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PANDIT BHATKHANDE

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INTRODUCTION

THE LATTER HALF of the 19th Century could be considered as one of the most remarkable periods in the history of India. It was during this period of the 19th Century, *i.e.* between 1850 and 1900 that a number of outstanding personalities appeared on the horizon of India and tried to revitalize the Indian nation in all walks of life. For instance, Lokmanya Tilak in Maharashtra, Swami Vivekananda and Shri Aurobindo Ghosh in Bengal, Lala Lajpat Rai and Ram Teertha in the Punjab, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, and Shri Kastoori Ranga Iyengar in the South, are some of the persons who were torch bearers of this new awakening.

This was, in fact, the period of the Indian renaissance. British rule was being stabilised and the Indian intelligentsia, through its educational system was coming in contact with the western ideas. New thoughts, new ideologies, and the new scientific outlook were creating a new consciousness in the minds of the educated class. The thinkers and the leaders of the country were trying to revive the ancient glory of India and at the same time were introducing new revolutionary trends of thoughts in the society. Nationalism, consciousness of the ancient Indian heritage and the spirit of democracy were the direct outcome of this process of thought.

In Maharashtra, a new generation of selfless workers, dedicated to the cause of the nation was coming up. The

teachings of Mahadev Govind Ranade and Vishnushastri Chiplunkar had inspired the younger generation to spread knowledge to the masses, to make people socially and politically conscious and to reorganise society on democratic principles. This new urge necessitated the use of all the possible cultural media such as education, literature, stage, and other arts. This idealism also resulted in a strong puritanic outlook of life.

In the field of music also, efforts were being made to recognise it as an essential part of our national culture and to revive its past glory. Music had, till then, fallen into the hands of an unimaginative and illiterate class of artistes and had become a matter of privilege and enjoyment for the limited number of rich people. The spirit of revival and reform sought to change this state of affairs. The pioneers of this movement were two inspired youths—Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande (better known as Pandit Bhatkhande) and Vishnu Digambar Paluskar known better as Pandit Vishnu Digambar, two Vishnus, who dedicated their lives to the cause of the uplift of music.

It is for this reason that a student of Musicology cannot make his beginning without studying their lives and the immense work they have done in the field. Though both were contemporaries, the work that each undertook, in the field of music, was rather different in nature. Whereas Bhatkhande dedicated his whole life to research in ancient and contemporary Indian music and endeavoured to give a systematic shape to it, Paluskar endeavoured to spread music practically and to gain for it a respectable place in society. Till that time the musicians were considered as of a lower strata of the society and respectable persons,

though they appreciated their art, looked down upon them. The modern generation would perhaps find it difficult to conceive the plight of the Indian musicians and the art of music in those days. These two stalwarts worked for the uplift of the art of music and of musicians and with undaunted courage and tenacity they worked throughout their lives to attain this goal. It is a tribute to them that they nearly realized that goal in their life time.

This biography of Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande has been written by Padmabhushan Dr. S.N. Ratanjankar.

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May 15, 1967

B. V. KESKAR

I

THREE YEARS had passed since the War of Indian Independence ended in 1857. But the conflagration apparently quenched, had left behind smouldering passions under the ashes of a semblance of peace. Great national leaders like Lokamanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipinchandra Pal, Surendranath Banerji, Feroze Shah Mehta were, some of them, just learning to walk and talk; others were not yet born. These later became the builders of the Indian Nation. They were the noble pioneers. They preceded the Mahatma, who ultimately liberated India from foreign bondage.

Pandit Bhatkhande was also one of these nation builders, but he worked in an entirely different sphere. His field of work was Hindustani music. He turned out to be an epoch making national figure in that field, a symbol of our culture.

Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande, known all over the country as Pandit Bhatkhande, was born on Shri Krishna Janma Ashtami in the Shaka Year 1782 corresponding to the 10th August 1860 A.D. His father, Narayanrao Bhatkhande was the manager and accountant of a large estate in Bombay. He had three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, by name Appaji, was an officer in the Police Department of the Bombay Province. The second one was Gajanana, known in public as Vishnu, whose life and deeds are the subject of this sketch. ~~The third one~~

was Haribhau, who was in service in a firm in Bombay. Appaji died young, leaving behind a son. Vishnu had a daughter, but both, the daughter and her mother, died soon afterwards.

The family lived at Walkeshwar, a holy shrine at the foot of a small hill called Malabar Hill on the coast. Walkeshwar, or more correctly Walukeshwar, is so called after the name of a holy shrine of Lord Shiva. 'Waluka' means sand. The temple of Shiva was erected on a plot of sandy land and hence it was called Walukeshwara—Lord of the Sands. The history of this temple is not known. But it appears that it was there, in the old Island of Bombay, before it was transferred to the British by the Portuguese as a dowry in marriage to Charles II of England. Today both, Malabar Hill and Walkeshwar, are well-known landmarks of Bombay.

The Bhatkhandes seem to have migrated from a village, called Nagaon in Konkan, to Bombay. Narayanrao Bhatkhande had a small temple of Shree Dattatreya in his house at Walkeshwar, Dattatreya being the family deity. They were simple folk, living a modest life. They were far from affluent.

Vishnu seems to have had some latent talent for music, even as a child and, as was customary then, must have been awakened by the sweet lullabies sung by his mother. The father too was not a stranger to music. He was fond of playing on the Indian harp, or 'Swaramandal', as it is called. But the parents never intended nor did they ever expect their son to distinguish himself in or become a great rejuvenator in the domain of Hindustani music. In those days, music was considered as an occupation fit only for the idlers and good-for-nothings, an occupation

pursued by the illiterate. Musicians were thought by respectable society to be a bad lot, and were shunned. However, young Vishnu imbibed the fragrance of music deeply enough from the beginning and its hold on him went on increasing so that he helped in spreading it far and wide throughout the country. In his childhood, he used to sing little nursery songs in a nice voice and won prizes at his school for his musical recitals of poems and songs. Later on, he took a fancy to play on the flute. The locality of Walkeshwar was full of Marwadis, Gujaratis and Gosais, who were, all of them, a religious-minded people. They were fond of propitiating their God by music, dance and drama. Rama-Naumi, Janma-Ashtami, Diwali, Holi, all were observed with great festivity by the people of the locality, all working in cooperation with one another in a spirit of love and mutual regard. At these festivals, young Vishnu was an important figure. He was always in the forefront and often would take the lead in organising programmes. His participation in the festivals became inevitable, for how could there ever be a drama without music? Little Vishnu (known as Raju) was the only one in the locality who could give music both by his voice or on his favourite flute. Amidst the usual daily school routine and its mechanical drudgery, music used to soften the hardships. To an intelligent, quick-witted boy with a retentive memory like Vishnu, the school lessons were far from a burden. The class lessons helped him in keeping up with mathematics, history, geography and language of his school standard. Music was never a hindrance to his progress in school. The parents were, however, feeling worried, thinking that the boy would be lost in music, and would turn a vagabond and they

did warn him at times against his unwarranted enthusiasm for music.

Well, Vishnu passed his Matric and entered college in 1880, having completed his school career. He studied at the Elphinstone High School. This school was, in those days, somewhere near Parel, nearly five to six miles away from Walkeshwar.

Let us now have a look at Vishnu—the school boy. Imagine a tall, fair complexioned, young boy, with a head shaven in the old Brahmin fashion. An erect carriage, prominent and broad forehead, very bright eyes, full of life, a straight nose and a broad chest, long arms, fingers and legs, wearing a Dhoti, a shirt and a coat and a cap pushed back and worn loosely like a skull cap, and we have before us the image of Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande in his teens. He was always the leader in any group he joined. In his school days he had his boy friends who gathered round him with admiration and acknowledged him as their leader. In those days, there were no buses or trams plying in Bombay. Motors and Victorias were the only vehicles available. A car was out of question for a family of limited finances. The Victoria (horse carriage) would cost at least a couple of rupees a day. This too was beyond the means of his parents. He, therefore, walked the long distance to the school in company with his schoolmates, enlivening the walk with witty talk. This spirit of cheerfulness and sociability he kept up till the end. Due to his tall stature, his pace was generally so fast that others with a shorter stature found it difficult to keep up with him.

During college career, young Bhatkhande took to Sitar playing. One Gopal Giri, one of the Gosai residents of Walkeshwar locality, used to play on Sitar. He was a

pupil of Ali Hussain Khan Beenkar. Vishnu happened to hear him play on Sitar, and took a fancy to the instrument. He was then introduced to Vallabhdas Damulji, a blind gentleman of the Bhatia community of Bombay. Vallabhdas was a Sitar player and Beenkar. He had himself learnt Sitar from the well-known Jeevanlal Maharaj, the religious head of one of the Vaishnavite temples of Bhuleshwar in Bombay. Jeevanlal Maharaj learnt Sitar from Pannalal Bajpeyi of Banaras. Maharaj Jeevanlalji was a great Been player of Bombay acknowledged and reputed as such, even by the professional Ustads of Bombay of that time. It is said that he played four of his favourite Ragas, namely Darbari-Kanhada, Bageshri, Kedara and Malkauns with such effect that people remembered it long afterwards.

Vallabhdas Damulji had enough wealth left to enable him to maintain himself. But being blind he concentrated on music and specialised in Sitar and Been, being trained under Jeevanlal Maharaj. He lived in a house near Walkeshwar and young Vishnu expressed his desire to learn Sitar. Vallabhdas agreed and asked him to come to him every night at late hours when he played his Sitar and Been, and Vishnu started going to his house every night. Vallabhdas was not a professional musician and charged no fees. Knowing that his parents would object to this, Vishnu managed to go to Vallabhdas without their knowledge. Two or three months were spent thus listening to the Been recitals without any actual lessons. Vishnu had even to do some personal services now and then for his Guru as was the custom in those days. Vishnu was much impressed with the exquisite music on the Been and Sitar. He became devoted to the Guru

and kept on attending regularly without taking lessons. Perhaps Vallabhdas wanted to test his pupil's patience. Vishnu in the meanwhile was intently watching his Guru playing on the Sitar, noting down in his mind the left hand fingering on the keyboard and the strokes on the wire. He secured a Sitar and tried to practise by himself under the guidance of Gopal Giri. By the time Vallabhdas felt confident regarding the seriousness of purposes of Vishnu and wanted to start the lessons, Vishnu had made sufficient progress, to his surprise. Having been a songster and flute player since his very childhood, Vishnu had acquired a good 'Swaragyan' (knowledge of musical notes) and took no time in reproducing the Gats and Torhas taught to him. Vallabhdas was mightily pleased with his pupil and taught him with interest and enthusiasm. Soon after, Vishnu started playing Sitar before audiences in small private gatherings. A circle of friends and admirers gathered round him always eager to listen to his Sitar recitals. He became a reputed Sitar player in Bombay. All this was going on side by side with his college studies.

II

THE LATE 19th century was an eventful period for music in Bombay. Immediately after the war of independence of 1857, having lost the patronage of princes and Royal courts, a good many musicians, mostly Muslims, began to visit British built modern cities like Bombay and Calcutta where they gave programmes of Ragadari music, vocal and instrumental. Great musicians like Bande Ali Khan, Ali Hussain Khan—both Beenkars, Pannalal Bajpeyi—Sitaria, Tanras Khan, Inayat Khan, Mohammad Khan and Rahmat Khan—sons of Haddu Khan, Nissar Hussain Khan, Natthan Khan—all veteran vocalists visited Bombay and gave programmes of music. These vocalists specialised in the traditional Khayal style. Bande Ali Khan and Ali Hussain Khan had no equals in Been playing. The former always had with him his pupil, a songstress by name Chunna, who demonstrated all his ideas by her sweet voice. These great masters had acquired such command over their voices or instruments that to the Bombay city listeners the Royal Court art of Ragadari music was a revelation and a good many of them became permanent devotees of that art. Vishnu was one of such listeners. He never missed a music concert where these masters sang or played on instruments. The knowledge gathered at these music concerts was stored in his keen and receptive mind. The sweetness of the melodies and their expert presentation apart, there appeared to be a tradi-

tional uniformity in the forms of the melodies as well as in the process of extempore elaborations thereof which could not but inspire a receptive mind to think of their scientific background. A regular and serious study of the theory of music started. The old available literature in Sanskrit, Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi was carefully studied and notes of important topics were jotted down.

In the meanwhile the Sitar recitals in private gatherings continued. On one occasion the father was invited to one of these gatherings. It was a very successful and effective programme and his father must have had a mixed feeling of pride for his son's progress in the art of playing on the instrument on the one hand, and doubt regarding his academic career, on the other. But Vishnu duly passed his B.A. in 1885 and LL.B. in 1887. In 1884 he joined the Gayan Uttejak Mandali, a music club founded and run by some wealthy members of the Parsi community of Bombay. Somehow, the Parsis westernised to a great extent, at least at that time retained a genuine taste for Hindustani music. They were, in those days, great patrons of the art and often organised music sittings in Gayan Uttejak Mandali, inviting all great Ustads, resident in Bombay or coming from outside.

As a member of the Gayan Uttejak Mandali, Vishnu had the advantage of listening to the performances of great artistes like Tanras Khan, Inayat Hussain Khan, Natthan Khan, Ali Hussain Khan Beenkar. Besides, he started collecting traditional and authoritative compositions of music: Dhrupads, Horis, Khayals, Taranas, Thumris, etc. from the Ustads who were in the service of the Gayan Uttejak Mandali. One Raoji Buwa Belbaugkar, a Dhrupad singer, who is said to have learnt

Dhrupad from his father and also to have been a pupil of Zainulabdeen Khan of Hyderabad (Dn.), was in the employ of the Gayan Uttejak Mandali. Vishnu learnt about 300 Dhrupads from Raoji Buwa in the Gayan Uttejak Mandali. He also collected a good number of Khayals from Ali Hussain Khan and his maternal uncle Vilayat Hussain, both of whom were also in the service of the Gayan Uttejak Mandali. Vishnu considered these traditional musical compositions very important for getting a correct idea of the forms of the Ragas that were in vogue. In fact, he looked upon these as the basis for a fresh systematization of Modern Hindustani music. By this time, he had gone through all the old literature on music available at the time and found that the theories propounded in the old texts (Granthas) had gone out of vogue and had little bearing on the practice of music in its modern form. The practical musicians, a large majority of whom were Muslims, had no knowledge of the old texts or their theories. They only practised and demonstrated the Ragas, composed songs in them and sang them according to the traditions of their Gharanas (families) handed down from father to son or from teacher to pupil with the additions and alterations inevitable in an oral system of training and in the absence of a notation system. These traditions, which had become established, notwithstanding their deviation from the old theories, were the basis of Modern Hindustani music. On this basis Bhatkhande started thinking and building up a fully systematised theory of music and classification of the Indian melodies.

This scientific approach to the art of music was very much appreciated by his fellow-members of the Mandali

and he was requested by them to explain his thoughts on music in periodical talks at the Mandali. The series of talks started and thus began the career of Pt. Bhatkhande as a research scholar and exponent of the musical art.

In the meanwhile, he had started his legal practice. For a year or so, at start, he practised in Karachi. He was a specialist in Criminal Law and the Act of Evidence. He also conducted Law classes in Bombay for a few years. He composed little verses on the clauses of the Evidence Act, set them to music and taught them in the classes. His students, in this way, were enabled to learn the clauses and sub-clauses by heart. He was an expert in cross examination and there was hardly a legal case which he did not win.

It was at this time that he was appointed trustee of a large estate of lands and buildings, left by a successful and wealthy lawyer of Bombay, M. Shantaram Narayan Patkar, to his widowed daughter, Mrs. Dhaklibai Sukthankar. Her children were minors and she was herself not able to look after the property. Patkar had built a house at Walkeshwar on the sea-coast. He knew the Bhatkhandes and having had a very good opinion about Vishnu's cultural and educational standing and his legal acumen, he entrusted the care of the property to him.

III

DURING HIS STUDY of the old texts, Bhatkhande found that the language was, in many places, either not clear enough or, was ambiguous. Again, the definitions and rules had a reference to practice, which was in vogue in those times, and had now become obsolete. For example Bharata had only 9 notes, seven Shuddha and two Vikrit, in his scale of music; Sharngadeva had Vikrit (Chyuta) स and Vikrit (Chyuta) ण, both of which are Achala (immovable) Swaras in modern music in India (both Karnatic and Hindustani), and that the very nomenclature of the Shuddha and Vikrit Swaras of the Karnatic system was very different from that of the Hindustani one. This state of affairs was confusing to Bhatkhande. Proper understanding of the basic ideas of the two systems was necessary. This could not be achieved without first-hand information from the scholars of the Karnatic music system.

In the meanwhile Bhatkhande was formulating a theory of music and the rules of the Ragas based on the prevailing practice or the traditional compositions and the demonstrations given by great artists to which he carefully listened from time to time. He would also discuss these problems with artists invited to perform at the Mandali and gather whatever information and facts they could give. He would read his notes to his friends at the Mandali. Thus, his *Lakshya Sangeet* and *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati*

were already in the making.

Raoji Buwa died in about 1895 and Nazir Khan a music Ustad joined service at the Mandali. Nazir Khan was a leading Sarangi player of those days in Bombay. He had heard and accompanied on Sarangi and perhaps also, by voice, veteran masters (Ustads) like Inayat Hussain Khan and was a knowledgeable and experienced man in music. He had learnt some traditional songs and could sing them with competence. Unlike the usual professional Ustads, he got interested in Vishnu's talks on music and was greatly impressed by the easy and clear terms in which he explained the general theory of music and the rules of the Ragas. Nazir Khan took his pupil, Mr. Wadilal Shivram, who worked as a composer of music and music director in a Gujarati dramatic company, to Bhatkhande to study the Sangeet Shastras under his guidance. Mr. Wadilal, besides being a musician and composer of music, was also learned in Sanskrit literature. He found that Bhatkhande was not only a theorist, but had in his possession quite a good stock of the traditional compositions, which he sang perfectly in a tuneful voice. Wadilal was greatly impressed with his knowledge and practical ability in music, his great culture and high educational attainments. He became a permanent devotee of Bhatkhande. This attachment was so deep that he continued his zeal even after Bhatkhande's death. Wadilal studied all old Sanskrit texts on music then available, under Bhatkhande's instructions and learnt hundreds of traditional compositions.

During the time he was having lessons from Nazir Khan, Wadilal used to meet Muhammad Khan, the eldest son of Natthan Khan. Muhammad Khan used to stay very

near Nazir Khan in Bhindi Bazar and often used to visit him. Due to a defect in his voice he never sang in concerts but he had learnt thoroughly a good stock of traditional musical compositions. Wadilalji and Muhammad Khan had become good friends and he often mentioned about Bhatkhande and his efforts in the field of music, particularly his ardent desire to learn traditional songs from Ustads and his willingness to pay for them. One day, Wadilal and Muhammad Khan happened to be walking together in the Bhindi Bazar locality. Suddenly, Muhammad Khan stopped walking, and tapping Wadilal on the shoulder, pointed to a Muslim young man who passed by on the other side of the road and said, "Mr. Wadilal, your Guru Bhatkhande is anxious to learn traditional songs (Chizas). Here is the man who can give him as many as he wants. He is Ashaq Ali Khan, son of Muhammad Ali Khan of Jaipur. The family is known as Kothiwalas due to the fact that they have a store house, so to say, of songs of old Gharana. Ashaq Ali is, at present, rather in a tight condition financially and stands in need of money. In fact, he has come to Bombay to earn money. If you like, you can introduce him to Mr. Bhatkhande." Wadilal jumped at the suggestion and got introduced to him. Next day he informed Bhatkhande about this incident, and introduced him to Ashaq Ali Khan. After hearing a few Khayals from Ashaq Ali, Bhatkhande realised their great value and engaged Ashaq Ali to teach him his Khayals on a certain amount of monthly payment. Ashaq Ali would sing his Khayals and Bhatkhande would take them down with notation and Taal marks and reproduce them from the notations by voice. Ashaq Ali was wonder struck at such a quick reproduction of his

songs. Within 2 or 3 months about 250 Khayals were learnt and recorded with notation. News about this spread among the Ustads in Bombay. Letters were written to Jaipur to Muhammad Ali Khan. The grand old man at once came over to Bombay, went to Pandit Bhatkhande's house and asked him to sing the Khayals he had learnt from Ashaq Ali Khan. Bhatkhande took out his note book and sang the Khayals from the notation. The old gentleman got into an uncontrollable fit of anger and began to abuse his son bitterly, saying: "You emptied my house of its valuable jewels, better it were that you died of hunger and want before you parted with this family treasure." Bhatkhande could not control himself and with tears in his eyes fell at the feet of Muhammad Ali Khan and said, "Forgive me, it is I, who am now your pupil, who is to be blamed, not your son, for taking advantage of his low financial condition. Be sure, Sir, that the Khayals that I have learnt from him will never be misused. I shall ever remain grateful to you and acknowledge your obligations." By his sincere appeal, the old Khan Sahib calmed down and the storm was over. Bhatkhande later showed him his note book and the full list of compositions he had learnt and demonstrated a good-many vocally. He also gave him a general outline of his work in the field of music and sang some Lakshan Geetas to him. Muhammad Ali Khan became so much delighted that he offered to add to the stock by teaching him a few more compositions. These were learnt and recorded on paper with notations. Moreover, Muhammad Ali's and Ashaq Ali's own voices were recorded on gramophone, singing these Khayals. It would have been a rare historical record for Hindustani music. Unfortunately,

these records seem to have been stored without Bhatkhande's knowledge, in a place where they were spoilt by insects and rats. In all about 300 Khayals and Sadhras were learnt from Muhammad Ali Khan and Ashaq Ali Khan. Bhatkhande rewarded both the father and the son with handsome payments. He considered himself as Muhammad Ali Khan's pupil and has acknowledged him as his Guru in the book *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati*.

Nazir Khan used to get news about Bhatkhande's activities in music from Wadilal, besides having had occasions to meet him at the Mandali almost everyday and discuss topics of music with him. He was a man of frank and amiable disposition. He became an admirer and friend. He learnt from Bhatkhande some of the theoretical aspects of Hindustani music and committed to memory a few Sanskrit Shlokas. A few years later, Bhatkhande started composing the definitions of Ragas in songs (Lakshan Geetas) some of which he taught to Nazir Khan. Nazir Khan himself taught these to his pupils like Anjanibai Malpekar of Bombay, Achhan Bai of Lucknow and others.

Bhatkhande lost his wife and an infant daughter at about this time and was left alone in the world. Law in the court and music at home were the only two things to fill his life after these bereavements.

In 1904, Mrs. Dhaklibai Sukthankar proposed going on a pilgrimage to the holy places of South India. She wanted Bhatkhande to accompany the party. Thus started his Southern tour. Regarding the necessity and advantages of his research tours he says :

"It is a general notion among people that our Hindu music is an ancient and very important branch of know-

ledge. It is not intended here to turn down this notion as erroneous. It will never be fitting to say so. We have before us quite a large number of names of the Sanskrit texts on music and some of them are even available for our study. But the question that arises in our minds is 'Is there any connection between the theories of these texts and the art that we consider today as music?' We may have read the Granthas and even understood them, and yet, if there is no connection between the music propounded in the Granthas and the music which is in practice today *i.e.* if the music which is in vogue today is entirely different from that explained in the Granthas why bother to study the Granthas? Such a question was put to me by many people. It must be admitted that it is difficult to give a satisfactory answer. Can we say that we sing the music that has been explained in *Ratnakar*, *Darpana*, *Ragabodha*, *Parijat*, etc., following their rules? Just because the names of the notes or the names (only) of the Ragas given in the Granthas are still in vogue, can we claim that we sing the ancient music? The descriptions of the Ragas as given in the Granthas do not fit in with their forms as they are today. If, on the other hand, we try to sing the Ragas according to their descriptions in the Granthas, some of them will not appeal to us, to some, we shall give fresh names. If such is the state of affairs, why study the Granthas and why call that person who has studied the Granthas a learned scholar of music? What is the use of such a musicologist for modern form of music? Such questions do face us. Do they not and if so, what reply could we give to them? The ten types of Ragas as given in *Ratnakar* may be explained with their names and detailed rules, but can we find even a

single scholar who will be able to sing these and reconcile them with at least some of the Ragas now in vogue? What is then the use of these Granthas? Why not, some people will say, take up the music that is in vogue today itself independently, study the forms it has developed through the past ages and write a separate independent work on modern music.

“Such thoughts often used to arise in my mind too. Some friends suggested that I should take up a tour of the Madras province where some solution of these important questions may be obtained. The music that is practised there has the authority of the texts. The names and rules of the Ragas are, to a great extent, still current there today. I had noted in my mind this suggestion for all these years and thought of touring that side at the first opportunity. That chance has come now and we are leaving for Madras on....

“I am going to visit all the (musically) important towns. I am going to find out the texts which lend the Shastrik authority to the music in vogue there and see if they have any link with ancient works like *Ratnakar*. If I am able to do so, I shall consider it a useful service to music”.

IV

IN HIS FIRST TOUR TO THE SOUTH, Bhatkhande visited Madras, Tanjore, Madura, Etayapuram, Bangalore and Mysore. He met musicians and musicologists of these places and also visited the Public Libraries. At Etayapuram he met Shri Subram Dixitar, a descendant of Govind Dixitar and Venkatmakhi, the author of the work *Chaturdandi Prakashika*. He got some useful information from Subram Dixitar. He acquired from him the manuscript of *Chaturdandi Prakashika*. He also got Ramamatya's *Swara-mela-kalanidhi* Tulajendra's *Sangeet Saramrit* and another work by name *Raga Lakshana* copied out for him by the Librarians. On return to Bombay he got all these works printed and published and made them available to the public at a nominal price of 4 to 8 annas per copy. It was he who for the first time made it known to the public in the north that there were two distinct systems, the Karnatic and the Hindustani and that the nomenclatures of the Shuddha and Vikrit Swaras of these systems were different from one another. Even in South India itself these works were little known and it was after Bhatkhande's publication that the attention of people in South was drawn to them. The Madras Music Academy which has now taken up the editing and publishing of some of these texts, was founded in 1927 at least 12 years after Bhatkhande published the texts of these. The late Shri M. S. Rama Swami Aiyar

of Madura edited and published *Swara-mela-kalanidhi* in 1932 i.e. about 20 years after the publication of the text by Bhatkhande in Bombay.

The second tour, again in the company of Mrs. Sukthankar and her children, was made in the year 1907 to the East: Nagpur, Calcutta, Hyderabad (Dn.) and Vijayanagar. At Calcutta, besides some other musicologists, he met Raja Sir Sourindra Mohan Tagore. The discussions and exchange of thoughts resulted in friendship and mutual regard between him and the Raja Sahib which continued till the latter's death. Raja Tagore was much impressed by Bhatkhande's deep study of the old texts. He modified some of his ideas after discussing them with Bhatkhande, who gave him correct interpretations of the texts.

A pilgrimage to Jagannath Puri followed. From Jagannath Puri, the party went to Vijayanagar, where he met some people interested in music and also visited the Library of the Maharaja. The last place visited in the eastern tour was Hyderabad (Dn.). At Hyderabad, he met Kashinath Shastri Appa Tulsi and a number of professional musicians of Tanras Khan's family, Ghulam Ghore, Umrao Khan, Abdul Karim Khan, Muhammad Siddique, besides the Dhrupad singer Murad Khan. To Appa Tulsi, he explained the outline of the theory of music he had formed on the basis of the practice in vogue and Appa Tulsi at once took up the ideas and adopted them with enthusiasm. When Bhatkhande sent his *Shree Mallakshya Sangeetam* to him, Appa Tulsi composed his own couplets of the definitions of the various Ragas explained in *Lakshya Sangeetam*. He wrote three pamphlets in Sanskrit, namely *Sangeet Sudhakar*, *Sangeet*

Kalpadrumanakur and *Raga Chandrika* and one in Hindi namely *Raga Chandrika Sar*, all on the basis of the definitions of Ragas given by Bhatkhande.

The last tour of research, the Northern tour, was made in 1908-9. Places visited were Jabalpur, Allahabad, Banaras, Agra, Delhi, Mathura, Jaipur, Bikaner and Udaipur. He met some people reputed for their scholarship in music, such as Peetamlal Gosai of Allahabad, Ganeshi Lal of Mathura, Pannalal Goswami of Delhi and heard a number of Ustads, particularly Zakiruddeen Khan and his brother Allah Bande Khan at Udaipur. Their style of Alap singing was unique and Bhatkhande appreciated it very much. Mr. Wadilal Shivram had been in Udaipur under the training of Zakiruddeen Khan for some time. He had mentioned to Bhatkhande the style of Alaps practiced by these brothers. At Allahabad he had also met Pandit Shrikrishna Joshi through whose efforts he got a copy of Lochan's *Raga Tarangini*.

At the end of all these tours, Bhatkhande began the task of collecting and arranging the material gathered. He found rather to his disappointment that the problems that faced him in his study of the old texts, the doubts that arose in his mind regarding the correct interpretation of the sayings of Bharata and Sharngadeva on the fundamental principles of music of the ancient period were not solved. He was eager to find out some link between the systems of Grama-Moorchhana-Jati-Raga system of Bharata and Sharngadeva with the Raga-Ragini or the Mela-Raga system of the later age. Some hope of discovering this link lingered during his discussions with Subram Dixitar of Ettayapuram. But this hope does not seem to have been fulfilled ultimately. In fact he was not able to meet

anyone in the whole of India who could throw light on these doubts. He always had with him an elaborate questionnaire on these points and used to discuss it with the musicologists and musicians he met in his tours.

Giving up all hope of linking up the systems of music of the pre-*Ratnakar* period with the later one he applied himself to the work of reorganisation or re-systematisation of the music that was current in his own times, on the basis, of course, of the "Lakshya", the practice thereof, i.e. the traditional compositions of music and their practical demonstrations with the extempore elaborations by recognised experts. All his life he went on collecting old compositions of music from wherever he could secure them. A few months after he returned to Bombay from his tour, he published the *Lakshya Sangeeta* written in Sanskrit Shlokas and the first part of *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati* in Marathi in 1909. In 1910, Pandit Bhatkhande gave up his legal practice and devoted the rest of his life to the service of music. From his legal practice he had saved enough to maintain himself without the necessity of getting any pecuniary help from anyone.

It was in this year that I saw Pt. Bhatkhande for the first time. I had been taking musical lessons for nearly two years from Honnawar Krishnam Bhat and for a few months after that from Shri Anant Manohar Joshi (known as Antu Buwa) and I was able to sing Khayals and Dhrupads in a few Ragas fairly enough. Shri Shankar Rao Karnad, a friend of Pandit Bhatkhande and my father became interested in my music and one day in 1909 when I was doing my usual practice under the guidance of Anant Manohar Joshi, he came with another person whom he introduced to my father. He was a tall, fair,

bright eyed gentleman, wearing white pants and a long black alpaka coat, buttoned at the top only and all open below exposing a waist-coat and wearing a red turban (Pagadi) of the Poona type. He asked me to carry on my practice with some select compositions. In the end I was asked by the guest to sing the 12 semi-tones of the Hindustani music scale in their order namely, Sa (सा), Komal Ri (रि), Shuddha Ri (रि), Komal Ga (ग), Shuddha Ga (ग), etc. without stop. I do not know how far I succeeded in my efforts. But the new guest patted me and said, "Well done boy, you will turn into a good musician, carry on your practice". He gave me a packet of sweetmeats. After they had left, I was told by my father that this gentleman was Mr. V. N. Bhatkhande, a well-known musician and musicologist. Six months later, my father received a parcel of a complimentary copy each of *Shree Mallakshya Sangeetam* and *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati* from Bhatkhandeji. My father, who was a good scholar of Sanskrit and Marathi and also a fairly advanced Sitar player was always on the look out for a good book of rational information on music. He went through *Lakshya Sangeetam* and *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati* carefully and appreciated their rational and competent treatment of the subject. Later he often studied them.

My closer contact with Pandit Bhatkhande took place in interesting circumstances. In 1910 my father retired from service and we shifted to Poona. Due to the illness of my mother, we returned to Bombay early in 1911. Once my father happened to meet Bhatkhandeji in the tram and he enquired how I was progressing in my music. My father told him that due to the financial condition of the family, my music lessons had to be stopped, though

my musical leanings were the same as before. Bhatkhan-deji asked him to bring me to his house and promised to look after my music lessons. In November, 1911, I was taken by my father to his house and from that time till the end my relations with him became more and more intimate. He asked me to attend the Gayan Uttejak Mandali every evening for my lessons. I was too small to go alone and my father used to take me every evening to the Mandali. Pandit Bhatkhande used to give me lessons separately in a back room of the house. My father bought for me a fresh Tambura and Tabla and my practice of music started again with full vigour at home for 3 or 4 hours every day. My father would not leave me alone and insisted on my regular practise in spite of the fact that he was himself a much worried man. In September, 1912, my mother died and we shifted to Bandra. But my father kept on coming with me to the Mandali for my lessons.

Pandit Bhatkhande first used to explain the broad outlines of the Raga he took up and then teach the 'Nom Tom' (Alaps) of the Raga. When he was satisfied, he would start teaching the compositions in the Raga with their extempore elaborations. He was addressed by his friends in the Mandali as "Rao Saheb". The Ustads, Nazir Khan and others also used to address him as "Rao Saheb". Hence my father, myself, Wadilalji and Shankar Rao Karnad also used to refer to him as Rao Saheb.

He had now started writing the further parts of *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati*, editing the *Swaradhyaya of Sangeet Ratnakar*, *Sangeet Darpan*, *Raga Vibodha* and *Sangeet Parijat* and publishing the texts of the Sanskrit

works on music he had acquired during his tours. By 1914, the 2nd and 3rd parts of *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati* were published. In 1911, he published his own *Lakshan Geetas*, in which the rules of Aroha, Avaroha, Vadi, Samvadi, time of singing and Swara Sangatis of the Ragas were defined. These were most of them Jugal-vandhis (compositions parallel to or based on) of old traditional compositions. Three sections, namely Kallian Thaat, Bilawal Thaat and Khamaj Thaat were published. The *Lakshan Geetas* of all the Ragas coming under these three scales were published. A booklet of about hundred Swara-Malikas, compositions of Swaras, in all popular Ragas set to Talas was also published during this year.

In the second part of the *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati* (in Marathi), the first 135 pages were devoted to detailed discussions on the Swaras and Shrutis and Indian music scales, which was more or less a critical analysis of the discrepancies in the theories of Shrutis and Swaras which were being propagated at that period as the views of the ancient musicologists. These theories were, later on, discarded at the First All-India Music Conference held at Baroda in 1916. His discussions in the second volume are very interesting, being full of wit and humour and logical arguments. In the first part of the *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati*, the general basic principle, of Hindustani music and the Ragas of Kallian, Bilawal and Khamaj Thaat were explained in all their details while in the 3rd part the Ragas of Poorvi and Marawa Thaats were dealt with. Every Raga was treated elaborately, including the history, if available, of its name, its progress through the past ages with all the additions and alterations that took place in different periods, its traditional background

and development, its present form in vogue in all its details, the supporting Shlokas in Sanskrit and, at the end, Alaps in Sthayi and Antara, followed by notations of some authoritative traditional compositions. It was a new and novel but very instructive and enlightened method of explaining the subject. Pandit Bhatkhande published these books and distributed them among those of his friends who were interested in music. There was no intention to earn money from them. A limited number of copies were printed. As the volumes of the *Paddhati* were in Marathi, they reached the hands of all Marathi knowing musicologists and musicians. The publications at once put him in the fore-front and his reputation as a great scholar of and authority on Hindustani music spread far and wide. About 1915, he started publishing the old traditional compositions of music with notations in series of monthly pamphlets known as *Geeta Malika* at a nominal price of four annas per copy. Not less than 25 compositions, Dhrupads, Khayals, Sadhras, Horis, Taranas, Bhajans were given with their notations in each pamphlet. In all about 23 parts of these pamphlets came out in print. The pamphlets were published by Mumbai Samachar Press of Bombay. These pamphlets became very popular and were very much in demand. Round about this time, he also wrote another Sanskrit volume, *Abhinava Raga—Manjari*, defining the Ragas in couplets on the lines of the *Hridaya Koutuka* and *Hridaya Prakash*.

V

THE FOLLOWING are the main points of the theory of music which he systematised on the basis of prevailing practice in the Hindustani musical world :—

1. The Indian Gamut consists of 22 Shrutis which are microtones each at a very small but cognisable interval from the other.
2. Twelve out of these, namely, Shrutis Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19 and 21, known as Swaras, were selected for forming the Ragas. The interval between two neighbouring Swaras was approximately a semitone. These Swaras were respectively Shadja, Komal Rishabha, Shuddha Rishabha, Komal Gandhara, Shuddha Gandhara, Shuddha Madhyama, Teevra Madhyama, Panchama, Komal Dhaivata, Shuddha Dhaivata, Komal Nishada and Shuddha Nishada. These were written and pronounced in practice in the abbreviated forms namely, Sa (स), Ri (री), Ga (ग), Ma (म), Pa (प), Dha (ध), Ni (नी).
3. In his notation system, the Komal (lower) degree of Ri (री), Ga (ग), Dha (ध), and Ni (नी), was indicated by underlining them as Ri (री), Ga (ग), Dha (ध), Ni (नी), and Teevra (higher) degree of Ma (म), was indicated by a stroke on the top as Ma (म). Three Octaves (Saptakas) or Registers were recognised,

namely, Mandra or lower, Madhya or normal and Tara or higher. The notes of the Mandra (lower) Octave were indicated by a dot below as $\dot{N}i$, ($\dot{नी}$), $\dot{D}ha$, ($\dot{ध}$), $\dot{P}a$ ($\dot{प}$), $\dot{M}a$ ($\dot{म}$) etc. while those of the Tara (higher) Octave were shown by a dot above, as $\overset{\cdot}{S}a$ ($\overset{\cdot}{सा}$), $\overset{\cdot}{R}i$, ($\overset{\cdot}{री}$), $\overset{\cdot}{G}a$, ($\overset{\cdot}{ग}$), $\overset{\cdot}{M}a$. ($\overset{\cdot}{म}$).

4. These twelve semitones are located on a sounding wire as follows :

$\dot{S}a$ ($\dot{सा}$)	.. Full length of the wire sounding between the two bridges.
$\dot{R}i$ ($\dot{री}$) (Komal)	.. 15/16
$\dot{R}i$ ($\dot{री}$) (Shuddha)	.. 8/9
$\dot{G}a$ ($\dot{ग}$) (Komal)	.. 5/6
$\dot{G}a$ ($\dot{ग}$) (Shuddha)	.. 4/5 approximately
$\dot{M}a$ ($\dot{म}$) (Shuddha)	.. 3/4
$\dot{M}a$ ($\dot{म}$) (Teevra)	.. 17/24
$\dot{P}a$ ($\dot{प}$)	.. 2/3
$\dot{D}ha$ ($\dot{ध}$) (Komal)	.. 5/8
$\dot{D}ha$ ($\dot{ध}$) (Shuddha)	.. 16/27
$\dot{N}i$ ($\dot{नी}$) (Komal)	.. 5/9
$\dot{N}i$ ($\dot{नी}$) (Shuddha)	.. 8/15 approximately
$\dot{S}a$ ($\dot{सा}$) (Taar Saptaka)	.. 1/2

5. The Ragas of Hindustani music are classified under the following ten parental scales. (Thaats or Janaka Melas) :

- (i) Bilawal Thaat : $\dot{S}a$, $\dot{R}i$, $\dot{G}a$, $\dot{M}a$, $\dot{P}a$, $\dot{D}ha$, $\dot{N}i$, $\dot{S}a$.
($\dot{सा}$, $\dot{री}$, $\dot{ग}$, $\dot{म}$, $\dot{प}$, $\dot{ध}$, $\dot{नी}$, $\dot{सा}$).

(ii) Kallian or

Yaman Thaāt : Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Śa.

(सा, री, ग, म, प, ध, नी, सां).

(iii) Khamaj Thaāt : Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Śa.

(सा, री, ग, म, प, ध, नी सां)

(iv) Bhairava Thaāt : Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Śa.

(सा, री, ग, म, प, ध, नी, सां).

(v) Poorvi Thaāt : Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Śa.

(सा, री, ग, म, प, ध, नी, सां).

(vi) Marawa Thaāt : Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Śa.

(सा, री, ग, म, प, ध, नी, सां).

(vii) Kaphi Thaāt : Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Śa.

(सा, री, ग, म, प, ध, नी, सां).

(viii) Asavari Thaāt : Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Śa.

(सा, री, ग, म, प, ध, नी, सां).

(ix) Bhairavi Thaāt : Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Śa.

(सा, री, ग, म, प, ध, नी, सां).

(x) Todi Thaāt : Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Śa.

(सा, री, ग, म, प, ध, नी, सां).

6. Ragas were produced out of these Thaats by (i) treating the Thaāt itself in its full content as a Raga, (ii) dropping one or two notes except Sa (सा) from the scale either in the Aroha or in the Avaroha or in both these by producing Sampoorṇa (Heptatonic), Shadava (Hexatonic) and Odava (Pentatonic) varieties of Ragas, (iii)—a emphasising one note either in the lower tetrachord (Poorvanga) Sa (सा), Ri (री),

Ga (ग), Ma (म), Pa (प) or in the higher tetrachord (Uttaranga) Śa (ष), Ni (नी), Dha (ध), Pa (प), Ma (म). This note was known as the 'Vadi' Swara (the governing or expressive note) of the Raga, and, (iii—b) emphasising another note in the tetrachord other than that in which the Vadi was situated, calling it 'Samvadi-Swara' (the note representing and supporting the Vadi Swara). The Samvadi is usually the counter-point dominant of the Vadi or if the dominant has been dropped out, the sub-dominant of the Vadi served the purpose.

7. Hindustani Ragas have their hours of singing—morning, noon, evening, night, etc. according to the notes of the scale they were formed of, and their Vadi, Samvadi Swaras. Ragas, which are to be sung at dawn and dusk, have Komal Ri (रि) and Komal Dha (ध), in them; those that are to be sung in the later hours of morning and evening after dawn and dusk have Shuddha Ri (रि) Shuddha Ga (ग) and Shuddha Dha (ध) in them; the Ragas that are to be sung during the time noon to evening or during late night to early morning have Komal Ga (ग) and Komal Ni (नी) in them. The Ragas of the time mid-day to mid-night have their Vadi in the Poorvanga (lower tetrachord) and as such are known as Poorva Ragas, while those of the hours midnight to midday have the Vadi Swara in the Uttaranga (upper tetrachord) and are known as Uttar Ragas.
8. Every Raga has a typical passage of notes of its own which sets it apart from others of similar nature.

This passage is known as the 'Pakarh' or the catch phrase.

9. By mathematical process a very large number of Ragas can be worked out. But due to the necessity that every Raga must be Ranjaka (musically pleasing or having a musical picture or effect) in the composition itself apart from its presentation, which also must be musical, the number of practical Ragas becomes very limited. Hardly 150 Ragas are in vogue. Even out of this limited number, about 75 to 100 are commonly known and heard.

Ragas have also been grouped under Ragangas, (classification as biased towards a particular Raga), such as Kanhada-Anga, Malhar-Anga, Saranga-Anga, Kallian-Anga, Bilawal-Anga, Bhairava-Anga, Shree-Anga, etc., and accordingly Ragas are grouped as varieties of Kanhada, Malhar, Saranga, Kallian, Bilawal, Bhairava, etc.

The professional Ustads were generally only demonstrators, models so to say, to enable one to form one's idea of a scientific explanation of what they placed before the listener and to build up a system. Bhatkhande did achieve this. He made it easy for the listener to have an intellectual grasp of the picture of the music he heard apart from its aesthetic effect.

His writings systematised the prevailing Hindustani music and everybody interested in music started thinking and discussing about the Shastra of contemporary music. His reputation spread far and wide and music loving Indian Princes like H.H. Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda, H.H. Maharaja Madhavrao Scindia of Gwalior,

H.H. Nawab Hamid Ali of Rampur began to take interest in his work.

The Baroda State used to run a music school under Moula Bakhsh Gisse Khan who, apart from Hindustani music, had some knowledge of the Karnatic system also as he came from the South. He was a man of progressive and liberal views. He was, probably, not a concert singer as such, but was quite an able organizer of musical education. He invented and introduced a notation system of his own and published a few musical compositions. He had some following in Baroda. So long as he lived, the Baroda State Music School was running well enough. After his death, however, the school deteriorated and the Maharaja became anxious about its future. He was on the look out for some specialist who, might suggest ways and means to improve its standard. He had heard about Pandit Bhatkhande's work in the field of music, and invited him to Baroda. Bhatkhande went to Baroda in 1915 and had a few interviews with the Maharaja. In the course of discussions Sayaji Rao wanted to know whether Hindustani music had a theory, a system of teaching, a notation system and graded text-books. Pandit Bhatkhande told him that some efforts in that direction were being made, but unless there is a consensus of opinion among the musicians and musicologists as regards the practical forms of Ragas and their traditional compositions, it would be difficult to reconstruct a standard theory of contemporary music. The Maharaja was surprised to learn that there were so much differences of opinion and separate schools of thought and he asked for a remedy to meet these difficulties. "Supposing, Mr. Bhatkhande", the Maharaja enquired, "we call all the musicians and musicologists

of India to meet together here at Baroda in a conference, discuss different topics of music, and come to a common understanding so as to standardize knowledge and practice of music, would that be useful?" In fact, Bhatkhande, a skilled pleader that he was, converted His Highness to the idea of a Music Conference which he himself had in mind for a long time. He convinced him that nothing would be better than this idea of a Conference. It will be a great service to the cause of Indian music. Sayaji Rao asked him to draw up a scheme and also to prepare a list of musicians and musicologists to be invited to the Conference. The plan of the All-India Music Conference, the list of invitees, the detailed programme was prepared by Pandit Bhatkhande and sent to Baroda. Thus the First All-India Music Conference came to be held at Baroda in the Central Hall of the Baroda College in March 1916. Papers on different topics of music were read by scholars of music that came to the Conference from all over India including South India. Mr. K. B. Deval and Mr. E. Clements, i.c.s., read their papers the main gist of which was that the Major Tone, Minor Tone and Semi Tone were the same respectively as the four Shruti, three Shruti and two Shruti intervals of the ancient musicologists and accordingly the Shuddha Rishabha and Shuddha Dhaivata, which were at three Shruti intervals from Sa and Pa respectively according to the ancients, were Minor Tones and therefore the Shuddha Rishabha should be considered to be at a degree lower by one Shruti *i.e.* $10/9$ (Minor Tone) than that of Sa (सर). Similarly, Shuddha Dhaivata too should not be considered to be the $9/8$ of Panchama but at a degree lower by one Shruti. This proposition was vehemently opposed by many musicologist

including the learned Subram Panditar. It was tested also by a practical demonstration by Mr. E. Clements on his Shruti Harmonium on the one hand and, on the other, by reproduction of the correct pitch of Shuddha Rishabha of Hindustani music by no less a person than Ustad Zakir-uddeen Khan of Udaipur. Ultimately, M/s. Clements and Dewal's theory was not accepted. Besides these discussions and debates at the Baroda College held during the day time, practical demonstrations of music by eminent artists deputed by the Indian States were held in the Darbar Hall of the Laxmi Vilas Palace of Baroda. Thakur (afterwards known as Raja) Nawab Ali Khan Sahib of Lucknow presided at this Conference. A permanent body by name All-India Music Conference Working Committee was established with Pandit Bhatkhande as its General Secretary.¹

¹ At the Baroda All-India Music Conference, Bhatkhande read paper in English entitled "A Short Historical Survey of the Music Upper India". This was also published, and is still available in the market.

VI

THE FIRST All-India Music Conference was an important event in the annals of modern Hindustani music. It gave a start to a large number of music conferences which were held from time to time and at different places. In later years, long after Bhatkhande's death, music conferences deteriorated into some type of fair or festival, a money making business, and the original purpose of the conferences was lost sight of.

After Nazir Khan's death Mr. Ganapatrao Bhilawadikar, a pupil of Balkrishna Buwa was employed by the Gayan Uttejak Mandali. The Bombay Municipality introduced music as a subject in its primary schools on the suggestions of Panditji. Some musicians were appointed as teachers. The Bombay Municipality requested him to train up these music teachers, and these Teachers' Training Classes were also held at the Gayan Uttejak Mandali. About 1917, however, he had some disagreement with the new Management of the G.U. Mandali and he resigned. There were others also who resigned with him. They formed themselves into a fresh Society and called it Sharada Sangeet Mandal. They requested Pandit Bhatkhande to join them and take charge of the music classes. Mr. Wadilal also joined this Mandal and assisted Bhatkhande in his work.¹

¹ These classes were held at the Good Life League, situated near Flora Fountain, Fort, Bombay.

Pandit Bhatkhande became acquainted with Mr. D. K. Joshi roundabout this time. He had read Bhatkhande's publications and had been very much impressed by the work that he had done in music. He carried on correspondence with Panditji and they became better acquainted. Ultimately, Mr. Joshi became a permanent admirer of Pandit Bhatkhande and his work and later on tried to help him in every way that he could. He undertook even to look after proof reading and printing of the books of Kramik Pustak Malika and other books which were being printed in Poona. He also attended all the sessions of the music conferences and worked strenuously as an assistant of Panditji to make them a success.

Raja Nawab Ali considered himself a follower of Bhatkhande. He was a lover of music since his childhood. He was Taluqdar of Akbarpur in U.P. He had with him a professional musician, Nazir Khan, better known as Kale Nazir Khan. Having heard about Bhatkhande's work in the field of music, Nawab Ali deputed Kale Nazir Khan to get first hand knowledge about his work in music. Kale Nazir Khan accordingly came down to Bombay and stayed there for some time. Bhatkhande explained to him the basic theory outlined by him, demonstrated traditional compositions he had acquired and also got some traditional compositions from Nazir Khan. Kale Nazir Khan learnt from Bhatkhande a number of his 'Lakshan Geetas' which he taught to his pupils when he went back to Lucknow. He was very much impressed by Bhatkhande's deep study of music and systematic work and he conveyed his appreciative feelings to Raja Nawab Ali. Nawab Ali started regular correspondence with Bhatkhande and acquainted himself with his ideas and

theory of modern Hindustani music. Nawab Ali started writing a series of books on music called *Marif-un-Naghamat*'. In the first part of this series he explained in Urdu Bhatkhande's outline of musical theory. In his books, side by side with other compositions, he also inserted a large number of Bhatkhande's Lakshan Geetas. Nawab Ali was himself an expert Harmonium player. He seems to have picked up this art in his school days from the late Ganpatrao Bhaiyya, a famous princely Harmonium player of Gwalior who, in his later years, often visited and stayed in Lucknow. Nawab Ali could also sing traditional songs in a very attractive style. Not being satisfied with correspondence alone, he himself came over to Bombay in 1912 and met Bhatkhande. He became a thorough admirer and friend of Bhatkhande thereafter.

About 1917 Maharaja Madhavrao Scindia of Gwalior, who had heard about Pandit Bhatkhande's services in the cause of music, invited him during one of his frequent visits to Bombay. He discussed with him questions of Hindustani music and Bhatkhande explained to him the lines on which he was working. The Maharaja became interested and asked him what practical shape he was giving to these theories. At Bhatkhande's request the Maharaja agreed to visit the classes of music he was conducting in Bombay. At his express desire he visited the classes *incognito* and was introduced as a North Indian friend of Pandit Bhatkhande who was interested in music. Bhatkhande as usual wrote notations on the black board and asked the students to read them. He also put the students some test questions. The Maharaja was delighted and impressed with the intelligent answers that the students gave. He was thoroughly won over to Panditji's line of

work on music. On coming back to Gwalior he immediately sent an invitation to Pandit Bhatkhande to visit Gwalior and discuss with him the possibility of opening a music school to work on the lines of his music classes in Bombay.

In the meanwhile, the Baroda State Music School was re-organised under Bhatkhande's directions. Mr Hirjibhai Doctor, a zamindar of the Baroda State, who had taken good training in instrumental music, was appointed Principal of the institution. The School made good progress under his Principalship. Ultimately, it became a part of the M.S. University of Baroda's Faculty of Fine Arts. The late Ustad Faiyyaz Hussain Khan of Baroda Durbar had also been in close touch with the School and was a visiting Professor at the suggestion of Bhatkhande. His pupil, Shri Ata Hussain Khan, and Ustad Nisar Hussain Khan, son of the late Fida Hussain Khan of Badayun, also worked on the teaching staff of the school for some years.

Bhatkhande went to Gwalior and at the request of the Maharaja, drew up a scheme of a Music School with full details of courses of studies, mode of training, examinations etc. But then arose the question of properly qualified teachers to conduct the classes of the School. The Maharaja called all musicians, employees of the State as well as others and made them sing before Pandit Bhatkhande so that he could select those whom he found suitable to be appointed to the posts of teachers in the proposed Music School. Half a dozen persons were finally selected. Among these were Shri Raja Bhaiyya Poochhwale, Shri Krishnarao Datey, Shri Bhaskar Rao Khandeparkar and Shri Gokhale. The Maharaja requested Bhatkhande to stay on in Gwalior for a few months so that he could train

them there in his system of teaching. He could not agree due to his work in Bombay. As an alternative, these teachers were deputed by Maharaja Scindia to Bombay with instructions to stay on in the Gwalior Palace in Bombay till they had completed the training under Bhatkhande. In drawing up the course of studies Bhatkhande asked them to write their Dhrupads, Horis and Khayals in notations and sing them to him to enable him to make a selection out of these for teaching. They hesitated because they had learnt the compositions from their Guru, Shankar Rao Pandit, the famous Khayal singer of Gwalior, with great efforts and this was then considered a treasure to be guarded and not given. But Bhatkhande placed before them a whole file of Khayals from their Guru's tradition which he had collected some years before, from Eknath Pandit (known also as Maoo Pandit), the younger brother of Shankar Rao Pandit. He also sang some of the Khayals, as he had learnt them from Maoo Pandit. It was a revelation to these musicians to hear him sing compositions belonging to their Gharana. This vanquished them. They wrote their Khayals and sang them without hesitation. There were of course slight differences, here and there, in the versions of the Khayals, which was but natural as they had learnt them, without the aid of notation, vocally. Among them, Bhatkhande considered the versions sung by Sri Poochhwale to be very little altered in and nearer the original as taught by Shankar Rao Pandit. Pandit Bhatkhande selected some of the Khayals, Dhrupads, Sadhras and Horis for the syllabus of the Gwalior Music School. After about six months the deputed teachers had a thorough training in his methods of teaching and went back to Gwalior. In 1918 the famous Madhav

Sangeet Mahavidyalaya was then opened in Gwalior. It was at first housed in the building known as 'Gorkhi' in the centre of the city.

Bhatkhande now began to feel the urgent necessity of graded text books for the School classes and took up the task of preparing them. Thus came into being the well known standard series of music text-books known as the Kramik Pustak Malika. With the growth of the Madhav Music College and opening of further higher classes, further parts of the Kramik Pustak series came out. Due to the short sighted prejudices of the professional musicians the college had to face adverse propaganda and insinuations from many of their group. But it steadily grew up in the estimation of the public. It produced and sent out teachers and graduates in music to different centres like Indore, Jaipur, Bombay, Poona, Nagpur and Calcutta. This Music College is still running today as a full fledged Madhya Pradesh Government Music College. Pandit Bhatkhande had declined to stay at Gwalior, but he did visit Gwalior and looked after the progress of the School. He went there twice or thrice a year till 1933. He similarly visited Baroda twice or thrice a year and visited the classes of the Baroda State Music School. He gave his report on the conduct and progress of these Schools, regularly.¹

Kale Nazir Khan had joined the service of the Rampur Durbar as a court musician. He had had training in Alaps and Dhrupad singing under Ustad Zakiruddeen Khan at Udaipur. His contact with Pandit Bhatkhande also made him known. Due to his reputation as a vocalist

¹ Recently his inspection reports of the Madhav Sangeet Vidyalaya have been published in a book form by the Vice-Chancellor of the Khairagarh Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwavidyalaya.

with sound knowledge of music and rules of the Ragas, the Nawab of Rampur, employed him in service. Raja Nawab Ali was also in touch with the Rampur Durbar. The Nawab of Rampur had heard much both from Raja Sahib and Kale Nazir Khan about Pandit Bhatkhande's activities in music. He became interested and invited him to Rampur. Rampur was an important centre of music. The Nawab's family were patrons and also devotees of the Senia Gharana direct descendants of Tansen's tradition. Ustad Wazir Khan, the Durbar musician was a direct descendant of Tansen (his daughter's side). The Nawab was a knowledgeable musician and Wazir Khan Beenkar was his 'Ustad' (teacher). Prince Sadat Ali Khan (known as Chhamman Sahib), a cousin of the Nawab was also a great connoisseur of music and an expert Sur-Singar player. Another old musician of the Tansen family, Muhammad Ali Khan, was in Rampur, who used to play on Rawab. Both, Wazir Khan and Muhammad Ali Khan had a good stock of Dhrupads and Horis of the Tansen tradition. Chhamman Sahib acknowledged Muhammad Ali Khan as his Ustad, having learnt Dhrupads and Horis from him. Raja Nawab Ali also learnt Dhrupads and Horis from Muhammad Ali Khan¹.

During his visit to Rampur, Pandit Bhatkhande became closely acquainted with the Nawab and ultimately great friendship developed between them. He had many discussions about the theory and practice of music with the Nawab and also his musicians. He explained to them his theory of the prevailing Hindustani music. Naturally

¹ Raja Nawab Ali published these traditional compositions later on, in the 2nd part of his *Marif-un-Naghamat* series.

there was some resistance and also criticism due to traditional prejudice and this must be expected, especially as Rampur was one of the purest strongholds of conservative and uninterrupted classical tradition from the age of Tansen.

However, Pt. Bhatkhande was a brilliant exponent and he demonstrated his ideas with practical illustrations. For example, he took some of the Alaps and expositions on Veena played by Wazir Khan himself and showed that what Wazir Khan has been playing is exactly according to the rules that he has written and there is no difference between them. The question of notation and theory and their importance were also discussed. It is a tribute to the remarkable talents of Pt. Bhatkhande that he converted a sophisticated musician and music lover like the Nawab to his point of view, and the Nawab Sahib asked him not only to stay on at Rampur for sometime but to consider himself a member of that Durbar.

There is an interesting and true anecdote about Bhatkhande's stay and work in Rampur. It illustrates not only his devotion to music but his practical sense which was fully aware of the prevailing atmosphere of prejudice and suspicion against new ideas. He was a shrewd man of the world and knew how to get round difficulties smoothly, sometimes comic and sometimes humorous, which came in the way. Ustad Wazir Khan was the Guru of the Nawab and he had a large collection of original Dhru-pads and Horis of great value as they had been transmitted from the time of Tansen. Naturally Wazir Khan did not like to give these compositions to Bhatkhande as he considered them to be a precious treasure of his family. However, though Wazir Khan was the Guru of the Nawab,

he was also the Durbar musician and therefore the Nawab's employee.

Pandit Bhatkhande thought carefully over the situation and ultimately decided that the best way to secure his object was to get the cooperation and help of the Nawab Sahib. The Nawab was himself a very good musician. He decided to become the pupil and disciple of the Nawab, which the Nawab naturally considered a great honour, because in those days to become or accept a disciple was an important formal occasion and it conferred great honour on the Guru when he had as disciple a personality like Bhatkhande. Panditji began to take lessons from the Nawab and after some days requested him that he was very keen that the treasures of the Rampur tradition should be recorded by notation in the music books so that they will be permanently available to music-lovers. The Nawab enthusiastically agreed with the idea and ordered Wazir Khan to give to Pandit Bhatkhande whatever he wanted. Wazir Khan had no option when his employer ordered him to do this and Bhatkhande thus got the priceless collection of Dhrupads and Horis of the Senia Gharana. It is a humorous illustration of what stratagems he had to resort to in order to achieve his laudable and noble objective. Needless to say he had great regard for the Nawab Sahib, his guru.

The 2nd All-India Music Conference was held in December 1918 under the Presidentship of Nawab of Rampur at Delhi. A proposal to establish a Central Academy of Hindustani Music at Delhi was put up for the first time at this Conference. A scheme was considered. The Nawab had promised to contribute substantially towards the expenses of the proposed Institution. Unfortunately, this

scheme could not materialise. Shri Brij Kishan Kaul was the Secretary of this Conference.

At the 3rd session of the All-India Music Conference held at Banaras in November 1919 the proposal for the Central Academy of Music came for consideration once more. Mrs. Atiya Begum Faizee Rahim submitted a scheme. But as this scheme was rather ambitious, involving an expenditure of ten to fifteen lakhs of Rupees, it was not considered practicable.

The usual discussions, reading of papers, debates and music programmes were held at both the 2nd and 3rd sessions of the Conference. All the top Vocal musicians and Instrumentalists of India participated in the programmes. Ustad Faiyyaz Hussain Khan, Zakiruddeen Khan, Nasiruddin Khan, Allah Bande Khan, Musharraf Khan Beenkar, Imdad Khan and his sons Sadiq Ali Khan and Inayat Khan, Fida Hussain Khan (Sarod player), Mushtaq Hussain Khan, Hafiz Ali Khan (Sarod player), Barkatullah and Pt. Vishnu Digambar had all come.

At the 2nd session at Delhi, Bhatkhande called all the important musicians together to discuss certain differences of opinion regarding some Ragas. A common understanding was reached and the rules of these Ragas were laid down definitely. Pandit Bhatkhande incorporated these agreed rules in the fourth part of the *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati*.¹ Bhatkhande always aimed at such academic meetings of practising musicians in the All-India Music Conferences. Normally, the professional musicians were unwilling to attend such meetings, fearing, on the one hand, that they would have to demonstrate,

¹ Page 367 of the original Marathi Edition.

in the presence of other fellow musicians, their traditional compositions of music, which they had jealously guarded as precious jewels, and, on the other, perhaps, they had fear of being challenged by other musicians. The meeting of musicians at Delhi was the only one ever held at any Music Conference. Later on, Bhatkhande did try to hold such a meeting once more at the 4th All-India Music Conference, held at Lucknow in 1924. But due to obstructive attitude of some of the musicians he had to give up the idea. Efforts were made again at the music conferences, held in later years at Kanpur and Ajmer, where I happened to be present. But they did not succeed for the reasons given above. In his reference to the meeting at Delhi in the 4th part of the *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati* Bhatkhande has pointed out the insuperable difficulties in holding such meetings in future. The 4th part was published in 1932. It was written some years after the All-India Music Conference held at Lucknow.

The *Geeta Malika* Series was given up when the *Kramik Pustak Malika* series began to be published. Further parts of the *Kramik* series and fresh enlarged editions of the parts already published were also published. These were in great demand all over India. Whatever amounts were collected from the sales of these books were devoted to the expenses of printing and publishing fresh editions and further parts. A Trust, known as the 'Bhatkhande Music Publications Trust' was created with Pandit Bhatkhande, Shankar Rao Karnad, Mr. Balchandra S. Sukthankar and some others as its members. All the sale proceeds were to be spent in further publications of musical literature.

VII

THE FOURTH session of the All-India Music Conference was held at Lucknow in December 1924. It was organised as usual under the guidance of Pandit Bhatkhande. He was greatly helped by Rai Umanath Bali of Daryabad, the uncle of the late Rai Rajeshwar Bali, a leading Taluqadar of U.P. and at that time, Minister of Education in the Government of United Provinces. The Daryabad family were all very much interested in Art and Music. They had musicians, in their pay and had received some training in music from the Ustad under their patronage. Rai Umanath Bali had come to know about Pandit Bhatkhande and his work in music from Raja Nawab Ali. He had attended both the 2nd Music Conference at Delhi and the 3rd one at Banaras. He had been thinking for a long time on the possibility of creating an institution of musical education somewhere in U.P. At his very first meeting with Bhatkhande he put forward his idea. But at that time a similar proposal was coming up at the Conference for an institution at Delhi. Therefore, Panditji postponed the matter for future consideration. Umanath Bali kept on pressing his proposal in his correspondence with Bhatkhande. He proposed to organise the 4th session of the All-India Music Conference at Lucknow, and also invited Bhatkhande to visit Lucknow and Daryabad. During that visit the scheme of the Conference was discussed and finalised. The work of organising the Conference was

carried out by Umanath Bali and Raja Nawab Ali.

The Conference was held in the picturesque and historic Kaiser Bagh Baradari. Rai Rajeshwar Bali Minister of Education took great interest in his uncle's efforts and gave him full assistance. He was a close friend of Sir William Marris, the then Governor of U.P. and persuaded him to take interest in the Conference. Marris was personally interested in oriental art and culture. He promised his support, agreed to preside over the Conference and even contributed Rs. 500/- towards the expenses of the Conference. Taluqadars and Zamindars of U.P. were requested to contribute to the funds of the Conference. The agenda and programmes were prepared by Pandit Bhatkhande. The Conference was a great success and the Baradari was packed with people. At least 5,000 persons attended the Conference. An art exhibition of paintings was also arranged along with the Conference. Papers were read, discussions held, and they were followed by programmes of music by great artistes. I had the privilege of attending the Conference and participating in the programmes.

This 4th session of the Music Conference was a great success and spread the message of music throughout the length and breadth of Upper India.

The 5th and the last session of the All-India Music Conference during the life time of Bhatkhande was held again in December 1925 and in the same Kaiser Bagh Baradari. The main object of this Conference was to pass a Resolution to establish an Institution of Musical Training at Lucknow itself. The Resolution was welcomed by all and was passed.

A few months after this, classes of music were opened in

July 1926 at what is known as Topwali Kothi in Kaiser Bagh Road.

Due to persuasion of Panditji I also went to join Lucknow College. The classes were converted into "Marris College of Hindustani Music" on 16th September 1926 in the Kaiser Bagh Baradari Hall in the presence of the Governor. A short programme of music demonstrating the Swaragyan lessons that had been taught in the classes was arranged. Marris visited the classes at work once after that and was delighted with the method of teaching and the progress made. A course of study, similar to that prescribed for the Baroda and Gwalior State Music Schools was drawn up and the *Kramik Pustak Malika* Series were prescribed for the successive classes. Mr. Madhavrao Joshi (younger brother of Dada Sahib Joshi), who was then a retired Deputy Inspector of Schools in the Bombay Province, was appointed Principal of the College. Mr. Joshi was interested in music and had learnt a few traditional compositions of music. He had also experience in school management. The first staff consisted, besides myself, of Mr. G. N. Natu, a graduate in vocal music of the Madhav music College of Gwalior, Ahmed Khan, Dhrupad singer of Lucknow, Baqar Ali Khan, a Sarangi player and Abid Hussain, the famous Tabla player of Lucknow. A few months later, Baba Nasir, son of Muhammad Siddiq of the family of Tanras Khan of Hyderabad (Dn), Chhote Munne Khan, an old musician who was a pupil of Sadiq Ali Khan, Sakharamji Gurav of Indore, a Pakhawaj player of the Nana Saheb Panse School, and Mr. B. S. Pathak another graduate of the Madhav Music College of Gwalior, were added to the staff. Hamid Hussain Khan, an expert Sitar Player, joined the staff a few years

after. Thus with an able staff of teachers the Marris Music College made good progress. Periodical demonstrations by the staff and students were held at the College, just to place before the public the progress that the College was making from time to time. Bhatkhande himself stayed on in Lucknow till March 1927. The staff was lodged in the College building itself. During his long stay at Lucknow, Pandit Bhatkhande used to superwise the work. He would also take some classes at times and hold lectures on the theory of music. There was great response from the local society for the opening of the college. Amongst its distinguished first students were the late Dhoorjati Prasad Mukherji, Professor of the Lucknow University, Mr. Pahadi Sanyal, well known film actor and the late Dr. H.N. Hukku. Due to a rush for admissions next year the Topwali Kothi proved insufficient for the growing number of the classes and another building by name Chandniwali Kothi next door was taken on rent. Pandit Bhatkhande occupied a separate room in this building where he carried on his study and writing work.

In September 1928, the College was shifted to the Government buildings known as the Old Council Chamber and its Post Office, and Stores House on the Kaiser Bagh Road itself.

During 1928-33, Panditji used to visit the College at least twice a year. He kept on visiting the Baroda and Gwalior State Colleges of Music also during these years.

In order to settle the differences of versions of the Gwalior Khayals as sung by the Gwalior musicians and to fix them finally for publication in the text books, Bhatkhande took the staff members of the Madhav Music College, Rajabhaiyya, Krishnarao Datey, Bhaskar Rao Khandeparkar

and Gokhale to Hardwar. He worked with them for about a month or so, and finalised the versions which were then published.

By the time the Marris Music College was established, Pandit Bhatkhande had accomplished major part of his life's mission. He was preparing the 4th part of the *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati* and completed it by 1930. It was published in 1932. The Marris College started publishing a Quarterly Journal of music by name *Sangeet* in 1930, in which articles in English and Hindi were published. Six numbers were published. But, unfortunately, the publication of this Journal had to be stopped due to want of funds. Bhatkhande himself used to contribute articles on music to this Journal. The popular pamphlet "*A Comparative Study of some of the Leading Music Systems of the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries*" was being published in successive instalments in the Quarterly. The complete book was published after 1940. Two Bengali young students of the College, namely, Hemendra Lal Roy, B.A. and Rabindra Lal Roy, B.Sc., were very helpful in conducting of this Journal. They were two brothers, both graduates of the Calcutta University. They joined the College in 1930 and both completed the full five years' course of studies in vocal music and passed the 'Sangeet Visharad' in 1936.¹ When Bhatkhande used to visit the Marris College, these two brothers used to meet him often.

¹ Mr. Hemendra Lal died a few years ago. Mr. Rabindra Lal Roy is now working in the University of Delhi as the Head of the Music Department.

The College produced a notable number of distinguished graduates who occupied and continue to occupy important posts in other music institutions and All India Radio.

In the later period Bhatkhande visited the College just once in 1933. After returning to Bombay, he fell down, one morning, all of a sudden, stricken with paralysis. He was bed-ridden for full three years and expired on the 19th September 1936, which was the Ganesh Chaturthi Day.

VIII

BHATKHANDE WAS AGAINST attempts at interpreting the old Sanskrit Granthas in the light of the modern theories of sound. He, however, never opposed efforts, if any, to fix and explain scientifically the modern music scale of India, if the conclusions were confirmed by practical illustrations by recognised artistes. The Gamut which he himself adopted for his theories of Ragas was just a list of terms he found suitable for explaining the Ragas. The intervals of semitones and tones that he has adopted for the scale, especially in the cases of Vikrit Swaras, were just the limits within which the notes of a Raga would move up and down according to the needs of correct ascent and descent of a Raga. For instance, the range of Komal Gandhara is between Shuddha Rishabha and Shuddha Gandhara. It would move anywhere up and down its pitch within the limits between Shuddha Rishabha and Shuddha Gandhara according to the requirements of a Raga. For example, Darbari Kanhada has Komal Gandhara. But it is the lowest in the limit, slightly above Shuddha Rishabha, when it is sung in succession to Ri, in fact it oscillates between its proper pitch (288 vibrations per second) and the lowest limit. This very Komal Gandhara is pitched a little higher up in the same Raga, when it is sung with the touch of Madhyama. To illustrate,

ⁿⁱ ·Dha Ni Sa Ri ^{sa}, Ri Ga, Ga, Ga, Ri Sa Ri ^{ga}sa.
 (नी ध नी सा री , री ग, ग, ग, री सा री ग सा)

In this passage the lowest Komal Gandhara is sung; while in the following passages, it is on a higher degree of pitch in this sequence :

Ma, Pa, ^{ma}Ga, ^{ma}Ga, ^{ma}Ga, Ma, ^{sa}Ri, Sa.
 (म, प, ग, ग, ग, म, री, सा,)

Similarly, the Teevra Ma (¹म) in Lalit Raga is at its lowest pitch, when placed between two Shuddha Madhyamas, while in the passages further up in the Uttaranga it is fixed at a higher pitch. In his opinion these practical details were to be learnt from the Guru or from a demonstration by a great artist.

Pandit Bhatkhande knew the limits of Grammar and Script in language and music. He was fully aware of the necessity of direct contact with the language as it was spoken and music as it was sung and played. He knew that there was much to be read between the lines which has to be left to the experience and judgement of the student and the teacher. His theory and notations were a basic skeleton which made it a great deal easier for a student of music to understand and pick up the music that he heard from his teacher or from an artist. It also gave a basic continuity which would help in preserving the music from generation to generation and save it from undue distortion.

Expressing his views in one of his writings regarding the condition of musicology in the early years of his study, he says: "Everywhere we are told that in the North music prospered during the time of the Moghul Emperors. This may be true. I doubt, however, that there were

any persons, in those times who had read the ancient Sanskrit works on music. None of the great Nayaks such as Nayak Gopal, Baiju, Dhondi, Haridas etc. appears to have written any work on music. Their compositions also do not convince us of any depth of learning. In the old Imperial days they might have made a name by their practical performances and by talks, here and there, on the theory of music. But I have not come across a single record to show that even one of the Nayaks had studied the Granthas like *Sangeet Ratnakar*. They themselves have not written any work on music. Why should it be so? Their compositions, even in the most authoritative versions, are full of bare references to elementary technical terms, such as, Sapta-Sur, Teen-Grama, Ikayees Moor-chhana, Bara-Bikrita, Bayees-Shruti, Gamakas such as Urapa and Tirapa Laga, Dant, Arohi, Avarohi, Astayee, Sanchari, Swara-Beore, etc. I do not see any deep study in it. The Nayaks lived just 400 years ago. They could have put their knowledge of the theory of music in writing. They must have at least heard the names of *Ratnakara* and other works. But none of them has referred to any of these works. It appears to me that these Nayaks must have been practical experts like those of our own days, though of a much higher order and calibre. None of them seems to have been conversant with the Sanskrit language. Just as the Hindu Gayaks of today, they too must have been discussing or mentioning a probable theory of music, in those days. The legends about stone being melted by music, deers being attracted and weaving garlands, the rains coming down by singing of Malhar in Akbar's time, lamps being lit by Raga Deepak etc., these are all right as symbolic praises of music. But I am not prepared to

accept them as facts. Until I see with my own eyes, such miracles happening again, I shall always be telling my friends and pupils that these are imaginary and probably imagery of poetry. Emperor Akbar was very fond of music! We all agree! If poor people like myself are so very fond of music the Great Emperor must have been more fond of it. What is wonderful in it? He must have had under his patronage outstanding musicians of those times. But simply on the basis of these facts, I cannot accept miracles as facts. My friends argue that Sound is a strange phenomenon. Certain peculiar passages of music may be capable of producing super-natural miracles. They say that we are ignorant, today, of the cadences of music and hence such miracles today do not take place. I am afraid now a days we shall not be satisfied by such arguments. When I open the topic of Granthas, today, before practical musicians, they get annoyed and say, 'We do not care to read these useless lectures of yours on the theory of music. We want to see what and how you sing or play on an instrument and that alone will interest us'. Yet, these very musicians are pleased not only to listen with interest and faith to the legends of Tansen, Gopal Nayak and Amir Khushro, but they themselves often like to narrate these legends. Some will tell you, 'We have in our possession, the very compositions by which Tansen melted stones, attracted deers and put garlands on them, made a stone give out a sound like the Tanpura'. But alas! these legendary men of the past ages and those melodies are now dead and gone. Our Ustads do not understand that the simple and credulous people of the past ages are no more. We live now in an age of science and technology. There is no place

for such notions unless proved by practical demonstrations today. Some of my friends tell me that Theosophy can explain these mysteries. Out of respect for them and their views I keep quiet. My views are meant for my readers. If they are proved wrong by demonstration, I shall be glad. Should the state of musicology be so poor even in North India where the Art has had a glorious history! I have given vent to these musings, appalled by this poverty of correct knowledge and information. North India, the home of the great super Masters of Music, has guarded very little knowledge of it today. The Nayaks flourished just four centuries ago! Today no trace of any written record of their services in the cause of music is available! Their very descendents know little and can read less! There is not a single instance of a Nayak having been well-versed in Sanskrit! Agra is a town which was dear to the heart of Emperor Akbar. Today, the only music we hear there is that sung by the dancing girls and their Sarangi players! One feels very much discouraged indeed when one looks at the picture. I do not think that any of the Nayaks had studied *Ratnakara* and other Granthas. Probably such study was not current during the time of the Moghul Emperors. According to the general practice of music in those days, musicians like Tansen and others were practical musicians of a very high order, but they were not required to study the texts in Sanskrit. We should make a thorough research and investigate objectively these legendary stories concerning music of those days."

Pandit Bhatkhande had to face persistent opposition from a large number of old fashioned professional musicians. Due to their training, they had contempt for texts and

book-learning. They were highly suspicious of the new systematised and rational approach to music. Moreover, they were afraid of losing the claim of superiority of the Gharana which they used to exploit in the old days. Many claimed that his system was quite different from the one which they had learned from their Gurus.

In fact, much of this opposition was due to misunderstanding and ignorance. Bhatkhande neither had founded a Gharana, nor a new system as will be clear from the narrative of his life. He faithfully gathered together all authentic compositions and practises in Hindustani music. He then tried to systematise it so that there is a coherent musical structure Hindustani music as a whole, something which should be applauded by musicians. He has gone further than traditional musicians and very frankly stated that the music of the Granthas of old has hardly anything to do with modern Indian music. So, really speaking, he upheld and tried to put on suitable basis the music as it is practised today. One explanation of the criticism and opposition might be that he, by this new system, was making available to all music students the treasures of the music of the great masters, which they did not like. They were brought up in the old idea that music is a precious treasure, which should be locked up and not given excepting to a few chosen students, a psychology which has come in the way of spread of music.

Many musicians used to allege that he was a theoretician. Actually, he had the clearest idea about the place of theory and place of practice as will be seen from the preceding pages. He considered the knowledge of theory essential for progress in music but he also laid emphasis on the importance of practice. There also, he gave importance

to training under expert performing musicians for anyone who wants to become a practising musician. But unfortunately the false cry raised on account of narrow old fashioned prejudices dies hard and even now we find many musicians repeating it and calling certain musicians or students as belonging to Bhatkhande school. He had no school, nor any system different from the standard Hindustani music.

It is a tribute to his achievement that the careful system he laid down for teaching music is, in practice, followed by all music schools. Even those who profess to differ from him have retouched or slightly modified his text-books to claim that they are different. In fact all the newly prepared text-books follow his pattern and that is not surprising. He has based them on prevailing practices in Hindustani music and well-known traditional compositions of famous Gharanas. His own original contribution is the systematisation and classification which was only possible by deep and prolonged study of both practice and theory.

APPENDIX

WORKS OF PANDIT BHATKHANDE

PANDIT BHATKHANDE has left behind the following works of his own and annotated editions of old authors which he found and published :—

- (1) His most important work is the treatise. It contains about 2,500 pages of detailed discussions on the theory of Modern Hindustani Music by the name *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati* (हिंदुस्तानी संगीत पद्धति) in four parts, in Marathi.
- (2) Two Sanskrit works of his own on the theory of music and the definitions of the Ragas, namely,
(i) *Shree Mallakshya Sangeetam* (श्री मल्लक्ष्य संगीतम्), and
(ii) *Abhinava Raga Manjari* (अभिनव राग मंजरी).
- (3) A series of text books entitled as the Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati “*Kramik Pustak Malika*” (क्रमिक पुस्तक मालिका) in six parts with introductory chapters on general theory of music, besides short descriptions of every Raga followed by Swara Vistar, etc. containing books of about 1,000 traditional compositions besides his own compositions (about 300).
- (4) Texts of the following Sanskrit works of the post-Ratnakar time, which he had acquired from the libraries and friends he visited during his research tours :
(i) *Swara-Mela-Kalanidhi* (स्वर-मेल-कलानिधि) of Ramamatya,

- (ii) *Chaturdandi Prakashika* (चतुर्दण्ड प्रकाशिका) of Pt. Venkatmakhi,
- (iii) *Raga Lakshanam* (राग लक्षणम्) (Author not known)
- (iv) *Sangeet Saramritoddhara* (संगीत सारामृतोद्धार) of Tulajendra, King of Tanjore.
- (v) *Raga Tarangini* (रागतरंगिणी) of Lochan Kavi Jha of Darbhanga,
- (vi) Four works of Pundarika Vitthal, namely,
 - (a) *Sadraga Chandrodaya* (षडराग चन्द्रोदय),
 - (b) *Raga Manjari* (राग मंजरी),
 - (c) *Raga Mala* (राग माला),
 - (d) *Nartan Nirnaya* (नर्तन निर्णय).
- (vii) Hriday Narayan Deva's :
 - (a) *Hridaya Koutuk* (हृदय कौतुक), and
 - (b) *Hridaya Prakasha* (हृदय प्रकाश),
- (viii) Bhava Bhatta's :
 - (a) *Anoop Sangeet Ratnakar* (अनूप संगीत रत्नाकर),
 - (b) *Anoop Sangeet Vilas* (अनूप संगीत विलास), and
 - (c) *Sangeet Anoop Ankush* (संगीत अनूप अङ्कुश).
- (ix) Pt. Shree Niwasa's *Sangeet Raga Tatwa Vibodha*, (संगीत राग तत्त्व विबोध)
- (x) Shri Kantha's *Sangeet Koumudi* (संगीत कौमुदी),
- (xi) A Hindi work known as *Nadodadhi* (नादोदधि) by a Kumauni Pandit by name Poorna Kavi which he edited and contributed to the Music Journal, 'Sangeet' of the Marris College.
- (xii) *Chatwarimsht-Shata Raga Niroopanam* (चत्वारिंशत-शत राग निरूपणम्)
- (xiii) *Ashtottara Shata Tala Lakshanam* (अष्टोत्तर शत ताल लक्षणम्)

(5) Two very informative and instructive papers in

English, explaining the theories of music propounded in Sanskrit works of the past ages, namely :

- (a) A Short Historical Survey of the Music of Upper India,
 - (b) A Comparative Study of some of the leading Music Systems of the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries.
- (6) *Hindustani Music* a book written in English on the theory of Modern Hindustani Music.
- (7) A Series of monthly publications containing the Lakshan Geetas on the general theory of Hindustani Music and its Ragas with notations known as *Lakshan Geeta Sangraha* (लक्षण गीत संग्रह). These were to be published, perhaps, Thaata-wise. But only the 1st three issues, Ragas of the Kallian, Bilawal and Khamaj Thaata were published, after which,
- (8) A Series of monthly publications called *Geeta Malika* (गीत मालिका) which, contain traditional Dhru-pads, Khayals, Taranas, Sadhras, Bhajans, etc., and also included the Lakshan Geetas. Each publication contained about 25 musical compositions with their notations and about 23 such issues of this series were published. These publications, it appears, were followed by the *Kramik Pustak Malika* (क्रमिक पुस्तक मालिका) Series in which all the songs in the *Geeta Malika* were republished and therefore, further publication of the *Geeta Malika* Series was given up after the 23rd number.
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 अंकुर),
 - (iii) *Sangeet Raga Chandrika* (संगीत राग चन्द्रिका) (all
 Sanskrit), and
 - (iv) *Sangeet Raga Chandrika Sara* (संगीत राग चन्द्रिका सार)
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