and its appeal. A grammarian is usually supposed to be more concerned with the stabilised and the static. Sharangdeva's awareness adds a dimension to his accepted role of a codifier.

(4) A close reading of the *raga*-names of the two varieties namely *adhuna* and *purva prasiddha* reveals that only four of the thirty-four *raga*-names of the *purva prasiddha* class have regional associations. They are *karnatika, lati, panchali* (all *ragangs*) and *gandhargatika* (*bhashang*). On the other hand, from the fifty-two *raga*-names of the *adhuna prasiddha* class about nineteen carry suggestion of a regional association.

The same recognition of the regional element is reflected in the author's pointed description of the *deshi* category. Sharangdeva defines it as 'instrumentation, singing or dancing which pleases the people of every region according to their own taste' (1.1.22-23). It is interesting to note that nearly four centuries earlier Matang in his *Brihaddeshi* had described *deshi* music as 'singing done by women, children and princes with love, of their own will and in their own territory' (2,14). It is clear that Sharangdeva's connotation is wider. All the social strata are included in his description as also the three basic modalities of music.

The author's awareness of the importance of the regional forces is also brought out by unambiguous references to geographical regions, ethnic groups and languages. For example, twenty-three regions, five ethnic groups and six languages find mention.

(5) Some specifically musicological features occurring in *Ratnakara* underline the elaborate nature of musical practices as also the author's penchant for a through codification:

(a) Sharangdeva describes fifteen varieties of *gamaks* as contrasted with the seven mentioned by Someshwara.

(b) He emphasizes the place of the *deshi tala*. Contrasted with Matang's enumeration of twelve or Someshwara's thirty, Sharangdeva's listing of one hundred and twenty *talas* is certainly a highpoint.

(c) The '*sthays*', as elaborative techniques employed to expand musical ideas, had attained great importance during medieval times. Sharangdeva refers to ninety six varieties of these, stressing in the process the increasingly technical nature of music-making in his days.

(d) While Bharata refers to six merits and five demerits of voice, Sharangdeva has listed fifteen merits and eight demerits. What is unique in the latter's treatment is the use of the *ayurvedic tridosh* system to describe qualities of human voice.

Ratnakara also provides a more extensive inventory of merits and demerits of singers.

(e) *Tana* as it was understood in the early and medieval phase of musical development was in fact a *murchhana* characterized by a predetermined omission

of a note or two. The resulting pattern was, according to Bharata, a *murchhana-tana*. In the event the sequence of notes in a *murchhana* was altered, a special type of *tana* called *kut-tana* resulted. Sharangdeva convincingly arrives at an astronomical figure 31,7930 *kut-tanas* !

In all probability the *murchhana* way of musical elaboration was to be totally replaced by the *mela*-system around the fifteenth century. Hence the *Sangeet Ratnakara* might be regarded as the last bastion of the *murchhana*!

(6) Musicology being a grammar of music exploits etymology as a part of its constant endeavour to establish relationship of correspondence between a term and the referent object or practice. An etymology may either correspond to the object or a practice as they are or as they were. Lack of correspondence between the term and the object obviously suggests a change in the latter. Alternatively, a multiplicity of etymological explanations also point in the same direction. Finally, a term which cannot be explained etymologically may be interpreted as a near-definite indication that a particular object of particular culture has been 'imported'. These possibilities are reflected in case of musical instruments which are also objects that are manufactured. The world of *Ratnakara* bears a testimony to the fascinating process.

For example, flutes were aptly called *venu* or *vamshi* in the early phases of Indian musical development, thus indicating their manufacture from bamboo i.e. *vamsha*. By the time of *Ratnakara* however, the situation had changed.

There were about fifteen types of flutes and they were made from many alternative materials such as *khair* wood (acacia catechu), silver, bronze, gold, ivory, sandalwood, iron, red sandalwood or bamboo. It is, therefore, clear that instrumental development had far outpaced etymological correspondence. That the same term still continued to be applied to the instrument is, in a way, an instance of linguistic inertia

However, this may not be the case always. As indicated earlier, the alternative way of attaining object-etymology correspondence is to derive the term in a manner different from the one conventionally accepted, or to have a different name for the changed object. For example, the ancient two-faced horizontal drum *mridang* was derived in the Bharata-tradition from *mrid* taken to mean clay pasted on one of the drum-faces. In the Sharangdeva-tradition it is derived from the same seed-word *mrid* but it is taken to mean 'hide'. It is obvious that drums as an instrumental class must have undergone great change. This is corroborated by the case of a type of drum called *tripushkar*. Sharangdeva specifically mentions that this three-faced drum is extremely unusable and hence he has not described it. Of equal curiosity is the author's reference to *pakshawadya* an instrument similar to *mridang* perhaps an indication of a direct ancestral link with the Hindustani *pakhawaj* of today.

Finally Sharangdeva remains content with the mere listing of *ghoshwati, parivadini, vallaki, paun, ravanahastak* and *sarangi*, all being string instruments of one type or another. Kallinath, Sharangdeva's major commentator, also remains satisfied by stating that inquiries with the people would enable one to know what these instruments would be. As argued earlier, these etymologically untouched and unexplained names would indicate their being alien to the codifier's culture.

(7) The medieval musicologists emphatically put forward a very important musico-aesthetic concept of *sharir*. Sharangdeva characterizes it as 'a capacity of voice to express a *raga* without repeated efforts'. He adds that the quality is born with the body i.e. sharir and hence the name. Sharangdeva further explains that one acquires *sharir* due to the imparting of knowledge, *tapa*. i.e. penance, devotion to Lord Shankara or because of good fortune! It should be obvious that the description takes the concept much beyond a physiological property though that is the suggestion carried by the term and the etymology. *Pratibha*, a concept almost deified in Sanskrit poetics, seems to be a close parallel to the *sharir*. That such an important quality be defined in terms of singing alone merely emphasizes vocal music as the dominant partner in the triad making up *sangeet* as a totality.

(8) In the present context those terms and forms which could be directly linked to Maharashtra need a separate mention.

Konkan and Vidarbha (i.e. Varat) are named as in the present day. The term Maharashtra seems to refer to the present region excluding Konkan and Vidarbha. Maharashtrabhasha finds a specific mention as also *prabandhas* such as *ovi, dhaval*. Konkan and Maharashtra are singled out for the employment of instrumental group participations in dramatic performances. In the chapter describing the process of applying rice-paste on the left face of *mridang* it is laid down that the shape of the applied paste be like a disc comparable to *pula*, a term which Simhabhupal the commentator explains as '*iti Maharashtre prasiddha*' i.e. as known in Maharashtra. A number of terms occurring in chapters on *avanaddha* instruments carry a flavour of the Marathi language. For example, *bollavani, zadappani, challavani, uttavani, jodni, gajar, kavi, takani* etc. are worth noting.

In the description of the *deshi nritya*, the *Ratnakara* refers to *goundali, prerani* and *pekhani* dances. The first is an obvious predecessor to the *gondhal* of today. Unlike it, the latter two do not include singing and appear to be related to agricultural rites such as sowing etc.

The Literary Traditions

To turn to non-musicological and literary sources in Maharashtra from the beginning of the Yadava dynasty to about 1350 is to bring into focus four places as major literary seats. They are Ridhpur (Vidarbha), Paithan (Marathwada), Nevase (district Ahemadnagar) and Pandharpur (district Solapur).

The first work in Marathi, namely *Leelacharitra*, was written in a small temple in Ridhpur. The township also continued to inspire the later Mahanubhav masterpieces such as Mahadamba's *dhavale* (i.e. marriage songs).
Apart from its firm association with Hala's *Gathasattasai*, Paithan became an important religions centre. The Mahanubhavs, *varkaris* as well as the *sufis* were drawn to the town known earlier as Pratishthan.
Nevase, known earlier as Nidhivas, gained importance chiefly because the eternal source of *varkari* devotion-Dnyandeva's *Dnyandevi* was composed there.
In Pandharpur the Vithoba temple, the deities Vitthal-Rukmini, the associated myths and fascinating confluence of the Karnataka and Maharashtra cultures, together

provide the essence of the *varkari* devotion. The complex continues to stimulate the followers of the *varkari* sect for over eight hundred years.
The two literary traditions emanating from the four centres are also of musical importance. Firstly, because the two literatures abound in references to music, musical terms, forms and stylistic features and thus corroborate the existence of the patterns of musical behaviour of the times. Secondly, various facets of these traditions have helped in crystallizing certain musical forms and in creating a continuity of musical usage. Music that came into existence and circulation in this manner has been usually included in the folk music category, though it is more proper to characterize it as devotional. This is so irrespective of the fact that saint-poets throughout the country and through the course of centuries have diligently explored as well as exploited folk musical forms prevalent in their times in order to compose their special type of music. Finally, literary traditions are standing reminders of a continued relevance of oral literature in India as also of the manner of passing on music from generation to generation. Devotional music, inspired by and based on the literary traditions of the saint-poets of all sects, exhibits, as a category, a selective reliance on both art and folk musics of the land. This music is didactic in purpose, eclectic in matter of musical frameworks and performance-oriented in essence. Further, it strikes useful requisite balances between various musical modalities such as vocal/instrumental, choral/solo and virtuoso/emotional approaches. On this background devotional music would obviously need a separate treatment. However a historical account of music necessitates period wise references to the relevant forms, styles and such other matters.

Mahanubhav Literature and Music

Leelacharitra was written around 1278 (though the rewritten version that has come down is dated 1310). Hence the data provided by the Mahanubhav literature pertains to a period preceding that covered by the *varkari* corpus. From the Mahanubhav literature the following music-related references are important:

(1) Mahadaisa, a prominent female disciple of Chakradhar, sang *ovis* while pounding grain. Her *ovis* included the addressee's name. The occasion and the structural feature persist even today.

(2) Krishnabhat and Naikbaiya are mentioned to have sung *pad*, a form parallel to the *ovi* in its incidental nature and free construction.

(3) Mahadaisa composed *dhavale* i.e. marriage-songs.

(4) Kavadimba (Kavi Dimba?), a professional singer, is described to have come to Chakradharswami and to have sung songs of praise with accompanists who stood behind and provided a continuous *sur* i.e. a sort of vocal drone. On another occasion the same person sang a *jati* i.e. an *arati* in Chakradhar's presence. Mahimbhatt, the author of *Leelacharitra*, composed ten *aratis* and the musico-literary decuplet is known as *jaticha dashaku*.

(5) A wandering musician came and sang in honour of Chakradhar, beating all the while on a stick in his hand. On another occasion a wandering couple sang in a similar fashion playing a *sarivina* (?) as accompaniment.

(6) Mention is also made of *chakragondal* and the inevitable and unmistakable *udo* (Sanskrit *uday* i.e. rise, victory). *Udo* is crying aloud the praise of the deity and hailing it by employing the word '*udo*' repeatedly. A *gondhali* is also described.

Other song-types mentioned in the Mahanubhav literature and bordering on folk music are:
dak (dahak-dahak) = a funeral song.
pawade, powada = *pravad* i.e. praise of a hero. Singers of these were known as *gane* or *kalyankirti*.

(7) Both Chakradhara himself and Umaisa, sister to Nagadevacharya, are reported to have sung *choupadi* compositions. Damodar Pandit was known for his *dhuva* compositions. *Dhuva (dhava)* is an invocation to god to come to the help of the devotee. Alternatively it is suggested that *dhuva* was so named because it was sung in *dhruvaka-tala*.
In fact Damodar Pandit (1278) is well known for his *choupadis*. Chakradhara had ruled that 'singing is poison': thus denying a role to music. But Damodar Pandit was so well-versed and immersed in music that he felt compelled to seek solitude and sing even after taking up to Mahanubhav asceticism. He was however overheard by the head priest! But the devotional power of his music was so perceptible as to get him permission to pursue his music.

Damodar Pandit is credited to have composed sixty *choupadi* compositions employing ragas such as kalyan, ramkali, ramgri etc. Not only the metre but the language of the form shows a 'Hindi' orientation. In fact experts have concluded that nearly twenty-five of the *choupadis* are in Hindi. Significantly it is believed that the first *choupadi* Damodar pandit composed was to defeat a *nath jogi* in a verbal duel at the instance of Nagadevacharya. The compositions do not necessarily consist of four stanzas as the name suggests. Two facts are therefore deducible: the northern influence and a recent vogue of the form.

(8) Mahanubhav literature abounds in stotras which touch upon diverse themes though the name in itself means ' praise of God'. Hayagriva's gadyaraj-stotra (1316—24) attracts attention because of its use of non-rhyming construction similar to prose. This might mean that all the parts of a *stotra* were not 'sung'. The *stotra* does not make its appearance in the *varkari* literature till the sixteenth century.

The *Varkari* Literature

The *Varkari* literature (till 1350) is of musical importance chiefly because it brings into prominence an evolution of certain musical forms. Their detailed consideration would find place in the discussion of devotional music of Maharashtra.

Music being an essential part of the varkari conduct in general (unlike the Mahanubhav position in the matter) the sect inspired the use of music in various contexts, modalities as well as in diverse social strata. This is the reason for the numerous forms that find mention in the varkari literature. The following brief enumeration is instructive in this respect :

- *Pada* - A verse with a *dhrupad* that forms stanzas of required lengths. In the early phase under discussion existence of a dhrupad is the only factor which distinguishes it from the *abhang*.
- *Virani* - (*Virahini* i.e. song of separation). A verse which otherwise remains similar to the *pada*.
- *Kheliya* - A dance-song for a group. In all probability known in Konkan today as *kat-kheli-kapadkheli* song.
- *Abhang* - Two types of abhangs came to be composed from the early days, one lengthier and the other shorter. The former had longer six lines while the latter had shorter four lines. It has been pointed out that prosodically examined an *abhang* is a series of *ovi*s unbroken in their sequence and hence the name abhang.
- *Ovi* - Dnyaneshwar refers to his own ovi as capable of producing effect without being sung. The earlier Mahanubhav *bhishmacharya* also refers to a *granthik ovi* (i.e. *ovi* in a book) in his *Margprabhakar*. Obviously the 'book' version came into being as a reaction to the sung *ovi* which in its turn became more crystallized in structure, thus paving the way for the emergence of abhang.
- *Bharud* - Even though there are stray Mahanubhav examples, the Varkari saint-poets converted Bharud into an effective expression. In all probability bharud was a package presentation with singing, dancing and acting as its components.
- Keertana - Sant Namdeo's well-known reference to a 'danced' Keertana as also to the presentation in which character-roles (i.e. song) were enacted indicate the beginnings of a religio-musical, and didactic Varkari Keertana known today. A detailed discussion of the form finds place in the consideration of devotional music.
- *Arati* (*artikya*) - This final ritualistic act in a worship with specific musical employment flourished after Sant Eknath (1533-1599) though it existed in the early Varkari phase.
- *Pālakh* or *Palna* - Cradle songs with a metaphysical import and the inevitable use of the sleep-inducing words *jo jo re* were composed.
- *Bhupali* - Probably sung in raga Bhupali, these compositions were arati-s sung early in the morning. They are also described as *kakad arati*-s.

Apart from the matter of musical forms there are other stray references in the Varkari literary corpus that have musical significance:

(1) Sant Namdeo (1270-1350) who preceded Amir Khusro, refers to singing of khayal though in a rather uncomplimentary manner. It is obvious, that in spite of the verbal similarity, this khayal cannot be identical with the khayal of today. However the use of the term suggests evolution of a new form with foreign cultural links, a reason enough to arouse hostility!

(2) One of Sant Namdeo's abhangs refers to rain clouds and *raga malhar* thus indicating an early *raga-ritu* (i.e. season) association. In order to find place in a non-musicological setting the association would need deep roots in the prevalent culture.

(3) The varkari corpus alludes repeatedly to *vina*, *taal* and *mridang*: instruments that strike easy balances between simplicity, availability and sonorities conducive to collective devotional practices.

(4) Sant Namdeo went on a pilgrimage to the north during the later years of his life and subsequent researches have shown that his influence persists in Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan. The relevant musical evidence is the sacred book of the Sikhs, the *Granthsaheb*, which includes sixty-one of Namdeo's compositions with eighteen ragas ascribed to them. The variety of ragas is impressive and speaks of his wide knowledge of the prevailing raga-lore. In fact, Sant Namdeo has altogether 230 compositions (*padas*) and 13 *sakhis* in Hindi to his credit.

(5) Sant Chokhamela (d. 1338) in a *bharud* composition refers to a number of folk musical performers, namely, *dindigan, gondhal, duffgaan, bahirav, jogi, balsantosh, bairagi, fakir*. Each of them had a distinctive way of performing.

CHAPTER FIVE

Two musicological particulars, namely musical forms and instruments of music discussed in the *Ratnakara* deserve special attention. One reason is that Sharangdeva places them in so fundamental a framework that his endeavour remains relevant even today. Secondly, some of the musical forms and instruments prevalent today seem to be well-anticipated in the *Ratnakara*, a fact which neatly brings out the essential continuity of performing traditions maintained through the intervening centuries in spite of the terminological and scholastic divergences. In more cases than one, features of medieval music are detected today, though with a change of category: features of the then art music are displayed today by forms falling within the category of folk music.

The *Prabandhas*

Sharangdeva's meticulous mapping of the *prabandha* universe begins with a simple, logical and yet much-overlooked statement which answers a question: What is *geet*?

To him any attractive collection or stringing together of notes is a geet. There is no reference to words as essential. In other words the term and the phenomenon geet is not to be necessarily related to a language-based act of singing. In essence it is an act of sounding and sustaining of notes i.e. sounds which prove useful musically. Sharangdeva's position is unassailable on two counts: Firstly, many melodic instruments (even today), play what a singer sings, thus replacing words by instrumental sounds. Secondly, many of the geet-prabandhas use non-language letters or letters representing sounds of instruments etc. copiously as elements of construction. In this manner geet without use of language accounts for a major portion of musical output and hence Sharangdeva's definition. To dissociate song from voice and have it defined in terms of melody is an insight valid even today.

Geet is further divided into two kinds, gandharva and gan respectively. Sharangdeva does not offer an elaborate treatment of the former. It is ancient and Sharangdeva is avowedly interested in what is prevalent. The gan, his chief concern is of two types, namely *nibaddha* (composed) and *anibaddha* (non-composed). It is easy to deduce that only the former could be expected to crystallize into diverse musical forms.

Sharangdeva's next step is very logical in view of the nature of sound as a phenomenon. All sound has to pass through the three inevitable processes of beginning stabilization and termination. Music being a manifestation of sound is subject to these processes and musical forms being a special manifestation of the desire to make music reflects these processes. Sharangdeva therefore describes music as having five possible components. On the analogy of *ayurveda* he calls them *dhatus*. Of the five components, two are essential and the remaining are optional: a fact that provides scope for their varied combinations so conducive to create different forms of music. Names, meanings, functions of the components as well as the degree of their indispensability could be stated as below:

Name	Meaning	Function	Degree of Indispensability
udgraha	commencement	to begin the musical activity	essential
melapaka	the joiner	to join the beginning of music with the third component	optional
dhruva	permanent	to provide a segment of music present invariably	essential
antar	distance	to intervene between *dhruva* and *abhog*	optional
abhog	completeness	to round-off the musical expression	optional

It is obvious that the five structural components constitute the formal elements of music and for the content of music one needs to take the help of another set of concepts.

Sharangdeva perceives musical content to be divisible in six *ang*s (aspects) which differ in the degree of their essentiality. The *ang*s are:

Name	Meaning
swara	note in music
biruda	words of praise
tenaka	meaningless syllables regarded as auspicious
pada	meaningful linguistic unit
pata	letters selected to represent the basic sounds of *avanaddha* instruments (i.e. membranophones)
tala	rhythm-patterns formulated and accepted as basic and generative in Indian music

All *prabandha*s do not and need not have all the six aspects. *Prabandha*s therefore enjoy a fivefold classification depending on the number of aspects that find place in them:

Class-name	Number of aspects
medini	six
anandini	five
deepani	four
bhavani	three
taravali	two

A strong musical commonsense is revealed in the unstated norm that no prabandha could have less than two aspects. It is obvious that irrespective of their content, the two obligatory aspects will function as *udgraha* and *dhruva* respectively as these have been considered imperative. Having thus far stated the basic principles that govern

formulation of musical genres, Sharangdeva proceeds to divide them into two broad classes, one governed by rules regarding metre, *tala* etc. and the other remaining free of these restraints.

Sud, Ali and Viprakirna

The five components and the six aspects act in combination to produce various song-types divided in three major categories namely *sud, ali* and *viprakirna*. While *sud* (*shuddha* i.e. pure) is defined merely as a group of certain songs, *ali* (probably meaning a row or an array) is not defined clearly. *Viprakirna* (miscellaneous) is the third category. The three yield seventy-six genres with some boasting of sub-varieties running into hundreds! Going through the descriptions one wonders whether all of them were in practice at all! However, the author of *Sangeet Ratnakara* has repeatedly stated to have based the work on the contemporary practice of music. Under the circumstances it seems advisable to refer to only those musical forms that are structurally exiting or have features with discernible musical potential.

The *sud*, with eight sub-types presents a sizeable category. One of the sub-types called *ela* yields 356 varieties according to the prosodic mould employed or languages used. What is more interesting is that all the *ela*s are characterized by off-beat rhythmic progressions, a feature recognizable in many examples from folk music today. The second sub-type *karan* (eight sub-varieties) proves prolific because in it note-patterns are combined alternatively with meaningful words, praise-words, auspicious syllables, *mridanga*-syllables, drum-syllables etc. It must be admitted that the full range of the possible combinations explored in *karan* deserves notice even today. As described *dhenkika* is a song-type that creates sub-varieties on account of employing one, many or no metres! No contemporary song-type appears to have been so closely based on using or not using a metre. On the other hand *vartani* song-type is identifiable because of its use of specific *tala*s and hence finds parallels today in *dhamar* or *dadra* etc. Yet another sub-type called *zombad* has so many variables that Sharangdeva's claim of its having 3,510 sub-varieties should cause no surprise! *Zombad* is stated to combine and permutate ten *tala*s, fifteen *gamak*s, prose and verse modes as musical alternatives and hence the staggering number of sub-varieties! An etymological impulse of the popular veneer may claim the derivation of *zombad* from *zumbad* which in Marathi means a nearly uncontrollable crowd!

As noted earlier, the distinguishing traits of song-types falling in the category of *ali-prabandha*-s are not clearly stated. Yet some of its sub-varieties are thought provoking and succeed in bringing to the forefront the complexities of the medieval musical scene in Maharashtra. Of special interest are the six sub-varieties of *gadya* (prose) song-types, a concept not easy to digest today. Prose as a modality denies itself the innate musicality of metrical expression and to that extent it is logical for the prose song-types to concentrate more on language and its literary strength. This is achieved in the prose sextet through predetermined combinations of literary modes, styles and *rasa*-s well-established in the traditions of Sanskrit poetics and stylistics. In the light of the general modern convention of regarding prose and song-

quality to be mutually exclusive the following tabulation would prove instructive:

Song-type	**Mode**	**Style**	**Rasa**
utkalika	*goudiya*	*arabhati*	*vir*
churna	*vaidarbha*	*satvati*	*shanta*
lalit	*kaishiki*	*panchali*	*shringara*
vrittagandhi	*panchala*	*bharati*	*shanta*
khand	*vaidarbhid*	*satvati*	*hasya*
chitra	*vaidarbhi*	*chitra-kaishiki*	*shringara*

The common mode of constructing these song-types (significantly stated to have been derived from samaveda) is interesting. The sequence of the musical building blocks is:
(1) 'Om' intonation.
(2) Prose-portions with *gamak*s and *varna*s (*sthayi* etc.).
(3) Singing of note-names.
(4) Two stanzas in *tala*, one indicating the name of the *prabandha*.
(5) *Alap* in slow tempo (but no *tala*).
(6) Name of the composer as well as the hero described in the composition, to be sung in slow tempo and in *tala*.
(7) The full composition rendered in fast tempo before concluding the song.
Another prose song-type *kaiwad* (*karpat* i.e. syllables selected to represent sounds of rhythm-instruments played by hand) interests on account of the use of two types of meaningless syllables: those used to represent instrumental sounds and those used in oral recitation. The third and the last section of *kaiwad* includes names of the *prabandh*, the composer and the hero. *Chakraval* and *matrika* both have essentially prosodic content. Lines of the former display word-arrangement in ab-bc pattern while acrostic element characterizes the latter. On the other hand the *swararth prabandh* solely employs note-indicative letters, thus living up to its name which literally means 'the meaning of notes.' The musical genre called *sargam* prevails today, with its more literal name! A variety of *ragakadamb* demands use of four *tala*s and four metres promoting the prosodic content through the insistence. Finally two song-types of the *ali* category attract attention because of their ingenious use of multiple *talas*. While the *talarnava* (ocean of *tala*s) employs an indefinite number of talas (each tala being used once), the other called *panch taleshwar* goes much beyond the use of five *tala*s though the name seems to suggest that. It's complicated construction is borne out by the sequence of its phases:

(1) *Alap* without *tala*.
(2) Five stanzas sung twice in *chachatputa tala* to be followed by progressions in note-names and syllables representative of instrumental sounds.
(3) *Antar* with two *chachatputa talas* employed to sing drum-syllables.
(4) Five stanzas sung in *chachaputa tala* followed by a section in note-names and syllables selected to represent the sounds of *hudukka*. The same to be rendered in double the tempo immediately.

(5) Five stanzas sung twice in *shatpitaputraka tala* with note-names and syllables selected to represent the *shankha*-sounds.
(6) Six stanzas (twice each) in *tala sampaka weshtaka* with note names and syllables selected to represent *kasyatala* sounds.
(7) Six stanzas in *udghatta tala* with note names and syllables selected to represent the *muraj*-sounds.
(8) *Abhog* sung in fast tempo with names of the *prabandha*, singer and the hero included.
(9) Auspicious words.

From the *viprakirna* category of song-types *chaturmukha* (four mouths) is notable for its equitable use of four elements namely notes, sound-syllables, meaningful words and auspicious terms as also the song-type *tribhangi*, consisting only of notes, sound-syllables and meaningful words respectively. *Srivardhana* song-type, apart from having four elements of praise-words, instrumental sound-syllables, meaningful words and notes (thus resembling *chaturmukha* only partially) is noticeable because it is rendered in double the tempo of the *tala* employed with it. As a genre *chachari* perhaps constitutes an early illustration of seasonal music as the conditions prescribed for its rendering are: *hindolaka raga, chachari tala,* alliterative couplets of lines with sixteen beats, Prakrit language and finally spring season. A song-type suggestive of forms in the category of devotional music today is *charya* with end-rhymes and metaphysical themes as its essential characteristics. *Rahadi* cryptically described to have *vir-rasa*, praise of battles and indefinite length seems to anticipate the contemporary *powada*, though terminological connection between the two is not clear. The *ovi* described in *Ratnakara* appears more complex and deliberate in construction though there is an inbuilt scope for improvisation. Features stated to be mandatory in *ovi* are: three alliterative lines in regional language, the word ovi to figure at the end of a line and finally freedom in selection of metres.
Sharangdeva's comprehensive vision is once again brought to our notice as he poses and answers an important question: how can a new prabandha be created? In dealing with such questions he appears to exceed a grammarian's or a codifier's brief and in the process making an excursion into aesthetics, philosophy and related areas. Laying down a basic premise to help determine the newness of a form, Sharangdeva states that what is required is novelty in respect of *raga, dhatu, matu, tala, laya*; the five elements of *chhanda, gana, graha, nyasa* and the components of *prabandha*. It is clear that no entirely new musical constituent is deemed to be possible and a new musical form is imagined to result from a redistribution, or shifts in emphases of various members of the framework erected with the help of aspects, components etc. Every new prabandha would therefore be a mixture of some features remaining unchanged and some that have been changed. With his characteristic penchant for classification, Sharangdeva moves in to state that a new *rupaka* (a term synonymous with prabandha) is to be classified by identifying the features that are allowed to change. For example, if only the existing *sthaya, raga* or *tala* are changed the new rupaka is to be classified as *parivritta* (revolved or turned round). On the other hand if the *rasa, raga* and *tala* of the original are retained while text and sthaya are changed the new rupaka is to be called *padantara*, a term alluding to the 'anotherness' of units

involved. There are three more types of new rupaka described but the examples referred to are sufficient to explain Sharangdeva's strategy.

it is obvious that no discussion of musical forms can be regarded as complete without giving a thought to instrumental music, which Sharangdeva discusses elsewhere.

Both *vina* and *venu*, the two major, medieval, musical instruments did not enjoy independent musical forms. This is logical in view of the primacy of vocal music, which was what the instruments rendered. A very detailed discussion of the playing techniques of the two instruments finds its due place.

On the other hand instruments of rhythm and especially those of the *avanaddha* category had developed a language of their own in order to explore and exploit the temporal (and not so much the tonal) dimension. As many as forty-three musical forms are described, labelled and neatly classified. Onomatopoetic syllables are pressed into service to describe the forms. It is noteworthy that Sharangdeva classifies instruments as *nrityanuga* (followers of dance) like Someshwara in *Manasollasa* discussed earlier, and nine of the instrumental forms discussed in *Ratnakara* are specifically described as 'used in dance'.

Conclusion

The thickly populated universe of the medieval prabandhas described by Sharangdeva presents a fascinating picture of a musical reality thoroughly explored and rigorously systematized.

It seems inescapable to conclude that the music of the medieval *prabandha*s was almost entirely pre-composed. Sources and features of music are meticulously codified. Music so highly channelized must have bordered on recitation, though rich in details of construction and execution.

Musical Instruments

Apart from dealing with individual instruments, Sharangdeva notes some basic ideas about instruments and instrumental music.

In his opening statement Sharangdeva succinctly describes the overall musical functions of the four conventional categories of instruments. While the string and wind instruments create a song, the membrane-covered instruments make the song entertaining and the *ghan* merely measure it. Thus instruments capable of producing a near-continuous sound are clearly delegated a prominent role. At the same time it is significant that in Sharangdeva's enumeration the membrane-covered instruments constitute a majority!

Sharangdeva clarifies that, though there are occasions which allow only certain instruments, some admit employment of all types of instruments. Generally speaking coronation, pilgrimage, festivals, auspicious events (such as marriage and sacred thread ceremonies), calamities, agitations and dramatic performances (in *vir*

and *roudra rasa*) accommodate all instruments. On the other hand marginally auspicious occasions and pauses in dramatic performances allow selected instruments.

Why are musical instruments desirable? The question is answered with a rare candour! In Sharangdeva's opinion instruments are necessary because

(1) they enthuse warriors, take care of their wellbeing, create inspiration in their hearts and diminish the pain caused to them by weapons;

(2) they can conceal the shortcomings in performances of song and dance;

In perceptively written sections the author lays down differing and relevant instructions with respect to the tuning, playing technique for the solo and accompanying roles of the *vina*. He also states that expert *vamsa*-players wish to follow the same trail. In other words, Sharangdeva unambiguously accords the highest position to vocal music to be emulated by *vina* and *vamsa* respectively. A special, internal affinity is postulated between voice, *vina* and *vamsa* because the trinity is responsible for production of *swara* i.e. a sustained sound. He points out that this is the reason why the knowledgeable ones regard the well-blended sound of the three to have a specially entertaining quality. In the medieval musical Maharashtra as described by Sharangdeva, voice provided the model for exploiting the melodic element in music while the *pataha* supplies the model for exploring the rhythmic element.

Finally, a very important non-musical mode of bringing forth instrumental contribution was to follow the manner in which linguistic and literary formulations took place. This effective strategy of combining music, language and literature is reflected in Sharangdeva's description of instrumental musical forms, phrasing, terminology etc. For example, while marking out the role and techniques of *vadak* (player), the first of the four kinds of *mardalika* (players of *mardal*) he employs terminology from logic. In translation the relevant verses read:

Vādak is the one who enters into discussion (*vād*). To state one's own argument is *vād*. For fear of prolixity I do not deal with (other modes of argument such as) *jalpa, vitanda* etc., which are described with their respective characteristics in logic. (v.1040-41).

Sharangdeva next proceeds to delineate the sequence to be followed in *vād*. In addition, overtly literary terms such as *kavit, pad* etc. are employed in his treatment of instrumental genres. Music and literature were obviously working together closely. Ideas, forms, formulae, strategies, terminology were freely exchanged and naturally a wider appeal for the performing tradition was ensured.

CHAPTER SIX

The Muslims in Maharashtra

Sharangdeva appears to be the last musicologist to codify music in India while it was governed by one single system of art music. The Yadava dynasty was overthrown by the Khiljis in 1294 to establish the first Muslim rule in the Deccan. The latter gave way to Tughlaqs around 1326, who were succeeded by a Maharashtra-based Muslim dynasty, the Bahamanis in 1337. Finally, the Bahamani kingdom disintegrated into five Muslim *shahis* (dynasties) operating from five centres, namely Nizam-shahi (Ahmednagar), Adil-shahi (Vijapur), Barid-shahi (Bidar), Imad-shahi (Varhad) and Kutub-shahi (Golconda). In other words, the region remained in close and continuous contact with the religions and cultural forces of Islam from the thirteenth century.

However, it is simplistic to remain content by using a general term, viz. Islamic, without noting the Persian character it predominantly had in Maharashtra. The *sufis*, who were entrenched in Maharashtra from 900 A.D., were Persian in expression, imagery and symbolism. Two of the five post-Bahamani *shahi*s namely the Nizam and the Adil were *shia*s and hence looked to Persia for guidance. These are the circumstances in which Maharashtra aligned its musical forces with Hindustan around the fourteenth century. Imperceptibly, the political polarization describable as Hindu and Muslim was echoed in a new musical bipolarization described for the first time as Hindustani and Karnatak by Haripaldeva in *Sangeet Sudhakara* written between 1309-1312. It is also noteworthy that an avowedly Hindu kingdom of the Varangals at Vijayanagar was established in 1330; thus making evident the Hindu-Muslim demarcation taking place all over the country in face of determined Islamic advances.

The twin reality of the political and musical polarization and the role Maharashtra played in it during the fourteenth century is clearly brought out by the famous *biruda* controversy. As has been explained earlier, biruda forms one of the six aspects of a musical composition. A dispute arose in Vijayanagar as to the *mlencha/aryan* origin of the term. The matter was finally referred to Shri Vidyaranya Swami (1300–1380), the author of *Sangeet Sara*. The *swami* ruled that the word was Marathi and hence of *aryan* origin.

Not much is known about the state of music in the fifteenth century Maharashtra. Even the non-musicological literary sources are scarce on account of the unsettled socio-political conditions. Apart from the adverse cultural consequences of the constant warring state, natural calamities took a heavy toll of the cultural development. The seven year Durgadevi's famine (1468–75) is said to have caused a large-scale migration of people. In all probability it resulted in a cultural drain with performing artistes as the first casualties on account of their less close ties with the land. One has to reach the latter half of the sixteenth century to come across stray

references of musical significance in the compositions of the saint-poet Dasopant (1551-1616).

It is important to remember that Maharashtra of the sixteenth century was in fact a ground for a multiple cultural confrontation, the deepening Islamic influence being one of them. Usually it is forgotten that the Portuguese too were a power to be reckoned with. They had established strongholds in Dabhol, Vasai and Sashti respectively in 1508, 1534 and 1543. Further, the advent of the Muslim political power in Maharashtra was preceded by the arrival and entrenchment of the *sufi*s in the area known today as Marathwada. The *dakhani sufi*s as distinguished from those operating in northern India sounded a strong Irani (Persian) note in style and content of their religious and secular activities. All these factors need to be considered while the course of cultural action in Maharashtra is discussed. Dasopant composed a large number of songs in different *raga*s. Some of the ragas he mentioned clearly indicate a northern origin as well as the Muslim influence. For instance he referred to ragas *Huseni* and *Kafi* which are linked to Sindh, where the first Muslim invasion took place in the eighth century. Also significant is Dasopant's description of ragas *Maru* and *Gaud* as *daxia sale* i.e. in vogue in the southern school. However, the evidence of art music with Islamic influence is available from Bijapur dynasty of the Adilshahs. Apart from the obvious geographical contiguity of the region, the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1626) displayed a clear cultural affinity with Maharashtra. The Shah used Marathi as a court language; called himself *jagadguru* (preceptor of the world) and affixed a seal of goddess Saraswati on some of his proclamations. Further, he named his *vina* as *nauras-vina* and took it in a procession with elephants in the vanguard ! No music-loving Hindu king could have done better!

Kitab-E-Nauras

Kitab-E-Nauras of Ibrahim Adil Shah is an anthology of fifty-nine compositions in seventeen ragas. A close look at the book reveals some significant features:

(1) The prevailing art music bore marks of the Persian impact. Raga names such as *nauroz, haziz* and musicological terms such as *makām* are worth noting.

(2) As is known, *dhrupad*, a time-honoured form of Hindustani art music, has four parts in a representative composition. Another dominant form *khayal* which showed sure signs of maturity from the eighteenth century, has two parts in a typical example. It is interesting to note that Ibrahim Shah's compositions consist of three parts. This could be taken as an example of gradual evolution in which performing traditions seem to believe!

(3) Ibrahim Adil Shah's fifty-nine compositions in seventeen ragas are in a language that bears a clear impress of *Brijbhasha*. This is highly significant because even the contemporary compositions in Hindustani art music employ the same variety of Hindi.

(4) The Shah has also been credited to be the first monarch to think of representing the pictorial motifs associated with certain *raga*s and *ragini*s in his *Kitab-E-Nauras*. His devotion to music and his choice to be portrayed with clappers in hands surely suggest his interest in having *ragamala*s painted, which resulted in those well-known combined art expressions of India.

The Shivaji Period

Within four years of Ibrahim Adil Shah's death was born Raja Shivaji (1630-1680). His short though trend-setting reign extended over territory measuring to a mere one-fifth of Maharashtra. Both the factors can hardly be expected to create strong artistic traditions. However, larger political and cultural tendencies gathered momentum during the period. Shivaji's own court did not have a court musician, obviously because he was occupied in establishing his ascendency. It is also to be noted that Shivaji's coronation took place in 1674, barely six years before he died. On the other hand, it is interesting to find mention of Sambhaji's taste and knowledge in the fine arts. Unfortunately, Sambhaji, successor to Shivaji, met with a violent death at the hands of the Mughals in 1689, thus eliminating the possibility of a steady patronage to arts. Hence, examined musically, the period offers more in non-art music and the chief sources of information remain non-musicological. By all accounts a secular form of non-art music namely *powada* came to recognition during the period, as well as the devotional forms propagated by the *varkari* sect. Sant Tukaram's (1598-1649) fervent *abhang*s easily come to mind in this respect. However, the devotional and the secular non-art music of Maharashtra (including the folk expression) need a separate and exhaustive treatment. Some interesting evidence is provided by Sant Ramdasa who was Chatrapati Shivaji's revered guru.

Sant Ramdas (1608-1681) founded a religious sect which displayed political consciousness to a high degree. It accorded high place to music as a means of bringing people together. Ramdas refers to music many times: he also wrote a composition praising the art of singing. Highly technical terms such as *murchana*, *tala, prabandh* occur in it. Yet another short piece entitled *daphgāne* is of interest for different reasons. *Daphgāne* literally means song sung to the accompaniment of *daph* (a membranophonic folk instrument). A majority of instruments listed in the composition are of the folk category. The *sant* is also credited to have composed some *lakshangeet*s i.e. verses giving a musicological description of a particular raga and composed in the same raga. This would indicate Ramdas's technical knowledge of art music. However, his most influential and extensive work *Dasbodh* (advice to disciples) confirms his deep musicality as well as his weak links with the prevailing art music. In Dasbodh instruments and forms of music of the folk variety find a place. Occasions specifically mentioned with reference to music are gatherings of devotees. His single allusion to *gayanguru* (a preceptor in music) may be taken as an indication of the prevailing well established training procedures in music. Recent researches into his Hindi compositions reveal mention of ragas such as *kafi, kedar,*

des, lalit and *tala*s such as *deepchandi, dhumali* and *tritala.* In sum, the period known after Shivaji did not contribute much to the evolution of art music.

The Maratha Period

As far as examination of the cultural scene is concerned the post-Shivaji period, known as the Maratha period, shows some improvement. It stretches to the beginning of the British rule over Maharashtra in 1820. During the intervening years Shivaji's descendents became titular sovereigns. They had their seat in Satara while their prime ministers (titled *peshwa*s) ruled from Pune. The period witnessed an expansion of the military and political influence over the country. It was therefore natural that the region received numerous and varied cultural stimuli. The common people however continued to look up to its rulers for guidance and initiative in cultural matters, a sure sign that it had yet to reach a point of cultural take-off.

During the Maratha period both classical and semi-classical varieties of music prospered. Court patronage was forthcoming in both the cases but the semi-art music could also boast of a popular following. Yet another feature of the patronage available to performing arts was that Maratha chieftains such as Shinde, Gaekwad, Holkar, Patwardhan, Raste etc-also employed artistes.

It appears that Shahu (1682–1749), Shivaji's grandson, was keen on employing musicians, actors, bards and dancing girls in his court. It is on record that Shahu requested his ever-moving army commanders to bring performing talent from the north. Shahu's third prime minister, Nanasaheb (1721-1761) was young when he assumed office. While campaigning in Karnatak, Nanasaheb became conscious of the cultural backwardness of Maharashtra. Around 1753 he wrote a letter to Sardar Purandare putting down his impressions of the south. He praised the southern kings for their deep knowledge of music and did not fail to notice the special vibrato effect detected in their use of voice! Further, the youthful Nanasaheb expressed his ambition to bring about in Pune a rich confluence of gold from the north and culture from the south! Raghoba (1734–1783), an uncle to Nanasaheb and a *peshwa* for a short period, spent considerable amounts on *nautch* girls and also arranged a house-concert of a musician who was a descendent of the legendary Tansen. Yet another later Peshwa, Sawai Madhavrao (1774-1795) had employed Bhavai Gujrati and Venkat Narsi in his court. Nana Phadnis (1742-1800), adviser to Sawai Madhavrao, had instructed his campaigners to bring two sitars from the north. Madhvamunishwar (d. 1731), a poet and *keertan*-practitioner of repute, bemoaned the popularity of the new musical forms namely *tappa* and *khayal*! His verse-lament throws an interesting sidelight on the musicalforms in vogue.

The entire musical scene suggests that the peshwa court encouraged a variety of musical forms and categories. Though musicians were 'imported' from the north, local talent was also considerable. Nanasaheb had Naro Appaji Bhave (*sitar*-player), Khushal Khan (*dhrupad*-singer) in his employ, while Raghoba's protege Balajipant was a reputed *sitar*-player. Pava Bhimrao, Vithu Gurav (1768), Tryambak Atmaram

(1790), Vithoba Parnerkar (1796) were vocalists famed for dhrupad and dhamar-singing. Bajirao-II (1775-1851) had instrumentalists such as Devidas (*sarangi*), Bahirji and Nagu Gurav (*pakhawaj*) in his court in addition to Chintamani Mishra (*dhrupad*-singer), Vyankat Narsi and Hira (dance-girls) etc. all under his patronage. It is noteworthy that no *tabla*-player figures among the luminaries!

At this point it needs to be noted that the period also registered original contributions to the existing repertoire of musical forms, though chiefly in the non-art categories of music. The *Naradiya keertan* of the composite devotional category, the *baithakichi lavani* of the semi-classical variety and *powada* as a secular narrative form of vocal music attained stature during the period under discussion. It is incorrect and unfortunate that *lavani* is customarily classified in the folk category of music in Maharashtra, in total disregard of its musical, structural and thematic features, as well as the cultural and social conditions that shaped it. In this context following observations need to be stated:

(1) It is on record that Bajirao-II (1775–1851) during his reign instructed Honaji (1754-1844) and Bala Karanjkar, the well-known pair of performers, to compose *lavani*s in *raga*s, thus bestowing on them the attractive qualities of the khayal. Honaji complied by bringing to them a variety of *raga* and *tala*. The musical base of the form was consequently widened. Gradually the innovation crystallized into a form in which musical elaboration was combined with some *abhinaya*.

(2) The format *lavani* has thus assumed could hardly be described as being conducive to an outdoor performance. It demanded drawing-room environment and hence came to be known as *baithakichi lavani*. In other words lavani as a genre was bifurcated into *baithakichi* and *phadachi*, the latter being the outdoor form. It is easy to see the similarities between the baithakichi lavani and the ada-ki thumri of the Hindustani semi-classical repertoire. It is significant to note that quite a few traditional thumri-singers had lavanis in their repertoire and the lavani-singers reveal a clear impress of the dance-vocabulary of the kathak, from whom the thumri derived its essence. In this way what began as imitation of the khayal ended as a combination of dance and thumri! Such are the unpredictable ways of musical influences!

(3) The lavani, as said earlier, was also characterized by use of *raga*s and *tala*s from the art-music corpus.

(4) Revealing their initial affinity the lavani-composers frequently refer to the art-music tradition. Shahir Prabhakar (1755-1843) described *raga*-lore with conviction and his references to accepted qualities of good singing display depth of observation (and a near-percolation of the *Sangeet Ratnakara* tradition!). Of equal authenticity is Shahir Haibati's (1794–?) elaborate listing of six principal *raga*s and thirty-six *ragini*s. Once again this is a clear echo of the traditional musicological position.

(5) In conclusion, it is not an exaggeration to say that devotional music, *lavani* music and in the later years of the twentieth century stage music served the cause of art-music. They succeeded in creating deep impressions of the *raga, tala* and gestures,

moulds in the society. Left to its own resources, art-music could hardly have hoped to find access to the non-elite social classes.

The total cultural scene during the Maratha period anticipated a number of musical tendencies which became driving forces during the British period.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Modern Times

It is convenient to date the beginning of modern Maharashtra from 1820s, around which time the *peshwa*s faded out. Perhaps we are too close to the period to be able to sift the significant from the trivial. The sheer pace at which the events unrolled is also to be reckoned with. However, it is possible to list important developments related to art-music and attempt an identification of the causal chain leading to and emanating from them. The following seven aspects need to be kept in view as relevant:

(1) Patronage
(2) Education
(3) Propagation
(4) Musical forms
(5) Instrumental music
(6) Theoretical studies
(7) Operations of the mass-media

Patronage

Until the late nineteenth century patronage to performing arts was chiefly available at the peshwa-courts; houses of the Maratha chieftains and wealthy, cultured families; prominent temples and lastly in the *kothi*s of courtesans. Each of these sources of course adopted its own manner of offering the patronage. In addition, various dramatic companies, *mandali*s as they were generally known, figured prominently for their generous support to performing artistes. Gradually new patronage channels such as music institutions, music circles sprang up: which however forms a later part of the story.

The *peshwa* courts or the Maratha chieftains appointed performers on conditions which could easily be described as liberal. Performers were asked to give occasional concerts, to perform in honour of the patron's guests and to coach promising students: but otherwise enjoyed freedom to follow their own life-style. As a general rule performers received both cash and kind rewards from the patrons. For example, Pt. Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjikar is reported to have been paid a monthly salary of twenty-five rupees and was allowed the privilege of dining with the princely family when he received successive appointments at the Miraj and Ichalkaranji courts around 1880-82. Later, he was also allotted a house and some land. Court-musicians also received special prizes for in-service achievements or on special auspicious occasions such as weddings etc. By all accounts, the Maratha courts located outside the boundaries of Maharashtra were more generous. For example, the Shindes (Gwalior), the Holkars (Indore), the Gaikwads (Baroda) were legendary, for their munificence.

However, even within the region, distribution of locations, the variety of performers involved acted together to create awareness and interest in the people. Some relevant facts can be noted as shown:

Court	Appointed Performers
Satara	Balajibuwa Nazar Ali Khan Varas Ali Balubuwa Budhkar Sakharambuwa Mirashi
Jat	Ramchandrabuwa Ichalkaranjikar (Joshi) Alidat Khan
Kolhapur	Mugal Khan Rajab Ali Khan } (Father and son respectively) Pohrebuwa Ganapatibuwa Mirajkars Alladiya Khan Haidar Khan } (Brothers)
Sangli	Sakharambuwa kashikar Bhaiyasaheb
Ichalkaranji	Ravjibuwa Gogte Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjikar
Kurundwad	Ustad Rahimat khan
Bawade	Keshavbuwa Gogte
Aundh	Gundubuwa Ingle Antubuwa Joshi
Jamkhindi	Mahadevbuwa Gokhale

Similar appointments were also made in the courts of Phaltan, Bhor, Akkalkot, Javhar, Janjira, Sawantwadi etc.

To the visiting or the touring performers in search of engagements, assignments etc. the feudal houses, wealthy families, newly educated government officials, eminent lawyers, judges or old cultured families offered important support. The modus operandi of the performers was to set out from their home town and depending on what is described as 'mouth publicity', letters of recommendations etc, hope to earn name and money before returning to the base. Obviously the entire procedure resembled expeditions of Maratha warriors of the historic times! The significance of the contribution of agencies referred to can be easily brought forth by plotting itineraries of musicians on the move.

For example, Pt Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjikar accompanied Pt. Vasudevbuwa Joshi, one of his *guru*s, on a tour sometime in 1866. Setting out from Satara they camped at the following centres where courts and wealthy families provided them the succour they were in search of:

Karhad, Kurundwad, Ichalkaranji, Kolhapur, Miraj, Sangli, Phaltan, Dhar, Indore, Ratlam, Gwalior, Calcutta, Gidhour, Darbhanga, Bettiah, Nepal.

It is reported that in Calcutta brothers Sourendramohan and Jitendramohan Thakur offered them generous hospitality. These patrons used to spend annually a sum of ten to twelve thousand rupees on a music school they were running!

About thirty years later Pt. Vishnu Digambar, a prominent disciple of Pt. Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjikar set out on his maiden tour in 1896 at the age of twenty-five from Ichalkaranji. He received patronage at:

Satara, Baroda, Kathewad, Rajkot, Gwalior, Aligadh, Mathura, Delhi, Jalandhar, Amritsar, Lahore, Jodhpur, Montgomery, Lahore, Jaisalmir, Udaipur, Bombay.

With the march of time, cities and industrial centres became more important for patronage offered to music. This is reflected well in Pt. Vishnu Digambar's tour in 1912, when he set out from Bombay with a party of thirty to forty students trained to present a variety of programmes in aid of Panditji's building fund. In this tour the stops were:

Nasik, Amaravati, Nagpur, Khadagpur, Calcutta, Patna, Banaras, Ahmadabad, Kanpur, Delhi, Lahore, Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Amritsar, Ajmer, Jaipur, Biyawara, Bombay.

As mentioned earlier, the new emerging class of patrons was of influential professionals such as lawyers, doctors, officials, educators etc. Apart from arranging concerts at their own houses, they gave letters of recommendation to the artistes who put them to use.

In all places wealthy and cultured families also played an important supporting role. Performers used to stay for months with such families. Artistes gained prestige and introduction to influential sections of the society as well as well-rewarded engagements. The patronage was also well distributed in the region.

For example, the following instances are notable:

Pt. Omkarnath Thakur, disciple of Pt. Vishnu Digambar carried a letter of introduction from Sir Manubhai Mehta, *dewan* in Baroda, addressed to H. H. Maharaja Chandra Samsher Jungbahandur of Nepal. This was around 1918. Sir Bhalchandra Bhatawadekar, Bombay, wrote a letter of recommendation for Pt. Bhaskarbuwa Bakhale praising his high musical achievements and wishing him well in Hyderabad and Mysore states. The letter is dated February 8, 1900.

Another important source of patronage for musicians was the established music-drama *mandali*s. Art musicians acted as 'tune-selectors' for the productions of the *mandali*s and hence stayed with the *mandali*s to train the actor-singers concerned. They also enjoyed hospitality of the *mandali*s because very often the major actor-singers became declared disciples of particular *ustad* or *buwa* as the case may be. Further, the *mandali*s arranged music performances of visiting musicians etc. for their own personnel and well-wishers. Celebrations such as *ganeshotstav* or *holi* were

also occasions which afforded scope for lavish hospitality. From 1885 onwards until the third decade of the twentieth century the *mandali*s continued to share their prosperity with artistes etc. In this connection it is instructive to note some major *mandali*s and the art-musicians associated closely with them in some capacity or the other:

Dongre Sangeet *Mandali* (estd. 1881)	Pt. Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjikar
Patankar Sangeet *Mandali* (estd. 1891)	Ustad Nissar Hussain Khan
Gandharva Sangeet *Mandali* (estd. 1913)	Pt. Bhaskarbuwa Bakhale
Lalitkaladarsh (estd. 1908)	Pt. Ramkrishnabuwa Vaze
Balwant Sangeet *Mandali* (estd. 1918)	Pt. Ramkrishnabuwa Vaze

Prominent temples did not fail to contribute their might and appointed musicians to perform on scheduled occasions and also at definite hours. For example, the following details are noteworthy:

Temple seat	**Musician**
Kedgaon	Hussain Khan
Chinchwad	(1) Moraya Gosawi (2) Sahadevbuwa Pakhwaji - around 1939 (disciple of Pt. Shankarbhaiya)
Morgaon	Savalaramji Gurav - around 1939 (whose grandfather was the disciple of Ustad Manyaba Koditkar, a person who could boast of a bāj i.e. style of his own)
Ichalkaranji (Shri Venkatesh temple)	Ganesh Balwant Bhate (around 1910)
Pune (Belbaug temple)	Ashtekarbuwa Shankarbhaiya Pakhawaji

Another often neglected source of patronage has been the courtesans and the houses of professional singing and '*nautch* girls' (as they have been rather derogatorily referred to)! To the performers they offered support of three types:

(a) Many musicians gave *talim*s to the courtesans who paid well and also looked after them.

(b) Musicians who were accompanying artistes received percentage from the rewards the main performer received each night.

(c) There were a class of courtesans who won heart and wealth of admiring rich businessman etc. and formed a lifelong relationship of exemplary loyalty and affection. Homes of such women were 'salons' for artistes and connoisseurs to come together.

The Peoples' Patronage

Nearing the advent of the twentieth century there were conscious efforts to replace the royal or the aristocratic patronage by 'peoples' patronage. In this connection Pt. Vishnu Digambar's efforts were imaginative as well as wide-based. For example, way back in 1896-97, he gave a 'ticketed' public concert of art-music. The public that patronized such concerts naturally consisted of listeners with varying tastes. Hence Panditji followed the prudent policy of changing the entire format of the concert. It was advertised through handbills, posters etc. as *jalsa* which literally means festival. It opened with a collective invocation to be followed by a banjo/mandolin duet, violin-recital, children's dance-number, *mridang*-solo, harmonium solo, orchestra pieces, musical drill and finally Panditji's vocal performance of art-music. Obviously, the strategy to capture the uninitiated audience was to expose it to a variety entertainment and yet to take care that the art music itself did not get diluted! It was with the same rationale that Panditji later on (1913 onwards) prefaced his art music by a crowd-pulling discourse on Ramayan.

Different devices were used with the same view by other musicians. For example, Ustad Abdul Karim Khan used to present child prodigies' notating feats as well as a dog's responses to music prior to his own serious music! Some gamesmanship was also revealed in arranging music concerts from the same platform successively on the same day but of two established musicians of different *gharana*s. For example, Ustad Alladiya Khan (Jaipur *gharana*) and Ustad Rahimat Khan (Gwalior *gharana*) were thus presented in Kolhapur in 1903, while Ustad Abdul Karim Khan (Kirana *gharana*) and Ustad Rahimat Khan appeared successively in this manner in Pune (1909).

The point is that the rather indiscriminating general or lay audience needed to be enticed into listening to art music, because they were to be the new patrons. They could hardly be taken for granted. An audience was to be created and the process could not be described as easy.

Apparently all stops were pulled out to secure patronage from the general public. Democracy means government by the people. This became a watchword in Indian political life in the twentieth century and the musical scene reflected it by a progressive dependence on popular patronage.

Yet another stratagem to involve the people and their support was the increasing vogue of organizing music conferences. Not that the aristocracy was excluded from the activity! They became the chief supporters or sponsors and the public was allowed to have access by invitations or tickets. The special attraction of the format needs to be noted. The conferences presented various artistes in different sessions one after the other, each given a particular time-slot to perform. As contrasted with a *mehfil*, conferences allowed a variety of music and an undercurrent of competitive spirit amongst the performers. In addition Pt. V. N. Bhatkhande, the pioneer, also organised scholastic deliberations and musicological discussions among the participants as a part of the conference. The debates, the resolutions and the reports enlivened the prevailing atmosphere in the world of music. Once again the common

listener became a part of the proceedings. The press gave publicity to these events. Music and the musicians making it were thus becoming a part of the general life-pattern in the country and the common man was treating music as an event in public life. As the conferences were organised in different places all over the country they succeeded in creating widespread interest and impact.

Music Conferences

Perhaps it is no exaggeration to maintain that nothing reveals the social side of music as the aspect of patronage. A number of socio-cultural observations are warranted by music-conferences as a phenomenon. Some important ones are noted below:

(1) Whoever might be the originator of the idea to organize a conference and whatever might be the primary intention, the organizational set-up reflected the wide base or patronage of the conference. Generally, a standing committee, secretary, chief patron, president, the inaugurating dignitary, convenors, local organizer etc. characterized the setup. It is clear that the setup ensured involvement of people of various strata not only as receivers of music which was to be the end-result of a process, but they also became initiators of a larger chain-action intended to establish a new mode of bringing music to the people and patronage to the artistes.

Organization of music-conferences unambiguously opted for procedures adopted by democratic political movements sweeping the country after the first world war.

(2) From various accounts it is clear that the conferences could not be expected to become financially viable solely on the basis of gate receipts. The gap between the actual receipts and the expenditure incurred, however small it may be, needed to be covered. It is here that the royal or the aristocratic patronage stepped in graciously. The new vogue did not seem to have aroused any hostility in the royal class and the cause was to be sought in the new idealism motivating the organizers. For example the first four All India Conferences organised by Pt. V. N. Bhatkhande were well supported respectively by the Maharaja of Baroda, Nawab of Rampur, Rajah of Ramnagar and Ray Umanath Bali. Further, the aims of the first conference (1916) as listed by the organizers would bring out the changed and visionary character of the entire efforts. In their own words they were:

(1) to bring about national uplift of music
(2) to begin methodical education of *raga*-music
(3) if possible to fuse the Karnataka and the Hindustani musical systems
(4) to evolve a universally accepted system of notation
(5) to create new *raga*s, methodically and according to the treatises
(6) to improve musical instruments
(7) to record on discs with the help of living exponents the traditional compositions
(8) to collect important works on music
(9) to discuss and determine the correct microtonal intervals etc.

The royal and aristocratic support had a place in the new setup but the aims were entirely different and the gains were intentionally spread over larger numbers and newer social strata.

(3) On the face of it, the conference phenomenon and the associated patronage may appear to be a repetition of what the munificent courts or temple-festivals accomplished as a matter of routine. However, arranging performances of music or distributing largesse amongst the performers are hardly the relevant criteria to be applied. What distinguished the conferences was the fundamental point of view involved. The organizers were not motivated to please or entertain the patron, or to celebrate auspicious occasions with fitting musical response, or to serve a deity through music. Their aims were musical and extra-musical considerations were not allowed to assume undue importance. Music was the central theme though peripherals were not ignored. On a number of occasions musicians and music lovers were successfully made to feel that the endeavour was their show. It is symptomatic that Pt. Vishnu Digambar who attended the first music conference (Baroda, 1916) organised by Pt. Bhatkhande not only protested against the use of English in the deliberations (as a majority of musicians did not know English) but also presented his views on notation in Hindi.

Music conferences represented an enlightened attempt to bring together musicians and music-lovers solely in the interest of music. There were frequent instances of musicians attending the conferences at their own expense and even performing free.

(4) The 1916, initiative of the new conferences was aptly named All India Music Conferences and the name was persisted with: all the eight following conferences continued to be organised under the same banner by Pt. Bhatkhande's followers and admirers. During the same period Pt. Vishnu Digambar organised five conferences beginning from 1918. In retrospect it may be said that Pt. Bhatkhande's efforts allowed a greater scope to the new, educated Indian interested in music and to those non-literate musicians who had an overall agreement with Pt. Bhatkhande's views. It also appears that there was a greater acceptance of Pt. Bhatkhande's views and methods in the north and hence 'his' conferences were largely attended by non-Maharashtrian Hindustani musicians. On the other hand non-English-speaking traditional musicians based to the south of Narmada found a more congenial platform in the five conferences inspired by Pt. Vishnu Digambar during the period 1918-1922. However, two more branch-offs are to be noted because of the tendencies they represent. From 1926 onwards conferences organised by Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya were known as Maharashtra Regional Conferences supervised by Maharashtra Sangeet Samiti. As was to be expected in the then prevalent atmosphere, the name, format etc. created an impression (rightly or wrongly) that these efforts were meant to project Maharashtra and the Hindu musical contribution. Muslim musicians based in Bombay therefore had established in 1937 a body called 'Hindustani Sangeet Kala Mandal'. However from 1936, there was a realisation that Indian music in essence transcends the Hindu-Muslim divisions. Hence the Maharashtra Sangeet Samiti changed its name to Hindustani Sangeet Parishad and cooperation of the Muslim-founded body was solicited earnestly as contemporary

evidence suggests. Slowly but surely performers protected and isolated existence was subjected to various pressures resulting from events and happenings in other walks of life.

Organisation of music conferences brought to the fore two kinds of interests. One was regional-pan-Indian and the other was Hindu-Muslim representation. It is obvious that the manifestation was an overflow of the prevailing politico-social atmosphere in the country.

(5) A noteworthy feature of the conferences was the way performers were honoured or rewarded in recognition of the quality of their performance. This apparently was indicated by the impact they succeeded in creating. As is well known, the usual protocol to schedule the senior most artiste last is also a way of honouring him. But the awards, honours or medals referred to were in recognition of a performance that had proved effective. Performers desired the medals and sported them on their apparel, as is apparent from the early photographs. The point is that recognition reflected in the awards created a hierarchical position and a competitive atmosphere. This might seem to run contrary to the democratic spirit otherwise sweeping over various fields as a levelling agent. The *adhoc* or the temporary ascendency through awards surely proclaimed a protest or an assertion.

It is on record that in the second All India Conference (Delhi 1918) started the vogue of medals which acted as a spur to the performers. The third conference (Benaras 1919) saw the Rajah of Kashi awarding five gold medals. Many listeners too announced similar honours. The fourth conference (Lucknow 1925) notched a high point in this respect. The organizers awarded 12 gold, 17 silver medals. In addition, from the members of the audience were announced 92 gold, 4 silver, four shawls and cash awards of Rs. 301! A perceptive organizer and a participant in the Bhatkhande conferences, Bhalchandra Sukhtankar ruefully commented in 1938 on the glaring scarcity of medals in conferences organised in Bombay and opined that the fact affected the performers adversely.

Invariably, the conferences introduced a system of honouring and rewarding participants who attracted special attention. The need of the music community at large to be recognized with prestige and ceremony by the new, educated class in social power was forcefully brought to notice by the phenomenon.

(6) The enthusiasm of the organisers, their established musical and social credentials, as well as the judicious use they made of the modern means of publicity etc. turned the conferences into platforms which could make reputations. Innovations in performing and scholastic traditions were boldly tried out and introduced in the conferences. In this context some select facts can be itemized:

1916 - Mssrs Clements and Deval presented their thesis on Indian microtonal intervals and wanted corroboration of it from the performing musicians present in the conference. They could not get the corroboration but the attempt was a step ahead from the arm-chair text-based musical research conventionally carried out!

1918 - The second conference arranged discussions on varieties of *kanada, malhar* and *todi*. Demonstration-lectures employed to deliberate upon these important *raga*s were expected to help musicians arrive at a consensus and end the near-anarchic state of affairs.

The second conference also heard an important announcement regarding the proposed establishment of a National Academy of Music.

The first Vishnu Digambar conference in 1918 included an exhibition of musical instruments in addition to performances. This became a regular feature of these conferences.

The third Paluskar conference in 1920 discussed a paper on 'harmony' and the 1921 conference presented a 'Piano' recital by Prof. Scrinzi. Panditji's move also resulted in a scholarship given by Rajah Ghorpade of Ichalkaranji to Shri. B. R. Deodhar to learn western music from Prof. Scrinzi.

In the Lucknow conference (1925) dance was represented for the first time and it thus took its rightful place in the musical arts. Shambhuprasad, nephew to the legendary Bindadin Kathak, performed in the conference. Equally logically and significantly a paper was read on the future of *thumri*-singing. As is known, dance specially suffered the humiliation of a social stigma. To include it in the new setup was a necessary corrective. The same conference also carried through the proposal to establish a full-fledged, government-aided music college at Lucknow.

Baroda, Rampur and Mahiyar State Bands were presented and they created a sensation in the Lucknow conference.

The 1936 conference in Bombay introduced *bulbultarang*, a new string instrument with a keyboard. Kumar Gandharva's debut as a child prodigy too was a memorable event.

It was to the credit of the organisers that very soon the conferences became important platforms for every new initiative in performing or scholastic traditions.

(7) The conferences were clearly proving attractive to both performers and scholars. The perceptible increase in their number was an objective evidence. Various divisive tendencies were sought to be blunted. The schism between theory and practice of music became less severe as the organisers succeeded in bringing together practitioners of music of all sorts. All agencies which took a serious view of music were invited and involved. It is on record that the first (1916) Bhatkhande conference was attended by about 20 professional artistes and about 15 academicians. On the other hand the third (1919) conference attracted around 50 professional artistes and the fourth (1924) more than a 100! What was significant was that the performers etc. usually remained present throughout the conference unlike the contemporary practice! They attended the academic sessions and participated to the best of their abilities. A number of problems discussed had a performance bias.

Irrespective of various contemporary criticisms (which themselves are an indicator of the effectiveness of the conferences) the conferences were a farsighted and a courageous step taken to bridge the gap between theoretical and practical studies in music. The efforts to bring together professional musicians and theoreticians to discuss issues otherwise solely left to academicians spoke of rare perception and appraisal of the Indian situation.

(8) A representative, uninitiated, non-Indian view of Indian music was usually expressed through the use of adjectives such as exotic, unscientific, monotonous etc. A careful view of the total programming of the conferences reveal that the thrust was to prove to the west and the educated, westernized class that Indian music had scientific basis, that it was a product of a highly sophisticated culture and finally that it had a position of prestige and dignity in the Indian eyes. If Clements and Deval (1916) presented a thesis on Indian microtonal intervals and their measurability according to the established norms of western sciences, the aim was obvious. If the bands were presented and their music was shown to be reducible to notation the objective was to prove that what was possible in the case of western music could also be proved to be compatible with Indian musical genius. At the same time the adoption of staff-notation had its advocates and the intention was to bring India on the international map. At some level the conferences were an expression of the nationalist sentiment. Through musical and musicological means there were simultaneous attempts to establish a separate and artistically more challenging nature or identity of Indian music as also to bring it on par with the western musical traditions by incorporating features particular to the latter.

(9) The spirit of nationalism that pervaded life around required a place in musical behaviour. The conference sought to find it in efforts to bring together the two Indian systems of art music, namely, Hindustani and the Carnatic. Inviting scholars and performers from both the systems was an assiduously followed procedure. Exchange of views was another regular feature. What is more, recognition of better techniques of the Carnatic violinists prompted Pt. Vishnu Digambar to appoint Pt. Sundaram Aiyar on his own staff (1910). In fact, the nationalist spirit and its simplistic equation with oneness or unity was confused with uniformity! The very first 1916 conference listed as one of its aim the fusion of the two systems and a possible creation of a single system for the entire country! To create mutual understanding and respect for the divergent musical cultures was and is still a necessity and the organizers certainly had an idea of the importance of the task.

Very purposeful attempts to fuse the two art-music systems were evident in the organizers stated aims as well as their actual practice. Musically naive or at least of suspected validity, they speak of a vision that transcended regional considerations.

(10) India is a vast country and a unique instance of a nation which can boast of having two fully developed systems of art music. All movements related to art music therefore needed to consider the strategy of carrying activities to numerous centres in order to be effective. This would also enable the regional variations or contributions to register their presence in the process, increasing the possibility of striking a happy balance between sub-streams and mainstream of art music.

However, the country was on the threshold of industrialisation on modern lines and hence new urban centres were coming to a wealthy prominence-thus competing with the capitals of the princely states as seats of patronage and culture. It became therefore advisable to hold the conferences in places where an easy confluence of the older and newer forces was possible. The conferences had to take care of the factors of multiplicity, frequency and distribution if an impact was to be created. Conferences organised during the pre-British period showed wide distribution of locales not necessarily confined to the metropolitan in cities such as Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi etc. This is important from the angle of widening the base of patronage.

Finally, a new agency to offer patronage was the music circles, clubs or *mandali*s. The evolution of this particular agency was a step in the direction of securing a discerning audience as contrasted with the one obtained in the public, 'ticketed' programmes. Members were enrolled on payment of a subscription and hence the management could be selective in admission. According to Dr. S. N. Ratanjankar (31-12-1900 - 14-02-1974) the first 'circle' was formed sometime around 1912-14, when three concerts of Ustad Alladiya Khan were arranged in Bombay. Similar bodies sprang up in other urban and semi-urban centres, for example:

Deval Club	Kolhapur	1886
Dharwad Gayan Samaj	Dharwad	1896
Saraswat Gayan Samaj	Bombay	1896
Trinity Club	Bombay	1904-05
Kalyan Gayan Samaj	Kalyan	1926

CHAPTER EIGHT

Music Education

An area in which important changes were registered in modern Maharashtra was that of music education. Almost every attempt in the field was prompted by a desire to institutionalize training in music. The traditional *gurukul paddhati* was found lacking and irresponsive to modern temperament.

Institutionalization of music chiefly explored two avenues: firstly, of creating new institutes solely devoted to music education, and secondly, that of creating curricular scope for music in places of higher education, especially the universities. In both the cases, an avowed aim was to bring music in the mainstream of education and thus bestow new social prestige on music and its practitioners.

The newly created apparatus of music education invariably led to laying down of a curriculum, preparing of text-books, conducting of examinations and awarding of degrees to successful candidates in ceremonial convocation functions. Attention was paid to evolving educational methodology, devising pedagogic aids and standardization of the course material. Even the aspect of training for the teaching profession was not neglected. Perhaps the earliest attempt in modernising music education was that of Ustad Maula Bux in Baroda around 1875. An appraisal of his efforts however will exceed the present brief.

In Maharashtra the honour of setting in motion the 'new' music education goes to Pt. Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjikar who ran music classes in Bombay around 1880, with the educated gentry in the forefront as students. It is to be remembered that conducting music classes would not have made Pt. Balkrishnabuwa a pioneer. He made good beginnings in other directions too. With the help of one Mr. Ramchandra Vishwanath Kale, Pt. Balkrishnabuwa brought out *Sangeet Darpan* (Part I, 1883) a book-magazine which consisted of lessons on sitar playing and vocal music. The work presents an interesting combination of being a manual as well as a work on theory. It sheds light on the new pan-Indian vision of the Indian musician. For example, the preface of the book alludes to efforts made in Calcutta to modernize music education. A specific mention is made of the success in learning music from notation. Some interesting exercises for studies in rhythm and melody are given. The evident serious approach and an awareness of the problems raised by a new environment are impressive. It is also easy to discern that the author's prescription of an action-oriented programme is born out of a deep knowledge of the performing tradition. In this connection exercises for playing *tanpura* in *tala*-patterns or those recommended for attainment of vocal virtuosity attract attention.

After Pt. Balkrishnabuwa's initial moves the stage was set for further advances - all to the credit of the two Vishnus, Pt. Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande (10-8-1860 – 19-3-1937) and Pt. Vishnu Digambar Paluskar (18-8-1872 – 20-8-1931). It is difficult to summarize their achievements, so varied and pioneering was their work!

Vishnu, according to Hindu pantheon, is a god who preserves. The two Vishnus can be described as the arch-preservers of Hindustani music! They laid foundations of music-propagation, music-preservation and music-education. Both hailed from Maharashtra but both undoubtedly possessed a pan-Indian vision. On account of differences in their upbringing and in their respective temperaments they could not work together but there surely was a deep current of mutual respect. Their ideas continue to be relevant and it is a pity that some are not more vigorously pursued. Brief sketches of their lives would form an inevitable part of any historical account of music in Maharashtra.

Pt. Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande

It can easily be said that Bhatkhande was brought up in highly musical surroundings. His father managed the affairs of a well-known temple in Bombay (Gora Ram in Girgaon) and stayed in Walakeshwar (Bombay), an ancient temple-seat. Apart from the abundant use of music in the rituals, temples attracted artists and craftsmen of all sorts.

Around 1875, as a fifteen-year old schoolboy Bhatkhande started learning sitar from Shri. Vallabhdas Gopalgiri, a blind well-to-do Bhatia gentleman' and Buwa Damulji, both reportedly disciples of Pt. Pannalal Bajpai of Benaras. Bhatkhande became acquainted with the musicological literature as he came to know Shri. Jeevanlal Maharaj, a sectarian *guru* of the Bhatias. By the time Bhatkhande completed his graduation and law studies in 1887 he was a proficient *sitar* player. Apparently *sitar* was an instrument popular in Maharashtra and the higher castes were closely involved in music and its education.

In 1884, he had become a member of Parsi *Gayanottejak Mandali* (estd. 1871), an institution founded by Parsi educated gentry to arrange music concerts and conduct music classes on new lines. It is here that he had an opportunity to learn from the authentic corpus of Hindustani musical compositions. The *mandali* had in its employ authorities such as Pt. Ravjibuwa Belbaugkar, Ustad Ali Hussain and Vilayat Hussain. Bhatkhande learnt 300 *dhrupad*s from Pt. Ravjibuwa and around 150 *khayal*s from the Ustads. The *talim*s continued till the 1890s. Of equal importance is the fact that he assiduously pursued studies in scholastic music traditions along with practical application. Not only did he read the Sanskrit texts on music but he also attended music concerts with a view to document and analyze the performing traditions. He heard musicians from Delhi, Lucknow, Agra, Jaipur, Gwalior, Patiala, Baroda and Hyderabad (Deccan), talked to them and made it a practice of taking detailed notes of his findings. Meanwhile, he continued to practice law and became an estate-manager for the wealthy Sukhthankar family. It is reported that during the years 1890–1905 he lectured in the *Mandali* on music-an exercise which Bhatkhande must have found useful in organization of material, crystallization of thoughts and communication of ideas. Apparently, two features of the entire situation struck him: firstly, the scholastic tradition emerging from the Sanskrit texts could not be meaningfully related to the actual practice of music in many fundamental respects. Secondly, there was so much coherence and uniformity in the prevailing performing

tradition that it demanded and justified a statement of the grammatical framework of music (Hindustani) *ab novo*. He also discerned the necessity of getting a first-hand experience of the pan-Indian situation. He seems to have planned pilgrimages of his patrons in the succeeding years in such a way that it enabled him to collect data on music.

The religious perambulations of the Sukhthankars thus became opportunities for musicological fieldwork for the astute mind that Bhatkhande was! In 1896 he toured Surat, Baroda, Bharoch, Navsari, Ahmadabad, Rajkot, Bhavnagar and such other places. In 1904 he set out on a tour of the south which took him to Mysore, Madras, Tanjore, Travancore, Madura, Ittaiyapuram, Trivandrum, Bangalore, Rameshwar etc. Similar ventures to the eastern and the northern parts of India (1907-08) covered centres such as Nagpur, Hyderabad, Allahabad, Varanasi, Calcutta, Puri, Vijayanagar and Delhi, Mathura, Lucknow, Jaipur, Udaypur, Bikaner, Jodhpur. He established contacts with learned contemporaries such as Pt. Subram Dixit, Pt. Kashinath alias Appa Tulsi, Rajah Sourindra Mohan Tagore and others. The practical aspect too was well attended to. He recorded and notated 300 compositions of the Manrang *gharana* from Ustad Ashiq Ali and Ahmed Ali of Jaipur, in 1906-07. He also obtained about 400 compositions from Pt. Ganapatibuwa Bhilawadikar.

It is evident that Bhatkhande's musical explorations reached far and wide. His probing intellect succeeded in abstracting the theoretical structure embedded in the performing tradition. By 1910 his views regarding the grammatical structure, historical evolution, performing norms and the aesthetic criteria of Hindustani music were well formulated. In this connection the following events from his life are worth noting:

In 1898, he undertook the responsibility of imparting *talim* to Pt. Vadilalji Shivram Nayak. A *shastri* of the Sanskrit tradition, Vadilalji was working as a composer for a Gujrati dramatic troupe when he approached Bhatkhande to be trained 'scientifically' in Hindustani vocal music.

Bhatkhande's responses to Carnatic music in his tour of the south (1904) indicate that he had already evolved a method of comparing musical cultures, notating salient differences while working in the field.

By 1909 *Shrimallakshya Sangeetam*, Bhatkhande's treatise in Sanskrit was almost complete. In fact the examples of the codification in the treatise was published under the title *Swarmalika*.

In 1910 Bhatkhande closed his law practice, which according to many reports was lucrative. Then onwards he devoted himself fully to writing, teaching, theorizing and organizing activities, all related to music. His influence crossed regional boundaries. Due to his industry, analytical approach and the ability to convey ideas in English, the language of modernity and linkage, Bhatkhande could establish rapport with the two major constituents namely enlightened princes and educated gentry of contemporary India. These were the classes intensely interested in revitalizing Indian culture and establishing its greatness in occidental eyes. Hence

they came forward to offer affection and patronage to the illiterate performer, but Bhatkhande won their respect and admiration on account of his deep learning and impressive presentation of the Indian case. He became a leader of a new movement in music. Bhatkhande's pioneering enterprise of convening All India Music Conferences created a network of enlightened patrons all over Hindustan. If the conferences opened a new avenue for dissemination, the establishment of institutions of high grade music education proved his pedagogic excellence. Madhav Sangeet Vidyalaya, Gwalior (1918) and Maurice College, Lucknow (1928) are high points in his drive to modernize music education. What is significant is that the institutes were not run by Bhatkhande but by persons trained by him. For a pioneer it is a dream-situation come true to have a second generation of workers ready to carry on the work! As Bhatkhande had consciously taken steps to train his successors he deserves special praise.

One needs to move backwards at this point in order to draw attention to a special feature of the enlightened following in music in Maharashtra. Around 1916, when Bhatkhande initiated the movement to organize music conferences (discussed at greater length elsewhere), he left the Parsi *Gayanottejak Mandali*, the organization which had virtually nurtured him into eminence for more than twenty-five years, but joined another cultural body led by Parsis, called Good Life League. It ran music classes in Sharda Sangeet Vidyalay where Bhatkhande continued to teach. Two items need to be noted here. Firstly the Parsi-support to Indian culture seems to have followed a pattern: the higher middle class went for 'Indian' entities while the higher aristocracy looked to the west. Secondly Bhatkhande apparently preferred (or was readily offered) non-Marathi support! In this connection it is to be remembered that Bhatkhande's chief critics and academic opponents were from Maharashtra. Shri K. B. Deval (1847–1931), Gulabrao Gundoji Mohod (1881-1915) and G. B. Achrekar (1885–1939) are names that should occur easily!

A very tangible result of Bhatkhande's zealous scholastic pursuits is of course the great corpus of his published work which even today serves as a foundation.

In volume and variety, relevance and logic his music literature remains unparallel. Some salient features need to be noted :

(1) When Bhatkhande graduated in 1885, only five of the important musicological works, namely *Natyashastra, Sangeet Ratnakar, Sangeet Darpan, Raga Vibodh* and *Sangeet Parijat* were available in print. Beginning from 1910 Bhatkhande published 18 significant musicological works by 1921 ! The works he brought into print for the first time ranged from *Swarmelakalanidhi* of Ramamatya (1550) to *Raga Chandrika* (1912) of Appa Tulsi.

(2) In six volumes of *Kramik Pustak Malika* Bhatkhande notated a considerable portion of Hindustani vocal repertoire, (the last two volumes were published posthumously). A total number of 1,800 compositions found place in the series. The comprehensive basis of the entire enterprise is borne out by an easy break-up. It also points to the representative character of his collection.

Thatas	*No. of ragas included*
Bilawal	35
Kalyan	14
Khamaj	13
Bhairav	18
Purvi	15
Marva	14
Kafi	44
Asavari	14
Todi	17
Bhairavi	7
Total	191

Composers

(1) Sadarang (Nyamat Khan), (2) Adarang (Phiroze Khan), (3) Manrang, (4) Achapal, (5) Miya Tansen, (6) Ibrahim, (7) Sadakpiya, (8) Sanadpiya, (9) Kadarpiya, (10) Akhtarpiya, (11) Amir Khusro, (12) Harrang, (13) Chaturpiya.

Forms

(1) Sargam, (2) Lakshangeet, (3) Khayal, (4) Tarana, (5) Chaturang, (6) Dhrupad, (7) Dhamar, (8) Tappa, (9) Thumri, (10) Hori, (11) Ghazal, (12) Kajri, (13) Khayalnuma.

Languages

(1) Hindi, (2) Braj, (3) Rajasthani, (4) Punjabi, (5) Urdu, (6) Sanskrit, (7) Farsi, (8) Bundeli, (9) Pushtu.

Talas

(1) Dadra, (2) Jhaptala, (3) Ektala, (4) Tritala, (5) Tevra, (6) Sooltala, (7) Chautala, (8) Dhamar, (9) Deepchandi, (10) Tilwada (11) Punjabi, (12) Ada Chautala, (13) Jhumra, (14) Roopak, (15) Gajajhanpa, (16) Shikhar, (17) Matta, (18) Brahma.

(3) It is interesting to note that he followed a sort of three-language formulae in publishing his work. He resorted to Sanskrit and the tradition of the Sanskrit musicology to publish his erudite codification of the Hindustani art music (*Srimallakshya Sangeetam*). The explanatory material on his scheme was originally published in Marathi in four volumes. Finally, for writings with a historical perspective, he fell back on English. However, he did not hesitate in helping others to expound his ideas in other languages. For example *MariF-un-nagamāt* (1913) written by Thakur Nawab Ali Khan of Akbarpur echoed Bhatkhande to a large extent. Published in Urdu, it retained an immense reference value for Hindustani musicians of northern India who did not know English or Marathi. Pt. Bhatkhande was involved in an important publication entitled *Sarode Avesta* of his disciple Shri Pheroz Batliwala who was the translator of Pt. Bhatkhande's *Swarmalika* into Guajarati. Bhatkhande's *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati* (Part I) was translated into Guajarati by Shri Ratanshi Liladhar Thakkar of the Parsi Gayan Samaj in 1912. The pen names Bhatkhande selected reflect some purpose. The Sanskrit writing came under the name of Chatur Pandit (clever learned man). The explanatory writings

assumed the question-answer format and the provider of answers was Pt. Vishnu-Sharma (with unmistakable echoes of *Panchtantra*, a work designed to turn fools into wise men!) One other pen name he sparingly used was *Bharadwaj*, a major composer of *Sama*s in *vedic* music.
(4) It appears that Bhatkhande was not enamoured of the idea of publishing a magazine on music. He concentrated on creating a fundamental literature on music. Shunning the topical he chose to regard the strictly contemporary as of secondary importance.

(5) Bhatkhande's concern for music education is proved by his attention to pedagogic aids. The twenty-four *Geetmalika* booklets, the digests on *raga* (*Abhinavrangamanjari*, 1921) and *tala* (*Ashottarashtatallakshanam*, 1911), or his active collaboration with the Bombay Municipal Corporation in preparing text books on music are notable as aids in teaching. Equally significant are the examiner's reports Bhatkhande submitted to the authorities of Madhav Sangeet Vidyalaya during the years, 1920–32. The reports now available in print (*Bhatkhande Smriti Granth*, ed. Chinchore P. N. et al., Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwa Vidyalaya, Khairagadh, 1966, p. 99–60) rank high in incisive analysis and attention to details. It is not a coincidence that at the end of *Srimallakshya Sangeetam*, Bhatkhande avers that 'his intention in writing the book is to create good teachers and not to earn money'!

Disciples

Shri. Shankarrao Karnad, Pt. Vadilal Nayak, Shri. Sitaram Modi, Pt. Rajabhaiya Poochwale Pt. S. N. Ratanjankar and Smt. Khorshid Homji made their respective impacts. The last had the credit of being the first female music composer in films in Hindi.
Shri. Karnad was Bhatkhande's confidante and it was the latter's custom to send a copy of each of the compositions, newly acquired and processed, to Karnad. Pt. Vadilalji worked in Gujarat and he along with Pt. Ratanjankar could be said to carry on Bhatkhande's torch. Pt. Rajabhaiya was a performer-teacher and created a place for himself as a musician well-versed in the nuances of the performing tradition.

Theoretical Position

Bhatkhande's revolutionary and pioneering work expectably aroused keen and considerable controversy. His work became a point of inevitable reference. It is therefore beneficial to summarise his theoretical position. The basic Bhatkhande tenets are:
(1) The long tradition of music in India had completely broken down by the medieval times. Since then music in India changed so considerably that no correspondence can be found between the musicological texts and the modern practice of music. The fact obviously necessitates restatement of the musicological framework underlying the performing tradition *ab novo*.

(2) In spite of the impressive list of the available musicological texts only the following twelve retain relevance for Hindustani art music as understood today:

Serial No.	Title	Author	Period
01	Sadraga Chandrodaya	Pundarik Vithal	1556-1605
02	Raga Manjari	Pundarik Vithal	1556-1605
03	Raga Mala	Pundarik Vithal	1556-1605
04	Nartan Nirnay	Pundarik Vithal	1556-1605
05	Raga Tarangini	Lochan	1675
06	Anoop Ratnakar	Bhavbhatta	1780
07	Anoop Vilas	Bhavbhatta	1780
08	Anoop Sangeetankush	Bhavbhatta	1780
09	Hridaya Prakash	Hariday Narayan Deo	1660
10	Nagmate Asafi	Mohammad Raza	1813
11	Sangeet Sara	Maharaja Pratapsinha	1776-1804
12	Sangeet Kalpadruma	Krishnanand Vyas	1842

It should be obvious that the list makes the contemporary Hindustani music a tradition that is more modern than ancient. In a country where the temptation to trace everything back to *vedic* times, Bhatkhande's contention reduced the readers to the state of shell-shocked victims!

(3) In Bhatkhande's opinion the major indications of a clear break between the ancient and the medieval musical continuities are as follow:

> (a) The ancient music making was based on two parent scales namely *shadja* and *madhyama grama* while only the former remained in vogue after 1600. The intricate system of microtone, the *sruti*s also went overboard.
> (b) The method of exploring and exploiting the available tonal spaces in the ancient period was known as *murchana paddhati*. This too was discarded. In fact as the two *grama* system gave way to the single *grama*, tonality replaced the *murchana*s.
> (c) As a combined result of the technical and the cultural processes two musical systems emerged and stabilized in the country. The Hindustani system came to accept a twelve tone division of the gamut and the *bilawal* that as the basic *shuddha* frame in which *shadja* and *panchama* remained immovable.
> (d) *Jati* and *grama* ragas went out of circulation with the *thata* system and the method of evolving *raga*s from them assuming controlling positions.
> (e) During the course of time Hindustani art music established *raga*s, *vadi-samvadi* principle, and the *raga-samay* relationship as its special features, once again registering a deviation from the ancient vogue.
> (f) Carnatic system differs from the Hindustani in all major respects such as the basic accepted gamut, elaborational techniques, mode of composing, manner of evolving *raga*s *tala*-construction and use of embellishment.

(g) Despite the technical possibility of evolving 32 *thata*s and 484 *raga*s in each *thata*, the contemporary Hindustani music accommodates itself in ten *thata*s.

Pt. Bhatkhande suffered a paralytic attack in 1933 and gradually failing in health expired on September 19, 1937. Thus ended a glorious career of a modern mind in search of music. Believing in the value of disseminating knowledge of music he was a leader of a band of educators whose watchwords were hard work and thoroughness. He laid the foundation of a system of music, revitalizing in the process a tree of an erratic and confused growth. To this day the tree continues to flower and fructify. Contemporary minds can make sense of Indian art music because Pt. Bhatkhande has made available a thought-structure which is firm and complex to match the prevalent performing reality.

CHAPTER NINE

Pt. Vishnu Digambar Paluskar (Gadgil)

(August 18, 1872—August 20, 1931)

Kurundwad was a small princely state in South Maharashtra ruled over by the Patwardhans, chieftains to the Peshwas during the Maratha period. Vishnu's father was a known *keertankar* in the *Naradiya* tradition in this Brahmin state. One can therefore surmise that both music and religion were in Vishnu's blood, and both as a means of reaching and organizing the masses. Vishnu suffered from heavy eye-burns in early childhood and one of the consequences was his decision to take up music as a vocation. Shifting to Miraj, a larger and an adjacent princely state, Vishnu began his music-studies at the age of fifteen, first under the guidance of Maheshwarbuwa, a singer of *tappa*s and then more rigorously as a disciple of Pt. Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjikar of Gwalior *gharana*.

In 1896, at the energetic age of twenty-five Vishnu launched his own career as a vocalist with the usual opening gambit of approaching princes and feudal lords to listen to his music. Vishnu impressed by his sweet and powerful singing and could easily get glowing recommendations to other patrons. However it is highly symptomatic that even at this early stage of his career Vishnu could sound a new note by turning to the lay, general public for patronage. He registered the deviation in announcing a public concert by sale of tickets (Rajkot, 1897)! Thus continued his drive towards the north.

Paluskar did not have any academic background and hence the whole world was his university! He went on earning fame and gathering impressions and one can easily see a continuous evolution in his life from being (just) a performer to becoming a charismatic leader of a musical movement and a missionary, the last being his favourite description of himself! Thus for him Dhaku, a barber Paluskar met in Aligadh, acted as an inspiration because Dhaku could reel-off *dhrupad*s and *sargam*s at the slightest provocation! Pt. Anant (1882–1967), one of Paluskar's junior co-students, once told me that during his very first campaign Paluskar became aware of two defects in his own music upbringing. Firstly, he was not proficient in Hindi, the language of Hindustani music, and secondly, his knowledge of the Sanskrit musicological texts was next to nothing. Evincing a characteristic decisiveness, Paluskar camped in Mathura in 1897 and took a crash-course in reading musicology and learning Hindi. He participated in prestigious Harvallabh *mela* of Jalandhar (1898), and won many performing assignments. The self-schooling continued. Paluskar practiced Hindi elocution. Inspired by one Mr James, a bandmaster in Bikaner, he formulated a notation-system of his own. Perhaps he saw the greater pedagogical role of mechanical aids in music education and tried hard to get a metronome constructed. Finally he took a major pioneering step by opening a music school in Lahore (1901). He was then twenty-nine!

In passing, two incidents need to be noted at this juncture. Earlier in 1897, Paluskar had met a singing *sadhu* in Girnar whose advice to turn to north Paluskar had accepted as a soothsayer's or a prophet's command. In 1902 Paluskar recieved a gift from an admirer, a copy of *Tulsi-Ramayan*, a book which ultimately became The Book for him and to an extent overwhelmed his music.

What was Paluskar's motivation in opening a school when he was in full form as a performer? The answer is in Paluskar's two basic drives, both making him immensely yet impersonally ambitious. He was a musical entrepreneur and believed in opening new lines of action in music performance, of which teaching forms a part. Secondly, he was a man of religions temperament who saw or who could see the world only through music. The second drive assumed importance from 1918 onwards barely after he had turned 45!

Through his initiatives he brought music to the forefront by nonchalantly exploiting contradictory occasions. He participated in a procession thundering out patriotic songs (1904, Lahore) and he also sought an audience with King George V to present Indian music! Paluskar's single desire was to push music and musicians to the forefront of the modern society in India. The entrepreneur in him appointed Daulatram Shinde to run a workshop of musical instruments and Narayanrao Khandekar to run the specially established Sangeet Printing Press. A special wing to train music-teachers was opened (1904). Publication of a magazine on music (*Sangeetamrit Pravaha*, 1905) was taken up. Music classes were instituted in Bombay 1908 and branches were opened in quick succession (Bombay 1911, Pune 1912, Nagpur 1913). Music degrees and diplomas were awarded in convocation ceremonies *a la* university (1911, 1915, 1919, 1921) with full pomp and show. He lectured on notation, organised *Keertan-sammelan*s, delivered presidential addresses in dramatic conferences. In the matter of music conferences he followed Pt. Bhatkhande but Paluskar scored a first in organizing a Mahila Sangeet Parishad (1926, Karachi).

The breadth of his pedagogic vision is evident in that he appointed Shri Sundaram Iyer to teach violin according to the Carnatic fingering technique (1910) and sent students on scholarship to learn western music from Prof. Scrinzi (piano) and Mr Savini (violin) in 1921. Realising that the days of illiterate musicians were numbered he accepted students whose academic and music education was to be arranged by the Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya, Paluskar's famed institute (1918).

Paluskar the entrepreneur and Paluskar the rebel or the deviationist reformer were two sides of the same coin. His aim was to bring music and musicians on par with other social disciplines and the elites respectively. And his varied approaches are reflected in his initiatives in presentation of music, organization of music education and the conduct of his personal life. He had to sell music to his new patrons and to do that he had to efface the conventional image of the musician, deny existence of a stereo-type. For example, following instances are of interest.

The conventional musician was irregular in habits and shabbily dressed in day to day life. Paluskar made a fetish of punctuality in personal life and in public appearances. He was always meticulously dressed.

Majority of musicians were humble to the extent of being servile! Paluskar was careful to ensure that the performers were respected and were accepted on par. He in fact preferred to perform by sitting on chairs if the patrons were seated on a higher level! He had special stands made to position the instruments conveniently if the need arose ! The boxes to keep and carry the instruments while on tour were also one of his innovations that attracted sneers from the conventional world of music, though the innovation proved efficient.

The conventional musician was inarticulate and individualistic while Paluskar lectured in Hindi and later in English (Sri Lanka tour 1928). He was a spokesman and a leader. In the Bhatkhande-inspired All India Music Conference (Baroda, 1916) he protested against the use of English as a language of the proceedings because it was obviously Greek and Latin to many participants.

Paluskar as contrasted with the typical musician was a builder of networks and organizational structures. He obviously transferred the models functioning in the political and educational spheres in modern India to the musical field. During his lifetime ten music schools were founded and run by his disciples with whom he was in close contact. Twenty-two more started functioning after his death.

Unlike many others brought up in the *guru-shishya parampara* Paluskar was musically curious and was less inhibited in musical matters. In matters of presentation, use of new musical instruments (or modification of these in use) and bringing his activities to the notice of the public he was not afraid of appearing odd or eccentric. Including drill as a precursor to serious music, trying out banjo, and such other non-Indian instruments, making colourful *kafani*s and wearing them, setting traditional *arati*s and national songs to tune and singing them and regular concerts... came to him easily!

Many of Paluskar's actions one could not have imagined in case of Pt. Bhatkhande - such was the difference in their upbringing and temperament!

Music for all, music for use and music for performers seems to be the motto Paluskar followed. A cursory glance at his publications brings out the point well.

- Three volumes of *Sangeet Bal Prakash* included compositions of the saint poets set to simple tunes in the major *raga*s.
- Two volumes of *Sangeet Balbodh* and three of *Swalpalap Gayan* emphasized traditional *dhrupad*s, *ashtapadi, dhamar, tarana, khayal* and *sargam* compositions.
- *Raga Pravesh* (18 volumes) consisted of notated compositions, *alap, taan, boltaan* etc. though at an introductory level.
- Five volumes devoted to completely notated *gayaki* (elaboration) of *raga*s *kalyan, bhoop, bihag, malkauns* and *bhairav*. Similar *gayaki-*

oriented volumes (one each) devoted to *tappa*, and *hori*, the important semi-classical forms of Hindustani vocal music.

- One volume each on Carnatic, Bengali music, *Mahila Sangeet* and *Vyayam Ke Sath Sangeet*.
- Five books of Bhajans.

There were other publications such as *Satar Ki Pratham Pustak* (1908) or a book on *mridang* by Gurudev Patwardhan which Paluskar had obviously inspired, or the *Naradiya Shiksha* in print which provide an adequate idea of his entire outlook. His efforts were diversified because in his reading of the situation the musical needs of the society were diverse. His was a campaign for musical literacy, appreciation of music as a cultural phenomenon related to other endeavours of life, and understanding of a musician as a social component.

It is symptomatic that Paluskar gave his first discourse on *Ramayana* in Madhavbaug, Bombay around the time Pt. Bhatkhande gave up his law practice to devote himself to music! (1910–11). It was of course much later (1922) when Paluskar finally donned the ochre *kafani* fit for an Indian *sadhu*, but the gradual change in priorities is what needs to be marked. By 1918 Paluskar had established Shri Ram Nam Adhar Sangeet Mandal which appears to be yet another of his efforts to forge links anew between music and religion. In fact it is significant that after 1913 it had become Paluskar's firm custom to schedule his free discourses on *Ramayan* prior to his music concerts. His experience was that more people came to listen to a religious musician! He could get more donations and financial support for the educational empire he was raising in Bombay almost singlehanded because he was accepted as an extraordinary preacher-musician. He had built a palatial music school in Bombay (1915) where he taught and fed and educated around 50 students at his own expenses! He incurred enormous debts in his idealistic venture in service of music. One could aptly describe him as a royal monk. Formation of a trust and converting the Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya into a charitable institution would have solved all his material worries! But he was not convinced of the propriety of leaving the task incomplete. Ultimately the building and the property was auctioned in 1924!

Paluskar carried on heroically. Touring Burma and Shri Lanka, planning to go to England or to agree to act in a film on Tulsidas... all indicate that the fire remained alive! He died in 1931.

Pt. Vishnu Digambar Paluskar lived for music and musicians. He became a legend and an institution so early in his career that he hardly had any personal life. He had only one son who survived him, the meteoric Dattatraya Vishnu Paluskar. It is deducible that Panditji was essentially a lonely person. Perhaps this made him turn to religion more and more! He had disciples who made names for themselves, Pt. Vinayakrao Patwardhan, Pt. Omkarnath Thakur, Pt. Narayanrao Vyas and Wamanrao Padhye to name a few. And they surely carried on his work in consonance with the changing times and aspirations. But the fact remains that they were too near his times to blaze a new trail. They continued to trace larger circles-with his ideas at the centre.

CHAPTER TEN

Propagation of Music

Education and propagation of music are inextricably linked activities. They are also closely related to patronage. The earlier chapters dealing with patronage and the two Vishnu's had therefore covered considerable ground in respect of the propagation of music. However, a few attempts at music-propagation need to be mentioned before taking up a discussion of other themes. Apart from being pre-Bhatkhande and pre-Paluskar, the attempts described here are innovative in spirit. In addition they were by amateurs in music who could therefore draw out the British rulers and the political common man.

It is clear that the few educated music-lovers wanted to convince the British rulers and the western world at large that Hindustani music represented a great tradition with an embracing scientific framework. The rulers on their side had mixed feelings about matters cultural in essence. While some were prompted to study an ancient culture, some thought it expedient to use it as a device for bringing together the rulers and the ruled. As the report of the inaugural function of the Madras branch of the Poona Gayan Samaj held on August 18, 1883 stated, Sir Charles Turner believed that the difficulty (in promoting intercourse between Europeans and natives) lay in the want of some pleasure that would bring Europeans and natives more together. It would not, perhaps, do to see them all dancing with each other, but there was a form of amusement cultivated in England which was a great social bond, and that amusement was music. And it occurred to Sir Charles, that this same pleasure which united Europeans and natives in his country also in pleasant social intercourse, might unite Europeans and natives in this country also in pleasant social intercourse. But they should first understand each other's music... It is on this backdrop that the work of institutions such as Parsi Gayanottejak Mandali (estd. 1870), Poona Gayan Samaj (estd. 1874) or of individuals such as Balwant Trimbak Sahasrabuddhe, M. M. Kunte or K. B. Deval is to be appraised.

Parsi Gayan Samaj

Shri Kaikhushru Navrojee Kabraji, with the help of Shri Manekshaw Dhanjeeshaw Doctor, Dhanjeeshaw Manekshaw Patel, Sorabjee S. Bengalee and others established the Parsi Gayanottejak Mandali on October 1, 1870 with a view to promote the art and study of music. It appointed Ustad Imdat Khan etc. as the gurus to run the music classes. Followers of Indian music need specially to remember the Samaj for it provided the firm and initial support to Pt. V. N. Bhatkhande. When the latter joined the Samaj is not precisely dated but he joined in presenting *Yaman* and *jhinjhoti* in the silver jubilee function of the Samaj in 1895. The Samaj was effective till 1924.

Pune Gayan Samaj

An important and yet overlooked contribution to the musical scene is that of Pune Gayan Samaj and its livewire secretary Balwant Trimbak Sahasrabuddhe.

The Samaj was founded on October 3, 1874 to (in the words of its secretary) 'revive a taste for our musical science amongst our brethren of the upper class, and to raise it up in their estimation'. The summarised aims of the Samaj as they appeared in the Times of India dated October 25, 1876 throw some light on the motivation. Briefly listed the aims were:

(i) to provide for the artistes 'an arena' to perform and an appreciative audience,
(ii) by honouring the artistes to create a sense of pride,
(iii) to offer financial assistance to the poorer artistes,
(iv) to afford the members high quality entertainment at regular intervals and at low cost,
(v) to generate unity among the members through the new tie of music and thus help the society in general,
(vi) to preserve 'nationality' by holding to our own music, which unlike English music has challenged all attempts at being reduced to writing.

As its members the Samaj enrolled 'half a dozen of *sirdars, sawkars,* many graduates of the Bombay Unitersity and many respectable citizens of Poona'. It wooed the British officials in India but did not stop at that. In fact by 1883 Sahasrabuddhe succeeded in getting consent of their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh to become patrons of the Samaj.

From January 1, 1879 the Samaj opened music classes for boys taking care that their school studies were not interfered with. On August 18, 1883 Sahasrabuddhe opened a branch of the Samaj in Madras. (probably he was on transfer there and lost no time in continuing the work). Two music schools for boys and one for girls in Mylapore were opened, the latter in deference to special local demands. The Bombay branch also started functioning in 1883. At the behest of H. H. Maharajah of Vijayanagaram, the Madras branch was renamed as 'The Madras Jubilee Gayan Samaj' (June 20, 1887). In addition to attending to women's education the Madras branch planned to bring out literal translations of *Ragavibodh* and *Sangeet Ratnakara*. It arranged musical meets which included music of both the systems. The education imparted was not only free but it was also based on a series of books systematically arranged and published lessons prepared by Mr Singara Charlu, a teacher of Telugu.

Sahasrabuddhe was an energetic and imaginative predecessor to the later music missionaries. Quick in establishing close contacts with institutes of similar nature he also sought patrons from all over the country. The Thakore Sahebs of Gondal, Vala, Bajana, Sardesai of Sawantwadi, Raja Sourendra Mohan Tagore (Calcutta), Raja Sirdar Udit Narayan Singh (Mirzapore), Sir Mangaldas Nathubhoy, Byramji Jeejibhoy and Nana Shankarseth (Bombay) et al surely present a wide social and cultural spectrum of patronage.

As a person well-acquainted with new education, Sahasrabuddhe could hardly neglect the printed word and publication. He himself wrote compact and lucid papers on Hindu music. Lectures delivered at various branches of the Samaj as well as the papers presented at its meetings were also brought out. Speakers with stature such as Shri M. M. Kunte, Justice Muthuswamy Iyer, Mr Venkatashastri, Raja T. Ramrao, Pt. Balkoba Natekar lectured for the Samaj. In addition P. G. Gharpuray brought out five musicological works in vernacular under the name of Poona Gayan Samaj. The secretary also found time to send off trenchant replies to the condescending remarks on the proceedings of the Samaj in the *Times of India*! Resorting to a very modern procedure in collecting data on music, Sahasrabuddhe sent a long questionnaire to H. H. Maharajah of Travancore and published the replies (1885). He had plans for a picture gallery on music! Sahasrabuddhe had a historian's sense and hence compiled valuable lists of items of musicological and historical significance. They provide an insight into the period. Details of the items listed are worth knowing about:

Item	**Number**
Sanskrit treatise on Hindu music	99
Raga-ragini classifications according to *mata*s (schools of thought)	4
*Raga-ragini*s in which numerous compositions are sung (Northern India)	210
*Raga-ragini*s practiced in South India	685
*Tala*s used in Hindu music	108
Musical Instruments used in India on various occasions	57
Principal musicians of note	118

If the socio-cultural conditions of the times are considered, another feature of Sahasrabuddhe's organizing capacity stands out. He could persuade practicing musicians to participate in pursuits of an academic nature. For example, Balkoba Natekar (1855-1910) an actor-singer and musician of note read a paper on the system of music observed in northern India and also gave a music concert of vocal as well as instrumental music (Madras 1884). Natekar could play *been, sitar* and *sarod*. He was also known for his sweet voice. The dignitaries who attended the functions of the Samaj and the reporting correspondents always singled him out, thus indicating the high professional standing Natekar obviously enjoyed. To those familiar with the major musical stream of stage-music in Maharashtra, Natekar is known as the founder-artiste of the *Kirloskar Natak Mandali* which made its debut with its staging of *Shakuntala* in Marathi (1885).

M. M. Kunte

Another personality which stands out by the originality and substance of his contribution was that of Shri M. M. Kunte, a close associate of the Samaj.

A versatile person Shri Kunte (1835–1888) was a graduate in the early phase of the University of Bombay and a profound scholar in languages and literature. His narrative long poem 'Raja Shivaji' broke new stylistic ground in Marathi poesy. Another long poem had the distinction of treating a theme of deep philosophical import, 'mind'. His essay on 'The vicissitudes of Aryan civilization' won recognition

among orientalists abroad. Kunte's wide-ranging interests, his ability to conceptualize and the passionate desire to assert the value of India and Indian culture were well-reflected in his presentations from the platform of the Samaj.

The Samaj arranged Kunte's first lecture (and the preceding music programme) on October 3, 1884 in the Council Hall. The sizeable audience included a good sprinkling of European ladies and gentleman, the Governor Sir James Fergusson and Mr Peile and Mr Melvill.

Considering the nature of Kunte's presentation the musical menu offered should be of interest :

PART I - INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

(1)	Jaltarang	raga (described as' air) Kafi, Khamaj
(2)	Sitar	Malhar, Kalyan
(3)	Sarangi	Poorvi, Jhinjoti
(4)	Bina/Vina	Poorvi, Khamaj
(5)	Pakhawaj	Parana ('time') Trivata, Choutala, Dhamar

PART II

(1)	Dhrupad	Yaman
(2)	Suravarta	Bihag
(3)	Dhrupad	Khamaj
(4)	Ashtapadi	Khamaj
(5)	Pada	In memoriam - God Save the Queen

On the background of these musical renderings, Kunte made his presentation. It included ten plates prepared to demonstrate the general principles of 'Comparative music'. It is highly instructive to note the themes of the plates. They were:

(1) Comparative chart of the history of the Indian and European music
(2) Graphic representation of the comparative rhythmics
(3) The comparative alphabet of time
(4) The comparative view of musical embellishments or musical dynamics
(5) Comparative melodies
(6) Analysis of an Indian melody
(7) Melodies and their seasons or melodies and human physiology
(8) Comparative harmonics
(9) Different systems of Indian music
(10) Comparative view of musical instruments

According to the report Kunte then went on to explain the charts. References to the Sanskrit tradition and the western musicological terminology, attempts to relate musical acoustics to the actual practice of music, and the purposeful drawing of attention to the ancientness of Indian culture clearly indicate Kunte's thrust. The newly educated Indians were anxious to establish India and Indian expression as entities of great value in all fields. Kunte is a representative of this class. He was not the only one but his efforts were of a different kind and hence the attention they

deserve. Yet another of his lecture (Pune, October 1, 1886) was devoted to an analysis of Indian melodies with the help of a device (akin to a sliding scale) to explain the inclusion and exclusion of notes. In the same lecture he developed an interesting thesis that Indian music admitted of a variety of musical embellishments because Indian languages had in them a greater proportion of vowels.

K. B. Deval

Shri K. B. Deval's (6-5-1847 - 16-3-1931) work was focussed on a slightly narrower theme. He was keen on 'testing the notes used by various singers in order to ascertain the exact intervals which the singers endeavour to produce'. Beginning thus from a consideration of the musical scale Deval inevitably moved to intervals used in *raga*s, though at a later stage. In ordinary course one would have referred to him as a theoretician. Yet the mode he chose to propagate his ideas, his motivation and the zeal he brought to the undertaking suggest that he is to be grouped with the likes of Sahasrabuddhe and Kunte.

Deval, a revenue official, was provoked to create a musicological storm when he came across A. J. Ellis's (1814–1890) essay entitled 'The Musical Scales of Various Nations' (March 27, 1885) in which he characterized the Indian scale as exotic. From 1886 to 1908 Deval's attempts were directed at studying the Sanskrit texts to ascertain intervals as described and prove their sounds scientific (i.e. acoustic) basis. In 1908 he published his first defiant tract: 'Music, East and West Compared'. Two years later came out a more assertive exposition titled 'Hindu Music and its Twenty-two *Srutis*'. It was this monograph that attracted the attention of E. C. Clement who was then posted in Satara (Maharashtra) as a district judge. This music-minded degree-holder from Oxford provided an appreciative, unhesitant and full-throated support to Deval in the latter's musicological campaign. In fact he suggested to Deval that 'the composition of Indian *raga*s and *ragini*s, and especially their notation requires scientific and systematic treatment'. Their work then proceeded with the extended brief.

Deval's method consisted of textual reconstruction, objective experimentation and verification through performance. As Clements himself described it, 'Mr. Deval constructed a diachord consisting of two wires of equal length stretched over a sounding board, one wire being provided with a graduated scale and a moveable fret of the same height as itself. His method was to tune both wires to the same pitch, that of the *shadja* of the singer assisting him. He moved the fret of the wire which had the graduated scale into the position which gave the note which the singer had been asked to sing. A simple calculation from the reading of the scale gave him the comparative vibration number of the given note in relation to *shadja*'. Ustad Abdul Karim Khan, the great vocalist of the Kirana *gharana*, corroborated with Deval from 1902 onwards. Deval delivered a lecture-demonstration on his theoretical position in the Kirloskar Theatre (October 13, 1910). It created a stir amongst musicians and musicologists alike. Deval's contention was that two *srutis* make a just semi-tone, three of them create a minor-tone and four a major tone. The thesis that there was a provable correspondence between Sanskrit texts, modern practice and the western

exposition of musical acoustics raised strong objections. Deval and Clements were however undeterred and moved to establish the Philharmonic Society of Western India (May 15, 1912) with Lord Willington, the then Governor of Bombay, as its President. In order to demonstrate the thesis the Society proceeded to get three organs built specially. The organs had 24 keys in an octave to propound the *sruti*-theory. The organs, their utility and the underlying theory were explained in great detail by Clements in his 'Introduction to the Study of Indian Music' (1913). The Indian harmonium (as the organ was called) was taken to the first All India Music Conference (Baroda, 1916) for demonstration and succeeded in arousing fierce opposition! Deval's '*Raga*s of Hindustan' (1918) moved closer to the performing tradition and matters of musician's direct concern. It had '129 *sarigama*s or skeleton melodies in 79 *raga*s, collected and arranged in adaptation of the staff-notation of Europe'. The specimen *sarigama*s were composed by reputed performers such as Devjibuwa, Abdul Karim, Faiz Mohamad, Agrewale Mohammad Khan, Rahimat Khan of Pune and Muniar Khan of Dhulia. Deval continued the advocacy of his opinions through writings and lecture demonstrations till 1929. It must be admitted that he was heavily and sometime unjustly criticized. His work represents a brave, dedicated and a serious mind which sounded a new note in propagation and dissemination of music in Maharashtra.

Instrumental Music

It is generally true to say that music in Maharashtra is poor in instrumental contribution. However, even during the early British period the scene was not very discouraging as quite a number of instruments were heard in solo performances. Very often the comments the performances elicited indicate a long use of the instruments as well as their adaptation to the Indian musical requirements. A concerted presentation of instrumental music was also in vogue. Following facts bring out the situation:

In a concert arranged by the Poona Gayan Samaj Mr Ezekiel of the Deccan Engineering College acted as a conductor and 'under his directions half-a-dozen musicians sang the Mahratta song .... and a commemorative Anthem in honour of the Imperial Proclamation.'.....' The instruments used were the *sitar*, the *bin*, the *touse* and the reed pipe .....' A contemporary report went on to comment .....' The man also is a very accomplished player on the *bin*..... and one would like to see what a player of his delicacy of manipulation could do with a help. One of the performers played a solo on a violin which he rested against his chest instead of his shoulder. He comes from Jumkhandi, where the chief has a number of young men who have been taught to play on the violin by a master from Madras. The Chief's own wife is said to play very skilfully on this instrument'.

The same institute arranged a concert which was patronized by their Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh on October 2, 1883. Solo performances on *sitar*, *tan*s and *pakhawaj* were included.

In its annual concert (1884) the Poona Gayan Samaj had solos on *jaltarang* and *sarangi* in addition to *sitar* etc.

The Samaj-concert in 1886 included solos on *sura shringara* (Moorarbuwa), violin (Veerapa Walu Naidu) and *sitar* (Balkoba Natekar). The last was well known actor-singer and played *sitar, bin* and *sarod* with equal facility.

In *Hindu Music* and the *Gayan Samaj* (Balwant Trimbak Sahasrabuddhe, 1887) the author listed 57 musical instruments as being in circulation.

In his work mentioned above Sahasrabuddhe also listed names of prominent musicians of both north and south. Some of the names themselves proclaim an instrumental specialization. Unfortunately the musician's dates are not ascertainable, but the names make the point. Some of the names are:

Vina - Perumal Ayya
Sarot (Sarod) - Krishnayya
Sarangi - Chintamani
Fittle (Violin) - Ponnuswami
Ghatavadya - Anantacharya
Khanjir - Radhakrishnayya
Mridang - Harirao
Sarangi - Daudsaheb
Sarot (Sarod) - Alli Saheb
Dholak - Mannumiyya
Sarangi - Govindram Sarangiwale

Pt. Vishnu Digambar invariably included *vadya-vrinda* in the *jalsa*s he arranged. Around 1896-8 he is reported to have introduced *tabla-tarang* as an item of instrumental music.

During the British period, pedal-harmonium came to be used profusely. Pt. Kashikarbuwa, a *keertan*-practitioner of repute is reported to have used it regularly around 1885. By 1909-10 a pedal-harmonium with special bass reeds was introduced by popular actor-singers such as Balgandharva. The instrument came to be known as organ, obviously on account of its deeper tone.

Around 1916, Pt. Vishnu Digambar introduced banjo and mandolin in the *jalsa*s he arranged.

Pt. Gajananrao Joshi (1910–1987) began giving full-scale concerts of violin by 1926 and his contribution bestowed on the instrument a concert status in Hindustani music.

After the advent of the talkies in 1931, there was a rush of new instruments such as piano, clarinet, guitar, Latin American rhythms etc. However, their contribution was chiefly to the genre of popular music. The fact is mentioned here because the early

music-composers included art-musicians of repute from Maharashtra and hence the fact represents a widening of musical consciousness on their part.

Pt. Govindrao Tembe (5-6-1881-9-10-1955) was largely responsible to lend dignity to harmonium-solos. He made the instrument responsive to the demands of Hindustani art-music.

Pt. Krishnarao Mule (23-12-1864 - 21-7-1944) played *been* and also wrote on music.

Both *pakhawaj* and *tabla* were well established as major rhythm instruments which could boast of having their own *gharana*s. Following data is useful in this respect:

Artiste	***Tabla/pakhawaj***	***gharana*/place**
Munir Khan (B. 1863)	*Tabla*	Bambai gharana
Alladiya Khan (1880-1939)	*Tabla*	Amaravati
Mehboob Khan Mirajkar (1868)	*Tabla*	Pune
Amir Hussain Khan (1899-1969)	*Tabla*	Bombay
Alla Rakha (B. 1919)	*Tabla*	Bombay (Punjab gharana)
Balubhai Rukdikar (1888-1962)	*Tabla*	Kolhapur
Gurudev Patwardhan (1868-1916)	*Pakhawaj*	Panse gharana
Makkhanji (1876-1951)	*Pakhawaj*	Bombay
Shahkarbhaiya	*Pakhawaj*	Pune
Manyababu Koditkar	*Pakhawaj*	Chinchwad

It must be admitted that records are extremely inadequate in respect of instrumentalists. However the variety of the instruments in circulation and the interregional distribution of the instrumentalists suggest that instrumental music in Maharashtra was not too poor in the pre-independence Maharashtra.

Musical Forms

Forms of music circulating in a region are a sure indication of the overall popularity of music. Balwant Trimbak Sahasrabuddhe enumerated twelve forms. They are (with the spelling slightly modified): *dhrupad, tillana, suravartana, khayal, tappa, thumri, Gujal, hori, rikhta, dadra, chatrang* and *lavani*. One must add *ashtapadi, trivat, bhajan, dhamar* and *lakshangeet* as their exploration is corroborated. Marathi stage-music, the unique blend of music and drama, came to a great flowering during the years 1885–1931 and needs to be considered as a new genre which evolved in Maharashtra. So various and substantial has been the contribution of it that an independent and fuller discussion is warranted.

After 1931, film music and *bhavgeet* added considerably to the available body of music. Though both the genres exploited tradition of art music prevailing in Maharashtra, they belong to a different category of music, namely popular music and hence remain out of bounds as far as the present effort is concerned. The case of devotional music (i.e. various types of *bhajan*s etc.) and the *keertan* traditions is

similar. They blossomed into new prominence during the period and borrowed heavily from art music. However music making was never the main objective they pursued and to that extent both musical and the classical content in them were diluted.

By the middle of the nineteenth century art music and especially the *khayal-tappa, tarana* triad dominated the scene. *Gharana*s specializing in these forms stabilized in the region. With *gurus*/*ustad*s, disciples, admirers registering effective alignments Maharashtra became a formidable bastion of Hindustani art music. The following distribution of the *gharana*s is noteworthy:

Gharana	**Artiste**	**Place**
Gwalior	Pt. Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjikar	Bombay, Miraj, Ichalkaranji
Kirana	Ustad Abdul Karim	Bombay, Miraj
Agra	Ustad Vilayat Hussain	Bombay
Jaipur	Ustad Alladiya	Kolhapur, Bombay
Gokhale	Mahadevbuwa Gokhale	Jamkhindi Kolhapur
Bhendibazar	Ustad Nazir Khan	Bombay

The Mass Media

Two major areas that registered a dramatic change and increase in the region during the British period were communications and the media. As both affect the relationship between audiences and the performers it is natural that they played an important role. Of course, some of the media influenced the course of events more directly than the others.

Printing

Compared to the other Indian centres the region made a late beginning in printing of books. In addition it has been pointed out that in relation to certain themes such as religion there was an initial resistance to the idea of printing as a process! The tendency of the performing artistes to jealously keep their art to themselves did not seem to have a restraining effect as far as printing and publishing books on music was concerned. Obviously the fame and prestige made possible through publications on music and the active interest of the educated gentry proved stronger.

The variety of musical aspects covered in the published work is impressive. In most cases performers trained in the traditional manner feature as authors/co-authors, a fact which indicates the authenticity of material. In addition the new class of competent amateurs is noticeable. Those who were trained traditionally but did not take to music as profession also wrote on music copiously and often in English to reach wider and non-Indian readership. Though this is not the proper place to deal in detail with the published work of music, it is useful to note some titles. A title each of various aspects of music would bring out the seriousness of the activity. The

period covered is up to the 1930s as then onwards the printed word enjoyed a well established popularity in all walks of life.

	Year	Title	Authors
1)	1850	Gayan Prakash	Bhaushastri Ashtaputre
2)	1864	Geetlipi	Govardhan Laxman Chhatre
3)	1881	Tantuvadya	Balkrishnabuwa Ichalkaranjikar
4)	1886	Sangeetmimansak (Magazine)	Annasaheb Gharpure
5)	1888	Taladarsh	Annasaheb Gharpure
6)	1891	Lokpriya Navarasa Gayan Sangraha (Parts 1 to 5)	Dhamanaskar
7)	1893	Satariche Pustak	Vastad Murarbuwa Govekar
8)	1894	Mridang Vadan	V R Kale
9)	1896	Bajachi Peti Vajavinyache Pustak (Mricchakatik Natakatil Padanche Pustak)	Shri Manohar
10)	1904	Baalsangeetbodh (Parts 1 to 3)	Banhatti
11)	1905	Raga Vilas	Dr Malve
12)	1907	Gayanacharya Muladhar	Meenappa Vyankappa Kelwade
13)	1910	Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati	V N Bhatkhande
14)	1911	Vedant Va Gayan	S V Paranjape
15)	1912	Sangeet Parijat Praveshika	B N Sukhtankar
16)	1918	Sanai Vadan Mala (Parts 1-2)	Ganapat Piraji Pandit
17)	1921	Pavitra Shastratil Gite	Damle and Godbole
18)	1924	Tabla Guide	Bhide and Indorekar
19)	1926	Maharashtra Stree Geet	Krishnarao Mule
20)	1926	Paschatyanchi Sangeet Lipi athva Staff Notation	A R Luktuke
21)	1928	Flute-Shikshak (Parta 1-3)	Moholkar
22)	1929	Swarmanjari (Shahir Khadilkar Yanche Powade Notation)	Khadilkar

The importance of the published writings on music will be realised when it is noted that the illustrative listing has been confined to writings in Marathi. This is solely for the sake of convenience. Bombay has been a centre for multilingual activity and books on music in Hindi and Gujarati etc. were numerous. Secondly, many articles, essays were published in magazines and newspapers and they impress in substance and quantity even today. In sum, music obviously took to the print media and the latter attracted to it persons of all types. So much for a narrow definition of oral tradition in Indian music!

Sound Recording

Perhaps the strongest influence any medium had on music prior to the advent of broadcasting was the newly found and energetic industry of gramophone records. Listening to music than reading or writing about it was naturally nearer to music-making traditions in art music. This might be one of the reasons why recording became popular amongst performers as well as listeners. Of course there were initial resistances born out of superstition (recording would take away one's voice), misconception (a listener would not know to whom the credit of the performance is to be given), contempt (our music cannot be accommodated in recordings of such short durations) or finally the displeasure about the quality of the recording. But two things helped the medium to surmount all difficulties. Firstly, the industry went all out in search of artistes sending recording units to various places to 'catch' the artistes. Secondly, the medium was not cumbersome, spread easily and fast, thus leading to sudden and widespread of the artistes fame, a fact evident to all. The depth and variety of the recordings available (on the 78 r.p.m., three and half minutes format) discs amaze even today. The role of the early disc recordings in propagating art music in India can hardly be overestimated. As far as the narrower theme of the discussion is concerned some facts pertaining to it may be noted:

Wax recording	1901
Stage music discs cut	1920
Ustad Rahimat Khan recorded	1920
Cheap gramophones become available (Japanese 1928 make at Rs 15 each)	1928
Tape-recording comes in use	1950
Long-playing records in circulation	1958

Broadcasting

Broadcasting, which made a beginning in 1928, included music in sizeable proportion in the transmissions from its inception. It made music accessible in every way. A certain convergence of artistes became an important factor as artistes all over India tended to gravitate to places where broadcasting stations were established. It is necessary to remember that Bombay was one of them. Combined with the disc-recording, broadcasting helped in democratizing music.

The programme-patterning was such that while the top-rankers were heard repeatedly, the new voices too received encouragement without much ado. As scores of musicians and music-lovers have noted in their memoirs, listening to the far-flung radio-stations regularly at appointed hours was a major item in the self-education of many.

An important aspect of the early broadcasting situation was the vogue of collective or group-listening. From a concert situation to a situation in which an artiste is heard in absentia was a change but the habit of listening to a radio-programme in groups made a smoother transition.

It is to be remembered that mass media and entertainment industries always tend to influence each other and they act on the society to produce a cumulative effect. To

have centres of origin and concentrated development of three major mass media, namely broadcasting, disc-recording and films during the same period certainly helped in creating a wide base for art music in Maharashtra. It is significant that all the early film-music composers in the Pune-Bombay based industry were not only from Maharashtra, but they were also highly trained in Hindustani classical music. Names of Govindrao Tembe, Keshavrao Bhole, Master Krishnarao would prove the point easily. If and when a historical survey of Indian film music is attempted this Maharashtrian contribution would stand out clearly on account of its high classical bias.

The Post-Independence Scene

The Post-Independence era is perhaps too close to us and dense in cultural activity to allow clear definition of either individual or institutional contribution. However, some important features need to be noted in anticipation of a more detailed statement.

The State Role

As was to be expected, a very significant increase is noted in the role of the state. With varying success, the government directed activities in the areas of performances, education and dissemination of classical music through festivals, curricular rethinking and publications.

The Directorate of Cultural Affairs was created and its activities included organization of conferences, seminars and training programmes. Conferences are held in different centres not confined only to the major cities; admission charges are low and hence they surely help in propagation of music.

The Board of Literature and culture was established in the '60s and it has been a source of funding research and publication in art music. In addition it has brought out publications of its own.

The government also took some tentative steps in music education. Art music had been accorded a curricular place in primary and higher secondary schools since 1927. In 1948 a committee was appointed to take a comprehensive view of the situation. The committee declared its strong views on allowing more scope for art music. However, in the subsequent changes in the pattern of general education, the study of art music has lost its place.

Other Institutions

Non-governmental institutional efforts have always characterized Maharashtra in all walks of life, music being an exception. Some facts are worth nothing:

The disciples and followers of Pt. Vishnu Digambar Paluskar established Akhil Bharatiya Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya Mandal soon after his demise to continue to conduct music education in an organised manner. The apex body, with institutions spread throughout the country as affiliated bodies, together present a formidable

network. The Mandal began publication of a magazine called *Sangeet Kala Vihar* from 1947 onwards and yet continues to do so.

The National Centre for the Performing Art was established in Bombay in 1969. A project housing all the three performing arts and wedded to the idea of providing excellent facilities to perform, record and preserve, it has became a gravitating point for numerous cultural forces.

The University of Bombay created a Department of Music in 1969. The novel feature of synthesizing the *guru-shishya* tradition of teaching music and the modern methods of recording, preserving etc. is notable. It has made of place for itself on the musical scene on account of its varied activities.

The Sur Singer Samsad became a prime organization to sponsor a variety of music conferences from 1949 onwards. On account of its scale of operations and an innovatory approach the Samsad succeeded in carving a niche for itself as promoter of music. A selective chronology can give an idea of the varied fare it offered :

Swami Haridas Sangeet Sammelan	1949
Bhajan Sammelan	1959
Shab-e-Gazai	1959
Kal Ke Kalakar Sangeet Sammelan	1961
Acharya Brihaspati Sammelan	1965
Convocation	1972
Film Sangeet Sammelan	1976
Garvi Gujrat Sammelan	1983

Instances can of course be multiplied but it is hardly necessary to do so. The post-independence period has been one of growth in interest, facilities and opportunities. It has also been a period which has created questions about the desirability of the present accent on quantity instead of quality. Further, it has thrown up an important and a disconcerting question specifically in the context of art music: is and should art music be expected to be accessible indiscriminately? The role of the media has only intensified the edge of the question as the media are the major agencies that expose masses to art music. Perhaps it is too early to attempt an answer to the question because it is only in recent times that the media-explosion has occurred in India.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Conclusion

It becomes obvious in a general survey of art music in Maharashtra that more recent the times the more scattered the data, thus making it difficult to trace a clear pattern.

Another feature causing difficulties in mapping developments in any cultural field: the vast disparities between metropolitan and other centres. The growing importance of Bombay and the fact that it has evolved cultural standards of its own need deep analysis. The quality as well as the sheer pace of the metropolitan city has in fact created a peculiar situation. There seem to prevail two cultural truths, one for Bombay and one for the other cultural seats in the region! Under the circumstances it is difficult to make a general assessment of the musical situation in Maharashtra unless the respective contributions of Bombay as well as the other, non-metropolitan centres are considered in detail. As the present outline does not attempt the sophisticated exercise it is necessary to draw attention to it.

A few salient features of the Bombay contribution can however be noted in brief.

Bombay has expanded the base of art music in Maharashtra to a great extent. The support Bombay has extended to all the major *gharana*s in Hindustani music has already been commented upon. A *gharana* to be named after a locality in the city is itself a tribute to the conducive conditions Bombay has succeeded in creating vis-à-vis art music. One easily remembers in this context the *gharana* propagated by Ustad Nazir Khan. It is known as *Bhendibazar gharana*! This does not seem to be an accident as a very prestigious *gharana* in *tabla* with Ustad Munir Khan as its chief priest is known as *Mumbai gharana*.

The city has also excelled in the encouragement offered to a new emerging class of musicians who in spite of their adequate performing competence prefer not to earn their living through music. Artistes from this category are as a rule highly educated, do not belong to families of musicians and tend to look upon music as a cultural achievement. Not only that these musicians have added to the prestige of music but they have also extended a more enlightened support to musicians. It is a good augury that amateur musicians, as this class of artistes is generally described, exist in almost all cities in Maharashtra.

Picking up the thread of the more general discussion, it is valid to state that vocal music has developed in the region to high performing standards. Maharashtra has produced number of vocalists who have made an all India grade. At the same time it must be added that *khayal* as a form seems to have attracted a special attention, almost to the extent of ignoring other forms of art music. It is also true that instrumental music has lagged behind though in the early years of the present century *sitar, been* etc. clearly appeared to have secured a strong base. As recounted earlier, the period boasted of renowned players, notable teachers and accepted published works on *sitar* and yet the instrumental seems to have lost the following in the subsequent years. On the other hand instruments such as *tabla*, harmonium and violin have fared better.

Maharashtra has always extended welcome to followers of all religions and faiths in all walks of life. This has been especially true in performing arts. Musicians enjoy access to houses and homes of all social strata to teach as well as to perform. The freedom has continued to exist even when communal, regional and political strifes have created periodic tensions. A majority of Muslim musicians have enjoyed regular patronage from Hindu families and Brahmins with an ease that proved the transcending power of music!

The present survey is restricted to art music. It also narrows the inquiry to trace broad movements. Assessment of individual performer's achievements or of their *gharana*s have not been attempted so as not to lose the wood for the tree! However, it is necessary to remember that the entire musical energy of a region can hardly be expected to flow through the narrow channels of art music. Often in the history of Maharashtra it has so happened that other categories of music or forms therein have prospered while art music was in a languishing state.

However, to pass a judgement of musical poverty on such data is not justifiable. In order to evaluate the musical contribution of Maharashtra as a totality it is therefore necessary to take into account development of all musical categories. To that extent the present focus on a single category of music may result into a partial if not a lop-sided picture. In absence of a careful plotting of the developmental graphs of individual categories of music, long stretches of the musical history appear barren if a corrective is not applied. In fact, if a perspective afforded by the musical categories is judiciously employed, some periods may come into relief on account of their recognizable fertility. For example, the Shivaji period though lean in art music, would appear significant on account of the development and enrichment of devotional music. The later Peshwa period would interest due to the new and vital character assumed by the popular and devotional musics, while the British period would attract because it saw a powerful emergence of stage music and many varieties of popular music, including film music. As all categories of music interact with each other, a total perspective is necessary even if one aims to understand only one of them. However, such an integrated view would have needed more space and a different treatment not allowed by the overall plan.

The present outline of the musical history of Maharashtra, examined on this background, however, appears to encourage the view that Maharashtra loves music and that surely is a conclusion which bodes well for the future!
