PANNALAL GHOSH AND THE BĀNSURĪ IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2010

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

PANNALAL GHOSH AND THE BĀNSURĪ IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

by

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Advisor: Professor Peter Manuel

Pannalal Ghosh (1911-1960) is credited with the introduction of the bānsurī (North Indian bamboo flute) into Hindustani classical music in the twentieth century. While the transverse flute played a significant role in the music of India at least since the early centuries CE, it had lost its status as a prominent instrument in Indian art music several hundred years before Ghosh brought it to the forefront of Hindustani classical music. Ghosh's achievement is considered in the context of his time in terms of the social, political, economic, technological, and musical circumstances in India, and particularly Bengal. While twentieth-century developments contributed to his success, it was ultimately through his own efforts that the bānsurī was accepted as a featured Hindustani classical instrument. By redesigning the instrument, working out a technique to emulate the subtleties of the voice, listening to diverse genres and styles of music, engaging in intensive study, and conceptualizing his own eclectic style of playing, he succeeded in convincing twentieth-century audiences that the bānsurī deserved a place as a valued instrument for the performance of Hindustani classical music. His achievement also paved the way for other instruments such as shahnāī, sārangī, and santūr to achieve similar recognition in the classical music of North India.

I have drawn from elements of musical biography; Indian history; organology; music theory, transcription, and analysis; and anthropology to show how Ghosh's career is illustrative of a broader narrative of tradition and innovation in twentieth-century Hindustani classical music. My own studies of Hindustani classical music in the lineage of Pannalal Ghosh began in 1988, and provided a foundation for much of the work in this dissertation. Interviews with former students and associaties of Pannalal Ghosh, along with several articles about his life and work, enabled me to piece together his biography. Research into the history and culture of his time provided a clearer picture of the environment that shaped his life and musical development. Transcription and analysis of performances by Ghosh and other vocalists and instrumentalists helped me to situate his music within the context of North Indian classical music in the twentieth century.

Note on Transliteration

My system of transliteration of the Devanagari alphabet generally follows common practice, with a few adaptations similar to those used by Ruckert (1991). The letters च and छ are transliterated as “ch” and “chh” instead of the commonly used “c” and “ch” to avoid confusion with the ambiguous use of the letter “c” in English. Similarly, the letter श is transliterated as “śh” instead of the commonly used “ś” in order to more closely represent the sound as it appears in English. The letter ष is tranliterated simply as “sh.” The letter व is usually transliterated as “v” unless common transliterations use “w” instead. In some Bengali proper nouns, I have followed the Bengali practice of transliterating व as “b,” but only when I have found this to be the most common spelling used in transliteration to English spelling.

In its first use, a non-English word is set in italics and spelled using diacritical marks. From the second use onward, the italics are dropped, but I have chosen to retain the diacritical marks. For names of people, I use the most common spelling, generally omitting diacritical marks and italics. I use diacritical marks without italics for most authors of texts written before the adoption of common transliterations to English, and diacritical marks with italics for titles originally written in an Indian language. Names of rāgs and tāls are always written with diacritical marks and without italics.

The implied final “a” is dropped for words in common use in Hindi, but retained in words that are primarily used in Sanskrit contexts. For Sanskrit words that are used in present-day contexts I drop the final “a” when that is the standard pronunciation in current use. Thus I use *rāg* instead of *rāga* and *tāl* instead of *tāla*, but the final "a" is retained for the title of the book *Saṅgītaratnākara*.

Transliteration of Devanagari Letters

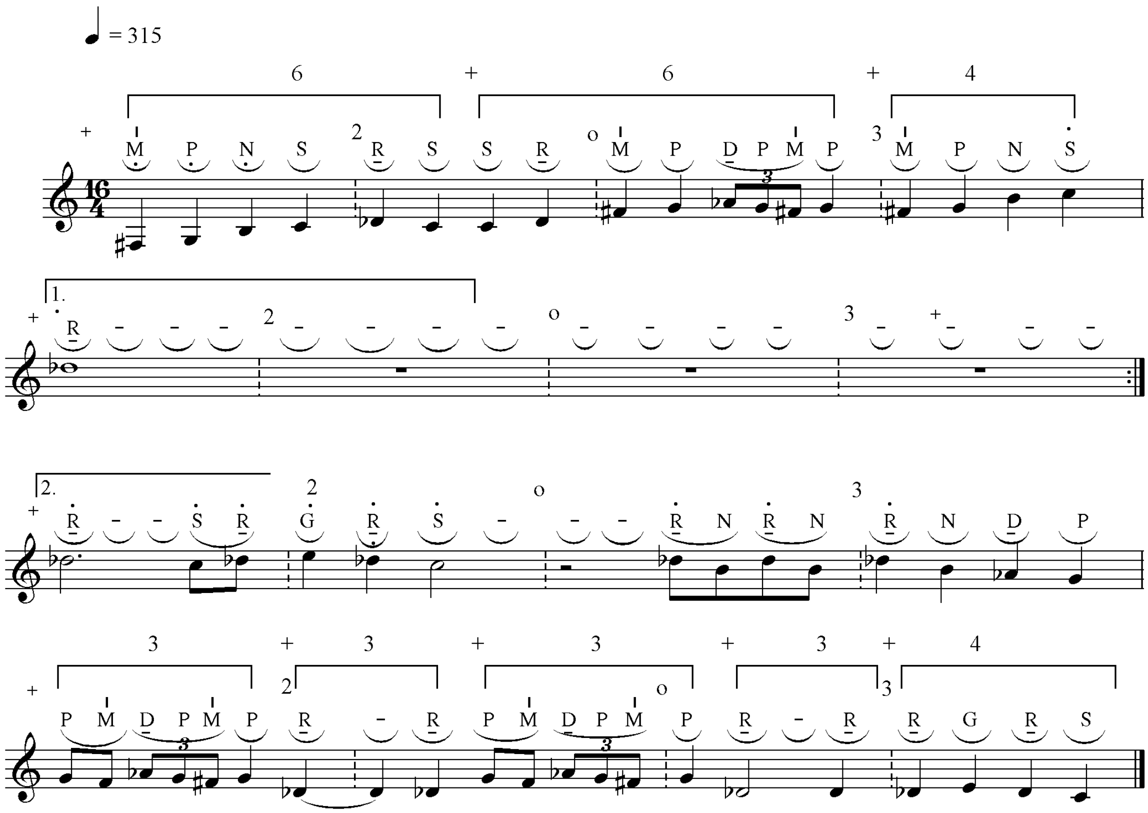
अ	**a**
आ	**ā**
इ	**i**
ई	**ī**
उ	**u**
ऊ	**ū**
ए	**e**
ऐ	**ai**
ओ	**o**
औ	**au**
क	**k**
ख	**kh**
ग	**g**
घ	**gh**
ङ	**ṅ**
च	**ch**
छ	**chh**
ज	**j**
झ	**jh**
ञ	**ṇ**
ट	**ṭ**
ठ	**ṭh**
ड	**ḍ**
ढ	**ḍh**
ण	**ṇ**
त	**t**
थ	**th**
द	**d**
ध	**dh**
न	**n**
प	**p**
फ	**ph**
ब	**b**
भ	**bh**
म	**m**
य	**y**
र	**r**
ल	**l**
व	**v, w**
श	**śh**
ष	**ṣh**
स	**s**
ह	**h**

Note on Musical Examples

In order to make my musical examples comprehensible to musically literate readers of both Hindustani and Western musical systems without either group of readers having to completely learn the other system, I have created a hybrid notation incorporating elements of both systems. The goal is to provide sufficient clarity to illustrate the important points in the text rather than to capture every nuance of phrasing, articulation, ornamentation, etc. **Example P-1** is used to explain the basic system.

Example P-1

Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Shrī
Tāl: drut tīntāl Source: HMV EALP 1252


= 315
+ 6 + 6 + 4
M P N S 2 R S S R o M P D P M P 3 M P N S
1.
R – – – 2 – – – – o – – – – 3 – + – – –
2.
R – – S R 2 G R S – o – – R N R N 3 R N D P
3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4
+ P M D P M P 2 R – R P M D P M o P R – R 3 R G R S

The title of the example consists of the name of either the composer or the performer (depending on the nature of the example), the *rāg*, the *tāl*, and the source of the recording. The tempo is given in terms of quarter notes per minute (beats per minute, or bpm). In most cases, a quarter note is equivalent to one *mātrā*, the beat subdivision of the tāl. In the case of *joṛ* and *jhālā* examples in which no tāl is used, my choice of the relative value of a quarter note is necessarily more arbitrary. In this case, I equate the quarter note with what I judge to be the basic pulse of the passage transcribed. I do not indicate the tempo when I have used an example transcribed by someone else in which the tempo was not provided. When notating *ālāp*, quarter notes, half notes, whole notes, etc. are used to very loosely indicate relative durations. Due to the extremely rubato nature of ālāp, it is very difficult to notate anything more than such an approximation.

The Western staff is used as the central grid, in and around which the melodic and rhythmic notations are written. For readers of Western staff notation, most of the essential information can be determined from the standard notation within the staff itself. Unlike Western staff notation, though, there is no standard pitch, such as A 440, assumed as a base. The pitches only indicate relative tonality, and the note C does not necessarily correspond to the equivalent note on the piano. A time signature is given to correspond to the number of beats in the tāl cycle. If there is no tāl (e.g. in ālāp, joṛ, and joṛ-jhālā), no time signature is given. Solid measure lines are used to indicate the end of a tāl cycle, and dotted measure lines are used to indicate the common subdivisions of the tāl.

Most of the remaining notation, following Ruckert (1991), is derived from systems used by Allauddin Khan, V. D. Paluskar, V. N. Bhatkhande, and others. The notation immediately above the staff is essentially standard *sargam* notation placed over the notes of the Western staff notation to show the correlation. The sargam system is at its root a close parallel to the Western solfege system. In place of Do, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, and Ti of solfege, the sargam system uses *shādj*, *ṛishabh*, *gandhār*, *madhyam*, *pancham*, *dhaivat*, and *nishād*. When sung, the sargam terms are reduced to their first syllables to derive Sa, Ri/Re, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, and Ni. In notation, these syllables are further reduced to the initial letter. Thus, the resulting solfege equivalents for sargam notation are as follows: S = Do, R = Re, G = Mi, M = Fa, P = sol, D = La, and N = Ti.

Each of the sargam letters is assumed to indicate the equivalent note from a major scale, with S corresponding to C (but again, no absolute pitch is intended). A sargam letter is assumed to have no chromatic alterations unless indicated. To indicate that a note is a half step higher, the symbol "|" is used above the sargam letter. Due to the nature of the Hindustani classical system, such an alteration can only appear with the sargam letter Ma, as in the first note of **Example P-1**. The sharpened fourth scale degree is referred to as *tīvra* Ma. To indicate that a note is a half step lower, the symbol "–" is used under the sargam letter. Due to the nature of the Hindustani classical system, this can potentially occur with the sargam letters R, G, D, and N, but not with S, M, or P. A flatted note is referred to as *komal*, and a *komal* Re can be seen immediately following the first dotted barline in the example above. No other form of chromatic alteration is allowed in the Hindustani classical system.

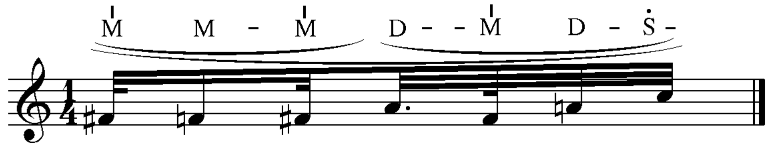
In terms of register, a sargam letter is assumed to refer to a note in the middle register (from C up to B or Sa up to Ni), or *madhya saptak*, unless indicated otherwise. To indicate that a note is in the lower register, or *mandra saptak*, the symbol "·" is used below the sargam letter, as with the first note in the example above. To indicate that a note is in the upper register, or *tār saptak*, the symbol "·" is used above the sargam letter, as with the last note (S) of the first line in the example above. Two dots side by side (··) can be used above the sargam letter to indicate that a note is in the *ati tār saptak*, which is the octave above the tār saptak. Similarly, two dots side by side can be used below the sargam letter to indicate a note is in the *ati mandra saptak*, which is the octave below the mandra saptak.

While the subdivisions of the tāl are shown with solid and dotted measure lines, more specific information is given with typical Hindustani notation for tāl subdivision. This is included above the sargam notation and aligned with the measure lines. A "+" sign is used to show *sam*, the first beat of the cycle; a "o" is used to indicate *khālī*, the contrastingly unstressed beat that marks an important subdivision of the tāl; and numbers are used to mark the remaining *vibhāg* (tāl subdivisions).

Rhythmic notation is based on the idea that everything sitting within a downward-curving line (‿) is contained within a single beat. Thus, one sargam letter above the curved line is equivalent to a quarter note (see, e.g., the first beat in the example above), two correspond to two eighth notes (see, e.g., the first beat in the last line of the **Example P-1** above), three correspond to three eighth-note triplets (see, e.g., the second beat in the last line of **Example P-1**), and so on. A dash (—) is used to indicate a rest or a continuation of the previous note. Thus, S — S S over a single loop indicates either four sixteenth notes, the second being a rest; or an eighth note followed by two sixteenth notes. Context is usually sufficient to indicate whether a sustain or a rest is intended. When in doubt, one can refer to the Western staff notation.

For more rhythmically dense notation, sometimes additional downward-curving lines are used to create subdivisions within a single beat, as in the **Example P-2**. In this case, everything above the lower downward-curving line is contained within a single beat. Each downward curving line above the large lower downward-curving line indicates an equal subdivision of the beat, and the contents of each secondary downward-curving line are subdivided in the same manner that a single beat is subdivided.

Example P-2



Repeat signs and corresponding first and second endings are sometimes used, with their usual meaning in Western staff notation.

To call attention to a rhythmic or melodic grouping not otherwise obvious from the notation, a bracket may be used above such groupings. This can be seen with the brackets in the first line of **Example P-1**, which show a six-note grouping plus (+) a six-note grouping plus (+) a four-note grouping.

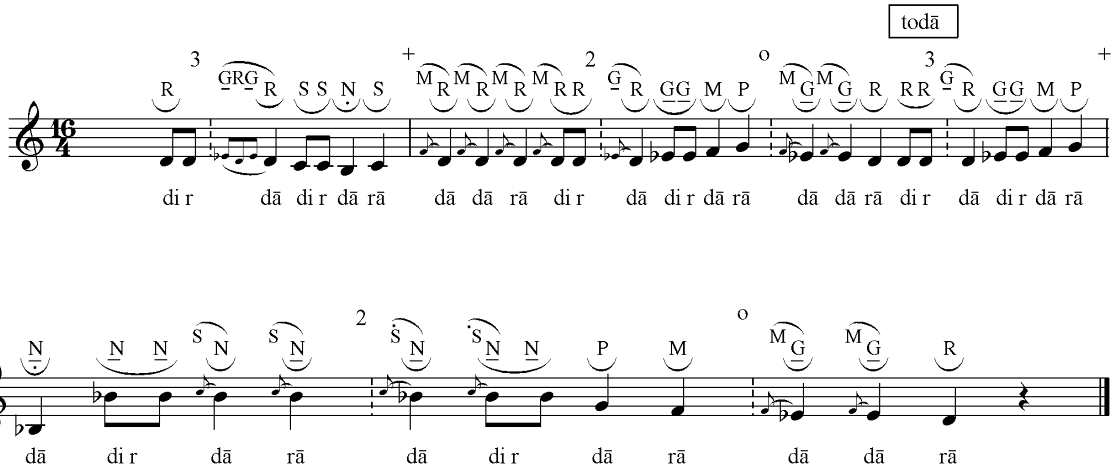
In examples specifically oriented toward such plucked-string instruments as sitar, sarod, or bīn, I have included notation of *bols*. In this context, *bol* refers to the kind of plucking used to generate a note or series of notes. This notation is provided below the staff. The stronger plectrum stroke (on sitar and bin, the upstroke, and on sarod, the downstroke) is referred to as dā. The weaker plectrum stroke (on sitar and bīn the downstroke, and on sarod, the upstroke) is referred to as rā. When dā and rā are played in rapid succession, the combination is referred to as dir (pronounced “diri”). When space allows, the bols are written in as dā, rā, and dir, respectively, though dir is often broken into di and r to line up with the staff notation. A stroke on the chikārī strings (punctuating strings on sitar, sarod, and bīn) is referred to as chik, indicated in the examples with the symbol "✓".

In rhythmically dense passages, particularly in joṛ and jhālā, which involve rapid alternation between strokes, I have altered the notation according to Ruckert's (1991) model. In this form of notation, dā is indicated below the staff in the examples with the symbol "|", and rā with the symbol "–". The notation for chik (✓) remains the same.

Examples P-3 and **P-4** show the two notation systems.

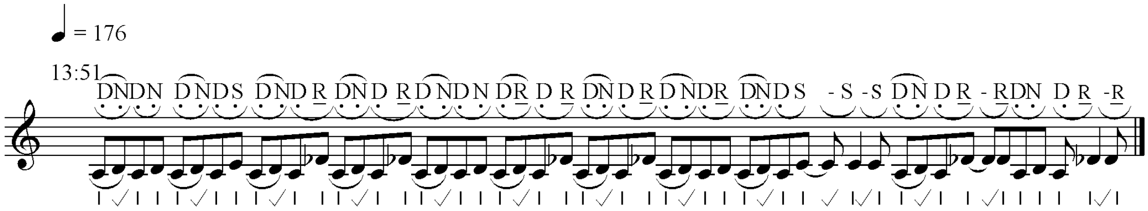
Example P-3

Composer: Bahadur Khan Rāg: Khās Mallār
Tāl: vilambit tīntāl Source: adapted from Miner 1993, Ex. 4


todā
3
+
2
o
R
GRG R
S S N S
M R M R M R M R R
G R GG M P
M G M G R RR G R GG M P
di r
dā di r dā rā
dā dā rā di r
dā di r dā rā
dā dā rā di r
dā di r dā rā
N N N S N S N
2
S N S N N P M
o
M G M G R
dā di r dā rā
dā di r dā rā
dā dā rā

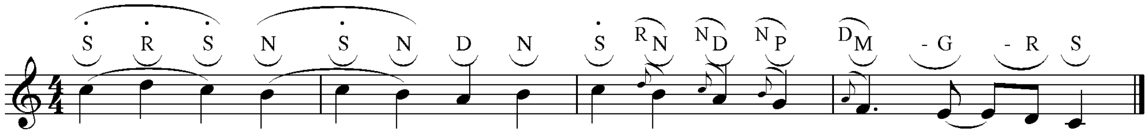
Example P-4

Performer: Z. M. Dagar Rāg: Marwa
Source: Raga-222


♩ = 176
13:51
DNDN DNDS DND R DND RDNDN DR D R DND R DNDR DNDS - S - S DN D R - RDN D R - R

Slurs and grace notes are indicated in the manner of Western staff notation both within the staff notation and within the sargam notation, though in the sargam notation they are always written above the sargam letters to avoid confusion with the rhythmic notation. This aspect of the notation can be seen in example P-4 above, and in **Example P-5** below.

Example P-5


S R S N S N D N S RN ND NP DM - G - R S

Acknowledgements

In the course of my formal doctoral studies in ethnomusicology, I have learned more than I can say from the professors and associates who have helped me through the process. I would particularly like to thank my advisor, Dr. Peter Manuel, and first reader, Dr. Stephen Blum, for their advice, council, and keen insights. Both have helped me greatly in acquiring the knowledge necessary to undertake this project, and in refining my ideas into a coherent dissertation. I would also like to thank the other members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Jane Sugarman and Dr. George Ruckert.

My journey into the world of Hindustani classical music began in 1988 when I had the good fortune to learn from Amiya Dasgupta and David Philipson. I will always be grateful to both of them for giving me my first glimpse into this ocean of music, and to Steve Gorn for guiding me with my subsequent studies. I am equally appreciative of my later teachers. Devendra Murdeshwar was kind enough to accept me as a student, share his knowledge with me, and help me to acclimate to my first of many visits to India. Upon my return to the U.S., I had the good fortune to be able to study with Dr. George Ruckert. His knowledge of the music of the Maihar ghārana through his studies with Ali Akbar Khan helped me to deepen my understanding of the music, and his mentorship was invaluable as I ventured into the study of ethnomusicology. Further study with Dr. Peter Row opened my eyes to perspectives I had not yet considered.

Very special thanks are due to my present guru, Nityanand Haldipur. His instruction has truly been a blessing, and has shown me new depths in the potential of the

bānsurī in the Maihar ghārana. He has not only been a patient and generous teacher, but has shared with me a wealth of information and insights about Pannalal Ghosh.

I am also deeply appreciative of the many people who have generously provided me with information and support. While they are too many to mention here, a few names that stand out are senior disciples of Pannalal Ghosh including V. G. Karnad, S. N. Purohit, and Rasbihari Desai; Pannalal Ghosh's nephews Dhruba Ghosh and Nayan Ghosh; and my good friend Smarth Bali, with whom I have had many conversations about Pannalal Ghosh and music in general.

I am forever grateful to the undying support of my wife, Amanda Barrow, who has always been a great inspiration to all of my work, both creative and academic. And I cannot begin to express my thanks to my father, whose inquisitive mind and depth of soul led me to continually discover new worlds; and my mother, whose boundless spirit has always shown a light on my path.

In memory of my father, Bruce Wyatt Clements
1936-2008

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Introduction

The introduction of the bānsurī into twentieth-century Hindustani classical music is generally credited to Pannalal Ghosh (1911-1960), arguably the greatest performer on the bānsurī (North Indian bamboo flute) in the twentieth century. While the flute in various forms had long been a part of music in India, before Ghosh, no one had been successful in convincing North Indian audiences that the bānsurī was capable of the profundity and nuance required for twentieth-century Hindustani classical music. It was Ghosh who redesigned the bānsurī to have greater depth and fullness of sound, as well as the capacity to execute the subtleties of vocal technique that were necessary for the proper presentation of the music. Beyond his technical innovations, he had the vision to conceive a style of playing within this music that was appropriate for his instrument, and the talent, energy, and determination to work out the physical and musical realities necessary to make his vision a reality.

But while Ghosh's accomplishment was in many ways a work of individual genius, the success of the bānsurī as a featured instrument in Hindustani classical music might not have been possible if the environmental circumstances had not been properly aligned. His achievement must be considered in the context of the social, political, economic, and musical milieu of India, and particularly Bengal, during the decades before and after Indian Independence (1947). His career is illustrative of a broader narrative of tradition and innovation in twentieth-century classical music in North India. For much of the nineteenth century, what is now known as Hindustani classical music was primarily a music of the courts, and from the latter part of the century was largely controlled by musical factions known as *gharānās* that held a tight grip on the direction of the music. Many of the same factors that contributed to the formation of gharānās also created the circumstances that made it possible for non-hereditary musicians to gain access to knowledge of Hindustani classical music. It will be seen that the Bengal Renaissance, a shift in sources of patronage, the rise of nationalist (and particularly Hindu nationalist) sentiment, increased access to a variety of modes of hearing and learning diverse forms of music, and the rise of mass media were all major contributing factors to the success of Ghosh's endeavor.

Given that Pannalal Ghosh is the central figure of this dissertation, it can be considered to be a work of biographical writing. It is, nonetheless, firmly situated within the field of ethnomusicology. Jonathan Stock, writing in 2001, takes note of a recent trend in "ethnomusicological studies that focus directly on the musical experience of individual persons," and discusses factors that might have contributed to the increase in this sort of biographical study within the field (Stock 2001, 5-19). But while this focus on writing about individuals was a relatively new phenomenon, Stock observes that the means of gathering data were fairly consistent with earlier ethnomusicological works "that concentrate more on what is 'typical.'" Individual musicians were usually essential to the research for these more generic studies, although the resulting works tended to focus more on "the documentation of shared musical activity in specific societies" (Stock 2001, 6-7). Thus, while biographical writing can be seen to be a natural extension of mainstream ethnomusicological research, it is a branch that recognizes the agency of specific musicians within a broader musical and cultural context.

Stock observes four common themes in the edition of ethnomusicologically based biographical writings that he is introducing, each of which plays a role in my own work here. First is "a deep concern with the telling of history," and Stock notes that "biography and history become inseparable" (Stock 2001, 6). While I have certainly found this to be true, I might add that at least in the case of Pannalal Ghosh, organology, music theory, and anthropology have also proven to be closely tied to my biographical writing. Ghosh's role as a part of history and a shaper of the course of Indian music history is certainly integral to his biography. But an understanding of his contributions is not complete without some sense of the historical trajectory of the bānsurī, and of other instruments that achieved popularity and prestige in the twentieth century. Music theory has proven to be a useful tool for situating the stylistic elements of Ghosh's music within the context of the music of his time. And to engage in participant-observation, involving direct study and interaction within a musical lineage is in a sense to become a part of the very history one is studying.

Stock's second theme is the idea that biography is often an "act of advocacy" (Stock 2001, 6). With the approach of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Pannalal Ghosh (July 24, 2011), it is my hope to help to revive public awareness of his immense contributions. Given his accomplishments, and the fact that through his efforts the bānsurī became one of the most popular instruments in Hindustani classical music, he is certainly deserving of the kind of recognition given to Bismillah Khan, Ram Narayan, and Shiv Kumar Sharma as important innovators on their instruments. But while he is remembered among connoisseurs of North Indian classical music, his premature death in 1960 at the age of forty-eight cut short his career. As in much of the media-driven world, twentieth-century musical taste in India has had a tendency to quickly move on to the next wave of fashion. I would like to help to insure that Ghosh is remembered not only for his crucial role in establishing the place of bānsurī within Hindustani classical music, but also for his broader contributions to the development of the music of North India in the twentieth century.

The third theme noted by Stock is “a concern for voice that goes beyond speaking for someone else” (Stock 2001, 6). As much as possible, I have attempted to determine the true motivations and intents in Ghosh’s life and music through readings and interviews with a diversity of sources. He was a man of few words, and it is not surprising that surviving records of Ghosh’s voice seem to be limited to his music. I have had to turn to the words of others who knew him directly or who had learned of his life and work through stories passed down through his family, friends, students, and associates. It might also be said that the voice of Pannalal Ghosh lives on through recordings of his bānsurī playing, and I have made an effort to learn as much as possible from his musical language.

Stock’s fourth theme is the use of musical biography “to develop new critical perspectives pertaining to an issue of broad concern in the discipline as a whole…” (Stock 2001, 6). In many ways, Ghosh’s contributions went well beyond popularizing the bānsurī in Hindustani classical music. His role as an innovator in creating a hybrid style for an instrument new to the music; his use of mass media and new means of musical dissemination to gain access to musical learning outside of the gharānā system; his eventual affiliation with the Maihar gharānā, one of the most important new gharānās of the twentieth century; and his capitalization on new modes of musical perception and patronage are all factors that connect Ghosh to some to the most substantial transformations that took place in Hindustani classical music over the course of the twentieth century.

As suggested above, I have found the multi-disciplinary nature of ethnomusicology to be invaluable in exploring the various aspects of Ghosh's life and work within his cultural context. Musical biography; Indian history; organology; music theory, transcription, and analysis; and anthropology are all essential components of this dissertation. While I cannot claim singular allegiance to any one of these fields (and fortunately, ethnomusicology does not ask me to do so), literature from all of them has provided a necessary foundation for my own work.

Biographical (and autobiographical) writings that have served as models and/or provided valuable information include books and dissertations about Allauddin Khan by Jotin Bhattacharya (1979), Anuradha Ghosh (1990), and Ashish Khokar (1996); Ali Akbar Khan by George Ruckert (1993); Hariprasad Chaurasia by Catherine Potter (1993), Uma Vasudev (2005), and Surjit Singh (2008); Annapurna Devi by Swapan Kumar Bondyopadhyay (2005); and Ravi Shankar by Ravi Shankar (1968 and 1999). Parul Ghosh's article (translated from Bengali to Hindi by Vyas in 2000) on Pannalal Ghosh and a chapter on Pannalal Ghosh by Mohan Nadkarni (2002) provide valuable details about his life and work. Program notes by Nikhil Ghosh for the 1976 Pannalal Ghosh Music Festival also provide some useful biographical insights.

Historical and anthropological works have helped me to get a better sense of the cultural, social, political, and economic conditions in which Pannalal Ghosh was inspired and enabled in his efforts to bring the bānsurī into Hindustani classical performance.

Changes specifically in North Indian music and its related institutions are addressed by Janaki Bakhle (2005), Michael David Rosse (1995), Wim van der Meer (1980), Daniel Neuman (1980), and Peter Manuel (1993). Interrelations between art and shifting social, political, and economic circumstances are discussed by Joan Erdman (1992), Tapati Guha-Thakurta (1992), Partha Mitter (1994 and 1997), and Sudipta Kaviraj (1995). Partha Chatterjee (1986), Sunil Khilnani (1997), Sumit Sarkar (1973), and Susobhan Sarkar (1970 and 1979) deal with more general concepts and consequences of socio-economic shifts in India. Such changes are discussed from the perspective of religion in J. T. F. Jordens' writing on Hindu devotionalism in the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries (1975) and David Kopf's works on the Brahmo Samaj (1969 and 1979).

Ghosh's musical development was in many ways a product of pre-existing musical styles of classical, light classical, religious, and folk musics. Charles Capwell (1986) and Karunāmaya Goswami (2010) discuss music in Bengal, while Edward O. Henry and Scott L. Marcus (2000) address music in Uttar Pradesh. Both of these regions served as sources for folk music that Ghosh adapted for his own performances. Peter Manuel (1983, 1986, 1989) provides a history of *ṭhumrī*, an important light classical style performed by Ghosh. Ritwik Sanyal and Richard Widdess (2004) document the development and characteristics of *dhrupad*, a genre that formed an integral part of Ghosh's musical approach. And Bonnie Wade (1984) delves into various aspects of vocal *khyāl*, the musical medium that provided the foundation for Ghosh's primary mode of performance.

A. L. Basham's (1975) volume of writings on India's cultural history and Stanley Wolpert's (1989) history of India were my main sources for general historical information. For Indian music historical information, Swami Prajnanananda (1981) and V. Premalatha (1985) provide information on major musical developments over a broad span of Indian history, Lewis Rowell discusses music in ancient India (1992), and Richard Widdess (1995) focuses on musical developments in India up to ca. 1250 CE. Works by Reis Flora (1983) and Bonnie Wade (1998) on images from the Mughal period, and by Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr. and Stephen Slawek (1988-89) on the eighteenth-century portraits of musicians by Francois Baltazard Solvyns, helped me to document the role of the flute during these periods. As Pannalal Ghosh worked as a musician and music director for films, writings by Alison Arnold (1991) and Teri Skillman (1986) on Hindi film song, and by Peter Manuel (1993) on the development of the cassette industry in India, provided details of the Indian commercial music industry leading up to and during Ghosh's time.

While few other instruments are so dominated by the contributions of a single individual, many organological works have provided useful information and served as models for my own research and writing. These include books, dissertations, chapters, and articles on the sārangī by Neil Sorrell (1980), Joep Bor (1986-87), and Regula Qureshi (1997, 2000, and 2007); the shahnāī by Reis Flora (1995); the sitar and sarod by Stephen Slawek (1987) and Allyn Miner (1993), the tabla by Rebecca Stewart (1974) and James Kippen (1998), the Karnatak voice and violin by Amanda Weidman (2001), and the Karnatak flute by P. Sambamoorthy ([1927] 1967) and Beth Bullard (1998). A few instructional manuals (Lyon Leifer 2005 and Anil Sharma 1982) provided some perspectives on technical aspects of the bānsurī, though my own studies on the instrument were my main source of such information.

The abovementioned works on Indian flute by Sambamoorthy, Bullard, and Potter contain useful information about the history of the flute in India, as do more general works on musical instruments in India by G. H. and Nalini Tarlekar (1972), Bigamudre Chaitanya Deva (1978 and 2009), K. Krishna Murthy (1985), V. Premalatha (1985), and Suneera Kasliwal (2001). Archaeological works about Indian art and sculpture provided photographs containing images of the transverse flute from regions and historical periods. These include works on Amaravati by Douglas Barrett (1954), Nagarjunaconda by Elizabeth Rosen Stone (1994), and Aurangabad by Carmel Berkson (1986).

A number of texts from the early centuries CE to the late nineteenth century document the instruments in use at the time of writing, including the Tamil epic *Chilappatikāram* by Ilanko Atikal (translations by Alain Daniélou 1965 and R. Parthasarathy 1992); *Ain i Akbari*, the chronicle of the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar, by Abu'l-Fazl Allami (translation by H. Blochmann 1878); *Sangīta Ratnākara*, a thirteenth-century musicological text by Śhārngadeva (translations by R. Rangaramanuja Ayyangar 1978, and Shringy and Sharma 1989); *Sangīt Sar*, a late eighteenth-century musicological text compiled by Maharaja Sawaj Pratap Sinha Deo of Jaipur, and the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historical writings of Abdul Halim Sharar (Abdul Halim Sharar, Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, and Veena Talwar Oldenburg 2001). Several religious texts also contain references to the transverse flute, including the *Rāmāyana* of Valmiki (fourth century BCE, translation by Ralph T. H. Griffith 1874[1]), the *Mahābhārata* (fourth century CE, translated by Kisari Mohan Ganguli 1883-86), and the *Śhrīmad Bhāgavatam* (tenth century CE, translated by Swami A. C. Bhaktivedanta 1962).

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[1] Available at http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/rama/index.htm (accessed September 13, 2010).

Writings by Western writers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such as C. R. Day ([1891] 1974), N. Augustus Willard ([1834] 1962), Sir William Jones ([1834] 1962), and Herbert Arthur Popley ([1921] 1996) also provide useful information on the Indian music of their times, despite sometimes strong biases.

My understanding of Indian music theory was derived first and foremost from my Hindustani classical music performance teachers over the years, including Amiya Dasgupta, David Philipson, Steve Gorn, Devendra Murdeshwar, George Ruckert, Peter Row, and Nityanand Haldipur. I have supplemented this knowledge with books by such writers as Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande (1936), Nazir Jairazbhoy (1971), Bigamudra Chaitanya Deva (1981), Vamanrao H. Deshpande (1987), Peter Manuel (1989), Harold Powers (1986 and *Grove Music Online*), George Ruckert (1991 and 1994), Richard Widdess (1995), Sandeep Bagchee (1998), and Martin Clayton (2000). Many of these works have also provided templates for the notation of Indian music. I have selected aspects of these notational systems, combining them with ideas of my own. Nityanand Haldipur graciously provided me with many recordings of Pannalal Ghosh that would have otherwise been unavailable to me. While the exact sources of some recordings I have collected over the years remain unidentified, discographies by Elise B. Barnett (1974), Michael S. Kinnear (1985), and David Philipson[2] helped me to identify many of them.

Despite the fact that Pannalal Ghosh passed away in 1960, participant-observation has been an important means of gaining insight into Ghosh's life, teaching, and legacy. While some of my field study was conducted specifically for this dissertation, quite a bit of the work began much earlier. I first began learning to play the bānsurī in 1988 while working on an M.F.A. in jazz performance at the California Institute of the Arts. At this time, I began learning bānsurī with David Philipson, a student of Pannalal Ghosh's disciple V. G. Karnad; and Hindustani vocal music with Amiya Dasgupta, a senior disciple of the prominent Maihar gharānā sitarist Ravi Shankar. While I did not realize it at the time, I was gathering information that was to form the core of my dissertation. Both Philipson and Dasgupta provided me with recordings of Hindustani classical bānsurī playing—primarily featuring Ghosh, but also recordings of such noted players as Vijay Ragav Rao, G. S. Sachdev, and Hariprasad Chaurasia. My interest kindled, I began to attend concerts of Indian, especially Hindustani, classical music whenever possible, including concerts by Sachdev and Chaurasia. In 1990 I moved to New York City and began studying with Steve Gorn, a student of Gour Goswami, one of Ghosh's early disciples.

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[2] Available on his website at http://adagio.calarts.edu/~bansuri/pages/Pannalal_discog.html (accessed September 13, 2010).

What might be thought of as more traditional fieldwork began for me in 1992 when I moved to Bombay, India for a year of bānsurī study, and to familiarize myself with the culture from which the music was generated. Dasgupta had recommended me to Pannalal Ghosh's senior-most disciple, Devendra Murdeshwar, who graciously accepted me as a student. My objective at this time was to learn to play the bānsurī in the lineage of Pannalal Ghosh rather than to collect data for a dissertation. Nonetheless, the knowledge I gained at this time was invaluable for an understanding of both the bānsurī in general and the lineage specifically.

In 1995, several years after settling in the Boston area, I had the good fortune to deepen my understanding of the music of the Maihar gharānā through my studies with

George Ruckert. Ruckert was a long-time student of Ali Akbar Khan, who was in turn the son of Pannalal Ghosh's teacher, Allauddin Khan. Having taught at the Ali Akbar College of music for many years, Ruckert had collected many compositions that Ali Akbar Khan had written for, or were appropriate for, flute. As Ruckert himself plays the plucked lute known as the sarod, I developed a greater consciousness of the difference between vocally oriented styles and styles developed for plucked-string instruments. Understanding this distinction proved to be essential for delving into the sources of Pannalal Ghosh's bānsurī performance style.

In 1998 I began my studies with my current bānsurī teacher, Nityanand Haldipur. After Devendra Murdeshwar's passing, Haldipur was a natural choice as a teacher, as he was the son of one of Ghosh's senior students and had been a senior student of Murdeshwar. By this time, Haldipur had for many years been a student of Annapurna Devi, daughter of Allauddin Khan and one of the primary inheritors of his style. I felt that Haldipur best embodied the spirit of Ghosh in that he learned both in his lineage and in the lineage of Ghosh's teacher. Haldipur also proved to be a fountain of knowledge about Ghosh, and was an important source of information when I later began formally gathering information for this dissertation.

In 2005 I began fieldwork specifically oriented toward my dissertation, though due to time constraints, the research was conducted in five visits ranging from one to three months over a period of five years. During these visits my research had three main components: (1) I continued my studies with Haldipur, who also provided me with much information and many rare recordings of Pannalal Ghosh. (2) I undertook research at the National Center for the Performing Arts and the University of Mumbai libraries in

Mumbai, the ARCE library and archives in Gurgaon, and the Delhi University library in Delhi. (3) I conducted interviews with former students of Ghosh, including V. G. Karnad, S. N. Purohit, and Rasbihari Desai; music critic Mohan Nadkarni; former Ghosh associates including vocalist S. C. R. Bhat and sārangī player Ram Narayan; bānsurī players in the musical lineage of Ghosh including Deba Prasad Banerjee and Nityanand Haldipur; and Ghosh's nephews Dhruba and Nayan Ghosh (both accomplished musicians in their own right).

The six chapters of this dissertation are presented to support and develop the argument that Pannalal Ghosh's achievement was unique in the history of Hindustani classical music, and that he took full advantage of the resources available to him at a particular moment in history in order to realize his dream of elevating the status of the bānsurī to that of a highly respected instrument in the classical music of North India. Chapter 1 presents an explanation of the technical aspects of the bānsurī to ensure that later discussions of the instrument are comprehensible. I begin with a description of the basic structure and design of bānsurī, including size, dimensions, variations in design, and a chart and explanation of fingering positions. Following this is a summary of the differences between seven-hole and six-hole bānsurī design and playing technique, as exemplified by Pannalal Ghosh and Hariprasad Chaurasia, respectively. I also discuss some of the methods of playing, including hand and finger positioning, blowing technique, use of tonguing, etc. Lastly, I consider stylistic traits and embellishments typical of the bānsurī that suggest affinities with different branches of classical and light classical genres, such as *gāyaki* (vocal) and *tāntrakari* (instrumental) traditions (a topic that is expanded upon in Chapter 5).

Chapter 2 is a history of the transverse flute in India, tracing the instrument from the early centuries CE up to the early twentieth century. Despite its early importance in canonical texts, a continuing association with Hindu popular and religious culture, and a thriving role in folk music, the bānsurī fell out of favor as a featured instrument in the art music in North Indian courts during the period of predominantly Muslim rule beginning in the sixteenth century. The bamboo flute regained some prominence as a classical instrument in South India in the late 1800s, but it is only in the twentieth century that the bānsurī achieved a similar status in Hindustani music. I address the historical significance of the flute in India, and consider possible reasons for its decline in the music of the courts in the centuries before its eventual revival. This provides an essential backdrop for the later discussion in Chapter 4 of possible reasons why the bānsurī was once again embraced in North Indian classical music, and the means by which Pannalal Ghosh reintroduced it into the music.

Chapter 3 is a cultural history of the environment in which Pannalal Ghosh was raised, and in which he developed his conceptions of life and music. This chapter provides an outline of some of transformations and developments in Hindustani classical music, particularly from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, that were products of the onset of modernity. I am working primarily with Giddens (1998, 94) conception of modernity, which includes adoption of the idea that human action can transform the world, establishment of industrial production and a market economy, and the rise of mass democracy and the nation state. As Chatterjee (1986, 37-39) has argued, however, modernity in the colonial world did not perfectly conform to Giddens model. While the focus here is primarily on Bengal where Ghosh spent roughly the first half of his life, cultural and musical developments throughout North India are also considered insofar as they affected his development. The shift from royal to middle-class patronage, for example, profoundly affected audience expectations and sources of income. The association of classical music with Hindu nationalism contributed to the adoption of this music by middle- and upper-caste Hindus. The advent of mass media also played an important role for music and musicians. While film and radio in particular served as vehicles for wider recognition and as sources of income (e.g. All India Radio [A.I.R.] and the Hindi film industry), the resulting public demands increased pressure to adapt to popular mass-mediated tastes. These changes helped to shape the circumstances under which Ghosh was able to redefine the role of the bānsurī.

Chapter 4 is essentially a biography of Pannalal Ghosh, including some critical evaluation of the various accounts of his life and music. Due to the degree to which his life was intertwined with the rise of the bānsurī, this is also an account of the means and circumstances that led to the reintroduction of the bānsurī into the classical music of North India. The themes introduced in Chapter 3 are shown to be integral to the major developments in his career. During his early years as part of a musical family in Barisal (in Bengal, now Bangladesh) he was exposed to folk and classical musics. He also developed some of his foundational perspectives on music, nationalism, and religion. He later moved to Calcutta (1928-40), where he began to play music for radio, film, records, and dance productions. Bengali nationalist figures Rabindranath Tagore and Kazi Nazrul Islam, as well as musician and musicologist Girija Shankar Chakravarti, music director Rai Chand Boral, and harmonium maestro Kushi Muhammed, were important figures in his musical development. The progressive artistic environment of Calcutta helped to shape both his professional career and his style of classical playing. Later, Bombay (1940-56) was his primary residence for the greater part of his performing career, though he lived briefly in Maihar (1947-48) for period of intensive study with Allaudin Khan. From 1956, Ghosh spent the remainder of his life as music director for A.I.R. in Delhi. The events of his life are considered in their cultural and historical context, and consideration is given to elements of myth construction that arise in the various accounts.

Chapter 5 makes use of transcription and comparative analysis to evaluate Pannalal Ghosh's performance style. This includes an appraisal of his contributions to the performance of Hindustani classical bānsurī playing, and an investigation of the sources of the various aspects of his style. The goal here is to situate his playing in the music historical context of his time, and demonstrate his role in clearing a path and setting a standard for later bānsurī players and other musicians seeking to popularize new or undervalued instruments in Hindustani classical music in the twentieth century. His style is assessed in terms of repertoire, formal structure, compositional style, and aspects of improvisation, and the various aspects of his playing are considered in relation to other vocal and instrumental approaches of his era.

Chapter 6, the final chapter, is an evaluation of the legacy of Pannalal Ghosh. His senior disciples included Devendra Murdeshwar, V. G. Karnad, Rasbirari Desai, S. N. Purohit, Niranjan Haldipur, and Haripad Choudhury, all of whom performed and/or passed their knowledge on to the next generation. Another early student of Ghosh in Calcutta was Gour Goswami, though his direct study with Ghosh seems to have ceased after the latter's departure for Bombay. The next generation of Ghosh's musical lineage includes such recognized performers as Nityanand Halidpur, Anand Murdeshwar, Lyon

Leifer, Harshwardan Kaulgi, K. L. Ginde, Naresh Kumta, David Philipson, Vishvas Kulkarni, Deba Prasad Banerjee, and Steve Gorn. Notable players outside of Ghosh's lineage include Ragunath Seth (who may or may not have learned from Ghosh), Vijay Raghav Rao, G. S. Sachdev, and most prominently, Hariprasad Chaurasia. I have provided short biographies of these musicians and considered the degree to which Ghosh's model may have inspired their performance styles.

Chapter 1
Aspects of Bānsurī Technique

Structure and Design

Bānsurī is the term used for the cross-blown (transverse) bamboo flute in North India. This is distinct from end-blown flutes such as the *nā'ī*, which are blown obliquely across the open end of the tube; notched flutes such as the Andean *quena*; and the various duct flutes, whose sound is produced by blowing into a specially designed mouthpiece. The bānsurī is in some ways similar to the Karnatak flute in that both are transverse bamboo flutes played with similar finger positions. There are many differences in design and manner of playing, however. While numerous varieties of the bānsurī exist, and the instrument is used in many different genres, this discussion of the technical aspects of the instrument will focus primarily on the type of flute used by Pannalal Ghosh, and secondarily on alternative designs used in Hindustani classical music.

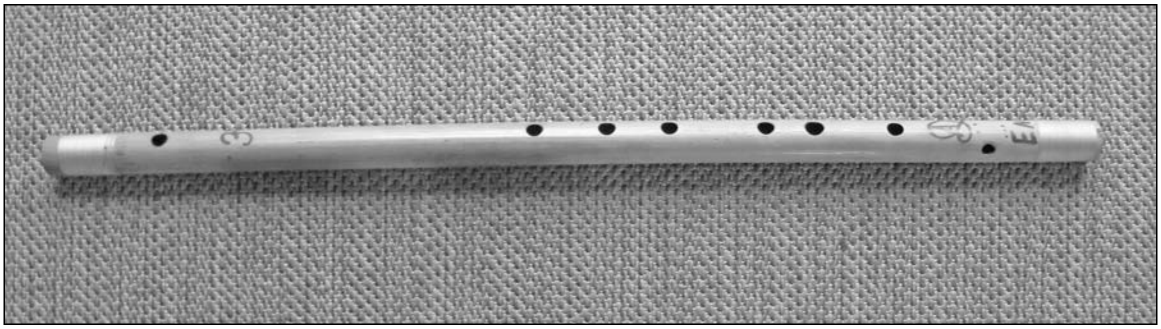

Figure 1 – Seven-Hole Bānsurī

By definition, the bānsurī is made from bamboo, as the first part of the name is derived from the Hindi word *bāns*, meaning bamboo, while the second part of the name is possibly derived from *swar*, meaning sound or noise (McGregor 1993, 719 and 1050). Nonetheless, some instruments considered to be bānsurīs have been made by other materials such as PVC pipe. Bamboo is by far the preferred material, however, and while various types can be used for bānsurī-making, the best varieties are said to come from Assam and Myanmar. According to Nityanand Haldipur and Anand Dhotre, a type of bamboo known as *cinchor* is preferred for bānsurī making. This is available in different varieties in such places as the Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Assam; Bangladesh; as well as in South America. Due to the fact that the bānsurī originated in India, the varieties of bamboo from this country are the best known and most popular. The weight, thickness, and density vary according to the place of origin, and Haldipur notes that the variety from Assam is very hard and has a thicker wall, making it both more durable and better in sound quality.[1] Parul Ghosh, in an article about her deceased husband Pannalal Ghosh, mentions that the bamboo he used came from a shipment from Rangoon (Parul Ghosh, 17).

The size of the bānsurī ranges from approximately nine to 35 inches in length and .5 to 1.25 inches in width (external diameter). While the length to width ratio is somewhat variable, a 25 to 1 ratio is fairly typical. The instrument is normally made with a single straight piece of bamboo with no joints or irregularities. The tube is cylindrical and does not taper. One end of the flute is stopped, typically with a cork, while the other end is open. Sometimes the natural closure at one end of the bamboo is used instead of a cork, but this limits possibilities of adjusting the intonation.

There are numerous makers of bānsurī in India and around the world, and some bānsurī players have opted to design their own instruments. Pannalal Ghosh first worked with a flute maker (who made smaller flutes) in order to design the large classical flute that he eventually used for his classical performances. Later, he designed his flutes on his own or with the help of his friend and student Haripad Chaudhuri. Ghosh's disciples often made their own flutes, and his senior-most disciple, Devendra Murdeshwar, claimed to have taught the late Mumbai-based flute maker Ramchandra Dhotre how to make them for Hindustani classical music. Ramchandra Dhotre's son, Anand Dhotre, has carried on his father's legacy, and has made flutes for a number of prominent flutists including Ronu Majumdar. Nityanand Haldipur, a disciple of Devendra Murdeshwar and Annapurna Devi, often uses flutes designed by Ravi Shankar Mishra, who is based in Mysore. Other noted bānsurī makers include Harsh Wardan in Delhi and Jeff Whittier in California.

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[1] Personal correspondence with Nityanand Haldipur, June 3, 2009.

According to Mumbai flute-maker Anand Dhotre,[2] the bamboo must be dried for several years after it is cut in order to be properly seasoned. Hot iron rods are used to burn the holes into the flute. The blowing and finger holes are all generally in a single line. The blowing hole is located close to the cork used to stop the flute, while the finger holes are in a row mostly on the other half of the flute. The holes are round (sometimes with slight variations in shape) with smooth edges, and are typically about 3/8 to ½ inch in diameter. They are small enough to be covered with the pads or second joints of the fingers (depending on one's playing technique) and large enough to have some fine control over the pitch by partially uncovering a hole. Often the flutes are bound with thread near the ends, and sometimes at other parts of the flute, to help prevent cracking. While these flutes can come in a variety of sizes, the most common keys for Hindustani classical music are low D#, E, and F in the first register above middle-C on the piano.

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[2] Anand Dhotre, personal communication, January 2007.

There are two main varieties of bānsurī in terms of the number of finger holes: six-hole and seven-hole flutes.[3] The six-hole flute is in design similar to other diatonic flutes around the world such as the Chinese di tze or the six-hole Irish wooden flute, insofar as these are all transverse flutes using six finger holes to generate a diatonic scale. The best-known exponent of the six-hole bānsurī is Hariprasad Chaurasia. Progressively lower notes are created by successively and cumulatively covering each of the six holes, starting with the one closest to the blowing end of the flute. If the flute is played in such a way that the main body of the flute projects to the right side of the player, then the first three holes are covered in turn by the index, middle, and ring fingers of the left hand, and the second three holes are covered by the index, middle, and ring fingers of the right hand. Some players, including Hariprasad Chaurasia, play with the main body of the flute projecting to their left, in which case the hands are reversed.

In Hindustani classical flute playing, the tonal center, Sa, is played by covering the first three holes.[4]

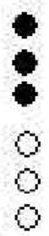

Figure 2 – Finger Position for Sa on Bānsurī

When all six holes are covered, the note Pa, a perfect fourth below the tonal center, is generated.

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[3] There is also a kind of bass flute that has a different design, but this is limited in function and will be discussed later.

[4] See the Note on Musical Examples for an explanation of sargam and its notation.

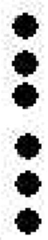

Figure 3 - Finger Position for Pa on Bānsurī

When one plays a scale starting with all six holes covered then successively uncovering each of the holes, the scale generated is a diatonic major scale. The note generated by playing with all holes uncovered generates the note a major seventh above the lowest unaltered note (all six holes covered). By overblowing the notes to isolate the first harmonic, each note can be played one octave higher to obtain a range of an octave and a major seventh.

The seven-hole flute is essentially the same as the six-hole flute, except that an additional hole is placed closer to the open end of the flute and slightly out of line from the other holes in the direction of the player. This hole is played with the fourth finger of the right hand (or of the left hand of a left handed player). The addition of this seventh hole does not change the pitch of the other holes when left uncovered, but when covered, it generates a note a half step lower than the note created by covering the upper six holes. Further uses of this seventh hole will be discussed later.

The fingering chart below for the seven-hole bānsurī uses both sargam notation and Western staff notation to indicate the pitch generated by the various finger combinations. The scale or *ṭhāṭ* derived by starting from Sa with the top three holes covered and using only completely open and completely closed holes is known in North India as Kalyan ṭhāṭ. Kalyan ṭhāṭ corresponds to the European Lydian mode (a major scale with a raised fourth scale degree). A blackened circle indicates a closed hole, while a white circle indicates an open hole. A half-blackened circle indicates a half-covered hole used to generate a chromatic fingering. The note Sa is played with the three fingers of the left hand covering the top three holes. The raised fourth scale degree in the lower register is played by covering all of the holes. The raised fourth scale degree in the middle register is played either by covering all of the holes, or by opening all of the holes. As with the other notes, a second octave of this note can be played by overblowing. Higher notes can be created by further overblowing to obtain upper harmonics, combined with different fingering combinations. Pannalal Ghosh could play up to Ga two octaves and a third above low Sa, giving him a three-octave range. The various chromatic notes can be played on the flute by partially uncovering the lowest hole used to generate the note one half step below the desired chromatic note. When this hole is partially opened in this way, the resulting note is one half step higher than the note generated by keeping this hole fully closed (provided that the proper portion of the hole is uncovered).

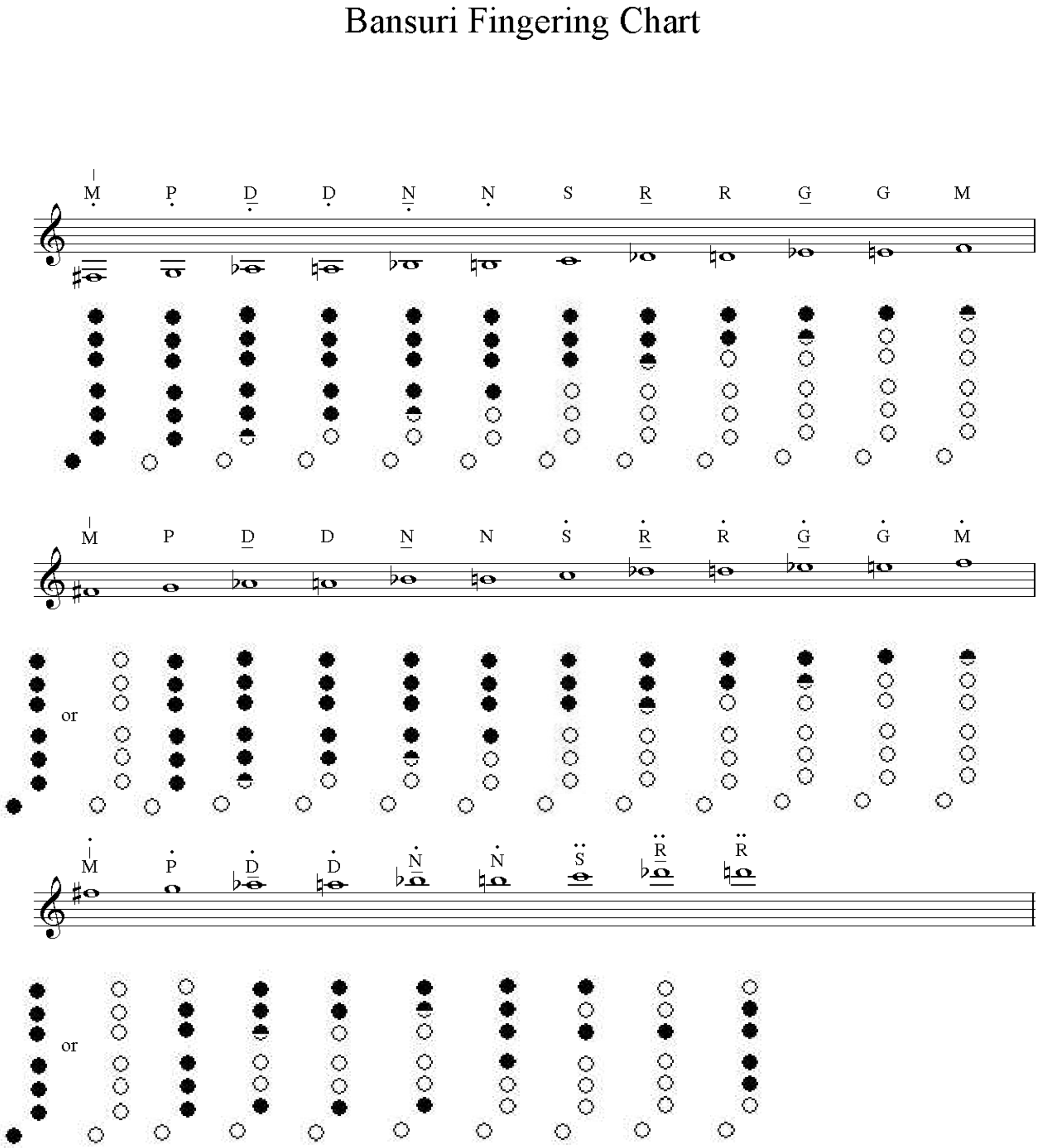
Bansuri Fingering Chart
M
P
D
D
N
N
S
R
R
G
G
M
or
or

Figure 4 - Fingering Chart for Bānsurī

Designating the note generated by covering the upper three holes of the flute as Sa is advantageous for two main reasons. Firstly, it divides the octave in such a way that the performer can adequately develop the mandra saptak (lower register). It is essential that a performer of Hindustani classical music be able to play down to at least Pa below Sa in order to fully develop a rāg, particularly in ālāp. Secondly, the scale derived from using this fingering for Sa without using any half-holes (half covered holes used for chromatic alteration) is Kalyan ṭhāṭ, which is the source scale of rāg Yaman—one of the first rāgs typically learned by students of Hindustani classical music.

Six-Hole Versus Seven-Hole Technique

The difference between the seven-hole and six-hole bānsurī designs might seem very small at first glance. However, differences in playing styles on the two types of flute are often quite significant as a result of this design difference. A more in-depth analysis of seven-hole technique, as exemplified by Pannalal Ghosh, and six-hole technique, as exemplified by Hariprasad Chaurasia, will be presented later in Chapter 6, "Analysis of the Performance Style of Pannalal Ghosh." For the moment, three major points will be noted. Firstly, the seventh hole allows the player to play a half step lower than is possible with only six holes. This note can potentially be bent down an additional whole step through embouchure technique. While this is only a small difference in range, it makes a significant difference in the player's ability to render the tetrachord below the lower tonic. In many rāgs, the fifth scale-degree (Pa) is a very prominent resting point. To properly develop this note, embellishments above and below are very important. While it is possible to bend up to a whole step below Pa on a six-hole flute, this cannot be done with the same facility as with the use of the seventh hole. Other rāgs emphasize the fourth scale degree, Ma, in the lower tetrachord. While this note can be reached in the lower register on a six-hole flute through embouchure inflection, the note has much less projection than the same note played with the seventh hole, and cannot be executed with the same facility. Additionally, the seven-hole flute allows for the possibility of supporting Ma with the third scale degree, Ga, a half-step below. Numerous other rāgs and note combinations in the lower register are facilitated by the seventh-hole, as will be discussed later in the analysis of transcriptions.

The second important point of seven-hole versus six-hole technique is in regard to embellishments in any register. As mentioned above, Pa and Ma are often important notes in a rāg, and need to be supported with embellishments above and below. As with the lower register, embellishments in the middle and upper register are also facilitated by the use of the seventh hole. One of the difficulties of the flute is the fact that in order to continue a scale above the sharp fourth scale degree (tīvra Ma) played with all holes open, one needs to quickly cover six holes and overblow to obtain the fifth scale degree. This is known in Western terms as the “break” on the flute. Crossing the break smoothly is a matter of skill with either bānsurī design, but the seventh-hole facilitates this transition. A very common embellishment of Pa is the note combination Pa Ma Dha Pa Ma Pa, with either natural or sharp Ma. Without the seventh hole, sharp Ma can only be played with an awkward embouchure adjustment, or by uncovering all of the holes. The seventh hole replaces these two unwieldy options with the simple closing and opening of an additional hole. Embellishing Pa from below with natural Ma is awkward with either bānsurī design, but is facilitated somewhat by the seventh hole.

The third point is in the use of portamento, or *mīnḍ*. The execution of a smooth mīnḍ is extremely important in the rendering of Hindustani rāgs. While the bānsurī lends itself well to the execution of mīnḍ over most of the range of the instrument, the difficulty is again with the break of the flute, across which pure mīnḍ is impossible. The seventh hole, however allows for mīnḍ down to Ma (or even Ga in the lower register), which is sometimes very important for establishing the connection between the tetrachords. Mīnḍ down from upper or middle register Pa is problematic with both designs, but is again somewhat facilitated by the seventh hole. Having two options for Ma allows the player of a seven-hole bānsurī to quickly change from one to the other to simulate a pure mīnḍ.

Methods of Playing

The manner in which a flute is played is obviously in part determined by the design of the flute itself. However, there are a number of other aspects of bānsurī playing that are not strictly dependent on the type of flute, such as finger positioning, blowing technique, use of tonguing. The main variable in finger position pertains to the part of the finger that is used to cover the holes. Pannalal Ghosh mostly played using the pad of the first joint of the fingers to cover the holes. This can be seen in the photograph below of Pannalal Ghosh holding the flute with his typical fingering position. This served to facilitate reaching the seventh hole with the right hand, and arguably facilitates various expressive subtleties.

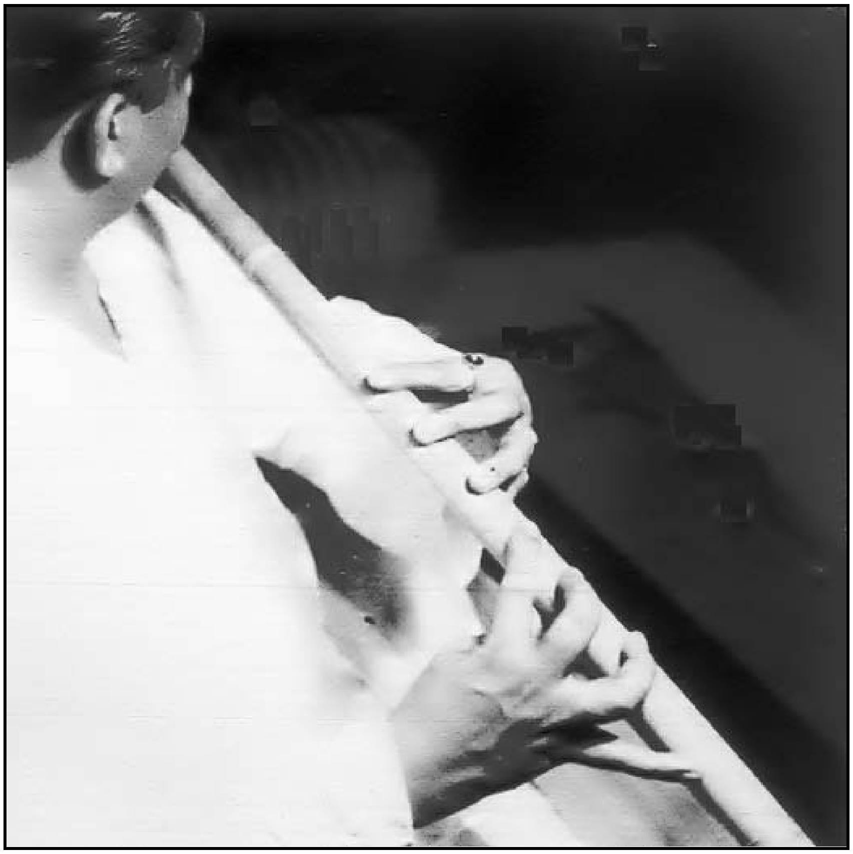

Figure 5 - Photograph of Pannalal Ghosh Showing his Finger Position on Bānsurī
Courtesy of Nityanand Haldipur

Hariprasad Chaurasia mostly plays using the pad of the second joint of the fingers to cover the holes. This might arguably provide some small advantage for speed in execution of note runs, but would make reaching the seventh hole somewhat more difficult. Since Chaurasia plays a six-hole flute, though, reaching the seventh-hole is not a concern.

Blowing technique on either variety of bānsurī is fairly consistent in terms of basic sound generation, but can be varied for the purpose of manipulating aspects of the sound. The air pressure, which supplies the foundation of the flute's sound, is controlled primarily from the diaphragm. The diaphragm creates the initial impetus for the sound, and pressure variations affect volume. Rapid fluctuations in diaphragm pressure are the main method of creating vibrato (or tremolo) on the flute, in essentially the same manner that this is accomplished on the Western flute. The lips control the embouchure and are the exit point of the breath from the body. Since they are in direct contact with the sound hole of the flute, they also allow for subtle variations in pitch, volume, and timbre. Throat tension and shape of the mouth cavity may also be used affect timbre, and sometimes volume.

The tongue, in addition to helping to shape the mouth cavity, is the primary means of attacking the notes. Normally the tongue is used only very subtly to allow for a smooth, vocal quality in the flow of the notes. In *joṛ*, *jhālā*, and sometimes in *tān*s, however, the tongue is often applied quite vigorously. Tonguing, when used lightly, may enhance the vocal feeling of flute playing by simulating enunciation of words. When applied forcefully, though, tonguing may be used to create an effect resembling the plucking and strumming of sitar or sarod. The degree and intensity of the use of tonguing, therefore, is often a reflection of whether the player is emulating a vocal or a (stringed) instrumental style of playing. This will be illustrated in more depth in Chapter 6.

Borrowings from Vocal and Instrumental Traditions

Two primary divisions that are sometimes used when discussing Hindustani classical music are *gāyaki* (vocal) and *tantrakari* (instrumental) *ang* (stylistic division). As will be seen from the discussions in Chapter 6, the categorization of varieties of Hindustani music is in reality somewhat more complex than this, and in theory, all Indian classical music emulates the vocal style. In practice, however, sitar and sarod have adapted many techniques and mannerisms that are quite distinct from those of vocal music. Such adaptations were partially derived from earlier traditions on stringed, such as the *bīn* and the *rabāb*, and they help to compensate for the inability of the plucked stringed instrument to emulate such vocal characteristics as long sustained notes and the enunciation of words. As such, the sitar and sarod often feature quick execution of note runs, rapid plucking, complicated rhythmic groupings (*bols*), and intricate rhythm play (*layakari*).

It should be noted, though, that players of the bīn, which is the predominant plucked stringed instrument in the dhrupad style of Hindustani classical music, generally eschew many such stylistic features and more closely emulate the dhrupad vocal style. Pannalal Ghosh’s nephew Dhruba Ghosh, who is a sārangī player, strongly emphasizes that the bīn is much closer to the vocal style than are sitar and sarod, and suggests that this instrument was probably the primary model for Pannalal Ghosh’s emulation of joṛ and jhālā (Dhruba Ghosh, 1997). The bānsurī, like the shahnāī, finds itself in a kind of middle ground between the voice and plucked stringed instruments, in that it is capable of long sustained notes with great variability of expression like the voice, but has the capacity for fast and intricate note runs and lacks the ability to enunciate words. As a result, bānsurī players have emulated both vocal or stringed-instrument models to varying degrees, depending on general stylistic choices and affiliations with different traditions of playing. Also, certain sections of a khyāl performance on bānsurī lend themselves more to one or the other model. For example, ālāp is normally performed in a vocal manner, while jhālā is more instrumental in character.

Chapter 2
A History of the North Indian Bānsurī

In the present day, the bānsurī is accepted by audiences and performers of Hindustani classical music as an important concert instrument. According to Bonnie Wade, “among concert instruments today, the flute enjoys the same solo status as the *vīna* in the South and the various stringed instruments in the North” (Wade 1979, 108). This status is largely due the efforts of Pannalal Ghosh, who played a major role in reestablishing the transverse flute as featured instrument in Hindustani classical music following hundreds of years of the instrument’s neglect. But in the centuries before the transverse flute fell into disuse in the music of the Indian courts, it had a long history in a variety of contexts ranging from religious rites and associations with Krishna, a popular avatar of the god Vishnu, to performance of Indian art music.

In this chapter, I will discuss this history in order to provide a context for Pannalal Ghosh’s revival of the bānsurī in the classical music of North India. Alastair Dick’s article on Vaṃśa in *Grove Music Online*[1] provides a useful summary of the trajectory of the bānsurī over the course of Indian history. Dick mentions that a flute called *nāḍī* is mentioned in the Ṛgveda, dating from the late second millennium BCE. This was said to be the instrument used by Yama, the lord of death. A flute called *tūṇava* is mentioned in later Vedic texts dating from the first millenium BCE. It is not specified, however, whether or not these were transverse flutes. In the early centuries CE, the *Nāṭyaśhāstra* specifically decribes the *vaṃśa* as a transverse flute. In this same period, a transverse flute known as *muralī* is associated with Krishna, and the Dravidian term *kulal* is used in Tamil writings. The vaṃśa continued to be used in the centuries that followed, and is described in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and other texts as being made in various sizes and tunings from such materials as bamboo, wood, ivory, iron, bronze, silver, and gold. While Dick's account suggests that the transverse flute played a significant role in Indian music history, he also observes that the instrument seems to disappear from art and court music from the twelfth century during the time of Turko-Afghan Muslim conquest in South Asia. Despite the spread of the transverse flute in the iconography of the expanding Krishna cult, and the probable continuing presence in the folk music of East India of transverse flutes known variously as *basī*, *basurī*, *rutu*, *shumul* and *tirạyu*, the end-blown nā'ī is the dominant form of flute mentioned or depicted in the Muslim courts. From the Mughal period onward, there is little documentation of the use of the transverse flute in Indian art music until its revival in Karnatak music by Sarabha Shastri in the late 1800s, where it is referred to as *veṇu* or *pullāṅkulal*.

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[1] Alastair Dick. “Vaṃśa.” In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/51710 (accessed October 29, 2009).

In order to expand upon Dick's account, I am drawing from various sources. P. Sambamoorthy's *The Flute* ([1927] 1967) Beth Bullard's dissertation "Wind of change in South Indian music: The flute revived, recaste, regendered" (1998), and Catherine Potter's Master's thesis "Hariprasad Chaurasia: The individual and the North Indian classical music tradition" (1993) about the well-known bānsurī player Hariprasad Chaurasia contain chapters documenting the history of the transverse flute in India. Historical studies of musical instruments such as Tarlekar's's *Musical Instruments in Indian Sculpture* (1972), Deva's *Musical Instruments of India: Their History and Development* (1978 and 1981), and Krishna Murthy's *Archaeology of Indian Musical*

Instruments (1985) contain useful documentation of images and writings about musical instruments in India, including the flute. Kasliwal's *Classical Musical Instruments* (2001), while less in-depth, nonetheless provides some useful information. Douglas Barrett's *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum* (1954), Elizabeth Rosen Stone's *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunacoṇḍa* (1994), and Carmel Berkson's *The Caves at Aurangabad: Early Buddhist Tantric Art in India* (1986) present photographs of temple carvings.

I have also referenced a number of works dating from the early centuries CE to the early twentieth century that contain information about the flute in different periods of Indian history. The *Nāṭyaśhāstra* by Bharatamuni (translated into English by a board of scholars, 1986) from the early centuries CE, provides a fairly elaborate description of the transverse flute and its uses. The flutes described in the *Mahābhārata* (translated by Ganguli, 1883-86) from the fourth century CE, the *Bhāgavata Purāna* (translated by Swami Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada, 1972–77[2]) from the tenth century CE, and the *Rāmāyana* of Valmiki (translated by Griffith, 1874[3]) from the eleventh century CE are likely transverse, given the context and the common use of the transverse flute inferred from other contemporary sources. The *Chilappatikāram* by Ilanko Atikal (translations by Parthasarathy 1992, Daniélou 1965, and Dikshitar 1939) from the second century CE has several references to the use of the transverse flute in South India.

The *Sangītaratnākara* by Śhārṅgadeva (translations by Ayyangar 1978 and Shringy and Sharma 1989) from the thirteenth century CE describes a variety of transverse flutes, though much of the description might refer to past practice. In the *Ain i*

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[2] Available at http://theorderoftime.org/personal/BhagavataWiki/ (accessed September 13, 2010).
[3] Available at http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/rama/index.htm (accessed September 13, 2010).

Akbari by Abu'l-Fazl Allami (translation by Blochmann 1878) from the sixteenth century CE and the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writings of Abdul Halim Sharar (Sharar, Llewellyn Jones, and Oldenburg 2001), however, the transverse flute is conspicuous by its absence, whereas the nā'ī is seen to be in common use. Madhu Trivedi's chapter "Music patronage in the Indo-Persian context: A historical overview" (2010) notes the mention of the bānsurī in such late seventeenth-century texts as *Rāg Darpan* and *Tuhfat al-Hind*, though it is unclear whether a transverse flute or an end-blown nā'ī is indicated. The late eighteenth-century text *Sangīt Sar* compiled by H. H. Maharaja Sawaj Pratap Sinha Deo of Jaipur (1912) refers to the flute, though it seems to reproduce the writings of the *Sangītaratnākara*. Eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth century works by Western authors including Sir William Jones ([1834] 1962), C. R. Day ([1891] 1974), N. Augustus Willard ([1834] 1962), and Herbert Arthur Popley ([1921] 1996) suggest that the transverse flute was no longer common in the Indian art music of the time.

Definition of Historical Periods

The sections of this chapter are designated with historical time periods. It is difficult to break down Indian history into neat divisions, just as it is difficult to define the boundaries of India at any particular period of time. For the purposes of a consideration of the history of the Indian flute, I am using time divisions that do not necessarily correlate with specific dynasties or events, but tie in roughly with the historical materials available. These breakdowns lean toward events that took place in the North, though historical records from the South are also considered in the course of this chapter. The periods necessarily overlap at times, as important aspects of the chronology often differ in the various regions of India. Despite my necessarily arbitrary time divisions, continuity of events is sometimes given precedence over the dates provided in the section headings.

The period following 500 BCE up to 711 CE is difficult to categorize neatly, but a number of useful historical documents, sculptures, and paintings derive from this time. The era includes the Imperial unification of North India that reached its peak under the Emperor Ashoka in the third century BCE; a period of political fragmentation (ca. 184 BCE-320 CE); and the "Classical Age" (from 320-ca. 700 CE), which featured a reunification of North India during the reign of the Guptas (320-550 CE). I am calling this the **North Indian Unification Period**, though, as mentioned, historical documents in the South are considered as well.

While the first successful Arab conquest in Indian territory occurred in 711 CE, the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni, which began in 997, were the beginning of a more stable Turko-Afghan Muslim presence in North India. I am using this later date as the starting point for an **Early Islamic Period**, though for quite some time the impact of Islam was mostly limited to the Sind.

After many transformations in the character of Islam in India (including a shift toward Persian predominance), the Mughals finally established dominance in North India with Babur's defeat of Ibrahim Shah Lodi, the last of the Delhi Sultans, in 1526. This is a convenient starting point for **the Mughal Period**. The power of the Mughals ebbed and flowed, and the Empire died a slow death after the end of Aurangzeb's reign in 1707. With the rise of British power from the late 1700s, the Mughal rulers became increasingly marginalized. By 1800, the center of power and culture maintained by the successors of the Mughals, the Nawabs, had shifted to Lucknow. While Lucknow and Delhi remained the primary focal points for court music in North India up to the beginning of British Crown rule in 1858, other centers of power, such as Jaipur, Banaras, and Gwalior, emerged as major centers for music (see Miner 1993, 95-100). Although the nineteenth century might well be designated as a kind of transitional period, I am not discussing it here as a separate period. As will be discussed in detail later, the transverse flute largely disappears from North Indian court records during the Mughal Period, and did not regain a significant presence until the late 1800s in the South and the 1930s in the North.

I am using the beginning of British Crown rule in 1858 as the start of an **Indian Nationalist Period**, though the Indian National Congress was not founded until 1885.[4] My final period begins with **Indian Independence** in 1947, at which time Pannalal Ghosh was thirty-five years old and well established as the preeminent Hindustani bānsurī player. The era of the bānsurī in modern Hindustani classical music essentially begins with Pannalal Ghosh.

North Indian Unification Period (c. 500 BCE-711 CE)

The *Nāṭyaśhāstra*, a treatise on drama and music attributed to Bharata, provides the first clear documentation regarding the transverse flute in India. The term vamśha is used, which according to Dick[5] refers to the transverse flute. Widdess writes that the

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[4] Most of these historical details are from Wolpert 1989.

[5] Alastair Dick. “Vaṃśa.” In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/51710 (accessed October 29, 2009).

Nāṭyaśhāstra "is generally considered to have been completed before *c* AD 500…," but that "it is, however, certainly a compilation from earlier sources… which may take us back to the beginning of the millennium or earlier." The *Nāṭyaśhāstra* places the flute in the category of *suśhira* (hollow) instruments, as part of a four-part system of categorization (the other categories being *ṭhaṭha*, stringed; *avannaddha*, percussion; and (*ghana*, solid), and states that suśhira instruments are made of bamboo (Bharatamuni 1986, 414).

The chapter on the flute is brief relative to the discussion of stringed instruments. To some degree this may suggest that the flute was of lesser importance than stringed instruments. On the other hand, of the various wind instruments of the time, the *Nāṭyaśhāstra* discusses only the *vamśha* (Bharatamuni 1986, 414-415). According to Deva, this is because it could serve as a sort of pitch-pipe for setting the key of a song or instrument. "It was only the flute that gave a continuous note without any alternation or faltering, so the key-note of any other instrument could be fixed in accordance with a note of the flute" (Deva 1978, 55). Part of the reason for the relative brevity of the discussion of the flute in the *Nāṭyaśhāstra* is that the rules for playing suśhira instruments in terms of their *svaras* (microtonal pitch increments of Indian music theory) and *grama* (scale type) "are the same as those for the Vina" (Bharatamuni 1986, 414). Thus, more discussion would have been redundant. Instead, the text breaks down the manner in which the different types of notes are to be played specifically on the flute according to *śhrutis* as follows:

> The Svaras of the Vamśa (flute) have two three and four Śrutis. They are Kampita (shaken), Ardha-Mukta (half-liberated) and Vyakta Mukta

> (clearly liberated).
>
> If it is increased beyond that the Svara of the Vina is changed into another. Similarly in the flute also it does so.
>
> The number of Śrutis in notes produced in a flute will be two, three or four and by prolonging the blow the remaining notes may also be produced.
>
> Notes have their features determined by the Śrutis numbering four three or two produced by the application of fingers while playing the flute. Listen to it attentively.
>
> The note produced from a flute hole thoroughly free from a finger consists of four Śrutis, and that from a hole on which a shaking finger is placed consists of three Śrutis and a note consisting of two srutis is produced from a hole which is partly (Ardhamukta) free from a finger. All these are the notes in the Madhyama Grama. Notes of the Sadjagrama will be as follows. Sa, Ma and Pa will arise from a hole Vyaktamukta (fully open). Dha and Ri from a hole Kampita (covered by a quivering finger); Ga and Ni will arise from a hole Ardha-Mukta (partially liberated) Ni and Ga respectively coming in juxtaposition with Sa and Ma and modifying themselves in characteristic Śrutis will give rise to the Svara-Sadharana (overlapping note) and the Kakali notes (Bharatamuni 1986, 414).

From this it can be seen that the flute players during the time of the *Nāṭyaśhāstra* used many of the same kinds of subtle finger and embouchure techniques used by present-day flute players, though they were working within a very different musical system.

The *Nāṭyaśhāstra* also discusses the importance of the flute in combination with the voice and the *vīna*, and briefly discusses how the flute should be played:

> The notes of the flute should be perfected and accomplished with the help of the Vina and of the human throat. The very notes the songster attains should be sung to the accompaniment of a flute. A unison of the human throat the Vina and the flute is specially praised. The music of the flute, which is steady not very loud and furnished with the Varnas and the Alamkaras and following the rules is sweet and soothing. These should be known regarding musical notes by persons playing flutes (Bharatamuni 1986, 415).

In Abhinavagupta's tenth- or eleventh-century commentary on the *Nāṭyaśhāstra*, he provides the details of the mode of production of the different notes on the flute as follows:

Left hand ring finger – Ṣadja
Left middle ring finger – Ṛṣabha
No finger – fully open – Gāndhāra
Shaken finger – Madhyama
Right hand – ring finger – Pañcama
Right hand – Middle – Dhaivata
Right hand – Index finger – Niṣāda

Shaken finger – Madhyama

(Abhinavagupta, in Bharatamuni 1986, 415)[6]

The apparent use of three fingers of each hand suggests that the flute that is described in the *Nāṭyaśhāstra* had six holes. If one assumes a flute design roughly equivalent to the six-hole flutes used today, this suggests a similar fingering practice to that used in twentieth-century Hindustani classical bānsurī playing. "Left hand ring finger – Ṣadja" most likely indicates that the top (left-most) three finger holes of the flute are covered to play Sa, the tonal center, with the left-hand ring finger covering the lowest (right-most) hole of the three.[7] The remaining descriptions of the manner of generating each note also mostly correspond to the manner of playing the twentieth-century bānsurī, with a few possible exceptions. Playing Ga (Gāndhāra) with no holes covered differs from the twentieth-century bānsurī, which uses the left index finger to cover the first hole to generate Ga. The use of all open holes on the twentieth-century bānsurī generates tīvra Ma. Also, the indication of using a "shaken finger" to generate Ma (Madhyama) is somewhat unclear, but may refer to partially covering the first hole, possibly with some *andolan* (slow vibrato), to generate Ma. This would correspond to the manner of playing shuddh Ma on the twentieth-century bānsurī, except that andolan would not always be used. The fact that the only difficult note to reconcile is Ga leads one to question whether there might have been some error in transcription or translation.

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[6] This excerpt from the Abhinavabharati is in the notes in Bharatamuni, *The Nātya Śastra of Bharatamuni*, trans. a board of scholars (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1986), 415.

[7] This differs from the Karnatak practice of covering only the first two (left-most) holes to generate Sa.

Other Sanskrit sources from the first seven hundred years CE make mention of transverse flutes. Krishna Murthy (1985, 8) states that *Charudatta*, a Sanskrit play by Bhasha dating from approximately the third century CE, refers to a flute with seven holes called *venum gayami saptacchidram*. He also notes that the *venu* is mentioned in the seventh-century *Harshacharita*, a biography of the emperor Harsha. The great Indian epics the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, which are also believed to have been written during this period, mention the flute. Judging from the other descriptions of flutes used at the time, it seems likely that the flutes being discussed were transverse. In the *Mahābhārata* of Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyasa, the flute appears in a grandiose gathering before a contest to win the hand of Draupadi. Among the many splendors of the scene, the music is described as "resounding with the kettle-drum and the deep hum of infinite voices, and echoing with the softer music of the flute, the Vina, and the tabor [a two-headed drum]... " (Ganguli 2000, Adi Parva 374). In describing the glory of Ayodhya, the *Rāmāyana* of Valmiki describes a scene in which "in every street is heard the lute, the drum, the tabret [a small frame drum], and the flute" (Griffith 1874, 12).

Tamil Writings of the Sangam Period (Second to Sixth Century CE[8])

Some of the Tamil writings from the Sangam period, roughly 300 BCE to 300 CE, describe the function and characteristics of the flute in India. The *Chilappatikāram*, a Tamil epic by Iḷaṅko Aṭikaḷ from roughly the second or third century CE, contains a number of references to the flute (presumably transverse given that *kuḷal*, a South Indian term for a transverse flute, is used). I am primarily relying on Parthasarathy's 1993 translation, though I have also consulted translations by Daniélou (1965) and Dikshitar (1939). Due to the level of detail provided by Aṭikaḷ, it seems likely that he was speaking from first-hand knowledge or drawing from musical texts. The flute seems to have had some importance in teaching and performance. The music teacher of the heroine of the text "played well… the lute and flute [the term *kuḷal* is used in Dikshitar's translation]…" (Atikal 1993, 35), and the flutist of the group was well versed in the subtleties of diction, embellishment, modes, and was attuned to the sound of the drums (Atikal 1993, 36). The flutist also served as an accompanist to the singer in a manner resembling present-day vocal accompaniment, in that he "closely followed the singer, improvised on what he heard, and forestalled what was to come." He was also said to have had a well-developed sense of melody, giving a clear sense of each note (Atikal 1993, 36).

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[8] Date estimation of the Sangam period according to Krishna Murthy.

The *Chilappatikāram* provides some indication of the use of the flute in ensemble performance, and Atikal (1993, 38-39) writes that the flutist normally took the lead in beginning a song, followed by the lute, and then the drums. This suggests a fairly prominent role for the flute in such music. The flute was also played at the shrine of Ananku along with other instruments (Atikal 1993, 121), and was associated with the shepherd, who "plays the song of the forest on his flute" (Atikal 1992, 15-16). Thus it would seem that, at least in the Tamil music of this period, the flute played a significant role in a variety of instrumental styles in the court, the temple, and the shepherd's field. The flute was already associated with Krishna at this time, as the text includes "The Song of Mayavan," in which Mayavan (one of the names of Krishna, according to Sadasivan 2000, 173) is repeatedly mentioned as playing the flute (Atikal 1993, 173-174).

The *Chilappatikāram* also provides some information about the design of the flute. According to footnote number 2 in Dikshitar's translation (1939, 99), "the *kuḷal* was made of one of five materials, namely, bamboo, sandal, bronze, red catechu, or coromandel ebony. Of these, bamboo was regarded as the best material, bronze middling, and others as distinctly inferior. The flute was as ancient an instrument as the lute and the drum." Sambamoorthy ([1927] 1967, 30) notes that the epic includes "elaborate details regarding the construction and technique of the flute," some of which are not provided in the English translations. Using a unit of measurement of about 5/8 of an inch, the length was specified as twenty units, the circumference 4 ½ units, and the diameter of the finger-holes as "the length of a paddy grain." The flute was to be constructed with a cylindrical bore of uniform width. The tube was to be cut at both ends, removing any knots, and the left end was to be plugged with wax or some other material. The mouth-hole was to be two units from the plugged end, and the placement of the eight finger holes was such that the first finger hole was seven units from the mouth hole, and the last, two units from the open (right) end. All of the holes were to be in a straight line. While eight finger holes are mentioned, the flute might well have been played in the manner of the present-day Karnatak flute. The Karnatak flute has eight holes, but the last hole is rarely played, and the seventh hole functions somewhat like the seventh hole on the Hindustani classical bānsurī.

Other early Tamil sources that mention the flute include the *Tolkāppiyam*, which mentions four types of flute (Bullard 1998, 164), and the *Puranānūru*, which refers to the flute being used in casting the spells to protect bodies on the battlefield (Premalatha 1985, 105). Sambamoorthy ([1927] 1967, 7) states that further information about the construction and technique of the flute can be found in other Tamil epics from the Sangam Period (100 BCE – 100 CE) such as *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai, Poruṇarāṟṟuppaṭai*, and *Malaipaṭukaṭām*.

Buddhist Sources

Buddhist imagery and writing also provide an early source of information about the flute in India. Krishna Murthy (1985), Deva (1978), and Premalatha (1985) provide useful information in this regard, as do books containing images of sculpures at Amaravati (Barrett 1954), Nāgārjunacoṇḍa (Stone 1994), and Aurangabad (Berkson 1986).

Some of the earliest depictions of the transverse flute are located at Amaravati. A carving from the late phase of the Amaravati style, which Barrett (1954, 52-53) places in the second or third century CE, clearly shows a transverse flute being played by a woman, apparently for dance accompaniment at a gathering of women.[9] What look like a lute and a small drum are also being played by women in this scene. Judging by the proportions, the flute depicted would have been roughly twenty inches in length with a fairly thin bore. A stone carving entitled "The Temptation of the Buddha and the Great Departure"[10] found at Nāgārjunacoṇḍa in Andhra Pradesh, dated by Stone (1994, 37, 51-2) to the second half of the third century, also depicts a similarly sized transverse flute being played, again apparently for dance accompaniment. Around the first three centuries CE, images of the flute can also be found at Sanchi (Krishna Murthy, Deva, Premalatha), Gandhara (Krishna Murthy 1985, Premalatha 1985, 254), Mathura (Krishna

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[9] This carving is housed at the British Museum, and is reproduced in Plate XXVII of Douglas Barrett (1954).

[10] This carving is housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and is reproduced in fig. 114 of Stone (1994).

Murthy 1985, 59), Barhut (Krishna Murthy 1985, 59), Udayagiri (Premalatha 1985, 254), and Ellora (Premalatha 1985, 254). Day [1891] 1974, 100) writes that the vamśha is mentioned in the *Milindapanha*, a Pali work dating from the first century BCE.

Krishna Murthy (1985, 59-61) observes that the transverse flutes at Sanchi are depicted with varying numbers of finger holes, and are played by male musicians together with other musical instruments, apparently for entertainment. Premalatha (1985, 254) adds that the flute is "not very long," with "the mouth hole… within the limit of the first quarter of the tube." He states that "it is not possible to distinguish the number of holes…," and that "in the the beginning of the Buddhist art the flute was mainly played along with conch and drums in processions…."

According to Krisha Murthy (1985, 59-61), the flutes at Gandhara are played by both male and female musicians, and "palace attendants, celestials, *naginis* are seen in the reliefs playing upon this type of instrument." One of the panel illustrations depicts what appears to be a foreign, possibly Greek, woman playing a kind of horizontal flute that Krishna Murthy suggests may be of Greek origin.

From approximately the fifth through seventh centuries CE, depictions of the flute can be seen at Ajanta (Krishna Murthy, Premalatha, Sambamoorthy), Aurangabad (Premalatha), Ellora, and Badami (Premalatha). Krishna Murthy (Krishna Murthy, 59-61) describes the flutes at Ajanta as having "knobbed or obliquely cut ends." According to Premalatha (1985, 254), flutes are played by both men and women. He states that they are of two sizes (though both have the same bore width): one longer with a curved left end and the mouth hole near the center of the tube, the other shorter with the mouth hole nearer to the left end.

Premalatha (1985, 254) describes the flutes from the Gupta art at Ellora (320-480 BCE) as being roughly the same length as the flutes at Amaravati, but with the mouth hole closer to the left end of the flute. Similar depictions of flutes can be found at the nearby Aurangabad caves (ca. sixth century CE), and at Pawaya (ca. third century CE). These flutes are shown to have been played in a posture much like the bānsurī is normally played today—with the flute projecting to the right of the body at a slight angle. A stone carving from Cave 7 in Aurangabad (dated around the sixth century CE[11]) depicts a female figure playing a transverse flute in a scene similar to the one described above at Amaravati.[12] Berkson (1986, 156) writes that the female figures depicted in this sculpture are deities personifying music and dance, and that "this group of seven constitutes the expression of the concept of *sptasvarabhuta nrityagitadi*, i.e., dance and music based on seven notes." The deities are accompanying the dance of Tara, Avalokiteshvar's female attendant, and the flutist is designated as *Vamśha* in the caption. This suggests that the flute continued to be an important instrument at this time, and was likely used in ensemble music accompanying dance.

Medieval Period (997-1556 CE)

In his entry "Flute" in *Grove Music Online*, Jeremy Montagu[13] concludes that the transverse flute must have been important in Indian music around the tenth century CE, as "it is usually assumed that it was from India that the transverse flute migrated into

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[11] See the Archaeological Survey of India website at http://asi.nic.in/asi_monu_whs_ellora_aurangabad.asp and the Wikipedia article "History of Maharashtra" at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Maharashtra#Kalachuris for derivation of this date.

[12] This carving is reproduced in Berkson (1986, 156).

[13] Jeremy Montagu, et al. "Flute." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40569 (accessed August 10, 2010).

Byzantium in the 10th century, at which period it began to appear in manuscript illuminations, and thus came into Europe." Evidence within India seems to support this assertion, as the presence of the transverse flute in India remains significant from the eighth through the sixteenth centuries. Premalatha documents its presence in temple images, religious and poetic works referring to Krishna regularly connect him with the transverse flute, and a number of scholarly texts from the time, particularly the *Sangītaratnākara*, also discuss the instrument.

Following an apparent gap in the documentation of the transverse flute in temple images, Premalatha (1985, 254) observes the reappearance in the early tenth century CE of the long transverse flute "on the sculptured lattice window on the western entrance of the Parasuramasvara temple at Bhuvaneswar." He also notes that flutes with a larger circumference seem to have been used early in the 11th century, as seen in images in the Duledeo and Lakshmana temples at Khajuraho. In addition, "long flutes with lesser dimensions" appear in images at Khajuraho, the Jain temple of Neminatha in Rajasthan, and at the South Indian sites of Darasuram and Belur. He infers that all of these flutes have eight finger holes, based on the number of fingers that appear to be covering holes.

Associations of the transverse flute with Krishna are quite common during this period. Sambamoorthy ([1927] 1967, 28) makes mention of the images from this period depicting Krishna with the flute in Hoysala art of the twelfth century, at Puri, and Kanchipurum. In the *Śhrīmad Bhāgavatam*, a devotional text centered on the incarnations of Vishnu (particularly Krishna) dated around the tenth century CE (Bhaktivedanta, trans. 1962), the connection between Krishna and the flute is evident. Chapter 21 of the *Śhrīmad Bhāgavatam* ("The Gopīs Glorify the Song of Krishna's

Flute") describes a pastoral setting in which Krishna, tending his cows and roaming the lakes, rivers, and hills, plays his flute in a manner "which brought to mind the flourishing [of all existence]," and "which captivates the minds of all living beings."[14] This passage does not state whether or not this was a transverse flute, but it seems likely given the context. The poet Chandīdās, "the first great name in Bengali *bhakti* literature" (Jordens 1975, 271), refers to the connection between Krishna and the flute in his fourteenth-century *Krishnakīrtan* (devoted to Krishna and Radha).

The *Sangītaratnākara*, an important music treatise from the thirteenth century CE, includes an extensive discussion of the flute from both earlier and contemporary times. I am relying primarily on translations by R. Rangaramanuja Ayyangar (*Sangeeta Ratnakaram: A Study*, 1978) and R. K. Shringy and Prem Lata Sharma (1989). According to Ayyangar's translation of the *Sangītaratnākara* (which is interspersed with his own commentary) (Ayyangar 1978, 271), the flute is "the foremost Sushira Vadya," reflecting its status in the *Nāṭyaśhāstra.* As in the *Chilappatikāram*, it is said to have been made of a variety of materials—primarily bamboo, but also Khadira, sandal or red sandal wood, ivory, iron, brass, silver, and gold. It was to be constructed with "a smooth, perfectly round and right surface, free from dents and knots..." The flute was open on its right end and closed on its left. The width was said to be "the circumference of the little finger…," for the whole length of the flute.

The flutes were said to range in size from twelve to eighteen inches, but it is not clear if the bore width varied with the length of the flute. Even longer flutes up to twenty-one inches are also discussed as a theoretical possibility, but may not have been in actual use (Ayyangar 1978, 271-272). Sambamoorthy ([1927] 1967, 42-25) states that Śhārṅgadeva considered the longest flutes to be unsuitable, and that "he mentions them only because the ancients have mentioned them." This suggests that at least some of the information on flutes in the *Sangītaratnākara* is based on earlier practice, and Sambamoorthy observes that long flutes are depicted in Ajanta cave paintings made at least seven centuries before the time of the *Sangītaratnākara*.

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[14] A translation of the *Bhagavata Purana* by Swami A. C. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada is available at http://www.srimadbhagavatam.org/ (September 13, 2010).

Alastair Dick suggests that the diversity of sizes and materials shows how much the flute had been developed by the thirteenth century. He notes that the flutes mentioned in the *Sangītaratnākara* were tuned so that the keynotes of the different flutes matched each of the seven degrees of the lower and middle octaves and the upper tonic. He compares this to the present-day practice of classical flute players, who he says, "bring a bag of different-sized flutes to a performance, suited to the range and tuning of different ragas."[15]

Despite the variety of sizes and materials used in flute construction, certain aspects of flute design seem to have been somewhat consistent. According to Ayyangar's translation (1978, 271-272), the distance from the right end of the flute to the blowing hole is said to have been proportionate to the size of the flute. The blowing hole is said to have been three quarters of an inch in diameter. There were eight additional holes, each one half inch in diameter. The last of these holes, which may have been for tuning or timbre purposes, was two inches from the open end. The "speaking length" of the flute (apparently the spacing from the first finger hole to the last hole from the open end) varied according to the size of the instrument. It seems that the range of the seven playing holes was one octave (Ayyangar 1978, 274), which suggests a parallel with modern flutes, though it is not clear if a second octave was obtained using the overtones of the first octave as is done today. This description seems quite similar to the manner of construction detailed in the *Chilappatikāram*. The use of eight holes, with at least the last of them being for tuning and/or timbre, is also much like the flute in use in Karnatak music today.

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[15] Dick, *Grove Music Online*.

The *Sangītaratnākara* also provides details of the manner in which the flute was played, including hand and finger position and methods of note manipulation. As with modern bānsurī technique, "the natural pitch of a note emerging from a hole was diminished by a quarter tone or a semitone (Eka Sruti or Dvisruti) by manipulating the holes suitably with the finger" (Ayyangar 1978, 272). The note "was diminished further by a quarter tone by shaking the finger gently (Anguli Kampana)" (Ayyangar 1978, 272). If Ayyangar's translation of *Anguli Kampana* is correct, then this does not seem to be a sustained quarter tone, but rather an effect akin to the slow vibrato known today in Hindustani classical music as *andolan*. However, if Sambamoorthy is correct that the "process of flattening or sharpening is called *kampa*" (Sambamoorthy [1927] 1967, 51), then *Anguli Kampana* may refer to a more stable alteration of the note. The similarity of this description of playing technique closely resembles that described in the *Nāṭyaśhāstra*, suggesting that it may have been drawn from this or some other earlier source.

A series of techniques known as *phūtkara* involved five ways of altering the quality of a note. These were as follows:

> Kampita, shaking the flute up and down gently with the lower lip, Valita, rocking it with the fingers, Mukta, keeping a hole Amudrita or open, Ardhamukta, Amudrita for half a hole and Nipeedita, Mudrita for all the holes and sending air through the hollow…(Ayyangar 1978, 276)

Well-executed phūtkara was characterized by "the power to charm, depth and intensity, sweetness, clarity, carrying power, delicacy and beauty of sound, overtonal richness, unhurried flow..." (Ayyangar 1978, 278-9). Qualities of poorly executed phūtkara included "staccato, poor in volume, thin and piping, stumbling out of tune, screech and whistling due to over-blowing…, jarring and ear-splitting, dense and thickset and devoid of modulation…" (Ayyangar 1978, 278-9).

The music played on the flute was essentially the same as that of voice and other instruments, as "Veena, voice and Venu are common channels that convey music." Śhārṅgadeva notes the special qualities of the flute, however, observing that it "is unsurpassed in delicacy of sound, sweetness and over-powering charm" (Ayyangar 1978, 278). The qualities of good flute playing are said to be "deft and nimble fingers, microtonal precision, extensive Raga perspective, suggestiveness, flair for selection, firm and steady tempo, feeling confident and quite at home even in unchartered, recondite regions of creative art…" (Ayyangar 1978, 278-9). The shortcomings present in poor flute playing were "abundance of faulty diction and cacology, conflict and incongruity between thought and execution, uncouth mannerisms like shaking and rolling the head and the torso, unsteady fingers, nervousness and stagefright, cloying iteration, cheap puerile gimmickry… (Ayyangar 1978, 278-9).

It seems that the flute was normally expected to play the same serious rāgs as voice and vīna, though the flute was also expected to play some *deshi* rāgs "for the benefit of the ignorant and the uninitiates…" (Ayyangar 1978, 279). The flute also played in a flute ensemble known as *vamsaka brinda*, which featured "a principal flautist leading a quartette of flute players" (Ayyangar 1978, 279). The *Sangītaratnākara* includes the flute in all of the vocal ensembles, with the ideal ensemble including "four leading singers, eight following singers, twelve songstresses, four flutists and four drummers"; the "average" ensemble "is half of it;" the mini ensemble had "one leading singer, three following singers, four songstresses, two flutists and two drummers"; and the ideal female vocal ensemble included "two leading songstresses, following songstresses, two flutists and two drummers"; the average female vocal ensemble had "one leading songstress, two following songstresses, one flutist and one drummer" (Shringy and Sharma 1989, 204).

While all of this would make it seem that the bamboo flute was well established by the time of the *Sangītaratnākara*, Śhārṅgadeva suggests that the flute may have actually been waning in popularity. He writes: "Just now the flute is eking out a precarious existence, with not a single exponent of outstanding merit" (Ayyangar 1978, 278). This contradiction is difficult to reconcile unless one considers that the ensembles described by Śhārṅgadeva might have been of an earlier time. This possibility is supported by Śhārṅgadeva's references to past practice, and the resemblance of some of the descriptions to passages in the *Nāṭyaśhāstra* and the *Chilappatikāram*. Clearly, though, the flute was considered to have been an instrument of great importance, being one of only two instruments listed as regularly accompanying vocal ensembles. Whether or not this was still the case in the thirteenth century, though, is unclear.

A slightly later Tamil treatise called *Panditaradhyacaritam* (ca.1270 CE) makes mention of forty-nine varieties of flute (Singh 1995, 111). Krisha Murthy (1985, 8) mentions a reference to the vamśha in the *Manasara*, a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century text on architecture. The fifteenth-century treatise *Sangīta-rāja* provides in-depth information on the construction of transverse flutes (vamśha), which Singh (1995, 136-137) suggests is an indication that the author had "a practical knowledge of these instruments…." According to Premalatha, evidence of the flute in India continues up to the sixteenth century. He reports that flutes of a somewhat smaller dimension are depicted at Tirupati from the Vijayanagara period of around the sixteenth century (Premalatha 1985, 254). He also mentions a sixteenth-century epigraphic report from Travancore in South India that states that someone by the name of Nayinar Alagan Ayyikutti was to play the flute three times per day at Pannipakkam in front of the god Mahadeva (Premalatha 1985, 321).

Mughal Period (1556-1858)

It is possible that the transverse flute may have maintained some presence in the North Indian courts at least up to the late seventeenth century, as Madhu Trivedi (2010, 81) writes that Sāqī Musta 'id Khān, author of *Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī* (1870-73) claimed that Aurangzeb (1658-1707) "had an expert knowledge of music and could not listen to it without the flute (*bānsurī*) and pakhawaj." *Rāg Darpan* and *Tuhfat al-Hind* (both of which discuss the music during Aurangzeb's time) mention an ensemble referred to as the *uttam vrind*, which included four flute players (Trivedi 2010, 83). Trivedi states that the phrase *bānsuri yāni nāy*, meaning "bansuri, that is to say, nāy," is used here to describe the flute.

The implication of the phrase *bānsuri yāni nāy* is somewhat ambiguous, as it equates two very different varieties of flute without clarifying which type is being used. This suggests that the terms bānsuri and nā'ī may have been used interchangeably at this time. Due to the lack of images depicting the transverse flute in the music of the courts during this period, I am inclined to believe that the nā'ī is indicated in the reference to the flute in *Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī.* In the case of *Rāg Darpan*, Sarmadee's translation simply uses the word bānsurī, and does not include the phrase *bānsuri yāni nāy* (Faqirullah 1996 [1666], 178). As parts of *Rāg Darpan* seem to derive from earlier Sanskrit sources such as *Rāg Sāgar*, and a flute quartet is mentioned in the thirteenth-century *Sangītaratnākara* (Ayyangar 1978, 279), it seems probable that the discussion of flute ensembles refers to the practice of an earlier time.

It is uncertain what became of the flute in the North Indian courts after the sixteenth century, but compared to the copious imagery of and extensive references to the flute in earlier times, records of the transverse flute become relatively scarce. While there are continuing references to and images of the flute from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, it seems to have largely fallen out of favor as a concert instrument from the eighteenth century. Writing in the late 1700s, N. Augustus Willard observes that despite its former popularity and association with Krishna, "there are few professional performers on this instrument now" (Willard [1834] 1962, 67). Premalatha (1985, 254) notes that the long, decorated ("with the face of a *Makara*" near the mouth hole, "and with tassels at the other end") flute reappears "after a long interval" in seventeenth-century indigenous paintings, particularly in Bengal. He also points to woodcarvings in Jain temples in Gujarat dating from the early nineteenth century, which depict the flute (Premalatha 1985, 254). Sambamoorthy ([1927] 1967, 31) notes that the South Indian texts *Chaturdaṇḍīprakāśhikā* (seventeenth century) and *Sangīta-sārāmrta* (eighteenth century) both "have mentioned that Madhyamādi rāga sounds well on the flute." There is a discussion of the flute in the late eighteenth-century text *Sangīt Sar* (Singh [1790] 1912), but this seems to be drawn primarily from the thirteenth-century *Sangītaratnākara*. Texts documenting contemporary practice in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century North India such as *Muraqqa e Delhi*, *Ma'danu'l-mūsīqī*, *Nadavinod*, or the writings of Abdul Halim Sharar (Sharar, Llewellyn Jones, and Oldenburg 2001), though, make no mention of the flute.

While the transverse flute seems to have declined during the time of Mughal rule, virtually disappearing during the eighteenth century, the end-blown flute known as the nā'ī is ubiquitous in iconography and written accounts of the Muslim courts. While the nā'ī and the bānsurī are both considered to be flutes, they are in fact two very distinct instruments. The embouchure and angle used to generate the sound, and the subsequent tone quality, are substantially different, as are the dimensions, fingerings, and systems of overtones. Bonnie Wade (1998, 89) suggests that the nā'ī may have been played since pre-Mughal times for dance accompaniment in India. Whether or not this is the case, the fact is that the once prominent transverse flute seems to have much less of a presence in the Mughal courts. The *Ain i Akbari* provides a list of the principal musicians in Akbar's court, which includes a nā'ī player but no transverse flute player (Allami 1878, 612). The paintings and drawings presented in Wade's book *Imaging Sound: An Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India* (1998) feature numerous depictions of the nā'ī, but none of the transverse flute. The nā'ī, on the other, seems to have persisted in *naubat* ensembles at least up to the late 1800s, as Day ([1891] 1974, 96) observed that in his time these ensembles included, among other instruments, "perhaps a couple of Nuy or flutes-a-bec [fipple flute]."

Wade (1998, 89-90) suggests that gender may have played a significant role in the decline of the bānsurī. According to her hypothesis, Krishna's transverse flute may have fallen out of favor in the courts due, quite ironically, to the rise of the *bhakti* movement. According to Wade's argument, women often played the musical accompaniment for dance, and the bānsurī had come to be associated with the strongly masculine figure of Krishna, "who dances and plays his way into the hearts of every female." As a result, for women to play the transverse flute "may not have seemed appropriate, with the result that the traditional dance accompaniment on flute used the West Asian *nā'ī*."

I find this hypothesis to be somewhat questionable for two primary reasons. Firstly, Indian theater and dance have frequently crossed gender roles, and female dancers regularly depict Krishna in their *abhinaya*. It is unclear from Wade's argument why the playing of Krishna's instrument would be any more de-feminizing than the acting out of moments of his life. Secondly, if respect for Krishna was paramount in the minds of *bhakti* devotees, it seems doubtful that they would have chosen to discard his instrument in favor of a West Asian instrument.

One might also consider Day's assertion that wind instruments were "looked upon as of secondary importance…" possibly due to "the fact that Brahmins are not allowed by their religious laws to use them, excepting only the flute blown by the nostrils…" (Day [1891] 1974, 103). Bullard reinforces this idea. She writes:

> Early in my studies, I asked TSP [T.S. Parthasarathy] why the flute had not been a Brahmin instrument. His answer surprised me: "Saliva." Ordinarily a Brahmin does not play a wind instrument because of the presence of the body fluid, which is very polluting. The association of the flute with the low-caste temple-dance orchestra was also problematic for Brahmins—these ensembles were made up of sons of devadāsī-s. Dancers and the musicians who accompanied them were much socially inferior to Brahmins (Bullard 1998, 179).

Prohibition by Brahmins, however, does not stand out as a likely determining factor for the bānsurī's decline in the North. The instrument had previously been popular in times when Brahmins held even more sway than in Day's time, and it was during the time of Muslim rule that the bānsurī seems to have become less popular in the Northern courts. And even in the South, it was the Brahmin Sarabha Shastri who popularized the flute in Karnatak classical music in the late 1800s.

It is probably more relevant to consider the fact that the period in which the flute declined in North India coincided with the time during which the Mughals ruled large parts of India, particularly in the North. The absence of the transverse flute in most of the literature and imagery of the time is somewhat conspicuous, and it is worth considering that the transverse flute does not seem to have played a major role in the cultures of the Islamic peoples that settled in India. In his 1984 entry on "Vamsha" in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Alastair Dick speculated that the transverse flute's decline during Muslim rule in North India was possibly due to "a prohibition against the instrument by Muslim rulers because of its strong symbolic association with Krishna, one of the most popular Hindu deities during that time" (Dick 1984, 192). In his updated entry on the same subject in *Grove Music Online*, he writes as follows:

> With the spread of Turko-Afghan Muslim rule over the greater part of South Asia from the end of the 12th century, the eclipse of the transverse flute as a court and art-music instrument is remarkable. When a flautist is mentioned at a Muslim court, it is often a player of the *nāy* (the Persian oblique flute). This is the more remarkable considering that it was during this period that the Krishna cult grew most significantly, and countless homes and temples had their idols of *madanamohana* ('the charmer', 'the seducer') holding a transverse flute. (Dick 2009).

While Dick's revised article steps back from the assertion of an actual prohibition of the flute by the Muslim rulers, his correlation of the decline of the flute with the rise Turko-Afghan Muslim rule despite the rise of the Krishna cult during the same period still suggests some form of cause and effect. It is possible that it was not outright prohibition that led to the transverse flute's greatly diminished presence, but rather instrumental preference. The Mughal courts (with some notable exceptions) were in fact often very open and receptive to Hindu musical ideas, but there were likely certain musical and instrumental preferences in the courts that leaned toward Central Asian models. The instruments sitar and tabla, which came to be increasingly dominant in the court music of the later part of the Mughal period, derive their names from Persian (*sitar* = "three-stringed")[16] and Arabic (*tabl* = "a drum played with the hand")[17] sources, respectively. The name of another important instrument from this period, the sarod, is also of Persian derivation.[18] This is not to say that Central Asian instruments replaced Indian instruments, as the above-mentioned instruments are apparently hybrids that developed in an eclectic environment.[19] Nonetheless, it does seem that instrumental preferences in the courts did not generally favor the instrument of Krishna.

Perhaps the reality of the bānsurī's decline in the courts is a combination of all of the above proposals. While it is difficult to say with any certainty, Mughal preferences, Brahmin prohibitions, and gender considerations may all have conspired to push the transverse flute into the background. The bānsurī certainly maintained a prominent symbolic role as the instrument of Krishna, and was most probably in continuous use outside of the courts. But the scarcity of references to and depictions of the bānsuri in court music from Akbar's time up to the late 1800s suggests that it had lost its once significant role in North Indian art music.

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[16] From Online Etymology Dictionary, http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=sitar (accessed September 13, 2010).

[17] From Online Etymology Dictionary, http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=tabla (accessed September 13, 2010).

[18] From http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sarod (accessed September 13, 2010).

[19] See Miner 1993, Kippen 1988.

Indian Nationalist Period (1858-1947)

The transverse flute seems to have still been in use in some forms of Indian music in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but its role in North Indian art music appears to have remained greatly diminished. Writing in the early twentieth century, Fox Strangways states: "In spite of the fame conferred upon it by Krishna's performance among his Gopis, the flute seems to fade out of Indian music; at least there are few references to it, and it is seldom to be heard nowadays." He suggests that this may be because "its mellow tone is not of the kind which appeals to Indian ears," noting that the more popular reed and string instruments and voice all have a "piquant" sound that is lacking in the bānsurī (Fox Strangways [1914] 1994, 78).

It seems that some kinds of flute retained a significant presence in the folk musics of Lahore, Jaipur, South India, Mathura, Kandha, Ludhiana, Soval, and East Bengal, as Fox Strangways uses flutes from these regions to derive scales whose "remoteness of origin" he hopes will serve as "an efficient substitute for antiquity of record" (Fox Strangways [1914] 1994, 101-102). It is not clear, though, if any of these were transverse flutes. Popley, writing in 1921, noted, "the flute is still used to a slight extent both by shepherds and by professional musicians, but it has very largely given way to the reed instruments." Among the flutes in use at the time, he cites the *algosa* (*algoza*), the *ka*s-*sharati* ("used in the Khasi Hills"), and the *basuli* ("used in Nepal for weddings and dances") ([1921] 1996, 116-117). Of these three flute varieties, probably only the *Basuli* was a transverse flute. Day includes images of both transverse and fipple flutes in plate 15, and states that the transverse flute shown is "the Pillagovi, or Murali, made of bamboo, and traditionally believed to be invented by the god Krishna, who is usually represented as holding it or playing it. The name bansuli is sometimes given to this instrument" (Day [1891] 1974, 149). In his 1927 foreword to Sambamoorthy's *The Flute* ([1927] 1967, v), Popley writes: "Many a time have I listened to the watcher by the flocks at night or in the late afternoon as he played the simple melodies on his homely flute."

Conspicuously absent from these accounts, however, is a discussion of the flute in Indian classical music. Nonetheless, by the time of Popley's and Fox Strangways' writings, the flute had already become quite popular in Karnatak music in the hands of Sarabha Sastri and his disciple Palladam Sanjeeva Rao. As will be discussed in more depth later, it is probably not a coincidence that the flute was revived as a prominent classical instrument —first in the South, and later in the North— during a period of growing Hindu nationalism. While it is doubtful that the transverse flute was actually suppressed in the Mughal Period, it seems to have suffered from a lack of patronage. It is perhaps telling that the North Indian gharānās, or musical lineages, included vocal music, sitar, sarod, sāraṅgī, and tabla (depending on one's definition of *gharānā*[20]), and not flute. These largely Muslim-dominated institutions were reflective of the vocal and instrumental lineages that were supported by the courts. When the flute did reemerge in North Indian classical music, it was at a time when the gharānā system had begun to relax its grip. Deva notes that V. N. Bhatkhande, whose role in the Hindu middle-class acceptance of Hindustani classical music will be discussed in depth in Chapter 3, played the flute as a child, "and was a popular artiste in the local festivities" (Deva 1981, 102). This does not suggest that the flute had been revived as a Hindustani classical instrument at that time, but it is interesting to note his interest in the instrument.

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[20] See discussions of *gharana* in Neuman 1980, van der Meer 1980, and Deshpande 1987.

In the South, the gharānā system per se was never a factor, and Karnatak music had long retained a significant Hindu representation. The flute also seems to have had a long history in the South among the lower-caste Pillai community as part of the *chinna melam,* an ensemble used to accompany Karnatak dance. Bullard writes that "prior to 1860, the flute had served as one of the main melody carriers, along with the voice, in the temple dance orchestra, the cinna melam," but that "this function was given over to the clarinet (called by many the "clarionet")" (Bullard 1998, 126). According to Sambamoorthy (1952, 86-87), the melody in the cinna melam was formerly performed on flute or *mukhavīna* (a double-reed instrument smaller than a *nāgasvaram*), and a bagpipe was used for a drone. But clarinet later replaced the flute and mukhavina due to its larger range (three octaves instead of the two and a half octaves of the flute) and ease of playing *śhruti*s using mechanical keys. The greater presence of the flute in the South was a likely reason for its revival as a featured classical instrument in the South before the North.

Sarabha Shastri (1872-1904)

While the flute had been in use in one form or another over the centuries, it seems that a few key figures were responsible for raising its status as a solo instrument within Indian classical music in modern times. Sarabha Sastri is credited with the revival of the flute in the Karnatak music of South India. Sambamoorthy ([1927] 1967, 35) calls him "The genius that elevated the flute to the status of a primary instrument in recent times…who in his short life, showed the immense potentialities of the instrument as a vehicle for the highest form of musical expression." According to Bullard, "he is reputedly the first person in a Brahmin community to transfer to the flute the solo repertoire of South Indian classical music. So doing, he raised the status of the flute from 'just an accompanying instrument' for a low-caste repertoire to a solo instrument and, in essence, a Brahmin instrument" (Bullard 1998, 177).

Blind from the age of two, he seems to have been something of a prodigy, adept at a number of instruments. He first learned from a *nāgasvaram* player, and later studied vocal music under a Brahmin guru (Manambucavadi Venkatasubbayyar, according to Singh 1995) who "was not only a direct-line disciple but also said to be a blood descendant of the most revered composer of Carnatic music—the saint-musician, Tyāgarāja" (Bullard 1998, 177). As such, he studied in the two main lineages of Karnatak music—the lower-status musician caste known as Pillai, and the high-status Brahmin caste (Bullard 1998, 177-8). This correlates with the process of the adoption of Indian classical music by the Hindu middle-class, which will be discussed in detail later. He was also "the first to give a flute concert and the first to present Carnatic music in a format suited to a concert stage" (Bullard 1998, 178). Bullard emphasizes the comparisons of Sastri to flute players important in Hindu legend: Krishna and Anaya Nayanar, a flute-playing saint in the Saivite tradition. Sastri composed and performed hymns dedicated to these two figures. The Karnatak pieces that Sastri selected for performance on flute formed a foundation for a tradition of Karnatak flute playing (Bullard 1998, 178-9).

According to Kasliwal, Sastri's disciple Palladam Sanjeeva Rao followed in his legacy, helping to popularize the Karnatak flute for almost sixty years. T.R. Mahalingam, purportedly of equal genius to Sastri, developed his own style of flute playing in the Karnatak style (Kasliwal 2001, 81-83). Sambamoorthy ([1927] 1967, 35) asserts that "amongst concert instruments, the flute enjoys the same dignity and status as the vīna. It is now a primary instrument and flute concerts are given to the accompaniment of the violin and *mridangam*.

Kasliwal describes the modern South Indian flute as being about thirty to forty-five centimeters in length and about .5 centimeters in diameter—smaller in size than the Northern classical flutes. She states that the material used is a carefully chosen piece of a kind of thick bamboo from southern India, which is dried in the shade for about one year. The mouth hole is set about three quarters of an inch from the closed end, and the first finger hole (*tara randhra*) is placed about 3 inches from the mouth hole. There are a total of eight finger holes,[21] and the range of the flute is about two octaves, corresponding to that of the human voice (Kasliwal 2001, 83).

Pannalal Ghosh (1911-1960)

The popularization in the twentieth century of the bānsurī in Hindustani classical music, as mentioned previously, is generally attributed to Pannalal Ghosh. While he was born in 1911, thirty-nine years later than Sastri, the growing popularity of the flute in the South had not yet inspired its revival in Hindustani classical music. As suggested earlier, the dominance of Hindus in the South may have been a factor in the earlier acceptance of the Karnatak flute. The strength of gharānās in the North may also have inhibited innovation and the acceptance of new instruments into Hindustani classical music. The greater emphasis in the classical music of the North on the slow and stately introductory rāg development known as *ālāp* may also have delayed the acceptance of the flute as a solo instrument. Both the Karnatak flute and the folk flutes had pitches that would have been considered too high and shrill for serious Hindustani rāgs. The ways in which Ghosh was able to overcome these obstacles will be discussed in depth in the course of this dissertation. His example inspired numerous other flutists in the generations that followed, and the bānsuri is now firmly established in the world of Hindustani classical music.

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[21] The common practice of Karnatak flute playing, though, is to only play the top seven holes, with the bottom hole usually serving to ensure the correct tuning and timbre of the flute (much like the bottom hole mentioned in the *Sangītaratnākara*).

Chapter 3
The Musical and Cultural Milieu of Early Twentieth-Century North India

Pannalal Ghosh was born in 1911, and was thirty-six years old when India gained independence from British rule on August 15, 1947. This was a time of dramatic change, and Indian classical music reflected this on many levels. Socio-economic transformations, the growth of mass media, independence from British rule, and many other factors contributed to a major restructuring of the Indian musical landscape. To understand the contributions of Pannalal Ghosh, it is important to consider the environment that both shaped him and allowed him to undertake the innovations necessary to gain acceptance for the introduction of the bānsurī as a prominent solo voice on the Hindustani classical stage. As will be seen from Ghosh biography in Chapter 4, he was possessed of a powerful strength of will and a burning desire to see India and its culture gain the recognition it deserved. In many ways, the bānsurī became his symbol and vehicle for India's greatness, and he strove throughout his life to elevate this humble instrument to a highly respected status.

Ghosh's musical milieu was very much a product of events in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that heralded the beginning of modernity in India. Anthony Giddens (1998, 94) enumerates three primary characteristics associated with modernity: (1) a certain set of attitudes towards the world, the idea of the world as open to transformation, by human intervention; (2) a complex of economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; (3) a certain range of political institutions, including the nation-state and mass democracy. Giddens also emphasizes the dynamic nature of modern societies, which live in live in the future rather than the past, and are made up of a complex of institutions. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these characteristics were increasingly applicable to India, though adherence to traditional values and systems, British domination, and the lack of a true democracy limited the degree to which India could be truly considered to be modern. But it was certainly a time of transformation through human action, the economy was becoming increasingly industrial and market oriented, and nationalism was on the rise.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Indians sought to forge a national identity distinct from their British overlords, while still pursuing a path toward modernity. But many aspects of this definition of Indianness were informed by British Orientalist conceptions. Orientalism postulated a fundamental otherness of Indians (as it did others of the "Orient"), using knowledge of India's past to affirm this distinction. As Edward Said (1978, 41) states, "Orientalism... is knowledge of the Orient that places things Oriental in class, court, prison, or manual for scrutiny, study, judgment, discipline, or governing." While the British made use of such knowledge to justify its domination of India, Indian nationalists drew on ideas of India's past greatness in an attempt to establish a unified national identity distinct from the British. Partha Chatterjee (1986, 37-39) argues that the Indian nationalist ideology adopted an Orientalist thematic that accepted an essentialized difference between East and West, and a problematic that appropriated this Orientalist essentialism for its own purposes. Thus, a reappropriated Orientalism helped Indian nationalists embrace modernization without simply adopting a Western mode of thought. As Kopf observes, the processes of modernization and Westernization "are not necessarily synonymous" (1969, 275). Orientalism, instigated by the British, became a tool for validating a Hindu national identity. Nationalism, which derived from

Western conceptions of modernity, and Orientalism, which was used by the British as a tool for control, were paradoxically two of the primary vehicles for a break from colonial dominance. The arts played an integral role in Indian self-definition, and were thus crucial to the formation of an Indian national identity.

In this chapter, I will consider four interrelated developments that reshaped the way that music was perceived, taught, supported, and disseminated. I first discuss the Bengal Renaissance, a revival of intellectual, artistic, musical, religious, political, and social reform in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries driven primarily by the Bengali Hindu middle class. Susobhan Sarkar's *On the Bengal Renaissance* (1979) provides an outline of the five main periods of the movement. David Kopf's work on the Brahmo Samaj (1979) helps to clarify the role of this important religious organization in the Bengal Renaissance; and his writing on Orientalism, modernization, and the Bengal Renaissance (1969) demonstrates their interconnectedness. Sunil Khilnani (1997) discusses the correlation between Indian self-definition and the development of democracy in India.

As this is a work on music, the artistic dimensions of the Bengal Renaissance merit special attention. Tapati Guha-Thakurta (1992) draws important connections between nationalism and the development of modern Indian art. Rustom Bharucha (1983), suggests similar parallels between Indian political theater and nationalism. Art, theater, and literature contributed to the assertion of Indian identity, and often served as tools for the eventual break from the British. However, they each adopted significant features of the corresponding art forms of Europe. It will be seen that music served as a particularly potent symbol of Indianness due to the fact that it never significantly adopted

Western ideas in its practice, though Western institutions played a major role in its reception and dissemination.

Second, I consider how the shift from courtly to middle-class patronage was instrumental in the formation of gharānās, which provided a construct in which musical knowledge could be preserved and propagated. Harold Powers (1986), Daniel Neuman, and Wim van der Meer (1980) all provide useful background information regarding the environmental circumstances in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that contributed to the development of gharānās. Daniel Neuman's (1980) definition of gharānās is perhaps the most authoritative, and most later scholars have looked back to his work on the subject. However, such authors as Bonnie Wade (1984) and James Kippen (1988) have suggested that there is some flexibility within the concept of gharānā. While gharānās continue to exist today, they do not retain the same degree of exclusivity that they once held.

Third, I examine the movement for the revitalization of Hindustani music that arose in the nineteenth century. This movement, which was intimately connected to the Bengal Renaissance, led to the establishment of new institutions founded for the musical education of the Indian middle-class. These institutions contributed to the transition to middle-class patronage of Indian music and helped to redefine music in a Hindu nationalist context. Such institutions were an important part of social and economic changes that made it easier for Hindu musicians to become professional Hindustani classical performers. Michael Rosse's dissertation "The movement for the revitalization of "Hindu" music in northern India, 1860-1930: The role of associations and institutions" (1995), discusses the movement in general, but emphasizes the role of Bengal in the early development institutions for the promotion of Indian music. Rammohun Roy's Brahmo movement played an important early role, and various members of the Tagore family were major contributors to its further advancement. Janaki Bakhle's book *Two Men and Music: Nationalism in the Making of an Indian Classical Tradition* (2005) emphasizes the contributions of Western India to the revitalization movement. She presents a critical examination of the role of these institutions in the Hinduization (or as Slawek (2007, 507) argues, the re-Hinduization) of Hindustani classical music, with particular focus on the efforts of V. N. Bhatkhande and V. D. Paluskar.

Fourth, I discuss the advent of mass media, which created a vehicle for the dissemination of music to a wider audience than had ever before been possible, and to some extent loosened the tight grip of gharānās. Gerry Farrell (1993) provides details of the beginnings of India's gramophone industry in terms of its history, social implications, marketing, and adaptation of existing genres. Peter Manuel (1993) presents a broader discussion of mass media in India, including additional information about the record industry and a useful discussion of the role of radio broadcasting in the trajectory of Indian music in the twentieth century. Daniel Neuman (1980) discusses the impact of All India Radio on Hindustani classical music dissemination and patronage. Alison Arnold's dissertation on Hindi film song (1991) is a valuable source of information on the early film industry, including the development of the industry, the use of music, important figures in film music, and the role of musicians.

The Bengal Renaissance

The years leading up to Indian independence were a time of great volatility and national pride in which Indians were seeking to define a national (or in some cases, communal) identity in the face of increasingly oppressive British domination. Bengal, where Pannalal Ghosh spent the first twenty-eight years of his life, was a prominent intellectual, cultural, and revolutionary center often at the forefront of cultural reclamation and/or redefinition. While early twentieth-century Bengal was the birthplace and creative source of such luminaries as Rabindranath Tagore, and later Satyajit Ray and Pannalal Ghosh, they were in many ways products of a movement that began about one hundred years earlier.

The Bengal Renaissance laid an important foundation for many of the developments in the region. Sarkar (1979) describes this period as a time of intense cultural expression, which he attributes in large part to the impact of British rule. David Kopf concurs that this "rediscovery and revitalization of a Hindu Golden Age was probably the Orientalist's most enduring ideological contribution to modern India's cultural self-image" (Kopf 1969, 284). During this time, the Bengali *bhādralōk*, the cultured class somewhat analogous to the bourgeoisie, exhibited a more sophisticated consciousness of modernization than did the rest of India. They actively sought to change what they saw as outdated traditional practices, fought for democratic reform, and strove to define an Indian national identity. In a sense, Bengal played a role comparable to that of Italy during Europe's Renaissance. As discussed above, however, Bengali ideas of modernity did not simply imitate European conceptions, and Orientalist ideas of India were reappropriated by Indian nationalists for their own ends.

Sarkar divides the Bengal Renaissance into five periods. The first, from 1815 to 1833, spans the period from the time when the Hindu reformer Rammohun Roy settled in Calcutta, up to his death in 1833. The second period is from 1833 to 1857, from the time of Roy's death to the outbreak of the Mutiny, the failed rebellion that led to British Crown rule. The third period, 1857 to 1885, dates from the Mutiny to the foundation of the Indian National Congress; the fourth, 1885 to 1905, from the foundation of the Congress to the partition of Bengal; and the fifth, 1905 to 1919, from partition and the *swadeshī* movement to Gandhi's non-cooperation movement.

The first period of the Bengal Renaissance is essentially defined by the life and work of Rammohun Roy, whom Sarkar sees as synthesizing the best aspects of Eastern and Western thought and culture (Sarkar 1979, 14-26). His views were fundamental to the theistic society known as the Brahmo Sabha, a religious organization founded in 1830 that sought to reform Hindu, particularly Brahman, social and religious practices. It was Roy's belief that the eventual result of British rule would be the formation of an Indian middle class and a popular movement of emancipation. While he was often resistant to British policies, and took part in the first constitutional agitations, he was actively involved with the Western world. He was very interested in international affairs, and broke Brahmin custom to cross the waters to England.

While the Young Bengal movement (Sarkar 1979, 25-31) took a more radical stance during Sarkar's second period, its impact proved to be temporary, and the more moderate ideas of Rammohun Roy returned to prominence after 1843 (Sarkar 1979, 31-37). Debendranath Tagore, who changed the name of the Brahmo Sabha to the Brahmo Samaj and founded the Society for the Promotion of the Bengali Language and

Literature, took up the cause of religious reform, and helped to revive the Brahmo movement. He also served as secretary of the British Indian Association, which organized agitation to promote Indian rights and interests (also see Kopf 1979, 15-16.). Other important moderate reformers were Akkhoy Kumar Dutt (1820-1886), and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891). Both allied themselves with the Tattvabodhini Sabha, an associative organization of the Brahmo Samaj, and helped to draw members of the Young Bengal movement to the Sabha (Kopf 1979, 57).

During Sarkar's third period (Sarkar 1979, 38-52), beginning with the Mutiny in 1857, moderate views took center stage. The Mutiny, a major rebellion in northern India against the British that was ultimately brutally supressed after over a year of conflict, resulted in direct Crown rule and a more strained relationship between the British government and its colonial subjects in India. Educated Bengalis dissociated themselves from the Mutiny itself, but resisted the vengeful retaliation of Europeans. This period also saw a marked growth of Indian nationalism and an upsurge against the British indigo planters (1859-60). Writers, poets, and dramatists such as Dinabandhu Mitra (1828-94), Madhusudan Datta (1824-1873), and Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay (1838-94) expressed social protest through their works. One of Chattopadhyay's novels, *Anandamath* (1882), included the hymn "Bande Mataram," which became very popular during the nationalist movement.

This was also a time of religious revivalism, featuring some more extreme offshoots of the Brahmo Samaj. The increasing radicalism of the Young Brahmos, however, sparked a wave of resistance from the Hindu revivalists. They resorted to social persecution, and scoffed at what they perceived to be a puritanical element among progressive Brahmos. Among conservative Hindus, there was a growing acceptance of the view that Muslims were backward. Such attitudes helped to fuel communalism. One Muslim revivalist response was the Wahabi movement, a puritan upsurge originating in the Arab world, that was taken up enthusiastically by many downtrodden Muslim peasants in India. The Wahabi movement had a strong political aspect, and created some of the first Indian terrorists.

Not all branches of Hindu revivalism took on an exclusive and communal character, however. Ramkrishna Paramhansa (1836-86) was a Hindu revivalist who taught the sanctity of all faith and claimed to have "'tested' the validity of most of the major religions of the world to discover the validity of each one's professed uniqueness" (Kopf 1979, 266). His movement helped to undermine protestant militancy and reassure traditionalists without resorting to social pressures. His chief disciple, Swami Vivekananda, furthered his teacher's cause and took on the role of a Hindu missionary to the West. The Ramakrishna mission was later a very important inspiration for Pannalal Ghosh.

As nationalist sentiment continued to grow, arts and other forms of cultural expression were harnessed in support of the cause (Sarkar 1979, 48-52). One clear manifestation of this phenomenon was the Hindu Mela, an annual fair in Calcutta that offered prizes to writers, artists and athletes. It featured a display of Indian arts and crafts and the singing of patriotic songs and recitation of patriotic poetry, along with contemporary literature. Among the goals were the encouragement of Indian producers and the education of the public about their own country. The Indian National Conference, which grew out of the Mela in 1883, virtually fused with the Indian National

Congress in 1886. As a natural consequence of this trajectory, Bengalis played a major role in the activities of the early Congress. Such continued national consciousness eventually led to the swadeshī movement.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) was the most outstanding Bengali literary and cultural figure of this time. From his early youth, he was active politically, and as a poet and actor. By the age of twenty-three, he was acclaimed as a master writer for his poems, songs, plays, stories, novels, and essays. He was a powerful advocate for the use of Bengali as a medium in higher education, and delivered numerous political addresses, as well as polemics against the extremes of neo-Hinduism. In the course of his life, Tagore struggled to reconcile his nationalist and universalist ideologies. In 1901, he founded the school known as Shantiniketan (discussed below). He argued for the ideal of the village as the primary unit of social life, and sought to promote cottage industry, peasant cooperation, and Hindu-Muslim amity. His contributions crossed many boundaries, and his 1902 essay "The Message of Indian History" later proved to have a profound effect on Jawaharlal Nehru (Khilnani 1997, 169). In the field of music, he created a body of Bengali songs known as Rabindra Sangit.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 marks the beginning of Sarkar's fifth and last period of the Bengal Renaissance (Sarkar 1979, 59-68). While the British had some legitimate administrative reasons for wanting to divide Bengal into two provinces, it also served their purpose of weakening Bengali political opposition. This division of Bengal into a primarily Muslim East Bengal and a primarily Hindu West Bengal triggered an intensification of Bengali nationalism and political agitation. Krishna Kumar Mitra called for the French Revolution ideals of "liberty, equality, fraternity," the boycott of foreign goods, and the purchase of only Indian made (swadeshī) goods. Along with the growing political agitation, there was also a rise in extremism and terrorism, which led to a significant increase in government repression in 1907 and 1908. There were many sedition trials, swadeshī centers were fined, and a number of terrorists were either deported or executed. Agitations grew beyond the partition itself, and continued even after the repeal of partition in 1909. The removal of the imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi also offended Bengalis and exacerbated the situation. The growth of radicalism in Congress after the First World War led to a split that essentially left the organization in the hands of extremists. The Rowlatt Act, with which the British tried to perpetuate wartime coercion laws, led to a new crisis during which Gandhi assumed leadership of the nationalist movement.

The Bengal Renaissance and the Arts

Indian, and especially Bengali, literature, theater, and visual arts often strongly emulated a Western model, though much of the form and content was adapted in accordance with Indian goals and tastes. Sarkar (1979) summarizes the contributions of writers such as Dinabandhu Mitra (1828-94), Madhusudan Datta (1824-1873), Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay (1838-94), and Rabindranath Tagore. Mitra, Datta, and Chattopadhyay were primarily concerned with ideas of reform and nationalist ideals, and their literary structures did not tend to display a strongly Indian identity. Rabindranath Tagore's style and ideas often exhibited a strongly Indian identity through the media of poems, songs, plays, stories, novels, and essays.

In his book *Rehearsals of Revolution: The Political Theater of Bengal* (1983), Rustom Bharucha notes that in spite of efforts by the Mughal emperors Akbar and Shah Jahan to perpetuate the traditional dramatic forms of the courts, the only theater remaining in Bengal by the time the British were established in Bengal in 1757 was folk drama (1983, 5). The oldest known extant form of folk drama in Bengal is *jātra*, which originated with the religious processions of the Krishna movement inspired by bhakti teachings of Chaitanya (A.D. 1485-1533) (Bharucha 1983, 6). The coming of British rule in Bengal, however, pushed jātra to the background. By the 1840s, Bengalis began to turn away from such folk theater forms as jātra and *panchāli*, seeking a form of drama that was both entertaining and relevant to changing times. English colonial theater provided a model for a new indigenous theater, which ironically became a strong aspect of the assertion of Indian cultural heritage (Bharucha 1983, 8-9).

Between 1872 and 1912, there was a rise in popularity of an indigenous commercial theater that usually took the form of escapist entertainment that specialized in songs, dances, theatrical tricks, spectacular devices, and melodrama. The most common plays were musicals, domestic comedies, sensationalized versions of mythological stories, and religious melodramas based on the lives of saints and devotees (Bharucha 1983, 23). While there were some attempts to draw from such Indian folk theater as jātra, *kathakali*, *tamāsha*, *būrrakathā*, and *jārigān*, the middle-class orientation of the writers and producers tended to limit this influence (Bharucha 1983, 40).

Parsi theater, which developed in Bombay beginning in the nineteenth century, eventually became popular all over India. Anuradha Kapur states that “it may be seen as India’s first modern commercial theatre” (2004, 338). She writes that the small but influential Parsi community of Bombay took an active role in philanthropy and the arts. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, a Parsi, and Jagannath Sunkersett, a Maharashtrian, were two important early patrons, and the Parsee Stage Players put on their first production in 1853. Parsi theater attracted large middle-class Bombay audiences, but soon became popular in Delhi and Calcutta as well. While the financing was largely by Parsis, the theater troupes themselves were composed of a diverse mix of people from a variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

The dramatic forms of Parsi theatre drew from a wide range of theatrical genres and styles, both Indian and European, and the simple plots tended to be spectacular and moralistic. The primary genres employed were mythological, consisting mostly of Hindu myths; and social drama, which centered on problems commonly faced by families. The music was primarily derived from light-classical forms such as ghazal, qawwālī, ṭhumrī, dādrā, and horī, and was most commonly performed on harmonium, clarinet, sārangī, tabla, and nakkara. Parsi theatre was an important precursor to Indian film, and most of the Parsi theatre companies became movie studios from the 1920s (Kapur 2004, 338-40).

The visual arts in Bengal in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries followed a similar trajectory to that of literature and theater due to the westernization of the middle and upper classes during the Bengal Renaissance, and later, the appropriation of the arts for nationalist purposes. In his book *The Making of a New "Indian" Art: Artists, Aesthetics, and Nationalism in Bengal, c. 1850-1920*, Tapati Guha-Thakurta provides a useful discussion of these developments. Before the British had secured their power in Bengal, the Mughal courts had been an important source of patronage for visual art. By the 1790s, European painting was already an important influence in the courts of

Murshidabad. The decline of court patronage led to a category of artists known as "bazaar" painters who made a living in the open market. Many moved to Calcutta seeking such employment, some finding work as "Company" painters for British officials and civilians. These artists were given training in Western conventions of painting and commissioned to paint depictions of houses and servants, scenic surroundings, and ethnological specimens (Guha-Thakurta 1992, 13-15). While "Company" artists were eventually largely supplanted by the camera, this early training in the western approach to art was to have a significant impact on the future of art in Bengal (Guha-Thakurta 1992, 12-13). Further westernization of the arts in Bengal resulted from the guiding influence of the Calcutta Government School of Art, set up in 1854 (Guha-Thakurta 1992, 57-68).

Other more indigenous sources of visual art continued to flourish in nineteenth-century Calcutta, such as the Kālīghat patuas and the Bat-tāla wood and metal engravers. However, they faced competition from former students of the Calcutta School of Art, who had by this time moved into indigenous enterprise (Guha-Thakurta 1992, 18-35). The religious and mythological pictures from these new artists contributed to a merging of indigenous styles and the Western Academic approach in urban commercial art. As the Art School artists began to dominate the urban market, oil painting gained new importance in Bengal. Both the "high" art and the work of "bazaar" painters made use of Western conceptions of naturalism, though a clear division was maintained between the two in terms of imagery and individual recognition. It was not until recognized Art School artists, most notably Ravi Varma, began producing religious paintings that a more Hindu art began to be recognized as "high" art (Guha-Thakurta 1992, 35-54).

As with literature, the aesthetic preferences of the bhādralōk helped to perpetuate the pre-eminence of the European art model. By the 1920s, the success of Abanindranath Tagore's New School of Indian Painting, featuring experimention with indigenous painting traditions, helped to leave behind the Western Academic system (Guha-Thakurta 1992, 125-225). Over time, though, this school of painting gave way to new trends of modernism and innovation. Nandalal Bose introduced an avant-garde element within the school itself (Guha-Thakurta 1992, 304-305). In early the 1920s, Gaganendranath Tagore experimented with Japanese-style brush painting, cubism (Guha-Thakurta 1992, 303-304), and abstraction of images to create a unique and non-illustrative genre of painting (Guha-Thakurta 1992, 314-315). Rabindranath Tagore also went in new directions with his doodles, drawings, and ink paintings (Guha-Thakurta 1992, 315).

Unlike most of the literature, theater, and visual art supported by the Indian middle class, Indian classical music and dance were not significantly altered to conform to a Western musical model. Dance and its accompanying music, however, had a much lower social status than solo instrumental music (see Bor 1986-87, 118). This left Indian classical music as "the primary bearer of India's cultural nationalism" (Bakhle 2002, 36). Despite colonial pressures, Western classical music never seriously challenged the role of Indian classical music in India. But while it may not have taken on Western ideas in terms of form and content, the social context of Indian music changed radically. Its very Indianness made it a uniquely powerful tool for establishing an independent identity distinct from the British. As the decline of courtly patronage began to push musicians out into mainstream society, they began to take on a new role in the Hindu nationalist movement. Thus, while the internal musical material of Hindustani classical music was not greatly affected by Western ideas of composition, harmony, counterpoint, or orchestration, the context of this music was subject to many of the same forces of social change that guided the direction of numerous other aspects of Indian culture.

Gharānās

Gharānās functioned as regional schools or “houses” representing specific musical styles, and were generally founded by renowned court musicians. While they acted as keepers of tradition, they were in many ways a response to the forces of colonialism and modernity. In the years between 1848 and 1856 the Governor-General of the East India Company assumed control over many native autonomous states. This was one among a number of factors that led to the Mutiny of 1857-59, after which the British Crown officially took over control of India. Seeing the necessity of regional allies, a certain amount of paternalistic support was extended to a number of princely states. The resulting break-up of breakup of the kingdom of Avadh, where the court at Lucknow had been an important supporter of art music in North India, greatly benefited the indigenous rulers who had supported the British during the Mutiny (Powers 1986, 22). While the British maintained powerful representatives at the courts, indigenous rulers remained essentially in control (see Bakhle 2005, 20-35). As such, these states remained centers in which Indian culture could continue to flourish under royal patronage (Meer 1980, 119).

Before the formation of gharānās, most of the ingredients were already in place. The four *bani*s, which were more rooted in style than lineage, were the main subdivisions of the dhrupad musical style before khyāl became the dominant genre of art music. The courts also employed representatives of various other musical styles, particularly qawwālī

(Neuman 1980, 47-49). As royal patronage slowly declined, lineages helped to ensure employment for successive generations. By the 1880s, the stage had been set for the fostering of gharānās, which Meer characterizes as consisting of closed groups in which the music was treated as a commodity closely guarded by a sort of guild made up of the members of the gharānā. A highly competitive atmosphere existed between gharānās, and the prestige of the royal patron could be enhanced by a gharānā's fame. Meer asserts that the tight control of gharānās was a product of the princes' fear of encroachment by the modern world (Meer 1980, 129). The relative isolation of the independent states was important in the development of the distinct identities of the different gharānās.

But with the advent of improved modes of communication and transportation in the form of the telegraph and railway systems, the various gharānās came into closer and more frequent contact (Neuman 1980, 168). As long as the princely states retained their power, wealth, and influence, musicians were content to remain in their keep. The progressive decline of many princely states led many musicians to seek support from other sources, and the relative ease of transportation and communication provided by the railways and the telegraph facilitated their relocation to urban centers. While there had long been rivalries between different musical factions, proximity and direct competition for patronage contributed to an increasing attitude of possessiveness regarding gharānā knowledge.

The wealth of such urban centers as Bombay and Calcutta was in large part fueled by the growth of the middle class, who became an important new source of music patronage. The transition away from court patronage to urban middle-class patronage was assisted by the merchant-princes and landlords who gradually replaced the princes

(Meer 1980, 120-121). The concentration of representatives of numerous gharānās within the cities created a heightened level of competition between the various musical factions. Neuman (1980, 204) refers to gharānās in their new urban context as "quality control centers." Gharānās maintained a level of excellence with which few outside of this system could hope to compete. In the midst of the turbulence of the time, gharānās helped to maintain a high standard of proficiency and provide musicians with a recognized socio-musical identity.

While the merchant-princes and *zamīndārs* (administrators of large tracts of land) often emulated the regional princes in their patronage of musicians, the development of a money economy forced musicians to diversify their sources of income (Meer 1980, 121). Two primary means of monetary gain were teaching and public performance, for which musicians would charge fees. One important result of the broadening of the audience base and pool of students was the weakening of the rigid controls on gharānā membership and its trade secrets. Gharānās had been predominantly Muslim in the late nineteenth century, and they had carefully contained their musical secrets within the family lineage. Gradually they began to allow outsiders into their ranks, and the ascendant Hindu middle-class was increasingly interested in their knowledge. Gharānās remained important institutions for carrying on the North Indian classical music traditions, and still retain some of their prestige and authority to the present day. However, the growing importance of the middle class gave rise to other modes of learning, disseminating, and cultivating this music that posed a challenge to the exclusivity of gharānā-based learning.

According to Neuman, a gharānā minimally includes "a lineage of hereditary musicians, their disciples, and the particular musical style they represent" (Neuman

1980,146). He asserts that "gharānās were conceived in the mid-nineteenth century and born in the twentieth century" (Neuman 1980, 146). Neuman acknowledges, however, that gharānās are derived from a much older form of musical subdivision known as *bāni*, whose origin dates back to the late sixteenth century with four of Akbar's principle court musicians. Unlike the later hereditary gharānās, Neuman notes, "banis could be described entirely in musical terms as pure style, without reference to individuals or lineages" (Neuman 1980, 147). These styles are still said to be evident in today's gharānās. The oldest of the gharānās by Neuman's standard is the Gwalior gharānā founded by the two brothers Haddu Khan (d. 1875) and Hassu Khan (d. 1859) and their brother or parallel cousin Nathu Khan (d. ca. 1870) (Neuman 1980, 148-149).

While Neuman's definition of gharānā is a useful starting point, there is some debate as to exactly what constitutes a gharānā. Wade (1984, 2-5) acknowledges Neuman's criteria, but recognizes a degree of fluidity in the boundaries of the definition and suggests that style has become an increasingly important determinant of gharana identity. Kippen (1988, 63-66) takes exception to Neuman's stipulation that the term "gharānā" only applies to soloists, noting that "the term *gharānā* as representative of a unit of social organisation is justifiably applicable to certain groups of tabla players" (Kippen 1988, 66). For the purposes of this dissertation, Neuman's definition will mostly suffice, except that inheritance of musical style will take precedence over familial heritage. Thus, the Maihar gharānā of Allauddin Khan will be considered to include non-family members such as Nikhil Banerjee and Pannalal Ghosh.

Indeed, the transference of stylistic lineage outside of the family was crucial to the popularity of Hindustani classical music among the middle class. Powers (1986, 23) uses the Gwalior gharānā as an example of the opening up of gharānās to include "a complex network of traditional Muslim musicians and middle class Hindu musicians, performing in public concerts, and teaching members of the middle class in and through music schools." The path of musical lineage that led to the training of V. D. Paluskar within the Gwalior gharānā is indicative of the transition from traditional court-based gharānās to a middle-class base of support. With the loosening of strict familial gharānā affiliation, a Hindu disciple named Joshi Bua was trained within the gharānā. His disciple, Balakrishan Bua (1849-1926) later trained V. D. Paluskar (1872-1931) in the late 1800s (Powers 1986: 23-24). Thus it can be seen that the survival strategies employed by the predominantly Muslim gharānās contributed to the weakening of their grip on Hindustani classical music traditions, facilitating its redefinition as Hindu national music.

The Movement for the Revitalization of North Indian Music

As mentioned earlier, of all the Indian arts, music was the one least affected by Western ideas in terms of its theory and practice. This made it a significant marker of Indian identity. As will be seen, though, the patronage and social position of music changed substantially, largely due to new institutions and the role music played in the Hindu nationalist movement. In the early nineteenth century, the major exponents of Hindustani classical music were of relatively low status, and Rosse (1995, 1) suggests that domination by the British exacerbated this situation. Despite nationalist aspirations (and in a sense because of them), the colonial presence played a significant role in Indian middle-class perceptions of the place of music in respectable society. In her 2005 book *Two Men and Music: Nationalism in the Making of an Indian Classical Tradition,* Bakhle[1] argues that colonial religiosity, ethnomusicological and Orientalist approaches, writings by British military personnel, the integration of women into the public sphere, and the redefinition of the public sphere itself as Hindu and Brahminic shaped the attitudes and perceptions of the growing middle class in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Those who wanted to revive the status of music and musicians in India needed to counteract the disparaging attitudes of the British in order to harness Indian music as a legitimate symbol of Hindu culture. New musical institutions that arose over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries needed to accommodate these factors in their efforts to elevate the status of music among the rising middle class.

The movement for the revitalization of Hindustani classical music ultimately persuaded the middle-class public of the value of Indian music through institutions established for the preservation, standardization, codification, and rationalization of Indian music (Rosse 1995, 187). It was also a process of Hinduization, in which music predominantly performed by and for Muslims in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries came to be seen as an integral part of middle-class Hindu culture. The institutions themselves did not create many noted professional musicians (most successful Hindu musicians acquired their knowledge in other ways, as will be seen with Pannalal Ghosh), but they helped to create an environment in which Hindu performers were accepted as a vital part of twentieth-century Hindustani classical music. While this movement eventually spread all over India, many of the major nineteenth-century developments took place in Bengal and Maharashtra. Rosse (1995) and Bakhle (2005) provide valuable information and insights regarding the formation and goals of these institutions and their founders.

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[1] Also see Bakhle's dissertation, Janaki Bakhle. "Two Men and Music: Nationalism, Colonialism and the Making of Hindu Modernity in Western India, 1843-1926" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2002). 127-128.

Eastern India

According to Rosse (1995, 13) the revitalization movement began in Bengal with the Brahmo Samaj. Rammohun Roy founded the Amitya Sabha in 1815, and the Brahmo Sabha in 1830 (renamed the Brahmo Samaj in 1843). These theistic societies were oriented toward social and religious reform, and were not specifically directed toward music promotion. However, Roy, who was himself a student of music (and of many other disciplines), featured a form of music he called *brahmosangīt* during services (Rossi 1995, 14). The Brahmo Samaj and its offshoots were also supportive of such figures as Sourindro Mohun Tagore and Jyotirindranath Tagore in their efforts to increase musical awareness among the Indian middle class, and members employed music in their nationalist activities. They were also a source of patronage for professional musicians.

The Adi Brahmo Samaj, which branched off from the Brahmo Samaj under the leadership of Debendranath Tagore in 1866, further developed the genre of *brahmosangīt*, drawing from dhrupad along with other Hindustani classical and Western forms (Rossi 1995, 14). Jyotindranath Tagore, Debendranath's son, founded the Adi Brahmosamaj Sangīta Vidyalaya in 1875. While *brahmosangīt* was presumably the main form of music taught at this school, Rosse states that Hindustani music was probably also part of the curriculum (Rosse 1995, 17).

Sourindro Mohan Tagore (1840-1914), one of the most important figures in the revitalization movement, started the Bengal Music School 1871 "for the teaching of

Hindu music on scientific principles."[2] He was closely affiliated with the Brahmo movement, and was given permission to use rooms at the Brahmo Samaj of India (another offshoot of the Brahmo Samaj, founded by Keshub Chunder Sen in 1869) for one of the branches of his school (Rosse 1995, 20). His mission statement certainly favored a Hindu perspective, and Rosse (1995, 34) observes that no Muslims taught at the school. Since the school's objective was apparently the education of cultivated Hindus, Rosse speculates that Tagore feared that hiring Muslims to teach might have jeopardized his agenda. Unlike the previous institutions affiliated with the Brahmo Samaj, the school specifically set out to teach what is now known as Hindustani classical music.

But while the music being taught was specifically Indian, it seems likely that he was inspired by European teaching methods. Rosse (1995, 36-37) suggests that Tagore probably drew from the European ideas of Samuel Harraden, a British organist and pedagogue who was very interested in Indian music, and who had taught at Hindoo College while Tagore was a student there. Tagore published numerous books and articles on Indian music including works by Sir William Jones and N. Augustus Willard, and his agenda of following "scientific principles" suggests a leaning toward late nineteenth-century European attitudes.

Nabagopal Mitra, along with Dwijendranath and Ganendranath Tagore, organized the aforementioned Hindu Mela, an annual fair that lasted from 1867 to 1881. It was intended to foster Indian pride through various exhibits, games, exercises, and performance of nationalistic songs. S. M. Tagore gave a speech about the music of India at the 1870 Mela. Nabagopal Mitra started the National School in 1872, which included music (probably "national" music) in its agenda, along with arts and physical training.

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[2] Quoted in Rosse 1995, 30 from *Catalogue of the Pictures and Sculptures in the Collection of the Maharaja Tagore...* (Calcutta, 1905), 24.

A number of other noteworthy Bengalis contributed to the revitalization movement. Krishna Dhan Banerjee opened a short-lived school in 1874, and Rosse (1995, 49-50) notes that his emphasis on consulting Sanskrit treatises to draw parallels with the music of his own time foreshadowed the Hindu nationalist agenda followed decades later by Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande (discussed below). Jyotirindranath Tagore started the Bharat Sangeet Samaj, an institute for music and drama, in 1897. He also founded two music journals and developed a music notation system (Rosse 1995, 50-51). Rabindranath Tagore offered instruction in Hindustani classical music at Shantiniketan (founded in 1901), Viswa Bharati (founded in 1929), and Sangita Bhavan (founded in 1933) (Rosse 1995, 53), and created a large body of songs that came to be known as Rabindrasangīt. In 1911, Praticha Devi Chaundhrani, daughter of Hemendranath Tagore, founded the Sangita Sabha, a successful school at which both Indian and European musics were taught.

Western India

In western India, the beginnings of the revitalization of Indian music took place through organizations founded by members of the Parsi rather than the Hindu community, though they catered to Marathi and Gujarati communities. One of the missions of the Student's Literary and Scientific Society (SLSS), founded by Dadabhai Naoroji and others in the Parsi community in 1848, was to conduct music classes at girls' schools. The association of music with courtesans, whose reputation had declined precipitously in the late nineteenth century, had made it socially unacceptable for respectable women to perform music. According to Bakhle (2005, 62-82), the teaching of music to the public was an important part of the project to make music more acceptable to the middle class, and such instruction contributed to music's increasing association with religiosity. The Parsi Girls' School Association, founded 1857, was an offshoot of the SLSS that composed music specifically for girls' schools of the different communities in order to instill morality (Rosse 1995, 65). Naturally, such music would have to meet certain standards of respectability. To meet this requirement, the school required teachers and textbooks. *Gītlipi*, published in 1864, was one of the first such textbooks in Marathi. It made use of Western staff notation to convey the rāgs for learning purposes.

The Parsi Gāyan Uttejak Maṇḍali (GUM) was founded in 1870 by the Parsi Kaikhushroo Naoroji Kabraji. Through this organization, Kabraji sought both to bring women to music and to bring music into the lives of middle-class women. While he saw that music was a part of the disreputable world of courtesans, he felt that the musical education of women would help to keep their husbands at home. Of course, the music they were to learn was not that of the courtesans, but rather music connected to the temple and religious devotion. Bringing women out of seclusion in this way was very controversial at the time, but Kabraji's intent was in the interest of purity. As the school became established, it began to hold concerts featuring a variety of classical and light classical genres. Instrumental music was featured in the second half, and the concert concluded with the singing of an English song and a reading from Dickens. These concerts were eventually opened to the general public (Bakhle 2005, 70-75).

The Poona Gayan Samaj (PGS) was founded in 1874 (probably by Balwant Trimbak Sahasrabudhe and Mahadeo Moreshwar Kunte, according to Rosse 1995, 98) following the model of GUM. This organization had more ambitious goals than GUM, and sought colonial approval to widen its audience. Articles in the British-run *Times of India* were insulting to Indian music, discouraging its propagation. The Indian response supporting the music was indicative of the changing mood of society toward a more broadly favorable attitude toward public music concerts and education. By the early 1900s, the PGS was playing a major role in the establishment of music education in public schools.

The introduction of notation in Indian music was another important step toward the modernization of music. As previously mentioned, the SSLS had used Western staff notation for its 1865 textbooks. The PGS, on the other hand, took the position that Indian music should not be notated. In order to participate in the growing theoretical debates, however, some form of notation proved to be necessary. In the 1880s, Purshottam Ganesh Gharpure and Sahasrabuddhe both argued for an ancient Indian notation system, which contributed to the growing adoption of a Hindu Orientalist perspective. The PGS ultimately conceded to the need for notation in its own musical texts. At the beginning of the twentieth century, V. D. Paluskar asserted the need for notation in order to reclaim and proliferate the greatness of Indian music. Despite its utility for expounding theory, notation did not ultimately change the way the musicians themselves approached the performance of their music (Bakhle 2005, 75-82).

In Gujarat, a noteworthy figure in the revitalization movement was Maulla Bakhsh Ghisse Khan (1833-1896), who founded the Baroda Music School in 1886 under the patronage of Sayajirao Gaekwad, the ruler of Baroda. The school aimed to improve knowledge and taste for music among the public and raise the status of music in society. Prior to Maulla Baksh, most North Indian classical musical training was done through the gharānā system. Maulla Bakhsh founded his own musical dynasty outside of this system—one of the first musicians of this period to do so. In his approach to music, he drew from both North and South Indian ideas, and to a limited extent, he integrated some Western musical instruments and conceptions. In this way, he anticipated the coming transformation of Hindustani classical music, as did his desire to develop a system of notation for Indian music. While his specific approach to musical modernity was somewhat unique, it foreshadows some of the innovative approaches to Hindustani classical music that were made possible through the changing circumstances of the decades leading up to Indian independence (Bakhle 2005, 36-49).

All-India Music Conferences

The All-India Music Conferences, which were initiated by S. M. Tagore in 1867, brought the revitalization movement to more of a national level. Musicians, scholars, and educators from different regions of India were invited to participate. The 1874 conference featured Maulla Bakhsh from Gujarat, and Visvanath Sastri from Madras was included in the 1872 conference. Swami Harivallabha started his own music conference in Jullunder (in the Punjab region) in 1875 called the Harivallabh Sangita Mela. Its mission was to present Hindustani classical music, and the 1899 conference featured V. D. Paluskar (discussed below) (Rosse 1995, 175-176).

Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande (1860-1937), one of the dominant figures in the revitalization of Hindustani music, organized five conferences beginning in 1916. Although a lawyer by profession, he became the foremost theorist of the early twentieth century. Indeed, his professional middle-class status probably enhanced his credibility within the mainstream society. The part he played in the theorization of music was an important contributing factor to the modernization and Hindu nationalization of Indian music. The four volumes of his *Hindustānī Sangīt Paddhati* include an explanation of his Sanskit treatises along with a large number of music texts written in various Indian languages. His six-volume *Kramik Pustak Mālikā* includes over 1800 compositions that he collected primarily from musicians of the gharānās of Jaipur, Rampur, and Hyderabad. In addition to his writings, he founded the Madhav Sangeet Vidyalaya in Gwalior in 1918, and co-founded Marris College at the age of sixty-six.

Bakhle (2005) argues that while he took a very modern approach to the rational documentation of his musical archives, Bhatkhande's perspective was fundamentally Brahminically Hindu. His participation in the revitalization movement was part of an early stage of nationalism that focused on education reform, spiritual reawakening, and political participation. His perspective was in line with the Hindu adoption of an Orientalist perspective discussed above. In keeping with the modern Hindu liberalism of his time, he sought both progress and the retention of conservative Brahminical values.[3]

Bhatkhande sought to establish a continuity between ancient and current practice, which he felt was important for the validation of Hindustani classical performance in his own time. He was, however, willing to concede that the art of Indian music was subject to constant change. His ideas and system of organization were founded on a Sanskrit basis, and he was dismissive of musicians and scholars who lacked a basis in textual authority. When Karamatullah, a sarod player from Allahabad, proposed Arabic and Persian sources for understanding Indian music, Bhatkhande found such a suggestion to be useless and insulting. While this may suggest an anti-Muslim prejudice, it is also indicative of Bhatkhande's insistence on a singular unified theory of the origin of Indian music (Bakhle 2005, 109-112).

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[3] These arguments are more clearly specified in her dissertation (Bakhle 2002, 205).

Bakhle argues that Bhatkhande was not necessarily trying to tie music to religion, but rather he required its conformity with a new scientific Hindu liberalism. He considered the role of Muslims in Indian music history to be largely negative due to their unwillingness or inability to learn properly from the Sanskrit texts. Such condescension was also present in his attitude toward even the great Muslim musicians of his day. In his insistence on claiming an exclusive Hindu musical heritage for India, Bhatkhande's arguments fell in line with the growing sentiment of Hindu nationalism (Bakhle 2005, 96-136). He opposed the disorderliness of the gharānā system (Bakhle 2005, 124), and his efforts toward public music education played a major role in the increasing dominance of a Hindu musical perspective (Bakhle 2005, 96-136).

Another seminal figure in the Hindu nationalization of Indian music was Vishnu Digambar Paluskar (1872-1931). Like Bhatkhande, he used music conferences to good advantage, and he achieved much more national recognition in his time than did Bhatkhande (though Bhatkhande's work is perhaps better known today). Bhakle articulates Paluskar's agenda as threefold. Firstly, he sought to raise the status of musicians, dissociating music from entertainment and debauchery. Second, he endeavored to spread musical knowledge through the establishment of effective educational institutions. Third, he sought to head his own modern version of the traditional *guru-shishya paramparā* (teacher-student succession), in which his students would be bound to him in a relationship of devotion and respect. He achieved great success in all of these areas (Bakhle 2005, 137-138).

Paluskar founded his first school in Lahore in 1901. This was the first of what was to be a chain of schools, which he named Gandharva Mahavidyalaya. He received strong approval from such Hindu reform and revival organizations as the Arya Samāj and the Sanatan Dharm Sabhā due to his unequivocal association of music with Hinduism. Nationalist sentiment was strongly behind his efforts, as reflected by the approval of such papers as the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari*, both of which were guided by the strongly nationalist Balwantrao Gangadhar Tilak. By 1907, his school was presenting public performances of both Hindustani and Karnatak music. In 1911, Paluskar shifted the school's headquarters to Bombay, and the following year opened another branch in Pune. After he retired from his role as an educator in 1924, his mission was taken up by his students, who opened schools all over India. These schools still thrive today under the name of the Akhil Bhāratiya Gandharva Mahāvidyalaya Mandal, which oversees all of the branch schools, administers nationwide exams, and houses Paluskar's archives.

Paluskar's role as a modernist is evident in his use of an institutional model for music instruction, his molding of music to fit a nationalist agenda, and his success in gaining broad middle-class support for the linking of music to Hindu religiosity. He also welcomed women into his educational institutions, though their role was intended to be as carriers of tradition and nationalist ideology, not as performers. While the strongly

Hindu bias of his approach to music suggested a conservative social and religious attitude, his role in the assertion of a Hindu national identity was very much in step with the times (see Bakhle 2005, 137-179).

Bakhle argues that the reformist modernization of music that was so central to the work of Bhatkhande and Paluskar was closely linked to both colonial modernity and anti-colonial nationalism (2005, 7). Their projects played a substantial role in the shift from a largely Muslim-based emphasis on performers as the definers of musical practice, toward an insistence on music's conformity to an ancient, scientifically founded Hindu derivation. While the two men had very different approaches to reform, they were both closely aligned politically with the mainstream of the Hindu nationalist movement. While the gharānā system continued to be the primary route to prominence in the world of Hindustani classical performance, the institutions set up by Bhatkhande and Paluskar helped to shape the musical perceptions of the largely Hindu middle-class audiences (Bakhle 2005, 258-260).

Mass Media

Another important factor that affected the trajectory of Hindustani classical music in the twentieth century was the advent of electronic mass media such as records, radio, and film. Such media were a distinctly twentieth-century phenomenon, helping to transform many facets of Indian society. In the area of Indian classical music, they provided new forms of patronage, a larger audience for the music, documentation of performing styles, and an opportunity for musicians to hear what other muscians were playing. While the impact of mass media on music was diverse and complex, such media facilitated the perpetuation of Indian classical music. As will be seen in the following chapter, they also provided an opportunity for a musician like Pannalal Ghosh to develop as a Hindustani classical musician outside of the gharānā system. Through the new environment created by these media, he was able to earn a livelihood, learn from senior musicians with whom he worked, network with other musicians, familiarize himself with diverse styles from records and radio, and increase recognition of his name and music.

Records

In 1899, Indian music was recorded for the first time at the London studios of Gramophone and Typewriter Ltd. (GTL), though these recordings were apparently not commercially oriented. Commercial recording in India began in 1902, when GTL sent Fred Gaisberg to India as a representative using portable recording equipment. This was both to capitalize on the growing gramophone market within India, and to provide examples of Indian music to a Western market. The Westerners in charge of the recording were not knowledgeable about Indian music, and recorded what was available through connections with local theaters. As a result, these first recordings ranged from classical vocal music to songs from popular theater shows and "Bengali Comic Talk."[4]

Soon after, though, Gaisberg was introduced to khyāl and thumrī singer Gauhar Jan, who became very popular due to these recordings. In a sense, the incipient recording industry was providing a link between the old system of courtly patronage and the new world of popular film. Gauhar Jan's teacher, Bhaya Saheb Ganpat Rao, was the son of the Maharaja of Gwalior, and had learned singing from his mother, the Maharaja's mistress. Partly as a result of her popularity through her recordings, Gauhar Jan came to be featured in some of the early silent films in which she mimed to her own recordings (see Farrell 1993, 32-36).

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[4] See Farrell (1993) for a detailed account of the beginings of the record industry in India.

Bengal was an important center for the early record industry, as the British-owned Gramophone Company of India (GCI) opened a factory in Calcutta for pressing records in 1908. By 1910 they had significant competition from local subsidiaries of Odeon, Beka, Nicole, and Pathe but retained their dominance in the industry (Manuel 1993, 37). Somewhat lighter genres like qawwālī and ghazal were among the more popular recordings (Manuel 1993, 37). There was, nonetheless, at least a small market for Hindustani classical music, and Gauhar Jan herself recorded some short renditions of vocal khyāl (Farrell 1993, 47). Due to the two- to three-minute length of these early recordings, though, they were hardly able to do justice to Hindustani classical music. Indeed, for this reason many of the great Hindustani performers of the time would not agree to be recorded in this way. After the introduction of two-sided discs, musicians were able to extend their performances somewhat, but still in a very limited fashion (Farrell 1993, 51). Nonetheless, records made available at least a flavor of diverse styles to a broader audience.

Radio

Radio was first broadcast in 1927 by private transmitters in Bombay and Calcutta, and was taken over entirely by the British government in 1930. Due to the fact that political and cultural factors often took priority over commercial factors, radio provided somewhat more opportunity for Indian classical musicians than did the record industry. By 1947, the British government had set up nine radio stations, with Indian music given seven-eighths of the broadcast time (Manuel 1993, 39). From 1952 to 1960, B. V. Keskar became the Minister of Information and Broadcasting under the now independent Indian government. His Hindu nationalist bias led him to ban film music from broadcast on All India Radio (A.I.R.), and he sought instead to promote classical music and a form of nationalist light orchestral music (Manuel 1993, 39). As will be seen later, Pannalal Ghosh benefited from these emphases.

Daniel Neuman claims that it was initially difficult to get musicians to perform for the radio due to their concerns about performing for a general audience, so the "salon districts" became a major source of radio musicians (Neuman 1980: 172). The fact that Ghosh was not initially affiliated with a gharānā may have facilitated his access to performance opportunities on the radio. The post-Independence ban on anyone "whose private life is a public scandal" (Neuman 1980: 172) would have limited the participation of the courtesans who performed much of the light classical music, creating further opportunities for unaffiliated[5] and "untainted" musicians like Ghosh. Over time, radio came to be a significant form of patronage, and by 1969, 554 Hindustani musicians were listed on the rolls of A.I.R., of which 289 were listed as classical and the remainder as light classical.

Film

Another important medium of mass entertainment was film, which was produced in India from the mid-1920s. As film and theater were the only major forms of mass entertainment in India at that time (Arnold 1991, 14), film had a powerful impact on the Indian populace. Prior to the introduction of sound to Indian films, the music was performed live as part of the film's presentation. Alison Arnold states that this music was random, quoting the Indian Cinematograph Committee report of 1927 as saying that "the music naturally varies according to the class of the audience, which patronises the hall" (Arnold 1991, 15). Arnold surmises that the accompaniment for Indian silent films "most likely included well-known popular theatrical songs, folk songs, devotional songs, light classical melodies and even popular classical rags" (Arnold 1991, 15). The music performed was certainly not always Indian, however. Joseph Frances Nazareth, a former silent film accompanist, stated that they could choose their own music, which included Western classical music, imported British sheet music, "songs and musical pieces for dance," marches, and pieces from an English chronicle called *Etudes* (quoted in Arnold 1991, 16).

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[5] While Ghosh was aligned with the Maihar Gharana from 1947, his teacher Allaudin Khan seems not to have restricted his students from public and commercial performance.

While silent film was already very popular prior to the use of sound in Indian films, the market was dominated by foreign films at that time. The introduction of sound into Indian films in 1931 dealt a blow to the market for foreign films at a time when Indians were seeking to establish their own independent identity (Arnold 1991, 14). The use of recorded film music allowed the music director to create music that was a fixed part of the film (Arnold 1991, 44), which eventually led to the development of a uniquely Indian style of film music. V. A. K. Ranga Rao states that Hindi, Marathi, and Parsi stage drama were the sources of the earliest Indian sound film songs, which were in turn modeled on Indian classical and light classical music along with some foreign musical sources (Arnold 1991, 16).

Most of the early film music directors were well versed in Indian classical music, as well as regional musics. In Calcutta, the three main (almost exclusive) film music directors for New Theatres Film Company were Rai Chand Boral, Pankaj Mullick, and Timir Baran, who were all "familiar with Bengali music and proficient performers of Indian classical music on tabla, voice and sarod... respectively" (Arnold 1991, 20). Early Indian film music, at least in Bengal, was to a significant degree an extension of the music broadcast on the radio, as both Boral and Mullick had worked in the music division of the Indian Broadcasting Corporation since 1927. They had also been conductors and directors of silent film music, and Timir Baran had worked as conductor and music director for Uday Shankar's internationally recognized dance troupe (Arnold 1991, 20).

While the new sound film industry displaced many of the silent film music performers, those musicians who found employment by Indian film music directors received a steady income. Film musicians in the 1930s could expect to earn salaries between sixty and one hundred rupees per month, which was a reasonable income for the time (Arnold 1991, 54). Initially, the film music ensemble consisted only of harmonium, tabla, and violin or sārangī. However, many film companies such as New Theatres soon began to include a variety of Indian and non-Indian instruments, "such as piano, small organ, Indian flute, sitar, and jaltarang" (Arnold 1991, 28, 52). Music directors normally hand-picked their own musicians for their music staff, some drawing from the courts and temples. For example, Ghulam Haider in Lahore hired Patiala gharānā sitarist Fateh Ali Khan. In Bombay, Saraswati Devi, who was a student of V. N. Bhatkhande, brought some of her musicians from Lucknow (Arnold 1991, 47, 53).

Conclusion

In the following chapters, it will be seen that the institutional, conceptual, and structural changes that helped to transform modes of learning, presenting, and representing Hindustani classical music were important factors in the life and music of Pannalal Ghosh. Aside from his own personal genius (which will be discussed in detail in chapters 4 and 5), many factors conspired to create an environment in which a rural middle-class Bengali Brahmin could adopt the flute as a Hindustani classical instrument, move to Calcutta, Bombay, and Delhi, and ultimately transform a folk instrument into a respected vehicle for Hindustani classical music. The shift from royal to middle-class patronage, along with new modes of musical dissemination, enabled Ghosh to become a non-hereditary professional musician. The emphasis on Hindu aspects of music and society may have created an opening for the instrument of Krishna. The wider access to musical knowledge enabled him to learn music for many years outside of the gharānā system, and the relaxing of boundaries of the gharānā system gave him an opportunity to eventually join what was to become perhaps the most renowned gharānā of the present day. The increased mobility created by new modes of transportation facilitated his relocation to the major urban centers, in which he gained sufficient recognition not only to survive as a full-time musician, but also to secure the place of the bānsuri among the ranks of established Hindustani classical instruments.

Chapter 4:
Background of Early Twentieth-Century Musical Styles

In the 1920s and '30s when Pannalal Ghosh was developing as a musician, there were a number of stylistic possibilities on which he could model his own style. In this chapter, I focus on the dominant North Indian classical genres of the early twentieth century, which were dhrupad and khyāl, as well as the light classical ṭhumrī. Other related genres, such as *tappa*, ghazal, *tarāna*, and qawwālī also contributed to the art music landscape of the time, but were not directly part of Pannalal Ghosh's repertoire, and will not be discussed here. Hindustani classical music has long looked to the voice as the primary model for both vocal and instrumental styles. As discussed in Chapter 3, each vocal gharānā had its own approach to the performance of this music.

Beyond these differences between gharānās, though, other divisions existed within Hindustani classical music. Along with the genres of dhrupad, khyāl, and ṭhumrī, I take up a discussion of some distinguishing features of instrumental styles that have developed within these genres. While continuing to emulate the voice in many ways, instrumental styles diverged from a purely vocal model over the years. Thus, within the broad category of Hindustani classical music, there are many variations to be considered. In my discussion of these genres and styles, my main sources of reference include Richard Widdess' article "Dhrupad as a musical tradition" (1994), Ritwik Sanyal and Richard Widdess' *Dhrupad: Tradition and Performance in Indian Music* (2004), Bonnie Wade's *Khyal: Creativity within North India's Classical Music Tradition* (1984), Swami Prajnanananda's *A Historical Study of Indian Music* (1980), M. V. Dhond's *The Evolution of Khayal* (1982), Allyn Miner's *Sitar and Sarod in the 18th and 19th Centuries*

(1993), Stephen Slawek's *Sitar Technique in Nibaddha Forms* (1987), Alastair Dick's articles "Bãsurī [bãmsurī, bãnsuri, bansrī , bãsrī]" (2001) and "Vaṃśa" (2009), and Peter Manuel's *Thumri in Historical and Stylistic Perspective* (1989).

Dhrupad

It is generally believed that for the better part of the eighteenth century the musical style known as dhrupad remained the dominant "classical" style of music. While the origins of this musical form are difficult to trace, Richard Widdess claims that "most of the structural elements—the structure of the composition, the ālāp, the rhythmic expansion of the composition—can already be identified in the 13th-century treatise *Sangītaratnākara* of Śhārngadeva, where they are associated with a form called dhruva-prabandha…" (Widdess 1994, 65-66). Prajnanananda writes that dhrupad "took a new shape and a novel course" in the fifteenth-century (Prajnanananda 1980, 149). According to Lath, the idea of dhrupad as a distinct genre might not have emerged until the khyāl style arose as a competing genre (Widdess 2004, 45). By the mid-nineteenth century, it seems that dhrupad had branched into four separate styles, or bānīs (Sanyal and Widdess 2004, 45).

While dhrupad does seem to have undergone stylistic changes and divisions since its early origins, its antiquity, ideology, and purity of musical approach lend it a sense of authority and legitimacy. As Widdess suggests, the stories from which dhrupad 's reputation are derived "reflect the 'politics' of North Indian musical culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries," though "the ideas about music that underlie them… have very deep roots in Indian tradition" (Sanyal and Widdess 2004, 39). Regardless of its origins, by the early twentieth century, dhrupad was thought of as a music to be performed “for the delight of God, who is inherent in both the singer and the listener,”[1] as opposed to other styles such a khyāl and thumrī which were intended, at least at some level, to please an audience. But khyāl was and is a multifaceted genre, and many of its exponents employed elements of dhrupad in their performance styles, thus gaining some of the exalted stature of dhrupad.

A typical form of a dhrupad performance has two parts. First is the ālāp, which is an unmetered presention of the rāg, and may be developed very deliberately and meticulously, as with the Dagar gharānā. After this is the bandish, which is the composition, normally in four parts, in the same rāg with poetic text and metrical accompaniment by the pakhāvaj, a drum particularly associated with dhrupad. The composition itself only takes a few minutes to sing, but it is often elaborated through improvisation based on the text and/or the melody. Such improvisation may involve layakari, “in which the singer sets the words of the poem to intricate rhythmic patterns in cross-rhythm against the tāl,” (Sanyal and Widdess 2004, 5). While dhrupad is predominantly a vocal style, the plucked lute known as bīn is also highly regarded as a dhrupad instrument. Naturally, the bīn cannot enunciate the words, but otherwise it follows essentially the same format as a vocal performance.

Khyāl

As suggested above, khyāl is the musical style that challenged the supremacy of dhrupad in the eighteenth century, and by the early twentieth century, it had largely displaced dhrupad as the predominant form of North Indian art music. Bonnie Wade (1984, 11) suggests that khyāl is distinguished by three main characteristics. These are the particular selection of rāg, tāl, and compositions; the use of ālāp, tān, boltān, bolbānt, sargam, and nom-tom as permissible forms of improvisation; and an aesthetically balanced presentation of all of these materials. While some of these elements are shared by other genres, only khyāl uses this particular combination of features.

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[1] This statement is quoted in Widdess (2004, 38), and attributed to Fariduddin Dagar.

The origins of khyāl are uncertain, but Prajnanananda asserts that most scholars take the position that khyāl "was an outcome of the gradual process of evolution that was at work during the reign of any one of the Sultans like Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, Zalal-ud din Firuz, Alauddin Khalji and the Tughluq Rulers, supported by the inventive geniuses of the Muslim and Indo-Persian musicians" (Prajnanananda 1980, 176-177). Prajnanananda himself concludes that "*kheyal* is neither a new or foreign importation in Indian music, nor did Amir Khusrau invent it in the 13th century AD, rather it was current mostly among the Muslim musicians of the Arab-Persian stock, known as the Kawals" (Prajnanananda 1980, 183). Dhond would seem to agree that khyāl was the result of many years of interacting musical styles. He hypothesizes that "the birth of khyal is based on the theory that the so called *desi* music rises in the course of time, to the status of classical music" (Dhond 1982, 47), and that "the present khyal took almost six centuries to evolve from the dhrupad …" (Dhond 1982, 48).

Allyn Miner stresses the necessity of recognizing that there were actually two forms of khyāl in the eighteenth century. The earlier of these two styles may have been affiliated with qawwālī, and might not have been rāg-based. This style, she speculates, might have been the source of today's fast tempo *chhoṭa khyāl*. The other form of khyāl was the more heavily dhrupad-influenced version played by Na'mat Khan. Miner also makes note of Wim van der Meer's proposal that this new classicized form of khyāl may have allowed courtesans to sing rāgs formerly restricted to dhrupad singers (Miner 1993, 84-85).

Although it seems clear that khyāl's origins much predate the eighteenth century, it appears to be at this time that this musical style achieved wider recognition and respectability. While the status of khyāl prior to the eighteenth century seems to have been ambiguous at best, it was thoroughly embraced in the court of Sultan Muhammed Shah (1719-1748 A.D.). It is likely that the style also underwent a transformation in order to prove itself worthy of its elevated position. Prajnanananda credits Niyamat Khan with playing a key role in the promotion of khyāl during this period. This musician was said to be skilled in dhrupad, and introduced elements of this more highly respected style into his performance of khyāl. "Truly speaking," writes Prajnanananda, "Niyamat Khan, *Sadarang* heightened the classical form of *kheyal*, and made it to be appreciated by the top-ranking musicians and Royal sovereigns of that time" (Prajnanananda 1980, 185).

Widdess places the ascendancy of khyāl in a somewhat earlier time, citing Faqirullah (1662) as saying that:

> khyal was the speciality of the Delhi region, whereas dhrupad was the speciality of Gwalior and surrounding areas. After 1658, he tells us, the fashion for khyal had spread from the new capital to the old from Delhi to Agra. From this point on, dhrupad was in retreat (Widdess 1994).

Dhond, on the other hand, claims that while the younger style of khyāl began to increase in popularity in the eighteenth century, dhrupad seems to have remained the preferred form among connoisseurs through the late nineteenth century. He writes that "until about 1850 tradition did not consider the khyal classical and Hindu musicians being more traditionalist kept away from it" (Dhond 1982, 12). And he states that during the time of Krishandhan Bandopadhyay (1846-1904) "dhrupad was the dominant form of music in North India and particularly in Bengal" (Dhond 1982, 30).

The fact that Dhond suggests that dhrupad remained vital well into the nineteenth century, while Faqirullah's account implies a decline in dhrupad's popularity from the mid-seventeenth century creates something of a paradox. This may be explained by Dhond's emphasis on the situation in Bengal, where dhrupad seems to have retained its popularity for a longer period of time, whereas Faquirullah is speaking of Delhi. Prajnanananda states that "during the early 19th century, Chinsura, (Hooghly) Krisnanagar (Nadia) and Murshidabad became famous as the seats of culture of classical music and specially of *dhruvapada*" (Prajnanananda 1980,165). Perhaps such regional differences in the popularity of dhrupad might be attributed in part to a more conservative stance among orthodox Hindus in Bengal, whereas the Muslim courts would have been less inclined to insist on maintaining the formal and somewhat sacred status of dhrupad (as insinuated by Dhond, above).

Dhond himself, though, recognizes the difficulty in asserting that Hindu and Muslim musicians had different attitudes about musical tradition, noting D. R. Deodhar's comment "that all the Muslim singers of the last generation, of whom he enquired traced their ancestry to Haridasa Swami (the master of Tansen) directly or through his disciples"

(Dhond 1982, 18). Dhond also points out that the great twentieth-century Muslim sarod-maestro Allauddin Khan claimed to be of Vaisnava Brahmin ancestry, and that "though he belonged to the 9th generation after conversion his family observed all the brahmanical customs including strict vegetarianism" (Dhond 1982, 19). Dhond expresses the opinion that it is "irrational… to designate any music—particularly secular music—by the religion of the persons who perform it" (Dhond 1982, 19).

Khyal was certainly very well established by the nineteenth century, and was the main genre of music performed by the gharānās discussed in Chapter 4. While certain characteristics of the genre remained consistent, gharānās cultivated distinct regional varieties, which they maintained even after members of the diverse gharānās began to congregate in the urban centers. Bonnie Wade (1984) provides some sense of the stylistic diversity possible within khyal through her descriptions of the characteristics of six distinct gharānās, along with the stylistic variations within and branches from individual gharānās. By the 1920s and 30s when Pannalal Ghosh was developing his style and dhrupad was waning in popularity, khyāl was flourishing with a wide diversity of styles.

Ṭhumrī

According to Peter Manuel (1989), the origins of the genre known as ṭhumrī date back to the mid-seventeenth century, as a modal form referred to as ṭhumrī is mentioned in the *Rāg Darpan* (1665) and the *Tuhfat al-Hind* (1675) (Manuel 1989, 37-38). The *Sangītsār* (1803) similarly refers to ṭhumrī as a rāg (Manuel 1989, 35). It was certainly in existence in 1834, as N. Augustus Willard refers to the genre as fourth in importance after dhrupad, khyāl, and tappa (Manuel 1989, 35), and it was popular in the court of Wazid Ali Shah in the mid-nineteenth century (Manuel 1989, 34). The nineteenth century version of ṭhumrī, which came to be known as *bandish ṭhumrī*, was apparently quite different from the form that was popular from early in the twentieth century. While it shared certain characteristics with khyāl, Manuel delineates four ways the ṭhumrī was distinct, including its association with kathak dance, its use of characteristic light rāgs, its somewhat simpler technical demands, and its reliance in the nineteenth century on compositions written by a specific group of composers from Lucknow.

Ṭhumrī was sung by courtesans in the nineteenth century, who were held in high esteem in Lucknow for their knowledge of fine arts and culture (Manuel 1989, 57). Nonetheless, some of the most important figures in the nineteenth-century refinement of ṭhumrī were men, including Sadiq Ali Khan, Qadar Piya, Lallan Piya, among others (Manuel 1989, 67-69). While the status of courtesans declined during the twentieth-century "cleansing" of Hindu culture discussed in the previous chapter, Manuel states that bandish ṭhumrī remained popular into the early twentieth century. However, it began to adopt aspects of khyāl and tappa, thus losing much of its earlier identity. It also came to be performed more slowly in folk-derived tāls, with an increasing emphasis on the fluid, freely-phrased *bol banao* (Manuel 1989, 73). By the time Pannalal Ghosh began performing ṭhumrī, the older form of bandish ṭhumrī had been largely replaced by the newer bol-banao ṭhumrī.

Instrumental Approaches

The eighteenth century also saw the rise of certain instrumental approaches to Hindustani classical music. While instruments had been used throughout Indian music history, vocal music has always been thought to set the standard for musical excellence. While the bīn had long been associated with dhrupad, the sitar first began to achieve a respected position in the eighteenth century. Indeed it was only in 1739, as Allyn Miner has shown, that the sitar was first introduced in Delhi (Miner 1993, 21-24, 32). Stephen Slawek claims that it was during this time that this instrument began to be used for the performance of dhrupad style. "The pre-composed music in this style," he writes, "was based on dhrupad vocal compositions, while improvisations were based on the rhythmical accompaniment of the *pakhavaj*" (Slawek 1987, 16-17). Allyn Miner writes that "the development of a new solo music based on ideas from dhrupad was the work of the four generations between Khusrau Khan and Dulha Khan. Dhrupad elements must have enhanced the repertoire and the reputation of the sitar" (Miner 1993, 104).

Miner makes note of Rahimsen and his son Amritsen, who were descendents of Tansen, and the originators of the "Senia" line of sitar playing. This style was derived from bīn, dhrupad, and khyāl styles, as well as unique characteristics of sitar playing (Miner 1993, 104-109). The rise of the sitar seems to be closely connected with the increasing popularity of khyāl style, and sitar composition drew from khyāl vocal models as well. The instrumental *gat saili* (style) from the later eighteenth century, for example, is credited to members of Tansen's Seni gharānā, and Masit Khan composed for sitar in a style apparently modeled after the dhrupad-influenced khyāl vocal style of Nyamat Khan (Slawek 1987, 17).

Miner observes that the Mughal and provincial courts of the seventeenth century displayed "a fascinating mix of Indian and Persian elements" (Miner 1993, 30). The Persian derived *tambūr* remained a significant instrument in the eighteenth century, and was probably an important model for early sitar playing (Miner 1993, 88). The *sārangī* also was well regarded in the eighteenth century despite the disreputable associations it later acquired. In late-eighteenth-century Rampur, the Afghani *rabāb* attained a good deal of popularity, and its style apparently helped to shape the playing of Ghulam Ali, the first sarod player (Miner 1993, 123). The growing significance of instrumental music in nineteenth-century Bengal is evident from such books on the sitar as *Sitār Shikshā* (Krishnadhan Bandyopadhyaya, 1866) and *Yantra Kshetra Dīpikā* (Tagore, 1872).

The bīn was the source for many of the techniques used on the sitar, such as mīnḍ and the use of *chikārī* strings for punctuation. But while the bīn players continued to perform vocal compostions, an independent compositional repertoire was developed for sitar.[2] Two primary repertories were developed for the sitar in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the Delhi (or Masītkhānī) *bāj* (style of playing) and the Razākhānī bāj. The Delhi bāj drew many of its stylistic features from dhrupad, and the rabāb and bīn served as important models. The Razākhānī bāj, on the other hand, was likely more inspired by the *sitār tanbūr*, the music of Central Asia, and khyāl songs. The compositions in both of these sitar bājs are referred to as *gat*s. These gats are quite distinct from vocal compositions in terms of formal characteristics and in their use of rhythmic plucking structures. Masītkhānī gats are typically in slow tintal and begin on the twelfth beat of the tāl, while Razākhānī gats are normally in fast tintal and begin on the seventh beat of the tāl.[3]

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[2] See Alastair Dick's section "Sitar and Sarod" in Regula Qureshi, et al. "India." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43272 (accessed August 2, 2010).

The traditional sarod repertory featured medium tempo gats and often used a distinct nomenclature. Allyn Miner mentions a style of sarod gat known as *Firozkhānī* gat, which commonly featured long intervallic jumps that were idiomatic for the early sarod (Miner 1993, 205). The sarod today, however, commonly uses many of the same Masītkhānī and Razākhānī gats as the sitar, as well as compostions in diverse tāls. In current practice, sitar and sarod also often perform full ālāp, jōr, slow gat, fast gat*,* and jhālā in a manner that to some degree reflects the rabāb-sarod tradition.[4] While sitar-sarod ālāp, jōr*,* and jhālā share many characteristics with vocal slow and fast ālāp, the sitar-sarod version is distinct in its use of rhythmic groupings, plucking patterns, and other techniques. Jhālā, which builds to a peak of intensity with its extremely fast alternations between melody strings and the chikārī strings, is not present in vocal music, though vocalists do build to a similar peak in fast ālāp. Various other techniques used by sitar and sarod involving complicated plucking patterns help to establish these styles as distinct from vocal music.[5]

Aside from voice, sitar, and sarod, few other distinct instrumental styles were in common practice during Ghosh's developmental years. The sārangī, which was traditionally used for vocal accompaniment, was not commonly used as a solo instrument until later in the twentieth century (Powers, Grove online).[6] The shahnāī was only just coming into its own as a Hindustani classical instrument during Ghosh's performance career, owing its popularity primarily to Bismillah Khan, born three years later than Ghosh. These instruments will be discussed later in more detail along with other instrumental styles that developed after the establishment of Ghosh's style.

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[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Powers, Harold. "India. III, 6: Theory and Practice of Classical Music: Instrumental Traditions, (1) Chordophones (c) Sāraṅgī and Violin. In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43272pg9 (accessed August 2, 2010).

Chapter 5
The Life of Pannalal Ghosh

Pannalal Ghosh was born Amal Jyoti Ghosh (Amal Jyoti means “clear light”) on July 24, 1911 in Bengal in the town of Barisal. During his childhood, his friends and family took to calling him “Panna,” which means emerald, and this was the name he used predominantly throughout his life. “Lal” means dear or darling,[1] and was commonly used as a suffix to Panna, though later in his life, “babu,” a respectful address for an educated or distinguished person or for a father figure[2] was often used in place of “lal.” His family was Kulin Brahmin, though as will be discussed later, they had formerly been Kayasth, a sect affiliated with both Kshatriyas and Brahmins. His hometown was eventually to become a part of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) following India’s independence from the British in 1948. Throughout his childhood years, however, Barisal was very much a part of India. In this rural setting, he was surrounded by a rich tradition of folk music, such as the *bhātiāli* boatman’s songs that were later to become a common item in his performances. At the same time, he had much exposure to Hindustani classical music, as his father, Akshoykumar Ghosh, played sitar and his grandfather, Harakumar Ghosh, played pakhāwaj and was a dhrupad singer.[3]

Pannalal Ghosh (henceforth “PG”) grew up in a time when India was seeking to define itself as an independent nation during the decades leading up to the end of British rule. As discussed in Chapter 3, the definition of an Indian national identity was highly complex. Before British rule, the territory that ultimately became the nation of India had never been united as a single entity. Despite many cultural commonalities, the multiple states and communities of India had strongly individual identities—a reality that continues in many ways to the present day despite national unification. The multitude of regional languages and dialects is just one indication of the scope of this diversity.

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[1] R. S. McGregor, *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford Universtiy Press, 1993), 893.
[2] Ibid
[3] From program notes of the Pannalal Ghosh Music Festival, January 8-11, 1976, written by Nikhil Ghosh.

Nonetheless, with Hindus constituting a substantial majority of the population, there was a broadly shared thread of cultural continuity. The largest percentage by far of the remaining population was, and is, Muslim. While the potential for friction between these two groups was made starkly clear during the partition of India that defined India and Pakistan as two separate nations,[4] a great many Muslims remained in India, whether by choice or default. Despite their differences, Hindus and Muslims were both integral to the formation of an Indian culture that took place over roughly 900 years of coexistence.[5] Music played an important role in the formation of a national Indian identity. Unlike the British, the Mughal rulers of India had largely not only tolerated the beliefs and practices of the Hindu majority, but more often than not, thoroughly embraced many aspects of the existing Hindu culture. This is perhaps nowhere clearer than in the arts, and particularly in what we now consider to be Hindustani classical music. While debate continues as to the degree of outside influence on the classical music of India, it seems clear that a deep and profound musical interchange took place in the Mughal courts.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Hindustani classical music in the early twentieth century underwent a transformation in cultural meaning due the impact of the Bengal Renaissance, the establishments of new institutions for teaching and promoting music, the shift to Hindu middle-class patronage, Indian (Hindu) nationalism, gharānās, and mass media. These themes can be seen to play out again and again in PG's life and musical career, and the changing atmosphere of his time created an opportunity for a rural Bengali Brahmin boy to take the simple bamboo flute and redefine its role in the Hindustani classical world. The genius and perseverance required to make this possible are undeniable, but the complex factors of the new social, cultural, and political environment set the groundwork for his innovations. This can be seen clearly by examining the course of the life, career, and music of PG.

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[4] Ultimately, three separate nations following the secession from Pakistan of East Pakistan. Now Bangladesh, this nation contains the region in which Pannalal Ghosh grew up.

[5] The rough figure of 900 years comes from the time between the first raids of Mahmud of Ghazni in 997 and Pannalal Ghosh's birth in 1911 C.E.

The most comprehensive biography of PG is an article by his widow, Parul Ghosh (2000),[6] written after his death. Parul Ghosh was an outstanding figure in her own right, as she was one of the most famous of the early playback singers in Indian cinema. Due to the fact that her own career took place in many of the same circles as did that of PG, she was intimately familiar with both his professional and domestic lives. Her account tells the story of the life of PG from the perspective of the person who probably knew him best. While this document is of great value to this study, it is somewhat of a hagiography, and one must be aware of possible biases and distortions that may come from one so close to the subject. For this reason, and to provide supplemental information, I have also drawn from articles and interviews with others who either knew PG directly or had access to significant information about his life. Reviews and articles by critics Mohan Nadkarni (1995 and 2002) and Prakash Wadhera (1955 and unknown date) offered some useful perspectives, as did program notes by PG's brother Nikhil Ghosh (1976) and Tamesh Nadkarni (1977).

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[6] Parul Ghosh. 2000. "Vanshi-Parampara ke Sanvahak: Pandit Pannalal Ghosh" (Originator of the Bānsuri Tradition: Pandit Pannalal Ghosh). Translated into Hindi from the original Bengali by Madanlal Vyas in *Chayanat* (89), 5-23. Translated from Hindi to English by Carl Clements.

My interviews with V. G. Karnad, Rasbihari Desai, and Suraj Narayan Purohit, the three of PG's students who were still living during the period of my research, provided some biographical details, plus anecdotes and insights to PG's playing, teaching and performance styles, and personality. For about nine years I have been a student of Nityanand Haldipur, whose father (Niranjan Halidipur) was a student of PG, who learned a bit from PG as a child, and who had a close friendship with PG's daughter. My two formal recorded interviews with him,[7] plus many more informal conversations, provided a wide range of information about PG's life and music. PG's nephews Dhruba (born 1957)[8] and Nayan Ghosh (born 1956)[9] provided much information about PG, his music, the Ghosh family history, and the historical context of Hindustani classical music. Being the eldest son of PG's brother Nikhil, Nayan Ghosh has kept track of the family genealogy, which makes him a valuable source of oral family history. Both Nayan and Dhruba Ghosh were very young when PG passed away, but they learned much about him through their father. I also interviewed Deba Prasad Banerjee,[10] whose teacher, the late Gaur Goswami, learned from PG in Calcutta; sārangī player Ram Narayan[11] and vocalist S. C. R. Bhat,[12] who were friends and associates of PG; and sociologist and Indian music scholar Dr. S. Devadas Pillai.[13]

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[7] Nityanand Haldipur, interview by the author, January 16, 2007 and January 16, 2008, Nityanand Haldipur's residence, Mumbai, India.

[8] Dhruba Ghosh, interview by the author, 7 August, 2007, Dhruba Ghosh's residence, Mumbai, India.

[9] Nayan Ghosh, interview by the author, August 7, 2007, Sangit Mahabharati, Mumbai, India.

[10] Deba Prasad Banerjee, interview by the author (notes only), February 2, 2007, Deba Prasad Banerjee's residence, Kolkata, India.

[11] Ram Narayan, interview by the author (notes only), July 10, 2007, Ram Narayan's residence, Mumbai, India.

[12] S. C. R. Bhat, interview by the author (in Hindi, notes only), August 5, 2007, Shri Vallabh Sangeetalaya, Mumbai, India.

[13] Dr. S. Devadas Pillai, interview by the author (notes only), January 23, 2008, Dr. Pillai's residence, Mumbai, India.

The different biographical accounts of PG combine to create a picture of a twentieth-century artist who was a product of his environment, and helped to reshape this environment; who strove to embrace the traditions of Hindustani classical music while taking advantage of the forces of the modern world to introduce a new instrument into this music; whose goal was to bring the instrument of Krishna to national prominence, but who revered both his Hindu and Muslim teachers; and who developed his musical style without any particular gharānā affiliation, but later in his career embraced the mantle of a new gharānā. While I am seeking to present the facts of his life as accurately as possible, it is also of interest to examine the implications of myth construction that seem to arise in these narratives. While it is not always possible to tell what is factual truth and what is romanticization or distortion, both elements are valuable for understanding the role of PG, and the correlations of his life with the major shifts in Hindustani music and the political, economic, and social structures that have played a crucial role in shaping its development.

Birth and Social Identity

Parul Ghosh begins her narrative in 1911 in Barisal, "a small city in East Bengal" (Parul Ghosh 2000, 5). From the very beginning of her article, the importance of music in PG's life is emphasized. She describes a scene in which PG's father, Akshaykumar, and grandfather, Harkumar, are sitting in a room at their residence.

> A pakhāwaj and a sitar have been kept on the floor. In the house it's as if everything has stopped—motionless! From inside the house, at two in the

> morning there is some noise. The family priest arrived, giving the news—'Harkumar! You've become a grandfather.'
>
> Mr. Harkumar happily gave the pakhāwaj a 'tap.' Upon finding he had become a father, his son Akshaykumar's face lit up—he picked up his sitar and began to play 'dhun dhun.' (Parul Ghosh 2000, 5)

As Parul Ghosh could not have been present at this birth scene, this can be assumed to be her own reconstruction (and romanticization). It is presumably based on stories she heard over the course of her long relationship with her husband, which she likely combines with her own elaborations. As her narrative continues, there is a suggestion of a highly auspicious birth, connecting the child with Krishna from his very first moments of life. The family priest notes that the child is born on the astrological date of Ashad Krishna Trayodashi, will receive the blessing of Sri Krishna, and will be wise and learned. The association with Krishna in Parul Ghosh's narrative is very significant, and this importance is made clearer over the course of the article. Two crucial characteristics of Krishna that should be noted are first, his prominent role in Hinduism, and second, the fact that Krishna's instrument is said to be the flute.

Throughout his career, PG's association with Krishna was emphasized, and this connection continued well beyond his death. Mohan Nadkarni (2002, 68) asserts that "the tone of his flute was often compared to that of the conch associated with Lord Vishnu [of whom Krishna is said to be an incarnation]." In the program notes for the 1977 Pannalal Ghosh memorial concert, Sri Tamesh Nadkarni (1977) wrote:

> When the blue-eyed boy of Brindavan played his flute, the rivers stopped in their tracks to flow, the mountains nodded their heads in ecstasy, the cows in their rapture forgot to munch the grass and the Gopis lost themselves in transcendental bliss. The rivers flowed on for thousands of years, and the flute remained only an ancient legend, a dim memory of a prehistoric past now a mere flock instrument. Pannalal Ghosh applied himself to the task of perfecting it so as to make it a concert instrument capable of playing 'Meend', 'Gamakas', 'Khatkas', and other musical graces that adorn our Hindustani Raga Sangeet.

Such parallels are abundant throughout the various accounts of PG's life and career.

What is also noteworthy about these first paragraphs of Parul Ghosh's account is the fact that both PG's father and grandfather are musicians, and that their music is so important to them that they are playing while awaiting the birth of Amal Jyoti Ghosh. Vishwas Kulkarni[14] mentions that PG's maternal uncle Bhavaranjan was also a proficient musician, and his mother Sukumari was a singer. This establishes a musical heritage for him that begins with his own family. This heritage is reinforced in various places later in the article. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) also affirms a strong level of musical talent in the Ghosh family, in which PG was the sixth child (and second male child) of five boys and five girls. He asserts that all of his siblings were very musically gifted, each with a strong sense of pitch, time, musicality, and aesthetics. PG's brother (and Nayan Ghosh's father), Nikhil Ghosh, became a highly respected tabla player, and often accompanied

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[14] From http://www.pannalalghosh.info/site/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=29 (accessed June 15, 2006).

PG’s performances. And Nayan Ghosh states that he believes that PG’s oldest sister was a very good sitar player. Dhruba Ghosh (p.c.) mentions that another brother of Pannalal and Nikhil Ghosh went into music professionally, but was more involved with teaching than performance.

Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) elaborates on the deep interest in music held by PG’s father and grandfather through the following family lore:

> [T]here was classical music in the family too, because my grandfather was a sitar player. Not professional—in those days it was not respectable to be a musician. So he was a government servant. But he used all his other time playing the sitar in the local Kali temple that was a meeting place of local musicians. So every night there used to be long sessions of performances, discussion, and chatting among musicians, and dhrupad-dhamar—mainly dhrupad and dhamar, but of course khyāl music was also there, but dhrupad-dhamār stayed in Bengal for a long time. And my great-grandfather, Harkakumar Ghosh… was also a very gifted singer. And he used to sing dhrupad, he used to sing Bengali music also, and he played the pakhāwaj also. And he was a carefree man—nothing else mattered to him. It was just music. He didn’t care for making an income for livelihood, because he married a girl from a rich family, so he had enough to look after, and so he was just too happy with his music... He would sing dhrupad and play pakhāwaj. And he was good at both... But the local Kali temple was the place for music. A lot of musicians

> assembled there. That's where my father, uncle, also, you know, they nurtured... their music.

It is interesting here that the musical activities of the Ghosh family are rooted in Hindu traditions and centered at a Kali temple. While Dr. Pillai (2008) has expressed doubt about the presence of dhrupad music in the temples of Barisal, there do seem to be quite a few corroborating reports of the Ghosh family's involvement with dhrupad. As discussed earlier, prior to the twentieth century, the predominantly Muslim gharānās had been the primary carriers of Hindustani music tradition. Dhrupad in Bengal was somewhat of an exception to this tendency, however. Widdess (2004, 33) draws a distinction "between the Muslim Dāgar and Talwandi gharānās, where the tradition has been passed down through the members of a single family, and the Hindu gharānās of Bihār, Bengal, and perhaps Mathurā, where a more diffuse transmission has occurred involving a group of related or unrelated Brahman families."

It is often difficult to characterize a gharānā by the religion of its members, however. Widdess (2004, 33) writes that dhrupad is a music of "ultimately Hindu origins…," but also states: "The regional traditions were all formatively influenced by Muslim singers from the Mughal court – or at least they claim this to be the case." Widdess also notes that many of the Muslim dhrupad musicians pay great respect to Hindu traditions in their musical presentation (see, for example Widdess 2004, 32, Figure 1.4), and that many Muslim dhrupad musicians commonly performed in Hindu and Sikh religious contexts (Widdess 2004, 33). But in Mathura, North Bihar, and West Bengal in particular "the known dhrupad traditions all flourished in association with Hinduism, of different varieties; dhrupad was employed both for court music-making and for temple ritual, but was adapted to whatever Hindu cult was locally prevailing" (Widdess 2004, 33).

Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) notes that "dhrupad music was obviously extremely prevalent [in the] eighteenth, nineteenth, and even early twentieth century. And specially in Bengal. Bengal was a place where dhrupad lived the longest." He supports this assertion with a story of his father, Nikhil Ghosh's, meeting with Alladiya Khan. When Alladiya Khan saw that Nikhil Ghosh was Bengali but played tabla, he expressed some disappointment that Ghosh was not playing dhrupad. "'I as a child used to go to Bengal to listen to the great dhrupad music. I derived my inspiration from Bengal,' he said. Alladiya Khansaheb said that." He tells a similar anecdote of his father's first meeting with the great tabla player Jahangir Khan. While he appreciated Ghosh's tabla playing, when he heard that he came from Bengal, he said "You're from Bengal? Then why don't you play pakhāwaj? Why do you play tabla?" Nayan Ghosh maintains that these stories are indicative of the fact that "old musicians of those times saw Bengal as the seat of dhrupad and pakhāwaj." He speculates that "that's probably the reason my great-grandfather sang dhrupad, or his ancestors, and him too."

This suggests an alternate path toward the acquisition of musical knowledge by Hindus, differing somewhat from V. D. Paluskar's gharānā-derived learning. Of course, this is only the beginning of PG's exposure to Hindustani classical music. As will be seen, his means of gaining musical knowledge were diverse, culminating in his affiliation with Allauddin Khan's Maihar gharānā. According to Vishwas Kulkarni,[15] PG's father had studied sitar in Dhaka with Guru Bhagwan Chandra Das, supposedly of the Senia lineage. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) mentions that both PG and Nikhil Ghosh learned sitar from their father, and that Nikhil Ghosh used to practice on a pair of tabla owned by a local cobbler named Mahadevan. All of this, combined with the various other folk, classical, semi-classical, and religious musics in the Barisal of that time, suggests a complicated network of musical sources available to the young PG.

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[15] From http://pannalalghosh.com/profile_pannalalghosh.html (accessed September 13, 2010).

As mentioned earlier, PG came from a Brahmin family. According to Nayan Ghosh (p.c.), PG's family was originally of the Kayasth sect, which according to a Wikipedia entry,[16] is

> the only sect who are referred to as direct descendants of a Vedic God in the religious texts and the only ancestor worshipping sect of Hinduism also called Chitranshi/Devputra. They are said, in the Vedas and Puranas, to have a dual-caste status i.e. Brahmin and Kshatriya. They are mainly spread across North India and are a sub-sect of Brahmins whose ancient profession was writing.

However Nayan Ghosh states that Kayasth was a subsection of the Kshatriya caste, and his family was not considered to be Brahmin until it was "upgraded" fourteen or fifteen generations before him to the status of Kulin Brahmin. "So, we originally belonged to the Kshatriya caste," he says, "and then we became Kulins… Kulin means somebody coming from a very respectable lineage… So, we were given the Kulin status. And so from that Padmanabha Ghosh, all the descendants have been wearing the sacred thread, like Brahmins. So we were put on par with the Brahmins." His father passed on to him the following story of this transition:

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[16] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kayastha (accessed September 13, 2010).

> How that upgradation took place was, this ancestor of mine, known as Padmanabha Ghosh—in my list of twenty-five generations, he comes as number nine—if I am in the twenty-fifth, he comes as number nine. He was a great scholar, and highly respected for his wisdom and knowledge. And, the king of that place, wherever he lived in Bengal, had specially felicitated him in a very special manner, by applying sandalwood paste—by making him sit on a very special chair and applying that paste, smearing it on his feet and then applying it on the foreheads of all the other people present at the gathering. So, as a mark of respect, for his knowledge, for his scholasticity, etcetera. And given the sacred thread also. Because before that we never wore the sacred thread, which was only the privilege of the Brahmins.

While Brahmins are characteristically the priestly caste and are seen as the keepers of orthodox tradition, his family seems to have been perhaps somewhat more liberal in its orientation. The Hindu associations of dhrupad would have made its performance a more acceptable endeavor, but PG's father and grandfather do not seem to have been part of any hereditary lineage of musicians (though as discussed below, Nayan Ghosh suggests that his family showed a non-professional interest in music beginning several generations earlier). PG's grandfather, who seems to have been very dedicated to music, probably began his training in dhrupad singing in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, but did not pursue music as a profession. But by the time of PG's childhood, the social position of music had been elevated substantially by the activities of V. D. Paluskar and V. N. Bhatkhande, both Brahmin.

It was not until PG's generation that he and his brother Nikhil began a lineage of professional musicians. The improved status of Hindustani classical musicians in the twentieth century was likely a decisive factor. It might almost be said that they began a new gharānā, as the musical lineage includes three generations of professional musicians, and at least PG has passed on a distinctive style.[17] Such a designation is complicated, though, by the fact that PG identified himself with the Maihar gharānā (as did his students), and the two sons of Nikhil Ghosh play different instruments—Nayan Ghosh plays tabla and sitar, and Dhruba Ghosh plays sārangī. However one might choose to categorize this musical (not strictly familial) lineage, it continues in the present day with a third generation of PG's students, including PG's grandson Anand Murdeshwar (now deceased) and Nityanand Haldipur. And the music school Sangit Mahabharati, founded in Bombay by Nikhil Ghosh and continued by his sons, has trained several generations of musicians.[18]

Figure 6 below is a chart showing the lineage of professional musicians in the Ghosh family originating from Akshaykumar Ghosh (who was not a professional). A chart showing Pannalal Ghosh's musical lineage (including non-family members) can be seen in Figure 7 on page 269.

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[17] See Neuman 1980, 146 and 155 for a discussion of defining factors of a gharānā.

[18] See http://www.sangitmahabharati.org/ for details about Sangit Mahabharati.

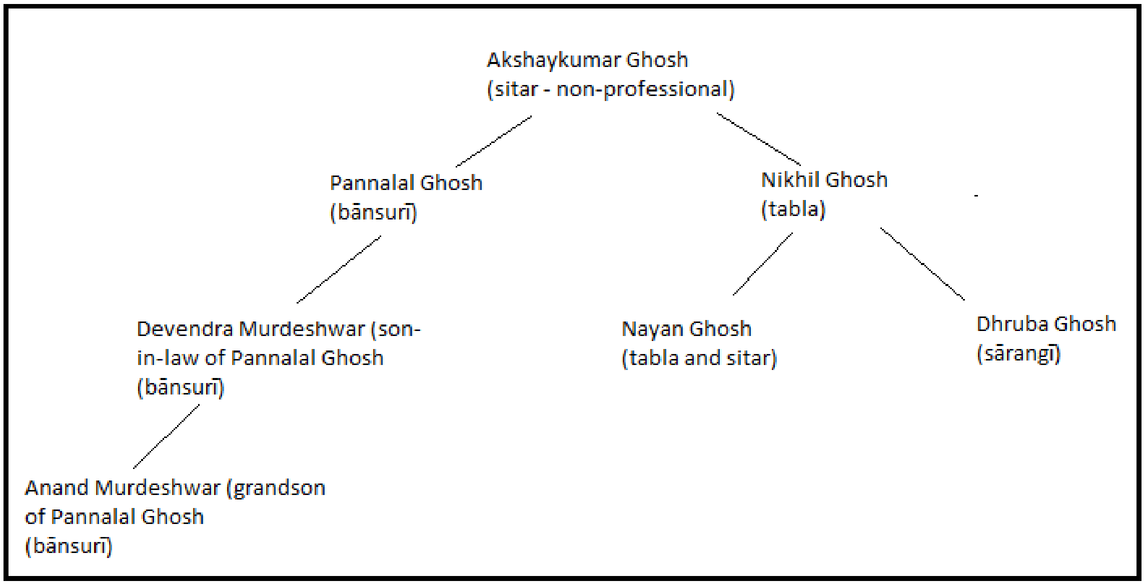
Akshaykumar Ghosh
(sitar - non-professional)
Pannalal Ghosh
(bānsurī)
Nikhil Ghosh
(tabla)
Devendra Murdeshwar (son-in-law of Pannalal Ghosh
(bānsurī)
Nayan Ghosh
(tabla and sitar)
Dhruba Ghosh
(sārangī)
Anand Murdeshwar (grandson of Pannalal Ghosh
(bānsurī)

Figure 6: Chart of Ghosh Family Lineage of Professional Musicians

Perhaps the scholarly orientation of the Ghosh family facilitated in some way their acquisition of musical knowledge. It is unclear exactly when music first became a significant part of their lives. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) states:

> I know that even my great-grandfather, and his father—that is Ramroshan Ghosh and Banshibadan Ghosh were also singers, and dhrupad singers… Obviously they did it as a pastime, because, again, taking music as profession was, you know, not the way, in our family. Or maybe it was, I don't know, but music was there at least till … these two names also… That's my great-great grandfather and his father… So, probably five or six or seven generations.… we have no information before that.

Despite the fact that the Ghosh family was clearly deeply involved in music, it appears that Pannalal and Nikhil were the first to take it up as a profession. Nayan Ghosh maintains that they were neither encouraged nor discouraged from pursuing music as a career, but that their parents "Maybe…just let things happen as they would…[The] scene was gradually changing." Upon their grandfather's death, the family faced some financial difficulties, "and the…older brothers then took off in various directions to get some work and keep the family… going." Due to the changes in the musical environment, music was now one of the options available to them. Nayan Ghosh suggests that this was the time that PG went to Calcutta and found work at New Theatres. But as will be discussed below, the details of his move to Calcutta were somewhat more complicated than this suggests. Whether or not PG was a product of a relatively liberal Brahmin upbringing, the path he chose in life was certainly far from orthodox. While music itself may have attained a higher degree of respectability, the status of aspiring professional musicians was a different matter. Music was by no means a secure path to a monetarily successful life, and one's social status depended to a significant degree on financial stability.

Early Childhood

The next theme that Parul Ghosh introduces in her version of PG's life is the innate truthfulness of PG from an early age. "The child grew up looking to the light of the sun—he also grew up looking to the light of truth. He hated false statements, to the extent that even joking he couldn't abide with untruth" (Parul Ghosh 2000, 5). She also emphasizes his qualities of tolerance and patience, which she suggests may have later been manifested in his obstinacy and firmness of resolve. Thus, from his earliest years, he is shown to have the necessary qualities to take on the task of becoming a major musical figure on the bānsurī: a history of music in his family, an auspicious birth associated with Krishna, a devotion to truth (and presumably a corresponding spirituality), self-control, and determination. However, she notes that as he got older, he had a tendency to get into mischief, causing his mother to question whether the family priest's predictions (about him growing up to be wise and learned) were wrong. Of course this very mischievousness ties him more closely to Krishna, who is known for his childhood antics, such as stealing butter.

Parul Ghosh supplements this introduction with a story that reinforces PG's obstinacy, sense of propriety, truthfulness, and determination. One day, when Pannalal Ghosh was about eight years old, an old household servant committed a transgression by failing to obey his (PG's) mother's order, then deceitfully denying that this incident occurred. The young PG declared that there was therefore no place for this servant in the house. His mother was concerned about letting go of the servant, as there was a large household to maintain and twelve cows to care for. She declared that PG would have to manage all of the work until they were able to find a new servant. The child's response was "So shall it be," and for the several days during which there was no servant, he calmly and happily did all the work. Parul Ghosh emphasizes that throughout his life he had no aversion to any kind of work, no matter how difficult and however great the responsibility, and that he was committed to his family in good times and bad.

This story is significant on several levels. First, it shows PG's commitment to family honor and responsibility. Second, it ties him closer to Krishna, as for at least a brief period of his life he cared for the cows. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) also discusses PG's caring for the cows: "...amazing—unusual cows they had. And Pannababu as a child was always given the task, because he loved it, to take the cows out for grazing every day. That is something he passionately loved..." Third, it emphasizes his ability to work through all problems regardless of difficulty—a quality that he needed in his later efforts to master the bānsurī and popularize the instrument in Hindustani classical music.

First Encounters with the Bānsurī

It seems that PG had begun playing the simple pastoral flute at an early age. Mohan Nadkarni (2002, 67) writes that at the age of seven, PG was already playing "simple, breezy tunes to the delight of the local folk of Barisal..." Prakash Wadhera (n.d.),[19] on the other hand, states that he began playing the flute at the age of ten. Parul Ghosh tells two stories of how PG first came to start playing the bānsurī. One day while returning home along a swollen river near his house, he decided to go for a swim. There was a timber warehouse on the bank of this river, and while swimming, he sat on a floating piece of timber. Emphasizing the almost mythological nature of this story, Parul Ghosh (2000, 6) writes: "This boy always meditated on God, and sometimes God also made manifest his divine play." By chance, the young man saw a bamboo flute being swiftly carried down the river. The flute became caught by the piece of timber on which he was sitting, and without thinking, he picked up the bānsurī and tried to play it. His natural ability was revealed when a note sounded with each breath he blew across the flute.

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[19] From Prakash Wadhera's article "Music Notes: Panna Lal Ghosh—The FluteWizard," *Times of India*, Delhi. Only a clipping is available, which does not include the date of publication. It is probably from the mid- to late 1950s.

Here, Parul Ghosh quotes some song lyrics that were very popular at the time, written by Kazi Nazrul Islam, an important influence in PG's early career.

Getochhi e phūler mālā
Kinbe bale phūl piyāsī.
Mālār kusum phūtiyechhe nāv
Bājiye tomār mohan bānshi.

I have strung this garland
for a lover of flowers.
The essence of the garland has bloomed
with the sound of your flute.

On his way home, the young PG effortlessly played several tunes. "The Creator, with His invisible pen, had begun to write the boy's future life. From that day, his name began to spread throughout India and beyond. From that day, that simple, devotional boy became the celebrated artist Pannalal Ghosh, whose bānsurī playing brought the world of the gods to his listeners" (2000, 7).

Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) tells a similar story with a few small differences and additional details. He notes that while Barisal, about 200 km south of Dhaka, is now one of the most important cities in Bangladesh, it was a very rural place during PG's childhood. Their house, which Nayan Ghosh describes as being "pretty big," was on the bank of a wide river known as "Kirtan Kola". He states:

> Their life was absolutely deeply connected with the river, whether it was... just swimming and having fun playing, or even for daily use—for washing, cleaning, everything. The river was their main thing in their life, I would say. My father used to always describe this… he had later

> traveled so many parts of the country and around the world, but he always described that landscape in front of his home as one the most beautiful he had ever seen in his life. And the vast, wide river, and beyond that endless paddy field ending into the horizon. That was something he used to describe so vividly that anybody would feel that they're actually seeing it. So they grew up in a very beautiful landscape which was...on the outskirts of the Barisal town. This district was known as Wazirpur... And in his childhood... in the daily swimming in the river, he once found a walking stick. Or maybe this was a little later in his life—he used to already play the small flute, the village flute, while grazing the cows. He was very fond of that, just sitting under the tree while the cows grazed, he would keep on playing tunes and melodies and so on. And in the course of swimming once in the river he found a walking stick. They say probably it belonged to some sadhu. And...this walking stick was very strange. Half of it was a flute—and a fairly large one. So he started playing on it. And he started getting sound, a deeper sound than the kind of little flute that he used to play. And that fascinated him. He started more and more exploring…and probably his experimentation on making a bigger flute, probably that was the start—that incident of finding the large flute-cum-walking stick. That, I think, started it all.

Parul Ghosh claims that another event soon followed, and she emphasizes that this tale shows that while Ghosh came from a musical family and was naturally attracted to music, “the Creator’s pen” (2000, 7) sometimes worked in supernatural ways. Not long after the incident with the flute in the river, he had to go to the cremation grounds when one of his school teachers passed away. There he met a *sadhu* (holy man) who presented the young PG with the gift of a bānsurī. “Now there was no doubt in young Pannalal’s mind that the bānsurī would be his lifelong companion” (2000, 7). Prakash Wadhera (n.d.) refers to this story as PG’s first encounter with the flute, though in his version, PG took it upon himself to go to the sadhu’s cottage and try his flute.

Nityanand Haldipur (p.c.) relates essentially the same stories, which are interesting in several ways. They suggest a kind of divine hand nudging PG toward his destiny as an important innovator on the bānsurī, as well as his natural ability on the bānsurī. His encounter with the flute while swimming in the river also conveys the rural, idyllic nature of the setting, suggesting the role of the bānsurī in Indian society as the rural folk instrument par excellence. The imagery of the river is especially noteworthy, as rivers are considered to be sacred among Hindus. A gift of a bānsurī from the river is strongly suggestive of a gift from (a Hindu) God. Also, one of PG’s favorite folk idioms, which he liked to perform as a light number in classical concerts, was the bhātiāli dhun, or boatman’s song. According to PG’s brother Nikhil Ghosh (1976),

> The rich musical heritage combined with the natural beauty of his birth place amidst the vast green paddy fields kissing the horizon across the beautiful broad river with its affectionate motherly murmur, flowing just in front of his home contributed a great deal to the musical build up of this great artist.

The story of the sadhu provides a further Hindu sanction for this rural Brahmin boy's pursuit of a career in music. So far in the narrative, music has come to PG through his family, his astrological destiny, and the river. This blessing by a sadhu adds an explicitly Hindu source for his musical development. Keeping in mind that Hindustani classical music had only recently begun to break free from its closely guarded gharānā lineages, these forms of validation may be seen as important for reinforcing PG's credibility. The Hindu-based narrative may be seen as a parallel to the growing Hindu-nationalist associations of North Indian classical music at this time. The idea that a Hindu holy man is bequeathing upon him the gift of music seems to be an indication of how the cultural perception of music had changed. It seems very appropriate, too, that a sadhu is handing PG the instrument of Lord Krishna. The duality of the rural folk environment and the sacred Hindu associations ties in very nicely with the flute as the instrument of Krishna. The tales of this beloved incarnation of Vishnu depict him as both a playful cowherd in his youth, and the omniscient and omnipotent teacher of the Bhagavad Gita in his adulthood.

This is not to say that PG or society at large had wholly rejected the Muslim contribution to Hindustani classical music, and indeed the gharānā system continued to thrive. As will be shown, PG in fact learned much of what he knew through Muslim musicians, and the process of his transformation into a fully mature Hindustani classical musician was guided by the great Allauddin Khan. The point is rather that PG was living in a new musical landscape in which the Hindu middle class now played a crucial role. The gharānā system remained important, but new modes of learning and presentation were beginning to offer alternative paths to recognition in the world of North Indian music.

Whether or not the details of the above stories are historically accurate, it seems likely that PG would have first encountered the flute as a folk instrument. The folk music of his surroundings would have provided much inspiration for the young Pannalal Ghosh to learn the instrument, and the classical music permeating his household would have inspired him to apply the instrument to the Hindustani musical style. While both folk and classical musical forms remained integral to his musical identity, mastery of Hindustani classical music was his lifelong pursuit. In order to achieve this goal, he ultimately had to transform the simple folk flute into the larger and more finely-crafted classical flute he eventually developed. And of course, he needed the support of the Hindu middle class, which had become the primary source of patronage for Hindustani classical music.

Political Orientation

The next portion of Parul Ghosh's account begins to establish both the nationalist and (Hindu) spiritual credentials of Pannalal Ghosh. In both of these areas he is shown to be very much in step with the spirit of his time. Bengal in the 1920s and '30s was a major center in the movement for independence from British rule. PG's life from childhood through his adolescent years took place during the time of the Swadeshi movement, which was especially strong in Bengal. Nationalist sentiment, inspired by such figures as Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and Swami Vivekananda, was very strong at this time. This struggle took place on many fronts, ranging from nationalist artistic endeavors to outright rebellion. While Pannalal Ghosh ultimately opted for the first option, as a young man, the more direct approach had much appeal.

While still living in Barisal, he joined with a group of freedom fighters. The extent to which he engaged in active resistance is unclear, but it appears that he was seriously engaged in physical training designed to strengthen the freedom fighters for the cause. One manifestation of Indian nationalism was a surge of interest in physical training, both as a means of raising national pride, and as preparation for whatever battles might be necessary in the struggle for *swarāj*, or self-rule. In Barisal, Suryakur Thakur, the primary disciple of Bangvar Shamakant, opened a gymnasium where he taught various forms of fighting and physical activity, such as wrestling, stick fighting, and swimming. According to Parul Ghosh (2000, 7), PG joined this group, and his zeal was such that he quickly became adept in stick fighting, wrestling, boxing, and even jiu jitsu. Apparently he achieved a high level of skill, as he made a living for a while as a teacher of such martial arts.

Parul Ghosh (2000, 6) also claims that Suryakumar Thakur's son Prabodhkumar gave spiritual instruction along with the physical training, encouraging the students to be virtuous, righteous, always keep good thoughts, and meditate on God. This was apparently a great influence on the young Pannalal Ghosh, who would get up every day just before sunrise to meditate. On Sundays, he would keep a vow of silence, and he would chant the name of God during journeys by foot. He became increasingly preoccupied with finding the best way to worship God in order to grasp his incomprehensible nature. He retained this reverence for God throughout his life, to a degree that sometimes astonished his fellow musicians. According to Smarth Bali, Annapurna Devi, the talented daughter of Allauddin Khan, found him to be the one person who best embodied the combination of musicianship and spirituality.[20]

In his early teens, PG's inclination toward music and physical training seems to have increased along with a growing aversion to school. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) also notes PG's dislike of school, and relates his father's (Nikhil Ghosh) description of these schools as being basically "a couple of bamboo sticks to support, and a roof of palm leaves, and a village school underneath that." Parul Ghosh (2000, 7) casts his distaste for school in a positive light, however, suggesting that it was his insistence on truth and integrity that led to his dislike of school. She notes that it was not that he was disinterested in learning and education, but rather that he was sometimes punished for his insistence on his truthfulness in the face of accusations of lying. There is some implication, however, that his move away from book learning was related to the fact that his extracurricular activities took up a good deal of his time.

At the age of around twelve or thirteen, he became a leader of a group called Pandav Dal (Pandav group), after the five hero-brothers of India's great epic, the *Mahābhārata*. In this context, PG's nickname was Bhima, who was the strongest of the Pandavas. Also in this group was his childhood friend Anil Biswas, who was later to become one of India's most famous film music directors. He also happened to be Parul Ghosh's brother, and therefore, PG's future brother-in-law. The five group members used to train in the cane jungle behind PG's house. This jungle was often used by robbers to plan their attacks, and in like manner, the Pandav Dal used to plan wars against their British opponents. Parul Ghosh insists (2000, 7), however, that PG never had any desire for inappropriate or improper war. At this time of intense nationalism, though, anti-British activities of various sorts were considered by many to be appropriate and proper. It is not clear exactly what sorts of "attacks" the Pandav Dal undertook, though they seem to have made a youthful effort to aid the resistance. While the Pandav Dal seems to have been self-directed, Barisal was a major center of anti-British activity, and apparently the youths wanted to take part in this movement.

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[20] Smarth Bali, personal communication 2007. Bali is a friend of Annapurna Devi and many of her inner circle of students.

From a Western perspective, there might seem to be a sharp contrast, even contradiction, between Pannalal Ghosh's physical training and political activism on the one hand, and his interest in flute playing on the other. Looked at in the context of the time, society, and culture, however, all of these activities and interests in fact form a coherent picture. While the West might tend to look at the flute as feminine, its association with Krishna gives it an aura of masculinity. Krishna, the aforementioned popular avatar of Vishnu, is said to have been very flirtatious as a young man, and the stories of his dalliances with Radha and the other *gopī*s, or cow girls, are numerous. The flute also tied in well with his nationalist political orientation in several ways. Firstly, the association of the flute with Krishna gives it a distinctly Hindu orientation, and the assertion of Hindu national identity was one of the major tactics in mobilizing the masses toward independence from the British. Secondly, Indian classical music in general, as discussed in the previous chapter, had come to be seen by the people, or at least the politically active middle class, as one of the unique gems of Indian culture. Thus the flute, and music in general, could conceivably be seen as being as much a part of PG's activist mentality as his physical training and political orientation.

While some of the members of the Pandav Dal later took on a more integrated role in the resistance movement, PG found his participation cut short in this regard. According to Nityanand Haldipur (2007), his involvement with training freedom fighters eventually forced him to leave Barisal for a time, as the British were cracking down on such activities. PG's father had heard of a standing order by the British government that any healthy individual between the ages of fourteen and forty could be detained under the slightest suspicion. The law referred to here is presumably part of the Rowlatt Acts, which were extensions in 1919 of the "emergency measures" implemented by the British colonial government during World War I. These measures were opposed by all of the elected Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council, and were viewed as a great humiliation (Wolpert 1989, 298). Due to his concern for his son, PG's father sent him off to Calcutta against his wishes in order to keep him out of British hands. P.G. Burde (1990) asserts that Ghosh left Barisal because his father was in government service under a foreign ruler. Either way, it seems that his political orientation prompted his initial move to Calcutta. While this put an end to PG's school studies, as well as his life in Barisal, it began an important period in his life.

The Move to Calcutta

PG was probably about sixteen or seventeen when he moved to Calcutta, and life in the city opened him up to a new world of opportunities. It took some time, though, for him to get his bearings and to find his way into Calcutta's musical life. According to Parul Ghosh, PG initially moved in with his brother-in-law, Lalitchandra Ray, who was living in Calcutta at this time. Though he worked for the government, he held PG in high regard, and helped him adjust to life in the big city. Once PG adjusted to the dramatic change from rural Barisal to the vastness of Calcutta, he resumed his physical training and bānsurī playing with renewed vigor.

He began to train in boxing with Ashok Chattopadhyay, who had opened a boxing club upon returning from training abroad. Ashok Chattopadhyay's father was Samanand Chattopadhyay, the editor of *Pravasi* magazine. With the help of Ashok Chattopadhyay, PG learned boxing well enough to make a living, though it is not clear from the article if this was through competition, teaching, or both. Parul Ghosh addresses the apparent contradiction of boxing (and other physical training) and bānsurī playing, stating that Pannalal Ghosh was able to master the contrary paths of delicacy (*komal ras*) and heroism (*vir ras*). Despite the apparent contradiction, it seems that they were an important combination for his future accomplishments on the bānsurī. Nadkarni (2002, 68) writes that "the impact of his strength was evident as much in the almost superhuman task of mastering a giant flute as in the manner of blowing it, which was soft, yet forceful, crystallised, yet full-bodied."

Interlude in Jhargram

After some time in the big city, PG's life took a brief turn back to an even more rural existence than during his time in Barisal. An Indian tube well company had recently gotten a contract in Jhargram, a town in the southwestern region of West Bengal, and he was hired to take the responsibility for all of the arrangements. At this time, he was about eighteen years of age. While this showed his trustworthiness, Parul Ghosh (2000, 8) comments on the strangeness of this move given his passion for bānsurī and boxing, and given that the job paid only ten rupees per month. Nonetheless, this excursion seems to have fed into the development of his trajectory toward eventually becoming a great bānsurī player.

While Jhargram has since become a city, at that time it was just a small village. The company provided a very minimal shelter in the form of a pavilion, which was near a small lake. This lake was used for all local water needs, and attracted wild animals at night. Due to the heat, Pannalal Ghosh slept in front of the pavilion. Parul Ghosh emphasizes that Ghosh's willingness to follow his responsibilities to their conclusion, regardless of danger, inconvenience, or insufficient remuneration was one of his great virtues. While he worked hard all day, he spent much of his free time with the Santhāl villagers. One of the more interesting points in this story is the fact that the Santhāls played a kind of bānsurī, as well as a drum know as *madal*, along with their singing and dancing. PG very much liked the music and dancing of the Santhāls, and in turn, the Santhāls enjoyed his bānsurī playing. Parul Ghosh notes that, despite the many concerts he played for cultivated audiences, in later years he looked back to his days playing for the Santhāls as his greatest joy. He especially liked playing for the children, as they listened with their hearts instead of their heads.

Parul Ghosh includes a story in this narrative that, while probably romanticized, further highlights PG's valor and ability to excel through his efforts. After learning archery from the Santhāls, he won a prize of "eight excellent arrows" for his skill. However, the prize was not only for skill, but for extreme valor. During this time, his responsibilities required that he go to the train station, and due to rain during the day, he had to travel in the evening alone through eight miles of dense jungle, "carrying a lati [staff], a bānsurī, and a candle" (Parul Ghosh 2000, 9). The village chief later heard about this incident and was very impressed with PG's courage.

After four months working in Jhargram, the company's work there was finished, and PG returned to Calcutta. However, this short episode in his life seems to have had a powerful impact on him. Parul Ghosh's account of this time places great importance on his love for rural simplicity, his valor, his openness to new musics and experiences, and his preference for music that comes from the heart. A further element that is of interest in this story is the fact that the Santhāls themselves played a form of bānsurī. Dr. Pillai (p.c.) notes that the bānsurī played by the Santhāls is quite long, and may have been part of the inspiration for PG to use a long bānsurī in his own classical playing. Of course there were other reasons for his elongation of the bānsurī, most particularly his desire to create a deep, resonant pitch appropriate for serious Hindustani classical music. The long bānsurī of the Santhāls, though, may have given him some idea of the potential to create such a long flute.

During his time in Jhargram, PG had to return briefly to Barisal to testify on behalf of the government in some legal proceeding. While there, his father was reportedly very impressed with his bānsurī playing. Parul Ghosh (2000, 9) laments that while PG's father held great hopes for his son's future in music, he did not live long enough to witness PG's success. This visit turned out to be the last time that PG would see his father alive.

Return to Calcutta

PG was eighteen years old when his father passed away. He attended to his father's death ceremony in Barisal, then returned to Lalitchandra's house in Calcutta with his father's beloved sitar. Parul Ghosh (2000, 9) states that his love for his father prompted him to begin learning sitar (though Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) claims that PG's training on sitar began earlier in his childhood). However, he had a dream one night in which his father came to him, telling him not to divert his efforts toward the sitar, but rather to focus on the bānsurī. This prompted PG to leave behind the sitar, and pursue his destiny with the bānsurī.

The death of his father affected him greatly, and he became very preoccupied with a sense of impropriety in not fulfilling his life's duties. For a time, he lost his desire to exercise, and worried greatly about how he could realistically expect to gain access to the music world. During this time, he received a letter from his childhood friend Anil Biswas informing him that he would soon be arriving in Calcutta. PG was much animated by this news, and went to meet his old friend at the station.

Anil Biswas had recently been in jail due to his seditious activities, and came to Calcutta to escape from the British authorities. He had been associated with the famous revolutionary Sri Satin Sen who he had met during the Swadeshi wars. Despite these difficulties, PG was very happy to be reunited with his old friend. Anil Biswas had no other friends in Calcutta, so Pannalal Ghosh brought him to Lalitchandra's house. Despite Lalitchandra's work for the government, Anil Biswas was given refuge there for a time. Although he ultimately had to flee again to avoid the police, the old friends kept closely in touch. Anil Biswas was a singer, musician, song composer, and music aficionado, with much knowledge of classical, light classical, and folk musics. David Courtney[21] writes that Biswas was a proficient performer of khayāl, ṭhumrī, dādrā, and devotional music. He played tabla and *khol* (a drum originating in Bengal that is used for folk music, semi-classical music, and devotional music) among other instruments, and liked to participate in musical gatherings.

Once settled in Calcutta, Anil Biswas was able to resume his music practice, and the two friends started attending *majlis* (musical gatherings) together. A well-known tabla player named Paresh Bhattarcharya seems to have taken them under his wing and brought them along to some major musical gatherings with restricted entry policies in private residences. In this way, they were able to attend performances by such senior artists as sitarist Inayat Khan, sarodiya Amir Khan, sārangī player Badal Khan, and vocalists Faiyaz Khan, Abdul Karim Khan, Tarapada Chakravarti, Mazid Khan, and Bhishmadev Chattopadhyay. Due to Paresh Bhattarcharya's good reputation, PG and Anil Biswas were able to hear and meet with many of the great musicians of the time. This was a crucial part of PG's musical education.

At around this time, PG went to the Ramakrishna Mission in Belur with the intention of becoming a renunciant. Swami Shivananda, who was the head of the religious community, told him that he should first fulfill the responsibilities of a worldly life. While disappointed that he had not achieved his goal to devote himself wholly to a religious life, he took Swami Shivananda's words to heart and dedicated himself to a life as a musician. Parul Ghosh (2000, 11) asserts that although he never did officially become a renunciant, he achieved his religious objective through his music. While he made sure to fulfill his household duties, he was driven by devotion to God rather than fame and fortune. His connection to the Ramakrishna Mission remained important to him throughout his life. This portion of the narrative further reinforces PG's religious, and specifically Hindu, motivations in his devotion to music and the bānsurī.

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[21] *Biography of Anil Biswas* at http://chandrakantha.com/biodata/Anil_Biswas.html (accessed September 13, 2010).

After returning to Calcutta, Pannalal Ghosh secured a job in the office of *Pravasi* magazine due to his connection with his boxing coach, Ashok Bhattarcharya, son of the editor. During his time there, he met many very good writers, including Sajanikant Das, who was very kind to him. As a result, he developed the passion for literature and culture that had escaped him during his school years. Between his spiritual realizations at the Ramakrishna Mission, his growing sense of intellectual cultivation, and his familiarity with Calcutta's musical scene, it seems that PG was ready for music to become the center of his life.

Beginning of Ghosh's Career in Recording, Radio, and Film

While PG's dream was to be a Hindustani classical flutist, his earliest musical opportunities as a professional musician involved accompaniment, and later music direction for dance and film. His background in a musical family, his receptivity to the folk music that was all around him, and his own musical aptitude all combined to make him a talented young flute player. Noted sārangī player Ram Narayan (p.c.) asserts that a rare quality in PG was that he always sought to learn new things and experiment, appreciating the good in music from anywhere. At this point in time, however, he had little formal classical training, and the bānsurī was not as yet seen as an instrument to be featured in Hindustani classical performance. Thus, accompaniment was one of the only viable options for a flutist in this time and place. Nonetheless, this role provided him with some significant opportunities, which proved to be crucial to his achievement of his aspiration to become a respected Hindustani classical player.

Parul Ghosh (2000, 11) states that PG's first recording opportunity came through his friend Anil Biswas, who had begun working for the Hindustan Recording Company as a singer and composer. While it is not specified by my sources, this was probably in the early 1930s, as Anil Biswas came to Calcutta 1930 and moved to Bombay in 1934. Biswas invited PG to play bānsurī on several recordings, and their first recording, the song "Amar kare akul sure," became very popular. PG was given his first opportunity to perform on the radio by the famous kirtan singer Ratneshwar Mukhapadhyay. According to Parul Ghosh (2000, 11-12), PG used to practice at home for eight to ten hours a day. Ratneshwar Mukhapadhyay was a neighbor of PG, and upon hearing him practice, invited him to perform on his own regularly scheduled hour-and-a-half radio broadcast. In addition to accompanying Ratneshwar Mukhapadhyay's kirtan singing, he also played rāgs on his own. While he had not yet begun studying with a *guru*, Parul Ghosh asserts that his father's teachings had given him enough knowledge to perform very competently. He received very good responses to his performances, and when Kazi Nazrul Islam heard him, he enlisted him to help compose the music for the film *Patalpuri*. This was Pannalal Ghosh's first opportunity to work in the film world. He developed a close relationship with Kazi Nazrul Islam, who personally gave him some musical instruction.

By the age of twenty-three, PG was getting exposure through three of the main mass media outlets of his time: records, radio, and movies. His association with Kazi

Nazrul Islam helped him to move from the smaller Hindustan label to the larger HMV and Columbia labels. Nadkarni (2002, 69) lists Kazi Nazrul Islam as one of three great men of the times who were important influences during PG's formative years, the other two being Rabindranath Tagore and Girija Shankar Chakravarti. He asserts that "as is well-known...," Islam and Tagore "pioneered a renaissance in the contemporary music and poetry of Bengal" (Nadkarni, 2002, 69). As a result of PG's growing industry connections, Parul Ghosh writes that he befriended such well-known music directors as Kamal Das Gupta, Ranjit Ray, Biren Das, Subal Das Gupta, Himanshu Datta, Asitavaran, and S. D. Burman, all of whom began to make use of PG's talents.

PG's next big break in the film world came in 1934, when the famous filmmaker Rai Chand (R. C.) Boral invited him to New Theatres Studio, one of Calcutta's major film studios, as a member of the orchestral staff for background music. According to critic Mohan Nadkarni (2002, 68-69), PG's employment at New Theatres was instrumental to his development as a classical flutist in two important ways. Firstly, it was in this context that he met R. C. Boral, a major composer and music director of the time, who "initiated [PG] into the mysteries of film music and orchestration." Secondly, it was in this setting that PG met Khushi Mohammed Khan, a respected harmonium player from Punjab, who gave PG "systematic instruction" in Hindustani classical music. Thus, while PG's employment at New Theatres was an important opportunity for him to become a full time professional musician in the commercial world, it also enabled him to begin his formal Hindustani classical training.

PG had recently left his job at *Pravasi*, and was teaching boxing at the Satyabhama school. His salary of forty-five rupees per month at New Theatres allowed him to leave this job as well. This was an excellent opportunity in terms of income as well as a chance to meet high-level musicians involved with both film and classical music. According to Alison Arnold, R. C. Boral was one of only three music directors at New Theatres (1991, 20), which was in turn one of the three principle production units established by 1935 (the other two being Prabhat Film Company in Pune and Bombay Talkies in Bombay) (1991, 18). Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) states:

> In those days New Theatres was the cradle of Indian cinema… And R. C. Boral was highly respected—even the old-timers today hold him in ultimate respect as a composer. He was very brilliant… he did some—quite a few—pioneering orchestral works. And it was the silent movie era. And R. C. Boral was also in the classical world very respected as a tabla player—as a very formidable tabla player. He was the older gurubhai of [tabla player] Jyan Prakash Ghosh. R. C. Boral… Pannababu came in touch with him, and very soon, because of R. C. Boral, also with [music director] Pankaj Mallik.

There were many benefits to working as a musician for New Theatres. Arnold (1991, 22-23) quotes a leading Bengali music director in Calcutta, who describes the situation at New Theatres as "a close-knit family… The salary system was still in vogue, camaraderie was the watchword, and the combined energies of the director, star and musician were devoted to exploring the exciting new medium of the talkie." Parul Ghosh (2000, 12) claims that any artist who worked for the music department there was assured national recognition as one of the most prominent stars in the field. Due to his talent and hard work, PG quickly earned a strong reputation at New Theatres. He was able to learn a tune upon hearing it once or twice, and he would use his free time to practice technique. PG was able to remind R. C. Boral of tunes the music director had composed but forgotten, which made him quite a valuable asset. This gave PG some leeway, such that when he would arrive late to the studio "because of worship or physical training," (Parul Ghosh 2000, 12) he would not be reprimanded. According to Nadkarni (2002, 69), it is apparent that Ghosh's talent was quickly recognized in this context, due to the fact that "his first month's salary of Rs. 45 was increased to Rs. 100 from the very following month." At this time, 100 rupees per month was a substantial income.

While working for R. C. Boral, Parul Ghosh (2000, 12) also notes PG's participation in another major development in mass media. The first film he worked on with R. C. Boral, called *Bhagyachakra* (directed by Nitin Bose), was one of the first Indian films to use playback singing. This new technique opened the way for professional singers to sing the film songs, to which the actors then mimed. As such, the quality of the singing no longer depended on the actors' vocal talents. Alison Arnold (1991, 104) states:

> In the mid 1930s all three major centers of Hindi filmmaking adopted the prerecording or playback technique. Its very first use in Indian film song remains unrecorded as does the identification of the first playback singer. Among the various claims to these achievements, film critics, scholars and film music aficionados in Bengal generally acknowledge Rai Chand Boral, chief music director at New Theatres Film company, as the first person to introduce playback singing into Indian films… Some allege that the film

> *Pooran Bhagat* ("The Devotee," 1933) directed by Bebaki Bose, was the first in which Boral used the playback technique for recording purposes. Other writers, including Ajit Sheth, Firoze Rangoonwalla and Swapan Mullick, have acknowledged Boral and/or his film songs in the bilingual Hindi/Bengali production *Dhoop Chhaon* ("The Sun's Shadow")/*Bhagyachakra* ("Wheel of Fate") (1935) as the initial introduction of this technique.

Arnold (1991, 104) also quotes R. C. Boral as follows:

> As the technical chief of the N. T. Studio, Nitin Bose, kept himself abreast of every technical development in the West. It was he, who first mooted to me the idea of playback song. Its rich possibilities at once attracted me. Sound engineer Mukul Bose agreed to make an experiment of it. We did the dance-cum-song number in the stage sequence of *Bhagyachakra* (*Dhoop Chhaon* in Hindi) in this new method. It proved tremendously successful. From then on the system of playback song and music came to be introduced in all pictures.

Also featured in this film were PG's wife Parul Ghosh and Suprabh Ghosh, who became two of the best-known playback singers in India. According to Prakash Wadhera (n.d.), during his five years at New Theatres, PG played for the films *Dhoop Chhaon*, *Vidyapati*, *President*, *Sapera*, *Mukti*, and *Street Singer*.

R. C. Boral was also closely connected to the Calcutta Radio Center, and Arnold (1991, 20) notes that he had earlier worked in the music division of the Indian Broadcasting Company (later to become All India Radio) since its beginnings in 1927. He continued to direct many radio programs, such as "Mahalaya," "Shivratri," "Shriradha," "Ashardhasya," "Pratham Divas," and "Jhulan," and featured Pannalal and Parul Ghosh on many of these. Boral also had a weekly program that featured the artists of New Theatres music department. PG was regularly featured on this program, as were singers (K. L.) Saigal, Susri Kanan Devi, Pankaj Mallik, Umarani, and Krishnachandra De, as well as R. C. Boral's orchestra. PG was often featured as a solo artist, which was a great honor at this time. As a result of this exposure through the media of radio, records, and films, PG became very well known in a short time.

PG's role in playing the flute in Indian films seems to have increased his national recognition, and may well have helped further popularize the instrument itself through its connection to Krishna. Shoma A. Chatterji (1999)[22] notes the significance of the association of the flute with Krishna in Indian films:

> The flute… is a direct descendant of Lord Krishna, whose famous flute is both the sign and the signifier of his visual or aural presence. As such, even when an urbanised hero plays the flute…the flute is suggestive of total ethnicity, simplicity and poverty. Satyajit Ray's Apu played the flute in *Apur Sansar* when he lived alone in the city. Here, it underscored his loneliness. The use of the flute also goes back to the RadhaKrishna love

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[22] Available at http://filmsound.org/india/ (accessed September 13, 2010).

> story from Hindu mythology, and often finds favour even with the sophisticated spectator.

While the association of the bānsurī with Krishna was certainly nothing new, Indian films very likely deepened this connection.

PG is said to have played Krishna's flute in the 1945 Tamil film *Meera* (Ram Narayan, p.c.). While it is not clear whether or not PG played the flute in the 1952 film *Baiju Bawra*, it also provides a good example of the connection between the flute and Krishna. Rachel Dwyer writes that Baiju Bawra, the central character of the film,

> lives in a pastoral idyll on the banks of the Jumna, where he sings to his beloved Gauri…who is seated on a swing in a bower of flowers. This reminds the viewer of Vrindavan, on the banks of the Jumna, where the young Krishna lived, playing his flute to enchant the world. There are many references to Krishna in the film, linking the innocent Baiju to him.[23]

There is an overt use of the flute to signify Krishna at the end of the song "Hari Om,"[24] when a solo flute is played as the camera settles on a statue of Krishna. In a more subtle reference to Krishna, the flute is featured in the background in a scene when Baiju Bawra is wooing his beloved Gauri on the riverside, reminiscent of Krishna romancing Radha.

It is well established that PG played bānsurī for the film *Basant Bahar*, which also associates the flute with Krishna. Vocalist Lata Mangeshkar, who PG accompanied in the song “Mai Piya Teri Tu Mane Ya Na Mane,”[25] is quoted as saying: “His bānsurī literally sings along with my vocal cords” (Dhaneshwar 2009). In a blog devoted to the music director duo Shanker-Jaikishen, a poster writes that this song “is a classic bhajan kind of a composition in the preferred raag of SJ - Bhairavi! A musical ode to Krishna - the song has the flute of Pannalal Ghosh ‘singing’ a duet with Lata Mangeshkar. (Many believe it is the sound of God!).”[26]

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[23] From http://cineplot.com/baiju-bawra/ (accessed September 13, 2010).

[24] This segment can be found on YouTube at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XJCqDLLdKHY (accessed September 13, 2010).

Recognition in the Hindustani Classical World

Despite the fame he achieved through the media of records, radio, and film, Parul Ghosh (2000, 13) states that like many artists, PG did not feel he had achieved true public recognition until he was invited to take part in the classical music festivals. His first such opportunity came in 1934, when Sri Ratneshwar took it upon himself to enter PG’s name for a competition at the All Bengal Music Conference. PG won the first prize for his performance of rāg Pūriyā. Pehaps somewhat prophetically, the main judge at this competition was PG’s future guru Allauddin Khan. His achievement was particularly outstanding, as at this point PG had not yet been formally trained by a guru. This recognition was the beginning of a slow and difficult entry into the world of Hindustani classical music performance. He was given opportunities to perform throughout India, and gave the opening performance at the Allahabad conference. Parul Ghosh, however, bemoans the fact that PG never received proper respect in Calcutta, and that it was perhaps for the best that he ultimately left his native Bengal.

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[25] This segment can be found on YouTube at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=is7oI1kMQKY(accessed September 13, 2010).

[26] From http://shanker-jaikishen.blogspot.com/2008_07_01_archive.html (accessed September 13, 2010).

As has been suggested, it seems that much of PG's knowledge of Hindustani classical music came to him through such late nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments as mass media and music conferences. Parul Ghosh (2000, 13) relates a meeting that he had with one of his early idols, the great dhrupad bīn player Dabir Khan, that took place as PG was leaving the stage after a performance at a music gathering. Dabir Khan asked him where he had learned a particular composition from the dhrupad *ang* (genre of playing), as he knew that PG had not been trained in this tradition. PG happily replied "I am able to play it because I heard you play it." Dabir Khan was often featured on the radio, and PG, sitting at home, made it a point to play along with his radio broadcasts. In this way, PG absorbed much of the Dabir Khan style of playing. Parul Ghosh compares this way of learning to a story from the Mahabharata in which Eklavya learns to be a great archer by dedicating himself to a statue of the renowned teacher Drona. In keeping with her narrative, this further connects PG to a Hindu mode of learning, despite the modernity of the means. And of course, as Bakhle (2005) has made clear, the Hinduization of Hindustani classical music was itself a very modern phenomenon.

At this same conference, Parul Ghosh (2000, 14) writes that PG wanted to perform with vocalist Faiyaz Khan, but was turned down. The great vocalist Omkarnath Thakur, however, did agree to perform with PG, and they performed rāg Lalit together for one and a half hours. Parul Ghosh emphasizes the great surprise of the audience upon hearing this, as PG was able to play back anything that Omkarnath Thakur sang. Before this, no one had ever dreamed that this could be done on the bānsurī. Omkarnath Thakur seems to have continued to hold PG in high regard, as Rasbihari Desai (p.c.), a senior student of PG, claims that years later in Bombay, Omkarnath Thakur was the one who had recommended that he study with PG.

At another conference, Abdul Karim Khan of the Kirana gharānā was also singing. PG was overwhelmed by his performance, and respectfully greeted the master singer, who told him "Practice, son, all will be fulfilled in your heart." Parul Ghosh (2000, 14) asserts that these words strengthened PG's conviction that the combination of music study and practice was the only path to reach the highest level of attainment. While PG was not formally affiliated with the Kirana gharānā, this style of performance became integral to his own playing, as will be shown in Chapter 5 in the analysis of his performance style.

Adaptation of Flute Technique to Hindustani Classical Music

Over the years, after all of his diverse experiences, PG's inclination toward intensive practice increased. Parul Ghosh states that he was saddened by the fact that he never heard anyone play bānsurī at any classical music gatherings. "This beautiful instrument, which was played by Krishna himself, was not valued among classical musicians!" (Parul Ghosh 2000, 14). His intensive practice was a manifestation of his desire to legitimize the Hindustani classical bānsurī, and he approached this task with what seems to have been a kind of religious, and certainly spiritual, zeal. Parul Ghosh also suggests that PG's physical training seems to have helped provide him with the stamina to maintain his rigorous practice schedule, and that his aptitude in various forms of physical training, from boxing to jiu-jitsu, showed the sharpness of his mind for absorbing ideas and techniques very quickly.

Once he started playing bānsurī for radio and records, he began to intensify his practice. At first, he would go to Kalighat Park in south Calcutta to practice. Later, while working at the Satyabhama School, he rented a room with his friend and student Haripad Choudhuri where he could practice before and after work. There, he was undisturbed and could practice for five or six hours at a time. His primary endeavor was to find a way to play the bānsurī such that it could be appreciated on a par with other Hindustani classical instruments. As he initially employed the style of fingering then in common use, he found that while he could play basic vocal compositions, he could not fully emulate a vocal style with such techniques as tān, mīṇḍ, and gamak. Determined to solve this problem, he experimented with various finger positions. He ultimately developed a satisfactory fingering technique, which was an important part of his later success.

Many who had not yet heard the bānsurī played in this manner doubted PG's ability to fluidly execute vocal techniques on the instrument. Parul Ghosh (2000, 16) relates a time when PG was at the house of Girija Shankar Chakravarti, and the singer Dilip Chandra Vedi doubted that PG could accurately emulate the gayaki style. PG replied that he could reproduce anything that Dilip Chandra Vedi could sing, even though PG had only been practicing with his new finger technique for one year. Girija Shankar Chakravarti assured the doubting Dilip Chandra Vedi that "whatever Pannalal Ghosh says is true to the letter."

While intensive practice was clearly a major factor in PG's achievement, it can be seen again and again that the changes in the musical environment of his time provided him with opportunities that would not have been available to him at an earlier time. It has already been shown how the mass media benefited him financially and boosted his recognition in the music world. An additional benefit for PG, though, was the fact that these mass media centers were employing skilled classical musicians who in years past would typically have been employed by the royal courts. While PG was largely self-taught in his earlier years, learning as he did from listening to radio broadcasts and attending festivals and music conferences, he met his first serious teacher through his employment at New Theatres.

As mentioned above, the famous harmonium player Khushi Muhammad Khan, who was employed at New Theatres, was impressed with PG's aptitude and diligent practice, and took him on as a student in 1934. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) describes Khushi Muhammad Khan as "a very gifted harmonium player from Punjab...who it seems could play equally dexterous with both hands." He states that PG became "an outstanding harmonium player," and that he "probably translated his harmonium music onto his flute later." While harmonium seems on the surface to be a strange model for learning vocal style on the bānsurī, the fact is that harmonium players were intimately familiar with a variety of vocal styles through years of accompanying vocalists.

Early on, PG was working on his new finger technique and was not yet achieving the results he sought. Khushi Muhammad was aware of the difficulties PG was facing, and observed that he knew of no one else who had managed to play serious Hindustani classical music on the bānsurī. He noted that Allaudin Khan's brother Aftabuddin Khan had played the flute, but what he played was the murali, not the bānsurī. Parul Ghosh defines the murali as a flute that is kept straight when played (end-blown), and is normally made of brass or bamboo. The bānsurī, on the other hand, is a cross-blown transverse flute “that is played, like the one that Krishna plays in his statues” (Parul Ghosh 2000, 16). She notes that bānsurī is the most difficult to play of the various types of Indian flutes. Thus, PG’s task of using the bānsurī for Hindustani classical music was a very challenging one, and since he had no precedent to follow in this endeavor, he had to figure out his own way to approach the fingering technique. Having access to a knowledgeable musician like Khushi Muhammad, though, certainly helped him to refine his musical understanding.

Ghosh’s Creation of his Classical Bānsurī

One further difficulty that PG faced was making a flute that was large enough to generate the deep and resonant tone required for Hindustani classical music. Suraj Narayan Purohit also suggests that he needed a larger flute to get the right sound for his work with New Theatres. According to Nadkarni (2002, 67), PG engaged in “a systematic study of its structure and technique. A variety of materials, from aluminum and brass to plastic and bamboo, in varied shapes and sizes, suggested themselves and finally, bamboo was found to be the most appropriate.” Parul Ghosh (2000, 17) writes that PG began to take up the task in earnest in 1932, and enlisted the help of an old Muslim flute maker. This man had worked on ships and traveled all over Europe, but settled back in Calcutta due to his attachment to his birthplace. He was himself a good flute player, though apparently not in the Hindustani classical style, and he made a living wandering around playing and selling his flutes. PG was impressed with his flute-making skills and would often buy his flutes. After becoming friends with the flute-maker, Ghosh asked for his help in designing and playing a large bānsurī. Through trial and error, they eventually managed to create large flutes of various sizes, the largest being in the key of E (on which Sa on the flute is tuned to the note E on the harmonium). As they were unsuccessful in their attempts to create still larger flutes, they settled on this E flute.

After this, Ghosh strove to work out the best technique for playing this larger flute in a manner that could emulate vocal techniques. His focus at this time was less oriented toward practicing rāgs, and was more directed toward fingering and scale techniques. This became his obsession, and he would practice fingering technique even while sitting on the train or bus. Parul Ghosh (2000, 17) claims that he would practice twelve to fourteen hours a day on the large E flute, which was extremely difficult. She asserts that such an effort required a well-conditioned body, and that he benefited from a lifetime of physical training. His dedication, she maintains, was such that he tore the tendons of two fingers through his extremes of practicing, but despite the swelling of his hand, he continued his practicing.

During this time, a friend of his who worked at the docks in Kidderpore informed him that a ship was arriving from Rangoon carrying a shipment of bamboo brooms used for cleaning. As this bamboo was very suitable for making flutes, Ghosh asked his friend to bring him to the Calcutta docks where these bamboo pieces were to be auctioned off. He selected two pieces that he felt were appropriate for his purpose. Unfortunately, the Muslim flute-maker passed away right at this time. Feeling helpless and despondent, he worried about how he could continue his efforts to make flutes to suit his needs, as there was no one left to help him. With much help from his friend and student Haripad Choudhuri, he managed to prepare an E flute with a very good sound. He also prepared a G# flute which did not require any special practice, as well as other flutes in various keys.

In 1940, a friend brought him some bamboo from Rangoon from which he chose a special piece that he used to prepared a flute in D#, a half-step lower than his E flute. At this point, however, he never practiced on this flute. A few years later, he lost his favorite E bānsurī while on a train journey to do some work for Bombay Talkies. This was a great tragedy for him, as he had been cultivating his technique on this flute for a long time. This prompted him to dedicate his practice to the D# flute, which turned out to be well suited for his purposes and became his primary classical flute. V. G. Karnad (p.c.), a senior student of PG, claims that the flute that PG ended up using as his main flute was actually a little bit higher than D#. He says that the reason for this is that the tuning used by the film studios at that time was not at standard concert pitch.

According to Nadkarni, PG overcame the limitations of the flute by increasing the length (to two feet eight inches according to Nikhil Ghosh (1976)), using a correspondingly wider bore (about one and a half inches in diameter according to Nikhil Ghosh (1976)), and adding a seventh hole at the lower end of the flute "to extend the tonal range and also make possible the rendition of the finer points, such as *khatkas* and *muṛkīs*, commonly associated with light classical and lighter musical themes" (Nadkarni 2002, 67). PG also invented a bass flute that used only four finger holes "to enable the performer to reach the lower (bass) *shadja*. This also helped the player to extend his capability in rendering any melody" (Nadkarni 2002, 67). According to Nikhil Ghosh (1976), this flute was three and a half feet long with a bore of about two inches. It only produced the notes Pa, Ma, Ga, Re, as Sa, but was sufficient as a lower supplement for the *mandra saptak*, or lower register (Nadkarni 2002, 67). While Ghosh's use of this bass flute is well documented, he does not seem to have used it in any of the recordings available today.

Ghosh's Overseas Travels

PG was also a frontrunner in another new development in twentieth-century India. Following Independence, a number of cultural tours were arranged for Indian musicians and dancers to present their art to foreign audiences. Before Independence, however, few Indian musicians had had the opportunity to present their music in Europe. According to Parul Ghosh (2000, 19), only Rabindranath Tagore and Uday Shankar (whose troupe included Ravi Shankar), through their own efforts, were able to do this. In 1938, almost ten years prior to Independence, PG had the rare opportunity to travel to Europe under the sponsorship of the son of the local ruler of Serāikela. He was selected by the famous impresario Hiren Ghosh to be the musical director of a Serāikela dance troupe.[27] Serāikela dance is a form of the dance genre known as chhau, which is typically accompanied by the drums known as *dhamsā*, *ḍhol*, and *chaḍchaḍi*, a short double-reed instrument known as *mahurī*, as well as flute.[28] Following two months of rehearsal in Serāikela, he traveled with the troupe in February 1938 to Italy, Paris, and London. According to Parul Ghosh, the troupe received great praise, and European critics hailed PG as a master flutist. Due to the start of World War II, however, the troupe had to cut their tour short, returning to India in July 1938.

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[27] Chau dance is popular in the Indian states of West Bengal, Jharkhand and Orissa. Serāikela dance is a regional variety of chau in which the dancers wear masks. For more on chau dance, see Richmond, et al 1990.

[28] From Kapila Vatsyayan and Maria Lord. "Chau". In Regula Qureshi, et al. "India." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43272pg16 (accessed September 9, 2010).

This experience abroad, according to Parul Ghosh, turned out to be very valuable later in PG's life. During the tour, he had ten or twelve hours of free time daily that he used to practice in his hotel room. His work as musical director also gave him the confidence and experience that he needed in his later roles as independent musical director for films and director of the National Orchestra in Delhi. While in Europe, he was also exposed to Western orchestral music, which he held in high regard, and from which he believed Indians could learn much. Parul Ghosh claims that PG researched the Western orchestra for several years in order to apply its ideas and techniques to his efforts to create a national music when he became the director of the National Orchestra. This topic will be discussed more later.

Upon his return from Europe, he initially resumed his work with New Theatres. He chose to leave this job before long, though, partly due to a disagreement with his boss there, and partly due to his desire to dedicate himself even more intensely to his bānsurī practice. The loss of his job at New Theatres did not pose any great problem, as he had other work, and his wife was singing on the radio and as a playback singer for films. By this time he had also taken on some students with whom he freely shared his knowledge as long as they dedicated themselves to diligent practice.

Khushi Muhammed passed away around this time, which grieved PG greatly. However, he was able to renew and intensify his studies with Girijashankar Charkravarti, which seem to have begun informally before PG's trip to Europe through his close friendship with Charkravarti's student, Tarapada Chakravarti. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) refers to Girijashankar Chakravarti as "one of the most important predominant gurus of vocal music in Bengal, who had himself learned from great masters, especially Rampur-

Sahaswan gharānā." The ITC Sangeet Research Academy website praises him as "a great vocalist, with equal command over dhrupad, khayal and thumri.[29]" Nadkarni describes him as "an eminent musician and musicologist, who had a fabulous repertoire of compositions ranging from *dhrupad* to *thumrī*" (Nadkarni 2002, 69).

Parul Ghosh (2000, 19) stresses that Girija Shankar Chakravarti first trained the hearts and minds of his students, and also had an immense knowledge of music. She states that PG always felt a great debt to this guru, and continued to study with him as long as he remained in Bengal. In this way, PG learned the dhrupad style of playing (though as mentioned earlier, he also learned some aspects of dhrupad by listening to players such as Dabir Khan on the radio, and presumably through his own family). Throughout all of his studies, though, Ghosh retained his own eclectic mode of learning.

According to Parul Ghosh (2000, 20), PG's routine during this time consisted of getting up in the early morning, singing (or playing?) harinam kirtan (simple devotional hymns) for one hour, then practicing for four to five hours. Next he would go to Kalighat to bathe in the Ganges, then either go to work at the Gramophone Company, or have some time to rest. In the evening, he would sing (or play?) bhajans and kirtans for two hours, then practice for four hours. Parul Ghosh emphasizes that PG dedicated his efforts to God, and was always happy with this work in both good and bad times.

Move to Bombay and the Hindi Film World

In the meantime, PG's friend and student Haripad Choudhury had moved to Bombay, and urged him to join him there. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) states that Haripad Choudhury had been a truck driver, and "in the course of his truck driving he found that Bombay was a good place to establish."

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[29] From http://www.itcsra.org/tribute.asp?id=11 (accessed September 13, 2010).

> And he played a little flute, the industry came to know about his flute talent, they hired him, and Bombay at this time, he said "Oh, wow, there's a lot of money here." You know, so he wrote to Pannababu and said "Come here, there's much more money here" and you know, "You would be better off here." And Pannababu followed him. And, obviously, Haripadbabu used to say "These people are so turned with my flute, what will happen if they listen to your flute." You know, "Just come down."

PG decided to take him up on his suggestion, having gotten what he could out of his time in Calcutta. On March 11, 1940, he moved to Bombay with his wife and daughter. Having another mouth to feed was probably part of the inspiration to pursue a better living in Bombay, as the entertainment industry was starting to shift there by this time. There, PG was able to establish connections quite quickly, and began playing two radio programs each month. Also, his childhood friend and brother-in-law Anil Biswas had been living in Bombay since 1934, and had become a famous music director in the Bombay films. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) refers to him as "one of the pioneer father figures in Indian film...music composing," noting that after leaving Calcutta to escape the dominance of R. C. Boral and Pankaj Mallik, "he became the father figure in the Bombay film music industry."

Anil Biswas managed to arrange for PG to get a job directing the music for the film *Sneh Bandhan*. A few months later, PG joined Bombay Talkies, where his first film as a music director was *Anjaan*. After this, he directed the music for the film *Basant*, which gained him wide recognition in the field. Parul Ghosh claims that "It is no exaggeration to say that the music for *Basant* changed the course of film music in the Hindi film world" (Parul Ghosh 2000, 20). There is, however, some dispute as to whether the songs in *Basant* were composed by PG or by Anil Biswas. Satish Chopra writes:

> The film 'Basant' released in the year 1942 though bears the name of Pannalal Ghosh as its composer; the fact remains that its music was composed by Anil Biswas. This was in view of the fact that artists used to work with the respective production company on contract basis. As such, Anil Biswas was not supposed to work for Bombay Talkies, the producers of film 'Basant'. Though, he composed some enthralling melodies for this film, namely-'*Tumko mubarak ho oonchey mahal ye', 'Aaya basant sakhee, birha ka ant sakhee'* and *'Hua kya kusoor'*-were sung by Parul Ghosh..., yet the gramophone records bear the name of Pannalal Ghosh as composer.[30]

Perhaps Anil Biswas composed the songs while PG directed the music. One would not think that Parul Ghosh would deny her own brother's efforts in order to give credit to her husband, but both accounts must be considered. Whatever the case with *Basant*, Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) claims that PG "was a rage in the film industry."

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[30] From http://www.apnaorg.com/research-papers/satish-8/ (accessed September 13, 2010).

> And then it's history as far as his association with Hindi film music has come to him. He started as a flutist and just a musician in the industry and very soon became a music composer and was a director for some films which are even now spoken about by seniors, you know, old timers, about the music that he composed.

He is credited as music director for the films *Anjaan* (1941), *Basant* (1942), *Bhalaai* (1943), *Sawaal* (1943), *Police* (1944), *Beeswi Sadi* (1945), and *Aandolan* (1951).

Despite this success, Parul Ghosh (2000, 20-21) insists, PG was unfazed by this fame, and maintained a serious practice schedule. While he met many people in the film industry and was much in demand, he limited the number of films he would take on as music director. He wanted to maintain his intensive practice, and did not want his life to be taken over by the film world. Since his wife was also working, he did not have a great deal of pressure to earn a more substantial income. She had also gained wider recognition through her work as a playback singer for *Basant*, as all of the songs from this film became very popular. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) notes that Parul Ghosh became "a very big name in playback singing, and she was one of the three idols of [film singer] Lata Mangeshkar... So Parul Ghosh was the highest paid singer in the film industry at that time." In fact, Nayan Ghosh reports that PG and Anil Biswas were the ones who discovered Lata Mangeshkar and helped bring her to prominence. Parul Ghosh writes that both she and her husband maintained certain standards in the work they were willing to do, and she refused to sing lyrics that she considered offensive. Rather than devote themselves exclusively to the film world, they maintained a diversity of activities. Despite their success, though, Parul Ghosh maintains that they still had trouble making ends meet.

Over time, PG developed an aversion to the film world due to the low character of many of the people in the industry. His true ambitions lay in the world of Hindustani classical music, and he desired to reach a higher level in his knowledge and ability in this music. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) states that PG stopped composing in the film industry by around 1955 or 1956 "because he felt that was not his cup of tea. He was meant for the classical world. He tried his hand at it, it was successful, and he said 'That's enough now.'" He notes that both Nikhil Ghosh and PG grew disgusted with the decline of the character of people in the film world. "The film industry was gradually being invaded by… people with unscrupulous means and ideas... Politics came in and... dirty competition came in. And these things upset both my uncle and my father." PG sought to play music that brought him closer to God, and the dhrupad style had the meditative qualities that appealed most to him in this regard. Despite all his learning and accomplishments up to this time, he still felt he had not yet found his true guru. Parul Ghosh (2000, 21) claims his interest in music was rooted in spirituality, and thus fame within the competitive atmosphere of the commercial world had no appeal for him.

Outside of his work in films, Bombay proved to be conducive to PG's recognition in the Hindustani classical music world. According to Nayan Ghosh, soon after moving to Bombay, he was playing concerts and major festivals throughout the city and the region. This included the Vikramaditya Sangit Parishad, which was held in the Bombay

University Convocation Hall in 1944. This was a very important music festival that featured the Bombay debut performances of the great sitarist Vilayat Khan and renowned vocalist Bare Ghulam Ali Khan,[31] and the final performance of vocalist Alladiya Khan. Nayan Ghosh says that although PG was already established at this point, "that was the place Pannababu shot into further fame and popularity" and that "he really established himself as a highly qualified musician in that festival." In 1949, a very important concert organizer named Brij Narayan presented a concert in downtown Bombay that featured many great musicians including vocalist Faiyaz Khan, sitarist Ravi Shankar, sarodiya Ali Akbar Khan, and many others, at which PG gave a performance that was well received.

While his career in film clearly provided financial opportunities, and certainly helped to make him a household name, success in the classical world depended on different criteria. Nayan Ghosh believes that PG's recognition in the classical world was independent of his film career, and that ultimately it was his own merits that brought him success in this area. "Flute in classical music was something new. And the newer audiences enjoyed it thoroughly. So did the older, conservative audiences too, because he was so good with his rāgdāri and presentation." While he still faced opposition from some extremely conservative people, and "quite a few of them…didn't welcome the idea of flute into classical music," he ultimately gained very wide acceptance.

The bānsurī in Hindustani classical music at that time was what Nayan Ghosh refers to as "a new wave." Nevertheless, it seems that the only flutists of that time who presented the bānsurī in full Hindustani classical performances were PG and perhaps some of his students such as Haripad Choudhury. Amembar Dinkar Rao (AKA D.

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[31] See http://www.suraurtaal.com/forums/the-monarch-ustad-bade-ghulam-ali-khan-vt177.html (accessed September 13, 2010) for more on Bare Ghulam Ali Khan's performance at this festival.

Ame'l) was a popular performer, but he played the vertical flute, apparently in somewhat more popular contexts. PG was a friend of both of the above flutists, and Nadkarni notes that he has "nostalgic memories of his [PG's] solo concerts and also his duets with the popular flutist and composer, D. Ame'l" that were "regularly broadcast from Bombay on Gokulastami day, year after year" (Nadkarni 2002, 70).[32] PG's regular association with Gokulastami, or Krishna's birthday, also reinforces the degree to which the Hindu association of the flute with Krishna may have helped to boost PG's popularity.

Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) also credits PG's stage presence as a factor in his success. However, this seems to have been more a matter of his poise and quiet dignity than any kind of overt showmanship. He states:

> His simplicity caught attention. These are the factors that people loved him for, you know. A very simple man, basically, with few needs in life. A simple sense of dressing, but very dignified, his personality, his physical build…used to catch the eye. A very magnetic personality. A very pleasing personality… His physical attributes, the largeness of his body, you know. Because he was a wrestler, and he was a boxer, and so on. He was very good at martial arts… and he was very fond of physical exercises, so he maintained his physical health very well. So that itself was the first attraction, and he had a very pleasing, very pacifying appearance, facial expression. People felt at comfort immediately, seeing him or talking to him. Very soft-spoken, always helpful, very large-hearted. And, a man at complete peace with himself, you know. So all

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[32] See Roche 2009 and Nadkarni 2002 for more on Amembar Dinkar Rao.

> these things put together…added to his total personality. And so, when he walked up on stage, the people would see him with a sense of awe. And then, once he took the flute in hand he would go shut his eyes and play like he was in deep meditation. And with the intensity of his music he managed to take his audiences with him. And that was a great quality, because his communication with the audience was… not extroverted. It was introverted. So he took the audiences with him into the music, and that was… a rare quality. Because in those days, the great masters preferred to do more extrovert music, to be recognized faster, or, to be loved by the audiences. And his was the other way. And it directly appealed to audiences. The new sound of the flute, the beautiful personality, the… going into the meditative aspect of music. Everything put together—it was something very new and something that people crazily jumped for.

Nayan Ghosh also claims that PG was highly respected by the many great musicians with whom he came in contact. He met such figures as Faiyaz Khan, vocalist Abdul Karim Khan, sitarist Inayat Khan, vocalist Aman Ali Khan, and vocalist Abdul Wahid Khan, and "all these great musicians, they had immense respect for him, they were like father figures, you know, to him. But they held him in very high esteem." Vocalist S. C. R. Bhat, "ranked among the leading exponents of Dhrupad-Dhamar gayaki…,"[33] stated that PG's playing was very good, and that it conformed to crucial aspects of dhrupad ang in terms of adherence to the rāg (p.c.). Dhruba Ghosh reports hearing from renowned tabla player Ahmed Jan Thirikwa that he felt that Pannababu played very beautifully, and that he especially appreciated his alap-joṛ-jhala. PG was also a friend of younger musicians like Ravi Shankar and Ali Akbar Khan. Uma Vasudev (1960, 17) considers PG, along with these two great musicians, to have been part of

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[33] http://www.itcsra.org/sra_news_views/obituary/scr_bhatt.html (accessed September 13, 2010).

> a trinity from the younger line of musicians which exercised considerable influence on the direction taken by North Indian music as a whole in the last twenty years. Their experiments with orchestration, their contribution to film music scoring, their happy relationship with the music of the South, some of which they were not chary of adapting to the Hindustani style, and their earnest and sincere admiration of Western techniques are factors which further strengthened the bond that a similarity of style and background gave them.

Dhruba Ghosh also mentions that vocalist Amir Khan and PG were good friends, were nearly the same age, and that they most likely inspired each other stylistically.

Studies with Allauddin Khan

Ravi Shankar and Ali Akbar Khan were also instrumental in helping PG to get the opportunity to study with their guru Allauddin Khan. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) states that Ravi Shankar lived very near to PG's house, and that he, Ali Akbar Khan, and many other great musicians, used to visit each other's houses. Often they would practice together, and PG

> expressed to Ravi Shankarji that he wanted to go even deeper in his knowledge of rāgdāri and alap—especially in the ālāp. He wanted to learn the bīn style. Ravi Shankarji said that since he was so much more senior to him in age and already with his preeminence, said, why don't you go to my guru, Allauddin Khan.

With the help of the great tabla player Taranath Rao, they arranged a series of concerts for Allauddin Khan and brought him to Bombay. Allauddin Khan stayed at Ravi Shankar's house when he came to Bombay, and PG had the opportunity to meet with him. PG is said to have grabbed Allauddin Khan's feet in an act of supplication, and pleaded with him to take him on as a disciple. Khansaheb initially resisted, saying that PG was a well-established and qualified musician. PG insisted that he had much more to learn, and could only learn it from him.

Eventually Khansaheb, seeing the deep anguish and sincerity in PG's thirst for musical knowledge and understanding, agreed to take him on as a student in 1947. He gave him lessons in Bombay, and also had him come to Maihar for a period of intensive training. Nityanand Haldipur (p.c.) states that this training in Maihar lasted for seven months. This was a rare opportunity, as Allauddin Khan was extremely selective and took on very few students. The depth of his knowledge was well known, and the special training he required of his students ensured that they all became famous musicians. In a 2002 article for *Frontline*, V. N. Mavin Kurve wrote that “it is said of Ustad Allauddin Khan of Maihar that he was proud that most of his pupils, including the sitar wizard, Ravi Shankar, the sarod virtuoso, Ali Akbar Khan, and the flautist, Pannalal Ghosh, had firm foundations in their musical expressions because of the intense training that they had with the sārangī and later, in dhrupad dhamar and pakhawaaj” (Kurve 2002).[34] Nadkarni (2002, 69) cites Allauddin Khan as “the strongest influence on the development of Pannababu’s music...,” describing him as “the greatest orthodox teacher in Hindustani music of the present [twentieth] century.” He writes further:

> Perfectionism was the keynote of the Ustad’s teaching, and he infused that virtue in his devoted disciple, even while he encouraged him to develop his individuality in expression. That explains why Pannababu's style presented such a unique blend of technique and temperament, of authenticity and appeal, of tradition and experiment — all of which constitute the hallmark of the Ustad's *gharana*.

According to Nityanand Haldipur (p.c.), PG continued to study with Allauddin Khan whenever the latter came to Bombay. He would also accompany Allauddin Khan on tanpura at his concerts, which was a profound learning experience in itself. It was also a sign of PG’s humility, as it was a very public acknowledgement that he still considered himself to be a student. On the other hand, PG was probably quite happy to acknowledge his affiliation with the Maihar gharānā. Haldipur provides some of the specifics of what

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[34] Available at http://people.cis.ksu.edu/~ab/Miscellany/badegulam.htm (accessed September 13, 2010).

PG learned from Allauddin Khan. He says that "Baba [Allauddin Khan] told him you have all the ingredients, but then you don't have a system." Haldipur says that Allauddin Khan told PG that his understanding of rāg was like a kite string that was spread all over, and that he needed to give PG a roller to put it all in order. "That's the thing Baba gave him, and taught him how to make a systematic development in alap."

Haldipur says that the training began with rāg Yaman, typically the first rāg one learns from a teacher. Other rāgs he learned or had corrected by Allauddin Khan included Todī, Kalingarā, Bhimpalāsī, Mārwā, Bihāg, Desh, Mālkauns, Basant, Bhairav, Shrī, Pūrvī, and Jaijaivantī, among others. In some cases, this involved learning the correct intonation of particular notes in a rāg, such as the Re in Bhairav versus the Re in Shrī. Haldipur says that Allauddin Khan taught PG versions of rāg Pūrvī and Jaijaivantī that were very particular to the Maihar gharānā, and should only be played for very discerning audiences. He also trained PG in the rhythmic ālāp development known as joṛ. Since his father was a sitar player, and PG had studied some sitar, he already had a conception of joṛ. But Allauddin Khan taught him the special kind of joṛ typical of the Maihar gharānā.

While Allauddin Khansaheb was known to be quite severe with most of his students, Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) claims that he had a special relationship with PG. Khansaheb would address PG as Borubaba, meaning "elder son." Nayan Ghosh states that "Pannababu was extremely loved by Allauddin Khansaheb, and so also by Ravi Shankarji, Ali Akbar Khansaheb, Annapurnaji—they used to hold him in tremendous respect and awe." With Allauddin Khan's training, his life had come full circle. His entry into recognition in the Hindustani classical music world began thirteen years earlier when PG won the competition at the All Bengal Conference, for which Allauddin Khan was the primary judge. In 1947, after having assessed PG's aptitude and dedication, he finally took him on as a student.

Spiritual Foundation

Parul Ghosh (2000, 22) stresses that PG's musical learning was just an outward manifestation of a deep spirituality in his soul. Nadkarni (2002, 70) describes him as "a deeply religious man [who] had his spiritual initiation from Swami Birajananda, a direct disciple of Swami Vivekananda." His connection to the Ramakrishna Mission endured throughout his life, and while in Bombay, he continued to take religious instruction from Swami Birajananda. In keeping with the idea of Nada Brahma, he was convinced that God was in music and music was in God. He deeply internalized the teachings of the Ramakrishna Mission, which according to Nadkarni (2002, 70) "evidently shaped his character and personality," and he often took part in the activities of the Mission located in Khar, Bombay. Nadkarni (2002, 70) also writes that "his subsequent studentship with Allauddin Khan, also a deeply religious man, exercised an equally decisive influence on Pannababu and his music." While his music was great, Parul Ghosh emphasizes, his strength of character was still greater. Despite his many opportunities to pursue fame and fortune, he chose music first, and often had to suffer the consequences.

According to Nayan Ghosh (p.c.), PG was "very open, honest, transparent about everything." He was not concerned about position and hierarchy, and "if he needed to know something, he wouldn't hesitate to ask anyone." He would often ask Ravi Shankar when he had questions about rāg development, as PG had great respect for his knowledge acquired from Allauddin Khan. Ravi Shankar would either give him suggestions, or, due to his being junior in age and experience to PG, would refer him to Allauddin Khan. While PG's simplicity and transparency was part of the beauty of his personality, he also could be quite naïve. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) reports that:

> He was very poor with worldly knowledge and information. Very, very poor with that. He trusted anyone and everyone. So in his personal life, in his family life, with other relatives, he suffered a lot because of his being completely transparent. And always being helpful. Always trusting everyone. A lot of people did take advantage of his simplicity and innocence, his naiveté.

Move to Delhi, Employment as Director of the National Orchestra

According to both Parul (2000, 23) and Nayan Ghosh (p.c.), PG's character was such that he could not continue to participate in what he saw as the baseness and corruption of the film industry. One day in 1956, he received an invitation from Dr. Keskar, the Minister of Communications in Delhi, to take on the position of director of the National Orchestra. There is some discrepancy in the accounts regarding PG's financial situation at the time. Parul Ghosh states that he was making quite a good income in the film world, but for the aforementioned reasons had tired of the situation there. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) suggests that PG had already left the film world to pursue his classical career, but was happy and successful with his performing career in Bombay. Nityanand Haldipur, on the other hand, avers that PG's situation had become economically somewhat desperate due to his alienation from the film world.

Clearly PG was highly respected in classical circles at this time, as he continued to perform in major music festivals around the country. He performed at the 1954 Radio Sangeet Sammelan in Delhi, which critic Prakash Wadhera (1955) called "the crowning event of the year." In a piece for the Times of India, Wadhera rated PG's presentation of his own rāg, Dīpāwalī, as the best performance at the event, ahead of such great masters as vocalists Hirabhai Barodekar and D. V. Paluskar, sarodiya Ali Akbar Khan, vocalist Shiv Kumar Shukla, vocalist Nisar Hussain Khan, vocalist Madhuri Mattoo, and sitarist Mushtaq Ali Khan. All accounts seem to agree that Dr. Keskar came to PG's home in Malad, insistent that he take the position as director of the National Orchestra. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) indicates that Dr. Keskar assured PG that the job would not interfere with his performing career, as he would be free to travel. However it came to pass, PG decided to take the position and moved to Delhi to become the director of the National Orchestra.

This was a very prestigious post, and PG was only the second director of the orchestra. Ravi Shankar had been directing the orchestra since 1949, but gave up the position to dedicate more time to his concerts in the United States. According to Nayan Ghosh (p.c.), PG was their first choice to replace Ravi Shankar, preferred even over Anil Biswas due to his strong foundation in classical music. While he was intensely disillusioned with the film world, PG was quite enthusiastic about the task of making the National Orchestra truly a *national* orchestra. He had felt a strong sense of nationalism since his childhood, and this was a chance to express that side of himself on a grand scale.

He faced numerous difficulties maintaining a high level of creativity in the midst of the bureaucratic tangles of working for a government institution. Nonetheless, he persevered in his efforts. Under Ravi Shankar's direction, the instrumentation "consisted of the sitar, veena, sarod, sarangi, Vichitra veena, flutes, jaltarang (China bowls of different sizes filled with water and played by sticks), tabla, dholak, and many other kinds of drums, cymbals and percussion instruments" (Ravi Shankar, quoted in Goswami 1996, 92-93). The ensemble apparently included some foreign instruments, which PG sought to replace with Indian instruments. PG also tried to adapt ideas from ancient Indian texts to the design of new instruments for the National Orchestra. Haldipur (p.c.) describes PG's compositions for the National Orchestra as being composed programmatically. For example, he created pieces intended to evoke rural India, or the life of the king Kalinga and his conversion to Buddhism after experiencing the horrors of war. Presumably his work composing for films had helped him to develop a strong sense of musical imagery, and Haldipur suggests that he was strongly inspired by Western composition, as well. He drew from all of his resources to create a music that would depict the national character of India.

Concerns about His Legacy

PG's time in Delhi seems to have been quite productive. In addition to his compositions for the National Orchestra, he made some of his best-known classical recordings during this period. Nonetheless, in his final years he worried that after leaving Bombay, he had lost his students that might have carried on his legacy. His son-in-law Devendra Murdeshwar, who will be discussed more later, was the one exception. While others of his students in Bombay did continue to perform, they never achieved a very high level of recognition. For this reason, along with his premature death, PG is not remembered today to the degree that his life's accomplishments would seem to warrant. He died of a heart attack on April 20, 1960, three months before his forty-ninth birthday. According to Haldipur, the major newspapers in Delhi gave the news with a black border on the front page.

Despite his early death, his legacy as a flutist and composer lives on. In addition to his many compositions for film and for the National Orchestra, he left behind many compositions for Hindustani classical bānsurī, as well as such rāgs as Dīpavālī, Chandramaulī, Shuklapalāsī, and Nūpuradhwānī. Even beyond the circle of flutists who follow in his direct lineage, many claim to have learned from his example. Noted flutist Hariprasad Chaurasia states that he has "great admiration for Pannalal Ghoseji's flute" (Chaurasia 1998). Gurudev Sharan (1981) writes: "There are several other celebrities in the field who despite their claims to studentship with other maestros cannot but reflect the influence of Panna Babu's style in their playing." It is doubtful that there are any recognized Hindustani classical bānsurī players today who would not acknowledge the profundity of his contribution.

Chapter 6:
Analysis of the Performance Style of Pannalal Ghosh

As discussed in the previous chapters, socio-economic transformations, the growth of mass media, independence from British rule, and many other factors helped to create the environment in which PG was able to bring the bānsurī to the foreground in Hindustani classical music. But despite the tide of change that was sweeping India in the twentieth century, audiences retained a certain level of conservatism, and continued to demand that classical music remain firmly rooted in tradition. Gaining acceptance for the bānsurī was a particularly difficult task, as there does not seem to have been any extant tradition of Hindustani classical bānsurī playing in the 1930s and '40s when PG was adapting the instrument for the North Indian classical stage. As such, PG's performance on bānsurī did not conform to existing practice, nor did he have any established predecessors performing Hindustani classical music on his instrument. To gain acceptance, PG needed both to capitalize on the changes that were taking place in the classical music environment, and to prove himself as a worthy proponent of tradition.

I have shown that PG took an eclectic approach in the creation of his own personal bānsurī style. As a child, he was exposed to dhrupad and khyāl, as well as Bengali folk music. As a young adult in Calcutta, he he was able to listen to great classical musicians of various backgrounds at mehfils, music conferences, and on the radio. Once employed with New Theatres, he had the opportunity to study with harmonium player Khushi Muhammed Khan, who likely had exposure to a wide range of vocal styles in his role as an accompanist. At around this time, PG deepened his understanding of dhrupad, khyāl, and ṭhumrī through his studies with Girija Shankar

Chakravarti. It was not until 1947 that he became affiliated with the Maihar gharānā through his studies with Allauddin Khan, who he considered to be his true guru. By this time he was firmly established in the world of Hindustani classical performance, and had already developed many of the main characteristics of his style. Nonetheless, Allauddin Khan seems to have shaped his later style in important ways.

While the biographical details of PG's life reveal a great deal about his musical priorities and choices, much more can be gleaned through an analysis of his musical style at various levels. These levels include repertoire, consisting of classical khyāl, light classical ṭhumrī, and folk songs; form of an entire rāg performance, usually including both the slow and free-flowing barā khyāl, and the fast, rhythmic chhoṭa khyal sections; form and structure of sections of a performance, including compositions, ālāp-, jōr-, and jhālā-derived sections, and tān development; and individual phrases and their embellisments. A primary analytic concern is the degree to which PG made use of elements from vocal (gāyaki) approaches, plucked string-instrumental (tantrakari) approaches, and elements idiomatically suited to the bānsurī. Also of interest is his use of aspects of dhrupad, a genre considered to be more traditional and authoritative than khyāl. Other topics of analysis include his choices of rāg (modality), tāl (rhythmic cycle), lay (tempo), articulation, range, structural elements, and proportions. The intent is to demonstrate commonalities between characteristics of PG's style and traits of preexisting vocal and instrumental genres and styles, though it will be seen that no single model provided him with a complete template for his performances. His choices reveal much about his own inclinations, but also reflect the shifting musical landscape in which he was living.

Repertoire

The broadest level to be considered here is repertoire. **Table 1** is a listing of all thirty-four of PG's performances available to me,[1] indicating the genre, the rāg (plus total length of the performance and source of the recording), the length of the ālāp, and the tāls (rhythmic cycles) used (including the length of the performance of each tāl). The genres considered are khyāl, ṭhumrī, and folk. Within each of these broad genres, there are many possible variations in terms of tempo and types of compositions used. When "barā-chhoṭa" is indicated, the first composition (barā khyāl) is in a very slow, or ati vilambit tāl, and the second compostion is usually in fast (drut) tīntāl. Otherwise, the first composition is performed in the tempo (lay) indicated, and if there is a second composition, it is in drut tīntāl. The ṭhumrī and folk performances are listed by genre, with details in the other columns of the table. The rāg indicated remains the same throughout a given performance, the duration of the total rāg performance is provided in parentheses, and the source of the recording is given. The ālāp is always a short, or auchar, ālāp (rubato introduction without tabla), and the duration is provided. The tāl (rhythmic cycle) is given with its most common name along with the duration that each tāl is played. If there are two successive tāls, they are indicated under the headings of **Tāl 1** and **Tāl 2**. In the ṭhumrī (and kajrī) performances, *laggī* featuring accelerated tempo and tabla improvisations is usually included as indicated under the **Tāl** heading. The duration of the laggī is given, and a question mark is added when the laggī is suggested in the performance but not distinctly played.

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[1] These recordings were given to me by Nityanand Haldipur, who had collected them over the years and transferred them to MP3 format. The original sources of these recordings are provided in Table 1, and further details can be found in my discography. In some cases, the source is not known, and I have made my best guess based on the type, length, and quality of the recording.

For tempo ranges, I have used Martin Clayton's (2000, 86) approximations as a rough guide. He estimates vocal tempo ranges as follows: vilambit = 10.4-60 bpm (beats per minute), madhya lay = 40-175 bpm, drut lay = 170-500 bpm. He estimates instrumental ranges differently, as follows: vilambit lay = 30-105 bpm, madhya lay = 85-190 bpm, drut lay = 230-740 bpm. He states that "anything more precise, or involving the possible seven bands [to additionally include ati vilambit, madhya vilambit, madhya drut, and ati drut]… would exaggerate the consistency with which these terms are used." I have nonetheless chosen to use the terms "ati vilambit"and "ati drut" to indicate the lower range of vilambit and the upper range of drut, respectively, as these terms help me to discuss stylistic differences based on tempo. PG typically played ati vilambit at approximately 20 bpm, and ati drut could be as fast as 480 bpm.

Table 1: Recorded Performances by Ghosh

Genre	Rāg	Ālāp	Tāl 1	Tāl 2
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Bāgeshrī (36:01) (radio broadcast?)	2:35	Ati vilambit ektāl (12:30)	Drut tīntāl (10:56)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Darbārī (37:17) (HMV EALP 1367)	2:02	Ati vilambit jhūmrā (20:40)	Drut tīntāl (14:35)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Dīpavālī (29:02) (HMV EALP 1354)	1:17	Ati vilambit ektāl (19:17)	Drut tīntāl (8:28)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Desh (66:43+) (live recording)	?	Ati vilambit tilwādā (25:38?)	Drut tīntāl (41:05)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Lalit (30:24) (live recording)	1:50	Ati vilambit ektāl (16:25?)	Madhya lay tīntāl (11:51)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Mārwā (13:24) (HMV 7EPE 1226)	0:44	Ati vilambit jhūmrā (6:10)	Drut tīntāl (6:30)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Miyān Malhār (56:15) (live recording, 1956)	0:53	Ati vilambit jhūmrā (29:32)	Drut tīntāl (25:50)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Puriyā (45:00) (radio broadcast?)	2:18	Ati vilambit jhūmrā (31:21)	Drut tīntāl (11:21)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Puriyā Dhanashrī (66:54) (live recording?)	2:50	Ati vilambit jhūmrā (38:52)	Drut tīntāl (25:12)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Puriyā Kalyān (75:17) (live recording, 1956)	1:53	Ati vilambit jhūmrā (45:33)	Drut tīntāl (27:51)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Shankarā (26:50+) (live recording?)	1:40	Ati vilambit ektāl (25:10)	Drut tīntāl (?)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Shrī (18:17) (HMV EALP 1252)	2:11	Ati vilambit tilwādā (13:40)	Drut tīntāl (2:26)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Todī (28:49) (radio broadcast?)	1:22	Ati vilambit jhūmrā (21:17)	Drut tīntāl (6:10)
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	Yaman(18:28) (HMV EALP 1252)	2:10	Ati vilambit jhūmrā (11:35)	Drut tīntāl (4:43)

Khyāl (drut lay only)	Basant (16:23) (radio broadcast?)	0:20	Drut ektāl (16:03)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Basant Mukhārī (3:14) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:40	Madhya lay jhaptāl (2:34)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Bhupāl Todī (3:13) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:29	Madhya lay tīntāl (2:44)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Brindāvanī Sārang (6:14) (HMV 7EPE 1240)	0:46	Drut tīntāl (5:28)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Chāndramoulī (6:23) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:32	Madhya lay jhaptāl (2:49)	Drut tīntāl (3:02)
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Hansa Narāyanī (3:19) (HMV EALP 1354)	1:06	Madhya lay tīntāl (2:13)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Hansadhwanī (3:11) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:20	Madhya lay tīntāl (2:51)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Kedār (36:38) (Live recording, 1956)	0:38	Madhya lay tīntāl (17:40)	Drut tīntāl (18:20)
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Shuddh Bhairavī (6:35) (HMV 7EPE 1240)	1:26	Madhya lay jhaptāl (5:08)	
Ṭhumrī	Bhairavī Ṭhumrī (6:31) (HMV EALP 1367)	0:18	Dādrā (6:13), laggī to end	
Ṭhumrī	Kāfī Dādrā (3:24) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:09	Dādrā (3:15), laggī to end	
Ṭhumrī	Mishra Pilū (29:10) (radio broadcast?)	1:06	Dīpchandī (16 matra) (19:06)	Madhya lay Tīntāl (2:24)
				Kaharwā (6:34) tempo incr at 24:32, 27:15. laggī from 25:57?
Ṭhumrī	Pilū (14:17) (radio broadcast?)	1:20	Addha tāl (11:20)	Kaharwā (1:37), laggī?
Ṭhumrī	Ṭhumrī Bhairavī (9:08) (radio broadcast?)	0:28	Dādrā (6:52) laggī (0:50), return to dādrā (0:58)	
Ṭhumrī	Ṭhumrī Khamāj (3:23) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:08	Dīpchandī (16 matra) (2:40)	Kaharwā (0:35) as laggī
Ṭhumrī	Ṭhumrī Pilū (3:28) (HMV EALP 1367)	0:06	Dīpchandī (16 matra) (2:27)	Kaharwā (0:55) as laggī
Ṭhumrī	Pahādī (10:02+) (Live recording, 1956)	?	Kaharwā (10:02+) (no laggī)	
Folk	Bhātiāli 1 (6:30) (HMV 7EPE 1233)	0:15	Kaharwā (6:15) (no laggī)	
Folk	Bhātiāli 2 (9:02) (radio broadcast?)	0:15	Kaharwā (8:47) (no laggī)	
Folk	Kajrī (3:36) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:06	Kaharwā (3:08) - Laggīs at (2:00-17) and (3:08-27)	

Table 2 gives the percentages of each genre of performance in relation to the total number of recordings, and the percentage of each genre of performance in relation to the total performance time.

Table 2: Percentages of Recordings and Performance Time

Genre	% of Recordings	% of Performance Time
Khyāl (barā-chhoṭa)	41	75
Khyāl (other)	26	12
Ṭhumrī	24	11
Folk	9	3

In terms of genre, PG most often played khyāl in the form of an ati vilambit barā khyāl followed by a drut tīntāl chhoṭa khyāl (about 41% of the time). These were also his longest performances. To a lesser extent, he performed khyāl using various madhya (medium) lay and drut (fast) tāls (about 26% of the recordings) which would sometimes conclude with a section in drut tīntāl. PG also performed ṭhumrī (about 24% of the recordings) and folk songs (about 9% of the recordings) as light classical items. In terms of total performance time, about 75% of PG's recorded output was barā-chhoṭa khyāl, while about 12% was other khyāl, about 11% was ṭhumrī, and about 3% was folk music.

At the time that PG was developing his style, he had many options from which to choose, both vocal and instrumental. While dhrupad was a strong part of his background, and played an important role in his musical sensibility, this genre had become somewhat marginalized by the early twentieth century. His choice of khyāl as his predominant overarching model was a fairly natural one due to the prominence of khyāl at this time and the vocal character of the bānsurī. However, while a great many possibilities existed within this genre, Nityanand Haldipur (p.c.) states that PG was most inspired by the Kirana gharānā for its expressiveness, and the Patiala gharānā for its musical acrobatics. The format most characteristic of (but not unique to) the Kirana gharānā, and most used by PG, features extremely slow ati vilambit tāls in the khyāl portion of the performance, which seem to have provided him with a kind of compromise between dhrupad and khyāl; followed by a composition in drut tīntāl with various forms of improvised melodic and rhythmic development. This will be the format analyzed here in the most depth, as it is indicative of his preferred mode of performance, and best illustrates the range of stylistic models from which he derived his own approach to bānsurī playing. Other forms of khyāl, ṭhumrī, and folk songs will be discussed more briefly, as they make up a relatively small percentage of his performances, are generally much shorter in length, and tend to conform to common practice for these genres.

Broad Formal Structure of Pannalal Ghosh's Full Khyāl Performances

With the exception of rāgs Kedār and Pahādī, all of PG's available recorded performances over ten minutes in length follow the above-mentioned formal structure. Most of these performances are over a half hour in length, and a few are over an hour in length. While it will be seen that various vocal and instrumental models informed aspects of PG's playing, Kirana was certainly one of the most important for him. According to Nityanand Haldipur (p.c.), it was Wahid Khan of the Kirana gharānā who initiated the playing of ati vilambit barā khyāl, and that PG adopted this approach because it provided a wider time-span for alap-style development. PG particularly favored ati vilambit jhūmrā tāl, whose fourteen-beat cycle provided an even longer time-span than did the twelve-beat ektāl (the ati vilambit tāl most often employed by Kirana musicians).

Bonnie Wade writes that "the Kirana style is expected to display slow, expressive singing—the slowest of all the *gharanas*, according to V.H. Deshpande" (Wade 1984, 198). PG clearly adheres to this aspect of khyāl, as each tāl cycle in his barā khyāl performances typically lasts up to a minute or more. And in live performance, PG would often play the ati vilambit portion of his performances for a half hour or more, with slow and systematic development. The connection between his rāg development in the barā khyāl section with that of dhrupad ālāp will be discussed later. Ghosh consistently followed his barā khyāl performances with a chhoṭa khyāl section featuring a composition in the sixteen-beat tīntāl. Most often this would be at a fast tempo, or drut lay, though in rāg Lalit, the tempo is closer to madhya lay, or medium tempo.

PG would normally begin a rāg performance with an *auchar* (short) ālāp (rubato introduction), then proceed to an ati vilambit composition. He would further develop ālāp-style *barhat* (slow, loosely phrased rāg elaboration) over the slow tāl, with increasing intensity. After this gradual and systematic development he would proceed to a fast sixteen-beat, or drut tīntāl, *bandish* (composition)—either a traditional bandish or one of his own. In keeping with common practice for both vocalists and instrumentalists, he would then use the first portion of the composition, or *sthāi*, as a point of return between improvised passages, increasing the tempo in stages to ultimately conclude the performance at its peak. Some of the intricacies of PG's improvisations will be discussed later, but an understanding of this basic structure will suffice to indicate the parallel between his full-length classical performances and those typical of vocal gharanas, particularly Kirana, at the broadest level of form.

Form and Structure of Barā Khyāl Compositions

The form and structure at the level of the composition begins to show more diversification of his sources, and analysis of these compositions, or *bandish*es, provides a valuable glimpse into his musical approach. While such bandishes constitute a relatively small percentage of an entire musical presentation, they encapsulate the character of the performance and provide the material for recurring focal points within his improvisations. The barā khyāl portion of his performances made use of compositions that are very much in the character of Kirāna gharānā. He often used traditional vocal compositions for his barā khyāl, such as "Karim Nām Tero" in his performance of rāg Miyān Malhār.[2] Even in his original ati vilambit compositions, he closely emulated traditional vocal models. This enabled him to bring out the rich, lyrical quality of his bānsurī, making use of typically vocal phrases and techniques in his systematic development modeled on dhrupad-style ālāp. **Example 1** (**a** and **b**) is an ati vilambit composition by PG in rāg Dīpavālī, a rāg of his own design. The rhythmic cycle, tempo, rubato presentation, cyclic returns to the composition fragment known as the *mukhra*, and the lyrical flow and manner of embellishment are all characteristic of Kirana gharānā.

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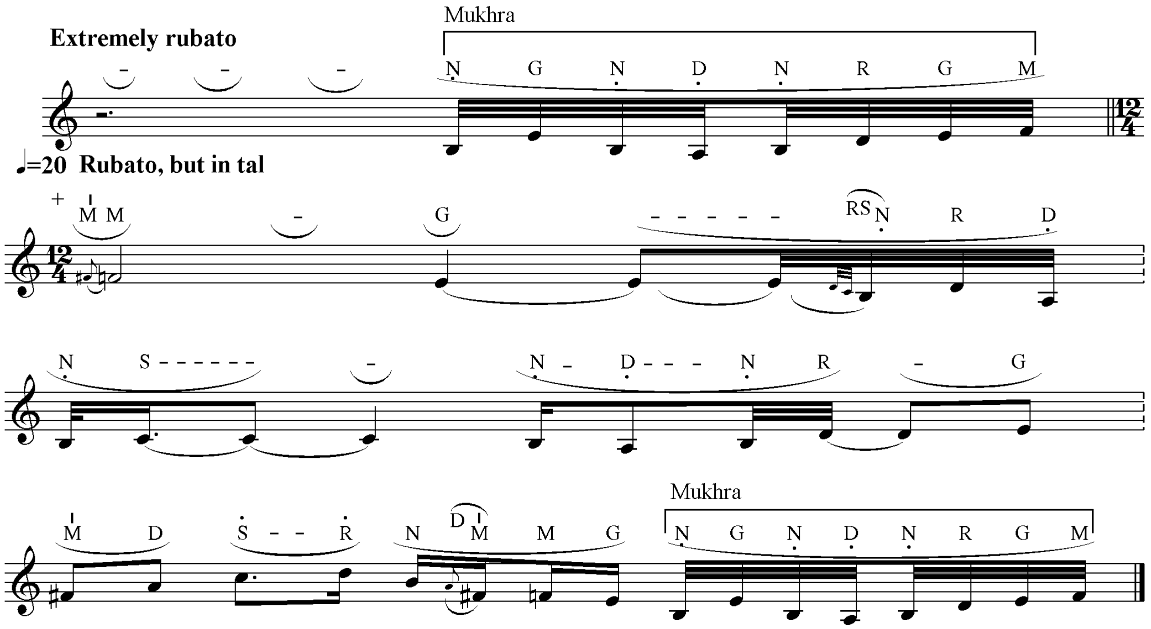
[2] A version of "Karim Nām Tero" was featured in the classic Bengali film *Meghe Dhaka Tara* in 1960, the year of PG's death. According to http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meghe_Dhaka_Tara (accessed September 13, 2010), this was sung by A. Kanan, a fellow student of PG's guru in Calcutta, Girija Shankar Chakrabarty (see http://www.itcsra.org/sra_news_views/obituary/a_kanan.html (accessed September 13, 2010) for details about the life and career of A. Kanan). Kirana vocalist Bhimsen Joshi also recorded "Karim Nām Tero" for an LP recording (HMV ECLP 2253) in 1960.

Example 1a shows the composition in its skeletal form.

Example 1a: Ati Vilambit Bandish in Rāg Dīpavālī without Embellishments

Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Dīpavālī
Tāl: ati vilambit ektāl Source: HMV EALP 1354

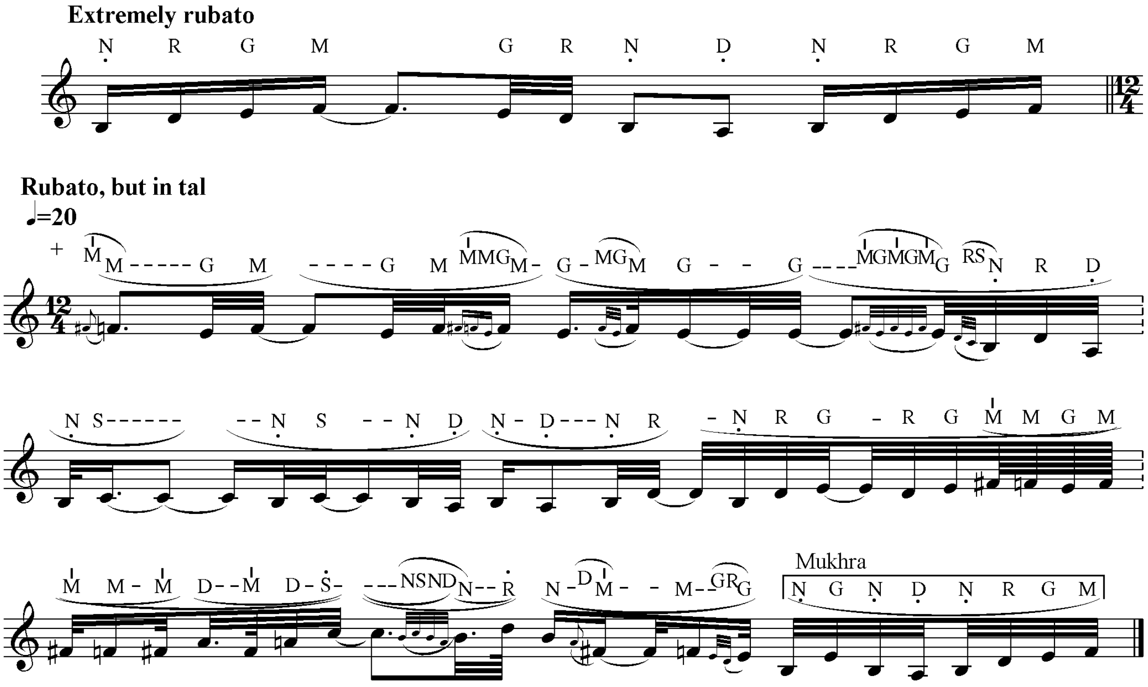


The pick-up notes plus the first note of the second measure constitute the mukhra, the introductory and final phrase of the composition to which the performer periodically returns at the end of each portion of the ālāp-style barhat. The remainder of the second measure is essentially a descending line dipping below the tonic, Sa, and resolving to Sa on the second note of the third measure. The remainder of the composition consists of an ascent to the upper tonic followed by a descent back to the first note of the mukhra. The melodic motion is much like an extremely truncated ālāp, in that it first develops the *mandra saptak* (lower register) to just above the tonic in the *madhya saptak* (upper register) before descending back down to the mukhra. This compositional structure encapsulates the style and structure that PG later follows in his subsequent ālāp-style barhat development.

Example 1b includes more details of how Ghosh actually played the melody, including embellishments and elaborations typical of vocal performance.

Example 1b: Ati Vilambit Bandish in Rāg Dīpavālī with Embellishments

Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Dīpavālī
Tāl: ati vilambit ektāl Source: HMV EALP 1354


Extremely rubato
N R G M G R N D N R G M
Rubato, but in tal
♩=20
+
M M - - - - - G M - - - - G M MMG M - G - MG M G - - G - - - MGMGM G RS N R D
N S - - - - - - - N S - - N D N - D - - - N R - N R G - R G M M G M
M M - M D - - M D - S - - - - NSND N - - R N - D M - - M - - GR G
Mukhra
N G N D N R G M

His approach here is very vocal, and contrasts markedly with such typical plucked-string instrumental styles as the Masītkhānī gat, which relies heavily on repeated notes and plucking patterns known as *bol*s. Slawek (1987, 17) notes the connection of the Masītkhānī gat to khyāl vocal styles, particularly in the extensive use of mīnḍ and *gamak* (embellishment). Miner (1997, 181) also suggests a possible vocal derivation of the Masītkhānī gat, noting that “popular tradition sometimes says that they are based on the rhythm of a *bhajan* or a *kirtan* of the time, Hindu devotional song genres, which Masīt Khān had heard.” However, Slawek (1987, 17) also states that the basis of the compositions was a fixed plucking pattern (using the wire plectrum known as *mizrāb*). Many of the vilambit gats commonly used by sitar players in the twentieth century are derived from the Masītkhānī gat and follow the same structural form, using a standardized mizrāb bol as its foundation (Slawek 1987, 55). Slawek (1987, 55) details this bol-based structure as follows (adapted to my standard notation):

3				
12	13	14	15	16
dir	dā	dir	dā	rā

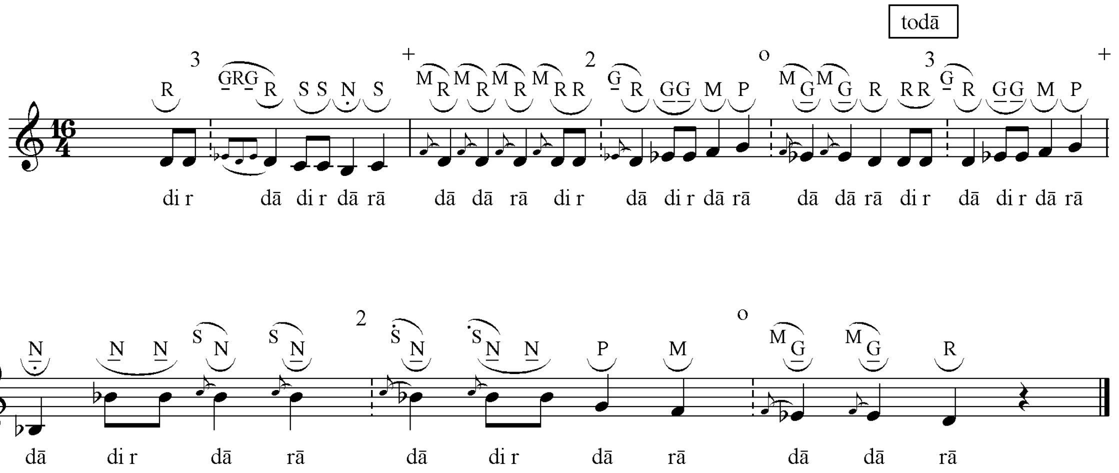
+				2				o		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
dā	dā	rā	dir	dā	dir	dā	rā	dā	dā	rā

The syllables refer to specific plucking patterns, the numbers immediately above the syllables indicate the beat, or *matra*, and the numbers and syllables above the matras indicate the subdivisions of the tāl. As indicated, the composition begins with the mukhra on beat 12, which resolves on the first beat of the tāl cycle.

Miner (1997, 184) provides the following example (adapted to my standard notation) of a Masītkhānī gat in Khās Mallār, derived from Rahim Beg’s 1876 book *Naghmah-i sitār* (132):

Example 2: Masītkhānī Gat in Rāg Khās Mallār

Composer: Bahadur Khan Rāg: Khās Mallār
Tāl: vilambit tīntāl Source: adapted from Miner 1993, Ex. 4


todā
3 + 2 o 3 +
R GRG R S S N S M R M R M R M R R G R GG M P M G M G R R R G R GG M P
di r dā di r dā rā dā dā rā di r dā di r dā rā dā dā rā di r dā di r dā rā
2 o
N N N S N S N S N S N N P M M G M G R
dā di r dā rā dā di r dā rā dā dā rā

Mīnḍ (portamento) plays a large role in this composition, which Miner suggests gives it a dhrupad quality. However, the Masītkhānī gat differs from the PG composition above in significant ways. It can be seen that the primary impetus of the Masītkhānī gat derives from the bol pattern, as mentioned above. Generally speaking, the Masītkhānī gat, despite the slow tempo of its performance (often approximately 40 beats per minute), maintains a kind of rhythmic pulse through note repetition. The PG composition, on the other hand, studiously avoids note repetition, the notes flow in an alap-like manner, and it is performed at about half the tempo of a typical performance of a Masītkhānī gat. It will be seen that PG’s approach to composition is highly reflective of his overall performance style in barā khyāl.

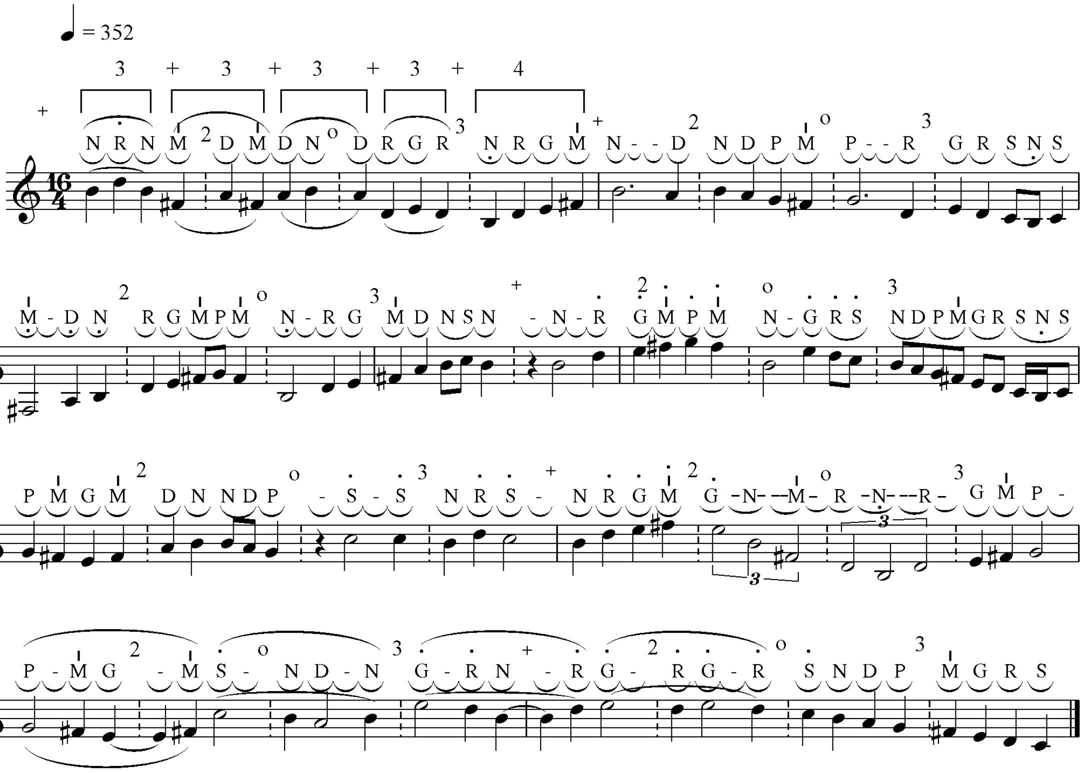
Form and Structure of Chhoṭa Khyāl Compositions

Unlike his vocal-derived barā khyāl compositions, PG’s fast compositions for the chhoṭa khyāl portion of his performances are often highly evocative of plucked-string instrument styles. These compositions set the tone for flights of improvisation that capitalize both on the lyrical quality of the bānsurī and the virtuosic technical possibilities of his instrument. There are certain features that tend to define PG’s compositional approach and that accentuate the bānsurī’s own particular strengths. These features may be roughly divided into vocal traits, plucked-string instrumental traits, and traits idiomatic to the bānsurī. It is of course impossible to rigidly separate these characteristics, as there is a fair amount of continuity between vocal and instrumental approaches. Nonetheless, certain features dominate in each of the different branches. Vocal elements of PG’s style include the use of sustain, which enables slow, extended mīnḍ and long legato phrases; and the avoidance of repeated notes and the rhythmic plucking patterns of sitar and sarod known as *bols*. Features in common with plucked-stringed instruments include the frequent use of rhythmic play, or *laykari*, and melodic leaps. Stylistic traits oriented more specifically to PG’s bānsurī are rapid runs of notes; phrases that freely cross registers over a range from the lower register tīvra (sharp) Ma up to the upper register Pa; and mīnḍ placed to avoid the break of the bānsurī.

Example 3, a composition by Ghosh in rāg Yaman is typical of his compositional style**.**

Example 3: Drut Tīntāl Bandish in Rāg Yaman

Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Yaman
Tāl: drut tīntāl Source: HMV EALP 1252

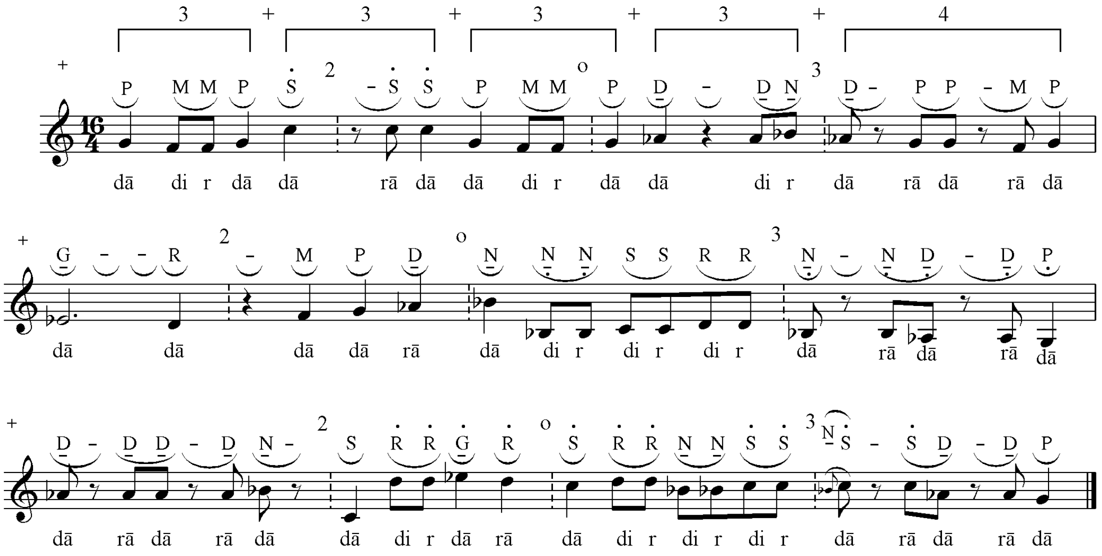

♩= 352
3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4
N R N M D M D N D R G R N R G M N - - D N D P M P - - R G R S N S
M - D N R G M P M N - R G M D N S N - N - R G M P M N - G R S N D P M G R S N S
P M G M D N N D P - S - S N R S - N R G M G -N- -M- R -N- -R- G M P -
P - M G - M S - N D - N G - R N - R G - R G - R S N D P M G R S
16
4
+ 2 o 3

One of the most striking features of this composition is the use of rhythmic groupings that are phrased in a pattern of three-beat units against the four-beat substructure of the tāl, as seen at the very beginning of the composition. That is to say, the phrasing is 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4, while the tāl structure is 4 + 4 + 4 + 4. By PG's time, the use of this rhythmic grouping seems to have been fairly common among sarod players, and George Ruckert cites the following compositions by Abdullah Khan (derived by Ruckert from Miner 1981, 430 and adapted to my standard notation) and Ali Akbar

Khan (transcribed by Ruckert and adapted to my standard notation) that feature this pattern (Ruckert 1994, 45-46).

Example 4: Firozkhānī Gat in Rāg Jaunpurī by Abdullah Khan

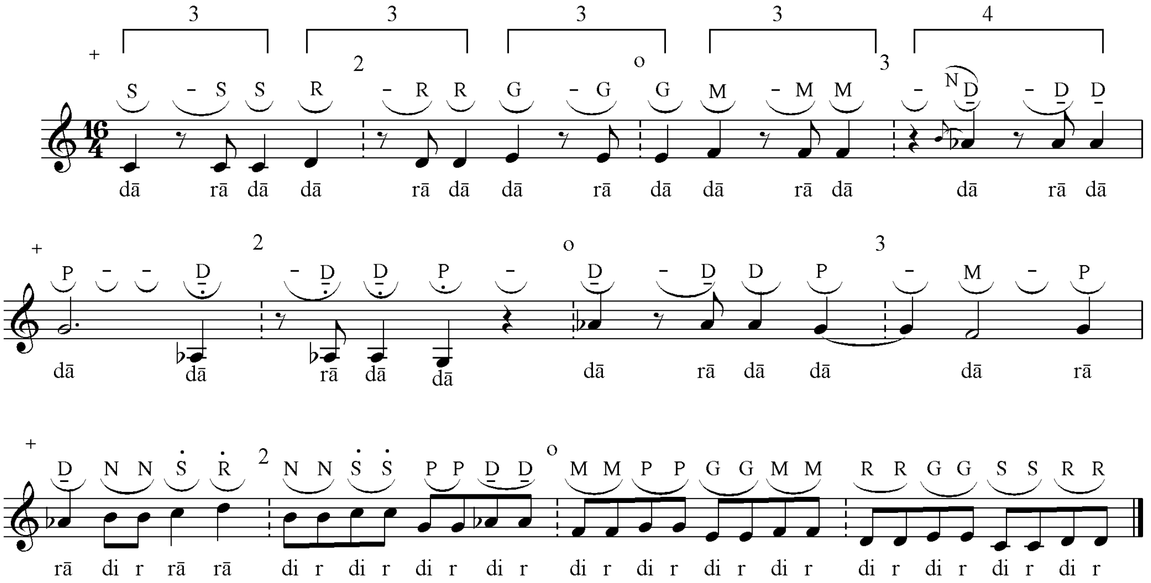
Composer: Abdullah Khan Rāg: Jaunpurī
Tāl: vilambit tīntāl Source: adapted from Ruckert 1994, Ex. 2-5


3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4
+ 2 o 3
P M M P S - S S P M M P D - D N D - P P - M P
dā di r dā dā rā dā dā di r dā dā di r dā rā dā rā dā
+ 2 o 3
G - - R - M P D N N N S S R R N - N D - D P
dā dā dā dā rā dā di r di r di r dā rā dā rā dā
+ 2 o 3
D - D D - D N - S R R G R S R R N N S S N S - S D - D P
dā rā dā rā dā dā di r dā rā dā di r di r di r dā rā dā rā dā

Example 5 shows the use of this rhythmic feature in one of Ali Akbar Khan's compositions:

Example 5: Drut Tīntāl Gat in Nāt Bhairav by Ali Akbar Khan

Composer: Ali Akbar Khan Rāg: Nāt Bhairav
Tāl: drut tīntāl Source: adapted from Ruckert 1994, Ex. 2-6


3 3 3 3 4
+ 2 o 3
S - S S R - R R G - G G M - M M - N D - D D
dā rā dā dā dā rā dā dā rā dā dā rā dā dā rā dā
+ 2 o 3
P - - D - D D P - D - D D P - M - P
dā dā rā dā dā dā rā dā dā dā rā
+ 2 o
D N N Ṡ Ṙ N N Ṡ Ṡ P P D D M M P P G G M M R R G G S S R R
rā di r rā rā di r di r di r di r di r di r di r di r di r di r di r di r

These examples both seem to derive from the Firozkhani style of plucked-string instrument composition, which according to Miner (1993, 95) has been associated with sarod and sitar since the nineteenth century. Ruckert (1994, 41) suggests that PG's teacher, and Ali Akbar Khan's father, Allaudin Khan may have encountered this style in his earlier years while studying sarod with Fida Hussain. But while such compositions may have provided a model for PG's use of a 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4 rhythmic pattern in his drut tīntāl composition in rāg Yaman, PG also adapts the pattern in terms of its melodic structure to make it better suited to the bānsurī. His phrases differ from the Abdullah Khan and Ali Akbar Khan compositions in that they are more melodically active, avoid bols and repeated notes, and employ vocal-style mīṇḍ between the two notes of each unit of the three-note pattern. While mīṇḍ are not overly difficult to execute on plucked-string instruments like sitar and sarod, the use of bols compensates for the lack of sustain on these instruments. Generally speaking, PG does not make use of bol patterns in his compositions, although they could have easily been imitated through tonguing (and as will be discussed later, he did employ such a technique in jhālā-derived development). His compositions also tend to avoid repeated notes and often make use of long melismatic phrases. In these ways, despite the possible sarod derivation of some of his phrasing, his compositions are distinct from plucked-string instrument gats and more aligned with vocal music in terms of articulation. The vocal genre known as *tarāna* is likely part of PG's inspiration here, as this type of composition typically adapted aspects of plucked-string instrument styles for vocal performance. Beyond the vocal and sarod derivations of PG's compositional devices, though, PG's initial melodic pattern in the rāg Yaman composition caters specifically to the bānsurī in its use of mīṇḍ that do not cross the break on the instrument.[3]

The opening section of PG's composition in rāg Yaman also employs leaps of a fourth and a fifth between segments of the rhythmic pattern. While these are logical outcomes of the structure of the melodic pattern he is using, they suggest a further affiliation with compositions for sarod. Allyn Miner notes that the Firozkhani gat commonly featured long intervallic jumps that were idiomatic for the early sarod (Miner: 205). The Abdullah Khan composition features many large intervallic leaps, with intervals of a fourth in the first line, an interval of an octave in the second line, and intervals of a minor and major ninth in the third line. Ali Akbar Khan's composition similarly employs large intervals, such as the minor seventh and minor ninths in the second line. PG's use of leaps is less drastic and sudden here than those employed by Abdullah Khan and Ali Akbar Khan, but they nonetheless suggest a possible compositional affiliation with the approach used for sarod. PG's use of more extreme melodic leaps in tāns is discussed below.

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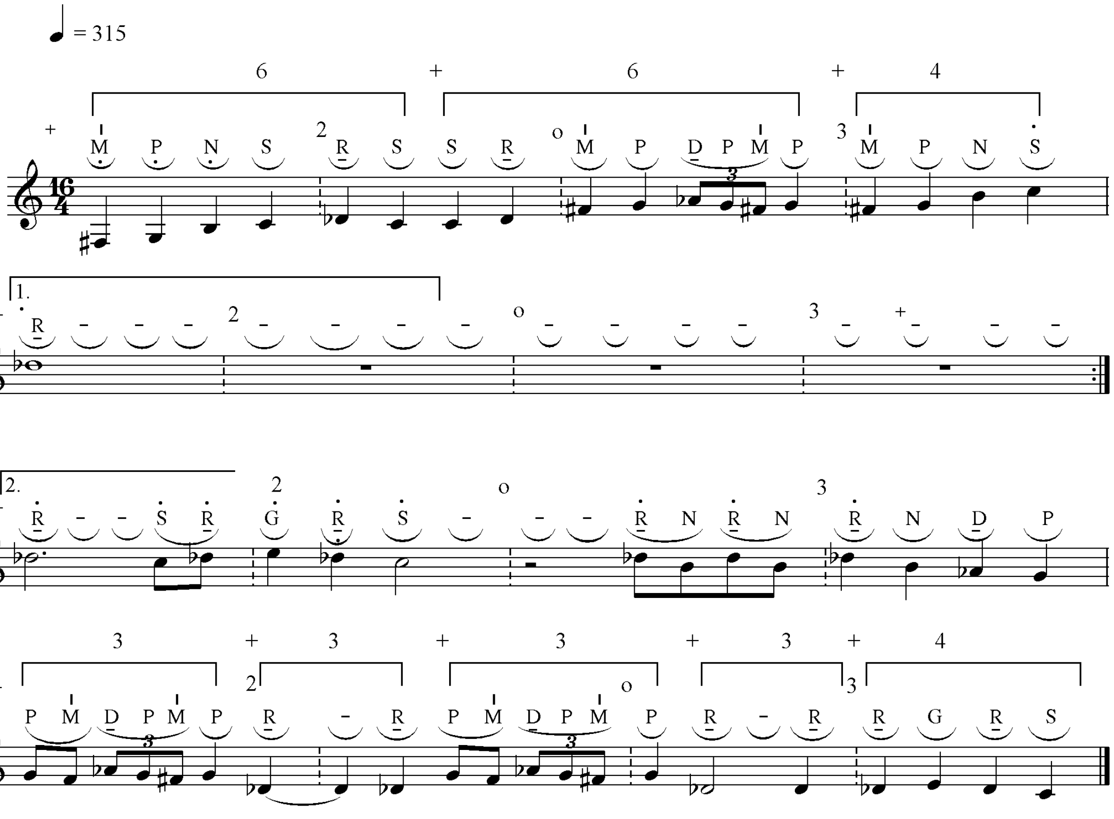
[3] See Chapter 1, p. 8 for a more detailed discussion of the break on the flute and the advantages of the seventh hole.

In terms of register, PG's composition in rāg Yaman seems to be constructed with the bānsurī specifically in mind. The second line of the composition outlines the comfortable range of the bānsurī, covering just over two octaves from tīvra Ma in the mandra saptak up to Pa in the tār (upper) saptak. The rapid change of register, while possibly a bit of a strain for voice and other instruments, is quite comfortable on the bānsurī. The emphasis on the tār saptak, which projects very strongly on the bānsurī, helps to accentuate the melodic peak of the line. The rapid descending scalar run at the end of the sthāī (second section of the composition) takes advantage of the ease on the bānsurī of rapid note execution across registers, and is more suitable for bānsurī than for either vocal or stringed instruments.

The final chhoṭa khyāl composition to be discussed here is PG's composition in Shrī rāg, shown in **Example 6**:

Example 6: Drut Tīntāl Bandish in Shrī Rāg by Pannalal Ghosh

Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Shrī
Tāl: drut tīntāl Source: HMV EALP 1252


= 315
6 + 6 + 4
+ M P N S 2 R S S R o M P D P M P 3 M P N S
1.
+ R – – – 2 – – – – o – – – – 3 – + – – –
2.
+ R – – S R 2 G R S – o – – R N R N 3 R N D P
3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4
+ P M D P M P 2 R – R P M D P M o P R – R 3 R G R S

The laykari pattern that begins this composition is similar to the 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4 pattern that begins his composition in rāg Yaman, though the feeling is more suggestive of 6 + 6 + 4. The units of the melodic pattern here (the bracketed six-note groupings) are more closely connected intervallically than they were in the previous two Ghosh compositions, avoiding melodic leaps wider than a major third. The second part of the composition, starting from the double bar line in the second line, features the familiar 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4 pattern and the wider leap of a tritone. Beyond the extensive use of laykari and the intervallic leaps, this composition further resembles stringed-instrument compositions in its use of repeated notes. The second measure features a repetition of the note C, though this is a result of the melodic pattern being used. The 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4 laykari pattern from measure 13, however, almost has the feeling of an adaptation of a bol pattern, as each unit of the pattern can be further subdivided into a single note repeated in a 2 + 1 pattern in terms of note duration. Rather than emphasize the bol-like aspect of this pattern, however, PG partially disguises the note repetition with a muṛkī, or turn, embellishment in the two higher pattern units that start on the madhya saptak Pa. Nonetheless, the lower unit of the pattern repeats the madhya saptak komal (flat) Re, without embellishment. Thus, while this is an original bānsurī composition by PG, this portion of the composition has the feeling of an adapted plucked-string instrument composition. The overall feeling of the bandish, nonetheless, is quite characteristic of PG's compositional style.

Approach to Ālāp-Style Barhat Development

Elements of PG's improvisatory style also show parallels with the various models from which he drew to create his own style. As is typical with Kirana gharānā vocalists, PG normally devoted the greatest percentage of his full-length classical performances to emulation within an ati vilambit tāl of the unmetered rāg development known as ālāp, in which the character of the rāg is gradually revealed. PG, like the Kirana singers, typically began his barā khyāl performances with an auchar ālāp, then presented a much more developed and extended ālāp-style barhat over the ati vilambit tāl immediately following the composition. While presentation of ālāp within tāl differs from the dhrupad model, the effect, structure, and purpose here is closely akin to that of a full unaccompanied ālāp in the use of a very loose sense of time and systematic rāg development. Widdess (1994, 65) points out dhrupad singer Ritwik Sanyal's assertion "that there is always a pulse in his mind throughout ālāp, and that this is regular and consistent apart from a gradual acceleration." Clayton (2000, 103) notes that "several other modern musicians, including Pandit Ravi Shankar, have played *joṛ* in a strict 8-beat *tāl*-like pattern, accompanied by a *pakhāvaj* or a *kharaj* (bass) *tablā*: this is said to be a traditional practice." He also calls attention to the fact that "some *dhrupad* singers also adopt this practice, while *bīn* (stick zither) players sometimes have their *pakhāvaj* (barrel-drum) accompanist play the 12-*matra cautal* during the *joṛ* section." Thus, the presence of an ati vilambit tāl does not seem to violate the spirit of dhrupad ālāp.

While ālāp is common to many Indian musical genres, it is especially featured in many dhrupad styles, which predate, and are considered more traditional, than khyāl.[4] Even within dhrupad, though, there are varying modes of ālāp presentation ranging from a meticulous note-by-note development to a presentation of typical phrases of the rāg with a gradually increasing range. Widdess observes that musicians of the Dagar gharānā of dhrupad normally present ālāp using a note-by-note method of melodic expansion more clearly and consistently than some of the other gharānās. He suggests that this practice may derive in part from the fact that members of the Dagar gharānā were well versed in Sanskrit and musical theory, as the thirteenth-century musical text *Sangītaratnākara* outlines a similar approach to ālāp.

Widdess also points out that dhrupad ālāp development was passed on to some gharānās of khyāl, who then maintained many of these ālāp characteristics while playing loosely over the tabla accompaniment. The Dagar-affiliated bīn player Bande Ali Khan is said to have passed his knowledge on to the Kirana and Gwalior gharānās. Since PG is known to have particularly favored the Kirana gharānā, his practice of playing ālāp-style barhat over ati vilambit time cycles is most likely derived from this source. But while Kirana singers did not always adhere to the strict note-by-note development favored by the Dagar gharānā, Ghosh seems to have favored such an approach when it was appropriate for the rāg and he had sufficient time for a full ālāp-style barhat development. According to Nityanand Haldipur (p.c.), PG had different methodologies of ālāp-style development depending on the time available for its presentation. He would also tailor his development to the type of rāg being performed. For example, he would use the model of rāg ālāp, following the contour of the rāg in a rāg like Miyān Malhār; and the model of swar ālāp, featuring note-by-note development, in a rāg like Pūriyā Kalyān. Regardless of length or rāg-type, though, PG's ālāp-style barhat almost always adhered the practice of first developing the mandra saptak; then the madhya saptak; and finally the tār saptak followed by a descent back to the tonic, Sa.

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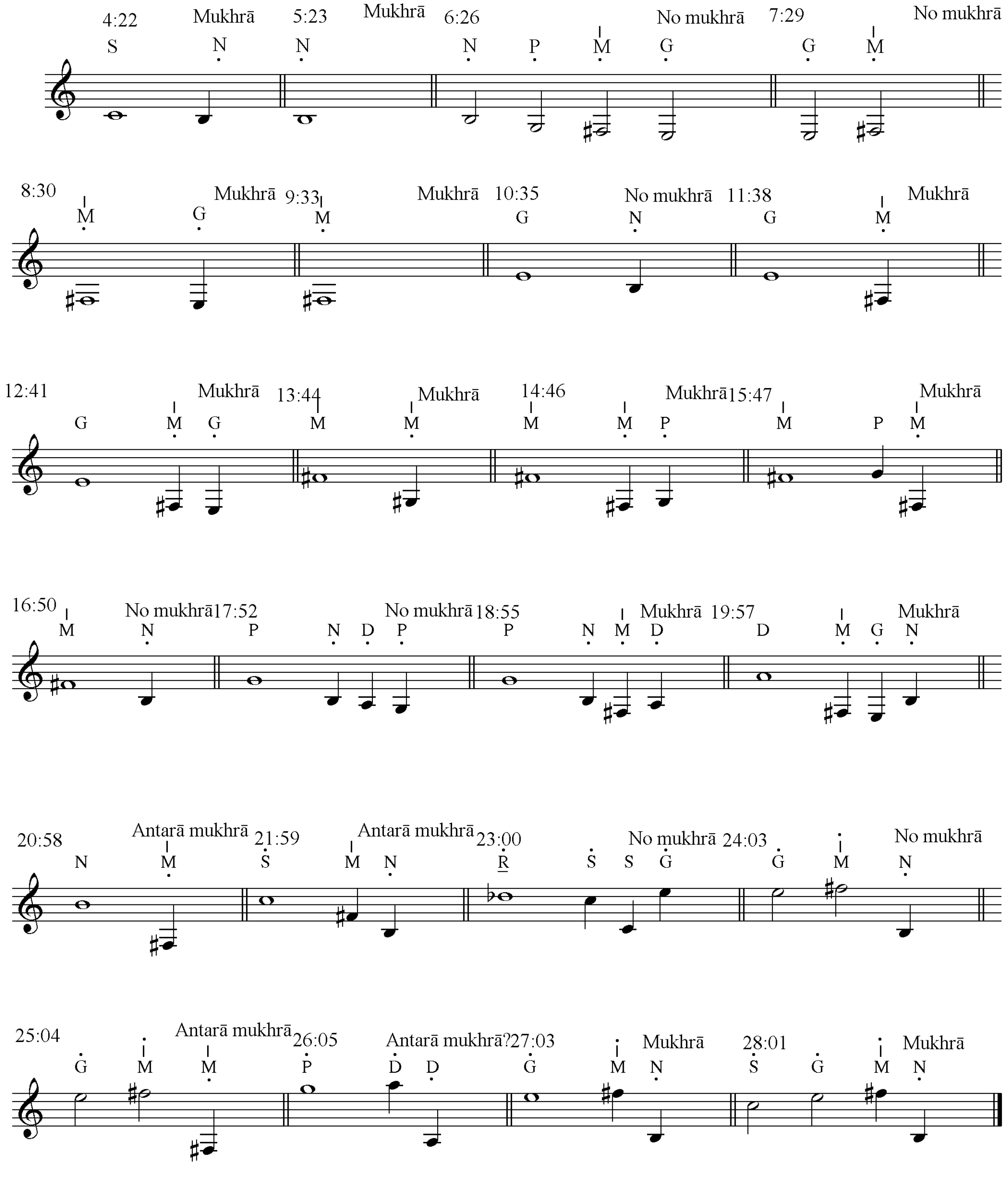
[4] Though some modern musicians who have extensively studied dhrupad-ang ālāp, such as those trained by Allauddin Khan, can rival dhrupad musicians in the depth of their ālāp.

In the recordings of performances in which PG had time for full ālāp-style barhat development, it can be observed that he would often establish a note-by-note structure akin to that used by the Dagar gharānā of dhrupad. To illustrate this, I have prepared three successive reductions of his performance of Pūriyā Kalyān. **Example 7a** is a reduction of PG's performance, showing the notes of emphasis in this ālāp-style barhat.

Example 7a: Reduction 1 of Pannalal Ghosh's Ālāp-Style Barhat in Rāg Pūriyā Kalyān

Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Pūriyā Kalyān
Tāl: jhūmrā Source: live concert recording, 1956


4:22 S N Mukhrā
5:23 N Mukhrā
6:26 N P M G No mukhrā
7:29 G M No mukhrā
8:30 M G Mukhrā
9:33 M Mukhrā
10:35 G N No mukhrā
11:38 G M Mukhrā
12:41 G M G Mukhrā
13:44 M M Mukhrā
14:46 M M P Mukhrā
15:47 M P M Mukhrā
16:50 M N No mukhrā
17:52 P N D P No mukhrā
18:55 P N M D Mukhrā
19:57 D M G N Mukhrā
20:58 N M Antarā mukhrā
21:59 S M N Antarā mukhrā
23:00 R S S G No mukhrā
24:03 G M N No mukhrā
25:04 G M M Antarā mukhrā
26:05 P D D Antarā mukhrā?
27:03 G M N Mukhrā
28:01 S G M N Mukhrā

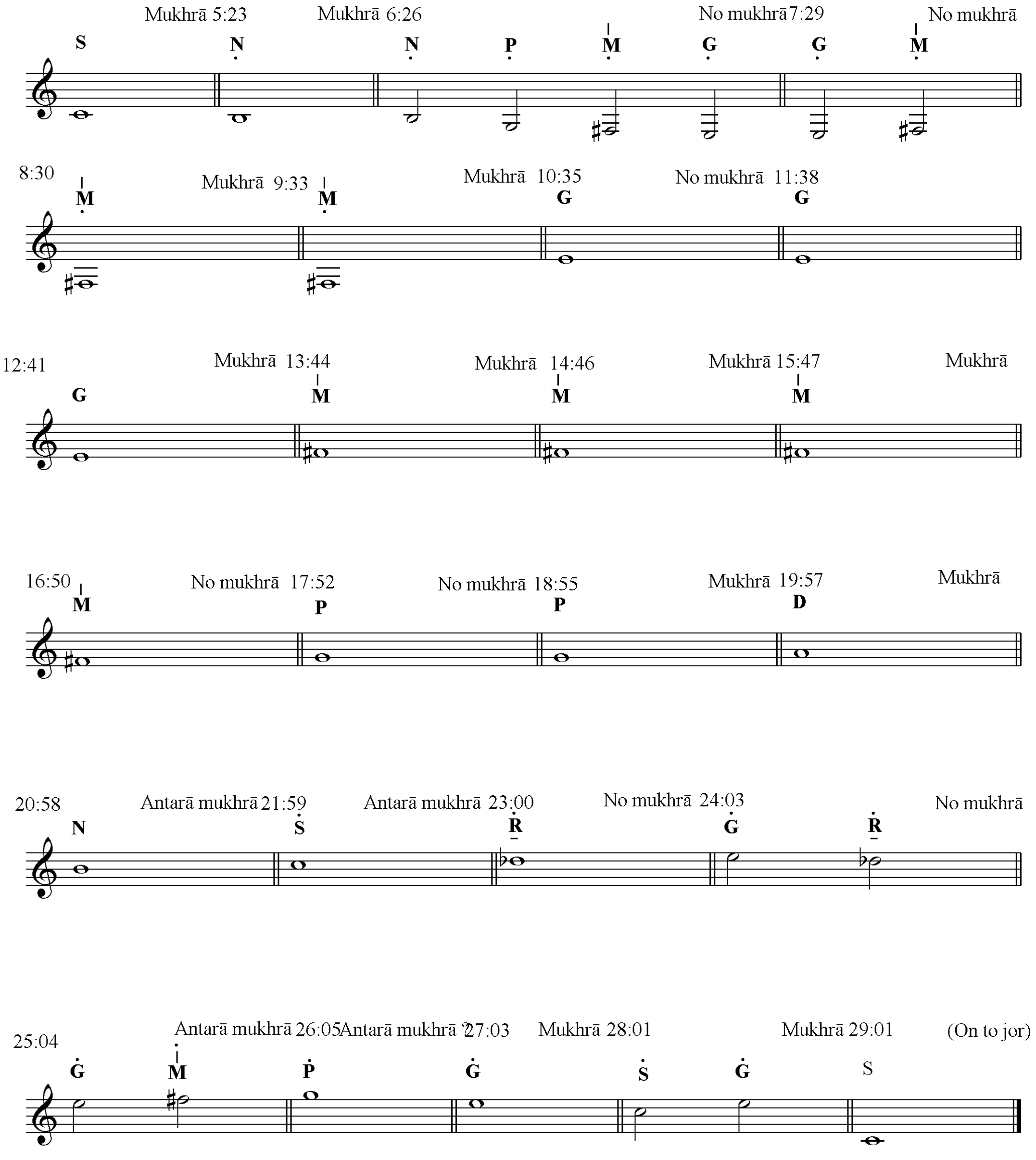
Each double bar indicates the start of a new tāl cycle (*āvartan*), with the timing on the recording indicated above. Whole notes are used to indicate the note of primary emphasis within a given time cycle; half notes are used when multiple notes of emphasis occur within an āvartan; and quarter notes are used to indicate notes of secondary importance that hold an important relationship to the note of primary emphasis. The presence or absence of a mukhra provides an indication as to the duration of time over which a single segment of the ālāp was presented. Here, the mukhra is the final portion of the composition, which occurs in roughly the last one and a half beats of the cycle. Its presence marks the completion of an ālāp segment, and the presence of the antara mukhra indicates that the āvartan ended on the upper register tonic rather than the initial tonic an octave lower.

When PG skips the mukhra to continue the development of a particular section beyond a single cycle, it would seem that he is placing particular emphasis on that portion of the alap-style barhat. He skips the mukhra to extend the development of Ga in each register (7:29, 11:38, 17:52, 18:55, 24:03, and 25:04), which places appropriate emphasis on Ga as the *vādi* (the note of primary emphasis) of rāg Pūriyā Kalyān. He also skips the mukhra when he is developing the subtle but important interplay between tīvra Ma and Pa (8:30, 17:52 and 18:55). While Pa is neither the vādi nor the *samvādi* (the note of secondary emphasis) of rāg Pūriyā Kalyān, it is a note requiring special attention due to the fact that it is the note that most differentiates rāg Pūriyā Kalyān from rāg Pūriyā.

The second reduction, **Example 7b**, presents only the major structural notes, while retaining a general indication of the timings and tāl cycles.

Example 7b: Reduction 2 of Pannalal Ghosh's Ālāp-Style Barhat in Rāg Pūriyā Kalyān

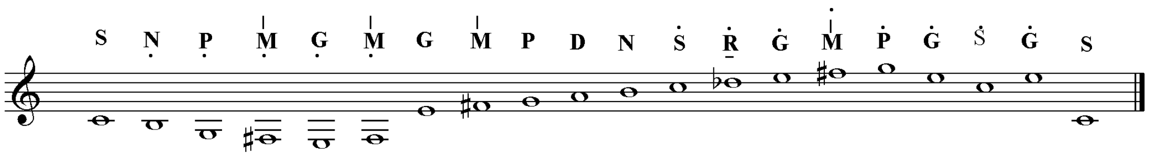
Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Pūriyā Kalyān
Tāl: jhūmrā Source: live concert recording, 1956


Mukhrā 5:23
Mukhrā 6:26
No mukhrā 7:29
No mukhrā
S N N P M G G M
8:30
Mukhrā 9:33
Mukhrā 10:35
No mukhrā 11:38
M M G G
12:41
Mukhrā 13:44
Mukhrā 14:46
Mukhrā 15:47
Mukhrā
G M M M
16:50
No mukhrā 17:52
No mukhrā 18:55
Mukhrā 19:57
Mukhrā
M P P D
20:58
Antarā mukhrā 21:59
Antarā mukhrā 23:00
No mukhrā 24:03
No mukhrā
N S R G R
25:04
Antarā mukhrā 26:05
Antarā mukhrā 27:03
Mukhrā 28:01
Mukhrā 29:01
(On to jor)
G M P G S G S

The final reduction, **Example 7c**, dispenses with all indications of duration to show the succession of notes of emphasis in a single line.

Example 7c: Final Reduction of Pannalal Ghosh's Ālāp-Style Barhat in Rāg Pūriyā Kalyān

Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Pūriyā Kalyān
Tāl: jhūmrā Source: live concert recording, 1956



This last reduction clearly shows that PG first systematically introduces each important note of the rāg successively downward until reaching the third, Ga, just below the tīvra Ma that defines the upper tetrachord of the rāg in the mandra saptak. Once the mandra saptak has been has been sufficiently developed, PG skips up to Ga an octave higher, which is the first note of the rāg above Sa that should receive strong emphasis. After this, the notes reveal a clear systematic ascent through the madhya saptak up to high Sa, and then further upward into the tār saptak to the Pa just above the tīvra Ma that serves as the boundary of the lower tetrachord in the upper register. The final Sa indicated is reached by a relatively rapid descent of a tenth within a single āvartan.

After this initial presentation of note-by-note ālāp development, PG continues to follow a typically dhrupad mode of ālāp development in his emulation of joṛ, or madhya ālāp, which features a rhythmic presentation of the rāg.[5] A comparison of the beginning of PG’s joṛ in Pūriyā Kalyān (**Example 8a**) with the beginning of Z. M. Dagar’s joṛ in Marwa (**Example 8b**) shows a very clear parallel between the two.

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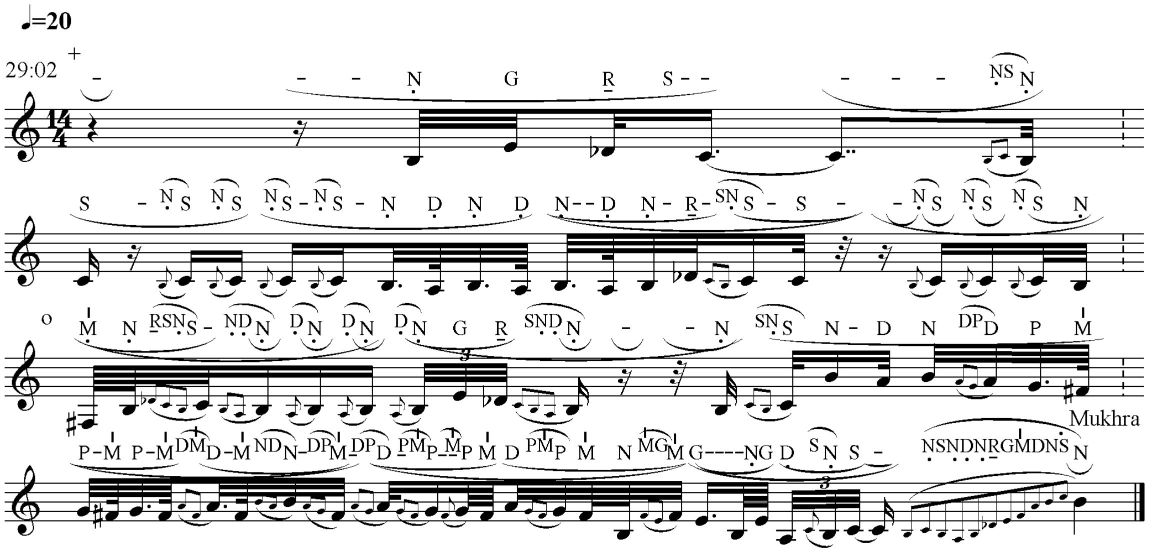
[5] I am using the term joṛ here instead of madhya ālāp, as Nityanand Haldipur, probably the most prominent living exponent of the PG legacy, refers to it as joṛ. While PG's joṛ-style development lacks the strokes of the chikārī strings typical of plucked-string instrumental joṛ, it shares many other characteristics, as discussed below. Also, he seems to have learned the proper presentation of joṛ from Allauddin Khan, who had extensively studied dhrupad bīn-style playing, including joṛ. However, since joṛ, as part of ālāp, is traditionally performed without tāl, I qualify my use of the term when used in tāl as "joṛ -like," "joṛ-derived," or "an emulation of joṛ."

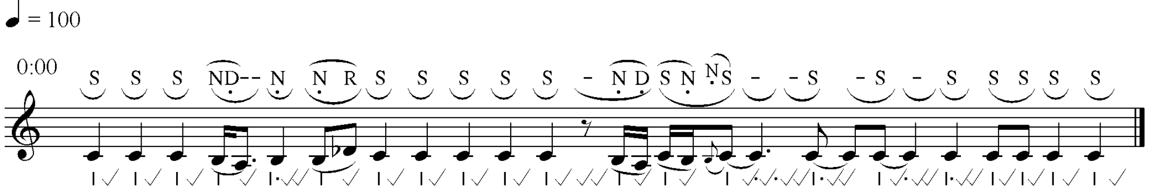
Example 8a: First Āvartan of Joṛ-Derived Development by Pannalal Ghosh

Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Pūriyā Kalyān
Tāl: jhūmrā Source: live concert recording, 1956



Example 8b: Beginning of Z. M. Dagar’s Joṛ in Rāg Mārwā

Performer: Z. M. Dagar Rāg: Mārwā
Source: Raga-222



PG performs his joṛ-derived development over ati vilambit jhūmrā tāl (hence the density of the notation), but the effect is the same as Z. M. Dagar’s joṛ without tāl. PG’s joṛ-derived development essentially begins on the second note of the second line in the transcription above (**Example 8a**). He plays four even statements of Sa, then descends to four even statements of Ni (with Dha functioning as a lower neighbor) before touching komal Re briefly and returning to Sa. Similarly, Z. M. Dagar begins with three even statements of Sa, then descends to Dha (with Ni as an upper neighbor) followed by two statements of Ni before touching komal Re and returning to Sa. This pattern of repeating Sa followed by a brief descent below Sa is a very typical type of introductory phrase in joṛ, and there is little doubt that PG and Z. M. Dagar are deriving their approach from the same basic source in dhrupad.

While melodic development continues to be important in this stage of ālāp, much of the progression that takes place in joṛ is through an increase in rhythmic density. PG draws from a common practice of laykari used in dhrupad, in which the initial pulse is doubled, tripled, quadrupled, or is subject to some other multiplicative transformation. In PG’s joṛ-derived development in rāg Pūriyā Kalyān, he employs three successive rhythmic levels, as shown in **Table 3**.

Table 3: Rhythmic Levels of Pannalal Ghosh's Joṛ-Derived Development in Pūriyā Kalyān

Āvartan	Time	Pulses per beat
1	29:02	4
2	30:01	8
3	30:58	16
4	31:55	16
5	32:49	16
6	33:44	16
7	34:36	16
8	35:26	16
9	36:16	16
10	37:06	16
11	37:56	16
12	38:45	16
13	39:33	12
14	40:20	12
15	41:07	12
16	41:56	12
17	42:44	12 (with gamaks)
18	43:32	12 (with gamaks)
19	44:18	16
20	45:08	32
21	45:57	32
22	46:45	32

In the first āvartan of the tāl, the emphasis is on four pulses per beat. During the second āvartan, the emphasis doubles to eight pulses per beat. From the fourth through twelfth āvartans the initial pulse is quadrupled so that there are sixteen pulses per beat. In āvartans thirteen through eighteen, PG shifts to a triplet feel with twelve pulses per beat. While the change from sixteen to twelve pulses per beat is a decrease in rhythmic density, it is still an increase in intensity due to the breaking from an even division of the beat.

PG returns to one āvartan of sixteen pulses per beat before shifting to thirty-two pulses per beat in cycles 20 through 22. After the twenty-second āvartan, PG goes straight into the chhoṭa khyāl composition without pause.

PG's tendency toward systematic, dhrupad-inspired ālāp development is likely derived from a number of different sources. As discussed in chapter 4, dhrupad had a strong presence in Bengal, where PG lived for the first twenty-nine years of his life. The Vishnupur gharānā[6] of dhrupad was an inspiration to many great Bengalis, including Rabindranath Tagore. One of PG's primary goals was to elevate the status of the bānsurī to that of a respected Hindustani classical instrument. The movement in the early twentieth century to "legitimize" Hindustani classical music placed a high value on music that adhered to some degree to the authority of the Sanskrit texts. As mentioned above, the use of systematic note-by-note development in dhrupad ālāp suggests a link to the *Sangītaratnākara*, and PG would likely have been attracted to this authoritatively traditional approach.

Whatever his motivation, PG is known to have had significant exposure to dhrupad performance, both directly and indirectly. As discussed in Chapter 4, he studied with Girija Shankar Chakravarti, and was very attracted to the playing of the celebrated bīn player Dabir Khan, grandson of Wazir Khan. As a student of Allauddin Khan, PG later had the opportunity to learn directly in the lineage of Wazir Khan. While PG learned a dhrupad approach to ālāp from both a vocalist and an instrumentalist, his ālāp retains a predominantly vocal character. PG seems to have chosen this approach due to the vocal qualities of the bānsurī, as the instrument has a sustain limited only by one's lung capacity and a fluency of mīnḍ nearly equal to that of the voice. When repeating a note multiple times in his ālāp and ālāp-style barhat, PG normally used a vocal-style gamak (embellishment, here usually in the form of an upper or lower neighbor), rather than the bol patterns typically employed by plucked-string instrumentalists. PG could easily have imitated such bol patterns through tonguing, but instead chose to emulate the voice.

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[6] According to http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bishnupur_Gharana (accessed September 13, 2010), in the Vishnupur gharana, "the artist excels in unfolding the beauty of the Raga through the alap. It is simple, devoid of heavy, cumbersome ornamentation. It is free from intricate play with the rhythm."

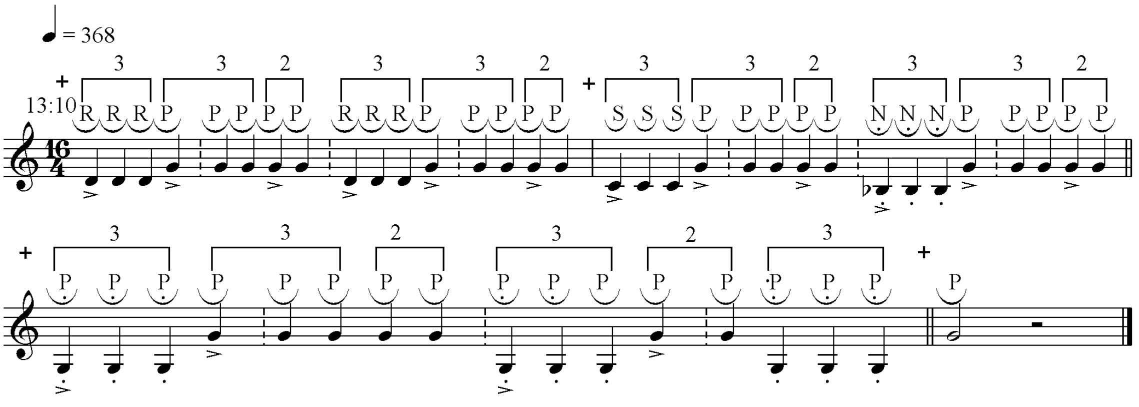
As Haldipur (p.c.) suggests, it also seems that PG's studies with Allauddin Khan focused primarily on dhrupad-style ālāp development. As a student of the great bīn player Wazir Khan, Allauddin Khan had developed a very deep knowledge of dhrupad bīn playing, and had studied dhrupad vocal music as well (Ruckert 1991, 109). PG's nephew Dhruba Ghosh (p.c.) emphasizes that the bīn retained a very vocal quality. He contrasts the restraint imposed by the bīn with the facility of the sitar, and the profundity of sound of the bīn with the thinner sound of the sitar. He suggests that these tendencies tend to make the bīn more introverted and the sitar more extroverted. In technical terms, this suggest that the sitar tends to favor the rhythmic activity derived from bol patterns, whereas the bīn, more closely following a dhrupad vocal model, leans toward a more melismatic approach. In any case, it is clear that PG chose to apply Allauddin Khan's teachings in a distinctly vocal manner (except in some aspects of his joṛ- and jhālā-derived development, which as discussed, borrow from a plucked-string instrument approach).

It should be mentioned, though, that PG was not trying to maintain a pristine dhrupad character in his ālāp-style development. Stephen Slawek (1991, 172) discusses an exclusion principle relating to Ravi Shankar's description of the "fine line between dhrupad and khayāl," noting that "certain embellishments characteristic of khayāl singing are to be avoided in the traditional bīnkār ālāp." This idea can also be extended to vocal dhrupad ālāp, which similarly avoids much of the embellishment characteristic of khyāl. PG is clearly playing in khyāl while incorporating some very traditional aspects of dhrupad.

One further level of development in ālāp, known as *jhālā* in instrumental music and simply drut ālāp in vocal dhrupad, commonly follows joṛ. Ghosh did not generally progress to this level after his joṛ-derived development, but sometimes include a jhālā-like section later in the development of his improvisations in the chhoṭa khyāl section. As Martin Clayton notes, "in instrumental jhālā, melody notes are typically interspersed with strokes on the high drone or punctuating strings (*chikārī*), and in *drut ālāp* in *dhrupad*, melody notes are usually repeated several times each." PG seems to draw from both models in his own jhālā. While he often simply uses repeated notes in his phrases, he sometimes re-attacks a single fixed note as a point of return while interspersing this with more fluid moving lines. Such a pattern is much like the plucked-string instrument model in structure, with the repeated notes functioning like the high drone strings. **Example 9** shows PG's use of a compound line with a descending lower voice alternating with a fixed pitch upper voice, and a rhythmic grouping of 3 + 3 + 2.

Example 9: Pannalal Ghosh's Jhālā-Derived Development, Excerpt 1

Performer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Miyān Malhār
Tāl: ati drut tīntāl Source: live recording, 1956



This rhythmic grouping is suggestive of, though not exclusive to, the bol patterns of sitar and sarod. Slawek (1987, 43) provides a list of permutations and combinations of bols, two of which are reflective of the above 3 + 3 + 2 rhythmic grouping:

dā rā dā dā rā dā dā rā

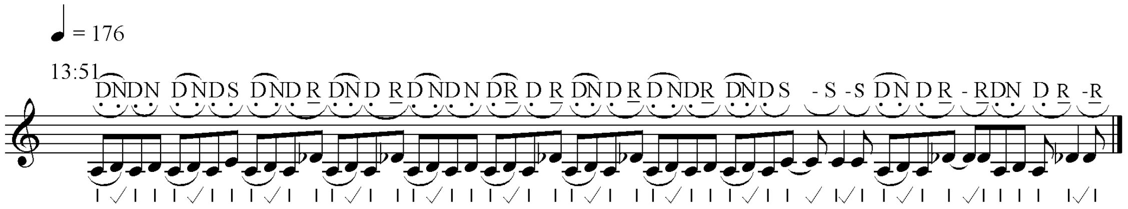
dā rā dā dā rā dā rā dā

PG's tonguing here is suggestive of the use of a plectrum with stringed instruments, though the distinction between upstrokes and downstrokes does not literally apply.

The use of melodic leaps is also somewhat characteristic of an instrumental approach, and can be seen in **Example 10**, an excerpt from Z. M. Dagar's joṛ-jhālā in rāg Mārwā.

Example 10: Melodic Leaps in Z. M. Dagar's Joṛ-Jhālā in Rāg Mārwā

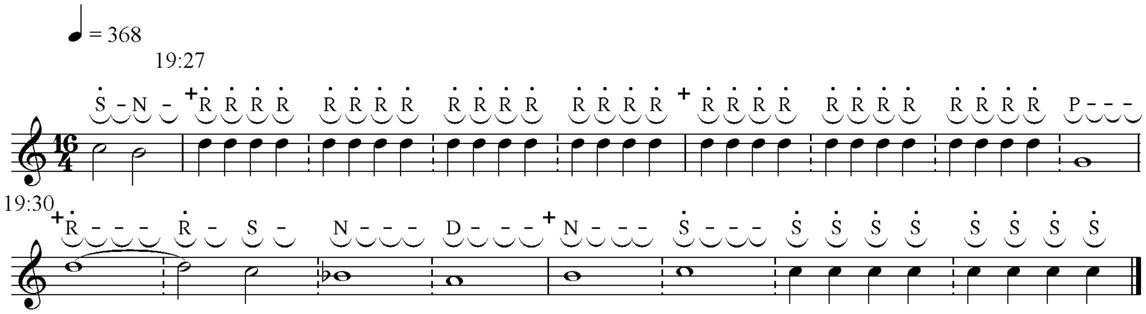
Performer: Z. M. Dagar Rāg: Mārwā
Source: Raga-222


♩= 176
13:51
DNDN DNDS DNDR DND RDNDN DR D R DND R DNDR DNDS -S -S DN D R -RDN D R -R

In a Dagar brothers vocal performance of rāg Miyān Malhār the melodic motion in their joṛ-jhālā is almost entirely stepwise according to the rāg. **Example 11** shows PG's use of re-attacked fixed notes alternating with more fluid moving lines.

Example 11: Pannalal Ghosh Jhālā-Derived Development, excerpt 2

Performer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Miyān Malhār
Tāl: ati drut tīntāl Source: live recording, 1956


♩= 368
19:27
S - N - + R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R + R R R R R R R R R R R R P - - -
19:30
+ R - - - R - S - N - - - D - - - + N - - - S - - - S S S S S S S S

This seems to be primarily derived from an instrumental model. Having studied both the vocal and bīn approaches to dhrupad, Ghosh presumably sought to fully capitalize on the potential of the bānsurī by incorporating the best of both worlds.

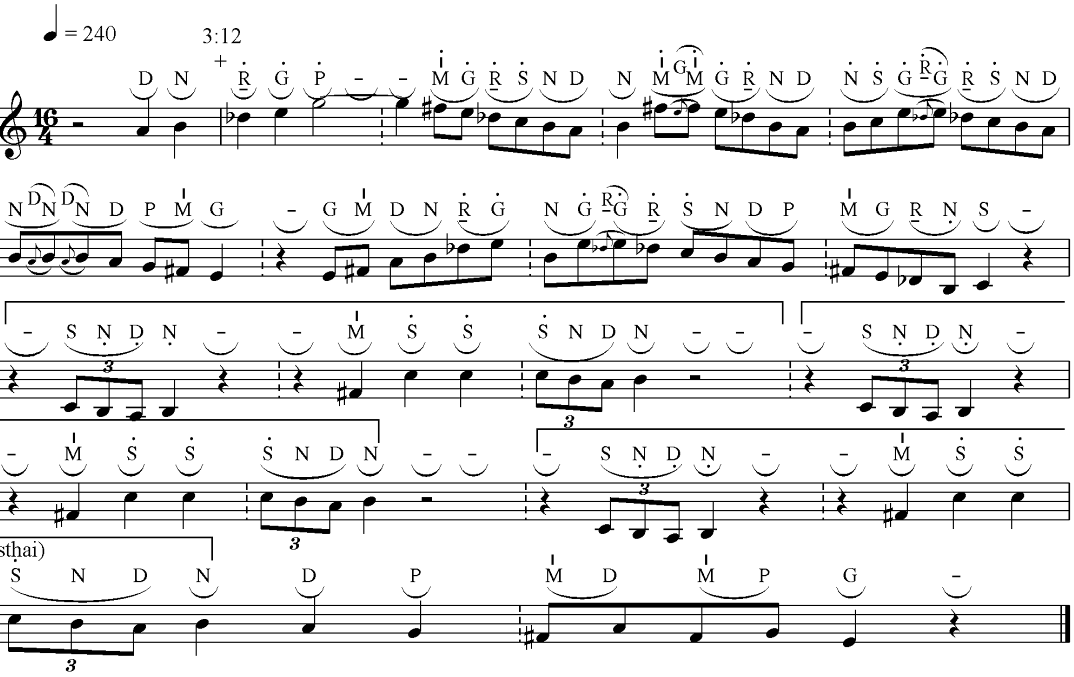
Tāns

Apart from ālāp, another important improvisational aspect of PG's performances is his use of *tāns*, which are essentially improvised runs that are interspersed between statements of a portion of the sthāī section of the chhoṭa khyāl composition. They tend to be the most virtuosic element of a khyāl performance. In order to take best advantage of his technical capabilities on the bānsurī, Ghosh again appears to have drawn from a diversity of stylistic models. When he first begins playing tāns, it is often in the form of vistar, or freely phrased elaboration of the rāg. The fluidity of his approach here, plus his extensive use of mīnḍ is predominantly vocal in character. His use of gamaks rather than re-attacking notes is also more closely aligned with vocal music.

The aspect of his tāns that is perhaps most suggestive of a plucked-string instrument derivation is his use of laykari. PG often employs a form of laykari known as *tihāi*, which Clayton (2000, 169) defines as "a rhythmic phrase played a total of three times, constructed so as to end on or just before a structurally important point in the *tāl* cycle (usually on *sam* or just before the *mukhra*)." In **Example 12**, PG begins a tihāi from the beginning of the second āvartan in the third line.

Example 12: Tān 1 in Rāg Pūriyā Kalyān by Pannalal Ghosh

Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Pūriyā Kalyān
Tāl: ati drut tīntāl Source: live recording, 1956

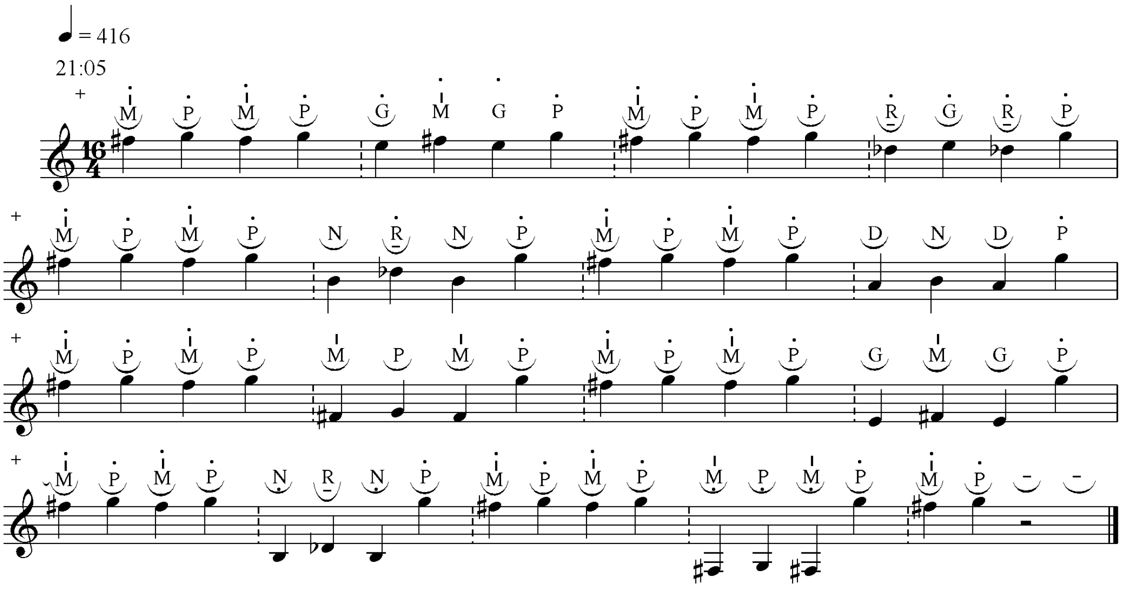


This is a reasonably elaborate tihāi, as each unit of the tihāi is twelve beats long, displacing itself within the tāl by four beats each āvartan, and ending with the ninth beat of the tihāi unit coinciding with the first phrase of the composition. Tihāis in general are far more typical of plucked-string instrumental khyāl than of vocal khyāl, and a tān of this length and intricacy suggests a particularly strong orientation toward the approach typical of sitar and sarod.

Ghosh also exploits the strengths of the bānsurī in his tāns by employing wide melodic leaps and very fast runs covering a broad melodic range. As discussed earlier, leaps are somewhat characteristic of plucked-string instrument composition and performance. The extreme leaps up to two octaves and a minor second shown in **Examples 13**, however, are particularly idiomatic for the bānsurī.

Example 13: Tān 2 in Rāg Pūriyā Kalyān by Pannalal Ghosh

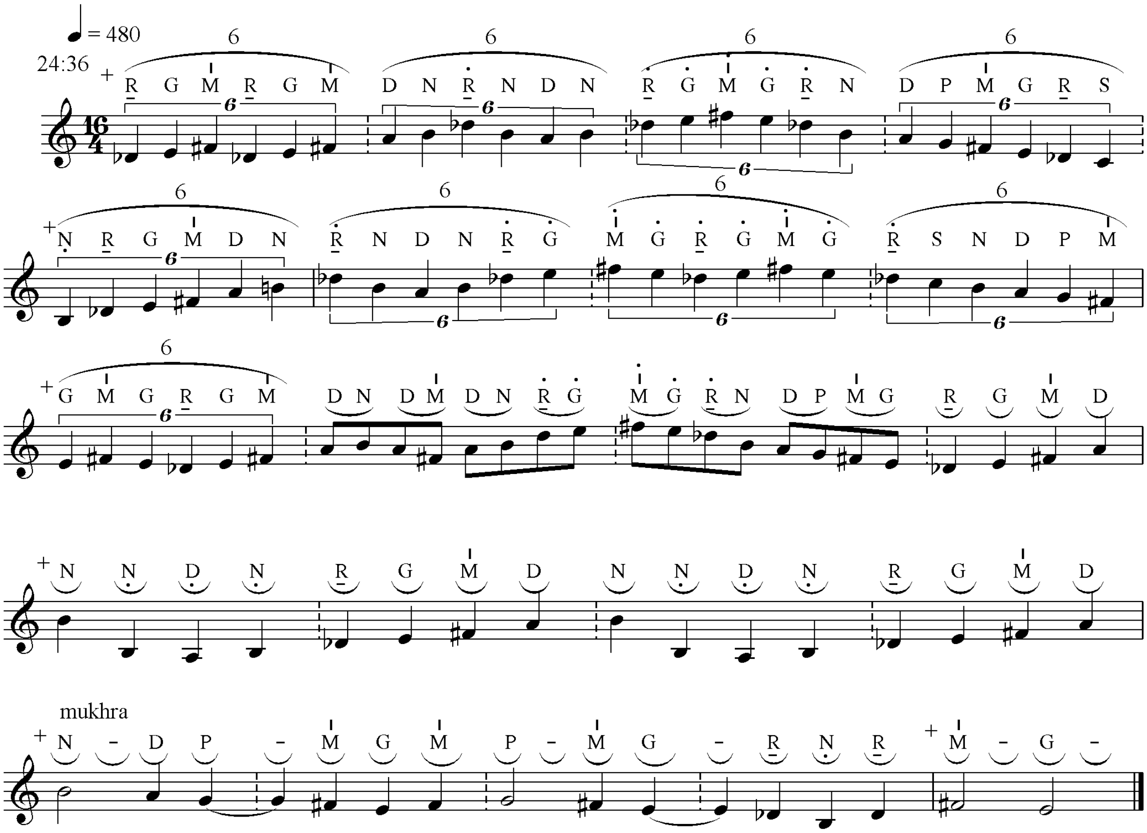
Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Pūriyā Kalyān
Tāl: ati drut tīntāl Source: live recording, 1956


= 416
21:05
+
M P M P G M G P M P M P R G R P
+
M P M P N R N P M P M P D N D P
+
M P M P M P M P M P M P G M G P
+
M P M P N R N P M P M P M P M P M P

Another distinct advantage of the bānsurī is the ability to play extremely fast melodic runs. While vocalists and string instrument players can potentially execute such high-speed tāns, Ghosh incorporates such runs as an integral part of his style to an extent not typically employed by other instrumentalists and vocalists. In **Example 14**, Ghosh plays sextuplets and eighth notes at a tempo of approximately 480 beats per minute. He also concludes this tān with a tihāi intersecting with the beginning of the compostion.

Example 14: Tān 3 in Rāg Pūriyā Kalyān by Pannalal Ghosh

Composer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Pūriyā Kalyān
Tāl: ati drut tīntāl Source: live recording, 1956


= 480
24:36
6
+ R G M R G M
D N R N D N
R G M G R N
D P M G R S
+ N R G M D N
R N D N R G
M G R G M G
R S N D P M
+ G M G R G M
D N D M D N R G
M G R N D P M G
R G M D
+ N N D N
R G M D
N N D N
R G M D
mukhra
+ N - D P
- M G M
P - M G
- R N R
+ M - G -

Other Classical and Light-Classical Genres Performed by Ghosh

While PG dedicated the vast majority of his performance time to the Kirana-derived barā khyāl-chhoṭa khyāl format discussed above, some discussion is warranted of the other genres that he performed. As seen in **Table 1**, these include shorter khyāl performances in ektāl, jhaptāl, and tīntāl, mostly in madhya lay; ṭhumrī; and folk songs including *bhātiāli dhun* and kajrī. Due partly to the brevity of almost all of these performances (mostly under ten minutes), they do not show the same diversity or dimensions as the

Kirana-derived barā khyāl-chhoṭa khyāl model discussed above. For the most part, each remains grounded in the genre from which it is derived, though blending of vocal and plucked-string instrument approaches is sometimes evident.

Miscellaneous Khyal Formats

As shown in **Table 1** and **Table 4**, there are nine available recordings of PG's performance of khyāl formats other than the Kirana-derived barā khyāl-chhoṭa khyāl model. Most are a little longer than three minutes, one is six minutes and fourteen seconds, one is six minutes and thirty-five seconds, one is sixteen minutes and twenty-three seconds, and one is thirty-six minutes and thirty-eight seconds.

Table 4: Miscellaneous Khyāl Recordings by Ghosh

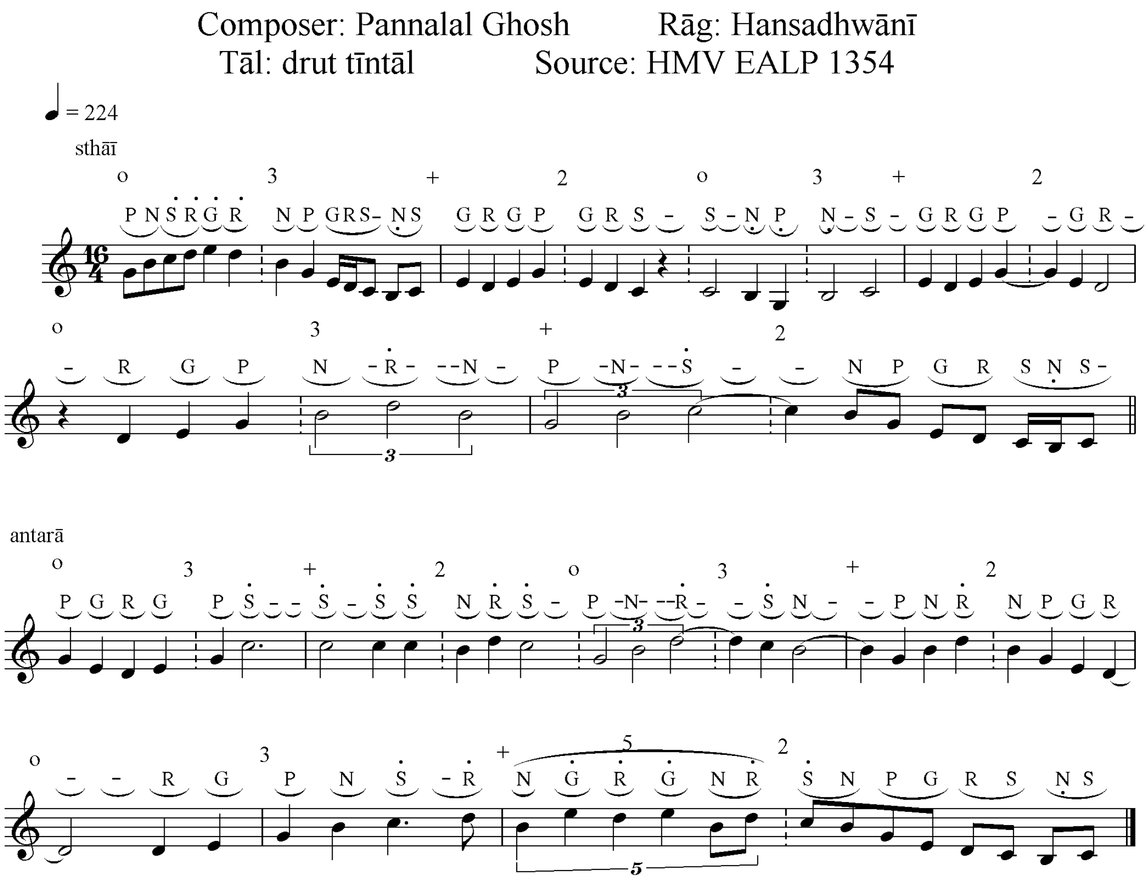
Genre	Rāg	Ālāp	Tāl 1	Tāl 2
Khyāl (drut only)	Basant (16:23) (radio broadcast?)	0:20	Drut ektāl (16:03)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Basant Mukhārī (3:14) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:40	Madhya lay jhaptāl (2:34)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Bhupāl Todī (3:13) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:29	Madhya lay tīntāl (2:44)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Brindāvanī Sārang (6:14) (HMV 7EPE 1240)	0:46	Drut tīntāl (5:28)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Chāndramoulī (6:23) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:32	Madhya lay jhaptāl (2:49)	Drut tīntāl (3:02)
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Hansa Narāyanī (3:19) (HMV EALP 1354)	1:06	Madhya lay tīntāl (2:13)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Hansadhwānī (3:11) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:20	Madhya lay tīntāl (2:51)	
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Kedār (36:38) (Live recording, 1956)	0:38	Madhya lay tīntāl (17:40)	Drut tīntāl (18:20)
Khyāl (madhya lay)	Shuddh Bhairavī (6:35) (HMV 7EPE 1240)	1:26	Madhya lay jhaptāl (5:08)	

While the brevity of most of these performances is presumably partially due to the restrictions imposed by the recording medium, in live performance such pieces would probably have functioned as shorter pieces supplementing a full-length barā khyāl-chhoṭa-khyāl performance. The rāgs used are mostly somewhat lighter in character, requiring less depth of development than more serious rāgs. Only two of the longer performances, Chandramauli and Kedār, feature more than one tāl, and in both cases the second tāl is drut Tīntāl. The introductory auchar ālāps are almost all less than one minute long. Generally speaking, each of these performances features vistar over the tāl, with a broad sense of registral rāg development, but none exhibits the kind of systematic note-by-note ālāp-style development described above in Pūriyā Kalyān. The longest performance, Kedār, does feature fairly extensive phrase-by-phrase development, though not to the degree seen in PG's ati vilambit barā khyāl performances. The more minimal rāg development is not surprising, given the faster tempos, shorter rhythmic cycles, and brevity of the performances. After the vistar, PG generally employs tāns played in time, which increase in rhythmic density and complexity over the course of the performance. Brindāvani sārang features a kind of jhālā similar in character to the jhālā in Miyan Malhar described above, though not as extensive. Otherwise, none of the performances in this category makes use of joṛ- and jhālā-derived development.

Most of the compositions seem to be traditional vocal bandishes with a melismatic character and few repeated notes. Two of the performances, Hansadwani and Chandramauli, feature compositions by PG. The Hansadwani composition, shown in **Example 15**, is well-suited for bānsurī, with its quick, light movements and wide range.

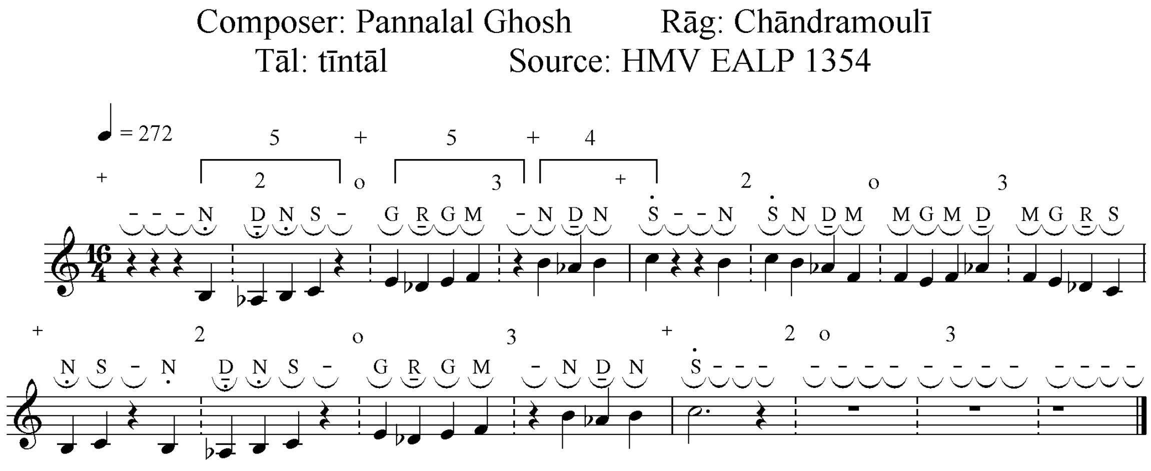
Generally speaking, though, it is fairly vocal in character and does not clearly exhibit features characteristic of plucked-string instruments.

Example 15: Drut Tīntāl Bandish in Rāg Hansadhwānī by Pannalal Ghosh


Composer: Pannalal Ghosh
Rāg: Hansadhwānī
Tāl: drut tīntāl
Source: HMV EALP 1354
= 224
sthāī
o 3 + 2 o 3 + 2
P N S R G R N P G R S - N S G R G P G R S - S - N P N - S - G R G P - G R -
o 3 + 2
- R G P N - R - - - N - P -N- - - S - - N P G R S N S -
antarā
o 3 + 2 o 3 + 2
P G R G P S - - S - S S N R S - P -N- - -R - - S N - - P N R N P G R
o 3 + 2
- - R G P N S - R N G R G N R S N P G R S N S

The composition in rāg Chandramoulī (Example 16), on the other hand, is similar in character to the chhoṭa khyāl compositions described above. Rāg Chandramoulī is a creation of PG, and this composition shows many of the characteristics typical of PG's style.

Example 16: Drut Tīntāl Bandish in Rāg Chandramoulī by Pannalal Ghosh


Composer: Pannalal Ghosh
Rāg: Chāndramoulī
Tāl: tīntāl
Source: HMV EALP 1354
♩ = 272
5 + 5 + 4
+ 2 o 3 + 2 o 3
– – – N D N S – G R G M – N D N S – – N S N D M M G M D M G R S
+ 2 o 3 + 2 o 3
N S – N D N S – G R G M – N D N S – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

As with the rāg Yaman composition, PG again begins with a cross-rhythmic phrase and an intervallically-shifting pattern. The laykari pattern is different from his rāg Yaman composition, though, and can be thought of as a rhythmic tihāi (though not a melodic one) ending at the beginning of the second āvartan of the tāl. This rhythmic pattern begins on the fourth beat of the first āvartan with a five-beat phrase that repeats two more times such that the fourth beat of the final portion of the pattern lands on the first beat of the second āvartan. As discussed above, such tihāis and other forms of laykari so far discussed are typical of stringed-instrument compositions. Again, though, PG retains a vocal character by using a melodically active pattern and mostly avoiding bols and repeated notes.

Ṭhumrī

The fact that ṭhumrī was a significant part of PG's light-classical repertoire is a further indication of the importance of vocal music in his playing. While a form of instrumental ṭhumrī was developed in the nineteenth century, Manuel (1983, x) describes ṭhumrī as "originally and archetypically a vocal form." By PG's time, bol banao ṭhumrī had become the dominant form of the genre, and PG was trained in this variety of ṭhumrī by the celebrated vocalist Girija Shankar Chakravarti (also an exponent of dhrupad as mentioned previously). Manuel (1989, 85) states that Chakravarti was an early seminal figure in Bengal "who was largely responsible for popularizing and refining the ṭhumrī tradition of Mauzuddin and his own teacher, Bhaya Saheb Ganpat Rao in Bengal." Thus, PG was learning bol banao ṭhumrī from one of the more important sources at a time when the genre was beginning to gain wide acceptance. Of course, PG was also learning ṭhumrī by listening to concerts, radio, and recordings. Kirana vocalist Abdul Karim Khan, who has been shown above to have been one PG's most important khyāl models, also "popularized a distinctive approach to ṭhumrī singing that was widely imitated" (Manuel 1983, 167).

Manuel (1989, 110) describes the structure of bol banao ṭhumrī as beginning with a very brief unaccompanied ālāp leading up to the mukhra, after which the tabla enters with the tāl. At this point, the sthāī of the composition is performed, followed by bol banao passages featuring improvisation over the text that develop from the low register to the high register. The mukhra is interspersed every few cycles. Upon reaching the upper register, the antara is performed, followed by either more elaboration, or *laggī*. Laggī is characterized by virtuosic improvisation by the tabla player in fast tīntāl or kaharwā, while the vocalist sings variations on the sthāī known as *tek*, which may include or be replaced by bol banao. At the end of the laggī section, the tabla player executes a tihāi, and the performance either comes to a close, continues for one further cycle, or occasionally, features further bol banao and laggī sections.

While he could not literally reproduce the words of the songs, his approach to ṭhumrī otherwise largely conforms to the non-verbal characteristics of bol banao ṭhumrī. Because of the inability to execute the words, and therefore the word-play of bol banao ṭhumrī, instrumental ṭhumrī emphasizes the "abstract musical elements incidental to but not including *bol banāo*" (Manuel 1989, 160). Manuel's list of important non-verbal characteristics commonly emulated in instrumental ṭhumrī includes "characteristic rāgs, tālas, ornaments, composition-types, 'syllabic'-style articulation, and the stressing of free melodic improvisation rather than meticulously correct rendition of *raga*." The available ṭhumrī recordings by PG (as shown in **Table 1** and **Table 5**) feature the rāgs Bhairavi, Kāfi, Pilu, Khamāj, and Pahādi; and the tāls dadra, dipchandi, addha tāl, and kaharwā, all of which are very much characteristic of vocal bol banao ṭhumrī. His performance of Mishra Pilu also includes a short segment in tīntāl, which, while not usually heard in bol banao ṭhumrī, was commonly used in bandish ṭhumrī, and was common in ṭhumrī-style renditions of such rāgs on sitar, sarod, and other instruments. PG's ornamentation, choice of composition-types, articulation, and flexibility with the rāg are also reflective of the genre.

Table 5: Other Ṭhumrī Recordings by Ghosh

Genre	Rāg	Ālāp	Tāl 1	Tāl 2
Ṭhumrī	Bhairavī Ṭhumrī (6:31) (HMV EALP 1367)	0:18	Dādrā (6:13), laggī to end	
Ṭhumrī	Kāfī Dādrā (3:24) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:09	Dādrā (3:15), laggī to end	
Ṭhumrī	Mishra Pilū (29:10) (radio broadcast?)	1:06	Dīpchāndī (16 matra) (19:06)	Madhya lay Tīntāl (2:24)
				Kaharwā (6:34) tempo incr at 24:32, 27:15. laggī from 25:57?
Ṭhumrī	Pilū (14:17) (radio broadcast?)	1:20	Addha tāl (11:20)	Kaharwā (1:37), laggī?
Ṭhumrī	Ṭhumrī Bhairavi (9:08) (radio broadcast?)	0:28	Dādrā (6:52) laggī (0:50), return to dādrā (0:58)	
Ṭhumrī	Ṭhumrī Khamāj (3:23) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:08	Dīpchāndī (16 matra) (2:40)	Kaharwā (0:35) as laggī
Ṭhumrī	Ṭhumrī Pilū (3:28) (HMV EALP 1367)	0:06	Dīpchāndī (16 matra) (2:27)	Kaharwā (0:55) as laggī
Ṭhumrī	Pahādi (10:02+) (Live recording, 1956)	?	Kaharwā (10:02+) (no laggī)	

While bandish ṭhumrī had been an important inspiration for instrumentalists since the nineteenth century, PG seems to have been one of the earlier exponents of twentieth-century performance of instrumental bol banao ṭhumrī. Manuel (1989, 191) notes that Vilayat Khan (1928-2004) played a particularly important role in popularizing the use of ṭhumrī in instrumental music. However, born seventeen years before Vilayat Khan, PG was already established as a performer and well-versed in ṭhumrī by the time the sitarist had achieved national recognition in 1944. Once again, PG can be seen to have been at the forefront of another important development in twentieth-century Hindustani classical music. And much as in PG's khyāl performances, the highly vocal characteristics of the bānsurī allowed him to emulate the lyrical fluidity of bol banao ṭhumrī to a degree not possible on plucked-string instruments. As will be discussed later, only the shahnāī and the sārangī had the potential to emulate the voice to the degree possible on the bānsurī.

Folk tunes

The last genre in PG's repertoire to be discussed here is the performance of stylized renditions of folk tunes. This is by far the smallest portion of his recorded output, as only three known recordings exist: two recordings of the same bhātiāli, one of a kajrī (see **Table 1** and **Table 6**). One recording of the bhātiāli is just over nine minutes, the other is six minutes and thirty seconds, and the kajrī performance is three minutes and twenty-six seconds. Kaharwā tāl is used for each of the performances.

Table 6: Folk Recordings by Ghosh

Genre	Rāg	Ālāp	Tāl
Folk	Bhātiāli 1 (6:30) (HMV 7EPE 1233)	0:15	Kaharwā (6:15) (no laggī)
Folk	Bhātiāli 2 (9:02) (radio broadcast?)	0:15	Kaharwā (8:47) (no laggī)
Folk	Kajrī (3:36) (HMV EALP 1354)	0:06	Kaharwā (3:08) - Laggīs at (2:00-17) and (3:08-27)

PG's performance of this kajrī is stylistically very similar to his ṭhumrī performances, in that it starts with a short ālāp, continues with a composition in Kaharwā tāl, proceeds to a kind of instrumental version of bol banao, and features laggī. Such a correspondence is to be expected, as Manuel (1989, 77) states that "Benares musicians were strongly influenced by local folk music, in particular, the rich tradition of seasonal *kajris*, *caitis*, and the like. As a result, the early Benares ṭhumrī incorporated a number of important features of regional folk music, which further distinguished it from the Lucknow ṭhumrī." As such, performance of a kajrī in the manner of ṭhumrī is a kind of acknowledgement of the roots of bol banao ṭhumrī. The use of kaharwā tāl and laggī in his kajrī performance is also quite natural, as Manuel (1989, 78) asserts that these features of bol banao ṭhumrī are also derived from their use in North Indian folk music. Unlike most of his ṭhumrī performances, though, PG keeps to the basic rāg structure (perhaps more properly called a scale due to its simplicity), which is essentially a major scale usually omitting Dha on the ascent and sometimes omitting Re in certain phrases. While there is a certain amount of freedom in the ordering of notes, there is none of the chromatic alteration typical of ṭhumrī. Even in such a simple, folk-derived ṭhumrī rāg as Pahādī, PG can be heard to introduce notes outside of the standard scale. It is perhaps this simplicity of melodic content that most distinguishes PG's folk performances from his ṭhumrī performances.

Henry and Marcus (2000, 670) mention that kajrī, a type of folk song associated with the rainy season and largely sung by women, is often performed during celebrations of Lord Krishna's birthday, among other occasions. Manuel (1989, 77) also observes that a number of important ṭhumrī musicians divided their time between Benares and Calcutta, including Giraja Shankar Chakravarti's teacher Bhaya Saheb Ganpat Rao. Thus, Calcutta-based musicians interested in ṭhumrī such as PG (who, as mentioned above, studied with Chakravarti) were likely to have a particular affinity for such Uttar Pradesh varieties of folk song as kajrī. Henry and Marcus (2000, 670) mention that other classical and ṭhumrī musicians have taken to performing kajrī, particularly those with roots in eastern Uttar Pradesh or western Bihar. These include ṭhumrī singers Girija Devi and Siddeshwari Devi, as well as shahnāī player Bismillah Khan. As with so many of his contributions, though, PG seems to have been at the vanguard of kajrī performance in the context of Hindustani classical performance.

While PG had some affinity for kajrī, bhātiāli was a folk form that was even more connected to his origins. According to Karunamaya Goswami,[7] "*bhātiāli* are boatmen's songs, sung by people in the low-lying river regions of West Bengal and Bangladesh." This is precisely the area in which PG grew up, and as discussed earlier, the river was an important part of his childhood. Traditionally, bhātiāli had a loose melodic structure derived primarily from Bilāwal ṭhāṭ (the Western major scale), and did not use instrumental accompaniment,[8] so there is not a standard tāl associated with the genre. While PG chose to use kaharwā tāl to accompany his bhātiāli renditions, Ronu Majumdar later used dādrā to accompany his own rendition.[9] Goswami describes the character of these songs as consisting of "long melodic phrases that move from a middle register, via clusters of pitches, to a high concluding pitch." While the bhātiāli performed by PG (shown in **Example 17** stripped of embellishments) features long phrases and a movement from middle register to a higher register, the highest pitch is not the concluding note, and the melody descends back down to the initial phrase of the song. This bhātiāli might better be described as being in a slightly modified sthāī-antara format with an ambitus of one octave from low Sa to high Sa. The main divergence from a sthāī-antara structure is the inclusion of a short third section that serves primarily as a loose structure on which to base improvisations. After the bol banao-like improvisations on this section, the melody descends back to the first antara-like section.

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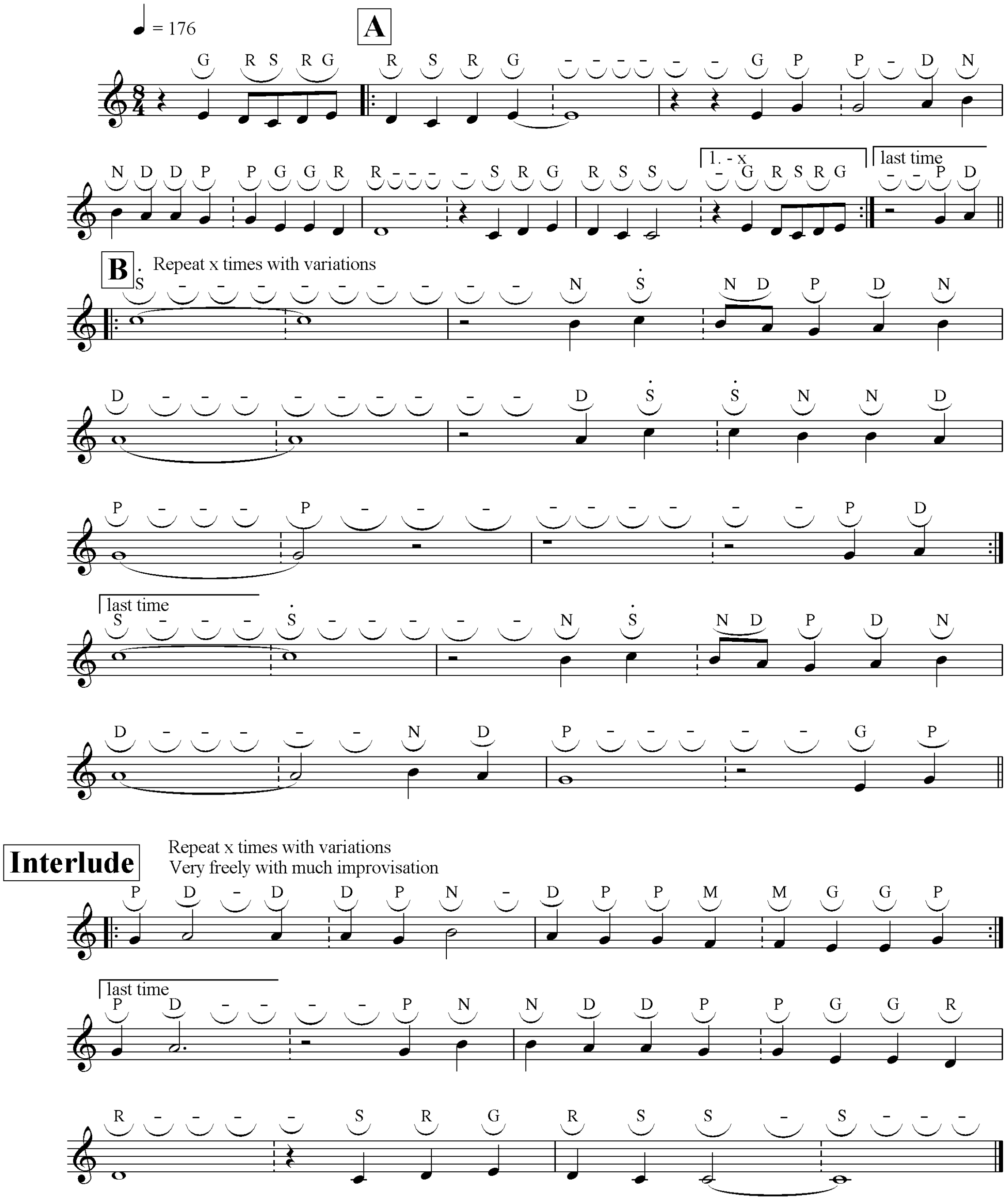
[7] Karuṇāmaya Goswamī. "Bengali music." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01953 (accessed August 11, 2010).
[8] See S. Sowmya's article at http://www.carnatica.net/bengalmusic.htm (accessed August 11, 2010).
[9] See, for example, Ronu Majumdar's rendition of bhatiali on IAM 1053.

Example 17: Bhātiāli Dhun Performed by Pannalal Ghosh

Performer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: folk tune, Bilāwal ṭhāṭh
Tāl: kaharwā Source HMV 7EPE 1233233


♩ = 176
A
G R S R G R S R G - - - - - - G P P - D N
N D D P P G G R R - - - - S R G R S S
1. - x
- G R S R G
last time
- - P D
B
Repeat x times with variations
Ṡ - - - - - - - - - - N Ṡ N D P D N
D - - - - - - - - - D Ṡ Ṡ N N D
P - - - P - - - - - - - - - P D
last time
S - - - Ṡ - - - - - N Ṡ N D P D N
D - - - - - N D P - - - - - G P
Interlude
Repeat x times with variations
Very freely with much improvisation
P D - D D P N - D P P M M G G P
last time
P D - - - - P N N D D P P G G R
R - - - - - S R G R S S - S - - -

The two bhātiāli recordings by PG are very similar, featuring the same melody and essentially the same structure. **Table 7** shows the structure of the studio version. It consists of three full statements of the long three-part melody, in which the melody is highly embellished throughout. As indicated in **Example 17**, the first sthāī-like part of the melody is labeled **A**, the second antara-like section is labeled **B**, and the third shorter melody is labeled **Interlude**. The first and last statements of the melody do not deviate widely from the standard melody, though the first **B** sections feature progessively higher improvisations, and the **Interlude** is largely improvised with returns to the initial phrase. The second statement of the melody features extensive improvisations using the melody as a basis. Each of the three sections maintains a character of an upwardly expanding ambitus culminating near the end to the **B** section, with the highest note of the performance near the end of the last **B** section. A laggī-like section, in which there is a double-time feel on the tabla, begins at **B** of the second statement of the melody.

The primary differences between PG's bhātiāli performance and his ṭhumrī performance are: (1) the structure of the melody, which is in three parts rather than the usual two of ṭhumrī compositions (2) the use of a tāl which is essentially a variant of kaharwā, but lacks the penultimate "dhin" stroke, and includes the use of hand cymbals (*jhānjh*) to mark the time, (3) the tabla maintains a relatively simple feel without tihāis or other classically-oriented elaborations, and (4) the melody and improvisations remain within a major scale without chromatic alterations. Otherwise his bhātiāli resembles his ṭhumrī performances in the manner of melodic embellishment and improvisation, as well as the use of laggī.

Table 7: Structure of Pannalal Ghosh Bhātiāli Performance

1	Ālāp
	A: 3 times
	B: 4 times with improvisations (2nd time up to high Re, 3rd time high Ga, 4th time high Sa)
	Interlude: freely improvised with returns to first phrase of Interlude, highest note high Ga
	Descent back to A
	A: 1 time
2	A as basis of improvisations, within ambitus of melody
	B as basis of improvisations, high Ma highest note (laggī-like feel begins)
	Interlude as basis of improvisations, high Ma highest note
	Descent back to A
	A: 1 time
3	A: 1 time
	B: 3 times, 2nd time mostly improvised with highest note high Pa with upper neighbor Dha
	Interlude: freely improvised with returns to first phrase of Interlude, highest note high Ga
	Descent back to A
	A: 1 time

Stylistic Aspects of Pannalal Ghosh's Seven-Hole Flute

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 4, one of PG's major contributions to Hindustani classical bānsurī playing was his redesign of the bānsurī itself. Three aspects of his bānsurī design are particularly relevant to his style. First, the increased size of his bānsurī allowed for a lower pitch and deeper, richer tone necessary for executing more serious rāgs, especially in dhrupad-style ālāp development. Second, his design allowed for a three-octave range, from Ga in the mandra saptak up to Ga two octaves and a third above low Sa. Few other bānsurī players achieved the combination of flute design and technical skill to play comfortably over such a broad range. Hariprasad Chaurasia, the best-known bānsurī performer today, generally limits himself to a range of two octaves, from Pa in the lower register to Pa in the upper register. Third, PG's addition of a seventh hole provided him with the advantages discussed in Chapter 1: it extended the range by a half step; it facilitated his execution of various embellishments around Pa that could not be comfortably executed on a six-hole flute; and it provided an alternate fingering for tīvra Ma, enabling him to connect Pa to the notes above and below it through the use of mīṇḍ.

To illustrate the effect of the seventh hole on PG's performance style, I have provided transcriptions of auchar ālāp in rāg Yaman by PG (**Example 18a**) and by Hariprasad Chaurasia (**Example 18b**). The first item of note is the extension of PG's range in the mandra saptak. It can be seen that the seventh hole enables a more thorough exploration of this register, allowing PG to play down to Ga in the mandra saptak by fingering Ma and rolling in his embouchure to lower the pitch by a whole step. The ability to play mandra saptak Ga is significant here, as it is the vadi, or note of greatest emphasis, of rāg Yaman. Chaurasia, on the other hand, chose to only play as low as Dha in the mandra saptak. In theory, Chaurasia could bend his lowest note, Pa, down a whole step to *shuddh* Ma (the natural fourth degree). However, as this note is not available in rāg Yaman, it is not an option for Chaurasia. The fact that Chaurasia plays no lower than Dha below Sa is most likely explained by the fact that the motion of rāg Yaman, while allowing the note Pa, requires Dha to be approached from tīvra Ma below. He could theoretically have rolled in his embouchure to reach tīvra Ma as an approach to Dha, but probably chose to avoid a weak-sounding note in the execution of such an important phrase in the rāg.

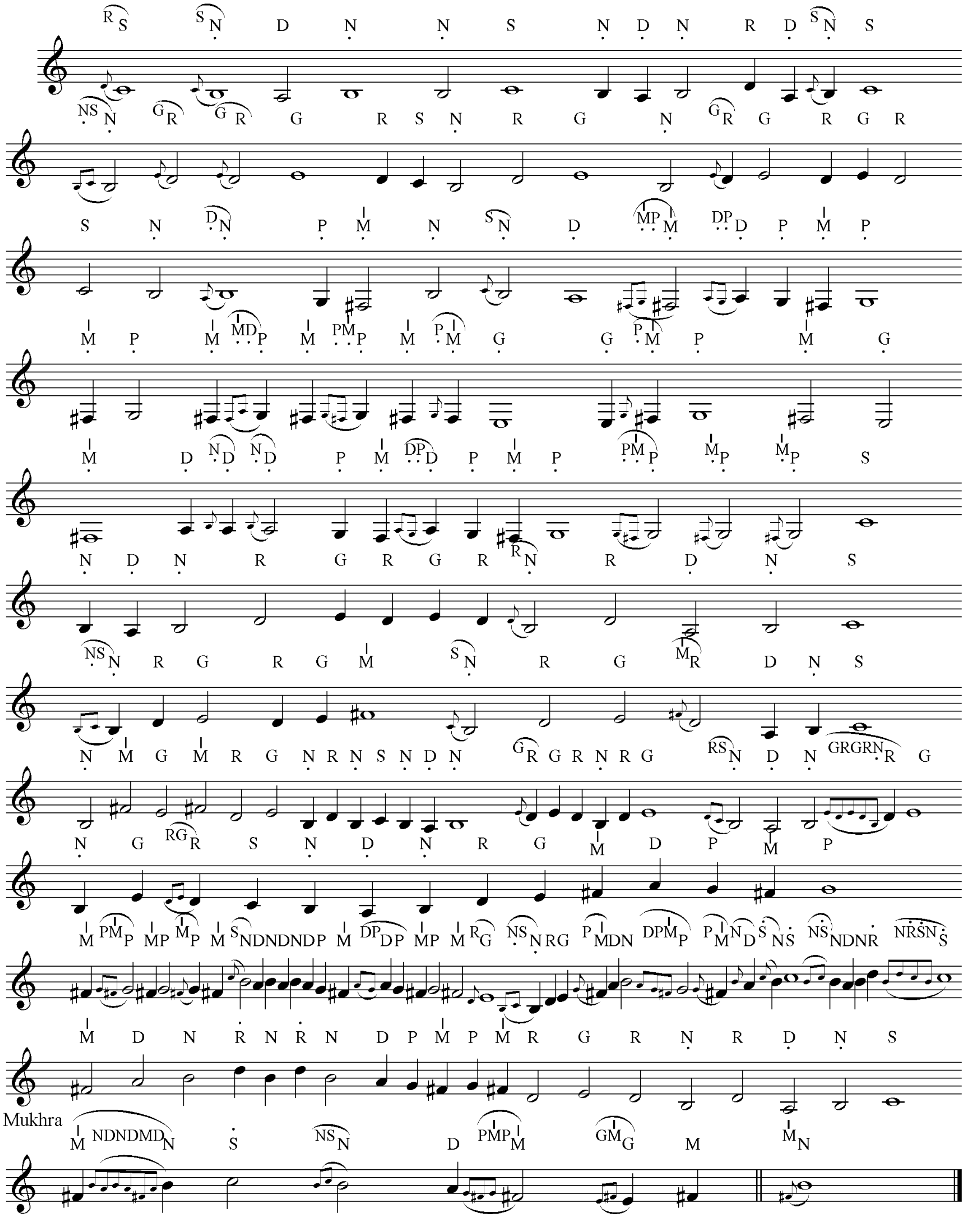
The second advantage mentioned above is the facilitation of embellishments around Pa. Generally speaking, PG's performance is more highly embellished here, with multiple note embellishments on all seven notes (Sa, Re, Ga, tīvra Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni) of rāg Yaman. His ability to embellish such an important structural point as Pa is significant in this context. Examples of PG's use of the seventh hole to embellish Pa can be seen in lines 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, and 13.

The third advantage mentioned, the ability to connect Ma to the notes above it through mīnḍ, can be seen most conspicuously at the very end of the transcription. While the ālāp by Chaurasia is too short to make broad generalizations, it is significant that he completely avoids any embellishment of Pa here. He is certainly capable of embellishing Pa in various ways, and does so in other contexts. Most likely due to the break on the flute below Pa, though, he tends to avoid this type of rapid muṛkī (turn) embellishment around Pa.

Thus it can be seen that PG seems to have designed his bānsurī with the intention of maximizing the potential of his instrument. The end result was that the instrument itself imposed on him very few technical limitations. As Parul Ghosh (2000, 14) emphasizes, PG's goal was to be able to emulate on the bānsurī anything that could be produced by the voice. She quotes him as saying: "If I can't play, it's my own incompetence, not the fault of the instrument" (2000, 17). While it took a great deal of hard work for him to realize the full potential of his bānsurī, he ultimately succeeded in bringing out virtually everything from the instrument that was required for him to realize his playing style.

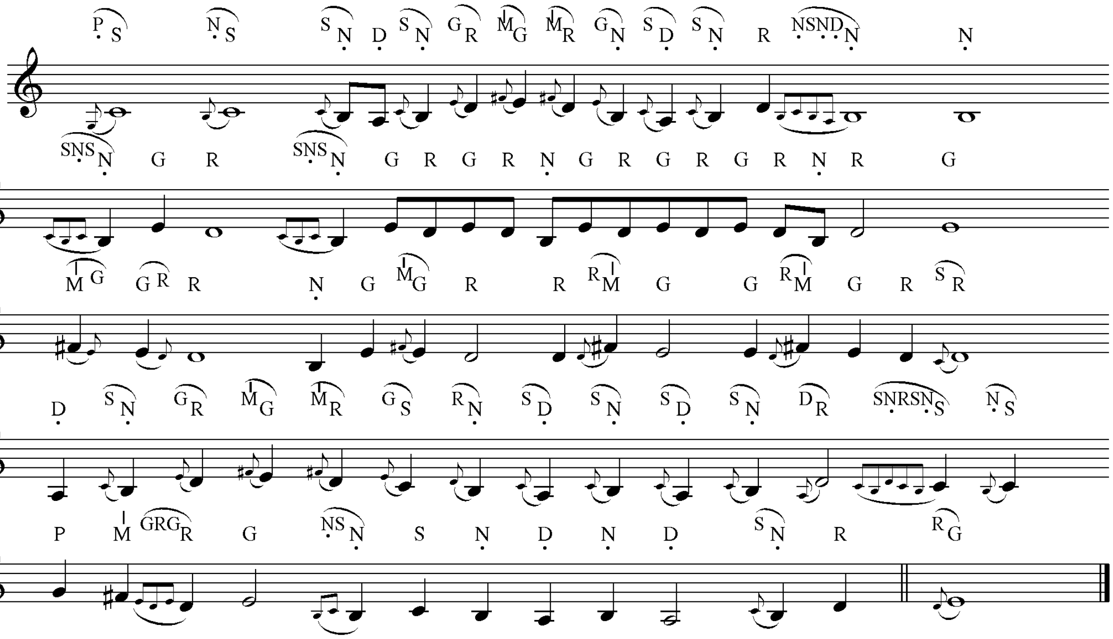
Example 18a: Auchar Ālāp by Pannalal Ghosh

Performer: Pannalal Ghosh Rāg: Yaman
Source: HMV EALP 1252



Example 18b: Auchar Ālāp by Hariprasad Chaurasia

Performer: Hariprasad Chaurasia Rāg: Yaman
Source: Sonodisc ESP 8466


P S N S S N D S N G R M G M R G N S D S N R NSND N N
SNS N G R SNS N G R G R N G R G R G R N R G
M G G R R N G M G R R R M G G R M G R S R
D S N G R M G M R G S R N S D S N S D S N D R SNRSN S N S
P M GRG R G NS N S N D N D S N R R G

Contrast with Other Instrumental Styles

While the stylistic approach adopted by PG seems like a very natural one, it was in fact a carefully chosen conglomeration of many available models. It has been shown that PG was at the forefront of many of the musical developments in twentieth-century North India. His introduction of the bānsurī into Hindustani classical music, while a major contribution in itself, also put him at the vanguard in the introduction onto the classical stage of musical instruments not previously featured as prominent solo voices. His ability to synthesize a variety of styles was a key factor in his success. Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) emphasizes that PG's music "covered a vast area on flute. Perhaps he had covered all that was possible in Indian music." He correctly points out that it is a distortion of facts when other popular flutists of the present day claim that PG played the gāyaki ang, while they play the instrumental, or tantrakari ang. The noted bānsurī player Hariprasad Chaurasia[10] stated that he has "great admiration for Pannalal Ghoseji's flute," but claims that "his was the *Khyal* type. I play in *Dhrupadia* style." Perhaps by this, Chaurasia meant that when he performs full ālāp, he presents it before the introduction of tāl, or as a separate item. However, as has been demonstrated above, it is a gross oversimplification to say that PG's style was simply gāyaki or simply khyāl (or that Chaurasia's style is simply dhrupad). His ālāp-style barhat could often be as fully and systematically developed as an unaccompanied ālāp, and was based on the teachings of Allauddin Khan.

Although the gāyaki model was very important to PG's approach, his playing was clearly informed by a diversity of approaches. While he most often chose to develop his ālāp within the structure of an ati vilambit tāl, the dhrupad model, learned from Allauddin Khan and other sources, was clearly guiding many of his most important musical decisions. And despite the predominance of a vocal approach in PG's mature style, Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) claims that PG had delved deeply into instrumental music "long before even he met Allauddin Khan." He observes that when PG was in his late twenties, he played on a three-minute recording with sitarist Kabir Khan. This duet recording featured a sitar gat in rāg Pilū that Nayan Ghosh recognized as one he learned from his father (PG's brother), Nikhil Ghosh, and PG also played jhālā. Nayan Ghosh states that "Pannababu covered tantrakari ang before he bought into gāyaki ang [which] came much later, in Pannababu's music. Because as a child he heard sitar. So he translated the sitar music into flute." He notes that PG was thus playing tantrakari ang on flute before other musicians taking credit for this were even born, and emphasizes that PG's music covered dhrupad ālāp learned from Allauddin Khan, joṛ, and jhālā featuring tonguing to emulate a plucked-string instrumental approach. "And his playing of gats, his grasp over folk music, all kinds of music—Bengali music, U.P. folk music, ṭhumrī, chaiti, dadra, was very deep because he had traveled so much, he had heard so many musicians, so much of music, that he absorbed everything."

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[10] 1998, http://www.tribuneindia.com/1998/98dec20/sunday/view.htm (accessed September 13, 2010).

PG's accomplishment was very possibly an important inspiration for other artists in their own efforts to popularize such instruments as sarāngi, shahnāī, and santūr as accepted solo Hindustani classical instruments. Like PG, exponents of these instruments looked to established vocal and instrumental models of performance, while simultaneously creating styles suited to their particular instruments. While the music of PG exemplifies this balance of tradition and originality, his stylistic choices were certainly not the only ones available to artists seeking to define a style for a new or readapted Hindustani classical instrument. The fact that each of the artists responsible for the popularization of these instruments in the twentieth century developed a distinct style is perhaps an indication of the range of stylistic possibilities that were available in the early to middle twentieth century. However, they also shared many stylistic elements, and PG provided one of the earliest twentieth-century models for the creation of a hybrid approach to the creation of a new instrumental style.

Bismillah Khan

Bismillah Khan (1916-2006) is credited with the popularization of the shahnāī as a full-fledged Hindustani concert instrument. According to Reis Flora (1995, 69), he was trained first by his uncle, who was both a shahnāī player and a singer, and later by khyāl singer Mohammad Hussain. As suggested by his training, he took a very vocal approach to the shahnāī rather than following a plucked-string instrument model. Flora (1995, 71) notes three elements of shahnāī performance that are reflective of a vocal approach and helped the instrument to gain acceptance in Hindustani classical music. First, performers present "relatively slow and restrained improvisation over a vilambit tāl, to emulate the barā…khyāl. This point seems more applicable to the playing of Flora's teacher, Anant Lal (discussed below), though, than Bismillah Khan, who does not play in any tāl slower than around 100 bpm in the four CD volumes of the retrospective *Bismillah Khan: End of an Era*. However, Bismillah Khan does normally begin his improvisations in madhya lay tāl with slow, freely-phrased vistar. Flora's second element is tān-style development reflective of the chhoṭa khyāl section of a khyāl performance. Third, shahnāī performers have developed "a certain sweetness of sound or tone quality."

Also like PG, Bismillah Khan's tān development would often culminate with a jhālā-derived development reflective of a plucked-string instrumental model. This may well have been directly inspired by PG, as Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) states:

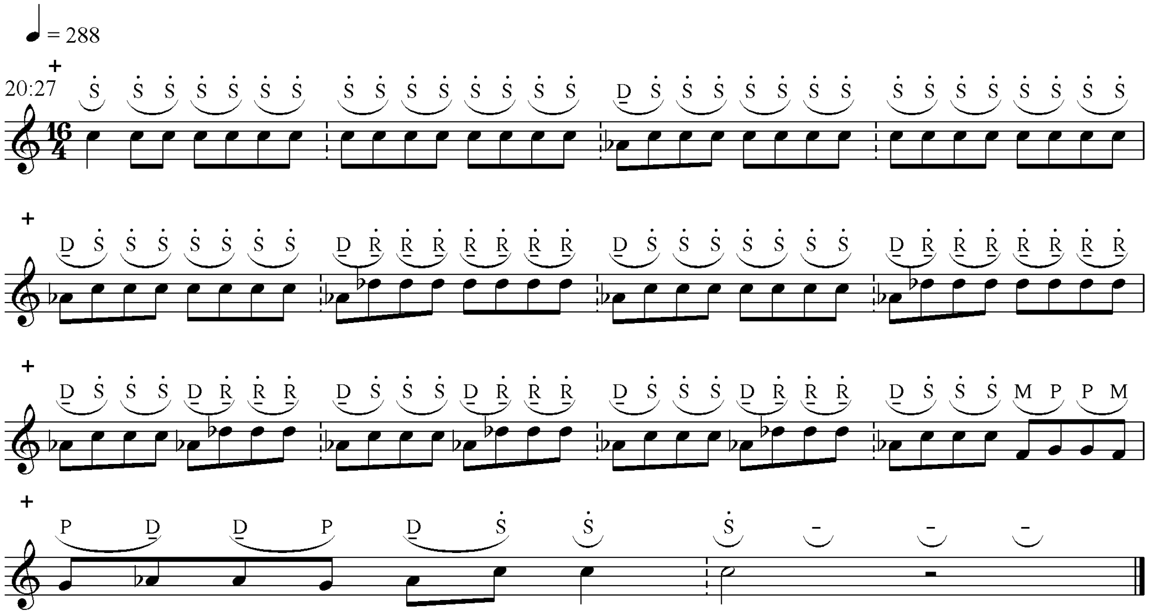
> I clearly remember once, in Dadar, Bismillah Khan telling my father, offstage, that the jhālā technique that he played was due to his inspiration from Pannababu's flute. I was witness, I was thirteen years old when Bismillah Khan said this. I don't know whether he would do it so very publicly, or to everyone—I am doubtful about that. But he was telling my

father that Pannababu was—“His jhālā is what inspired me to play jhālā also.”

Example 19 features an excerpt from Bismillah Khan’s 1974 performance of rāg Gunkālī in which he plays a jhālā-derived development in a manner very similar to that employed by PG:

Example 19: Bismillah Khan Jhālā-Derived Development

Performer: Bismillah Khan Rāg: Gunkālī
Tāl: drut tīntāl: Source: CDNF 150688


= 288
+
20:27
S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S D S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S
16
4
+
D S S S S S S S D R R R R R R R D S S S S S S S D R R R R R R R
+
D S S S D R R R D S S S D R R R D S S S D R R R D S S S M P P M
+
P D D P D S S S – – –

A comparison of this with the excerpts from PG’s jhālā shown in Examples 10 and 12 reveals a strong similarity of approach, in that each features rapid passages of repeated notes with staccato tonguing alternating with a different single note. Whether or not Bismillah Khan was inspired by PG to approach jhālā in this way, it it likely that both were emulating a plucked-string instrumental model.

But while Bismillah Khan's emulation of gāyaki ang and his use of jhālā parallel the practice of PG, their approaches were distinct in several ways. Bismillah Khan's choice of broad formal structure differed from PG's in that he generally played a short alāp followed by a madhya lay tīntāl composition on which he would improvise vistār and tāns over progressively faster tempos. Rebecca Stewart (1974, 384) suggests that the *shahnāī-naqqara naubat* had a tradition of "short thematic gat and a series of varied improvisations" that may have contributed to the development of the instrumental gat. Bismillah Khan's decision to use madhya lay tīntāl compositions rather than ati vilambit compositions might possibly suggest a link to the naubat tradition. However, this structure does not lend itself to the kind of extended and systematic ālāp-style development employed by PG, suggesting that Bismillah Khan did not prioritize dhrupad-style ālāp to the degree that PG did.

Bismillah Khan also retains a connection to the shahnāī's origins in the naubat ensemble, traditionally an outdoor ceremonial ensemble (Flora 1995, 54), through his use of the *khurdak*, "a small earthenware kettledrum played with the fingers" (Flora 1995, 57), for percussion accompaniment. Flora (1995, 60) suggests that Bismillah Khan's musical background did not include naubat connections, but he states that "a definite link [to naubat] appears to be present in the use of the khurdak or dukkar in the Benaras tradition." While Qureshi[11] states that use of the shahnāī as a featured instrument in Hindustani classical performance was derived from its use in North Indian temples, it seems likely that the naubat ensemble was the original source of the use of khurdak with shahnāī.

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[11] Regula Qureshi, et al. "India." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43272pg9 (accessed August 23, 2010).

Anant Lal

Although Bismillah Khan is considered to be the individual most responsible for bringing recognition to the shahnāī as a solo Hindustani classical instrument, at least one other lineage seems to have preceded his contributions. Flora (1995) refers to a shahnāī player by the name of Nandlal, who was apparently performing Hindustani classical music in the early twentieth century. While Flora does not give the birthdate of Nandlal, he states that he was the maternal grandfather of shahnāī player Anant Lal, who was born in 1927. Flora (1995, 69) writes that Nandlal studied vocal music from his father, then from Chote Khan, then learned khyāl and ṭhumrī from Hussain Khan and dhrupad from Harinarayan Mukherjee and Sri Panubabu. His grandson Anant Lal carried on the tradition of playing shahnāī, and the publicity for a set of shahnāī duets with his son Daya Shankar claims that the lineage of shahnāī playing in his family goes back over 250 years.[12] According to N. Banerjee of Hindustan Records, Nandlal's style was dhrupad-based, and he made a recording in 1935 (Flora 1995, 70).

Anant Lal also pursued a gāyaki approach on the shahnāī, and studied with a ṭhumrī, dhrupad, dhamar, and khyāl singer named Mahadev Prasad Mishra. Like PG, he used ati vilambit tāls for his barā khyāl development in the manner of the Kirana gharānā (e.g. his use of ati vilambit Ektāl in his recording of Pūriyā Kalyān on the recording *Melody for Harmony*, CD 150115). Given that PG was firmly established as a Hindustani classical performer by the time that Anant Lal would have been developing his style, it seems reasonably likely that PG could have been one of his models. Regardless, the correlation between their styles and their backgrounds is probably not coincidental. Both are Hindu, trained in dhrupad, and sought greater recognition in Hindustani classical music for an instrument with many voice-like qualities. The use of ati vilambit tāls provided them with a structure on which they could patiently develop dhrupad-derived ālāp.

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[12] From http://mumpress.com/p_l75-82.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

The Sārangī

Due to the sārangī's long-time role accompanying vocalists, one might think that the adoption of the sārangī as a solo Hindustani classical instrument would have happened very naturally. There were long-established gharānās of the instrument, the instrument was fully capable of emulating virtually every nuance (besides words) of the voice, and it would seem to have been well situated within the courts. Indeed, in the hands of Haider Baksh in the first half of the nineteenth century, the sārangī received a fair amount of (grudging) respect (see Bor 1986-87, 121-122). Prominent accompanists acquired immense knowledge of vocal styles as a result of performing with the great masters. But the sārangī never managed to shake off the association with its role accompanying the singing and dancing of courtesans, whose status declined precipitously from the mid-1900s. According to Qureshi (1997, 6), "the story that dominates the sārangī happens at the side of the 'nautch girl,' in the hands of her teacher/accompanist/manager who supports her amorous song melody as well as her dazzling kathak footwork. Hence, the sārangī is inexorably linked to the licentious and immoral social space where a woman offers her art and, by implication, herself."

Overcoming the negative image of the sārangī has thus been the principal challenge in bringing wider acceptance to the sārangī in Hindustani classical music. The instrument, the stylistic traditions, and the association with the music of the courts were all firmly established well before the twentieth century. And as Qureshi observes, "the sārangī is also linked to music as feudal entertainment, as an artful language used to express and cultivate emotion, rasa." The ingredients for a successful Hindustani classical sārangī style have long been in place. The positive associations, though, were largely overshadowed by the negative.

Bundu Khan

The sārangī gained some recognition as a solo instrument through the efforts of Bundu Khan (1880-1955), who managed to make some headway in the performance of solo sārangī in the early twentieth century. Bor (1986-87, 130) writes that while Bundu Khan's uncle Mamman Khan "paved the way for the sārangī to be accepted as a solo instrument" and "was perhaps the first artist to play khayal or gayaki ang on the sārangī," Bundu Khan "finally raised the status of the sārangī to a solo instrument." Bor (1986-87, 130) claims that Bundu Khan should be regarded as one of the greatest musicians of this [twentieth] century," and sārangī player (and PG's nephew) Dhruba Ghosh states that he was "one of the giants" and that "he took a very big leap ahead" (Qureshi 2007, 145). Despite the enormity of his contribution, though, it seems that the status of the sārangī continued to suffer from its negative connotations. This is perhaps because he was still living in an environment supported by the patronage of the courts rather than of the middle class. According to Qureshi (2007, 146), he was working under the patronage of the Maharaja of Gwalior. The transition of the sārangī from the courts to middle-class patronage was to come later, most prominently with Ram Narayan (discussed below). It is interesting to note, though, that even in 1997, Qureshi could refer to the sārangī as "the only classical instrument which remains entirely in the hands of hereditary professional musicians" (Qureshi 1997, 1).

In a sense, the problem of gaining acceptance for the sārangī as a solo Hindustani classical instrument was the opposite of the problem of achieving the same end for the bānsurī. While the sārangī was held in disrepute through its association with courtesans, the bānsurī was revered for its association with Krishna. On the other hand, while the sārangī had a long established tradition of emulating vocal music, the bānsurī apparently had no established tradition for Hindustani classical performance. From a purely musical perspective, the sārangī might have seemed to provide a likely model for PG in his quest for a style appropriate for bānsurī. In a sense it did, indirectly, as the Kirana vocal gharānā arose out of a sārangī lineage. Given the fact that sārangī styles were so strongly derived from vocal styles, it is not surprising that PG chose to look to a gayaki source. Bundu Khan, however, had incorporated elements of tantrakari into his solo sārangī style as PG did later. Bor (1986-87, 133) notes that Azim Baksh and Bundu Khan's teacher, Mamman Khan, had adopted elements of bīn and sitar playing, and that "Bundu Khan's music, particularly his jhālā, was also influenced by these instruments." PG would almost certainly have been familiar with Bundu Khan's music, and perhaps the sārangī player's approach helped to inspire him in his blending of vocal and plucked-string instrument approaches.

Ram Narayan

Ram Narayan is widely credited with bringing wider recognition to the sārangī as a solo Hindustani classical instrument. Given the previous history of the sārangī, it seems safe to say that Narayan's accomplishment was not at the same level as that of PG, since he did not have to start from scratch as PG did with the bānsurī. His achievements also came somewhat later than those of PG, as he was about sixteen years PG's junior. Nonetheless, his contribution remains important, and Bor (1986-87, 148) asserts that "in his hands, the sārangī has become a truly emancipated solo instrument, released from its confined environment," and that it was he "who made the sārangī known to the world at large."

Narayan was born in 1927, and like PG, he takes a very vocal approach to his instrument. This is certainly not surprising given the sārangī's history in vocal accompaniment. He states that he worked as an accompanist as a staff artist for A.I.R. in Lahore from 1944, and in his capacity as an accompanist, he had to understand different styles, schools, and approaches (p.c.). It was not until 1956 that he became a solo concert artist, and sometime later he gave up accompaniment.[13] He first met PG while recording music for the 1951 film *Malhar*, and often visited PG at his home in Malad. He asserts that he and PG shared a common goal of making their respective instruments appreciated as solo instruments on the Hindustani classical stage (p.c.).

Despite the vocal character of his playing, in his own performance style he has typically employed a broad formal scheme that more closely resembles a sitar or sarod approach. After an initial, sometimes fairly extended (around ten minutes) ālāp, he generally plays a composition in vilambit or madhya lay tīntāl over which he develops bistār and ālāp. His 1991 performance of rāg Mārwā (Maestro's Choice, CD A 91009) is representative of his approach. The barā khyāl composition that he performs here is structured like a Masītkhānī gat in that the mukhra begins on matra 12 of the cycle, and the first three beats of the cycle following the mukhra consist of a single note repeated on matras 1, 2, and 3. He retains a vocal character, though, by avoiding the percussive feeling of the string-instrument bols that normally help define a Masitkhani gat. The proportions of the sections of the performance are shown in **Table 8**:

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[13] From http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ram_Narayan (accessed September 12, 2010).

Table 8: Proportions of Sections of Ram Narayan's Rāg Mārwā Performance

Ālāp	10:45	36%
Vilambit tīntāl composition and slow vistār	8:10	27%
Fast tāns over vilambit tīntāl	7:10	24%
Drut ektāl composition and fast tāns	3:40	12%

This contrasts with PG, who performed his ālāp-style barhat primarily over much slower ati vilambit tāls with long cycles that allowed for full development of ālāp phrases. Ram Narayan does not seem to have regularly employed a formal approach to joṛ - or jhālā-style development in the bandish portion of his performances, though a few of his recordings feature "ālāp-joṛ-jhālā" before the bandish (e.g. a 1989 recording of Puriyā Kalyān on OCR 83). Writing in 1980, though, Neil Sorrell (1980, 160) stated that "Ram Narayan does not play jhālā; his earlier experiments, some of them incorporating ideas from Bundu Khan's jhālā, have been abandoned since he believes that the sārangī is not a suitable instrument for this kind of music." Sorrell suggests that when he did play "jhālā," Narayan's lines were perhaps closer to tāns than to jhālā. Thus, it is apparent that like PG, Narayan made a conscious decision to orient his style specifically to his instrument rather than blindly following any single traditional model.

Other Musicians

While the use of ati vilambit tāls became quite popular among vocalists of the next generation and up to the present day, few instrumentalists have adopted this model. Santoor pioneer Shiv Kumar Sharma (b. 1938) uses a variety of tāls in various lay, as does the noted bānsurī player Hariprasad Chaurasia (b. 1938), but neither is known for performing in ati vilambit tāls.[14] As is appropriate to their instruments, Sharma inevitably takes a more percussive approach in his playing, while Chaurasia's style is more vocal. Chaurasia tends to make more extensive use of tonguing than did PG, probably emulating a plucked-string instrument model.[15] Anant Lal (discussed above), sarāngi player Sultan Khan (b. 1940), as well as bānsurī players inspired by PG such as Vijay Ragav Rao, G. S. Sachdev, and Nityanand Haldipur are among the few other instrumentalists who commonly use ati vilambit tāls.

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[14] While it is not his usual mode of performance, Chaurasia has performed barā khyāl with ati vilambit tals on occasion. In Catherine Potter's master's thesis "Hariprasad Chaurasia: The Individual and the North Indian Classical Music Tradition" (Potter 1993, 74), she refers to the recording *La Flute de Pt. Hariprasad Chaurasia* (Sonodisc ESP 8466) on which Chaurasia presents rāg Yaman with rāg development over an ati vilambit ektāl composition. Potter points out that Patrick Moutal's liner notes indicate that this was not his usual practice. She also later states that Moutal specifically requested Chaurasia to play in khyāl style (Potter 1993, 82).

[15] Potter (1993, 50) writes about Chaurasia: "While he adheres to an instrumental approach to raga presentation, he maintains that he has come closer to the vocal *dhrupad* than have the stringed instrumentalists of his *gharana* due to the idiomatic characteristics of the *bansuri*."

Conclusions

PG had a wide range of choices available to him in the creation of an original style for the bānsurī. After much exploration and experimentation, PG chose a repertoire focusing primarily on the formal approach of the Kirana gharānā , but with borrowings from many different vocal and instrumental approaches. His barā khyāl most closely followed the Kirana model, but was enhanced by his understanding of dhrupad, and polished by his studies with Allauddin Khan. His chhoṭa khyāl drew from diverse sources, but his original compositions reflected the blend of vocal and instrumental sources that permeated his style. His ālāp-style barhat blended traditional structural elements of dhrupad with stylistic details both reflective of khyāl and unique to the bānsurī. His joṛ-derived development emulated dhrupad in its characteristic phrases and successive levels of rhythmic density. His jhālā-derived development resembled the rapid note repetition of both instrumental jhālā and vocal fast ālāp, and was more suggestive of instrumental jhālā in its melodic leaps and returns to a fixed note. His tāns featured vocal-style flow and articulation, but utilized laykari in a manner resembling sitar and sarod. His performances in other forms of khyāl, as well as ṭhumrī and folk songs, primarily emulated a vocal model.

The options he selected indicate that he had a strong sense of the music of his time, and a forward-looking perspective that enabled him to envision the potential of the bānsurī as a part of Hindustani classical music's future. He was at the vanguard of many of the important changes and developments in the music of twentieth-century India, but held onto many valued aspects of musical tradition. His example was an inspiration to other musicians, paving the way for the popularization of other instruments that were new to Hindustani music or had been previously undervalued. While instrumentalists on shahnāī and sārangī had earlier models on which to base their styles, though, PG was plunging into new territory. Nonetheless, performers on both new and traditional instruments all had to make musical decisions that would best project their music within the classical milieu of their time. There was no one solution to this challenge, and it can be seen that each chose a unique combination of elements with which to define his instrument and musical style.

Chapter 7
Pannalal Ghosh's Legacy

As mentioned in Chapter 4, despite all of his accomplishments and the fact that he was highly respected in his time, PG was concerned during the last years of his life that he had not provided sufficiently for his legacy. While he had had a number of dedicated students in Bombay, he had to leave most of them behind when he moved to Delhi in 1956 to take on the position of music director for A.I.R.'s National Orchestra. But though none of his students received the level of popular and critical acclaim that he had enjoyed in his lifetime, his legacy permeates the world of bānsurī playing. His son-in-law, Devendra Murdeshwar, a prodigious player in his own right, was the most successful of PG's students and gained the most prominence. Most of PG's other students did not choose to become full-time musicians, though some, such as V. G. Karnad, Haripad Choudhury, Rasbihari Desai, and S. N. Purohit also gained a certain level of recognition. Even some of those who chose to stay out of the public eye, such as Niranjan Haldipur, honored their guru by passing on their knowledge to the next generation

There are various possible reasons why PG's immediate musical lineage did not continue to dominate the field of Hindustani classical bānsurī playing. While his phenomenal accomplishments gained him a high level of recognition in Hindustani music circles, his objectives seem to have been more spiritual than professional. According to most accounts, he thought of his music primarily as a form of spiritual practice, and does not seem to have concentrated his efforts on self-promotion. Despite his cultivation of a style that brought acceptance to the bānsurī, he does not seem to have been interested in adapting to the changing tides of fashion. And in teaching his students, he sought to instill in them the kind of spiritual devotion that he felt toward music rather than groom them for successful performing careers.

It might also be said that the very success of his achievements opened the door to Hindustani classical bānsurī playing, vastly widening the level of competition in the field. It is an enormous tribute to PG that his contributions have been passed on both directly and indirectly, and it is widely acknowledged that he is largely responsible for the fact that the bānsurī is now considered to be on par with sitar, sarod, and voice in Hindustani classical music. His own lineage continued through his senior students and lives on today in the next generation through such successors as Nityanand Haldipur and American students such as Lyon Leifer and David Philipson. An early student of PG by the name of Gour Goswami also achieved some recognition in his own right, and trained such able students as Deba Prasad Banerjee and American student Steve Gorn.

Outside of PG's direct lineage, a number of flutists also made names for themselves. In some cases, their styles follow many of the characteristics of PG's playing despite their having learned from other teachers. Prominent among these are Vijay Raghav Rao and his student G. S. Sachdev. Other flutists sought to forge a path somewhat distinct from PG's style, though the contributions of PG laid the groundwork for their own accomplishments. Most prominent of these is Hariprasad Chaurasia, whose distinctive style has brought him wide international recognition, and has been emulated by many bānsurī players of the next generation.

I have studied in the musical lineage of PG since 1988, first with David Philipson, then with Devendra Murdeshwar, and later with Nityanand Haldipur. However, I did not begin my formal dissertation research in 2007, by which time Devendra Murdeshwar and many of PGs former associates had passed away. Fortunately, I had the opportunity to interview his three surviving students—V. G. Karnad, Rasbihari Desai, and Suraj Narayan Purohit. Our conversations were primarily focused on PG, as their own biographical details were available from other sources. Other interviews I conducted with Nityananand Haldipur, PG's nephew Nayan Ghosh, and Gour Goswami's student Deba Prasad Banerjee have provided information and insights for this chapter.

Both V. G. Karnad and Rasbihari Desai specifically referred me to information gathered by Vishwas Kulkarni, which is available on his website.[1] Kulkarni has done much valuable research about PG and his musical legacy, and is himself a student of V. G. Karnad. I am grateful to him for the information he has provided me, both in person and through his website. He has gathered information about PG's senior students—Devendra Murdeshwar, V. G. Karnad, Rasbihari Desai, and S. N. Purohit—and students of these four disciples, including Devendra Murdeshwar's son Anand Murdeshwar, Nityanand Haldipur, Lyon Leifer, David Philipson, K. L. Ginde, Naresh Kumta, and Harshawardhan Kaulgi. He also provides transcribed interviews with Anand Murdeshwar and V. G. Karnad.

Several American bānsurī players, most of whom were students of disciples of PG, provide valuable information about PG and his musical lineage. David Philipson, my first bānsurī teacher, maintains a website[2] with information based on his own research. During a period of study and research in India in 1984 sponsored by a Fulbright grant, Philipson learned from and conversed with Devendra Murdeshwar, V. G. Karnad, Nityanand Haldipur, and other associates of PG. Much of the information he gathered is available on the abovementioned website. Lyon Leifer began a five-year period of study with Devendra Murdeshwar as a Fulbright scholar in 1965. In 1985, he toured and studied with Murdeshwar, and returned to Bombay for research and further studies with his guru in 1988, funded by a grant from the American Institute of Indian Studies. His book *How to Play the Bansuri: A Manual for Self-instruction Based on the Teaching of Devendra Murdeshwar*, published in 1997, is a valuable contribution to the documentation and dissemination of PG's musical legacy, and contains some information about Devendra Murdeshwar and other bānsurī players. Jeff Whittier, a bānsurī maker and student of G. S. Sachdev, maintains a website with details and perspectives about PG, G. S. Sachdev, Hariprasad Chaurasia, and Ragunath Seth. Steve Gorn, a student of Gour Goswami, provides information about himself and his guru on his website.[3]

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[1] www.pannalalghosh.com (accessed September 12, 2010).

[2] http://adagio.calarts.edu/~bansuri/pannalal.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

Other sources for this chapter include the following websites and liner notes. DownMelodyLane.com contains information on Indian music (especially film music) provided by Ashish Tripathi, Dr. R. P. Singh, and Dr. R. C. Misra. It includes some information about PG and Ragunath Seth. Further information about Ragunath Seth is from a Wikipedia article.[4] Bhai Baldeep Singh (founder of Anād Conservatory), provides an online article[5] with information about G. S. Sachdev. The website for Hinduism Today[6] contains an interview with Hariprasad Chaurasia, and Chaurasia's biographical details are available at his own website.[7] Catherine Potter's dissertation (Potter 1993) and Uma Vasudev's book on Hariprasad Chaurasia (Vasudev 2005) were also helpful, and liner notes by Steve Gorn[8] and Neil Sorrell[9] provide information about Gour Goswami and Ragunath Seth, respectively.

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[3] http://www.stevegorn.com (accessed September 12, 2010).

[4] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raghunath_Seth (accessed September 12, 2010).

[5] http://www.apnaorg.com/articles/baldeep-1/, August 5, 2008.

[6] http://www.hinduismtoday.com/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=3470. Magazine Archives > October 1995 > Pandit Hariprasad Chaurasia (accessed September 13, 2010).

[7] http://www.hariprasadchaurasia.com/biography.htm (accessed September 12, 2010).

Senior Disciples of Pannalal Ghosh

Devendra Murdeshwar

Devendra Murdeshwar (1923-2000) was the seniormost of the disciples who studied with PG during his years in Bombay (though PG had previously taught some students during his earlier years in Calcutta, most prominently Haripad Choudhury and Gour Goswami). He was also PG's son-in-law, and seems to have been the most successful of PG's students in terms of his concert career and public recognition. Vishvas Kulkarni[10] states that while Murdeshwar had a musical background, he did not start studying bānsurī until 1947, after he first had the opportunity to hear PG perform. Amir Hussein Khan vouched for Murdeshwar, and PG accepted him as a student. Before long, Murdeshwar came to be regularly featured in radio broadcasts. He joined the staff of A.I.R. in 1950, first playing bānsurī with the National Orchestra, and later working as a producer. He performed at many major music conferences throughout India, and played concerts internationally. Recordings of his music were issued by HMV, Nonesuch, and Rasa Music.[11]

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[8] *The Indian Bamboo Flute: Two Masters in Tradition* (LYRCD 7387).

[9] *Pandit Raghunath Seth* (1997. Navras, NRCD 0083)

[10] http://www.pannalalghosh.com/profile_devendramurdeshwar.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[11] For more details on the life and work of Devendra Murdeshwar, see the articles "Devendra Murdeshwar: An Appreciation" by Lyon Leifer, at http://www.shakuhachi.com/PG-Leifer-Teacher.html (accessed September 12, 2010); "Profile>> Devendra Murdeshwar" by Vishwas Kulkarni at http://www.pannalalghosh.com/profile_devendramurdeshwar.html (accessed September 12, 2010); and

His style was highly reflective of that of his guru, though he added aspects of his own personality to his playing and drew from various sources in order to broaden his musical understanding. Lyon Leifer writes that "Murdeshwarji has creatively developed Mr. Ghosh's approach to bansuri and to raga music, adding still another facet to the many splendors of the Allaudin Khan ghrana." Nityanand Haldipur states that as a player, Murdeshwar "remained very honest to his musical tradition and was never tempted to play for the gallery." He asserts that Murdeshwar "never compromised his principles," and "kept himself out of gimmickry."[12]

Like PG, he typically used the Kirana-derived structure of an auchar ālāp followed by more elaborate rāg development over an ati vilambit tāl (usually ektāl), then a drut tīntāl composition and tān development. He performed primarily on an E flute, and his playing took full advantage of the seventh hole for embellishments and extension of the range at least down to shuddh Ma. He was also known to be a fine flute-maker, improving in some ways on PG's design. His style was very vocal, with liberal use of gamak and minimal use of tonguing (except in jhālā-derived development) and layakari. The second stage of his barhat over the ati vilambit tāl was much like medium ālāp, and was often reminiscent of PG's joṛ-like development in its use of gamaks to rhythmically accentuate repeated notes. The main plucked-string instrumental feature of his playing was his jhālā, which was similar to that used by PG. According to Lyon Leifer,[13]

"Pandit Devendra Murdeshwar" by David Philipson at http://adagio.calarts.edu/~bansuri/pages/devendra.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[12] Nityanand Haldipur is quoted at length on David Philipson's website at http://adagio.calarts.edu/~bansuri/pages/devendra.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[13] From the article "Devendra Murdeshwar: An Appreciation" by Lyon Leifer, at http://www.shakuhachi.com/PG-Leifer-Teacher.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

Murdshwar also composed new compositions for bānsurī, and adapted vocal compositions for bānsurī performance.

Murdeshwar also trained a number of students who have carried on PG's legacy, including his own son Anand Murdeshwar, Nityanand Haldipur, American flutist Lyon Leifer, Ravi Samant, Vijay Kabhinital, Kedār Kulkarni, Naresh Kumta, and Harishchandra Kokre, among others.[14] Nityanand Haldipur states that Murdeshwar was an "extremely disciplinary and demanding teacher," with a systematic approach and "a knack of simplifying complicated thing." He had a deep understanding of various approaches to a rāg, and in his lessons "he would explain the present form of the raga and compare it with the traditional orthodox form and presentation of the raga."[15] He was in many ways a worthy successor to PG.

V. G. Karnad

Venkatsubrao Ganesh Karnad was born in 1925 in what is now the South Indian state of Karnataka, in a town about thirty-five miles east of Mangalore. He provides many details about his life in an interview conducted by Viswas Kulkarni.[16] He says that he was exposed to music in his youth mainly through bhajan and kirtan singing. He learned to play harmonium and flute while still a child, and listened to recordings of South Indian flutist Palam Sanjeeva Rao. His father also played the flute, but did not encourage his children to pursue music performance. This left a strong impression on Karnad, who made some simple flutes from locally available materials. Karnad learned by emulating various forms of music available to him, both live and on recordings and radio, much as PG had done in his early career.

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[14] From Vishvas Kulkarni's website http://pannalalghosh.com/profile_devendramurdeshwar.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[15] From David Philipson's http://adagio.calarts.edu/~bansuri/pages/devendra.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[16] Available at http://pannalalghosh.com/interview_vgkarnad.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

He moved to Bombay in 1948, and began learning some aspects of Hindustani classical music from his friend Mohan Nadkarni, later a respected music critic. He had the opportunity to meet S. C. R. Bhat, who recommended that Karnad learn bānsurī from PG. He eventually got up the courage to approach PG before a performance, who agreed to meet with him later and assess his playing. PG generously accepted him as a student on the condition that he practice a minimum of three hours per day and acquire a seven-hole bānsurī. Such a flute was of course not easy to find, as it was specific to PG's school of playing, but he eventually found someone to make him a small Eb flute for five rupees (a significant sum at that time). PG himself, however, did not charge for lessons, and began to teach him twice a week, focusing initially on correct posture, fingering, respect to the goddess Saraswati, proper breathing, sargam, use of the seventh hole, and paltas (musical exercises). The remaining days he was to practice with PG's other students, Devendra Murdeshwar and Rasbihari Desai. After proving himself over time, Karnad was invited to visit PG on a daily basis.

According to Kulkarni,[17] Karnad began accompanying PG in concerts in 1952, and accompanied him for the last time in 1959. Karnad became a fine bānsurī player in his own right, and began performing on the radio in 1954. He also played many concerts in India and abroad. His performance style was closely aligned with that of his guru, though at the age of 85, he no longer performs. He continues to offer free instruction on bānsurī, however, in order to carry on the legacy of PG.

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[17] From Vishwas Kulkarni's website at http://pannalalghosh.com/profile_vgkarnad.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

Rasbihari Desai

Rasbihari Desai was born in 1926 in Baroda, Gujarat. In a conversation with him in 2007, he told me that when he was a child, he and his brother were already playing the flute. This suggests that the flute was reasonably widely available at the time, and that the idea of playing the flute was fairly natural. But while he tried to play classical music on the flute, he says that his knowledge and ability were minimal before his studies with PG. He had the opportunity to play for Omkarnath Thakur, who recommended that he study with PG (Rasbihari Desai, p.c.). This is in itself a great compliment to PG, given Thakur's stature. According to Kulkarni,[18] Desai first met his PG in 1948 at A.I.R. in Bombay, and learned from him until PG's death in 1960. Kulkarni quotes Desai emphasizing that his relationship with PG "was more a spiritual level, where we could understand each other even without normal conversation." He often accompanied PG at his concerts, including a performance at the Haridas Swami Sammelan, and following PG's death, he took over the task of giving free lessons on bānsurī at the Bansuri Vidyapeeth in Bombay. He also started a twelve-flute orchestra, using flutes of various pitches, in fulfillment of PG's wish.[19]

Desai worked as a chemist (Desai, p.c.) for most of his life, and did not go on to become a well-known performer. He did perform at times, though, played a few film sessions,[20] and was respected as an equal by V. G. Karnad, Devendra Murdeshwar, and the other seniormost students of PG. At times, PG even played compositions composed by Desai. While PG did not show a great interest in learning music from books, Desai enjoyed getting technical information about rāgs from written sources.[21] He was still keeping up bānsurī practice in 2005 at the age of seventy-nine, continuing to teach a few students free of charge.

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[18] http://pannalalghosh.com/profile_rasbiharidesai.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

Suraj Narayan Purohit

Suraj Narayan Purohit (? -2009) was slightly less senior a student than Devendra Murdeshwar, V. G. Karnad, Rasbihari Desai, and several others, but was nonetheless an important inheritor of PG's legacy. He first met PG during a conference in Jodhpur in 1948, and later moved to Bombay to study with him. He says that he stayed with PG in his own house for about five or six years and learned from him until PG's death. For the first three years he only played *alankārs* (scale permutations) (S. N. Purohit, p.c.). Like PG, he focused on khyāl, as well as the lighter genres of thumri and folk music. According to Kulkarni, [22] he was featured regularly on A.I.R., and performed many concerts in India and in Europe. He received the Rajasthan Sangeet Natak Academy Award in 1994, and served for many years on the panel of examiners in music for Jainarain Vyas University. He received much critical acclaim during the course of his career, and is featured on the recording *In Praise of Krishna* (Milan Records, 399 052-2).

Niranjan Haldipur

Niranjan Haldipur chose not to pursue a performance career, but was known to have absorbed a great deal of PG's teachings. According to his son, Nityanand Haldipur (p.c.),

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[21] Ibid.

[22] From http://pannalalghosh.com/profile_snpurohit.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

Niranjan Haldipur and Devendra Murdeshwar were friends before they started studying with PG. After Murdeshwar had begun learning from PG, he used to stop by Haldipur's house before going to meet his guru. Murdeshwar spoke with such high praise of PG that Haldipur wanted to see for himself what kind of man PG was. Upon meeting Ghosh, Haldipur was so impressed that he kept coming from that day on. He studied with PG for about seven years, and his son says that he had the fullest understanding of Ghosh's complete style. However, he stopped playing completely upon PG's death. His playing was motivated by his love for his guru, and after PG's passing, this motivation was gone. He was a chemical engineer by profession, and while he never performed, he would practice for about two to four hours in the morning and about three hours in the evening (Nityanand Haldipur, p.c.). While Niranjan Haldipur gave up flute playing and did not pursue a performance career, he was an important inspiration for his son, Nityanand Haldipur, as discussed below.

Haripad Choudhury

Haripad Choudhury was one of PG's first disciples. They were friends in Calcutta before Choudhury became PG's student. While Nityanand Haldipur (p.c.) says that Choudhury was a very talented man, Nayan Ghosh (p.c.) claims that Choudhury had to work very hard to master the flute. As discussed in Chapter 4, he was a truck driver and a wrestler, and he applied his patience and discipline toward intensive practice on the bānsurī. However, his goals do not seem to have been as directed toward Hindustani classical music as were PG's and some of his other senior students. According to S. N. Purohit (p.c.), Choudhury never rose to a high level in classical music, as he was satisfied to play bānsurī in the films. Haldipur (p.c.) states that Choudhury did play concerts and radio broadcasts, however, though he played on an F flute rather than the E or Eb flute played by PG and most of his senior disciples. As mentioned previously, one of his greatest contributions was encouraging PG to come to Bombay and helping him to get work in the films. Nonetheless, Choudhury had a successful career in his own right.

Gour Goswami

Gour Goswami (? -1975) was apparently one of PG's first students in Calcutta. It does not seem that his studies with PG continued in a significant way after PG's departure for Bombay, and his student Deba Prasad Banerjee (p.c.) says that Goswami played a six-hole rather than a seven-hole bānsurī. According to Steve Gorn,[23] Goswami also studied with Ram Krishna Misra and dhrupad singer T. L. Rana. He was a respected performer, and trained a number of bānsurī students, including Deba Prasad Banerjee and American bānsurī player Steve Gorn (both discussed below). He worked for A.I.R. in Calcutta as a composer, director, and recording artist. Like PG, he typically played barā khyāl in ati vilambit tāls. Gorn states that "his playing was characterized by 'mir' [mīṇḍ] and 'gamak' and he could evoke the 'rasa,' the juice or essence of a note or a rag with a single sound." As such, he sought to emulate the voice in a manner similar to PG.

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[23] From the liner notes for *The Indian Bamboo Flute: Two Masters in Tradition* (LYRCD 7387).

The Next Generation of Pannalal Ghosh's Musical Lineage

Nityanand Haldipur

Nityanand Haldipur (born 1948) is probably the most prominent representative of PG's direct musical lineage today. As I have known him for many years, my knowledge about him comes from many undocumented conversations as well as the two formal recorded interviews I conducted with him in 2007. His father, first bānsurī teacher, and greatest inspiration was Niranjan Haldipur, who was, as discussed above, one of PG's senior disciples. He also used to occassionally accompany his father to his lessons with PG, though he was only twelve years old when PG died. After his father's passing, he learned for many years with Devendra Murdeshwar, the most successful of PG's senior students. He also studied with renowned vocalist Chidanand Nagarkar. It was not until 1986, however, that he found his true guru, Annapurna Devi, daughter of Allauddin Khan. She is considered by many to be one of the main inheritors of her father's knowledge, despite the fact that she retired from performance in the mid-1950s. By studying with Annapurna Devi, Haldipur was choosing a path paralleling that of PG, who had opted to study with Allauddin Khan even after having established himself as a performer. This put Haldipur even more directly into the lineage of the Maihar gharānā, and gave him the opportunity to explore still greater depths of the music. He continues to learn from her to this day as one of her seniormost students, and after twenty-four years of continuous study, his playing has developed a profound richness.

Like PG, though, he has channeled his intensive studies in dhrupad-ang ālāp into his rāg development over ati vilambit tāls. In doing so, he is honoring the lineages of both PG and the Maihar gharānā. While PG was considered to be one of the leading exponents of the Maihar gharānā, his adoption of a Kirana-gharānā derived formal structure as a vehicle for emulating ālāp, joṛ, and jhālā seems to have been unique among the students of Allauddin Khan. One of the hallmarks of Allauddin Khan's teaching was instilling a thorough understanding of the intricacies of rāg and tāl while nurturing the individuality of each student. Annapurna Devi has carried on this attribute in her own teaching, as can be seen in the diverse musical personalities exhibited by her various students. She herself had much respect for PG, and has helped Haldipur to find his own voice while following the path of this great master of the bānsurī.

Haldipur essentially follows the same pattern of performance as PG, in that he normally begins with an auchar ālāp, proceeds to an ati vilambit tāl, develops a full and systematic dhrupad-ang barhat-ālāp over the tāl, followed by joṛ-style development at increasing levels of rhythmic density. Due to his long period of study with Annapurna Devi, his faithfulness to the traditional interpretation of each rāg and its gradual unfolding goes beyond that of most musicians outside of the dhrupad tradition. His emulation of joṛ is similarly methodical, drawing from rhythms inspired by bīn and pakhāwaj playing. His tāns are fluid and technically adept, and his concluding jhālā-style development has a character almost like a rhythmically intensified ālāp, with periodic returns to a rapidly tongued Sa emulating the chikārī strings on bīn, sitar, or sarod. Throughout, he infuses the music with a great depth of feeling. Like PG (and many other Hindustani classical performers), he also performs ṭhumrī as a counterpoint to his dhrupad-inspired khyāl performances.

Not one to conform to the prevailing fashion of the time, Haldipur has chosen not to sacrifice the peaceful dignity of his music to gain popular acclaim. Nonetheless, he has had a successful performing career, and substantial critical recognition. He has been particularly praised for the vocal quality of his lines, the soulfulness of his playing, his systematic rāg development, the fullness of his tone, and the degree to which he reflects the musical lineage of PG and the teachings of Annapurna Devi.[24] He is rated as a top grade artist at A.I.R., and is regularly featured on radio and television. He has performed at many major festivals throughout India, and has given concerts in France, the Netherlands, Japan, Iran, and the United Arab Emirates. His music is featured on the Magnasound and Lineage labels.

Anand Murdeshwar

Anand Murdeshwar, who passed away in 2002 at the age of forty-five, was the son of Devendra Murdeshwar and grandson of PG. As such, he was immersed in bānsurī music from a young age through recordings of his grandfather and the playing of his father. Nayan Ghosh states that "Anand grew up listening to his father at various concerts and also played with him. He grew up listening to his grandmother, a popular playback singer Parul Ghosh...Thus he was a singer at heart" (Nayan Ghosh, 2002). According to Kulkarni,[25] Anandji learned vocal music early on from his mother, Sudha Murdeshwar (PG's daughter), and his grandmother, Parul Ghosh (PG's widow). As a teenager, he began to learn bānsurī, first through his grandmother and later from his father. In his own bānsurī style, he sought to blend the characteristics of the playing of his father and grandfather, with a strong emphasis on a vocal approach. Nayan Ghosh (2002) notes that Anandji he gave up a business career only a few years before his death to concentrate on his music, and that his popularity was on the rise. He played numerous concerts in India and internationally, and received many awards.

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[24] See http://pannalalghosh.com/profile_nityanandhaldipur.html (accessed September 12, 2010) for a selection of reviews. This is also the source of the following information on Nityanand Haldipur.

[25] From http://pannalalghosh.com/profile_anandmurdeshwar.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

American Students in Pannalal Ghosh's Musical Lineage

Despite the fact that he is not Indian, Lyon Leifer was one of Devendra Murdeshwar's senior disciples, and is a very adept bānsurī performer in the PG musical lineage. Before traveling to India to study with Devendra Murdeshwar, he was already an accomplished Western classical flutist. He has performed extensively internationally on both Western flute and bānsurī.[26]

David Philipson began his formal studies in Hindustani classical music in 1979 while studying at the California Institute of the Arts. He learned from sitarist Amiya Dasgupta, a senior disciple of Ravi Shankar, and tabla great and PG associate Taranath Rao before traveling to India to study with V. G. Karnad and others in the PG musical lineage. While his primary concentration is playing Hindustani classical bānsurī in the style of PG, he is also well respected as a performer of musics that blend Western music with Indian music.[27]

Steve Gorn is a prominent student of Gour Goswami. While he takes a highly eclectic approach to performance on the bānsurī in a variety of genres, he often plays strictly Hindustani classical concerts. He has also brought his bānsurī playing into his own compositions for concerts, film, television, dance, and theater, and has received much international critical and public recognition.[28]

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[26] For more detailed information about Lyon Leifer, see his website at http://web.mac.com/lyonleifer/Site/Bio.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[27] For more detailed information about David Philipson, see his website at http://adagio.calarts.edu/~bansuri/pages/bio.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

Other Bānsurī Players in Pannalal Ghosh's Direct Musical Lineage

Harshawardhan Kaulgi learned from several of PGs disciples, including Devendra Murdeshwar, Haripad Choudhury, and V. G. Karnad. Like PG, he is inspired by the vocal style of the Kirana gharānā, particularly vocalist Bhimsen Joshi, and has further developed the gāyaki aspects of his bānsurī playing by learning from vocalist Yashwantbua Joshi of the Gwalior gharānā. He has presented many concerts, has been regularly featured as a performer on A.I.R., and has participated in many music conferences. He also teaches at Sharada Sangeet Vidyalaya and the Fine Arts Society, Chembur, both in Mumbai.[29]

Keshav Laxman Ginde (born 1942) studied with senior PG disciples Devendra Murdeshwar and Haripad Choudhary. He performs regularly for A.I.R. and Doordarshan as a Grade A artist (Express News Service 1998), has received numerous awards and honors, and has performed around India and in the United States. Besides his reputation as a performer, Ginde is known for designing the “Keshav Venu,” a twelve-hole flute forty-two inches in length and one inch in diameter that is capable of playing three and a half octaves. He has been President of Amulya Jyoti Public Trust for propagation of flute and Indian classical music among the public, and has established a school of music in

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[28] For more details about Steve Gorn, see http://www.stevegorn.com/bio.php (accessed September 12, 2010).

[29] From http://www.pannalalghosh.com/profile_harshawardhankaulgi.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

Pune called the Pt. Pannalal Ghosh Bansuri Vidyapeeth. He also teaches at Pune University. [30]

Naresh Kumta began studying with V. G. Karnad in the 1950s, and later studied with Devendra Murdeshwar. He has also studied with vocalists to enhance the gāyaki aspects of his style and increase his repertoire of rāgs and vocal compositions. He has been featured on A.I.R., and has given many concerts in India and the former Soviet Union. He has received critical praise, and has performed alongside Nityanand Haldipur.[31]

Deba Prasad Banerjee (born 1931) was a senior student of Gour Goswami. While Banerjee never studied directly with PG, he says that he met him many times. Banerjee plays a seven-hole E flute like PG, and uses a six-hole bass flute to supplement the lower register, though he says that Gour Goswami played a six-hole flute and did not use a bass flute. Banerjee teaches bānsurī lessons privately, and has also taught at Rabindra Bharati University for fourteen years. While he is best known as a Hindustani classical performer, he had the opportunity to play with noted jazz saxophonist Dave Liebman. He also has a good reputation as flute maker (Deba Prasad Banerjee, p.c.).

The following chart shows the musical lineage of PG as discussed so far.

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[30] For more detailed information on K. L. Ginde, see http://pannalalghosh.com/profile_keshavginde.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[31] For more detailed information on Naresh Kumta, see http://pannalalghosh.com/profile_nareshkumata.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

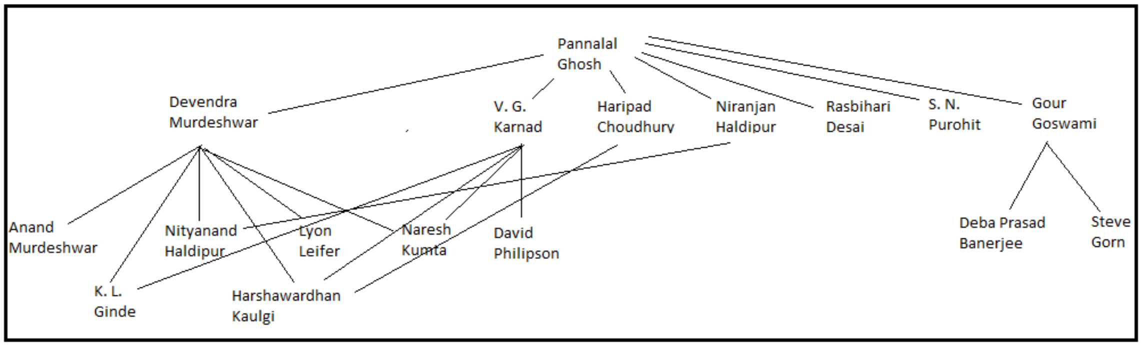
Pannalal Ghosh
Devendra Murdeshwar
V. G. Karnad
Haripad Choudhury
Niranjan Haldipur
Rasbihari Desai
S. N. Purohit
Gour Goswami
Anand Murdeshwar
Nityanand Haldipur
Lyon Leifer
Naresh Kumta
David Philipson
Deba Prasad Banerjee
Steve Gorn
K. L. Ginde
Harshawardhan Kaulgi

Figure 7: Chart of Pannalal Ghosh's Musical Lineage

Bānsurī Performers Outside of Pannalal Ghosh's Direct Musical Lineage

Raghunath Seth

Raghunath Seth was born into a musical family in Gwalior. He studied in Lucknow with musicologist Dr. S. N. Ratanjankar in Lucknow.[32] There is some debate as to whether or not Raghunath Seth directly studied with PG. He claims to be in PG's musical lineage, though according to V. G. Karnad, Parul Ghosh (PG's wife) says that Seth was not a student of PG (p.c.). According to Jeff Whittier, "in his youth, Raghunath Seth met Panna Lal Ghosh, from whom he received more encouragement and advice than lessons."[33] In either case, Seth has shown himself to be a talented practitioner of the bānsurī, and has collected information on PG. Ethnomusicologist Neil Sorrell writes that he is "one of the leading masters of the Indian bamboo flute (bansuri),"[34] and the respected American bānsurī player Steve Gorn chose to study with him years after the death of Gorn's original guru, Gour Goswami.

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[32] From http://www.downmelodylane.com/raghunathseth.html (accessed September 12, 2010).
[33] From Jeff Whittier's website http://www.shakuhachi.com/F-Bansuri-Styles.html (accessed September 12, 2010).
[34] From Neil Sorrell's liner notes for the CD *Pandit Raghunath Seth* (1997. Navras, NRCD 0083)

He uses a variety of formats in his presentation of khyāl rather than focusing on the Kirana-derived model typically used by PG. On the album *Pandit Raghunath Seth* (1997. Navras, NRCD 0083), the first composition in rāg Shuddh Sārang is in rupak tāl, and the first composition in rāg Dhanī is basically a Masītkhānī gat adapted for bānsurī. Nonetheless, his music reflects several aspects of PG's playing. In the liner notes for the above recording, Neil Sorrell states that Seth's playing is "sobre," and "shows a mastery of the traditional styles and is free of the gimmicks and more showy virtuosity which characterise some modern performances" (Sorrell 1997). The patient fluidity and vocal character of his playing is more in line with the spirit of PG than is the playing of many present-day performers. While he seems to prefer presenting ālāp before the composition rather than over an ati vilambit tāl, he sometimes presents joṛ-like development in a manner somewhat similar to PG (e.g. in rāg Shuddh Sārang on NRCD 0083). Toward the end of the performance of a fast gat, he sometimes suggests a jhālā-like feeling, using fast, tongued repeated notes remiscent of PG's jhālā-derived development. Like PG, he uses a certain amount of layakari, particularly in the form of tihais, but not to the extent that it detracts from the overall gāyaki feeling of his playing.

Like Ghosh, he plays a seven-hole bānsurī (in E). However, one of his innovations has been the use of a bamboo key to cover the seventh hole, and the addition of an alternative shuddh Ma hole. If the rāg calls for tīvra Ma, he stops the shuddh Ma hole with beeswax and uses the bamboo key for tīvra Ma, and vice-versa if the rāg calls for shuddha Ma. As Whittier points out, the extra hole adversely affects the tuning in the third octave.[35] This is not a major problem, though, as he does not typically use that register extensively. In the rāgs discussed above, he does not play higher than tār saptak Pa (whereas PG sometimes played over a fifth higher than this). Another disadvantage of using a key to close the seventh hole is that it restricts the nuances of andolan and other forms of pitch modulation on Ma, and makes it more difficult to execute a fluid mīṇḍ upward from Ma. Nonetheless, Seth uses this key to good effect.

Seth has had a successful performance career in both lighter music and Hindustani classical music. He began playing for films in 1951, and has been music director for a number of films beginning with *Phir Bhi* in 1971.[36] He also worked as a music composer and producer for A.I.R. in Lucknow from 1954 to 1969. From 1980, he was Director of the music division at the Government of India Documentary Films Division, where he composed and produced music for films.[37] He has also released a number of CDs of traditional Hindustani classical music, as well as of more eclectic projects, and has performed internationally on his own and with American bānsurī player Steve Gorn. In 1994, he was the recipient of the Sangeet Natak Akademi Award.[38]

Vijay Raghav Rao

According to his MySpace site,[39] Vijay Raghav Rao was born in 1925, and has played the flute since childhood. But while he focused earlier in his life on classical dance and Karnatak music, he changed his focus to Hindustani classical music in 1945 and began studying with Ravi Shankar. Rao continued his studies with Shankar for many years, and the two frequently worked together. Rao has maintained an active career as a performer of Hindustani classical bānsurī both in India and internationally, and has made a number of recordings. While he was never a disciple of PG, Suraj Narayan Purohit (p.c.) suggests that Rao may have had some lessons or possibly less formal interaction with PG. Whether or not Rao learned directly from PG, he seems to have emulated PG's style in some ways. Gurudev Sharan, writing about Rao for the Times of India in 1969, observed that "in the happy harmony of his master's virtuosity and his own originality, there is also the perceptible influence of Pannalal's style in his playing" (Sharan, January 12, 1969). While one might expect certain similarities between Rao and PG due to the fact that they were both learning within the Maihar gharānā, the parallels seem to go beyond this.

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[35] From http://www.shakuhachi.com/F-Bansuri-Styles.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[36] From http://www.downmelodylane.com/raghunathseth.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[37] From http://www.shakuhachi.com/F-Bansuri-Styles.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[38] From http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raghunath_Seth (accessed September 12, 2010).

[39] http://www.myspace.com/vijayraghavrao (accessed September 12, 2010).

Some similarities can be heard in his recording of Darbārī Kanada.[40] First, Rao plays on a seven-hole flute, one of PG's most conspicuous contributions to bānsurī performance (though Rao plays an F flute rather than the E or Eb played by PG). He also plays a bass flute, another of PG's innovations, to develop the mandra saptak down to Sa. Like PG, he patiently develops the rāg in ālāp-style barhat over an ati vilambit tāl (in this case, ektāl). He also proceeds to a somewhat joṛ-like section. He plays different compositions than did PG in his recording of Darbārī, but the drut tintāl composition he plays (see **Example 20**) is reminiscent of PG's compositional style in its use of a layakari pattern at the beginning of the sthāi.[41] Like PG, Rao ventures into the third octave of the bānsurī at a peak of his performance, playing up to Sa two octaves above the initial Sa.

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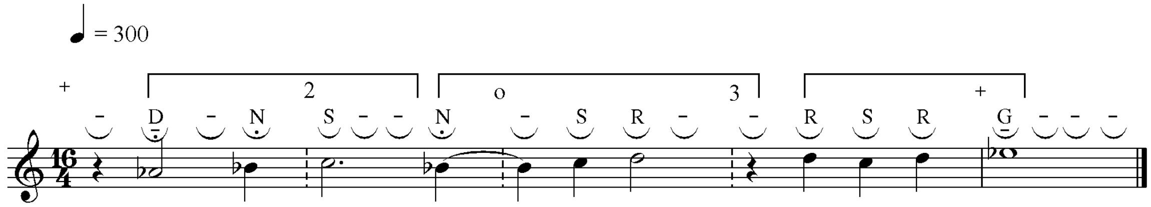
[40] From his album *Masterpieces: Contemplation* (Red and Green), available on the website http://www.indianflutemusic.com/flute-masters/vijay-raghav-rao.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

[41] This composition is listed as "Tarana Darbari Kanada", supporting the idea that some of PG's drut tintal compositions were at least partially inspired by tarāna.

Example 20: Beginning of Tarāna Darbārī Kanada

Artist: Vijay Raghav Rao Rāg: Darbārī
Tāl: drut tīntāl Source: *Masterpieces: Contemplation*



In his performance of rāg Todī,[42] he plays in vilambit jhaptāl rather than an ati vilambit tāl, but other characteristics of the performance are suggestive of PG’s model (and of course PG also played in jhaptāl at times). The use of the seventh hole is more conspicuous here than in Darbārī Kanada, since tīvra Ma is a prominent feature of rāg Todī. Rao uses the seventh hole both to play down to mandra saptak tīvra Ma, and to execute fast embellishments around Pa. Rao plays all the way up to komal Ga two octaves and a minor third above the initial Sa, a feat comfortably accomplished by few besides PG. Lastly, Rao’s performance here features judicious (not excessive for a vocal-derived style) use of tihais, and a suggestion of jhālā using tongued repeated notes (though the jhālā feeling is not sustained, and he reverts to playing fast tāns).

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[42] Rao, *Masterpieces: Contemplation*.

G. S. Sachdev

According to Bhai Baldeep Singh,[43] Gurbachan Singh Sachdev was born in 1935 in Lyallpur, Punjab, and began playing the bānsurī when he was fourteen years old. He studied with Vijay Raghav Rao for twelve years, then became a student of Ravi Shankar. He lived in Bombay from 1958 to 1966, playing for films for a living before taking a position teaching bānsurī at the Ali Akbar Khan College of Music in California in 1970. He left the school in 1976 to devote more time to his international performance career and to open his own Bansuri School of Music in Berkeley, California. He has made numerous recordings, one of which was ranked in the top ten in the 1992 *Billboard* Critics Choice award, another receiving the 1993 *Billboard* award in the "alternative/world music" category.

His stylistic approach resembles that of PG in many ways, as did that of his teacher, Vijay Raghav Rao. He plays a seven-hole flute (though with a somewhat different fingering technique than PG), usually in F. Like PG and Rao, he has a three-octave range on the bānsurī. The flow of his playing has a placid lyricism (perhaps even more so than Rao), and he commonly develops his rāgs over ati vilambit tāls. Bhai Baldeep Singh stated that Sachdev "has a newfound penchant for *taal jhumra*, in which he is planning a newer album."[44] As jhūmrā tāl was one of PG's preferred tāls, this may suggest the continuing inspiration of PG late into Sachdev's career. Like PG, his ālāp-style barhat proceeds to an emulation of a kind of madhya ālāp, though with fewer levels of rhythmic density and without the emphasis on repeated notes typical of dhrupad madhya ālāp. He tends to conclude his drut performance with fast tāns rather than the kind of jhālā-derived peak that PG introduced to the bānsurī, though he sometimes performs ālāp-joṛ-jhālā as a separate item. Generally speaking, Sachdev's approach is very vocal, with relatively few tantrakari elements.

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[43] From an article by Bhai Baldeep Singh at http://www.apnaorg.com/articles/baldeep-1/ (accessed September 12, 2010).

[44] Ibid.

Hariprasad Chaurasia

Hariprasad Chaurasia has dominated the Hindustani classical bānsurī scene since the 1970s. More than any other flutist, he can be said to have created an alternative approach to bānsurī playing, in many ways distinct from that of PG. Much has been written about him already, including a Master's thesis by Catherine Potter, and the biographies *Hariprasad Chaurasia: Romance of the Reed* by Uma Vasudev, and *Woodwinds of Change: The Authorized Biography of Padmavibhushan Hariprasad Chaurasia* by Surjit Singh. He was born in Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh in 1938, and his father was a well-known wrestler who expected his son to follow in his footsteps. This is an interesting parallel with PG, who was also deeply involved in physical training. The discipline involved in such exercise may well have prepared each of them for the rigorous practice required to become a world-class bānsurī player. This has been discussed regarding PG, and Chaurasia states: "Maybe because of the strength and stamina I built up then, I'm able to play the bansuri even to this day"[45]

By the time he was fifteen years old, however, Chaurasia's interest lay predominantly in music, and he began vocal lessons with Raja Ram from Benares. He decided to take up flute soon after this after hearing a bānsurī recital by Bholanath. At the age of nineteen he left home to take a job playing for A.I.R. in Cuttack, Orissa.[46] According to Uma Vasudev (2005, 123-24), he approached PG for lessons at this time but was turned down. Given the willingness of PG to take on students documented above, this seems out of character. But this would have been quite near the end of PG's life at a time when he was very busy with his position as director of the National Orchestra in Delhi, so it may simply have been unfortunate timing.

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[45] From an interview in The Hindu in October, 1995 available at http://www.hinduismtoday.com/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=3470 (accessed September 12, 2010).

About five years later, Chaurasia was transferred to the Bombay headquarters. After having established himself as a player in the film world, he sought to expand his knowledge of Hindustani classical music. For two years, he sought to study with Annapurna Devi, daughter of Allauddin Khan. She finally accepted him as a student in 1968 on the condition that he discard everything he had learned about music and start anew (Potter 1993, 41). The knowledge he developed through his period of study with her was instrumental in his gaining international recognition in the 1970s.

Potter, writing in 1993, states that Chaurasia "gives an average of twenty to thirty concerts a month with approximately three foreign tours a year" (Potter 1993, 42). He has made numerous recordings, and received much official recognition. Among his many awards and honors, he received both the Padma Bhusan and the Padma Vibhushan, two of India's highest civilian honors, was given the title of "Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau" in the Netherlands in 2008, and was appointed as "Knight in the Order of Arts and Letters" in France in 2009. He has also been active as a teacher, serving as Artistic Director at the Rotterdam Music Conservatory for over fifteen years, and running his own *gurukul* in Mumbai. His international cross-cultural collaborations include performances and recordings with such renowned musicians as John McLaughlin and Jan Garbarek, and he has composed music for Indian films.[47]

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[46] From http://www.hariprasadchaurasia.com/biography.htm (accessed September 12, 2010).

Like PG, Chaurasia became an exponent of the Maihar gharānā. But while there are certain similarities in their styles, Chaurasia seems to have made a conscious effort to forge his own path. As discussed earlier, Chaurasia chose to develop his style on a six-hole bānsurī rather than the seven-hole bānsurī played by PG. Many of the subtle differences that result from this have already been discussed in Chapter 5 (p. 48-52). Chaurasia normally plays an E flute, giving him a similar depth of sound to PG. However, his range tends to be about two octaves as compared to PG's three octaves. Flute-maker and bānsurī player Jeff Whittier suggests that this is at least partially due to the fact that Chaurasia opts for flutes with a wider bore, which gives a strong low register, but a weaker upper register.[48]

While much has been made about the idea that PG played in a vocal style and Chaurasia plays in an instrumental gat style, this distinction is somewhat overblown, as discussed generally in Chapter 5 (and specifically on p. 52-54). Both emphasize a vocal approach in the main development of the rāg due to the sustain of the bānsurī and the ease of executing mīnḍ on the instrument. Two of the primary differences between their respective styles lie in the compositions played by each in the barā khyāl section, and the nature of the rāg development over the tāl. While PG generally played vocal or vocal-style bandishes with extended barhat, Chaurasia most often plays instrumental gats with limited barhat. Due to his preference for vilambit, madhya lay, and drut tāls, Chaurasia generally does not present the kind of ālāp-like systematic barhat over tāl that was a hallmark of PG’s style. When he does develop a full-scale ālāp, it is either before the gat or as a separate item.

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[47] From http://www.hariprasadchaurasia.com/biography.htm (accessed September 12, 2010).
[48] From http://www.shakuhachi.com/F-Bansuri-Styles.html (accessed September 12, 2010).

However, as discussed in detail in Chapter 5, PG’s drut compositions show many elements of a plucked-string instrumental model. Chaurasia tends to engage in more layakari in his tāns than did PG, though PG certainly made good use of layakari. Generally speaking, Chaurasia uses more tonguing than did PG, suggesting more of an affiliation with sitar/sarod style on Chaurasia’s part, while PG largely avoided tonguing to avoid breaking the flow of the line. But as discussed in Chapter 5 (p. 29-32) in relation to PG’s Miyan Malhar performance, PG used tonguing and double-tonguing extensively and virtuosically on both single-pitch and melodically active lines in his jhālā-like presentation in the final portion of some of his performances. Both Chaurasia and PG have blended gāyaki and tantrakari models—the difference is primarily a matter of proportion.

Conclusion

The number of bānsurī players in Hindustani classical music performance today has increased dramatically since PG first brought the instrument to prominence. Many of the performers discussed above have trained a number of younger players who have begun to make names for themselves. Vijay Raghav Rao’s student Ronu Majumdar has developed a substantial following, as has Hariprasad Chaurasia’s nephew, Rakesh Chaurasia. Many other younger bānsurī players are gaining reputations as accomplished bānsurī players, and other highly talented performers have yet to gain wide popular recognition. The bānsurī is now also ubiquitous in film music, popular music, kathak dance ensembles, and various other musical situations. Styles and fashions have changed since PG first popularized the bānsurī, but the importance of his legacy continues to the present day.

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