

**CROSS-CULTURAL PEDAGOGY IN NORTH INDIAN CLASSICAL MUSIC**

by

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**Abstract**

This thesis is an investigation of pedagogy in North Indian classical music. Historical, cultural, and philosophical elements of pedagogy in the Hindustani musical tradition are addressed in an overview of music education in traditional Indian contexts, the twentieth century, and in cross-cultural contexts. Themes include orality in Indian culture, the traditional *guru-shishya parampara*, the role of nationalism in twentieth century educational reforms, and the impact of technology in the latter half of the twentieth century. Trends in music education in India are then compared and contrasted with the state of education in Indian music in cross-cultural contexts in the West. From this data a model of the essential elements of Indian pedagogy is synthesized. This model accounts for pedagogical devices utilized to impart musical information as well as methods of transmitting cultural and social values. This model is applied to the experiences of five North American students of Hindustani music interviewed during the research process for this thesis.

**Preface**

This thesis was completed in accordance with the mandates of The University of British Columbia Behavioural Research Ethics Board. The UBC BREB number for this research is H12-01430.

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## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1 Introduction**

This thesis is an exploration of pedagogy in the classical music of North India. Topics of discussion include historical approaches to teaching and learning music, developments and changes to these approaches over time, and case studies of Indian pedagogy in a cross-cultural context in North America. Related themes include an account of the musical and social contexts within which the transmission of knowledge occurs, relationships between teachers and students, pedagogical methods, and the cultural values and ideals associated with specific approaches to teaching. Particular attention is given to the changing circumstances brought about by advances in technology, increasing interest in classical music from non-hereditary musicians, attempts to learn North Indian (Hindustani) music by non-Indian musicians, and the advent of institutional approaches to learning music. Upon reviewing these issues I plan to assess, through a limited sample, current trends in the teaching of Hindustani classical music, focusing on issues of cross-cultural pedagogical approaches. In the context of this thesis, cross-cultural refers to Western (primarily North American) students studying Indian music.

The primary question posed in this project concerns the transformations of native pedagogical technique and philosophy that occur when teaching Hindustani classical music to Western students. These transformations occur partly as a result of the recontextualization of Indian music in Western society. Issues of differing social behaviors, interpersonal relationships, and learning methodology necessitate negotiation

and compromise between teacher and student to successfully transmit Hindustani music within this framework. However, musical pedagogy has evolved even within India due to changing social, political, and economic conditions in the past century. Pedagogy in the Western context must be compared to these contemporary trends within the native context of modern Indian society.

To address issues of transformation in pedagogy, it is pertinent to construct a model of pedagogy in historical Indian, contemporary Indian, and Western contexts. In deriving pedagogical models, consideration is given to the social identities of students and teachers, relationships between student and teacher philosophically and practically, the structure of lessons, and the method of transmitting the core musical material such as technique, theory, and repertoire.

Broader implications of this research suggest practical applications to cross-cultural pedagogy. The result of adapting oral/aural teaching methods to the often notation-based learning methods of Western musicians may provide new conceptualizations of musicality, transmission, and pedagogy. The emphasis on improvisation within strict aesthetic and theoretical boundaries in Hindustani music parallels many Western genres including jazz, bluegrass, and blues. Perhaps incorporation of oral/aural elements into teaching Western music can augment the abundance of literature with a performative element in music education.

Cultural concerns relating to the process of learning Hindustani music raise many issues in the assessment of pedagogical practices in Western contexts. Musical knowledge and practice in North India is transmitted both orally and through scriptural treatises. The existence of “authoritative theoretical doctrine and a disciplined oral

tradition of performance extending back over several generations” serves to “legitimize Indian art music” (Qureshi 2012:5) and its theoretical constructs. The nature of Hindustani classical music is such that performers are expected to devote a great deal of time and effort to the study of the musical discipline. Further, this is only legitimized if the study has been under the guidance of a recognized master with a reputable artistic and performance pedigree (*ibid.*).

The research presented here is intended to test the hypothesis that Hindustani music education in the West operates under a unique set of legitimizing criteria. In my experience as a teacher and student of Western music, these criteria seem to place higher value on the articulation of theoretical processes, rules, and development of repertoire. These criteria differ significantly from the ideals evident in historical accounts of pedagogy on the Indian subcontinent.

## **1.2. Motivation**

This research reflects my interests both as an educator and as a long-term student of music. My experience in music began as an eight-year-old child taking private guitar lessons. I continued private study of the guitar with the same teacher until the age of eighteen, when I then left for college. In four years as an undergraduate (2003-2007), I studied guitar privately with four different instructors while concurrently earning a BA in music from Kenyon College. The degree course was my first experience studying music in an institutionalized, classroom setting. Upon graduation I spent three years in Philadelphia studying and teaching guitar, banjo, and mandolin. By this point I had studied music (guitar, banjo, and mandolin) privately with seven different teachers.

As I began teaching students of my own, I developed an appreciation for the pedagogical methodologies and subtleties of teaching music. I found myself incorporating certain aspects of the teaching styles of my past instructors, while rejecting or altering other aspects of their approaches. During my time teaching, I adapted my own pedagogy that was always malleable to the needs of my students. Over the many years I have spent teaching (from 2007 onward) and through hundreds of private students, I have observed my own philosophy and methods evolve on a more general level as well.

Following my second year of college, I travelled with a Temple University study abroad program to Dhrangadhra, Gujarat to study Hindustani classical music. This was my first experience studying Indian music formally. Lessons were conducted by a single teacher to a classroom of between eight and twelve students, five of whom were Americans affiliated with the study abroad program. The teacher specified that he was not teaching us in the “Indian” method; all of the lesson materials were notated and practiced extensively. For many years this experience remained my only engagement with Hindustani classical music.

In Philadelphia in 2008, I succeeded in locating a teacher of Hindustani classical music. I proceeded to study with him regularly until I departed Philadelphia in 2010. These lessons were much more akin to the “Indian” method of teaching. Lessons lasted for an indeterminate amount of time, ranging from forty minutes to more than two hours. Lessons were almost entirely oral/aural, with little repetition of specific musical material. Instead I would repeat similar, but slightly changing, phrases while never completely “learning” or memorizing the material. Upon beginning lessons with yet another teacher

of Hindustani music in Vancouver (2011) I have found remarkable similarities between these two instructors of Indian music.

Through my engagement with Western music education in both institutional and private settings, as well as non-Western traditions including private instruction in Hindustani music and participation in the Kenyon College Gamelan and UBC African Drum and Dance Ensemble, my perception of pedagogy has expanded greatly. These ideas about pedagogy and methodology are augmented by my experience as a teacher, where I have observed the different responses of students to various teaching methods.

This thesis is an attempt to investigate one aspect of my musical learning experience from a holistic analytical perspective. By this I understand that pedagogy reflects both social and cultural values in interpersonal interactions. However, the efficacy of the range of pedagogical methods I have experienced suggests that pedagogy is not restricted to its original cultural context. Ideally, this thesis will serve as a first step in a long-term investigation of cross-cultural pedagogy as a bridge between cultures and a beneficial step in a synthesis of increasingly productive pedagogies.

### **1.3 Methods**

Data for this thesis is derived from a variety of research approaches and primary and secondary sources. Historical, sociological, and anthropological research is utilized in the development of a model of pedagogy in historical and contemporary contexts. In addition to these secondary sources, interviews, participant observation, and reflective analysis of my own experiences learning Hindustani music provide insight into the experience of teaching and learning Hindustani music.

### ***1.3.1 Primary and Secondary Sources***

Many of the primary sources on Hindustani music and pedagogy are unavailable in English translations. However, there are many English volumes concerning Indian music and pedagogy from both Indian and Western writers. Sources range from disciplines including ethnomusicology, musicology, anthropology, philosophy/religious studies, biography, autobiography, music education, and music self-instruction. Significant portions of these sources consist of transcripts of interviews and anecdotal accounts of the lives and experiences of Indian musicians.

### ***1.3.2 Observation and Informants***

To illustrate contemporary trends in the teaching of Hindustani music, I draw on research techniques from anthropology and sociology. Interviews with informants are the primary source of data gathered. These accounts provide insight into the personal experience of students and teachers of Hindustani music, as well as the relationships between both parties. Informants are drawn from a broad age, experience, and geographic range. Observations of private lessons will provide a view of the dynamics of teaching individuals.

### ***1.3.3 Self-Reflective Analysis***

In addition to the standard practices of academic research, personal communications, and participant observation, this research is informed by utilizing self-reflective analysis of my personal experiences studying Hindustani music. A similar



process of reflection on their own experience is requested of my informants in the process of interviews. Although learning to play the music being studied is one of the primary methods of fieldwork in ethnomusicology, it is worth noting the inherent risk involved in using the experiences of an “outsider” in studying “traditional” or native approaches to learning and teaching. Under such circumstances, “responses of the teacher may be quite different toward an ethnomusicologist, or other outsider, than toward native students” (McLeod and Herndon 1983:80).

Though this type of analysis may be ineffective for studying pedagogy within a culture, it is of scholarly value as an exploration of a “musical world...rooted in a specific musical tradition of a specific culture, but developed in the context of cross-cultural experimentation” (Bakan 1999:295-6). The analytical approach used is modeled on an intercultural musical encounter identified by Bakan, defined as the manner in which “two individuals were moved toward new approaches to music-making, new insights, and new understandings of their worlds and each other through musical experiences” (ibid.:293) shared in the context of cross-cultural study.

The realm of personal experience in learning a music is significant because of the unique insights it provides into cultural practices and norms, and negotiations both between cultures and individuals. Music learning and teaching, in addition to transmitting musical knowledge, creates and maintains the “cultural, social, political, and economic systems in which these activities are embedded” (Rice 2003:65). The sociological aspects of the study of learning and teaching music involve investigating whom learns and/or teaches music, the contexts in which it is learned, and the “socialization and enculturation during music lessons and performance events” (ibid.:68).

### **1.4 Defining Pedagogy**

Pedagogy is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as “the method and practice of teaching, especially as an academic subject or theoretical concept.” In music, the material taught and transmitted consists of technical, theoretical, and aesthetic elements, as well as performance-related material such as repertoire and improvisational grammar. Music is an abstract and culturally defined phenomenon that inhabits a variety of forms that may become unintelligible when taken out of context. Being inextricably linked to culture, music and musical transmission are both a “reflector and generator of social and cultural meaning” (Kruger 2009:1).

Giroux and McLaren describe pedagogy as “the process by which teachers and students negotiate and produce meaning,” taking into consideration “how teachers and students are positioned within discursive practices and power/knowledge relations” (Wong 1998:87). Morton and Zavarzadeh define pedagogy as “the act of producing and disseminating knowledges in culture” (ibid.:82). In these contexts, pedagogy is a much broader concept than teaching methodology. Pedagogy is both rooted in cultural values of education and culturally defined power dynamics.

For the purposes of this research, I define pedagogy as not only the methodology by which musical material is transmitted, but also the socially constructed relationships in which learning takes place.

### **1.5 Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis consists of an introductory chapter followed by six chapters divided into three broad sections. The first third deals with historical values and trends in Indian

music and pedagogy. The second section concerns developments in the twentieth century, including the institutionalization of music education and the spread of Indian music to non-Indian students. The final segment is based on contemporary experiences of informants studying Hindustani music in North America.

Chapter 2: Historical Approaches to Indian Pedagogy addresses essential concepts of North Indian music transmission. The *guru-shishya parampara* receives consideration as a teaching institution, methodology, and reflector of cultural values and ideals. A second major institution in Hindustani music transmission is the establishment of *gharanas*, or traditional musical lineages. The concepts of *talim* and *riyaz* are addressed as processes in music education as well as culturally meaningful behaviors.

Chapter 3: Twentieth-Century Alternatives in Music Education is an overview of early twentieth-century alternatives and challenges to the *guru-shishya parampara* in Hindustani music. This addresses the institutionalization of music education as proposed and practiced by reformers such as Bhatkhande and Paluskar. The opportunities for non-hereditary musicians to learn and the reduced role of *gharanas* in the transmission of music are addressed.

Chapter 4: Contemporary Trends in Hindustani Musical Education deals with contemporary issues in Hindustani music as taught in India and in the West. Contemporary trends include private lessons conducted outside of the *guru-shishya parampara* and self-directed study aided by recorded and written media.

Chapter 5: Representing Indian Pedagogy deals with various musical materials encountered in the course of fieldwork. Analysis of brief excerpts from both written and

recorded teaching materials provides insight into the unique processes of the transmission of musical knowledge in Hindustani music.

Chapter 6: Personal Experiences synthesizes current trends in Hindustani music pedagogy in the West based on personal accounts from informants. These sources include American and Canadian students encompassing a broad age demographic. Data provided by interviews illustrate ideas and beliefs about music education.

Chapter 7: Conclusions recounts the progression of Hindustani pedagogy from the *guru-shishya parampara*, through the twentieth century, and into cross-cultural contexts in North America. Consideration is given to implications of this research and the potential for future enquiries.

## 2. Historical Approaches to Indian Pedagogy

### 2.1 Music Transmission in North India

Hindustani music refers to the classical or art music tradition of Northern India, extending into Pakistan, Nepal, and Bangladesh. Hindustani music descended from ancient Indian music, but “appears to have acquired its present form after the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D.” (Jairazbhoy 1995:16). The earliest detailed exposition of Indian music theory is found in the *Natyashastra*, attributed to Bharata, and is dated as early as the third century B.C. or as late as the fifth century A.D. (ibid.).

Hindustani music traditionally was transmitted through the institution of the *guru-shishya parampara*, a pedagogical method in which a master (*guru*) imparts his knowledge to a disciple (*shishya*) (Slawek 1999:457). In this relationship, the student is regarded as a devotee or disciple to the *guru*, who in turn is seen as a “spiritual guide [or] religious mystic” (ibid.). Musically the *guru* is responsible for maintaining, developing, and transmitting a tradition and repertoire (Singh 2004:75). The *guru* ensures that the disciple has a thorough foundation in the techniques and aesthetics of the music. This grounding is then supplemented through the teaching of various compositions, *ragas* (melodic frameworks), and improvisational patterns (ibid.:76).

Like many Indian cultural and artistic practices, music was taught primarily as an oral tradition until quite recently. In the oral transmission of knowledge, the student learns through aural processes including intentional listening and osmosis (Wade 2009:24). Ranade argues that “the oral tradition is a living cultural force,” which has

impacted upon Indian cultural practices including music, literature, drama, philosophy, yoga, and other disciplines (1984:23-4).

Certain conditions are essential for the proper retention of orally transmitted material. The first condition requires that the music be remembered precisely as it was learned. This is enforced by cultural values relating to the proper or correct rendering of the musical object (Wade 2009:24). The second condition is the existence of a system designed and executed so thoroughly that the material is unlikely to be forgotten. Finally, there must be opportunities for the reinforcement of memory, such as occasions for particular musical repertoire or written accounts to aid the memory (ibid.:25).

An advantage, and perhaps an explanation for the use of oral tradition in music, is “the pronounced quality-orientation which results from the interpersonal aspect inherent in it” (Ranade 1984:25). By deferring the transmission of music to an oral tradition, the authority and “knowledge is possessed only by the spoken word of the teacher or *guru*” (Singh 2004:70). Further, the interpersonal and oral communication serves as a guarantee of the completion of a transaction (Ranade 1984:27).

Indian oral tradition developed into a stylized relationship between individual teachers and students. This system, referred to as the *guru-shishya parampara*, is predicated upon the roles of the teacher, or *guru*, and the student or devotee, the *shishya*. Analogous terms in the South Asian Muslim conception are *ustad* and *shagird*; the *guru-shishya* and *ustad-shagird* institutions function in the same way following many similar principles. In fact, “the relationships are so similar that it is not unusual to find Hindu students learning from a Muslim *ustad* and Muslim students learning from a Hindu *guru*” (Slawek 1999:460). In this thesis I will use the *guru-shishya* terminology for consistency.

In the context of this relationship, guarded knowledge is transmitted from one generation to the next by authoritative figures.

## 2.2 The Role of the *Guru*

The *guru* as an authority permeates Indian history and all realms of Indian religion, philosophy, and expressive arts. Since the time of the *Vedas*, there have been proscriptions for the qualities of an effective *guru*. The word *guru* is derived from two roots: *gu*, meaning “darkness or ignorance,” and *ru*, meaning “light or complete annihilation” (Raina 2002:169). The *guru* is responsible for guiding the disciple from ignorance or darkness to enlightenment. In the context of this institution, teaching involves “not merely the transference of facts, techniques, [and] examples set by the teacher, but creating in the mind of the *shishya* the fullest awareness of the subject taught” (Menon 1983:18). The *guru* is obligated to pass on his knowledge; failure to do so could result in the universe falling into decay and chaos (Slawek 1999:459).

In the traditional system of Indian education (prevalent through the Vedic and post-Vedic period) character building is stressed as well as learning (Singh 2004:73). As a paragon of proper behavior, the *guru* is “a torch-bearer of human values, ethics, and knowledge” (ibid.:74). The *guru* fulfills not only a musical role in the life of his disciple, but also serves as a spiritual and personal guide (Silver and Burghardt 1976:39). There are many qualities required from an individual for the elevation to the status of a *guru*. In music these include devoted practice, industriousness, a distinctive musical style rooted in tradition, service to the *gharana* (musical lineage), and respect for *sadagi*, meaning a simplistic lifestyle (ibid.:35-6). As an exemplar of tradition, the *guru* receives respect

from their pupils, their pupils' families and close relations, and is regarded as a "transcendent individual... set apart from society in general by their special knowledge" (Slawek 1999:459). In the first century B.C. the poet Asvaghosa described the attitudes towards the *guru* in ancient India. These included prostrating before one's *guru*, complete devotion—including the willingness to sacrifice one's wife, children, life, or wealth for the *guru*—, and diligence in taking whatever actions please the *guru* (ibid.:458).

However, despite the prominent status of the *guru* and the level of devotion of the disciples, "the [*guru-shishya*] relationship isn't in the least repressive or authoritarian" (Vaidyanathan 1989:160) because the disciple chooses the *guru*. Asvaghosa espouses that the *guru* should be "stable (in his actions), cultivated (in his speech), wise, patient and honest [and] should neither conceal his shortcomings nor pretend to possess qualities he lacks" (Slawek 1999:458). The sensible disciple should reject as a *guru* one "who lacks compassion or who is angersome, vicious or arrogant, possessive, or undisciplined or boasts of his knowledge" (ibid.).

Qualifications for an appropriate *guru* are also outlined in the sacred literature of Hinduism. These qualities include a devotion to providing "education and training for the fullest possible blooming of the disciple's personality and possibilities" (Raina 2002:181), fatherly love for the *shishya*, attentive teaching without asking anything in return, and the ability to recognize and nurture talent using methods appropriate to the capacity of each individual student. A *guru* should never "use the student for his own purpose to the detriment of the disciple's education" (ibid.). The *guru*'s obligations to his disciples encompass musical, moral, spiritual, social, and economic realms. The *guru* is responsible for the continuity of the musical tradition, acting to preserve, develop, and



transmit musical materials (Singh 2004:75). Further, the *guru* trains favored disciples in performance practice by bringing them on stage during a performance; “through this training the disciple...gains stage confidence, manner of presentation, [and] principles of rendition which...help him to bloom into a mature and seasoned performer (ibid.:77).

Socially, the choice of *guru* “is even more important than choosing a husband or a wife” (Shankar 1968:11). A musician’s status and musical identity is “based on his musical heritage” and “depends on the name and identity of his *guru*” (Singh 2004:76). This reflects the Indian perception of identity as “something that is bestowed on the person from outside,” derived from “others belonging to the same clan, tribe, or caste” (Vaidyanathan 1989:153). One’s social and musical identity, as well as development of musical skills, is dependent upon finding a respected *guru* who fulfills the necessary educational and social roles. The *guru* is responsible for imparting the acceptance of music as a lifestyle to the disciple (Singh 2004:77). This typically means a life of humility and *sadhana*, meaning “practice and discipline, eventually leading to self-realization” (Shankar 1968:12). In fostering this attitude toward music and a lifestyle of devotion and discipline, it is the responsibility of the *guru* to “keep the disciple free from economic worries” (Singh 2004:78). This is achieved through the ancient Indian practice of *gurukul*, defined as living within the household of the *guru* to receive instruction. All of these obligations are met without the expectation of remuneration; the *guru* “is not to accept money from his disciples,” (Ranade 1984:31) but may only accept an offering, or *dakshina*.

The status of *guru* is only achieved through the bestowal of such honor by a disciple to a *guru*. Determining a *guru* is “a subjective assessment;” a potential disciple

“evaluates the existence and extent of benefits he receives from a particular person and if he finds them weighty enough, *guruship* becomes a reality” (Ranade 1984:39). The agency of the prospective devotee in proactively seeking a *guru* who displays these traits safeguarded against improper elevation of talented, yet deficient, individuals to the status of a *guru*. The ideal *guru* is one who honors his obligations to his devotees while living a life of discipline, simplicity, and moral benevolence. The ideal *shishya* is one who defers to his *guru*, modeling his exemplary behavior and demeanor and deferring to the *guru*’s judgment without skepticism. From this mutual understanding a relationship is forged “stronger in a way even than the relation between a disciple and his parent” (Vaidyanathan 1989:160). Further, this relationship “is the paradigm of all relationships in India” (ibid.:161) including those between a devotee and his deity, a servant to a master, friend to friend, parents to children, lover to beloved, and between enemies.

In many realms of Indian culture—music included—the *guru* is seen as a representation of the divine (Shankar 1968:11). The *guru* is regarded in such high esteem that “both God and the parents are described to have been accommodated in him” (Ranade 1984:31). This unique relationship between *guru* and *shishya* was reinforced through the practice of *gurukul*, an institution by which the devotee lives within the household of the *guru* (Slawek 1999:457).

Throughout Indian history, the *guru* gained importance from the fact that knowledge was not written down, but was personally acquired from an authoritative source (Raina 2002:173). It is the *guru* who transforms “facts into information, information into knowledge, and knowledge into deeper insight” (Ranade 1984:31). The *guru* serves not only as a teacher but as a repository and interpreter of information. This

mode of transmission is rooted in the religious tradition and ritualism of the *Vedas*. In music, deeply rooted in ritualism, the *guru* is exalted in a “manner which could only be rivaled by the esteem he is held in the field of metaphysics, yoga, tantra, etc.” (Raina 2002:176). The *guru* is the ultimate authority in all musical concerns. “It is assumed that every musician’s corpus is in fact determined solely by what his *guru* has taught him...[and] unless learnt from a *guru*, a disciple is hardly allowed to claim authenticity for his learning” (Ranade 1984:39). Traditionally, it is impossible for one to gain access to the realm of Hindustani music without an acceptable *guru*. The *guru* is the sole transmitter of musical knowledge and tradition; furthermore, the *guru* is needed to develop the musician as an ethical human being, as an interpreter of musical knowledge, and as a stage performer. The *guru* is also responsible for the musician’s social status and musical identity in society as a whole.

### **2.3 The Role of the *Shishya***

According to the *Vedas* the *guru* is “a source and inspirer of self-knowledge” striving to elevate the *shishya* to his own “degree of wisdom” (Raina 2002:173-4). The *guru-shishya parampara* is not a unilateral relationship. Both the *guru* and the *shishya* are empowered in choosing with whom to enter into this relationship. Much as there are expectations and obligations of the *guru*, there are equally culturally engrained responsibilities of the *shishya*.

The *shishya* must regard the *guru* with love, devotion, and deference. The *shishya* must possess *vinaya*, or humility, and the “ideal disciple feels loves, adoration, reverence, and even fear towards his *guru*, [accepting] equally praise or scoldings” (Shankar

1968:11). For the *shishya* the *guru-shishya parampara* is the primary social relationship, providing continuity between generations of a tradition (Neumann 1980:31). The fully initiated *guru-shishya* relationship is so close that it forms a unity, with the *shishya* losing “his old false identity” (Raina 2002:178) and identifying with his *guru*. In this sense “the *shishya* represents the *guru*” and “is a part of [the *guru*] as, in the same sense, the *guru* is part of him” (Neumann 1980:47). The bond is so strong that becoming a disciple ideally involves the *shishya* temporarily suspending even family ties (ibid.:58).

Much as it is important for the *shishya* to choose an appropriate *guru*, the *guru* has agency in deciding whom to accept as a disciple. Qualities sought by a *guru* in a *shishya* include “reasoning ability, regard for the subject [being studied] and his *guru*, discipline, and self-control” (Raina 2002:181). In addition to searching for qualities such as these, the *guru* becomes aware of the disciple’s “taste, temperament, and capabilities” in determining if they will be a proper match (ibid.:180). Before commencing study with a disciple, the *guru* subjects prospective *shishyas* to a trial period. During this period “the disciple receives no formal *talim* (training) from the *guru*, but looks after him well” (Singh 2004:80); through this process the *guru* determines the sincerity, devotion, and dedication of potential disciples.

The *shishya*, having decided upon a *guru*, “[is] to surrender himself completely to [the *guru*’s] authority and direction without any mental reservation,” trusting the *guru* as “an unerring guide” (Raina 2002:183). Complete obedience is given to the *guru*. This extends beyond the musical realm into matters of lifestyle. The *shishya* submits himself to “a situation of social subordination,” (Neumann 1980:46) abstaining from smoking, drinking alcohol, sitting higher, or speaking more than his *guru*. In lieu of payment, the

*shishya*'s duty is "to provide service for his *guru* and make life generally as comfortable as possible for him" (Singh 2004:79). Small acts a disciple will enact for the *guru* include bringing the *guru*'s tea, massaging his legs, treating the *guru* to meals in restaurants, arranging travel plans including booking tickets, storing luggage, and carrying the *guru*'s instrument "wherever he goes, all the way to the stage platform" (Neumann 1980:46). Such offerings serve to build love and understanding and develop an affectionate relationship between *guru* and *shishya*. In this context, love and understanding are essential: "nothing else can persuade the *guru* to teach" (Singh 2004:82).

The real basis of the *guru-shishya* relationship is the promise of the continuation of the *guru*'s tradition by accomplished disciples. The disciple, in exchange for the *guru*'s teaching, reciprocates with lifelong devotion and gratitude to the *guru* (Slawek 1999:464). *Shishyas* become representative of the *guru*, and are accepted almost as members of the *guru*'s household (ibid.). The *shishya* "guards his *guru*'s prestige as his own since he represents the *guru* and is a part of him" (Singh 2004:79). The first responsibility of the *shishya* is "to follow the instructions of his [*guru*] unquestioningly" (Raina 2002:177). It is also the responsibility of the *shishya* to absorb the teachings of the *guru* through dedicated practice, or *riyaz*. *Riyaz* is significant in that it is more than mere dedication to rigorous practice: it is "a preparation for an unattainable perfection" that "symbolizes a certain accomplishment of one's inner development" (Neumann 1980:34). Even upon becoming an accomplished artist in his own right the *shishya* continues to honor his *guru* and "acknowledge his debt in terms of what he has learnt and what he is as a musician" (Singh 2004:79-80). Submission and devotion to the *guru*, *riyaz*, and

*dakshina* (gifts) are all periphery to the real payment to the *guru*, which is “carrying name and tradition forward through another generation successfully” (ibid.:82).

Despite the availability of written sources on Hindustani music, to achieve legitimacy as a performer a student of Hindustani music must be trained by a reputable *guru* (Qureshi 2012:6). It is the coexistence of “authoritative theoretical doctrine and a disciplined oral tradition of performance extending back over several generations” (ibid.) that serves to legitimize Indian art music and its theoretical constructs. The qualifications of a good performer beyond musical competency include a pedigree from study with a good teacher and devotion to practice (Khan 1988:59).

#### **2.4 The Formal Initiation of the *Guru-Shishya Parampara***

When a student becomes a formal devotee of the *guru*, the occasion is marked by a formal ceremony known as the *ganda bandhan* or *nara* ceremony, recognizing the relationship between *guru* and *shishya*. The formal acceptance of a disciple only occurs after a trial period and “the period between the first acceptance and the second initiation may last from a few months to many years” (Neumann 1980:55). The ceremony symbolically binds the *guru* and *shishya* “together for life and the bond...symbolizes their interdependence on each other” (Singh 2004:81). The implication of becoming an initiated *shishya* is that the devotee “is a special disciple who will be given particular attention and will be, in theory, treated as the *guru*’s own adopted son” (Neumann 1980:55). The change of status portends “a more intensive training, including techniques and compositions not normally given to those students who have not had a *ganda bandhan* ceremony” (Kippen 1988:41).

The ritual involves the tying of a red-colored thread on the wrist of the newly initiated disciple, symbolizing their lifelong bond (Singh 2004:87). The ceremony is witnessed by a priest, renowned musicians, and other disciples (ibid.:81). The new disciple makes an offering to the *guru*, and is then expected to perform before the gathered audience. The other disciples also perform in “order of ability with the best performing last [and] [t]he teacher himself is usually requested by his disciples to conclude the occasion with a performance” (Kippen 1988:41).

There are many social and musical implications for a student receiving the *banda gandhan* ceremony. It is indicative of a more intimate relationship with the *guru*, but also the *guru*’s other disciples, referred to by initiates as *guru-bhai*, meaning “brothers under one *guru*” (Kippen 1988:114). Following the formalization of the relationship, the *guru*’s “primary aim [is] to prepare a disciple for a career in music, no matter how long it takes” (ibid.:115). The nature of the lessons change following initiation, becoming less standardized, lasting “anything from a few minutes to several hours” (ibid.:114). However, the advantage of being an initiate is that “one lived more in the musical atmosphere of the [*guru*’s] home...observing and listening to [the *guru*’s] playing and the advice he gave to other disciples” (ibid.).

## 2.5 *Gharana*

While the *guru-shishya parampara* is the primary relationship in Indian music, *gharana* is an equally important institution in Indian music performance and education. *Gharana* as a concept is also unique to music in Indian cultural practices. *Gharana* is a term meaning “household,” indicating an institution of social and musical significance

(Farrell 2002:32). *Gharana* “denotes a predominantly but not exclusively hereditary group of professional musicians who share a common musical heritage” (Owens 1987:159) manifested in a common repertoire and style of performance. *Gharana* is identified through the existence of “a direct family lineage of at least three generations; a notable founding figure in the past and at least one active and respected living member; and an identifiable musical style” (Olikkala 1999:377).

*Gharanas* serve to legitimize the musicians through linkages to the great performers of the past, respected *gurus*, and continuity of tradition. For the individual performer, association with a respected *gharana* serves as “a stamp of authority and accomplishment [preceding] his own work” (Olikkala 1999:377). The historical linkages of *gharana* function “to give stylistic identity cultural validity—[an] all-important connection with the past and tradition” (Farrell 2002:33). *Gharanas* are linked to a founder renowned for “having made to Hindustani music a significant stylistic contribution which then comes to be regarded as the central distinctive feature [of the *gharana*] by their descendants and disciples” (Neumann 1980:148). The “*gharana* identity provides a shorthand notation for a musician’s pedigree” (ibid.:165), affirming their devotion and dedication to a particular *guru* and his style of music. *Gharana* is a “comprehensive musicological ideology...directly affecting the thinking, teaching, performance, and appreciation of music” (Ranade 1997:90).

Much like the *guru-shishya* relationship is predicated on more than musical and educational characteristics, *gharana* embodies both social and musical aspects. Socio-cultural features of *gharana* include associations with a particular musical tradition, social identity, pedigree and kinship, code of conduct, ideals of discipline and restraint,



preservation of purity, and adherence to customs and etiquette (Singh 2004:123). These aspects are again a result and reflection of the deep personal relationship between *guru* and *shishya*. A *gharana* is built upon the “long and hard training and the close relationship and rapport between the teacher and the taught” (ibid.:95). The *gharana*, as a pedigree, relies on the ability to “demonstrate the authenticity, age, and consequent purity of a lineage” (ibid.:108). Musically this is achieved by the “preservation of authoritative musical identity through recognizable procedures that differentiate one style of playing from another” (Farrell 2002:37). The need for proper preservation is revealing when considering the trials that a *guru* puts a *shishya* through before accepting them as a formal student through the *ganda bandhan* ceremony.

There are contradicting theories as to the origins of *gharana*. Some argue that *gharanas* developed only in the nineteenth century when the decline of royal patronage forced performers to move into and survive in urban centers (Ranade 1997:91). In this context, the establishment of *gharanas* served to protect family traditions by enabling musicians to “limit the competition, [because] masters trained mostly family members and thus protected lineage stylistic and performance secrets” (Olikkala 1999:377). An alternate view is that in earlier centuries, upon finding gifted musicians, court patrons “were averse to their musicians travelling to other places” (Bhat 2009:62) and would curtail their travel. This isolation and confinement resulted in the establishment of “strict musical lineages that were zealously guarded and protected” (ibid.:63). Musical heritage eventually served an economic need as “the sons and nephews of the original *guru* had to preserve the tradition carefully as a means of livelihood” (Singh 2004:99). Regardless of origin, *gharanas* became distinct styles of music that glorified the tradition of the lineage,

the original *guru*, and all proceeding *gurus*. The maintenance and preservation of *gharana* became a way for the *shishya* to fulfill their obligations to honor the contributions and memories of their *guru*.

*Gharanas* are named for the site of their origin or for a prominent founder. Musically the *gharanas* are differentiated by unique stylistic characteristics relating to presentation of the *raga*. Aspects such as musical notes, rhythmic treatment, or emotional expression are some of the features that may distinguish a *gharana* (Bhat 2009:64). Repertoire and musical techniques also are distinctive features of specific *gharanas*. “Every *gharana* has some secret *ragas* and rare compositions preserved for a very distinguished audience” (Singh 2004:103). *Gharana* styles are not static; disciples incorporate “musical ideas derived from elsewhere with ideas inherited from his *guru*...yet the unmistakable sign of the *gharana* abides” (Deshpande 1973:14). *Gharana* is dependent not on mere imitation of the *guru*, but on the disciple’s aurally received “individualized and idealized picture of the *gharana* style” (Mehta 2008:109). The idealization is a process stemming from “emotional attachment to the *guru*,” aesthetic judgment, and the “need for protecting identity and the values set on such identity” (ibid.:110) through his association with the *gharana*. Out of this interaction individual, yet stylistically appropriate, musical interpretations are made. The *gharana* “while keeping true to its basic tradition goes on assimilating ever-new musical ideas with each new artist” and “[it] grows and flourishes by combining tradition with innovation” (Deshpande 1973:15).

The *gharana* serves as a social structure identifying musicians with a particular lineage and, ultimately, a single past *guru* whose contributions all subsequent performers

in the tradition honor and value. The relations between individuals in a *gharana* may be familial ties or the relationship status conferred to *guru-bhai*, or brothers under a single *guru*. The standards of behavior and conduct, which were seen to reflect on the individual *guru* in the above section, also apply to representation of *gharana*. Musically *gharanas* retain certain stylistic aspects, repertoire, performance and teaching techniques, but the tradition is subtly evolving as newer *gharana* members add their own distinctive interpretations to the traditional practices.

## 2.6 The Nature of *Talim*

*Talim*, the formal musical training received by a disciple from the *guru*, is only one of the contexts in which musical knowledge is transmitted. As discussed previously with the *guru-shishya parampara*, proximity to the *guru* is in itself an important feature of learning to be a musician. *Talim* is not a standardized curriculum or teaching method; it varies depending upon the *guru*'s beliefs and preferences, and varies in accordance with the abilities of the individual disciple. *Talim* is not only the transmission of musical materials such as repertoire and technique, but the “giving of a musical intelligence to the disciple...that will help him to think creatively and to make his own musical decisions” (Kippen 1988:115). Like many of the institutions in Indian music, *talim* simultaneously serves a musical and social function.

Because *talim* is not standardized in pedagogy or material, it is difficult to generalize about this essential component of learning Hindustani music. The following discussion is based primarily on anecdotal evidence from interviews and biographies with performers of Indian music. One concern with this evidence, especially when dealing

with renowned Indian performers, is the potential to mythologize one's self and one's *guru* through relating exaggerated claims of *talim*, though the extent of this is unknowable. However, even these stories are effective in illustrating the ideal nature of *talim*.

*Talim* often occurs in multiple sessions throughout the day. During this time the *guru* teaches many *ragas* that vary depending upon the time of day, due to extra-musical associations *ragas* carry relating to time of day and season. Sawai Gandharva, *guru* of the legendary singer Bhimsen Joshi, often began *talim* as early as four in the morning, setting aside at least nine hours a day for it (Majumdar 2004:18).

Neelkanthbuwa Mirajkar, *guru* to the singer Mallikarjun Mansur, similarly began *talim* at four in the morning; this morning session lasted four hours and there was also an evening session for the teaching of evening and night *ragas* (Kanwalli 1992:19). *Gurus* differ in their beliefs about appropriate *ragas* to teach to newer disciples. Sawai Gandharva believed that the three *ragas* *Todi*, *Multani*, and *Pooriya*, when mastered, “enabled the pupil to tackle any *raga*” (Majumdar 2004:19). In contrast, the *sarod* player Allaudin Khan stressed *ragas* *Bhairav*, *Yaman*, and *Kafi* (Bhattacharya 1979:130). In both cases, one *raga* is associated with morning (*Todi* and *Bhairav*), afternoon (*Multani* and *Kafi*), and night (*Pooriya* and *Yaman*).

In addition to repertoire, the techniques and methods for building musicianship vary depending on the *guru*. The *guru* may “choose to emphasize different aspects of technique depending on the particular limitations of the individual [disciple]” (Kippen 1988:116). There are also many formats which *talim* might take. Kippen describes a lesson divided into three parts including playing material given in the previous lesson,

playing random material from the past repertoire, and receiving new material (ibid.:117).

The *guru* of Allaudin Khan, Gopal Chandra Chakravarty, trained his disciple in the use of *alankars* (phrases), *palta alankars* (*alankars* set to a rhythm), and permutations and combinations of the *sargam*, or solfege syllables (Khokar 1996:24). Allaudin Khan, in turn, trained his disciples simultaneously in vocal and instrumental music, emphasizing *palta* and techniques such as *meend* (glissando), *gamak* (trills), *bol* (*tabla* vocables), and *taan* (combinations of notes, variations) as the essential components for successful musical practice (Bhattacharya 1979:130). Over a great length of time, Allaudin Khan systematically added *sargam* (solfege), *gat* (compositions), *tala* (rhythm cycles), and *alap* (unmetered interpretation of the *raga*) (ibid.:131-2).

Neelkanthbuwa Mirajkar required his disciples to practice the *swaras* to the accompaniment of a tuned *tanpura* and to sing *alankars* for two hours as preparation. He would proceed to teach a variety of *cheej* (compositions) in many *talas* and *ragas*. While learning the different compositions, the disciple would master embellishments such as *gamak* and *meend* (Kanwalli 1992:19-20). However, there is flexibility to any *guru*'s format; he "may himself feel like playing, and therefore much of the lesson is taken up with listening to a demonstration" (Kippen 1988:117).

The musical material, regardless of the *guru*'s emphasis, is taught orally and received by the student aurally and through imitation. The teacher will play to the student, perhaps having them imitate certain phrases. To quote the performer Viram Jasani, "you start playing those phrases and eventually you get to the stage where you don't repeat the phrases your teacher has taught you, you start creating your own different phrases within that *raga*" (Bailey 1980:17). The teacher does not directly

instruct the student in which notes to play, but instead “a good teacher is able to show you and give you guidelines as to how to perform Indian classical music” (ibid.:16). While this performer describes creating his own phrases within the *raga*, a *guru* may demand “the pupil repeat each particular exercise over and over till he mastered it” (Majumdar 2004:19).

*Talim* is not restricted to private lessons with the *guru*. An important aspect of education for an initiated disciple is to witness the lessons of one’s *guru-bhais*. In this context, the *guru* “tends to make general statements which have a wider relevance, in addition to personalized advice designed for the individual whose lesson it is” (Kippen 1988:116).

*Talim* is received both directly and indirectly through the aural learning strategies of the disciple. It takes many forms depending on the beliefs and whims of the *guru*, and it may take place directly in a private format or through one’s presence with the *guru* in his instruction of others. However, *talim* is only one aspect of one’s training. In order to maximize and realize the skills being taught, the disciple must be devoted to a rigorous schedule of *riyaz*, or practice.

## 2.7 The Nature of *Riyaz*

An essential component to success in learning Hindustani music is vigorous *riyaz*. *Riyaz* refers to practice, but carries a more profound significance in the culture of Indian music. *Riyaz* is viewed as “a means of devotion and a measure of dedication, ...an explanation of success, and...a pedagogical device with a moral” (Neumann 1980:42). The word itself, derived from Arabic, “connotes abstinence, devotion, discipline, and

hard labor” (ibid.). Ranade approaches *riyaz* as an act that must be undertaken by the individual, requiring “unthinking, blind, and unquestioning adherence to a preordained routine,” following a systematized and impersonalized method that arranges “facts, rules, and procedures together to fit into a logical plan leading from parts to a unified whole” (2008:158-9). Further, *riyaz* is an “opportunity of carrying out an intensive self-examination and self-measurement,” developing “self-reliance, self-confidence, and self-control” (ibid.:160). Through this process one achieves the skills necessary “to give acceptable and effective presentations” of Hindustani music (ibid.:158).

*Riyaz* is more than the practice of the physical act of performing music. Proper *riyaz* requires “knowing how to create the proper atmosphere and the proper discipline...and above all else deep concentration” (Neumann 1980:38). In this context, “one puts into practice all one has learned [and develops] the highly technical skills needed for the performance of North Indian classical music” (Kippen 1988:127). To ensure proper *riyaz* Bade Ghulam Ali Khan supervised his disciples’ practice and conducted his own *riyaz* gradually, beginning with singing scales in ascending and descending order, then with *kans* (grace notes), followed by increasingly complex *paltas* (sequences), and finally the compositions (Sinha 1996:82). Amir Khan would ask disciples to “come and listen to his morning *riyaz* and observe closely how he treated the *swaras*...and how he unfolded or developed the *raga* using the *swaras* one by one” (Paintal 1996:31). He would then have the student emulate his *riyaz*, promptly correcting any errors.

*Riyaz* is expected to be of high quality, meaning the practitioner is completely focused and concentrating all of his energy on the task of practicing music. There is also

great value in long hours of rigorous and regular *riyaz*. Mallikarjun Mansur purportedly adopted a *riyaz* schedule from ten at night to six in the morning starting at the age of sixteen to combat the change of voice brought about by adolescence (Kanwalli 1992:21). Later in life, he would follow four or five hours of daily *talim* with three or four hours of self-directed *riyaz* at home (ibid.:38). Accounts of extended periods of *riyaz* are present in accounts of the lives of almost any great performer of Hindustani music. Afaq Hussain insists that his disciples who aim to become professional musicians dedicate at least eight hours per day to *riyaz* (Kippen 1988:128). However, *riyaz* is best when practiced regularly and with “full mental and physical concentration” (ibid.). Even with impeccable *talim* and rigorous *riyaz*, Bade Ghulam Ali Khan warned his disciples not to expect to become accomplished singers before ten years of musical training (Sinha 1996:79).

## 2.8 Social Values in Indian Music

The social institutions in which Hindustani music is transmitted as discussed above are deeply engrained in the tradition of Hindustani music. Until the beginning of the twentieth century there were few alternatives to the *guru-shishya parampara* and the *gharana* system. Prior to this period, Hindustani music was a closed culture available primarily to hereditary musicians and sometimes to privileged “adopted” disciples of the *guru*. The *guru-shishya* relationship and the *gharana* lineage are not only pedagogical institutions and musical styles, but legitimizing criteria for recognition as a performer of Hindustani music. The social roles of the *guru* are more clearly defined than the pedagogical role or method, and are as important, if not more so, than the transmission of musical material. The persistence of *gharanas* is primarily dependent upon the continuity



of social relationships as manifested in musical style. Even the concepts of *talim* and *riyaz* have underlying social meanings. *Talim* is not only the direct instruction from the *guru*, but also informal conversations or the reception of musical and moral lessons by osmosis, merely from being in contact with the *guru*. *Riyaz* is dedicated practice, but carries the additional connotation of devotion and dedication to one's art, and indeed, one's *guru* and *gharana*.

In the history of Hindustani music until the twentieth century, the transmission of music was much deeper than the mere transmission of musical knowledge. Moral conduct and social identity were as fundamental to the development of a musician as technical proficiency in performance. The “musical” or “educational” acts of *talim* and *riyaz* were steeped in the values of *guru-shishya* and *gharana* relationships, serving to strengthen and measure one's devotion and dedication to the socio-cultural realm in which they existed and to absorb the principles of Hindustani music.

### 3. Twentieth-Century Alternatives in Music Education

#### 3.1 Changing Attitudes and Values

It is within the context of the *guru-shishya parampara* and the *gharana* system of music education that Hindustani music entered the twentieth century. However, these established institutions were challenged by ambitious new ways of thinking about music and music education inspired by changing social, economic, and political circumstances on the Indian sub-continent. Major developments of the early twentieth century included the creation and introduction of a notational system, renewed interest in the authority of theoretical treatises, synthesis of a modern theory of music and music-classification based on contemporary trends in practice, standardization of musical material and teaching methodology, and attempts to make music and music education accessible to the broadest possible range of students. This agenda of reform and the resulting paradigm shift in Hindustani music — particularly in music education — was championed by two major figures, V.N. Bhattachande and V.D. Paluskar, whose competitive but complementary attempts to reform Indian music brought about a new era in Hindustani music.

The reforms in Hindustani music and music education were a result of changing concepts of identity and values of Indian culture in the context of the British colonial administration. The arts, and music in particular, became a symbol of Indian identity, and reformers such as Bhattachande and Paluskar sought to create a standardized Indian music to serve nationalist purposes. Many problems were identified with the *guru-shishya parampara* and *gharana* systems, including the limited access to non-hereditary musicians, lack of standardization of musical material, lack of theoretical treatises, and

the absence of critical reception of musical knowledge. The *guru-shishya* system was seen as non-scientific and unreliable because of its emphasis on devotion and trust instead of critical engagement of the student. These concerns were at least partially influenced by the presence of the British and missionary educational institutions in India. Ironically, for Hindustani music to fulfill its nationalist function it was necessary that it conform to British values of high-culture or art-culture and British notions of cultural legitimacy as demonstrated by complexity, “scientific” basis, and authoritative institutions and texts.

### **3.2 The Status of Music in the Early Twentieth Century**

Hindustani music was a tradition consisting of hereditary musicians performing under a system of court patronage for many centuries. Under British colonial rule in the nineteenth century India underwent great political upheaval, resulting in the dissolution of many of the royal courts that had previously provided patronage for musicians. Opportunities for employment and performance became less accessible, and the audience for Hindustani music remained small and was limited to elites and the few trained musicians. One of the few other associations of Hindustani music was with *tawa'ifs*, or courtesans, who were viewed by most middle-class Indians as nothing more than prostitutes (Kippen 1988:24). To many in the middle-class music was “associated with figures of the past...in whose decadent and debauched orgies of self-indulgence it became merely a means of arousing the senses” (ibid.). As music became “more erotic in nature, it became the most desired and sought-after form of entertainment,” and “[w]ith this came the contempt of the society towards musicians” (Bhat 2009:69) and towards

music itself.

In contrast, prior to Muslim rule in North India, “music remained, to a large extent, associated with the temples and religious occasions,” and though music was held in high esteem, musicians “had no respectable social status and they did not enjoy any social privileges at all” (Bhat 2009:68-69). A Bengali proverb, “knowledge of music is for princes and *fakirs*,” “underscores a traditional Bengali view of music as either an aristocratic indulgence, implying frivolity and debauchery, or a devotional activity meant for those who lived without the cares and duties of ordinary people [therefore, music was] not a suitable interest or pastime for the average householder” (Capwell 1999:432).

It was against this negative connotation of music that many Indian nationalists attempted to champion the Hindustani musical tradition as a product of national value and pride. An earlier promoter of Indian music as a component of a nationalist agenda was Sourindro Mohun Tagore. His goal for music was to “make musical accomplishment and enjoyment suitable for educated Bengali gentlemen” and “show that Indian music was an advanced art with a codified theory and technique, as logically and scientifically based as European music and equally suited to pedagogical transmission” (Capwell 1999:432). Tagore sought to illustrate the value of Hindustani music by adopting colonial values of education and art appreciation. This attempt was in accordance “with general trends of modernization and Westernization that permeated the subcontinent” (Alter 1999:442) during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At this time, “Western education began to appeal as a means for social mobility and advancement” (ibid.:443) for a large proportion of the middle-class. These changing social trends allowed for a departure from the traditional *guru-shishya parampara*, with its inherent exclusivity, to

the development of educational institutions with far greater access to middle-class Indians.

### **3.3 Nationalist Endeavors**

Interest in the revival of Hindustani music was fueled by “a nationalist feeling among the growing middle class, who were beginning to value the cultural significance of Hindustani music,” a cultural object “that had been suppressed for over a century under British domination” (Alter 1999:444). Bhatkhande, and many others, felt that “a nation, any nation, needed a system of classical music” (Bahkle 2005:98). While this sentiment was widely shared by many Indian nationalists and members of the middle-class, there were diffuse beliefs and methods for how one should create a nationalist, classical music. These attempts to nationalize music are discussed in a later section, following a brief discussion of nationalist agendas in early twentieth-century India.

Hindustani music as a vehicle in advancing a nationalist agenda was manifested in many diverse ways by figures with vastly divergent philosophies. Tagore, a loyalist to the British crown, sought to elevate the native music of India to the status accorded to art music in the West. In this context, Hindustani music was to serve an analogous function to Western classical music as a symbol of cultural modernity and sophistication. This approach to nationalism was a response to early twentieth-century India’s status as a subject of British imperialism.

A second nationalist agenda focused on the differentiation between the native Hindu traditions and the imported influences of Muslim culture. Many Hindu nationalists, including Tagore and Bhatkhande, felt the “need to revive a great tradition,

...[attributing] what they considered the regrettable condition of their musical traditions to the imposed, alien Islamic culture” (Capwell 1999:434). Bhatkhande, valuing a historical origin of Hindustani music as a legitimizing criterion, “had in place a conception of ‘our’ music, which is Indian, of Hindu origin, to which Arabic or Persian could have contributed, but for a which a Sanskrit text might be decisive” (Bakhle 2005:112). Paluskar was an even stauncher Hindu nationalist, advocating musical practice as a Hindu religious act, and believing that “music was Hindu in the past and Hindu in the future” (ibid.:113). Paluskar “linked Hindustani music (as an indigenous high art neither stifled nor adulterated by European rule) with the nationalist movement” (Qureshi 2012:27). For Paluskar, music was a way to revive Hindu culture and values in response to Muslim and British influences (Alter 1999:444).

### **3.4 Nationalizing and Modernizing Indian Classical Music**

While attempts to nationalize and elevate Hindustani music to a respectable status were carried out by a great number and variety of contributors, there are points of convergence in the diverse philosophies. Each reformer shared the goal of nationalization and promotion of music; variations depended on the individual’s personal beliefs, religious background, relationship with the British colonizers, relationship with the traditional system of music, and other factors. Some of the recurring points debated by these nationalist reformers were the need for a historical basis for the music, notation, theoretical treatises, dissemination of music to a broader audience, standardization of repertoire, and approaches to pedagogy. These points often served in presenting Hindustani music as a complex, modern art situated in a uniquely Indian history and

cultural context.

### **3.4.1 Notation**

Notation, which was essentially absent in the *guru-shishya* system, was embraced by many early reformers of Hindustani music for a variety of reasons. Tagore established notation as a teaching aid in his Bengal Music School as early as 1871, influenced by his relationship with the British intelligentsia (Alter 1999:443). Tagore viewed notation as a “field of nationalist contention” (Capwell 1999:433), advocating the use of Bengali letter notation instead of Western notation. The sentiment of Tagore and his circle was that “notation is an essential component of any advanced musical system” (ibid.). Madhavrao Scindia of Gwalior, a ruler with ties to the British and interest in British culture, founded the Madhav Music College in the early 1900s, requiring his court musicians to utilize Indian notation for pedagogical use (Alter 1999:444). Tagore and Scindia were both compelled to use notation, albeit uniquely Indian notations, through personal contact with the British and desire to emulate British culture.

Notation became “a matter of national equivalence and a key to Indian music’s recognition in the larger Western world as a classical music” (Bakhle 2005:66). As a tool for the advancement of a nationalist agenda, notation “allowed native writers to translate their music into a language for easy comprehension by Western readers” and facilitated the transmission of the continuity of Indian music from “an ancient theory into a modern practice” (ibid.:67). Two primary motivations to elevate the status of Hindustani music were: 1) to prove its sophistication, complexity, and rationality in comparison to Western music; and 2) to demonstrate its grounding in ancient, uniquely Indian, traditions. Indian

writers even published treatises as early as 1878 demonstrating “that Indian music was scientific” and had “invented a scientific system of notation...given in the *Rag Vibodha*,” a thirteenth-century Sanskrit musical treatise (ibid.:65-6).

Bhatkhande and Paluskar both independently developed their own notation systems in the early twentieth century for many practical reasons differing from the pedagogical use of notation in the Bengal Music School and Madhav Music College. For Bhatkhande and Paluskar, notation “preserved the works of great *ustads*” and “enabled the students of the future to know the past shapes of the melodies” (Agarwala 1966:62). This was especially important for Bhatkhande, who collected and notated thousands of musical compositions that had become the basis for his extemporization of a contemporary theory of Hindustani music to later appear in pedagogical volumes (Bakhle 2005:97). Notation was valued for its ability to “preserve dying traditions and aid in teaching” (Alter 1999:444); loss of tradition through ineffective education remained one of Bhatkhande’s obsessions driving his work throughout his life.

Bhatkhande and Paluskar utilized notation in similar ways, primarily for publication of musical treatises and mass education. Notation is “essential for the formation of the syllabus...[and] a sort of uniformity can be achieved in the teaching methods” (Agarwala 1966:63) that utilize it. For Bhatkhande, “the forming of a notation system was absolutely necessary for an easy and effective instruction in music which was needed for mass education” (Nayar 1989:286). Much like Bhatkhande, Paluskar began publishing notated compositions and pedagogical treatises as early as 1905 (Bakhle 2005:163). Notation served to advance the goal, shared by Bhatkhande and Paluskar, of creating of a musically educated audience amongst the Indian middle class (ibid.:68).



Notation became a culturally significant form of protest against colonial dominance and subjugation of Indian music and Indian culture in general. Notation was a means to justify the rationality, modernity, and complexity of Hindustani music. The argument for an ancient form of notation mentioned in centuries-old treatises supported an antiquity and sophistication of Indian music in comparison to the West. Further, adaptation of musical notation in pedagogy emulated the Western model of music education, strengthening the claims of Hindustani music as a classical tradition. Beyond analogs to British values, notation served to preserve the compositions of the great masters of Hindustani music for future generations, allowed for standardization of pedagogical materials, and provided data for theoretical analysis of *ragas*.

### ***3.4.2 Theory and Shastras***

Much like notation, an authoritative theoretical basis was seen as a necessary component in modernizing and elevating Hindustani music to the status of a classical tradition. The ancient treatises on music were used to legitimize the origin and history of Hindustani music, but there remained a need to synthesize a theory applicable to contemporary performance practice. *Shastras*, or musical treatises, consist of two elements — the theory of music and the history of music — that are essential information for the preservation of the basic structure of the music and to ensure complete musicianship (Keskar 1967:53).

From the Ancient Period in India (until 1300 C.E.), before Islamic influence and Muslim rulers, there were treatises on music using vocabulary and concepts similar to those found in contemporary Hindustani music. Bharata's fourth-century text, the

*Natyashastra*, “sets forth rules on aesthetics, classifies instruments, and describes musical theory and performance practices” (Ruckert 1998:333). The *Brihaddeshi*, written by Matanga in the eighth century, “repeats much of Bharata’s material, discusses philosophical bases of music, and indicates that the word *raga* had come into use” (ibid.). The latest major treatise of this period was the thirteenth-century *Sangitaratnakara* by Sarangadev, “which gathers together and sums up what was known about music before the Moslem cultural presence in North India” (ibid.:334). It is assumed “that the practicing artists of [the Ancient] period were also well versed in theory” (Nayar 1989:34).

Despite the presence of musical theoretical texts dating back millennia, a common sentiment is that “with the onset of the Muslim rule and their generous patronage to musicians, many Hindu musicians embraced Islam...and gradually drifted away from Sanskrit” (Bhat 2009:69). This resulted in a “sharp decline in studying of the science of Hindustani music” (ibid.), as most of the ancient musical treatises were written in Sanskrit. Muslim patronage “contributed greatly to the evolution of the rich individual style of North Indian Classical music...[but] classical music gradually lost contact with the *granthas* [*shastras*]” (Nayar 1989:34). This claim to a theoretical framework based in historical texts bolstered the argument for Hindustani music as a respectable modern art based in tradition, while the deflection of blame for the loss of this connection to the treatises on Muslim “outsiders” catered to Hindu nationalist prejudices.

Bhatkhande sought to establish a definitive theory of contemporary practices of modern Hindustani music. Bhatkhande was intensely critical of the *guru-shishya parampara* for the uncritical nature in which students “received instruction without

asking their teachers all the questions Bhatkhande believed were vital to their education” (Bakhle 2005:104). In many of his interviews he attempted to expose the lack of textual and theoretical understanding of music among scholars, patrons, and musicians (ibid.:103). Recognizing the evolution that had occurred in music theory between the time of the *granthas* and modern practice, Bhatkhande noted “a flow of method which was the basis of the modern Hindustani music” (Nayar 1989:47). From this method, as evidenced in practice, Bhatkhande extracted the “scientific background which the [musician’s] themselves were incapable of realizing” (ibid.).

### ***3.4.3 Bhatkhande’s Theory and Standardization of Raga Theory***

Bhatkhande’s reasons for formulating a modern theoretical basis for Hindustani music addressed many topics of importance to himself and other reformers of classical music. First, “it would bring the subject of music at par with other subjects where there is no dearth of scientific and rational data” (Nayar 1989:96). A music theory would enable mass education in music and “provide the educated and cultured people an easy and intelligent understanding of music as a subject of study” (ibid.). Finally, a theoretical basis would impact performance practice because “practical knowledge of music could only thrive when it has its roots in a scientific and systematic theory,” and “only a sound base of theory could preserve music from undue distortions which would be inevitable in the absence of a theoretical background” (ibid.).

The *guru-shishya parampara* and *gharana* system resulted in a diverse practice of Hindustani music, with different *gharanas* interpreting the same *ragas* in different ways, each with unique techniques, repertoires, and even melodic grammars. The individual

*gharanas* guarded their musical knowledge and restricted training to trusted disciples. Bhatkhande believed that in order for music to be nationalized, it “had to be institutionalized, centralized, and standardized,” and “put into a national academy to which everyone could have access” (Bakhle 2005:98). The other necessary components of a nationalized music were “a demonstrable and linked history, one with a text or a few key texts that explained foundational rules, theories, and performance practices” (ibid.). Bhatkhande’s goal was to synthesize a comprehensive theory from performance practice in accordance with principles from the historical texts.

Bhatkhande’s theoretical contributions, based on transcriptions of thousands of compositions, include a collection of annotated *ragas* accompanied by an “authoritative, decisive, historical and theoretical text” (Bakhle 2005:116) written by Bhatkhande himself. Bhatkhande classified the extant *ragas* into a system of ten *thaats*, or parent scales, into which all *ragas* were supposed to fit and musical relationships became apparent. He also introduced the theory of *vadi-samvadi*, identifying the most important notes of a *raga* (*vadi*) and the second most important note (*samvadi*) as a classificatory system (Bhagwat 1992:26). Using these classification techniques, Bhatkhande attempted to create a model through which “the fundamental characteristics of a *raga* [are] clearly individuated to establish its identity and individuality” (ibid.:30). The 1920’s publication *Bhatkhande Sangit-Sastra: Hindustani Sangit-Paddhati* (*Bhatkhande’s Musical Works: The Hindustani Music System*) was Bhatkhande’s most influential work. This volume imitates a conversation in the *guru-shishya* tradition, addressing a comprehensive range of topics from “Bhatkhande’s parent-scale (*thaat*) system of *raga* classification, his explanation of microtones (*sruti*), his efforts toward a standardized notation system, and

his historical discussions of previous writers and treatises” (Alter 1999:445).

Through his comprehensive review and comparison of earlier theoretical treatises in the book *A Comparative Study of the Music Systems of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Bhatkhande aimed to “help in the determination of a suitable system for the present day Hindustani music” (Nayar 1989:106). This system was of course that proposed in Bhatkhande’s own theoretical treatise, the *Hindustani Sangit-Paddhati*, which had an immediate and long-lasting impact on the study of Hindustani music.

#### ***3.4.4 Mass Education and Institutionalized Training***

The greatest contributions of reformers like Bhatkhande and Paluskar were the creation of an educated audience for music and the establishment of music schools offering standardized teaching materials and graded examinations following strict curricula. In this context diplomas and certificates in music were issued to any students whom dedicated themselves to completing the requirements of the program. This is a significant departure from the *guru-shishya parampara* and *gharana* system of education. The institutionalization of Hindustani music and resulting mass education altered the landscape of Indian pedagogy from the early twentieth century onward.

Prior to establishing formal music schools, Bhatkhande began creating an educated musical audience through the All-India Music Conferences from 1916 through 1926. These conferences, open to the public, provided a forum in which “musicians, musicologists, critics, writers, and connoisseurs passionately and knowledgably argued about and discussed a number of subjects related to music” (Bakhle 2005:181) including theory, history, performance practice, and pedagogy. In addition to being a forum for

discussion, the evening concerts during the Conferences provided the public its first opportunity to listen to celebrated musicians, lessening the isolation in which Hindustani music had previously existed (Nayar 1989:282). Bhatkhande used the All-India Music Conferences as a springboard for the establishment of the National Academy of Music he sought to develop. The Conferences were “national, ‘Westernized,’ and grandiose” (Bakhle 2005:182-3), in accordance with Bhatkhande’s goal of creating a national, modern, sophisticated musical culture. The Conferences, by elevating the status of music in the public mind, “paved the way for establishing music institutions and collective education, thereby raising its status to the academic level” (Nayar 1989:282). This resulted in the creation of the sophisticated, educated audiences envisioned by Bhatkhande evidenced by increased interest in the pursuit of Hindustani music among the middle-class in early twentieth-century India.

### **3.5 Music Schools in the Early Twentieth Century**

The first decades of the twentieth century saw the initial development of educational institutions devoted to music and a surge of institutions established with the same goal. There were many approaches to institutionalized music education and many of the most successful institutions were established, directed, or philosophically guided by a major figure in early twentieth-century Hindustani music. The Bengal Music School, established by Sourindro Mohun Tagore, and the Madhav Music College, established by Madhavrao Scindia (both mentioned previously), were late nineteenth-century attempts to modernize Hindustani music by imitating Western educational models. However, contemporary and present-day musicians often “regard the idealized traditional teaching

system, featuring the master-disciple relationship, as the basic model from which music educators develop their teaching methods” (Alter 1999:442). This dichotomy between Western and Indian educational systems and philosophies resulted in many distinct approaches to institutional applications of music education. The primary case studies addressed in this chapter are the Marris College of Music, the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya, and the Shankar Gandharva Mahavidyalaya. These schools were established in accordance with the philosophies and direction of Bhatkhande, Paluskar, and Shankar Rao Pandit, respectively.

### ***3.5.1 The Marris College of Music***

The Marris College of Music, established in Lucknow in 1926, was not the first institution established by Bhatkhande, but it was the most important (Nayar 1989:186). Initially named after the British governor Sir William Sinclair Marris, it was later renamed the Bhatkhande Hindustani Sangeet Mahavidyalaya (or Bhatkhande Music College; Kippen 1988:25). Education at all of Bhatkhande’s schools was “structured on the basis of class instruction, established curricula, and final examinations, a system that had developed out of Tagore's desire for westernization and Bhatkhande's principles of modern music education” (Alter 1999:444). While the Bhatkhande Music School did produce some reputable performers, the “original idea was not to churn out professional musicians but rather to provide a basic education in music for all who desired it” (Kippen 1988:35). Though this sentiment is not widely attributed to Bhatkhande, Kippen argues that Bhatkhande “realized that, in order to attain the necessary performance skills to become a professional, a student would have to train further under a traditional,

hereditary musician” (ibid.).

The early years of the Marris College of Music were important for the future of Hindustani pedagogy because they served as a government-sponsored testing-ground for Bhatkhande’s theories of teaching methods. The syllabus was rigorous, using Bhatkhande’s *Kramik Pustak Malika* and his co-founder Nawab Ali’s *Marfulnaghamat* as textbooks. Students were expected to learn fifty *ragas* and 25 *talas* in five years, while concurrently reading seventeen major musical treatises and attending regular lectures on the texts (Bakhle 2005:202).

Bhatkhande sought to create a “modern methodology of training in music...[that was] short, condensed, simple, scientific, and systematic” (Nayar 1989:167). The four essential components of the methodology were a notation system as the medium of instruction, well-defined curricula and graded textbooks, simultaneous teaching of theory and practice, and periodic evaluation (ibid.:169-70). The teachers were expected “to teach at least two types of *sargam* [solfege-based compositions], [and compositions in various genres including] one *lakshan geet*, two *khayals*, and one *dhrupad* in each *raga*” in the first year of study, followed by a greater number and diversity of exercises, compositions, and *ragas* in subsequent years (ibid.:170).

The *Kramik Pustak Malika* textbook included directions for the teacher about how to impart the lessons, including appropriate exercises for developing technical proficiency (Nayar 1989:167). The textbook also included defining characteristics of each *raga*, such as its classification by *thaat*, *vadi/samvadi*, beginning notes, rest notes, particular defining note combinations, etc. (ibid.:173-4). This information was taught simultaneously with practical lessons in performance. The final component of



Bhatkhande's pedagogy was that of periodic evaluation in both the practical and theoretical realms of music. Evaluation included reproducing a composition in notation, by memory, from the *Kramik Pustak Malika*, essay questions about the history and evolution of music, oral exams in which students sang compositions to a team of teacher musicians, and oral questioning on theory pertaining to the *ragas* (ibid.:176-7).

The success of the Marris College of Music certainly played a role in the rapid increase in the number of music schools in India from 1930 onward (Alter 1999:444). The granting of diplomas allowed music to become a subject of academic interest. The school employed many of India's top musicians and with the steady production of graduates from the college "the public came to regard Bhatkhande as a savior who had provided them with access to musical knowledge" (Kippen 1988:25). The heavily institutionalized approach to teaching, intended to be accessible to all whom wished to learn, was the great accomplishment of Bhatkhande's school. However, this "modernized" approach to pedagogy was only one of a number of alternatives to the traditional *guru-shishya parampara*. The schools and methodologies of Bhatkhande's contemporaries and rivals V.D. Paluskar and Shankar Rao Pandit illustrate other changing trends in the transmission of Hindustani music in early twentieth-century India.

### **3.5.2 Gandharva Mahavidyalaya**

A second pillar in the institutionalization of Hindustani music was the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya, founded by V.D. Paluskar in 1901. Paluskar shared many of the goals of his contemporary Bhatkhande, but used significantly different techniques. Both sought to institutionalize and spread musical education around India, but unlike Bhatkhande,

Paluskar aimed to link music with Hindu religion and reinstate a modernized *guru-shishya parampara* (Bakhle 2005:138). Paluskar's initial attempts to spread music maintained a "sternly paternalistic, traditional, and unambiguously Hindu religious pedagogy" (ibid.:150). However, by institutionalizing Hindustani music and removing it from the *gharana* system, Paluskar "was a hero to musicians of the twentieth century" and the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya "established itself as an alternative system of education in music" (Bhagwat 1992:19).

The influence of the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya was immediately felt by making musical knowledge and performing skills accessible and through the training of "a virtual army of musical missionaries to run music schools all over the country" (Raja 2005:79). By the second decade of the twentieth century Paluskar's schools were well-established and his students "were well on their way to founding additional music schools modeled after the Bombay Gandharva Mahavidyalaya in cities around the country" (Bakhle 2005:180).

By 1901 Paluskar had developed a "methodical curriculum for music training" that is "considered as the basis and a forerunner of [the] formal training method of classical music" (Bhat 2009:71-2). Much like Bhatkhande's attempt to make music accessible to all who would wish to learn, Paluskar "set up a proper methodology for education and training in Hindustani music for people of all classes" (ibid.). The model of the 1901 Lahore Gandharva Mahavidyalaya was later applied at the All-India Gandharva Music College in Bombay (1911) and several affiliated institutions all utilizing a common training method, curricula, and exam system (Alter 1999:444).

The full course of study at the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya consisted of nine years

of training, with the final three years devoted to the study of music theory and teacher training. The school had a rigid curriculum and strict rules regarding the amount of time students were expected to spend practicing music. All students were subject to Paluskar's overtly Hindu nationalist agenda. Communal morning prayers, Hindu religious rituals, and devotional singing were institutionalized as a necessary part of the curriculum. In addition to establishing music schools Paluskar also published many pedagogical resources including eighteen theoretical books on different *ragas*, fifteen small textbooks, and many other texts on a variety of subjects including exercise music and notation (Bahkle 2005:150-163).

Following Paluskar's death in 1931, many of his senior students realized his vision of "establishing a system of affiliation whereby institutions of music around the country could tie in with the main Gandharva Mahavidyalaya for exams, degrees, and curricula" (Bahkle 2005:168). The exams and curricula established by these students currently remain in use both in India and internationally. Exams consist of written and practical aspects of music (<http://www.gandharvapune.com/GetCriteria.php?Link=Education&iSelected>). These examinations include a performance of *alap*, composition, definitions of musical terms, and theoretical questions regarding performance rules associated with *ragas*.

The Gandharva Mahavidyalaya succeeded in many of Paluskar's nationalist goals for music. Paluskar "endeavoured to spread music practically and to gain for it a respectable place in society" (Nayar 1989:327), which he achieved through his linkage of music to religious piety, his training of musicians, and the subsequent establishment of a network of music schools and distribution of standardized syllabi, curricula, and exams.

The use of notation, textbooks, standardized curricula, and regular practical and written examinations were techniques that both Paluskar and Bhatkhande used to rejuvenate interest in Hindustani music, make it accessible to the greatest number of people, and create a new model for institutionalized musical pedagogy.

### 3.5.3 *Shankar Gandharva Mahavidyalaya*

A third and lesser renowned institution in Hindustani musical pedagogy is what became the Shankar Gandharva Mahavidyalaya in Gwalior, established by Nissar Hussain Khan and Shankar Pandit in 1914. The aims of the Vidyalaya were to “preserve, enhance, and propagate the traditional *gayaki* [style] of Gwalior [*gharana*]...to give free education to poor talented students...to train students following *guru-shishya parampara*...and to honour scholars and musicians and gain from their art and knowledge” (Pandit 1996:80). While the Shankar Gandharva Mahavidyalaya shared Bhatkhande and Paluskar’s ideal of institutionalized education available to all students, Krishnarao Shankar, the Principal of the school from 1914-1972, “wanted to teach the authentic tradition of *khayal* within the old *guru-shishya* relation structure” (Bhagwat 1992:24). Though the Shankar Gandharva Mahavidyalaya was an independent institution, in many ways it synthesized the approaches to pedagogy of Bhatkhande with those of Paluskar.

The school initially adhered to a four-year, graded curriculum. Students would first learn the *bandishes* (compositions) of the *khayal* style, work to develop technique, and finally learn methods for the elaboration of the *bandish* (Bhagwat 1992:20). The Shankar Gandharva Mahavidyalaya demanded strict discipline including punctuality,

*riyaz*, and mandatory participation in a weekly Thursday evening concert (Pandit 1996:80). During this concert students from all four years would perform on stage while Krishnarao Pandit would correct their mistakes (ibid.:81).

Pandit pioneered an independent notational system by 1912 that was utilized in the school along with textbooks on instrumental and vocal music. However, unlike Bhatkhande, Pandit “insisted that students of the Vidyalaya should not be allowed to learn the *bandishes* from the book...[but] were to make use of the notations only after they had learnt the *bandishes* with their *guru*” (Pandit 1996:82-3). In the course of study students were taught 30 *sargams* (solfege exercises) in the first year, and later a fast composition, compositions in the *tarana* and *bada khayal* genres, and the *alaps* and *taans* in thirty fundamental *ragas* (Bhagwhat 1992:20). An exam at the end of the first year included rendering “all the *sargams* in quick succession, breaking the order in which they had been taught” (ibid.). Novices were asked to memorize the *bandish* in *sargam* (oral notation) first, and then learn the words later; advanced students received training individually and directly from Pandit. Pandit, though he was focused primarily on teaching practical applications of the Gwalior *gharana*, did concede to the need for theoretical study as well. For this reason, Pandit incorporated the theories of Bhatkhande, such as *vadi-samvadi*, into the syllabus of the Vidyalaya (ibid.:31).

The Shankar Gandharva Mahavidyalaya is an interesting case because of the balance it strikes between the traditional *guru-shishya parampara* and the institutionalized approach to music education. The student-teacher relationship, especially for advanced students, is based on that of the traditional model. However, the institutionalization, standardized syllabus, use of notation and theory, and exams were

clear departures from the *guru-shishya* model.

### 3.6 Summary of the Early Twentieth Century

The first decades of the twentieth century were a time of radical change in the field of Indian music education. In response to colonial influence, music became a symbol of nationalist resistance. The attitude towards music at this time was extremely negative, but through the efforts of nationalists such as Bhatkhande and Paluskar music was reinvented in the Indian psyche as a point of national pride. In these efforts, music was linked to an Indian history of high culture and independence. However, in order to make music national, it was necessary to make it accessible to everyone. Reformers such as Bhatkhande and Paluskar “provided a large part of the knowledge-base and the institutional framework to create an alternative pedagogical environment” (Raja 2005:79). The institutionalization, standardization, notation, and publication of Indian music sources “partially liberated the art transmission process from the one-to-one, personalized, *guru-shishya* relationship...[and] they freed it partially from aural transmission” (ibid.). These reforms played a significant role in the development of pedagogy in Hindustani music in the second half of the twentieth century to the present.

## 4. Contemporary Trends in Hindustani Musical Education

### 4.1 Traditional Attitudes towards Musical Pedagogy

As demonstrated in the preceding chapters, pedagogy is a topic of cultural significance in the transmission of Hindustani music. The *guru-shishya parampara* and *gharana* traditions controlled and limited access to musical knowledge until the advent of institutionalized music education and published musical texts in the early twentieth century. Debates over the role and purpose of music education and the ideal pedagogical system continue in Hindustani music circles. These debates extend beyond the geographical confines of the Indian subcontinent into diasporic populations and to multi-cultural populations, usually in Europe or North America.

Many observers criticize (perceived) contemporary attitudes towards music among the student population. With the rise in institutional education and the opportunities to teach music in such a setting there is concern that the average student of music “wishes to have only so much of knowledge which may secure him a job” (Agarwala 1966:64). Without the “discipline, devotion, and dedication” exemplified by great musicians of the past, present-day students of music cannot achieve similar heights as performers of Hindustani music (Bose 1990:23). The legendary performer Bismillah Khan feels that “musicians want instant results and do not have any patience” and they even “lack the stamina and the patience to do real *riyaz*” (Poddar 2004:18). The result of these circumstances is that many institutional music departments are believed to be “staffed by undeserving and incompetent persons,” causing “a good deal of damage to the promotion of a higher quality of music” (Agarwala 1966:71). This criticism is often

defended on the basis that these institutions produce very few artists of repute (ibid.). However, these concerns deal primarily with the state of music as a performing art and are based on the assumption that music education is intended to produce reputable performers.

An alternate perspective of music education, especially mass education, is that it is intended to create an informed class of listeners. Institutionalized settings require competent teachers who are “well grounded musician[s] who know all the technical aspects of the art and [are] well up in both in practice and theory of music,” even if their “voice and presentation might not please an audience” (Keskar 1967:17). This creates a distinction between contemporary practice and the traditionally valued experience of studying with a master musician or reputable performer and *guru*. However, in the context of educating listeners, this is an appropriate distinction. Institutional education is “oriented toward teaching young men and women the rudiments of theory and practice so as to make them informed and sympathetic listeners, and in some cases teachers” (Neuman 1980:199). Introducing music education at an early stage of elementary education may produce better musicians, musicologists, and audiences. During a course of training in a musical institution students may be directed and trained to become effective musicologists, performers, or teachers and composers (Bose 1990:23).

The departure from traditional forms of musical transmission focused on producing active performing musicians resulted in a new realm in the world of Hindustani musical education and scholarship. While the debate over whether master performers will emerge from the music institutions in modern India will continue, it seems that institutionalized education is accepted for its role in training theorists,



musicologists, and listeners. The result is a second class of musical educators, in contrast to the traditional *gurus*, whom are valued for their expertise in music theory and history, and their ability to transmit this knowledge effectively. There are some who argue that “both systems lack something because they take a singular approach,” with the *guru-shishya parampara* producing only performers and the institutions producing only academics (Atre 2000:122).

Another alternative to the *guru-shishya parampara* is the tuitions system of musical education, in which a musician provides private lessons in exchange for a prescribed fee for each session (Neuman 1980:198). The distinction between these private tuitions and the traditional system is that a pupil under the tuitions system does not undergo the *ganda bandhan* to become an official disciple (ibid.:197). The reception of payment in exchange for musical instruction is also a departure from the *guru-shishya parampara* in which payment was not accepted except in the form of token offerings (*dakshina*).

## 4.2 The Use of Modern Aids in Music Education

A second issue in the contemporary state of music education concerns the most effective and appropriate teaching methods. Hindustani music was subject to the traditional oral-aural method of transmission from *guru* to *shishya* until the early music institutions influenced by British education models in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Practical and theoretical music publications by authors including Bhatkhande and Paluskar made music knowledge accessible to any literate segment of the population. As the twentieth century progressed radio and television broadcasts,

recordings, and multimedia provided access to archival musical performances and educational resources which had never before been available to aspiring musicians and students of music. Contemporary educators and students of music have attempted to synthesize the processes from this wide array of influences to create a modern pedagogy in accordance with Indian beliefs and principles of education.

To many conservative musicians and music observers the first affront to the process of learning Hindustani music in the traditional way was the introduction of notation. Notation was initially applied to Hindustani music to emulate Western “scientific” models of music, not because of an innate need for notation amongst Hindustani music educators or performers. The utility of notation is still debated among contemporary educators of Hindustani music. One limitation of notation as a pedagogical tool is that “a student of the present day feels confident that whenever he will forget any particular phrase of notes his notebook of notation is there to help him, [but] in this way the tempo of the practice or *riyaz* is slowed down” (Agarwala 1966:63). Instead of the musical phrases of a *raga* being learned and internalized through repetition and memorization, the over-reliance on notation results in a less familiar knowledge of the musical grammar.

However, there are supporters of notation in Hindustani music education. Notation is essential “for the formation of the syllabus,” and through its use “a sort of uniformity can be achieved in the teaching methods” (Agarwala 1966:63), which was never possible in the *guru-shishya parampara*. For contemporary students of music, including performers, theorists, and musicologists, a “standardization of basic materials to be taught both in performance and theory is necessary because certain skills and

concepts are fundamental for every student” (Atre 2000:131). Notation can be utilized to create “a standard exercise book containing note-exercises of different patterns...in simple [*ragas*]” (ibid.). Notation has already affected Hindustani music in that it has “helped in [the] standardization of compositions and thus the rendition of composition in every *gharana*’s personal manner is followed no more” (Singh 2004:127).

Publications on practical aspects of music and music theory are similarly prevalent in contemporary debates about the transmission of Hindustani music. A common perception is that Hindustani music can only be learned from direct instruction from a qualified teacher and performer due to the nuances of the embellishments and *srutis* (microtones). “From the books, one can only gather a rough outline,” such that the subtleties will never be attained unless the student is “properly guided by some competent master” (Agarwala 1966:62-3). Theory taught from these theoretical treatises (*shastras*), even in institutions, “is usually concerned with what is written in...ancient treatises on music” and “very little of this theory is relevant to actual contemporary practice” (Atre 2000:125). The utility of printed resources on Hindustani music is not dismissed, however, and there is a sentiment that “the teaching of music should not remain confined to oral words but should come out in beautifully printed books under the guidance of the top artists” (Agarwala 1966:83). This would address the concern that a lack of *shastras* would lead to a distortion and change of the Hindustani music tradition, much as (it is believed) happened during the period of Muslim rulers (Keskar 1967:38).

Recordings and radio broadcasts provide further opportunity for the dissemination of Hindustani music, again with debate about their utility in the perpetuation of the tradition. In an artistic system that was traditionally closely guarded and restricted to

family members and select disciples, recordings “can help the modern student to escape from no-admission situation[s], and provide him the necessary material for his *riyaz*” (Agarwala 1966:70). This is a drastic shift from the traditional model of pedagogy in which “one even had to take permission from the *guru* to listen to other artists” (Hiranand 2005:35). The attitude that “careful and planned listening of recordings of master musicians” would improve and broaden “the knowledge of the future generation of musicians, but should be done only after a few years of study and practice” (Bose 1990:25) reflects a remnant of this traditional belief in a compromise with modern technology.

Many others believe that a student of Indian music needs continuous exposure to the ambience of Indian music through extensive listening to recorded and live music (Menon 1973). In order to combat falling standards in music, educators must take advantage of recordings of master musicians by recognizing archival recordings as essential tools in music education and music appreciation (Mehta 2008: 121).

Listening to and practicing with a diverse collection of recordings from various artists has become one of the preferred methodologies in learning music (Bhat 2009: 406). One of the most significant effects recorded music has had on pedagogy “is the emergence of archival music as study material for aspiring musicians...filling – even if only partially – the large vacuum in the availability of competent gurus” (Raja 2005: 66). However, recordings cannot transmit “the ideation process or the principles of music-making that make that [archival] music possible” (ibid.), though they can provide a stylistically coherent model for aspiring musicians to imitate.

One final contribution of twentieth-century technology to the teaching of

Hindustani music is the use of tape recorders in lessons and in practice. Tape recorders should be used during practice so that the student “would learn to be more objective, critical, and self-appraising with reference to his playing or singing” (Atre 200:135). Recordings could also be shared with fellow students in order to obtain constructive criticism from one’s peers (ibid.). This could serve as a self-corrective device when the instructor is not available to personally monitor the student’s practice. Recording technology can also be used to provide *tabla* accompaniment in practice and to minimize the use of the instructor’s voice by entrusting the repetitive exercises and drills to the recorder (Mehta 2008:52).

An effect of the increased learning opportunities for students and the use of technological aids such as archival recordings and personal recorders may minimize the load of *gurus* in Hindustani music education. This abundance of available learning resources, however, has resulted in a concern about music transmission via the “virtual *guru*,” potentially removing the insight and expertise of the *guru* from the educational process with the possible result of the degradation of Hindustani music.

### **4.3 Limitations of Modern Pedagogies**

Modern teaching methodologies using standardized syllabi, textbooks, exercises, exams, and twentieth-century technology such as recording devices and archival recordings were motivated by the desire to develop a scientific approach to teaching and learning Hindustani music. These motivations are quite similar to those that drove early twentieth-century reformers such as Bhatkhande and Paluskar. However, there remain detractors from the modernization of music pedagogy who advocate for the necessity of

some sort of *guru-shishya parampara*.

The skepticism regarding the efficacy of modern methodologies relates to musical, social, and philosophical issues in the study of Hindustani music. Hindustani music as a tradition places value on many factors beyond the transmission of musical objects. Compositions are taught and preserved in relatively static form through generations, but the necessary grammar for interpreting a *raga* must be learned and mastered by each individual performer. Traditionally, music is a vehicle for devotion and discipline, values that are developed under the guidance of a *guru* in many disciplines other than music. The debate about methodology extends to what is transmitted from teacher to student. This transmitted material extends beyond musical objects to aesthetic judgments, artistic interpretations, and even onto socially sanctioned behavior. These unique needs of Hindustani music as a cultural practice result in the need for a qualitatively distinct approach to music education. The concern is that the qualitative features valued in the *guru-shishya parampara* are not transferrable to modernized approaches to instruction, regardless of if they are institutionalized, private, or self-directed studies.

The learning process in the *guru-shishya parampara* is a “method of discovery, where the student is told little or nothing at any one time and discovers through a process of protracted discipline the nature, and mystery of his art” (Menon 1973:2). Contrary to standardized methodologies and syllabi, the teaching system in Hindustani music “is intensely personal, bequeathing to the student only the conception of the *raga* and the skeleton of compositions together with the distinguishing style of the family and the tradition of the teacher” (ibid.:57). Teaching in Hindustani music is intended to develop

independent creativity in the student so that they may make appropriate, yet personalized, interpretations of the *raga*. However, “it is not the direct training itself but the open and genuine relationship between the *guru* and the *shishya* that characterizes and nurtures most of the creative thinking” (Bhat 2009:281). Education “cannot be limited to transmission of information, knowledge, and skills,” but must rather transmit insights that “are a product of creation, exploration, and purposeful ordering of perceptual imagery” (Ranade 2008:356). One of the distinguishing features of Hindustani music and its pedagogy is “that it gives the most elementary student a direct experience, however fleeting or slight, of true creativity...because a *raga* can become a *raga* only if it is self-created out of the rules and conditions prescribed for it” (Menon 1973:9). The efficacy of the *guru-shishya* system also owes to the fact that the *guru* was able to monitor and direct his students in sustained and focused *riyaz*.

In many ways, the system of transmission has influenced the musical object in the Hindustani music tradition. In the *guru-shishya* and *gharana* systems, “the teacher remembers and transmits to disciples the traditions which he has gathered,” utilizing *sutras* and mnemonic devices that contain “the directive principles of music practice, studies, aesthetics, appreciation, and education” (Singh 2004:90-1). In this training system the creative artist “build up his own individualized and idealized picture of the *gharana* style, constantly digesting orally-heard bits of excellences, and integrating the several elements of excellence into a whole...sub-conscious synthesis” (Mehta 2008:109). In these processes there is room for reinterpretation, even error. “Imperfect perception, imperfect retention, and imperfect reproduction” were the means by which “the traditional system became an effective instrument of continuity within change” (Raja

2005:67).

The need to develop creativity and insight in students is one of the primary concerns when debating methodology in teaching Hindustani music. The personal attention needed to guide students in these endeavors seems incompatible with the standardization, group teaching, and strict curricula associated with modern, “scientific” teaching methodologies. Further, the development of these skills requires strict discipline, dedication, and devotion on the part of the student. A concern with the alternate approaches to learning music is that depending on “cheap books written by immature and inexperienced persons, or...the guidance provided by the so-called professionals in music, will incontrovertibly deal a heavy blow to the cause of music” (Agarwala 1966:70). Limitations in teaching aids without proper guidance are that the musical information transmitted “become full-fledged musical insights only after the guru has added his explications” (Singh 2004:91).

Due to the availability of music degrees through institutions there is a fear that the quality of music instructors is insufficient. Suggestions to improve the quality of institutional education include calls for the judicious selection of accomplished performers as teachers (Bose 1990; Atre 2000) and the participation of celebrated artists in Hindustani music in the life of the school through positions such as artist-in-residences (Atre 2000:127). The standardized natures of institutional teaching and tuitions — where the student pays a fixed amount for a certain length lesson — have disadvantages in comparison to the *guru-shishya parampara*. Standardization, time limits, and lack of personal relationships place restrictions on what may be done in a lesson. In the words of Imrat Khan, “a *raga* does not give you a limitation...just as we can talk on each subject



for two hours, we can also sing our subject [the *raga*] for two hours at a time [but] unless somebody has this link with a master, then it is very difficult to do this” (Rahn 1992:135).

#### 4.4 Attitudes towards Modern Pedagogy

It is apparent that there are many conflicting attitudes towards the modern state of pedagogy in Hindustani music. The advent of musical institutions, tuitions, musical archives, and publications has broadened the availability of musical information to a wider range of prospective music students than ever before. However, there is concern that these new resources in music education will de-emphasize the role of the *guru* to the point where Hindustani music will lose its connection to tradition and subsequently lose its value. The primary causes of these concerns are that the criteria for becoming a teacher of music are not sufficiently high, and the modern educators are not competent enough performers to properly instruct aspiring musicians. Further, there are values associated with the *guru-shishya parampara* that are not present in institutional teaching or self-directed studies. The discipline and dedication as reflected through the traditional concept of *riyaz* are more difficult to monitor without the close involvement of a *guru*. The musical insights necessary for the proper interpretation of Hindustani music are also more difficult to impart without a personal relationship and intimate knowledge of the capacities, abilities, and learning processes of the individual students. These concerns lead many to advocate a return to the *gurukul* system in which instruction is individual, personalized, and carried out under the close supervision of a master performer.

The attitude described above is rooted in the traditional beliefs, philosophies, and values associated with the indigenous Indian education system, the *guru-shishya*

*parampara*. The following trends are either imported from Western ideals of education or from advancements in technology that first offered new possibilities in the twentieth century. Standardization of musical repertoire and teaching through the use of regular exams, graded exercises, and standardized teaching methods and textbooks were representative of an efficient and “scientific” approach to the study of music, drawn from Western models. Uniformity in educational processes and materials allowed for the advent of music institutions and group teaching. Increased availability of didactic publications and radio broadcasts about music allowed aspiring musicians to use these resources as secondary materials while studying with a teacher or even as primary sources of education. The availability of recordings enabled students to use the performances of great musicians of the past as models for their own *riyaz* in a self-directed music education. Tape recorders allowed students to practice with *tabla* accompaniment and to record their own practice sessions for critical review in lieu of guidance by a *guru*.

Although the debate is ongoing, it seems inevitable that a synthesis of traditional Indian education, Western influences, and modern technology will develop into a new educational model in Hindustani music. The concern that an altered pedagogy may change Hindustani music is prevalent, but many scholars acknowledge that Hindustani music has been slowly changing for hundreds of years. From the time of the Muslim rulers, with the advent of a purely oral-aural tradition and the loss of the Sanskrit *shastras*, Hindustani music has evolved. This is most apparent in the formation of *gharanas* with distinct interpretations of the same *ragas* and even the same compositions. This reflects the motile nature of music and oral traditions. If change is a concern, then

the adoption of certain practices from Western education and technological advances may actually better preserve the contemporary tradition of Hindustani music than the *guru-shishya parampara* could. Whatever develops, it seems likely that pedagogy in Hindustani music in India will continue to evolve and will continue to be a subject of debate.

The preceding chapters established a framework through which to consider traditional concepts and values in Hindustani music. From this point on, this thesis deals primarily with Hindustani music in cross-cultural contexts and addresses the similarities and differences between the ways non-traditional influences manifest themselves in the West (primarily North America) and in contemporary India.

#### **4.5 Hindustani Music in the West**

Indian music, and North Indian Hindustani music in particular, has received attention from Western scholars since the late nineteenth century. British scholars living in the Indian colonies wrote early accounts of Hindustani music. These accounts were often focused on classification and theorizing about the musical object. However, it is not apparent that there were many attempts by Westerners to learn Hindustani music. Two notable Western musicians to pursue the study of Hindustani music were Yehudi Menuhin in the 1950s and George Harrison in the 1960s. In the decades since, the opportunities for Western students to study Hindustani music in the West have greatly increased with the establishment of formal schools, the presence of music teachers for private lessons, and the availability of print and multimedia educational resources. The following discussion is intended to illustrate the compromises and negotiations that occur

when Hindustani music is a topic of study in the Western context. The remainder of the current chapter is drawn from published sources including scholarly texts and articles, and less formal, more personalized sources such as biographies, autobiographies, and interviews.

#### **4.6 Western Attitudes towards Hindustani Music**

Before considering the learning processes in Hindustani music in the West, it is worth examining the motivations of Western students in learning Indian music. The ideas and beliefs about the musical tradition surely influence the approaches to music learning that is practiced by Western students. The approaches to learning Hindustani music result in a situation of interpersonal and intercultural negotiations to arrive at an effective model of pedagogy appropriate both to the tradition of Hindustani music and the Western cultural context. These negotiations may be the result of conscious and/or unconscious beliefs and prejudices about the efficacy of certain learning methods.

Personal affinity for the sound of the music, intellectual curiosity, and even the appeal of an “exotic” non-Western music are certainly motivations for many of those whom study Hindustani music. The appeal for some is that Hindustani music allows the musician an opportunity to be “involved in all aspects of music making — from composing, to performing, to improvising” (Zuckerman 1996:2). Hindustani music may also be perceived as a music with “traditional roots, centuries of classical evolution, and yet... [it is] newly composed and improvised during each performance” (ibid.). It remains attractive to classical musicians for its freedom from a composed score and to many jazz musicians with an interest in its improvisatory nature and modal structure (Lavezzoli

2006:61).

Another view is that the pursuit of Hindustani music, especially in the 1960s, was seen as a way for young people to “find the way to peace, harmony, and love” in a “revolt against the Western ways of life” (Shankar 1968:89). A similar view is reflected in the belief that “what attracts westerners to Indian classical music is its deeper association with Indian spirituality” (Sutar 2011:1). In these ways Indian music is perceived as “a form of spiritual discipline, removed from the world of material concerns and social pressures...founded not in scientific rationalism but in ancient wisdom and religious devotion” (Sanyal and Widdess 2004:283).

A final example of Indian music in the West is in the current context of formal education as stipulated by standardized curricula, such as the National Curriculum for music in schools in England. In this particular example the language of legislation states that students must “recognize and talk about traditions such as Scottish fiddle music, Indian *raga*, or Indonesian gamelan” (Farrell 1994:7).

Regardless of motivation, attitudes and beliefs about Hindustani music and education become apparent in the learning process, necessitating the kinds of negotiation and compromise that are the focus of this thesis. These negotiations occur on both sides of the student/teacher divide.

#### **4.7 Hindustani Music Education in the West**

There are many distinguishing features separating Western modes of education from the traditional *guru-shishya parampara* of Hindustani music. These range from the generally formalized, institutional, and curricula based nature of education to attitudes

regarding relationships between teachers and students to the prevalence of notation and written sources in absorbing material.

In the traditionalist view of Hindustani music, “the Western student...seems to have an excessively casual attitude toward his teachers and toward the process of learning” (Shankar 1968:12). In this relationship the teacher and student “are encouraged by prevailing attitudes to act as friends and to consider each other on an equal level” (ibid.), a casualness which the Indian teacher may find disturbing. Typically, “students in Canada and the USA are very open and fearless about asking questions to the teacher [and] they question any area that they do not concur with the teacher” (Bhat 2009:401). These casual attitudes toward one’s teachers and education require a departure from the traditional system in which reverence to the *guru* is essential. This is one point in which a central tenet of the traditional methodology is compromised due to the cultural context. However, the teacher may find alternate ways in which to create the personal relationship that is so highly valued in the *guru-shishya parampara*.

The compromise and negotiations between traditional and Western methodologies are mutual. Perhaps the greatest sacrifice of Western students is the reduction of or complete abandonment of notation in the learning process. Students must “forget their musical dependency on musical scripts...[and] also have to tone down, to a great extent, their analytical approach to learning developed by their own educational system” (Bhat 2009:462). When Ali Akbar Khan taught classes at the Ali Akbar Khan College of Music in San Raphael the music was never presented in written form, but the students “become used to writing the music down as it is orally taught, and thus have a copy of a newly created composition for their weekly study and practice” (Ruckert 1998:3). In classes

taught by Hariprasad Chaurasia at the Rotterdam Conservatory, the transmission process is entirely aural but students make use of notation to aid recall in private practice (Schippers 2007:127). In these contexts, notation is not the primary teaching tool, if it is present at all. The lack of notation results in Western students relying on unfamiliar methods of teaching and practice to learn the music being taught.

In contrast to the analytical approach to education typically associated with the West, students of Hindustani music typically learn by observation, imitation, repetition, and memorization. At the Rotterdam Conservatory, Chaurasia “does not explain the structure of [the *raga*] to the students but gives them examples so they can work out the structure for themselves” (Schippers 2007:128). Ali Akbar Khan taught compositions by imitation and repetition. Khan would generate “a composition line by line, repeat[ing] it line by line, and finally ask[ing] for it to be repeated in its entirety,” potentially repeating a line “from ten to fifteen times, sometimes with slight changes of ornament or rhythm” (Ruckert 1998:6).

Many teachers of Hindustani music seek to impart some sense of Indian culture to their students. One approach is to use “probing and thought-provoking” questions to expose students to a “habit of putting themselves in the shoes of an East Indian...and then listening, understanding, and thinking about [Hindustani] music from the point of view of an East Indian” (Bhat 2009:381). Chaurasia attempts to “make [students] Indian” (Schippers 2007:132) through the transmission of musical skills and understanding of the properties of Hindustani music. Furthermore, the curricula for a degree in Indian music at the Rotterdam Conservatory includes the study of Hindi language and Indian cultural history as a background to the musical study (ibid.:125). Ravi Shankar attempts to

provide students “a thorough knowledge of the history and development of [Indian] music, along with the legends, mythology, religion, and cultural heritage of the past, and their links with the present” (Shankar 1968:89).

Table 1 provides characteristics of Hindustani pedagogy in three institutional settings in the West. Though the first two examples are from accredited university courses and the third is not, the shared traits serve to outline a model of the pedagogical approach of teachers of Hindustani music in the West. The courses used for this model are drawn from UCLA, Rotterdam Conservatory, and the Ali Akbar Khan College of Music, and were taught by Prabha Atre, Hariprasad Chaurasia, and Ali Akbar Khan, respectively (data for the following table was obtained from Atre 2000, Schippers 2007, Ruckert 1998, and Lavezzoli 2006).



**Table 1: Pedagogical Traits in Western Institutional Settings**

<b>UCLA North Indian Singing Class</b>	<b>Rotterdam Conservatory</b>	<b>Ali Akbar Khan College of Music</b>
15 students, college credit	5 students, college credit	Group classes, unaccredited
Sitting on floor	Sitting on floor	Sitting on floor, standing when teacher enters
Various technical exercises repeated after teacher	<i>Alap</i> ; imitation of teacher, repetition of certain phrases	Copy teacher, phrase by phrase
Two compositions in one <i>raga</i> ; <i>alap</i> , <i>sargam</i> , <i>sargam taan</i> (all pre-composed)	Perform previously learned composition with critique	Repeat prior week's lesson until it is satisfactory to the teacher
	Improvise with critique	Perform with critique
Memorize all musical materials	No use of notation by teacher, students notate aspects of lesson	Notation not used by teacher, but placed on board by selected students; use of tape recorders, notation
	Brief explanations of theoretical issues	Learn improvisation from models provided by compositions
End of semester performance	Regular exams in front of a committee	No examinations

All three examples in Table 1 are group classes taught by a single teacher. All students sit on the floor, as is the common practice in the performance of Hindustani music. This is also a cultural aspect that is foreign to most Western performers, and is even a basic skill that must be taught (Atre 2000:142). In each case, students learn the musical materials by imitating the teacher and repeating phrases or passages as seen necessary by the instructor. Notation is absent in the teaching and performing process, but it is noted that Rotterdam Conservatory and Ali Akbar Khan College of Music students notate or record the lesson to procure material for weekly practice. Also present in these contexts is the practice of performing a composition or improvisation with critique and corrections from the instructor. The UCLA course consisted of pre-composing all materials including improvisatory segments such as *alap* and *taan*, though this is probably a result of the time restrictions of a one-semester course. Ali Akbar Khan College of Music students learn improvisational grammar by learning several compositions in one *raga* as models. The Rotterdam Conservatory students learn improvisation through imitation of the teacher and explanations of theoretical concepts. The accredited institutions, UCLA and Rotterdam Conservatory, have course requirements such as an end of semester performance or regular exams to evaluate the progress of students that are absent in the Ali Akbar Khan College of Music.

#### **4.8 The Pedagogical Model: Western or Indian?**

The preceding discussion addresses the process of teaching Hindustani music in Western contexts as a series of negotiations and compromises by both teachers and

students. Primary consideration is given to education in institutional settings. These serve as a “meeting ground between Indian classical tradition on the one hand and, essentially, nineteenth-century European ideas on education and training on the other” (Schippers 2007:123). The *guru-shishya parampara* is a “one-to-one interaction between teacher and pupil over a period of years and is not a teaching methodology that can readily be adapted to Western music education” (Farrell 1993:166). There is concern that the teaching methodology of Indian music is inappropriate to its new, Western context (ibid.:167). Due to the differences between Indian and Western approaches to education, “learning Hindustani...music becomes a difficult task from both teachers’ and students’ points of view” (Bhat 2009:462).

Teachers of Hindustani music in the West must adapt to the more casual relationship assumed by Western students. This manifests itself in informal interactions and behaviors inappropriate to the original context of the *guru-shishya parampara*, which requires a strict, paternalistic, disciplinarian *guru* and a submissive and reverent disciple. This is in stark contrast to the relative equality between teacher and student in the West. A related concern is the Western skepticism and tendency to ask questions and even challenge one’s teachers in order to clarify and exercise one’s knowledge and understanding of the subject. This undermines the traditional role of the *guru* as the ultimate authority on music. Finally, the challenge of teaching groups of students or following set curricula were not common practice in Hindustani pedagogy until the early twentieth century at the earliest.

Students must also compromise comfort and familiarity in the educational process. The first major alteration to the classroom procedure is sitting on the floor cross-

legged for extended periods of time. This act may also convey glimpses of cultural values, such as the avoidance of pointing one's feet towards the instructor. A second adjustment the Western student must make is the reliance on oral/aural transmission and memorization. The lack of written texts or notation is contrary to most Western models of education, which rely upon printed media to convey information. This becomes an even greater issue because of the reliance on a written script to provide material for study and practice outside of the classroom setting. Beyond the lack of written materials, the student is challenged with a mimetic approach to learning. Instead of learning complex musical grammar through explanation and description, the Indian model relies upon internalizing concepts through imitation and repetition. The teaching methodology consists primarily, if not exclusively, of the students imitating the teacher's singing or playing. Subtleties and theoretical proscriptions may or may not be explained, depending upon the teacher. Corrections or questions might not even be answered beyond a performed example of proper or improper rendering of a phrase or characteristic movement of the *raga*.

Despite debate over the efficacy of traditional Indian teaching methodologies — which occur not only in reference to the Western context, but have concerned Indian musicians since the time of Bhatkhande and Paluskar — many of the fundamental principles of the *guru-shishya parampara* have been adapted and recontextualized in the West. As discussed above, there is a tendency to try to teach Western students to “be Indian.” There is also a tendency among Western students to be very conservative in their approach to Hindustani music, valuing authenticity and the “pure tradition” of Hindustani music (Schipper 2007:131). Concurrently, there is a tendency of teachers to attempt to

emulate the traditional Indian context. The teaching strategies common to the institutions discussed above are only “marginally different from the [traditional methodology] on which [they are] modeled, which is quite striking in an environment where the norm is instruction that is notation-based, analytical and tangible” (ibid.:134).

As a site of cultural negotiation and compromise, Hindustani pedagogy in the West represents a synthesis of two seemingly disparate educational approaches, philosophies, and belief systems. Music education may serve as a microcosm for other cross-cultural interactions and institutions. “Music as a phenomenon proves an ideal vehicle to define, refine, and project independent identities of component cultures” (Ranade 2008:356), while providing a venue for dialogue and mutual exchange of ideas and values.

## 5. Representing Indian Pedagogy

### 5.1 Introduction

The subject of Hindustani pedagogy is an ideal vehicle for the discussion of Indian music culture in general. Through reviewing the literature regarding the *guru-shishya parampara*, the twentieth-century institutions and technological advances in India, and the result of Hindustani pedagogy applied in the Western context it is apparent that far more is being transmitted than musical material. The process of transmission in Hindustani music is imbued with cultural values, practices, and beliefs. It is impossible to consider the transmission of music as the sole factor in Indian music education. In virtually all formats of pedagogy, Indian cultural values are transmitted in the form of interpersonal relationships, extra-musical associations such as *rasa* (emotional affect) or devotional meaning, and connections to the historical and traditional roots of the music.

This chapter focuses on the ways in which Hindustani pedagogy is represented and imagined by musicians, scholars, and general audiences and consumers of music. The aim is to create a model of the cultural values of learning Indian music by identifying the features of pedagogy that are most commonly addressed in the literature and personal accounts. This model is based on analysis of sources such as self-instructional resources, recordings and notes from private lessons, interviews, scholarly publications from a variety of fields (including psychological and cognitive perspectives), biographies of renowned musicians, and accounts of the experience of learning music, both fictional and non-fictional.

## 5.2 Pedagogical Devices in Hindustani Music

There are many aspects of any musical tradition that must be transmitted to train future generations of performers. These include the development of technical proficiency, theory, repertoire, memory, and extra-musical features associated with the music. The pedagogical devices described below function to transmit these basic components necessary for musical performance. Interestingly, each specific device seems to emphasize one of the above-mentioned aspects over the others. The devices roughly correlate to musical components as follows: 1) technical development through scalar exercises; 2) repertoire and theory through compositions; 3) repertoire and theory through oral notations; 4) theory and extra-musical features through metaphorical devices; and 5) technique, theory, repertoire, and memory through imitation.

### 5.2.1 *Scalar Exercises*

There are many varieties of practical exercises used in the teaching and learning of Hindustani music. While many of these take place within the note collection of a *raga*, they do not necessarily convey the grammar or rules of a particular *raga*. These standard exercises function to develop technical proficiency in the singer or instrumentalist. These also serve as a means to practice and develop the many varieties of ornamentation found in Hindustani music. Some of the most common exercises are described below and illustrated using *sargam* notation. *Sargam* is much like the Western solfege system: an ascending seven note scale is represented by the syllables Sa Re Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa` and a descending scale is represented as Sa` Ni Dha Pa Ma Ga Re Sa.

*Alankars* are scale exercises decorated through *gamaks* (embellishments) such as

*meends* (a glissando between notes) or other ornamentations, like vibrato, affecting the intonation of the *swara* (note) being targeted. *Alankar* is also used to refer to patterns resulting from permutations of melodic material. These patterns may be practiced focusing either on the note sequences or the application of *gamaks*.

*Paltas* are scale exercises or sequences arranging the *swara* in ascending or descending order. A common *palta* would be SaGaReGa ReMaGaMa GaPaMaPa MaDhaPaDha etc. This four-note pattern continues up and down the scale.

*Murcchana* is a sequential arrangement of the seven notes in ascending or descending order that begins each iteration with the following note of the scale. A *murcchana* follows the pattern SaReGaMaPaDhaNiSa` ReGaMaPaDhaNiSa`Re` GaMaPhDhaNiSa`Re`Ga` extending upward in ascent or downward in descent (Ranade 1990).

*Swara prastara*, a concept described by Sarangadeva, is another permutation device applied to the notes of a scale. This is a systematic approach in which one begins with the combination of the first two notes. These permutations then expand by adding the third note of the scale, then the fourth (and continuing on) to include all notes of the scale (Gottlieb 1991:24). This principle results in patterns such as SaRe, SaReGa, SaGaRe, SaReGaMa, SaGaReMa, SaGaMaRe, SaMaReGa, SaMaGaRe, and so on.

Exercises such as *alankar*, *palta*, *murcchana*, and *swara prastara* are performed within the notes of a *raga*, or sometimes of the *thaat* (affiliated parent scale), without regard for the typical rules governing melodic movement of a *raga*. In these exercises, technical aspects of performance, such as the use of *gamaks* and the development of fast and clean runs, are developed independently of the *raga* theory. Rhythmically they may



be grouped by any number sets of notes or may be fit into a *tala* cycle.

### 5.2.2 Oral Notations: Sargam and Bol

One feature of Hindustani music that is receiving scholarly attention is the use of oral/aural notations such as *sargam* or *bols* as pedagogical devices. *Sargam* is an abbreviation of the Indian note names. Each syllable identifies the particular pitch relative to the tonic note or Sa. *Sargam* syllables are used as a notation to “simultaneously produce and identify a note,” and are “essential in learning, memorizing, practicing, perceiving, composing, analyzing, and interpreting music” (Atre 2000:76-7). Fluency in *sargam* is expected of instrumentalists and vocalists because “*sargam* is the medium of instruction, the form in which information is transmitted” (Baily 1988:116). The *tabla bols*, onomatopoeic representations of drum sounds, serve a similar function for percussionists. They are utilized as “a memory aid for particular strokes and stroke patterns...and as a notation, both aural and written” (Farrell 1997:14).

Both *sargam* and *bols* are noteworthy as aural (and potentially written) notation systems. However, they are also significant as indicators of cognitive function in the acquisition of musical knowledge and technique. In the pitch-centered *sargam* notation “the constant pairing of pitch with note names establishes a type of cognitive representation in which the relative pitch of a note can be immediately established from its name (or vice versa), and the names of the sequence of pitches can be identified by name in a melodic phrase” (Baily 1988:116). Similarly, the *tabla bols* as used in teaching integrate “many complex cognitive functions, bringing together body movements, speech, and rhythmic thinking” (Farrell 1997:14). Baily argues that “the use of oral

notation would seem to develop very specific musical skills which involve the capacity to translate between verbal, aural and motor representations of the structure of compositions” (1988:118). Of further interest is the conclusion that “compositions may be stored in verbal, rather than in aural or motor, memory” (ibid.:122). This would suggest a reliance on a notation, albeit an aural notation, as a primary factor in the transmission of Hindustani music. This contrasts with the commonly argued process of musical enculturation and absorption through listening and repetition often espoused by those attached to the *guru-shishya parampara*.

### 5.2.3 *Compositions: Bandish, Cheej, and Gat*

The devices discussed above — scalar exercises and oral notations — relate to the development of technical proficiency and the transmission and retention of musical information, respectively. Learning compositions is one of the primary ways in which the theory of Hindustani music is transmitted. In a properly composed piece of music the grammar and rules of the *raga* are apparent, demonstrating the strong and weak notes, characteristic movements, and general outline of the melodic movement and hierarchy of the *raga*. *Bandish*, *cheej*, and *gat* are all genres of composition. Of these, *bandish* is held in the highest esteem as a purely musical object independent of poetry or lyrics. *Cheej* and *gat* refer to vocal compositions and instrumental compositions, respectively (Ranade 1990). In the following discussion of composition as a pedagogical device the term *bandish* will be used throughout.

Even for a performing artist “*bandish*’s main function is to constantly provide an artist with a schematic plan of a *raga*” (Atre 2008:157) and to serve as a reference point

for improvisations. The *bandish* “outlines the particular combination of notes which makes up the [*raga*]; indicates their relative importance in the [*raga*] theme; shows which notes will be highlighted and which not, which notes will be produced directly, straightforwardly and which only tangentially or obliquely; indicates the notes on which the singer will dwell longer and others on which he will pause only briefly; and so on” (Deshpande 1973:29). The *bandish* conveys a tremendous amount of information to the listener, whether they are an audience member or student of music. The *bandish* provides a map and outline of the rules of the *raga* through the demonstration of melodic material and abstractions such as note hierarchy, ornamentation, and intonation. Because there is no standardized theory governing all *ragas*, individual *ragas* must be learned through *bandishes* (Ruckert 1998:256).

*Bandish* fulfills the role of a theoretical treatise in the (relative) absence of theoretical doctrine in Hindustani music, especially within the context of the traditional *guru-shishya parampara*. *Bandishes* serve to preserve the *ragas* in a compositional model and aid in the education of aspiring musicians. As the primary source for Hindustani music theory, and even the model from which Bhatkhande derived his modern music theory, the *bandishes* “deserve to be treated as [*shastras*]” (Mehta 2008:153).

Compositions may be embedded with cultural value in addition to musical value.

*Bandishes* “serve as repositories of esoteric knowledge, spiritual, musical and historical” (Sanyal and Widdess 2004:210), with musical information being conveyed either non-verbally or verbally, and spiritual and historical knowledge conveyed through the lyrical content.

*Bandish* as a device is the primary source for musical information about the

*ragas*. For this, *bandish* is an essential component of the preservation, perpetuation, and evolution of the Hindustani musical tradition. *Bandishes* lyrically convey highly valued historical and spiritual knowledge. Compositions vary between *gharanas* serving to identify a performer by one's lineage and to distinguish their tradition from other *gharanas*. As a pedagogical device, *bandish* is the authoritative musical source, but it is deeply embedded with cultural meaning as well. Traditionally, certain compositions were protected by the *gurus* and taught only to close family members.

#### **5.2.4 Comparisons: Metaphor and Raga Tulna**

While Hindustani music pedagogy is primarily based on musical demonstration, there are common practices of description, particularly in the explication of theoretical matters such as melodic movements and intonation. Common practices include the use of metaphor or simile to compare music to other phenomena, often natural or artistic, or direct comparison between similar or contrasting *ragas*.

The first way in which one can verbally describe a *raga* is through the ancient Indian concept of *rasa* (emotional response), which first appeared in the *Natyashastra* from the early centuries CE. *Rasa* is associated with many of the arts in Indian culture including drama, dance, music, and poetry. There are eight distinct *rasas* that are instilled in the audience through performance. These are commonly translated as love, heroism, mirth, compassion, disgust, anger, terror, and wonder. A ninth *rasa*, peace, was added much later by the philosopher Abhinavagupta around 1000 CE. The *rasas* may be used in describing the aesthetic effects of different *ragas*. A *raga* described as heroic may take place at a faster tempo than a *raga* associated with the compassionate *rasa* (Sanyal and

Widdess 2004:126-7).

There is a tradition of describing or even presenting *ragas* in pictorial or visual forms. The most prominent example of this is the genre of *ragamala* paintings dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In these paintings the various *ragas* are depicted in visual form as personifications of the *raga*. These include scenes of deities, dancing devotees, *maharajas*, ascetics, lovers, and many other themes. These are also often depicted in poetry (Bor 1999). While poetic and visual representations of *ragas* rarely invoke musical aspects, “painting, music, and poetry share a common thread through their references to standardized emotions (*rasa*)” (Greig 1999:317).

In music, intonation is described in metaphorical or pictorial terms. Examples from Rahimuddin Dagar include the descriptions of *swaras* as “aflame, radiant, blazing,” or as representing events such the sun rising or the pouring of libations (Sanyal and Widdess 2004:126). According to some this conceptualization of music “leads to spiritual elevation” (ibid.).

Metaphorical descriptions of a *swara* assist in conveying the treatment of particular notes or phrases. While teaching the rainy season *raga Sur Malhar* my teacher compared a certain note characterized by an extended sustain and unsteady intonation as “heavy rain clouds,” creating (in my mind) an association of this particular *swara* with an approaching storm. At the Rotterdam Conservatory, Hariprasad Chaurasia utilizes metaphor in explanations, an approach that “makes the student understand essential aspects of the music that defy rational description” (Schippers 2007:130).

Other comparisons outside of the constraints of *rasa* or the *ragamala* tradition are the association of *talas* with the movements of the “horse, donkey, elephant, deer and

camel among the animals and peacock and dove [among] birds” (Avtar 2002:25).

Similarly, *ragas* are described through personification, such as reference to *raga Malkauns* as “a majestic and somewhat introverted pentatonic *raga*” (Bor 1999:108). There is limited information on the use of metaphor in describing musical elements in Hindustani music. It seems that the descriptions are unique to the teacher and not passed along through the tradition, but this merits more formalized research and fieldwork.

A second method of description common in Hindustani pedagogy is the use of *raga tulna*, meaning *raga* comparison. Through this device “a new *raga* is described and taught in terms of its differences from a known related *raga*” (Powers 1976:317). I experienced this device while studying the *raga Todi*. My teacher demonstrated the similarities in the grammar between *Todi* and the related *raga Gujari Todi* by pointing out the different treatments of Pa. In *Todi* Pa requires specific approaches rendering it as a distinguishing note, while Pa is completely absent in *Gujari Todi*. Direct comparisons between *ragas* also differentiate them and illustrate movements to be avoided so as to not confuse the identity of the *raga* being performed. While teaching the *raga Bhimpalasi* my teacher warned, “if you emphasize Pa too much it becomes [*raga*] *Dhanashri*” (TD). These types of comparisons are also common in reference sources for Hindustani music. For example, Bor describes *ragas Bhupali* and *Deshkar* as sharing the same ascent-descent, but “in *Deshkar* Pa and Dha are much more prominent, and Re is weaker and never sustained” (1999:44). Comparisons between *ragas* verbally convey theoretical rules while relying on musical understandings. These illustrate similarities and differences between *ragas* while maintaining the distinction between the respective *ragas*.

In summary: while Hindustani music is primarily taught through imitation and non-verbal transmission, descriptions do occur, frequently in the form of metaphors or comparisons. The metaphorical descriptions of *raga* features relying on *rasa* or pictorial representations are among the most verbalized pedagogical devices in Hindustani music. By contrast, *raga tulna*, or direct *raga* comparisons, are often a brief verbal explanation followed by musical demonstration of the similarities or differences.

### ***5.2.5 Imitation and Memorization***

Of all of the pedagogical techniques, imitation is the fundamental basis of learning Hindustani music. Hindustani music is realized by practice and performance; therefore, it is “learned almost entirely by imitation and very little through instruction alone” (Menon 1973:46). Through “slavish imitation of the teacher in the early stages of training” the student develops musical understanding, but “differences of voice and temperaments of the students begin to show through” (ibid.:50-1) with time, leading to a unique musical interpretation. There are many aspects of musical expression, but only some of these are capable of exact imitation. The voice, for example, “is controlled by inheritance and nature, by the physical apparatus of the voice of the pupil” (Mehta 2008:107) and can only be cultured and developed under its own limitations. Through imperfect imitations such as the voice or personal mannerisms musicians develop their own style and presentations.

Imitation is one of the steps towards internalization of the grammar and rules of *ragas* in Hindustani music. Imitation requires focused and careful listening which help in assimilating the *raga* (Bhat 2009:144). Successful imitation and assimilation are the

prerequisites for innovation in which students begin to proceed beyond that which is shown by the teacher. Informants relate experiences in which the teacher will sing an extended phrase too complex for the student to sing back. The teacher will then tell the student “I sing out of your comfort zone so that [you] need to make up something and can internalize it” (Interview PE 2012). The teacher ensures that the student will be unable to exactly imitate the phrase, resulting in the opportunity to evaluate the student’s level of assimilation and understanding of the grammar and rules of the *raga*. Imitation is a device to internalize the intricacies of the *raga*. By expanding the length and complexity of a phrase the teacher forces the student beyond imitation into an assessable independent musical creation.

Memorization is a second device in the internalization of Hindustani music. In the context of *bandishes* memorization serves to bolster both repertoire and theoretical understanding through the recognition of *bandish* as a framework for the *raga*. Memorization of certain musical passages such as *taans* (variations) serve as readily available variations which may be inserted into a *bandish* to aid improvisation. Characteristic phrases, or *pakads*, may be learned through the memorization of a pre-composed *alap* (meterless exploration of note relationships). The converse is also true, in that memorized *pakads* may serve in the spontaneous development of *alap* (Menon 1973:51; Bhat 2009:145). Oral notations such as *sargam* and *bols* facilitate in the memorization of musical material. *Bandish* and *sur mantras* (mnemonic verses) further aid in the memorization and assimilation of musical materials. An example of a *sur mantra* would be using words such as *sadhu* (a Hindu ascetic) or *Rama* (a Hindu deity) to represent the phrases SaDha or ReMa, respectively (Bhattacharya 1979:133).



Upon reviewing the information presented above it becomes clear that strict imitation and rote memorization are successful pedagogical devices that do allow for the development of independent creativity. The ability of the teacher to construct phrases beyond the capacity of the student to imitate allows the teacher to assess the student's understanding of the *raga*. Memorized phrases, *bandishes*, and *sur mantras* provide the student with readily available musical material that may be deployed spontaneously in improvisation. Imitation and memorization enable the student to internalize and assimilate the musical materials essential to properly render independent interpretations of the *raga* studied.

### **5.3 Uses of Pedagogical Devices in Self-Instruction Materials**

The pedagogical devices mentioned above transmit the technique, knowledge, repertoire, and extra-musical features of Hindustani music. These provide a model for teaching method in Hindustani music in private and group instruction. The following discussion examines the use of the pedagogical devices of scalar exercises, compositions, oral notations, comparison and metaphor, and imitation and memorization in self-instruction sources. The presence or absence of particular devices in self-directed study may indicate beliefs about the efficacy and transferability of certain devices and methodologies. Table 2 provides an overview of the contents of ten Hindustani music self-instruction resources. These sources were published between 1967 and 1998, a sample that includes both Indian and Western authors and books that were published in India, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Nine of the ten sources approach the melodic aspects of Hindustani music (*raga*) while the tenth (Avtar 1989/2002) deals

solely with rhythm (*tala*). The five pedagogical devices discussed above are further divided into specific subtopics, where appropriate.

**Table 2: Pedagogical Devices in Self-Instruction Materials**

	Scalar Exercises	Notation	Composition	Memorization	Comparison
Alford 1989	<i>Palta</i>	<i>Sargam</i>	Slow, Medium, Fast <i>Gats</i> for each <i>raga</i>	Yes (Improvisation method)	No
Avtar 1998, 2002	NA	<i>Bol</i>	NA	Yes	NA
Keesee 1968	<i>Palta</i> , <i>Murcchana</i>	<i>Sargam</i>	One composition for each <i>raga</i>	No	No
Rao 1967	<i>Murcchana</i> , <i>Palta</i> , <i>Alankar</i>	Western staff notation, <i>sargam</i>	One composition total	No	No
Sharma 1993	No	<i>Sargam</i>	Slow, Fast <i>gat</i> for each <i>raga</i>	No	No
Chaudhuri 1981	No	<i>Sargam</i>	Slow, Fast <i>gat</i> for each <i>raga</i>	No	No
Shankar 1968	<i>Alankar</i> , <i>Murcchana</i> , <i>Palta</i>	<i>Sargam</i>	<i>Sargams</i> for each <i>raga</i>	No	No

	Scalar Exercises	Notation	Composition	Memorization	Comparison
Bhattacharya 1979	<i>Murcchana</i> , <i>Palta</i> ,	<i>Alankars</i>	<i>Sargam</i>	<i>Sargam</i> and compositions, many in each <i>raga</i>	No
Ruckert 1998	<i>Murcchana</i> , <i>Alankars</i> , <i>Paltas</i>	<i>Sargam</i>	<i>Sargam</i> , <i>dhrupad</i> , <i>dhamar</i> , <i>tarana</i> genres for many <i>ragas</i>	No	Yes
Shankar and Barnett 1979	<i>Alankar</i> , <i>Palta</i> , <i>Murcchana</i>	<i>Sargam</i>	Many song types depending on <i>raga</i> , including <i>bhajans</i> , <i>sargam</i> , <i>bandish</i> , <i>khayal</i> , <i>tarana</i> , <i>thumri</i>	No	No

The data presented in Table 2 illustrates a variety of approaches to writing a didactic text about Hindustani music. Though Hindustani music is primarily (and often exclusively) an oral tradition, there are still attempts to develop method books for self-directed study or as educational supplements. The variety of attempts to transmit this information in written form serves as vehicles through which to determine the musical values of Hindustani music education. The presence of the five pedagogical devices — scalar exercises, oral notation, composition, memorization/imitation (imitation is removed from the chart due to its nature), and comparison/metaphor — is considered in the overview of the pedagogical sources reviewed. The decisions to include or exclude particular approaches are compromises the author has made in attempting to transmit

Hindustani music in the non-traditional, written form.

Table 3 is an overview of the musical and extra-musical aspects of *raga* included in transmitting the musical material of Hindustani music. *Thaat*, *vadi/samvadi*, ascent/descent, and *pakad* are all issues relating to the musical rules and limitations of the *raga*. *Thaat* is a classificatory system standardized by Bhatkhande that is often used to map relationships between different *ragas*. *Vadi* and *samvadi* are the most prominent and second most prominent notes of any *raga*, respectively. Ascent and descent patterns include the notes of the scale as well as any peculiarities in movement inherent in the *raga*. *Pakad* refers to characteristic or defining phrases within a *raga*. The extra-musical features of time association and *rasa* are also included. Many of these features are either verbally explained or intuited from demonstration, imitation, and repetition in live lessons. The use of printed sources requires alternate approaches to transmitting the musical and extra-musical aspects of Hindustani music and the particular *ragas*. Table 3 provides an overview of the typical treatments of this musical and extra-musical information.

**Table 3: Musical and Extra-Musical Aspects of *Raga* in Sources**

	<i>Thaat</i>	<i>Vadi/Samvadi</i>	Ascent/Descent	<i>Pakad</i>	Time Theory
Alford 1989	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Avtar 1998, 2002	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Keesee 1968	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Rao 1967	No	No	No	No	No
Sharma 1993	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Chaudhuri 1981	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Shankar 1968	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Bhattacharya 1979	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Ruckert 1998	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Shankar and Barnett 1979	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Of the five pedagogical devices identified, only a limited number regularly appear in written pedagogical resources. The most commonly found devices are the use of the *sargam* and *bol* notation systems, scalar exercises, and compositions as primary transmitters of musical material. The joint devices of imitation and memorization are underrepresented in self-instruction literature. Imitation is obviously impossible from a written source, and of the ten resources reviewed, only Shankar and Barnett 1979 includes audio accompaniment. However, functional cassettes were unavailable for the analysis of this source. Analysis was based solely on the written book accompanying the three-cassette set. Prescribed memorization is only recommended in two sources. Interestingly, comparison and metaphor, the primary descriptive methods in Hindustani

pedagogy, are absent from all but one source each.

Of the ten sources cited in Tables 2 and 3, all use *sargam* or *bol* notations. As discussed previously, *sargam* and *bol* are both important devices due to the aural and, in the case of *bols*, onomatopoeic nature of the notations. The association of particular syllables with specific sounds (either relative pitches or *tabla* strokes) enables the student to memorize and encode musical information verbally as well as aurally. Despite the fact that half of the resources were published in the West (four in the US, one in the UK), only one source utilizes Western staff notation.

Various types of scalar exercises are utilized in seven of the nine sources addressing *raga*. Many of the standard exercises discussed above (*alankar*, *paltas*, and *murcchana*) are present in self-instruction resources. Sequential *paltas* and *murcchanas* are slightly more common than the ornament-oriented *alankars*. Many of the sources include instrument specific techniques such as stroke patterns for the strumming hand and use of the *mizrab* (plectrum).

The use of compositions as pedagogical devices varies depending on the author. Compositions are traditionally taught as devices to provide an outline for the *raga* being studied. In this context a great number of compositions were taught in a variety of *talas* (beat cycles) and in numerous genres of song form. Compositions as devices may be taught as didactic *sargams* (melodies without lyrics) at slow, medium, or fast tempo and in a variety of genres such as *dhrupad*, *khayal*, *tarana*, *bhajan*, *thumri*, and many others. Five of the above sources provide at least two compositions for each *raga* presented. The remaining three sources demonstrate each *raga* through one or fewer compositions.

As mentioned above, imitation/memorization and comparison/metaphor are

absent from the majority of sources. Alford recommends memorization in an effort to illustrate a method for improvisation (1989). Prescriptive uses of memorization are lacking in the other sources. Comparison between *ragas* (*raga tulna*) is absent from all but one source in which it is utilized to describe key differences between similar *ragas* (Ruckert 1998). Metaphor is not applied to any discussions of *raga*, appearing only in the second volume of Avtar's introduction to the *tabla* (2002).

In general, it seems that authors of self-instruction manuals favor the pedagogical devices that directly transmit musical material, such as verbal notation, scalar exercises, and compositions. However, the essential methodologies of imitation and memorization, used to internalize Hindustani music, are absent. This is understandable, due to the nature of the written page and the relative unavailability of multimedia options at the times of publication of many of these sources. However, comparison and metaphor, the verbal methods of describing aesthetic matters and subtleties of *raga*, are also neglected. In this way it appears that many of the cultural and aesthetic values of Hindustani music are eschewed in favor of musical objects in self-instruction resources.

Table 3 provides a more in-depth overview of the musical and extra-musical information conveyed in the sources reviewed in Table 2. In most cases music theoretical information, such as characteristic movements and limitations of the *raga*, are listed along with the *raga* being discussed. Much of the theoretical terminology, and even practice, was developed and standardized by Bhatkhande in the early twentieth century. Specific features identified by Bhatkhande are the use of *thaat* and *vadi/samvadi* in the description of *ragas*. However, these concepts appear in only five and four of the resources, respectively. *Pakad*, or identifying catch phrases, are only provided in five of

the sources. In most sources (eight of nine) the ascent and descent pattern are provided, and in two sources the ascent and descent patterns are the only musical information given. Improvisation, a fundamental component of Hindustani musical performance, is addressed in only three of the sources. In two of the sources methods and examples for the development of the exclusively improvised *alap*, *jor*, and *jhala* are provided. Approaches to *vistar* (expansion of the composition) and *taans* (variations) are discussed in all three sources addressing improvisation. Time associations, or the time theory prescribing appropriate times for performance of specific *ragas*, are given in eight of the nine sources. Conversely, the *rasa* or emotional associations of *raga* are only discussed in three sources.

The information presented in Tables 2 and 3 indicates some of the preferences of contemporary authors in approaching written pedagogical materials for Hindustani music. There is an emphasis on musical objects such as scalar exercises and compositions. These are presented almost exclusively in the Indian *sargam* notation. Most of the authors of the materials surveyed include at least two compositions that contrast in terms of speed, *tala*, or genre. When improvisation is addressed, the authors provide a description in prose detailing a method for developing a specific type of improvisation (*alap*, *jor*, *jhala*, *vistar*, or *taan*) as well as notated musical examples. There is little attempt to promote memorization of musical materials except for Alford's approach to improvisation (1989) or Avtar's presentation of *tabla thekas* (*bol* patterns; 1998/2002).

Many of the cultural aspects of Hindustani pedagogy are absent from the written sources. Most striking is the lack of comparison and metaphor, which serve to differentiate *ragas* and to create aesthetic images of the object being construed,



respectively. *Rasa* is similarly neglected in the vast majority of sources. However, the time associations dictating proper performance contexts are conveyed regularly.

These trends illustrate a common model for the written approach to Hindustani pedagogy. As didactic sources these publications are representative of many the practices and values associated with contemporary Hindustani pedagogy. There are great similarities between many of the sources reviewed despite the broad range of publication dates and locations. This review was conducted to determine the essential aspects of pedagogy that are retained in the written format in which the author does not determine the audience for one's publication. However, it does not appear that these common aspects of didactic sources correlate to trends in cross-cultural pedagogy.

#### **5.4 Cultural Materials: The Experience**

While the above section detailed contemporary publications concerned with transmitting musical material, the present discussion is focused on the representation of the experience of studying in published materials. This discussion is based primarily on two publications devoted to creating an image of the experience of studying in the traditional *guru-shishya parampara*: Ramlal Mathur's *Ustad Ali Akbar Khan: My Guru; My Training* (2004) and Raghava Menon's *Discovering Indian Music* (1973).

Mathur's account serves as a partial memoir of his time studying with Ali Akbar Khan as well as an informal biography of those same years of Ali Akbar Khan's life. Menon's writing is more of a fictional approach to the subject of pursuing studies in Hindustani music. However, there are striking similarities between the central themes in both publications. These common themes indicate culturally valued beliefs about

particular experiences in the pursuit of Hindustani music.

The first significant commonality is the description of the relationship between the *guru* and the disciple. Mathur relates his experience of meeting Ali Akbar Khan as a humbling experience characterized by trepidation and anxiety, and future lessons requiring complete mastery of previous material to summon enough “courage” to present himself before his *guru* (2004:28). Mathur even writes that “it was entirely due to the foresightedness and generosity of the *ustad*” (ibid.:45) that he made a mark in the music world. This is similar to Menon’s claim that upon finding one’s teacher, “the relationship quickly takes on a quality of inevitability which, as the years pass, seems fateful” (1979:16). In both accounts the student is dependent upon, and devoted to, the teacher who is held in extraordinarily high esteem. This social aspect of the experience is essential in the representations of both authors and is commonly seen in biographies and autobiographies of Hindustani musicians (as discussed in Chapter 2).

A second prominent theme (in two parts) is devoted and dedicated practice (*riyaz*) and thoughtful instruction (*talim*). Mathur describes awakening daily at four in the morning for three uninterrupted hours of practice, reinforced with more practice at night. In order to devote sufficient *riyaz* to each lesson he would take three or four days between lessons to thoroughly practice before presenting himself back to his *guru* (2004:34). In regards to *talim*, Mathur relates having kept his mind receptive at all times in order to absorb teachings outside of formal lessons that his *guru* taught “informally, incidentally, or on the spur of the moment” (ibid.:33). Menon describes the extensive time dedicated to singing scales and exercises before the teacher even begins to transmit the musical aspects of the *raga*. In Menon’s account of training in Hindustani music, the

dedication to the discipline is extreme, with a student expecting to learn three *ragas* in the first four years of study before beginning to think coherently about Indian music (1979:39). In both accounts, music is only acquired through relentless devotion, countless hours of practice, and the attentive guidance of the *guru*. These values are essential components in the representation of becoming a musician in the Hindustani tradition.

The third theme espoused in both Mathur and Menon is the esoteric nature of Hindustani music. Both authors represent the experience of studying music as a sort of spiritual process or journey in which profound insights are revealed. Mathur describes the experience of *riyaz* and *talim* as comprising “days of a joy that transcended mundane, material pleasures,” and revealing “the music [he] had been wandering in search of throughout [his] past and present lives” (2004:28). Performing Hindustani music was a “profound pleasure” in which the artist delves “deep into the mysterious world of a *raga*” (ibid.:45). In Menon’s account, the “inner side” of a *raga* “is almost entirely comprised of meaning and significance,” which “can only be evoked with the inner being of the performer” (1979:11). Through the experience of performing Hindustani music, one incorporates one’s life experiences into one’s music, joining these personal experiences with “an increasing clarity of understanding of the living mystery of the cosmic order of which [the performer] is but a part” (ibid.:45).

Neither Mathur nor Menon utilize technical language in their portrayals of learning Hindustani music. The manner in which they approach the subject reveals and reinforces cultural values associated with Hindustani music and Indian pedagogy. The primacy of the relationship between *guru* and disciple is aptly illustrated and emphasized. Included in this is the unquestioning loyalty and devotion of the disciple. The value of

dedication to the discipline of music is abundantly illustrated through the many references to long hours, months, and years of *riyaz* and careful attention to *talim*. Finally, music is evoked as not merely an art, but a mysterious entity in which one can continually explore new relationships within the *raga*. This sentiment carries with it parallels with the metaphysical, and the individual's relationship to the broader community and even universe. These facets of the study of Hindustani music are presented and promoted in the idealized and romanticized conception of music as an art, discipline, and meditative path.

### **5.5 Representations of Hindustani Pedagogy**

The preceding discussion attempted to synthesize the representations of Hindustani pedagogy in scholarly, didactic, and popular publications. Through an examination of scholarly sources, fieldwork, and personal experiences a model for the pedagogical devices of Hindustani music was devised. These are the use of scalar exercises, oral/aural notations, compositions, imitation and memorization, and comparison and metaphor as the primary vehicles for the transmission of the musical materials of the Hindustani tradition. A survey of didactic resources provided an insight into the transmission of music when the social component of a student teacher relationship is removed. In this context, the emphasis became the set musical materials such as scalar exercises and compositions. The opportunity to express cultural beliefs and values through the written word was generally neglected by the majority of authors. Conversely, in publications written to a general audience it is exactly these cultural values that are representative of the experience. These accounts emphasize the personal

relationships, individual efforts, and esoteric rewards associated with the study of Hindustani music.

This chapter focused on providing a variety of representations of Hindustani music from contrasting, yet complementary, perspectives. The trends and traits identified correspond mostly to Hindustani pedagogy in the Indian context. They are not, however, exclusively Indian, as they are equally applicable to Hindustani pedagogy in the West. The next chapter examines accounts of the experiences of North American students studying Hindustani classical music in the West. The conclusion of this thesis is an attempt to relate these representations and experiences to the history of Hindustani music and to the adaptations Hindustani pedagogy has undergone in a Western, cross-cultural context.

## **6. Personal Experiences**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The prior discussions of Hindustani pedagogy provide a working model of the philosophies, beliefs, social interactions, and methods for musical transmission that are generally ascribed to Hindustani music education. This chapter is based on personal experiences of students of Hindustani music in North America. Interviews were conducted with five American or Canadians with experience studying Hindustani music. The sample group consists of three males and two females with experience in Indian music ranging from just a few months to more than forty years. The educational settings represented include individual lessons with private tutors, a for-credit class at the University of Oregon, and the Ali Akbar Khan College of Music.

The goal of this chapter is to represent these experiences and determine how they relate to the model of Hindustani pedagogy proposed in the previous chapter. This model includes the use of certain pedagogical devices and social aspects of pedagogy including interpersonal relationships and personal beliefs and philosophies. The manner in which each individual relates to the model is the primary vehicle into gaining insight into the personal compromises and negotiations that occur in the transmission of Hindustani music in the North American context.

Drawing from the attitudes towards Hindustani music discussed in Chapter 4, the experiences and motivations of North American students learning Hindustani music fall into a number of distinct, though not mutually exclusive, categories. These classifications helped to determine the sample group's orientation towards the study of Hindustani

music, reflecting personal predispositions, beliefs, and learning methods. Three perspectives emerged: 1) as an intellectual challenge or a personal affinity; 2) as a vehicle for insight into Indian culture; and 3) as an esoteric or spiritual experience. Though any individual may relate to multiple approaches simultaneously, certain archetypes and trends reflected in the interviews suggest a primary association with one of these three perspectives. Despite these associations, each individual relates to Hindustani pedagogy from the perspective and experiences of a North American student. The cross-cultural nature of attempting to study Hindustani music as a North American requires negotiation and compromise by both the teacher and the student. These negotiations occur on the interpersonal level between student and teacher, but also reflect broader negotiations and compromises between the ideals and values of Indian culture and North American culture.

## **6.2 Analysis of the Interviews**

Though the study of Hindustani music is an individualized experience that varies depending upon student and teacher, certain themes recur in the accounts of multiple informants. These common themes coincide with and reinforce the hypothesis that North American students typically fall primarily into one of the above approaches to the study of Hindustani music. In describing the lessons, the experience of learning Hindustani music, and the effect of certain pedagogical methods, the informants indicate a general orientation. Drawing upon the subjects discussed by informants, a series of dichotomies serves to organize the information provided. These dichotomies differentiate the experiences from each other and the typical experience of studying Western music. In the

case of this thesis, a common experience of studying Western music is characterized by written notation, prescribed and guided practice materials, standardized compositions and theory, a graded curricula, freely proffered explanations, and receptivity to both private and group instruction.

### 6.3 Informant KT

Informant KT was unique among respondents in that he was the only informant to study Hindustani music as part of a degree program in a university setting. As an MA student in musicology, requirements dictated KT fulfill course work in an instrument of focus — in this case, percussion. One available option was to take one semester of Hindustani *tabla* for credit. This was the first opportunity KT had to study *tabla*; the availability of a teacher, combined with the necessity of fulfilling course requirements and a pre-existing affinity for Indian music, motivated KT to enroll in the *tabla* course.

Lessons took the form of weekly private sessions lasting one hour. Transmission was purely oral/aural, though KT did take notes, primarily writing the *bols* (*tabla* strokes) with a diagram of the hand indicating the fingers and part of the *tabla* used to produce each sound. The series of *bols* in each rhythmic pattern was notated as well, but the actual rhythm was not notated in Western or Indian notation. However, KT relates great difficulty in memorizing these notated *bol* patterns. He cites the transference from the written page to memory and realization in real time of these patterns as significant challenges.

KT considers the technical aspects of physically performing on the *tabla* as the greatest challenge in his experience of Hindustani music. Lessons included practice in



verbalizing the *bol* patterns, which KT found success internalizing, but he failed to translate these to the tactile experience of performing on the *tabla*.

Musical material was transmitted purely by an imitative method, in which the teacher would play a pattern and KT would repeat it back to the teacher. Mistakes were corrected by demonstration of the proper pattern. Sometimes the teacher would play simultaneously with KT to ensure accuracy. Interestingly, KT identified similarities between his experience studying Western classical percussion and *tabla*. In both cases he relates the similarity of performing for an observing teacher, and receiving advice and musical demonstration from that teacher. The similarities KT identified were the primacy of “interpretation, observation, and imitation [as] the keywords common between classical percussion lessons and Indian *tabla* lessons” (Interview KT 2012).

Cultural components were transmitted both through verbal description and the nature of studying Hindustani music. Classes were held in a faculty office, one-on-one, and shoes were always removed prior to playing, a sign of respect in Indian culture. Teacher and student sat in close proximity, on the floor, each with their own instrument. Values of disciplined *riyaz* (practice) were related through stories of various performers, which KT describes as resulting in a realization that “if you want to get good at *tabla*, you have to commit your life to practicing it” (Interview KT 2012).

One issue addressed by KT regarding the pedagogical method he experienced was the lack of a group dynamic in lessons. Potential advantages of a group class may have included “the encouragement of [other students] or the pressure of performing in front of them, things that a group lesson can provide, versus a routine one-on-one, [where] there wasn’t really a way for me to gauge myself” (Interview KT 2012).

#### 6.4 Informant PE

Informant PE only recently began her studies in Hindustani classical music. A vocal student, she has taken private lessons for several months with a teacher of *dhrupad*-style singing, TD. (The author observed lessons between PE and TD, referenced in the preceding chapter.) Her interest in Hindustani classical music developed from an affinity for the sound, interest in Indian philosophy and Vedic culture, and a general desire to sing. She cites hearing Ravi Shankar and finding some quality of the sound appealing. This affinity, combined with the importance of sound in Vedic culture, the relationships between nature and Vedic philosophy, and a similar relationship between nature and music (as reflected in associations of time of day or season) encouraged PE to explore Hindustani music. Beyond the affinity and extra-musical appeal of Hindustani music was the intellectual curiosity of learning a “complex, interesting system [she] didn’t know anything about” (Interview PE 2012).

Coming from a background in which the cultural aspects of Hindustani music were important from the beginning, PE had particular criteria in her search for a teacher. It was important that her teacher “have a really good understanding [and] know what they’re doing, in a traditional way, not coming at it from another culture’s understanding, [but to have] some sort of authentic experience of the music” (Interview PE 2012). Authenticity and cultural understanding on the part of the teacher were essential components in her search for a teacher of Hindustani music.

PE takes private lessons at her teacher’s home on a weekly basis. Lessons are typically preceded by informal conversation while she and her teacher drink tea. Shoes are removed and both she and her teacher sit on the floor, with TD playing *tambura* (the

drone instrument accompanying all soloists). Lessons similarly conclude with free-flowing conversation on a variety of topics including personal life, musical explanations, and anecdotes.

The teaching style is primarily imitative, with the teacher singing a phrase and PE copying it to the best of her ability. TD may emphasize particular phrases or movements by repeating them several times consecutively. He will also occasionally sing passages beyond her ability to reproduce. This is intended to encourage creativity and monitor her understanding of the grammar and limitations of the *raga* being sung. Notation is used sparingly, and even then only to record lyrics and indicate rhythmic placement within the *tala* (beat cycle). Her teacher is open to answering questions, providing detailed explanations of musical matters, and showing similarities and differences between *ragas* through direct musical comparisons and demonstrations.

Outside of lessons, PE practices exercises such as range expansion drills or the compositions taught in lessons. However, her practice material is not explicitly prescribed, and most of her attention is devoted to experimentation with improvising inside of the *raga*. She describes this aspect of practice as “an incredibly fulfilling experience” (Interview PE 2012).

PE had experience studying Western classical piano from the age of seven to seventeen prior to beginning her pursuit of Hindustani vocal music at age 22. Though she studied both piano and Hindustani vocal music in private lessons, she finds the experiences to be significantly different. When learning Western classical music, PE describes feeling as if she were getting information from the book instead of the teacher, who served more as a coach. In contrast, she feels that in her Hindustani music lessons

information comes directly from the teacher. She feels that she is internalizing the information more effectively, and because there is no book she will be more likely to retain it.

A feature of the orality/aurality of the lesson that PE identifies and values is the necessity of listening in order to acquire musical knowledge. She feels that she is “listening in a way that is much more sophisticated” and that this experience is “expanding [her] sense perception” (Interview PE 2012). One issue PE has with the pedagogy of Hindustani music is how slowly one acquires musical knowledge and competency in performance. However, she acknowledges that her practice routine could be more consistent, and that her teacher has provided her with all of the resources she needs.

## 6.5 Informant SH

Informant SH is a 21-year-old male vocal student who has been studying Hindustani music in some capacity since the age of fourteen. He has studied Hindustani music with numerous teachers in Canada on *sitar* and *surbahar* (fretted string-instruments), as well as voice. He has also spent extended periods of time studying vocal music in India with *dhrupad* singers. As a child, SH sang Sikh hymns in temples and played the harmonium and sang in music classes. His family owned a *sitar*, which he decided to begin learning around age fourteen, with instruction from a family friend. While initially learning the *sitar*, SH read about and became interested in the vocal genre of *dhrupad*. Around the age of nineteen, SH began searching for a qualified teacher of Hindustani vocal music. His sitar teacher then introduced him to his vocal teacher. His

expectations were exceeded upon learning of his vocal teacher's credentials of having studied with a major exponent of the *dhrupad* style of Hindustani music. (Informants SH and PE share the same teacher TD, as does the author).

Though SH has studied with multiple teachers, he finds many similarities and a general teaching style shared between all of them. These commonalities are the one-on-one nature of the lessons, playing by ear instead of notation, and utilizing an imitative approach to learning music. Again, much like in PE's account, the teacher sings phrases that SH will repeat, repeating essential movements, and gradually expanding into complex phrases with the hope of compelling SH to spontaneously create his own phrases within the confines of the *raga*.

Cultural and musical materials were conveyed as the lessons progressed, but the music was the central focus. Gradually through the introduction of various techniques, such as *murcchana* (scalar exercise) and asking questions, SH began to develop the terminology and basic fundamentals of Hindustani music. Questions led to answers providing insights about musical features of *raga*, historical or evolutionary aspects of the music, and culturally meaningful anecdotes and stories. In addition to explanations during the lesson, SH describes conversing with TD for an extended period following each lesson, addressing a variety of musical and personal topics.

SH describes a tendency of his teacher to encourage a student towards self-realization of certain errors. Certain errors SH would realize after months of lessons through noticing discrepancies between his practice and his imitation TD. This process of self-realization and self-correction allows for an understanding that is derived internally, increasing the likelihood of retaining the subtleties being corrected.

In his lessons with his sitar teacher, SH did utilize notation for certain musical features, such as compositions and pre-composed improvisational parts. This contrasts with his later vocal lessons, in which no notation was used, and improvisation was introduced in the first lesson. Through the process of exactly imitating one's teacher and not relying on notation, SH feels that creativity is developed, especially when the teacher sings something that is "way too long, [one] can't comprehend it, or recall what [the teacher] sang," but it is then the student's turn to sing (Interview SH 2012). SH credits TD with teaching him not to depend on notation, which increased his capacity to accurately imitate his teacher and internalize the material being taught.

SH describes an approach to practice that consists of voice conditioning drills, compositions, and improvisation. Practice material is not dictated by his teacher, but is decided by SH depending on things such as mood and time of day. One thing he has learned is "it doesn't matter what [one's] skill level is, it's important to have fun and to improvise, even if [one] can't do it, [they should] just try" (Interview SH 2012).

For SH, the efficacy of this pedagogical method is that from doing so much improvisation, even if that improvisation is from inaccurate imitation, "one develops their own technique, style, and approach" (Interview SH 2012). He contrasts this with his experience of learning Western music, in which one learns a song and simply moves on to the next without necessarily gaining a comprehension of the musical system or idiom.

SH places a great emphasis on the importance that Indian culture plays in relation to Hindustani music. In contrast to studying Hindustani music in the West, where SH would take a weekly lesson and spend many weeks working on a single *raga*, his experience in the more traditional context of India consists of singing a wide variety of

*ragas* throughout the day, not necessarily restricted to formal lesson schedules. There are also many features of the traditional *guru-shishya parampara* missing from the Western context, such as performing chores for one's teacher. SH considers this significant because aspects of the lifestyle serve as a method of "training [the student] culturally for the lessons... it's a similar idea in the lessons, where [one is] mimicking and listening...emptying [one's self] and letting [the] *guru's* ideas pour in [to the student]" (Interview SH 2012).

## 6.6 Informant HT

HT, a male performer, became interested in Indian culture through exposure to the Indian epic the *Bhagavad Gita* at the age of sixteen and a developing interest in karma yoga. HT experienced a deep affinity and connection with Hindustani music when he first heard a recording of Ali Akbar Khan performing *raga Bhairavi* while a student in college. As an Asian Studies major in his undergraduate years, HT was particularly drawn to Indian studies, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Out of this milieu of interest in Asian Studies, early exposure to the *Bhagavad Gita* and karma yoga, and prior training in Western classical music, HT progressed to an interest in active study of Hindustani music.

In early 1970, HT attended a class at the Ali Akbar Khan College of Music while visiting a friend in Marin County, CA. It was this experience that encouraged HT to pursue the study of Hindustani music "with the idea of becoming more disciplined...and becoming more focused" (Interview HT 2012). HT regularly attended classes at the College for five years, at one point renting the apartment underneath the school, literally

listening to Ali Akbar Khan teach through the floorboards. Though he moved from California in 1975, HT made an effort to return to the College every summer until 1980, after which his visits became less frequent. However, HT maintained contact with friends at the College and learned new material through practicing and playing music with them.

Classes at the Ali Akbar Khan College of music were taught to groups of students of varying sizes. Ali Akbar Khan would dictate the lesson while students took notes, and then sing compositions line-by-line, using imitative pedagogy to teach the class. Most students used notation extensively, and there was a tradition of sharing notes following each class. However, in the late 1970s there were a couple of students capable of memorizing the material as it was given, which was preferred by the teacher. At this point, the “whole focus shifted towards teaching [these students] who could just [memorize] without notating” (Interview HT 2012).

Vocal classes, often focusing on the *raga* to be taught in the instrumental class, always preceded instrumental classes. The curriculum focused primarily on teaching a number of compositions in one particular *raga* per semester. The philosophy of the Ali Akbar Khan College was that to successfully perform any *raga*, the student must learn compositions in at least three to five major *talas* and two or three speeds within each of those *talas*. Ali Akbar Khan did not emphasize technique, and students would often seek help from other more advanced students at the College. Upon introducing a new *raga*, the instructor would explain the theory according to Bhatkhande’s principles such as scale type, *vadi* and *samvadi*, and extra-musical features such as *rasa*.

HT participated in a limited number of classes in which Ali Akbar Khan taught improvisation. Improvisation was taught either using the imitative approach or the



instructor would begin a phrase and ask the students to develop it.

Ali Akbar Khan was not generally receptive to questions in class, often feeling that they were frivolous. Eschewing the intellectualization of Hindustani music (exempting his introductions borrowing from the theories of Bhatkhande), Ali Akbar Khan felt that questions did nothing to help the student perform.

Culturally, the Ali Akbar Khan College of Music was an amalgamation of values. Initially there was a hierarchy among the beginning and more advanced students, but this dissipated with time. The atmosphere was “relatively informal, but the formality of standing up when [Ali Akbar Khan] came in the room, removing shoes, never pointing [one’s] feet at him, never stepping over an instrument” (Interview HT 2012) were adhered to. Also, many, but not all, students would touch his feet as a sign of respect. HT did perform this act because he thought of himself as a devotee.

HT has studied and practiced Hindustani music regularly for over forty years. In his practice he still utilizes notation, though he strives to internalize material, using notation only to aid memory. HT’s practice regimen consists of developing the *raga* through improvised sections such as *alap*, *jor*, and *jhala*, and practicing scalar exercises and compositions. In his personal study, HT has embraced resources such as recorded performances, transcriptions, and publications about Hindustani music, despite the objections to such methods by his teacher.

HT studied Western classical piano as a child, where he developed many of his practice routines such as isolating and repeating troublesome parts in a composition. Adapting to the pedagogical method at the Ali Akbar Khan College of Music was a challenge, requiring HT to learn how to listen and learn how to notate during the lesson.

For HT, “the problem was the orality of it” (Interview HT 2012). Another shortcoming HT identifies with the teaching style was the lack of teaching about history or genres of Hindustani music.

### **6.7 Informant DA**

DA, a female performer, was briefly enrolled at the Ali Akbar Khan College of Music in the early 1970s. DA was instantly drawn to the sound of Ravi Shankar by the time she was fifteen years old, having been given a recording by a friend or family member. The influence of Hindustani music led to the adoption of a vegetarian lifestyle and a growing interest in Indian philosophy and poetry. She attended three performances by Ravi Shankar at Lincoln Center when she was fifteen, and had the opportunity to meet him after one of the concerts. At this point she asked if she could become his student if she were serious, and decided to pursue the study of Hindustani music. DA immediately began teaching herself *sitar*, in lieu of a teacher in the area. She initially learned the music by emulating recordings and consulting the few publications available. Though she never formally studied with Ravi Shankar, DA felt a connection immediately upon meeting him, describing her relationship with him as follows: “even though he was never my teacher, he was never not my teacher” (Interview DA 2012).

DA places great value on the extra-musical and esoteric qualities of Hindustani music and music and art in general. She began her studies in Western classical music on the violin at the age of eight. DA recalls a moment of great import from these lessons in which her teacher advised her to tune the violin by playing adjacent strings “until they both disappear” (Interview DA 2012). She appreciates the “mystical” undertones she

drew from this explanation and still credits this experience with teaching her how to listen.

DA first formally studied Hindustani music in 1971 upon moving to California. She began at the Ali Akbar Khan College of Music, but later went on to study with the flutist Saj Dev until 1973 or 1974. Like HT, DA studied in small group classes. All instrumental lessons were preceded by about thirty minutes of singing to illustrate that the mechanism of music is the voice and that it is central to internalizing the material. Though DA valued her experience in group classes, she believes that “one private lesson is worth a thousand group classes” (Interview DA 2012). Classes began with the students sitting on the floor, tuning the *tambura* prior to the teacher entering the classroom. Lessons typically consisted of playing long sustained tones on the flute, learning *ragas* thoroughly through imitating the teacher, and notating these materials during the lesson. Phrases were taught one at a time through imitation until the students could play exactly as the teacher had.

Her teacher also emulated more traditional aspects of the culture of the *guru-shishya parampara* in her early studies with him. This included driving students from the school to his house and teaching them to cook to augment the experience and foster the relationship. To DA personal relationships were of profound importance in studying Hindustani music. Much like she considers Ravi Shankar her teacher despite a lack of formal training, she believes that “with Indian music, you don’t just have a teacher, you have the essence of the whole being, and different people bring it to you at different places in different times. It’s just so mystical, and different people can be your guides at different times, even if they don’t even know it” (Interview DA 2012). Though her

formal study in Hindustani music lasted no longer than two years, DA still considers Saj Dev her teacher and continues to learn from him just through conversation.

DA considers her formal study of Hindustani music as an opportunity in which she learned “how to learn” through attentive listening. In the late 1970s, after moving back to the East coast, DA had numerous opportunities to play *tambura* on stage with touring artists. DA considers her experiences listening closely and performing as a part of the group in these contexts as an essential component of her education.

In DA’s experience, she willingly conceded to the expertise and wishes of her teachers. DA’s predisposition towards Hindustani music equally values the spiritual and intellectual aspects of music, “but there has to be a clear channel between the intellect and the spirit in order to get the music out. If [one] just know[s] the music intellectually it isn’t going to get anybody anywhere” (Interview DA 2012). Reflecting upon her experiences studying Hindustani music, DA feels that “in the West, we need to undo a lot of our Western habits and our Western perceptions of things; [undoing] has been the underlying keyword of most of my learning, undoing in order to receive what is being given, to have that empty cup” (ibid.) to receive the tradition from one’s teacher.

## **6.8 Relationships to Hindustani Music**

The five individuals interviewed represent a variety of perspectives on Western relationships with Hindustani music. Though prompted with similar questions, the informants tended to focus on the specific features of Hindustani pedagogy that they found most important. In many cases, several informants mentioned certain trends or tendencies during the course of the interviews. While the emphasis of each informant

suggests an individualized orientation towards Hindustani music, the recurring trends may reflect a more general experience of studying Hindustani music as a Westerner. As mentioned above, a series of dichotomies inferred from the interviews serves as an analytical tool in predicting the orientation of the individual interviewed. Many, though not all, of these dichotomies reflect stereotypical “Indian” versus “Western” divisions and values.

### **6.8.1 Group Lessons vs. Private Lessons**

One of the prominent themes in all five interviews is the nature of the lessons as either group or private. While the traditional educational system of the *guru-shishya parampara* is almost exclusively one-on-one, group lessons became prominent in India at the beginning of the twentieth century. This development was an attempt to modernize Hindustani pedagogy by adopting certain aspects of the British educational system. In this manner, group teaching can be considered a compromise made by the purveyors of the Hindustani musical tradition, both in twentieth-century India and in the recontextualization of Hindustani music in the West.

Informants KT, PE, and SH primarily studied with private teachers in one-on-one lessons, while HT and DA studied extensively in group classes. When addressing the subject of group or private lessons, the preference seemed to be for private lessons, as expressed explicitly by DA (“one private lesson is worth a thousand group classes”; Interview DA 2012). PE and SH both describe the value of informal conversations with their teacher as a significant component of the learning process. This relationship of informality and open communication seems to be fostered by the private nature of the

lessons. This may be especially pertinent in this context, in which lessons take place in the teacher's home and are accompanied by social activities such as drinking tea.

Interestingly, KT, the only informant with an undergraduate degree in music performance, mentioned the potential advantages of group lessons, such as feedback or encouragement from other students. Perhaps this perspective developed from the experience of studying music performance in the university setting, a background not shared by any of the other informants.

### **6.8.2 Oral/Aural vs. Notated Pedagogy**

A second dichotomy in the consideration of Hindustani music in the West is that of an oral and aural means of transmission as opposed to the use of notation. Much like group teaching, notation was introduced into the study of Hindustani music in the early twentieth century as an attempt to modernize Hindustani pedagogy, again borrowing from the British education system. Notation remained largely absent from the traditional practice of the *guru-shishya parampara* but became common with the institutionalization of Hindustani music.

Most informants related their lessons as consisting primarily of an oral pedagogy supplemented by taking notes during the lesson. Notation serves primarily as a memory aid and not the direct medium of transmission. The most commonly notated musical materials are compositions and improvisational phrases, such as *taans*. DA and HT indicate that a considerable amount of notation was utilized in the group classes in which they participated. Conversely, KT, PE, and SH relate using notation sparingly, if at all, in their private lessons.

The advantages of notation according to HT are that it provides material for practice and helps in the memorization of learned material. Despite this generally favorable view of notation, HT does relate that it was difficult to learn how to listen and notate during the course of the lesson, citing the orality of the lessons as a challenge. However, other informants considered notation itself as a challenge in the learning process. KT relates the difficulty in the transference from the written page to memory, while SH regards notation as an obstacle that interferes with the student's ability to imitate the teacher and internalize the material. SH feels that abandoning a dependency on notation allowed him to increase his capacity to receive information aurally. PE feels that the lack of a book or notation aids in the process of internalization and will increase the retention of learned materials through the exclusively aural method of transmission.

### ***6.8.3 Intellectual vs. Practical Approaches to Music***

The intellectualization of Hindustani music, particularly as it relates to music theoretical treatises (*shastras*), is believed to have declined during the period of Muslim rule beginning in sixteenth-century India. It was at this time that Hindustani pedagogy became predominantly oral/aural and focused extensively on performance aspects of music. The early twentieth century is the era in which attempts to intellectualize Hindustani music became prominent, especially in the theories and publications of Bhatkhande. This development was influenced by the desire to elevate the status of Hindustani music by emulating the Western “scientific” approach to music as dictated by a formalized theoretical basis for performance.

There are many ways to attempt to intellectualize the study of Hindustani music.

These may include asking critical questions regarding performance or history, consulting academic or pedagogical resources, or even attempting to critically engage the teacher instead of passively accepting the information taught. SH and PE both relate spending considerable amounts of time conversing with their teacher, at which point questions of theory or history are answered. Their teacher entertains questions openly and uses verbal explanations and descriptions, as well as musical demonstrations, to illustrate pertinent points of music performance.

HT describes questions as being regarded as an unnecessary nuisance in his lessons with Ali Akbar Khan, precisely because they are an attempt to intellectualize music instead of learning through performance. For HT, this lack of intellectualization was detrimental to the learning process, specifically in acquiring knowledge about aspects of music such as history, evolution, and characteristics and subtleties of various genres. DA, in an attempt to defer to the traditional system of education, refrained from asking questions and allowed herself to simply receive the information as it was given by her teacher. In her opinion, an overly intellectual approach to music interferes with the music making experience by constricting the spiritual or creative aspects of the music. As a novice in Hindustani music, KT did not critically engage his teacher, allowing the material to be transmitted as the teacher desired.

HT and SH both recount utilizing outside resources extensively in their study of Hindustani music. HT makes use of transcriptions and analyses, academic texts, and recordings in his ongoing studies in Hindustani music. SH, in addition to his critical engagement of his teacher through questions, consults a variety of resources such as written publications and online learning resources.



#### **6.8.4 Imitative vs. Non-Imitative**

Imitation is one of the primary characteristics of Hindustani pedagogy in both the *guru-shishya parampara* and in modern methodologies. Imitation in isolation is in significant contrast to the Western method of transmission in which a significant amount of information is communicated via the written page.

All five informants receive musical material from their teachers through a process of imitation and repetition. In all cases, the teacher sings or plays a phrase or a line of music and the students play back the same material to the best of their ability. Phrases are then repeated as necessary to emphasize particularly important musical features. SH and PE both relate experiences in which their teacher sings a complex or exceptionally long phrase which they either cannot sing back or remember in its entirety. This is a technique through which the teacher compels improvisation and individual creativity, though it is still in the context of imitation. HT describes an alternate approach to teaching improvisation by Ali Akbar Khan, in which the teacher begins a phrase and asks the students to finish or develop it.

PE describes the acquisition of knowledge through imitation as coming directly from the teacher, incorporating the teacher's experience and insight, and allowing for more efficient internalization. Imitation also increases one's ability to actively listen and expands one's sensitivities to musical subtleties. DA similarly recognizes the preeminence and efficacy of learning music through focused listening. For SH, the advantage of an imitative pedagogy is the manner through which it develops creativity and spontaneity when one is incapable of directly imitating the teacher. Interestingly, KT

sees imitative pedagogy as analogous to his experience studying Western classical percussion in which his teachers musically demonstrated subtleties of interpretation and performance.

#### **6.8.5 *Invented Practice vs. Prescribed Practice***

Practice methods reflect certain aspects of pedagogical style in Hindustani classical music, especially imitation and orality. Invented practice denotes practice materials that are spontaneously created by the student, such as the development of improvisational sections without pre-composed aids. Prescribed practice refers to specific exercises or compositions assigned by the teacher during the lesson, potentially for review in later lessons. The accounts of all five informants reflect a predominantly invented routine for individual practice.

KT, HT, and DA all describe practicing materials notated in lessons such as compositions and *taans*. HT experienced a pedagogy in which practice was prescribed, with the previous week's material reviewed at the beginning of each class. PE and SH practice compositions from memory, singing what they can recall, and reviewing and expanding it in the following lesson. However, with the exception of HT preparing weekly materials, there was no strictly prescribed practice in the experience of any of the informants. The teachers demonstrated exercises such as scalar permutations or range expansion drills, but left when to practice these exercises to the student's discretion.

A fundamental aspect of practice described by PE, SH, HT, and DA is the development of *alap* and improvised sections. By its very nature, this practice must be invented spontaneously. PE devotes most of her practice time to exploring the note

relationships and improvising within the *raga*. SH feels that it is essential to practice improvisation and to enjoy it, regardless of one's skill level. HT devotes considerable time to fully developing the *raga* he is practicing. This is achieved by extemporizing on the *alap*, *jor*, and *jhala*, the three main improvised expositions of a typical performance. DA similarly devotes a significantly greater amount of time to improvisation in practice, also developing *alap*, *jor*, and *jhala*.

While all of the informants admit to needing to practice scalar and technical exercises, and compositions with rhythmic accompaniment more than they do, they all favor the practice of improvised segments in their practice routine. This reflects the spontaneous nature of the imitative lesson as well as the great value placed on improvisation in Hindustani music. With the exception of HT, there were no strictly prescribed practice assignments monitored and reviewed by the teacher. Even in HT's case, the prescribed practice was only one aspect of his practice routine. The invented nature of practice materials renders notation ineffective in providing more than a portion of the practice material for a typical session.

#### **6.8.6 Cultural vs. Musical**

The study of Hindustani music often remains a vehicle of education in Indian culture in general. In the *guru-shishya parampara*, the student's education extended beyond the transmission of musical material to include social and moral values. In the Western context, learning Hindustani music still conveys extra-musical features and, especially, Indian cultural values. These are transmitted either directly through explanation and demonstration, or indirectly through context.

One significant aspect of Indian culture that is transmitted in the learning of music is the removal of one's shoes prior to entering a lesson space as a sign of respect, much as one would remove shoes before entering a temple or a home. Taboos such as pointing one's feet toward the teacher or stepping over an instrument are conveyed either orally, by demonstration, or by reprimands when these conventions are violated.

KT describes hearing anecdotes from his teacher intended to convey the discipline and devotion necessary if one seeks to achieve proficiency in Hindustani music. DA and SH both consider chores as cooking for the teacher to be important aspects in the cultural education that prepare the student for reception of musical knowledge.

Esoteric and extra-musical features of Hindustani music are also transmitted in one's formal education. Natural associations such as season or time of day may be explicitly described by the teacher or demonstrated by context. In HT's lessons, Ali Akbar Khan taught *ragas* depending strictly upon their prescribed time of day, and would warn against performing them at inappropriate times for fear of tragic consequences. *Rasa*, the emotional affect of a *raga*, similarly could be described or left to the intuition and listening capabilities of the student.

## **6.9 Relationships and Negotiations**

A Western student's experience of the dichotomies discussed above, combined with their motivations, create and may identify one's relationship with Hindustani music. However, learning Hindustani music is a process of enculturation. Not only does the student obtain musical knowledge, but s/he is exposed to Indian cultural beliefs and values, traditional Indian educational practices, and esoteric aspects of Hindustani music.

In this sense, the orientations of affinity or intellectual interest, music as a vehicle for cultural insight, or music as a spiritual discipline are fluidly related. However, exploring the relationships between one's orientation and experience of Hindustani music is valuable in determining how meaning is ascribed to a musical experience characterized by negotiation and compromise.

KT was unique among the five respondents in that he was the only one to take lessons in Hindustani music as part of a university degree program. He is also the only informant with a post-secondary degree in Western classical music performance. Given his opportunity to fulfill course credits by taking *tabla* lessons, KT had the additional motivation of fulfilling academic requirements. As a student of Western classical music with some prior experience listening to Hindustani music, KT may be categorized as being motivated by both intellectual curiosity and personal affinity.

Significantly, KT did not perceive a great distinction between his experience studying Western classical music and Hindustani *tabla*, considering both to be primarily characterized by interpretation and imitation. This is despite his reliance on notation in Western music and the relative lack of notation in his experience of Hindustani music. KT is also the informant to question whether it would have been beneficial to learn *tabla* as part of a group of students. While he did not perceive the teaching methodology to be a compromise of his usual learning processes, he was forced to forego the context and advantages of group lessons. In the process of studying, KT experienced insight into the general Indian culture through such practices as removing shoes as a sign of respect, and anecdotes told by his teacher illustrating the importance of discipline and devotion to the art of music.

PE entered her pursuit of Hindustani music with a pre-existing interest in Indian culture, specifically Vedic philosophy. She also had a prior affinity for the sound of Hindustani music based on her experience listening to Ravi Shankar. Her initial motivations were based in intellectual curiosity and affinity, and interest in Hindustani music as a cultural object. PE sought an authentic experience of Indian culture from her studies of Hindustani music. For her the central role of the teacher, instead of documents, in musical transmission is a significant departure from learning Western music. This comprises a negotiation between the cultures of Hindustani and Western music pedagogies. Her experience receiving music in an imitative, oral/aural environment, supplemented with self-invented practice allows her to internalize information in a manner she did not experience in Western music. However, due to the receptivity of her teacher, she is still able to ask questions and critically engage the subject matter, allowing an engagement of both intellectualization and Indian cultural experience.

SH approached Hindustani music from the perspective of a deep personal affinity. Throughout his studies he has embraced intellectual techniques such as outside resources and critical engagement with his teachers. However, SH also adapted to and accepted the cultural aspects of Hindustani music, and even sees the culture as a fundamental component in the music. For this reason, he is willing to forego the strategy of intellectualization that he initially subscribed to in favor of a more traditional cultural experience. The reason for this negotiation from his initially preferred learning method is the belief that adopting methods derived from the traditional *guru-shishya* model allows the student to successfully develop one's own creativity and understanding of Hindustani music.

HT approached the study of Hindustani music as a path toward discipline, as well as a pursuit of an affinity, and a way to explore a pre-existing interest in Indian culture. By studying in group classes and extensively utilizing notation, HT has a considerably more “Western” experience of Hindustani music, illustrating a decision by his teacher to adapt Indian tradition to the Western context. However, within this negotiated cultural zone, HT experienced many aspects of traditional Indian culture, such as typical behaviors associated with interacting with one’s *guru*. Though HT considers himself a devotee to his teacher, and adapted to the interpretation of Indian culture represented by the Ali Akbar Khan School of Music, he retained many tendencies to intellectualize Hindustani music associated with Western education.

DA pursued Hindustani music as an object of personal affinity and as a spiritual path. In this endeavor, she readily adopted the methods preferred by her teacher, discarding Western tendencies of critical engagement and intellectualization. In this way, she sought to experience and discover the spiritual and esoteric, or universal, aspects of Hindustani music. In this way, she utilized Hindustani music as a vehicle to “undo” Western modes of thinking and learning in favor of the more traditional methods of learning espoused by her teacher.

## 7. Conclusions

### 7.1 Compromises and Negotiations

This thesis explored Hindustani musical pedagogy in North America as an amalgamation of traditional Indian practices and values, Indian responses to colonial influences and modernization, and compromises and negotiations between these Indian approaches and the cultural context of North America. Fundamental concepts in Hindustani pedagogy were addressed through an overview of the traditional *guru-shishya parampara*, twentieth-century alternatives, and contemporary trends in India.

Commonalities included the preeminence of orality as the medium of communication, the necessity of a close personal relationship between teacher and student, devoted and disciplined practice, transmission of extra-musical cultural values, acceptance of theoretical standardization, and utilization of modern technology. These elements are subject to further transformation as they are taken from the Indian context to the Western context of North America.

It is apparent that Hindustani music has been subject to ever-changing circumstances since at least the early twentieth century. Social conditions within India necessitated the transformation from the limited access of the *guru-shishya parampara* to a more generally accessible system of education. This transformation coincided with an attempt to justify Hindustani music as a valuable cultural commodity in the minds of both colonial occupiers and the Indian middle class. In this context, Hindustani music became a vehicle for the advancement of an Indian nationalist agenda. Ironically, Hindustani music was promoted through the adoption of Western values such as notation,



standardized theory, musical theoretical publications, and mass education. In the latter half of the twentieth century, Hindustani music again was subjected to circumstances demanding adaptation. The advent of readily available recordings, radio broadcasts, and personal recording technologies required a response to the new technology. Music was more readily available than it ever had been, calling into question musical values associated with particular lineages (*gharanas*). Even more striking was the potential for the complete replacement of the *guru* with recordings and didactic publications, or the “virtual *guru*.”

Despite the potential upheaval of the nationalist movement and technological advances of the twentieth century, Hindustani musical pedagogy retained many of its core components. Even with the incorporation of notation and adaptation of group teaching, Hindustani pedagogy remains characterized by oral/aural transmission, imitation, and the guidance and insights of an attentive teacher. The developments that Hindustani pedagogy underwent in the twentieth century were then transmuted into the cross-cultural methodology observable in the Western context. Differences in Western methods of education and learning, such as critical engagement of teachers and subject matter, provided new challenges to the format of Hindustani pedagogy. Perhaps an even greater disparity between the Western and traditional Hindustani pedagogy is the personal relationship between student and teacher. However, Hindustani music continues to be transmitted in a form recognizable as distinctly Indian. Many of the features that endured from the *guru-shishya parampara* through the social reforms of the early twentieth century and the technological advancements of the second half of the twentieth century remain recognizable in the new Western context.

Lessons remain predominantly oral and aural in character, drawing significantly on imitation as a pedagogical device. When notation is used, it is often Indian systems of notation such as *sargam* or *bol*, not Western staff notation. Intellectualization of Hindustani music is taught in addition to, not in place of, musical performance. Much like the tradition in the *guru-shihsya parampara*, music education continues to purvey cultural values. Though submission to one's teacher is not standard practice in the West, signs of respect such as removal of the shoes and not sitting higher than one's teacher are transmitted through the experience of participating in a music lesson. Anecdotes illustrate the cultural values of discipline and devotion, as traditionally evidenced through extensive *riyaz*. Indian beliefs of time associations and emotional affect are also transmitted through demonstration, description, and metaphor. Hindustani pedagogy remains equal parts musical and cultural education, even in a North American context.

Significantly, the sample represented by personal interviews coincided with the model of Hindustani pedagogy proposed in Chapter 5. The representations of the experience of studying as derived from academic sources, self-instruction manuals, and romanticized personal and fictional accounts were remarkably similar to the representations provided by the five informants interviewed. An even greater surprise is the debunked hypothesis mentioned in the introduction that Western students would have unique legitimizing criteria in regards to the study of Hindustani music. In all five cases reported in this thesis the students willingly adapted to the cultural models of pedagogy proposed by their teachers. This is especially significant because each of the informants found beneficial features of the pedagogical method to which they were subjected.

## 7.2 Implications

The necessity of musical transmission is one of the few cross-cultural universals in music. Without a reliable method of transmission, a music culture ceases to be a living musical organism, though it may remain a recorded one. Hindustani music provides an especially appealing comparison to Western classical music, due to its theoretical complexity, cherished history, and largely oral/aural nature. In contrast to the prevailing practice of preserving and teaching through the use of notation and justifying through the intellectualization and publication of theoretical treatises, Hindustani music largely eschewed these practices for hundreds of years. Even after adopting these practices, Hindustani music remains rooted in traditional culture, emphasizing the value of the teacher and the importance of internalizing, understanding, interpreting, and creating a musical object through performance.

The adaptability of Hindustani pedagogy to the North American context is indicative of a qualitative value and efficacy of the teaching methodology. This, considered with the positive experiences reported by the five individuals interviewed, suggests that Western pedagogy and Western students are capable of benefitting from transformations and adaptations to common teaching methodologies in the West. One criticism of Western classical music is the distinction between performers, composers, improvisers, theorists, and even teachers. In the Hindustani tradition, with its emphasis on internalization and spontaneous creation, any musician may fulfill all of these roles. This should be especially appealing to jazz musicians, who are met with similar performance demands as a Hindustani musician. Perhaps an element of orality or imitation in Western music education could inspire creative development and internalization in Western

musicians, as it has in Western students of Hindustani music. Though adaptations in Hindustani pedagogy were repeatedly met with skepticism and fear, essential aspects of the methodology remain intact over hundreds of years, despite cultural upheaval, and over cross-cultural boundaries. Currently, Western university/conservatory pedagogy seems to be in a state of conservatism while it could benefit from an influx of new ideas and methods that would not destroy the classical tradition, but would allow for new venues of development and musical creativity.

### **7.3 Future Research**

Hindustani pedagogy in cross-cultural contexts is a large and daunting topic that has received relatively little attention in published scholarly research. This thesis is an attempt to begin to approach the multi-faceted nature of Hindustani pedagogy in the North American context. The general purpose of this analysis was to propose a model of Hindustani pedagogy in its current cross-cultural context while relating it to the historical adaptations the tradition has undergone in the past several hundred years. While pedagogical techniques were accounted for in this model, it primarily emphasizes the social function of Hindustani pedagogy in its native and cross-cultural contexts.

An appealing avenue for future research is an analytical approach to the pedagogical method in the Western context. Such research could provide insight into the processes of transmitting musical information in a spontaneously created, imitative pedagogy. Through transcription and analyses of the musical objects presented by the teacher and subsequent interpretations by the students, one could attempt to derive or articulate an underlying system of communicating musical subtleties of *raga*

development. This could also illuminate personal aspects of teaching such as tolerance for particular errors or attempts to guide a student towards self-realization of errors. The value of this would be an alternate perspective of Hindustani pedagogy from the perspective of musical analysis that when taken with consideration of cultural values could provide a holistic view of cross-cultural Hindustani pedagogy.

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**Interviews**

DA. Skype Interview, 30 July 2012.

HT. Personal Interview, 24 July 2012.

KT. Skype Interview, 11 July 2012.

PE. Personal Interview, 19 June 2012.

SH. Skype Interview, 11 July 2012.

TD. Personal Communication, 6 July 2012.