Performing, Teaching, and Listening to Ragas in Hindustani Classical Music

Performing, Teaching, and Listening to Ragas in Hindustani Classical Music

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ヒンドゥスターニー古典音楽におけるラーガの演奏・教授・聴取

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The raga (*rāga*)[1] is the backbone of Hindustani classical music (*Hindustānī śāstrīya sangīt*). This paper discusses the performance, teaching, and listening of raga in a contemporary setting by combining quantitative and qualitative research. After tracing historical research on the characteristics and classification of raga, this study elucidates the reality of contemporary raga performance through a comparative analysis of various sources of data on ragas across three hierarchical levels: knowledge, performance, and normative. Second, the study focuses on the process of teaching raga and examines both school institutions and the guru-disciple tradition (*guru-śiṣya paramparā*) of the gharana (*gharānā*)[2] through qualitative research such as learning curriculum analysis and interviews with musicians and learners. Third, from the perspective of listening to ragas, the influence of the globalisation of Hindustani classical music and the challenge of audience development were noted based on the results of listening experiments on raga perception in conservatories and a survey of performances in India and abroad.

Conventional ragas studies have been dominated by theoretical research on the systematisation and symbolism of ragas and research on raga performance expressions. However, in this study, a quantitative analysis of multiple datasets on raga performance was conducted and the previously ambiguous reality of raga performance was verified numerically. In addition

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＊National Museum of Ethnology

to performance research, comprehensive verification of the raga learning process and aspects of listening and cognition has enabled the extraction of pertinent issues essential for the inheritance and development of Hindustani classical music.

　ヒンドゥスターニー古典音楽（北インド古典音楽）の骨格をなすのが「ラーガ」である。本稿では，量的調査と質的調査を組み合わせながら，今日のラーガの演奏・教授・聴取の実態について論じた。第一に，ラーガの特性や分類に関する歴史的研究の変遷を辿った上で，ラーガに関する複数のデータソースを「知識層」「演奏層」「規範層」という 3 つの階層から比較分析することによって，現代におけるラーガの演奏の実態について解明した。第二に，ラーガの教授のプロセスに焦点を当て，学校機関と伝統的な師弟制度の両側面を対象に，学習カリキュラムの分析や音楽家・学習者へのインタビューといった質的調査から検証した。第三にラーガの聴取という聴衆の観点から，音楽院におけるラーガの認知に関する聴取実験の結果やインド国内外の演奏の場の調査を踏まえて，ヒンドゥスターニー古典音楽におけるグローバル化の影響，そして聴衆の育成という課題について最後に指摘した。
　従来のラーガ研究はラーガの体系化や象徴性といった理論的研究や，ラーガの演奏表現に関する研究が主流であったが，本研究ではラーガの演奏を複数のデータから量的分析したことによってこれまで曖昧であったその演奏の実態を数値的に実証した。また演奏研究だけではなく，ラーガの学習過程や聴取・認知の側面も包括的に検証したことで，古典音楽の継承や発展に必要な課題を抽出することが可能となった。

Introduction

Hindustani classical music was developed in the Indo-Aryan-speaking northern regions of India, and its musical backbone is the raga. Raga refers to a melodic theory that includes musical characteristics, such as tones, sequences, and melodic types, along with symbolic characteristics, such as time periods and seasons. A range of different ragas have emerged since the Middle Ages, and today, there are hundreds or even more than a thousand types. The history of the systematisation of the raga shows that in the Middle Ages, individual ragas were personified and classified as a kind of family tree, while in the twentieth century, more 'scientific' classification studies were conducted based on the musical characteristics of the given raga. The challenge of systematising various ragas has been an ongoing project for as long as records have existed. This is true beyond a particular field of research and extends to several works by musicians on the characteristics of individual ragas. Nevertheless, there has been insufficient analysis utilising quantitative data to determine the number of ragas or to provide a comprehensive understanding of their performance and teaching. This study attempts to elucidate the conditions of raga performances, teaching, and listening in Hindustani classical music by combining quantitative and qualitative research.

After tracing the historical research on the characteristics and classification of ragas, this study focuses on the performance of the raga as the primary issue. Through a comparative analysis of different sources of data on ragas from the three hierarchical levels of knowledge, performance, and normative levels, the influence of the popularisation of Hindustani classical music since the early twentieth century on the normalisation of raga is explored.

This paper focuses on the teaching of ragas. The process of raga teaching will be examined through qualitative research, focusing on the ways in which musicians and learners recognise and acquire ragas, both at scholastic institutions and in the traditional guru-shishya system, as well as in the creative ragas produced by individuals, based on case studies.

Finally, we examine the audience and their approach to listening to the raga. To appreciate a raga, it is essential for the audience to understand and recognise the characteristics of the raga that is performed. This study explored the perception of and listening to raga through listening experiments in conservatories. The global dissemination of Hindustani classical music since the 1960s has greatly increased the number of listeners outside India, particularly in Europe and the United States.

However, many musicians state that the original pleasure of savouring ragas has been lost over the years. The influence of globalisation on Hindustani classical music from the perspective of raga listening and the challenge of cultivating an audience are discussed in the final chapter.

1　Historical Development of Raga Systematisation

1.1　History of Hindustani Classical Music and Raga

Hindustani classical music is the traditional music of northern India, where Indo-Aryan languages are spoken, and is distinct from the classical music of southern India, where Dravidian languages are spoken. Hindustani classical music is sometimes referred to in modern Hindi as *śāstrīya sangīt* or *rāga sangīt* (raga-based music).

The development of Hindustani classical music and its historical classification are presented through extant literary sources. The *Natyashastra* (*Nātyaśāstra*),[3] an ancient treatise on theatrical theory that describes music theory and musical instruments, and the *Brihaddeshi* (*Bṛhaddeśī*) of the ninth century, referring to the musical structure used in ritual music as the basis of classical music, are considered important documents, dating from antiquity. The *Brihaddeshi* defines the difference between the vernacular music (*deśī*) and the ritual music (*mārga*), describing the former as regional music that is sung with lyrics by women, children or cowherds, while the latter is ritual music, having a formal structure that is constructed by alap (*ālāpa*) (Vatsyayan 1992: 5–6). The role of the alap is considered comparable to that of the alap in contemporary Indian classical music, and it refers to the part of music in which a melody is improvised according to the formal rules of melody in free rhythm. Today, it is common knowledge that classical music is rooted in ritual music. However, as many ragas performed today are of regional origin, it can be observed that the actual melodies and other detailed musical elements have been influenced by regional music over a long history. In other words, classical music was developed by incorporating elements of regional music into the framework of ritual music.

The medieval period (the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries) of classical music begins with the appearance of the *Sangita Ratnakara* (*Sangītratnākara*), a thirteenth-century treatise on music theory, written by Sharngadeva (Śārngadeva). This work is considered the culmination of ancient musical theory. The subsequent modern period (the sixteenth century onwards) saw the appearance of numerous important documents, notably the *Svaramelakalanidhi* (*Swaramelakalānidhi*) by Ramamatya (Rāmmātya) of sixteenth century and the *Sangit Parijat* (*Sangīta Pārijāta*) by Ahobala of seventeenth century, and from the late eighteenth century onwards, Hindustani classical music and the Karnataka classical music of South India went their own ways, exhibiting a clear distinction between them in terms of

music theory. In North India, Hindustani classical music developed significantly while the court music of Islamic dynasties developed under the rule of the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire, in both vocal and instrumental forms. After the collapse of the Mughal Empire, nationalism gained momentum during the early twentieth century under British rule. Prominent musicians and music educators systematised music theory to facilitate the instruction of Hindustani classical music, devised musical notations, published didactic books and books of musical notation, established music schools, and organised All-India Music Conferences, among other new developments that revolutionised classical music and its context.

Thus far, we have outlined the historical development of Hindustani classical music, but the descriptions of raga, the theory of melody that forms the backbone of this music, originate in the ancient theatrical theory treatise *Natyashastra* already mentioned. However, in this same book, the word raga is explained in the context of 'colouring', not in terms melody or theory, and instead the word jati (*jātī*)[4] is used to refer to the theory of melody. The ancient theory of jati was presented through a numerical process. Initially, an octave is divided into 22 shruti (*śurti*), which represents the smallest unit of pitch. From these 22 shruti, seven are selected to form two gramas (*grāma*s), creating the basic seven-tone scales known as Sa-grama and Ma-grama. Seven new scales were generated by shifting the starting note of each grama by one. Thus, the Sa-grama and Ma-grama each produce seven different types of seven-tone scales, totalling 14 different scales known as murchana (*mūrchanā*). For instance, Sa-grama is structured in intervals of 3, 2, 4, 4, 3, 2, and 4 Shruti. Shifting the initial notes of this scale successively created seven distinct seven-tone scales. By maintaining these intervals and replacing the seven tones with the initial tones, seven murchanas were derived. This process resembled the formation of melodic modes in ancient Greece. Jatis derived from these murchanas play a significant role. According to the *Natyashastra*, 7 types of jati are derived from Sa-grama and 11 from Ma-grama, resulting in 18 types (Rangacharya 1996).

Later, in the thirteenth-century text *Sangita Ratnakara*, the term raga appeared to describe a pleasant flavour in current melodic theory, in both Hindustani classical music and in South Indian Karnataka classical music, developed from the framework of raga, a melodic theory. However, in South India, the basic raga and derived ragas were systematised early, whereas Hindustani classical music was influenced by the Persian music of West Asia, and various ragas emerged through the creation of musicians. As a result, raga have spread widely across schools and regions, with some surviving to the present day, while many others have disappeared. It is difficult to determine the actual number of ragas that were created, but it may be possible to verify how many have been handed down and performed today. This question was the impetus for the present study.

1.2　The Musical and Symbolic Characteristics of Raga

What exactly is the raga, the keystone of Hindustani classical music? Raga, although nonverbal, is a symbolic phenomenon similar to language as understood in Saussurean linguistics, in which the concepts of signifier and signified are used to establish linguistic dialogue. Table 1 outlines the musical and symbolic characteristics of the raga.

The musical characteristics of the formation of a raga include the ascending scale (*aroha*), the descending scale (*avroha*) and notes used, with the types of scale (*jātī*), short melodic form (*pakad*), principal note (*vadi*) and concerted note (*samvadi*), as well as the octave used within the lower, middle, and higher octaves. Of particular importance in practice is the pakad, a short melodic form that briefly describes the raga's characteristics. This makes it possible to identify the raga that is being played.

Using Raga Bhairavi (*Rāga Bhairavī*) as an example, which is the most commonly played raga today, musical example 1 shows that the scale is a heptatonic scale in both ascending and descending, a sequence of notes similar to the modern Western Phrygian scale. It is a raga with madhyam (*madhyama*),[5] the fourth note of the Indian scale, as the keynote, from which the concerted note is perfect, five degrees above. In practice, it is not only the structure of the sequence of notes that is significant, but also the short melodic forms noted above, as shown in musical example 2. In Hindustani classical music, it is important that the expression of the raga be appropriately represented by varying the length, intensity, ornaments, and microtones of these different melodic types, accompanied by ornamental tech-

Table 1　The Musical and Symbolic Characteristics of Raga

Musical Characteristics

● Scales	Ascending scale, Descending scale and Notes used.
● Types of scale	Types of scale such as pentatonic scale, hexatonic scale, or heptatonic scale. Some ragas have different ascending and descending scales.
● Melodic form	Short melodic form that briefly describes the characteristics of each raga.
● Key notes	Principal note and concerted note are in perfect fourth or perfect fifth degrees.
● Octaves	Octave used within the lower, middle, and higher octaves.
● Thath classification	Classification of raga by Bhatkhande, which classifies the notes used in a scale into 10 different thaths.

Symbolic Characteristics

● Time of day, season	Twelve-part classification system based on Bhatkhande's theory of time, or broadly divided into morning, afternoon, evening, and night.
● Personality	Personality (*prakriti*) such as peace (*śānta*), profundity (*gambīr*), pathos (*karuna*), mischievous (*chanchal*), etc.

(created by the author)

Musical example 1   Scale and Key Note of Raga Bhairavi (musical notation by the author)

Musical example 2   Short Melodic Form of Raga Bhairavi (transcription by the author)

niques. Therefore, it is said in the teaching that the learner should 'become a slave to the raga', so that through repeated practice of the relevant melodic patterns, the learner can acquire a sense of the characteristics of each raga and can quickly recognise the raga when listening.

Another melodic form called *ang* is an even shorter unit than *pakad*. There are innumerable types of ang, such as Kalyan ang (*Kalyān ang*), Sarang ang (*Sārang ang*), Malhar ang (*Malhār ang*) etc. These are generally related to more than one raga. For example, ragas with the name Malhar include Raga Gaur Malhar (*Rāga Gaur Malhār*), Raga Shuddha Malhar (*Rāga Śuddha Malhār*), and Raga Miyan Malhar (*Rāga Miyān Malhār*), all of which include Malhar ang. Thus, melodic forms, including pakad and ang, function as important elements in the acoustic perception of the raga, and the performer is challenged to adopt the appropriate expression of the raga through the intensity, duration, and ornamentation of notes in the melodic form. A Delhi-based vocalist of the Gwalior gharana, in an interview conducted by the author, using the example of Raga Puriya Dhanashri (*Rāga Puriya Dhanāśhrī*) and Raga Gauri (*Rāga Gaurī*), which are similar in terms of music theory, has noted that the former has a strong, linear phrase movement, while the latter has a feminine, highly ornamented, and curved movement. Gendered descriptions of the characteristics of raga, such as feminine or masculine raga, are frequently heard even today, and not only by this vocalist (Okada 2006: 69). Therefore, the meaning and perception of the raga are closely related to aspects of musical structure, such as melodic form and expressive aspects, how the expression of the raga is shown, and its symbolic characteristics.

1.3   Raga-Ragini: Personification and Iconography of Raga

It has already been noted that in the history of Indian music, the ancient (roughly until the twelfth century), medieval (the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries), and modern (the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries) periods are divided by major musical publications. Beginning with *Sangita Ratnakara*, a compilation of

ancient music theories, various theoretical texts have appeared in many regions of India. During this transition, two noteworthy phenomena may be mentioned with regard to the raga. The first is the rise of the raga-ragini (*rāga-rāginī*), a method of anthropomorphising and classifying ragas: in Mamta's *Sangīt Ratna Māla* of the eleventh century, six ragas of masters are accompanied by six ragas of their wives, making a total of 42 ragas systematically presented (Gangoly 1989: 179–180). Likewise, in Pandalik Vittala's Ragamala (*Rāga mālā*) of the sixteenth century, each of the six master ragas is accompanied by five wives' ragas (*rāginīs*), and another five children's ragas (*putras*), making a total of 66 ragas, each with their own characteristics (Gangoly 1989: 199–200). For example, the Raga Bhairavi mentioned above was ragini as a wife of Raga Bhairav. It should be noted that Ragini Bhairavi had all the notes (*swara*s) and Shadja (*śadja*), the first note in Indian scales, was the starting and ending note. Her body was slender, and her face resembled the moon. Her face is described as laughing, full of love (*śṛṅgāra*), dancing at dawn to the song of the beloved. Thus, the raga's gender and character, as well as the relationship between ragas, can be understood from this personification and systematisation.

Second, from around the seventeenth century, Ragamala miniature paintings visualising various ragas, began to be painted in Rajasthan, the Deccan Plateau, and other parts of India. Today, many Ragamala miniature paintings are included in the collection of the National Museum in Delhi. For example, focusing on raga in the rainy season, the miniature Raga Gaur Malhar (ca.1785–1790) from Kangra, near Kashmir, depicts a beautiful woman beating a double-sided drum amid clouds in the sky that looks as if it might rain at any moment. Another Malwa miniature from central India, Raga Megh (ca.1680), delicately depicts a man and woman dancing in joy as clouds cover the sky and rain begins to fall, with the woman beating a large double-sided drum. Despite originating from different periods and regions, it is interesting to note the similarity in their composition. The Raga Bhairav, a Rajasthani miniature, depicts Shiva, the Hindu god of destruction; many Raga Bhairav works depicting Shiva are found in miniatures from other regions. The miniature Ragini Bhairavi (ca.1640–1650) from Mandi, Himachal Pradesh (the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Figure 1), depicts a woman offering flowers and worshipping a Shiva shrine. Many paintings by the Ragini Bhairavi feature devotion as their main theme.

Various documents and miniature paintings describe the personification and systematisation of the raga and its iconography, showing that the symbolism of each raga was quite normative, permeating a wide area of northern India. At the same time, the monsoon ragas, Raga Bhairav, and Raga Bhairavi share common elements with the symbolism of ragas used today. However, some of the ragas found in the literature and iconography are no longer performed today and were discarded over time.
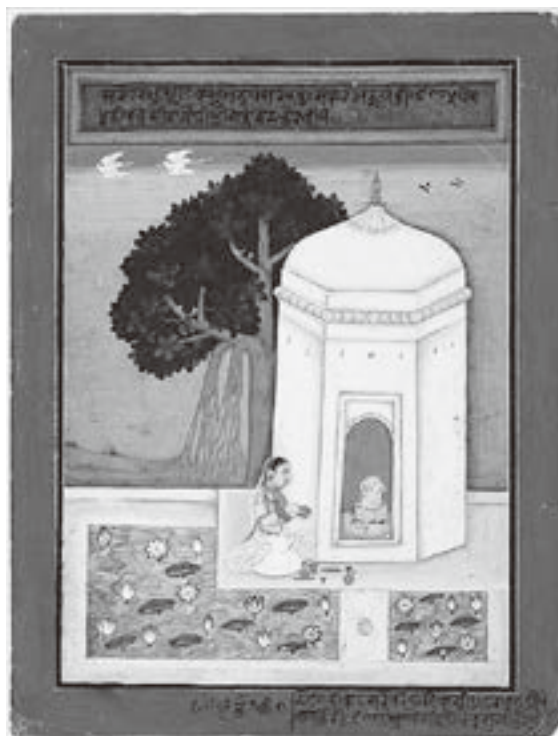
Figure 1   Ragamala Painting of Ragini Bhairavi (ca.1640–1650 Mandi, Himachal
Pradesh, Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art) Open access
image: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/37857

1.4   Thath as a 'Scientific' Classification

As mentioned above, Hindustani classical music was influenced by the arrival
of Muslims from the twelfth century onwards. Under the prosperity of Islamic
dynasties such as the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire, court music flour-
ished under the influence of Islamic culture, and various improvements to
instruments, musical styles, and new ragas were born. Later, with the decline of the
Mughal Empire in the nineteenth century, the maharajas (*mahārājā*s) of the various
clans acquired great wealth and power, and they began to protect musicians as
patrons and to support musical research. Most of the gharanas that continue to the
present are derived from these clan musicians' communities and the musical styles
developed there.

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a growing sense of
national identity in British colonial India, and the music environment underwent
various changes to reflect this. This period is also known as the Renaissance in
India and is considered an important turning point in Hindustani classical music.
Vishnu Digambar Paluskar (1872−1931) and Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande (1860−

1936) were important musicians, educators, and musicologists during the early twentieth century. They were key figures in systematising music theory, organising music conferences, and reforming music education. Today's Hindustani classical music cannot be described without mentioning their achievements. Among other things, Bhatkhande's systematisation of the raga, known as thath (*thāth*), was a 'scientific' classification that focused on musical characteristics, in contrast to the traditional raga-ragini, focused on symbolic characteristics. Thath is a method of classifying hundreds of ragas into ten types on the basis of a heptatonic scale with different constituent tones, as shown in musical example 3.

Bhatkhande's classification of ragas is simple. However, during his time, there was controversy regarding the classification of the vast number of ragas that had been variously derived over several hundred years into only ten types. For example, people differed in their judgement as to which of the ten thaths they considered a pentatonic or a hexatonic raga. In the early twentieth century, five All-India Music Conferences were held between 1916 and 1925 (Baroda 1916, Delhi 1918, Varanasi 1919, Lucknow 1924, and Lucknow 1925), with the aim of improving the

Musical example 3　Thath Classification by Bhatkhande (Nigam 1998: 41, musical notation by the author)

status of musicians in India and promoting interactions between them. These music conferences provided platforms for various discussions on music, including thāth classification through bringing about large-scale exchanges rather than the closed small groups within the courts and gharānās that had been the norm in earlier years. At the same time, the notation system developed by Bhatkhande and Paluskar enabled Bhatkhande's raga classification to spread rapidly, bringing about a standardisation of music theory.

1.5   Raga-Rasa Theory and Time

During this turning point in Hindustani classical music at the beginning of the twentieth century, Bhatkhande proposed the raga-rasa theory, which linked the raga to the time of day, as a systematisation of the raga alongside the thāth classification. *Rasa* refers to the aesthetic concepts underlying classical Indian art. In ancient India, rasa was associated with human emotions and classified into eight types: love (*śṛṅgāra*), joy (*hāsya*), anger (*raudra*), pathetic (*Karuṇā*), hero (*vīra*), wonder (*adbhuta*), disgust (*bībhatsa*), and fear (*bhayānaka*). Elements of theatre, dance, and music were used to represent these emotions, and ancient musical sounds and melodies were associated with these eight rasas. On the other hand, rasas were also used to refer to aesthetic experience in the broad sense of the term and had a dual meaning: rasa meaning emotion and rasa meaning aesthetic experience.

Prem Lata Sharma, an Indian musicologist of the 1970s, argued that the ancient Indian concept of the eight rasas has been lost. In particular, anger rasa and disgust rasa are not represented in music. She further claims that in contemporary Hindustani classical music, there are four rasas: love, pathetic, hero, and peace (*śānta*) (Sharma 1970). This follows Bhatkhande's idea as previously mentioned. Bhatkhande proposed the raga-rasa theory in his *Hindustani Sangeet Paddhati: Kramik Pustak Malika*, which linked the relationship between rasa and raga to the time of day based on literary studies and data collected in various parts of India, especially from the seventeenth century onwards. Its main feature is the contention that rasa is caused by the sounds used in raga. This is related to the aforementioned classification. For example, the Bhairavi thath, one of ten thaths, consists of the component sounds S r g M P d n S (C D$^\flat$ E$^\flat$ F G A$^\flat$ B$^\flat$ C), which include Raga Bhairavi, Raga Malkauns, and Raga Bilaskani Todi (*Rāga Bilaskānī Todī*). These thath are positioned correspondingly with the time of day, for example, the raga belonging to the time before and after sunrise and sunset has Komal Rishabh (D$^\flat$) and Komal Dhaivat (A$^\flat$), and it is called sandiprakash (*sandiprakāsh)* raga. These are represented by pathetic or peace to which the raga of the Bhairavi thath has been shown to belong. This raga-rasa theory, associated with the Bhatkhande period, spread rapidly, as did its classification. It is also adopted in today's popular music textbooks, especially in theoretical commentaries for music qualification examinations, which include love, pathetic, peace, and profundity (*gambīr*) as the

four characteristics (*prakriti*) corresponding to the ragas (Nigam 1998).

However, this series of theories on the systematisation of raga, as proposed by Bhatkande, was subject to scathing criticism, particularly from the Philharmonic Society, an acoustic institute in Poona (present-day Pune). For example, Omkarnath Thakur (1897–1967), a disciple of Paluskar, in his book *Sangītanjali*, argues that the individual nature of each raga is important and cannot be easily classified or systematised. In fact, there are endless exceptions, such as which to use to classify the pentatonic raga and what to do in the case of ragas, in which both Shuddha Madhyam (M) and Tivra Madhyam (M$^\sharp$) are used. Furthermore, in the case of rasa, the fact that words of different natures, including devotion (*bhakti*) and hero, are used in addition to the four types of characters to represent individual ragas shows a wide gap between theory and practice.

2　Quantitative Analysis of the Data on the Raga Performances

This chapter focuses on the first issue, the reality of raga performances. As noted, if we ask musicians, 'How many ragas exist?' Some will answer that there are several hundreds, while others will consider that there are more than a thousand. The questions that arise are as follows: 1) How many ragas have been recognised in contemporary Hindustani classical music since Indian independence? 2) How many ragas are currently being performed? 3) Are the ragas performed normatively? I examine these questions through a comparative analysis of multiple data sources on ragas from three hierarchical levels: knowledge, performance, and normative.

2.1　Data and Three Levels of Analysis

Considering contemporary raga performance, this study divides the multiple data sources on raga into three levels (Figure 2). Knowledge level refers to all recognised ragas, while performance level refers to the ragas that are currently performed. The normative level describes the ragas that musicians are expected to be able to learn and appropriately perform.

The data for analysis were from the eight data sources on raga listed in Table 2, described at the three levels above. Dataset 1, the knowledge level was obtained from *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Music of India* (Saṅgīt Mahābhāratī 2011).

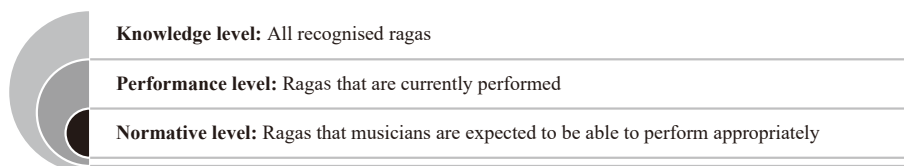**Knowledge level:** All recognised ragas

Performance level: Ragas that are currently performed

Normative level: Ragas that musicians are expected to be able to perform appropriately

Figure 2　Three Hierarchical Levels for Analysing Raga Performance

Table 2 Eight Referenced Data Sources

Level	Referenced Data Sources
Knowledge level	1. *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Music of India.* (3 vols., 2011) • 657 ragas with brief description.

Performance level	2. List of recordings of performances of Hindustani classical instrumental music issued by AIR
	    • 4,053 recordings.
	    • Items mentioned: name of musician, date of recording, genre, <u>raga name</u>, musical composition, tala name, time of performance.
	
	3. List of recordings of performances of Hindustani classical vocal music issued by AIR
	    • 5,541 recordings.
	    • Items mentioned: name of musician, date of recording, genre, <u>raga name</u>, musical composition, tala name, time of performance.

Normative level	4. *The Raga Guide: A Survey of 74 Hindustani Ragas.* (Bor 1992); 74 ragas 5. Raga designated as AIR performer audition; 73 ragas 6. The Bhatkhande Sangit Vidyapith Music Certificate Examination; 88 ragas 7. Akhil Bharatiya Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Mandal Music Certificate Examination; 86 ragas 8. Prayag Sangit Samiti organised Music Certificate Examination; 88 ragas

(created by the author)

This is a three-volume encyclopaedia of Indian music published in 2011, in which 657 ragas of Hindustani classical music are listed in the commentary. It is the most comprehensive contemporary publication in terms of number of entries.

Datasets 2 and 3, the performance levels, were compiled by All India Radio (AIR), the Indian state radio station that played an important role in the development of Hindustani classical music in the twentieth century, which refer mainly to the list of performances recorded by professional musicians of Hindustani classical music in the second half of the twentieth century. This list is divided into instrumental and vocal music and consists of 4,053 recordings for instrumental music and 5,541 recordings for vocal music. Each datum includes the musician's name, date of recording, musical genre, raga name, musical composition, tala (*tāla*) name, and performance time. In addition to these AIR datasets, the earliest recording was a patriotic song by Omkarnath Thakur, which was listed in the classical vocal music category in 1947. Additionally, the late 1950s and the early 1960s saw an increase in the variety of musicians in both vocal and instrumental recordings as well as in the number of recordings themselves. The reason for this increase is presumably related to the 'golden age of classical music in AIR' from 1952–1961 to, when B. V. Keskar (Balakrishna Vishwanath Keskar), who was appointed Minister of information and Broadcasting in 1952, introduced the slogan 'popularising classical music' (1952–1953), and made numerous innovations during his tenure. Specifically, he established an audition system for classical musicians, launched a

weekly radio music programme (90-minute programme, started in 1952), introduced an annual concert series 'Radio Sangeet Sammelan' (started in 1954), etc. (Baruah 1983: 69–77). The archive maintained a certain number of recordings until approximately 1990, ending with data recorded in 2001.

Five types of data were referred to as the normative level. Dataset 4 refers to the 74 ragas listed in *The Raga Guide: A Survey of 74 Hindustani Ragas* published in 1992 (Bor 1992). Dataset 5 includes the 73 ragas specified by AIR in its audition guidelines for performers. In addition, we focus on three major music examinations of Hindustani classical music. Most classical music schools in North India are affiliated with one of the three major annual music examinations. The types of ragas mastered by the end of Grade 8, the highest grade in music examinations, were also noted. Dataset 6 shows the music examination for Bhatkhande Sangit Vidyapith (*Bhātkhande Sangīt Vidyapīth*), Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, which inherited the teaching methods of Bhatkhande. In total, 88 ragas were included in the syllabus. Dataset 7 is drawn from the music examination of the Akhil Bharatiya Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Mandal (*Akhil Bhāratīya Gāndharva Mahāvidyālaya Mandal*), based in Pune, Maharashtra. It follows the teaching methods of Paluskar, who invented notation and promoted reform in music education. This examination can be taken throughout North India. The syllabus contained 86 ragas at the end of Grade 8. Dataset 8 includes music examination organised by the Prayag Sangit Samiti (*Prayāg Sangīt Samiti*) at Prayagraj, Uttar Pradesh, the syllabus to which shows 88 ragas to be mastered by the end of Grade 8.

2.2　The Raga as Knowledge and the Raga as Performed

Of the eight types of data on raga presented above, the questions of 1) how many ragas are recognised as knowledge and 2) how many are actually performed were first considered with respect to data on levels of knowledge and performance. For the ragas as knowledge, the 657 ragas listed in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Music of India* (Dataset 1) were used as the basis, while 225 ragas that were not listed but were included in the AIR recordings (Datasets 2 and 3) were added. This produced 882 ragas (Table 3). Of course, it is difficult to establish exact figures because of limited data on the subject, but it is estimated that the number of ragas recognised as knowledge in modern times is around 600–900. On the other hand, ragas performed in practice were first drawn out from the list of AIR recordings in Datasets 2 and 3, including data that omitted raga names, data where raga names could not be determined due to incorrect entry, and data from interviews and conversations rather than performance. The number of classical instrumental recordings remaining from Dataset 2 was 3,335, of which 313 ragas were performed. The number of classical vocal recordings in Dataset 3 was 5,142, of which 451 ragas were performed. Therefore, it is estimated that present-day professional musicians actually perform between 300 and 500 ragas.

Table 3   Number of Ragas on the Knowledge and the Performance Levels

Level	Referenced Data Sources	Number of Ragas
Knowledge level	1. *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Music of India;* 657 ragas + 225 ragas of Data 2 and 3 not listed above combined → **882 ragas**	600−900 ragas
Performance level	2. AIR Instrumental recordings 3,335 valid entries out of 4,053 → **313 ragas** 3. AIR Vocal recordings 5,142 valid entries out of 5,541 → **451 ragas** The number of valid entries excludes those with unknown raga names, interviews, etc.	300−500 ragas

(created by the author)

A simple comparison of these figures seems to indicate that half of the ragas at the knowledge level are actually performed. However, when the ragas at the performance level are individually examined, many ragas exist that have been performed only once, and most of these are the creations of individuals. Therefore, it is essential to focus on the frequency of each raga performances to understand its state. The next section examines the characteristics expressed by comparing the ragas of performance level with those of the normative level.

2.3   Normativisation of Raga and the Comparison of Normative and Performing Levels

As mentioned above, the normative level describes the ragas that musicians are expected to be able to learn and perform appropriately. In other words, they are the minimum standards among the numerous ragas, and can be the criteria by which musicians' abilities are assessed. On this basis, the normativisation of a raga in this study indicates a situation in which performances are concentrated on the ragas of these normative levels.

This section examines whether a tendency towards normativity is observed in the selection of ragas to be performed by comparing the ragas of the performing level with those of the normative level. The five normative-level data types noted above are as follows: 74 ragas mentioned in *The Raga Guide: A Survey of 74 Hindustani Ragas* in Dataset 4, 73 ragas designated as AIR performer audition in Dataset 5, 88 ragas in the music certificate examination of Bhatkhande Sangit Vidyapith (BK) in Dataset 6, 86 ragas in the music certificate examination of Akhil Bharatiya Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Mandal (GM) in Dataset 7, and 88 ragas in the music certificate examination of Sangit Samiti (PS) in Dataset 8. Table 4 lists the names of the specified ragas.

The black circles (●) indicate the designated raga, and although the information is drawn from five different datasets, common ragas are often designated. The

information provided in brackets for Datasets 6, 7, and 8 of the music examinations indicates the grade at which it first appeared in the syllabus between Grades 1 and 8. The total number of ragas listed in the five datasets is 120, with 80 ragas being common across four or more datasets. Then, the performance level data–that is, the 313 ragas performed in the 3,335 valid recordings of AIR classical instrumental music in Dataset 2 and the 451 ragas performed in the 5,142 valid recordings of AIR classical vocal music in Dataset 3–can be used as the population number for the 80 ragas mentioned above. The number and proportion of these 80 ragas in the total number of recordings of classical instrumental music were 2,350 and 70.5%, respectively, and the number and proportion of these 80 ragas in the total number of recordings of classical vocal music were 3,466 and 67.4%, respectively. Thus, approximately 70% of the ragas actually performed consist of 80 that are considered normative for performer auditions, music examinations, etc.

Table 4　Distribution of Raga in the Normative and Performance Levels

| No. | Name of raga | Normative level | | | | | 80 ragas | Performance level | |
		Data 4	Data 5	Data 6	Data 7	Data 8		Data 2	Data 3
1	Abhogi	●	●	● (BK8)	● (GM7)	● (PS7)	◎	30	29
2	Adana	●	●	● (BK4)	● (GM6)	● (PS5)	◎	7	28
3	Ahir Bhairav	●	●	● (BK7)	● (GM8)	● (PS7)	◎	59	53
4	Alahiya Bilawal	●	●	● (BK2)	● (GM2)	● (PS1)	◎	25	28
5	Asawari	●	●	● (BK1)		● (PS2)	○	8	13
6	Bageshri	●	●	● (BK3)	● (GM1)	● (PS2)	◎	62	77
7	Bahar	●	●	● (BK4)	● (GM6)	● (PS4)	◎	9	30
8	Bairagi		●						
9	Bairagi Bhairavi			● (BK8)					
10	Basant	●	●	● (BK5)	● (GM6)	● (PS6)	◎	15	44
11	Basant Bahar				● (GM7)				
12	Basant Mukhari			● (BK8)					
13	Bhairav	●	●	● (BK1)	● (GM2)	● (PS1)	◎	38	35
14	Bhairav Bahar				● (GM7)				
15	Bhairavi	●	●	● (BK1)	● (GM2)	● (PS2)	◎	150	196
16	Bhankhar					● (PS8)			
17	Bhatiyar	●		● (BK7)	● (GM8)	● (PS8)	○	33	52
18	Bhimpalasi	●	●	● (BK3)	● (GM1)	● (PS2)	◎	18	39
19	Bhopali	●	●	● (BK2)	● (GM1)	● (PS1)	◎	28	49
20	Bhupal Todi	●		● (BK8)	● (GM7)		○	8	19
21	Bihag	●	●	● (BK3)	● (GM2)	● (PS1)	◎	63	79
22	Bihagada			● (BK8)	● (GM8)	● (PS8)	○	0	29
23	Bilaskhani Todi	●	●	● (BK8)	● (GM8)	● (PS8)	◎	26	42
24	Bilawal			● (BK1)		● (PS1)			
25	Chandrakauns	●	●		● (GM7)	● (PS7)	○	29	34
26	Charukeshi			● (BK7)					
27	Chayanat	●	●	● (BK5)	● (GM4)	● (PS5)	◎	11	61
28	Darbari	●	●	● (BK5)	● (GM5)	● (PS5)	◎	84	95

29	**Des**	●	●	●(BK2)	●(GM1)	●(PS2)	◎	77	63
30	**Deshkar**		●	●(BK5)	●(GM3)	●(PS4)	○	11	32
31	**Desi**	●	●		●(GM8)	●(PS6)	○	39	52
32	**Desi Todi**			●(BK7)					
33	**Dev Gandhar**				●(GM8)				
34	**Devgiri Bilawal**		●	●(BK7)	●(GM7)	●(PS8)	○	10	18
35	**Dhanashri**			●(BK6)					
36	**Dhani**	●							
37	**Durga**	●		●(BK6)	●(GM1)	●(PS2)	○	20	31
38	**Gara**		●						
39	**Gauri**			●(BK7)	●(GM8)	●(PS8)	○	3	15
40	**Gondhari**				●(GM8)				
41	**Gopi Basant**			●(BK8)					
42	**Gorakh Kalyan**	●		●(BK8)	●(GM8)	●(PS8)	○	14	11
43	**Goud Malhar**	●	●	●(BK4)	●(GM6)	●(PS5)	◎	12	46
44	**Goud Sarang**	●	●	●(BK4)	●(GM4)	●(PS5)	◎	10	30
45	**Gujari Todi**	●	●	●(BK8)	●(GM7)	●(PS7)	◎	38	56
46	**Gunakali**	●		●(BK7)					
47	**Hamir**	●		●(BK3)	●(GM3)	●(PS3)	○	13	31
48	**Hamsadhwani**	●	●	●(BK7)	●(GM7)	●(PS7)	◎	33	27
49	**Hemant**					●(PS8)			
50	**Hindol**	●		●(BK4)	●(GM6)	●(PS5)	○	11	28
51	**Holi**				●(GM6)				
52	**Jaijaiwanti**	●	●	●(BK4)	●(GM4)	●(PS4)	◎	49	71
53	**Jait Kalyan**			●(BK6)		●(PS8)			
54	**Jait Shri**			●(BK6)					
55	**Jaunpuri**	●	●	●(BK3)	●(GM3)	●(PS3)	◎	32	47
56	**Jhinjoti**	●	●	●(BK6)	●(GM7)	●(PS6)	◎	51	37
57	**Jog**	●	●	●(BK6)	●(GM7)	●(PS7)	◎	48	54
58	**Jogia**	●	●	●(BK6)			○	25	33
59	**Jogkauns**		●		●(GM8)	●(PS8)	○	11	13
60	**Kafi**	●	●	●(BK1)	●(GM1)	●(PS1)	◎	48	71
61	**Kalawati**				●(GM7)				
62	**Kalingra**			●(BK4)		●(PS3)			
63	**Kamod**	●	●	●(BK5)	●(GM4)	●(PS4)	◎	8	34
64	**Kaunsi Kanada**		●	●(BK8)		●(PS8)	○	39	31
65	**Kedar**	●	●	●(BK3)	●(GM2)	●(PS3)	◎	27	71
66	**Khamaj**	●	●	●(BK1)	●(GM1)	●(PS1)	◎	104	131
67	**Khambhavati**			●(BK7)	●(GM8)	●(PS8)	○	0	14
68	**Kirwani**	●	●						
69	**Komal Rishabh Asawari**		●		●(GM8)				
70	**Lalit**	●	●	●(BK5)	●(GM5)	●(PS6)	◎	55	76
71	**Madhamad Sarang**			●(BK7)	●(GM8)	●(PS7)	○	12	12
72	**Madhuwanti**	●			●(GM8)	●(PS7)	○	18	17
73	**Malgunji**				●(GM8)	●(PS6)			
74	**Malha Kedar**					●(PS7)			
75	**Malkauns**	●	●	●(BK3)	●(GM3)	●(PS3)	◎	63	108
76	**Mand**		●						

#	Name								
77	Manj Khamaj	●	●						
78	Maru Behag	●	●	●(BK7)	●(GM8)	●(PS7)	◎	52	31
79	Marwa	●	●	●(BK1)	●(GM6)	●(PS4)	◎	22	39
80	Megh	●							
81	Megh Malhar		●	●(BK7)	●(GM7)	●(PS8)	○	5	14
82	Miyan ki Sarang			●(BK7)		●(PS8)			
83	Miyan ki Todi	●	●						
84	Miyan Malhar	●	●	●(BK4)	●(GM5)	●(PS6)	◎	36	42
85	Multani	●	●	●(BK5)	●(GM6)	●(PS4)	◎	15	58
86	Nand		●	●(BK7)	●(GM8)	●(PS7)	○	2	27
87	Narayani			●(BK8)		●(PS7)			
88	Nat Bhairav		●						
89	Nat Bihag					●(PS8)			
90	Nayaki Kanada	●		●(BK6)	●(GM7)	●(PS8)	○	6	45
91	Pahadi		●			●(PS6)			
92	Paraj			●(BK4)	●(GM8)	●(PS6)	○	4	16
93	Patdeep	●	●		●(GM3)	●(PS3)	○	9	16
94	Pilu	●	●	●(BK5)	●(GM2)	●(PS3)	◎	62	55
95	Puriya	●	●	●(BK5)	●(GM5)	●(PS5)	◎	19	71
96	Puriya Dhanashri	●	●	●(BK4)	●(GM5)	●(PS6)	◎	23	33
97	Puriya Kalyan	●	●		●(GM7)	●(PS7)	○	50	34
98	Purvi	●	●	●(BK1)	●(GM4)	●(PS4)	◎	33	25
99	Rageshri	●	●	●(BK7)	●(GM7)		○	45	52
100	Ramdasi Malhar			●(BK8)		●(PS8)			
101	Ramkali	●	●	●(BK5)	●(GM7)	●(PS6)	◎	17	56
102	Shahana	●		●(BK8)					
103	Shankara	●	●	●(BK4)	●(GM4)	●(PS4)	◎	12	32
104	Shiv Ranjani		●						
105	Shri	●	●	●(BK4)	●(GM8)	●(PS5)	◎	21	25
106	Shuddha Gauri				●(GM8)				
107	Shuddha Kalyan	●	●	●(BK5)	●(GM7)	●(PS6)	◎	26	56
108	Shuddha Sarang	●	●	●(BK6)	●(GM7)	●(PS7)	◎	35	50
109	Shyam Kalyan	●	●	●(BK6)	●(GM7)	●(PS8)	◎	25	31
110	Sindura	●	●		●(GM8)		○	14	12
111	Sohni	●		●(BK3)	●(GM6)	●(PS4)	○	14	34
112	Sorath			●(BK8)					
113	Sur Malhar	●		●(BK6)	●(GM7)	●(PS7)	○	10	18
114	Tilak Kamod	●	●	●(BK3)	●(GM2)	●(PS3)	◎	26	39
115	Tilang	●	●		●(GM3)	●(PS3)	○	16	25
116	Todi			●(BK1)	●(GM5)	●(PS5)	○	37	88
117	Vibhas	●	●	●(BK6)	●(GM5)	●(PS5)	◎	8	32
118	Vrindwani Sarang	●	●	●(BK3)	●(GM1)	●(PS2)	◎	9	13
119	Yaman / Yaman Kalyan	●	●	●(BK1)	●(GM2)	●(PS1)	◎	99	96
120	Yamani Bilawal			●(BK6)	●(GM7)	●(PS8)	○	14	9
	Total	74	73	88	86	88	80	2,350	3,466

(created by the author)

We have hitherto focused on the reality of raga performance, addressing questions regarding 1) how far raga is recognised as knowledge in contemporary Hindustani classical music, 2) whether it is actually performed, and 3) whether the ragas that are performed are becoming more normative. A comparative analysis of eight data sources on raga, divided into three levels, revealed the following: The number of ragas at the knowledge level is estimated to be 600–900, of which approximately half (300–500) are performed. In addition, the individual performance data revealed that many types of ragas were created by individuals. Furthermore, a comparison of the ragas at the performance level and the ragas at the normative level, focusing on the frequency of ragas performed, which is essential for understanding the reality of raga performance, showed that the ragas at the normative level, that is, the ragas that one should be able to learn and perform properly to become a professional musician, consisted of approximately 80 ragas, and approximately 70% of the performance recordings by professional musicians in the AIR were of these 80 ragas.

From the above analysis, it may be concluded that the designation of ragas in music examinations and auditions has a significant influence on the ragas ultimately selected for performance by professional musicians. The normative ragas function as the minimum standard among the many ragas and at the same time as a criterion for evaluating musicians' performances, and a situation of 'raga normativisation' is occurring, where performances are concentrated on these ragas. Among Hindustani classical musicians, there exists a strong perception that good musicians understand the characteristics of each raga and can express them accurately. For this reason, ragas, widely recognised by musicians and audiences, dominate public performances. In other words, there is a tendency to judge a musicians' understanding of raga and the ability to express themselves through a widely known raga rather than a less-well-known creative raga, which is especially important for young musicians. Experienced musicians, often referred to as maestros, may also perform ragas of their own creations. The following chapter will focus on exceptional ragas, which tend to be omitted from such quantitative surveys, and examine the instruction in ragas in the school and traditional guru-disciple systems.

3   Teaching Ragas in Music Institutions and in the Guru-Disciple Tradition

The second topic of this study concerns the teaching of raga. This chapter examines the content and methods of teaching raga in terms of how musicians and students perceive and acquire raga and how raga is taught in schools and traditional guru-shishya systems. It then explores, using case studies, the teaching process in gharānās that is still functioning today, as well as creative raga produced by individuals.

3.1　The Raga Teaching System in Educational Institutions
Establishment of Music Institutions and Diversification of Teaching
Indian musicologists active in the early twentieth century, such as Paluskar and Bhatkhande, had a significant influence on the systematisation of modern Hindustani classical music and the expansion of its context, including popularisation and broader dissemination. Based on these achievements, this study focuses on reforming the music education system. Until the nineteenth century, various regional schools of classical music, known as gharana, functioned as communities for music instruction. Under a system of hereditary succession and a strict guru-disciple system, it was customary for the gurus to teach the traditions of the given school to the disciple, and the disciple learned them through training. In 1901, when Paluskar established India's first music school in Lahore (now in Pakistan), it was an open institution without regional, caste, or religious characteristics was added to classical music instruction. Naturally, the concepts and systems of the guru-disciple tradition and gharana continue to function in practice in modern times, and features such as guru-shishya relationships can be found to varying degrees in music colleges and institutions. However, through the establishment of music faculties in universities and the increase in the number of private conservatories and music schools in many regions, the systematisation of the study of classical music learning, that is, practical skills, music theory, and examination systems, and their specific curricula, developed naturally. Consequently, learning content began to exhibit increased uniformity, and it is undeniable that music theory has grown more normative with the dissemination of notation systems and the publication of didactic works and books on musical notations. Thus, the establishment of musical institutions and the introduction of an educational system were direct factors in the diversification of the teaching context of Hindustani classical music, which also led to an increase in the population of music learners (Bakhle 2005).

Increase in the Number of Young Learners
The author conducted a field study from 2018 to 2019 on the current population learning Hindustani classical music. This study involved classroom observations of classical music lessons, and interviews of learners and teachers in several music conservatoires and secondary schools in Delhi. Based on these findings (Okada 2019: 13–23), it has been observed that the number of learners has increased in recent years, particularly among young people. The activities of non-profit organisations that aim to promote the spread of classical music culture have been gradually expanding since the 1970s, mainly targeting young people, which may be the primary reason for this growth. As is discussed in more detail below, opportunities for direct contact with performances and lectures by active professional classical musicians in India and abroad have increased since an early age, and this

educational environment has fostered interest in classical music among young people. It should also be noted that as a second factor, the number of young people studying Hindustani classical music in conservatories and music schools as an after-school activity is increasing because of the growing enthusiasm for education among parents and the expansion of household expenditure on education that accompanies the growth and revitalisation of the Indian economy. As primary and secondary schools in India typically begin early in the day and end in the early afternoon, it is common to see children studying classical music in conservatories after school hours. The number of students enrolled at the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Music Conservatory in New Delhi and the Shri Ram Bharatiya Kala Kendra Art School for studying Hindustani classical music is increasing every year, especially among young people. Regarding the learning goals of these young people, vocalist Hameed Khan, who teaches classical vocal music at an art school, noted (interview in Delhi, August 2018).

> More and more young people want to pursue a career in music in the future. This is not necessarily in the world of classical music, but even in the world of commercial music, such as Bollywood films, classical music is the basis for this, and many students enrol first to acquire theoretical knowledge and skills in classical music.

In India, the Hindi-speaking Bollywood film industry is deeply rooted and a popular source of entertainment. The music used in films is called filmi (*filmī*). Although influenced by Western popular music genres, it has roots in classical music based on raga. Film music composers and playback singers are aspirational professions for young people, and learning classical music is the first step in this direction; in other words, familiarity with filmī music from an early age is a mediating aspect leading to learning Hindustani classical music.

A third factor in the increase in the number of students studying classical music is the fact that, in recent years, an increasing number of students are taking Hindustani classical music as an optional subject in the unified secondary education Class XII examination, which is taken in the final year of secondary education. This suggests that the study of classical music is linked to university entrance examinations.

India is a multi-ethnic, multilingual, and multireligious country, and the National Policy on Education of 1986 led to the decentralisation of education. India is divided into 29 states and 7 union territories, and each state and territory has its own educational system and regulations. The most common system is the 5–3–3–2 system, consisting of eight years of primary education and five years of secondary education, which has been adopted by 18 states and 4 union territories. The Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) examination, conducted by government-af-

filiated board centres across India, plays an important role as a link to higher secondary education. The CBSE, established in 1952, is India's largest unified secondary school examination board, with 28,471 member schools in India and 26 other countries (CBSE 2023a; 2023b). In addition to the five compulsory subjects, candidates choose three elective subjects depending on the field of study they wish to pursue in higher education, or the faculty they wish to join. For Hindustani classical music, three subjects are designated as electives: vocal music, melody instruments, and percussion instruments.

The number of candidates for each subject was published until 2019; in that year, 69,851 of the 1,205,484 candidates chose Hindustani classical music (Table 5). The proportion of candidates who opted for music has shown a regular rate of increase, from 3.1% in 2014 to 5.8% in 2019—an increase of 2.7 percentage points. To investigate this, we examined the statistical data, syllabi, and examination content provided by the CBSE as well as a survey of secondary school students. The content of the Hindustani classical music category of the examination largely follows the syllabus of classical music certificate examinations, which cover music theory and music history, the subject of the written examination, and the content of the practical examination (Okada 2019). In other words, it is evident that if a child is immersed in an environment supportive of classical music education from an early age and also engages in after-school lessons focused on music qualification examinations, he/she can acquire a classical music qualification and prepare for university entrance examinations such as that conducted by the CBSE.

Curricula and Teaching Methods for Raga in Music Institutions

A major motivation for young people to study classical music in music schools and conservatories, and one that keeps them motivated to learn, is the existence of Hindustani classical music examinations held once per year. The three major music

Table 5　Increased Selection of Hindustani classical music in CBSE Class XII Examination

Year	Total Number of Candidates in Class XII Examination	Number of Candidates who selected Hindustani Classical Music	Percentage of those who selected Hindustani Classical music (Rounded to two decimal places)
2019	1,205,484	69,851	**5.8%**
2018	1,106,772	59,603	**5.4%**
2017	1,076,760	50,391	**4.7%**
2016	1,041,482	41,816	**4.0%**
2015	1,016,369	36,582	**3.6%**
2014	1,007,322	30,977	**3.1%**

CBSE Examination Statistics (https://www.cbse.gov.in/cbsenew/statistics.html)　　　(created by the author)
Since 2020, the number of examinees in each subject is not published.

qualification examinations mentioned in the previous section have been historically proven and authoritative, and classical music institutions in various regions are affiliated with one of them. The Akhil Bharatiya Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Music Certificate Examination is one example. This examination is conducted in the memory of Paluskar, a musicologist and vocalist who opened India's first conservatory in Lahore in 1901. The author took this exam every year during her four years of study in Delhi as a scholarship student sponsored by the Indian government.

The examination introduced a grading system for introductory courses and Grades 1 to 8. Each grade features a defined curriculum, and sets of manuals on theory and practical skills have been published. Progression to the next grade is possible by passing the practical and written examinations held in May each year; as shown in Data 7 in Table 4, the ragas to be studied are gradually added from Grade 1. There are eight ragas each at Grades 1 and 2, and an additional five ragas are added at Grades 3 and 4; thus, by the end of Grade 4, when Senior Diploma qualification is granted, 28 ragas have been studied. Thereafter, seven ragas were studied in Grade 5, and nine in Grade 6. By the end of Grade 6, which is equivalent to a Bachelor of Music (BA. Mus.), students have studied at least 48 ragas. Grades 7 and 8 add 21 ragas each, and those who pass Grade 8 have studied at least 86 ragas, which is equivalent to a master's degree (MA) in Music. As observed from comparison Data 6–8 in Table 4, the number and variety of ragas to be mastered at the highest Grade 8 in the three major music qualification examinations is similar. Importantly, these function as normative ragas, and as highlighted in the AIR recording data mentioned above, account for the majority of ragas performed today.

Regarding vocal and melodic instrumental ragas in music institutions, emphasis is also placed on a sincere attitude toward learning raga and a commitment to adhere to the precise rules of raga and express them appropriately. In practice, teachers and learners face each other, and generally the teacher delivers the phrases orally, repeating them as needed, according to the learner's experience. Students imitate and are confronted with the ornamentation and expression of each raga. The Bhatkhande and Paluskar notation systems are widely used today for teaching Hindustani classical music, and digital recorders and smartphone recording functions are often used for learning. However, even in music schools, oral instruction remains the norm, with written notation used only as a reminder and recordings used only as a memory aid. In the practice of raga teaching, the important aspect is the pakad; how well it is understood and expressed is key to recognising individual ragas.

For example, in musical example 4, a comparison of the melodic forms of Raga Kedar (*Rāga Kedār)*, Raga Kamod, and Raga Hamir (*Rāga Hamīr*), which sound very similar, is performed in a lesson on how to adequately describe their differences. These three ragas use the same notes, and both Shuddha Madhyam (M)

Raga Hamir

R S Ṇ S ˢM ᴾM ᴹG P ᴾm ᴾm P D P ᴾM ᴾM ˢM R S R S

Raga Kamod

S ᴹR ᴹR P ᴹR ᴹR R P m D P ᴹG ᴹG M P M G M ᴹR S

Raga Kedar

S G Mᴺᴰ ᴺᴰ DṠ Ṅ Ṡ N D N D P D m P G M R S

Musical example 4　Comparison of Melodic Forms in Similar Ragas (transcription by the author)

and Tivra Madhyam (M♯) are used for the fourth sound, thus theoretically, they are similar ragas. However, the different structures of sound arrangements and methods of ornamentation make each raga separate. Therefore, it is essential to learn ornamental techniques, intensities, and expressions of sound within the melodic form. Students develop a sense of the characteristics of each raga by repeating the melodic form dozens of times. Both in practice and in music theory, it is necessary to understand the musical characteristics of each raga, including its scale, jātī and principal and concerted notes, as well as the relevant symbolic characteristics, such as the time of day. To learn these characteristics, the song lakshangeet (*lakśanā Gītā*) is sometimes used in classical vocal music. This song has a melody based on a raga, and the lyrics reveal the characteristics of this raga. For example, the lakshangeet of the Raga Bhairavi is as follows:

Lyrics	Translation
Jayati jay ragīnī Bhairavī nāminī	Glory to Raga Bhairavi
Bhakti rasa pūranī prāt gun gāvanī	This raga is full of devotion and is sung in the morning.
Sapt sur rūpinī sakal mrdu svarani	It consists of seven notes, all sung in a sweet tone.
Śadja samvādinī pancama suvādinī	Shadja is the concerted note and pancam is the main note.

Lakshangeet of Raga Bhairavi Composed by Narayan Maureshwal

This section focuses on the establishment of Hindustani classical music schools in the early twentieth century, recent growth in their learning population, and the process of learning ragas in music institutions. Despite the increasing number of music learners in educational institutions, the majority of students do not complete the curriculum up to the highest grade, Grade 8. In addition, the principal of the conservatory indicated that less than 10% of students who complete Grade 8

are able to pursue a career as professional classical musicians. While pursuing their training in classical music, many musicians make a living from fusion music, which combines the elements of classical music with other genres. Fusion music juxtaposes classical music, which adheres to rules and forms, such as ragas, with a more individualistic and freely expressive style. The demand for fusion music performances in functions, including wedding receptions, is growing in India. It is common for young musicians to spend several years working in Dubai, seeking opportunities to perform. As described above, Hindustani classical music learners, their learning process, and the educational environment continue to change with time, and today, it is not easy to find jobs as professional classical musicians or even as a teacher in a music school. In contrast to these institutions is the teaching in the guru-disciple system, which is discussed in the next section.

3.2　The Teaching of Raga in Music Institutions and in the Guru-Disciple System

Historically, the guru-disciple system was based on the hereditary system of professional musicians and the strict guru-disciple tradition, in which the disciple lived in the guru's house and received instructions while taking care of his personal affairs. Among the Hindus, the highest-caste Brahmins often presided over music, while Muslims have a lineage of hereditary professional musicians that continues to this day, originating in the court musicians of the Mughal Empire. This closed training system for hereditary succession and guru-disciple relationships between schools remain the foundation of professional classical music today. When someone is discovered to be a student of classical music, most individuals within the classical music community, including enthusiasts, are inclined to inquire, 'Who is your guru?' The guru is absolute, and only those individuals who can carry on the guru's teachings are recognised as true disciples. Hindustani classical music is no longer taught only in India, and professors of the tradition are no longer only those of Indian origin.

Two musicians were interviewed during the COVID-19 pandemic. The first is sitar (*sitār*, north Indian plucked stringed instrument) player Amit Roy (1959–), born and raised in Kolkata, West Bengal, whose father is the world-renowned sitar maker, Hiren Roy. Amit Roy learned to make and play the sitar from his father at an early age, and from 1978, he studied with Nikhil Banerjee (1931−1986), a leading maestro of the twentieth century, until his death in 1986. In Roy's youth, sitar player Nikhil Banerjee visited Roy's father's workshop to tune his instrument. Roy was immediately captivated by the sound of the instrument when he heard it close, and he expressed his desire to learn music directly from Banerjee himself. Thus, a guru-shishya relationship began between them. He went to his guru's house and learned Hindi film songs, gradually moving on to classical music. He spent his mornings and evenings in his parents' workshop, making instruments. After work,

he immersed himself in sitar practice. Roy talks about teaching and playing the raga as follows (interview in Nagoya, April 2022):

> I want to express the raga as beautifully and purely as possible, every note of the raga as it was built by our predecessors. There are many different times when we actually play the raga, such as in the morning, at noon, or in the middle of the night, but the raga has its own time and seasons. For example, it is natural to play a spring raga in the spring and a rainy season raga when the rainy season arrives. I decide which raga to play, taking into account the season. The interesting thing about this Hindustani classical music is that it is not the same every day. There's no score. But of course, there are rules of development from beginning to end. We follow that path.

Roy moved to Japan in 1988 after his guru's death and has been active as a performer and mentor for younger generations in Japan, playing an influential role in the dissemination of Hindustani classical music in Japan. He states that unless he can look his students in the eye and teaches them carefully, they cannot learn everything they need. He may use written notation when working with beginners, but generally sings phrases repeatedly to his students, who learn it by imitating him repeatedly on their instruments and singing. He presented the symbolic characteristics of the raga to the Japanese disciple based on the images he perceived. For example, when teaching a raga related to rain, he discusses rain in India as follows:

> The rains in India are heavy and stormy, and then stop after an hour or so. In India there is a long period without rain—from December to about May, there is no rain. That's why it's so hot. How happy do you think people would be if it rained there? Not just people, but all the animals and plants would be happy. That's the kind of happiness that rain brings in India. When I explain it like this, the disciple imagines it. That's how people in India feel about rain.

Another musician in this investigation was Yuji Nakagawa, a Japanese sarangi player (*sārangī,* north Indian bowed stringed instrument) who moved to India in 2005 to apprentice under sarangi player Dhruba Ghosh (1957–2017) and blossomed as a performer. He has won numerous awards for classical music, both in India and abroad. Nakagawa describes meeting his guru as follows (interview in Osaka, April 2021):

> I first met guruji in 2004 in Japan. I was very impressed by the music of the guru, as it directly conveyed his music itself, so much so that I forgot that he was playing the

sarangi itself. An outstanding performer in any genre can make you forget about the instrument or musical style they are playing. I was most fascinated and moved by his musical expressions itself in this way. I had never had a guru before, so I felt that he was a very big part of my life. It's not a family, but it feels like a family, but there is a distance between us, and there's a strange relationship, but my guru is a very big part of my life.

Looking back on the lessons I had with my guruji for the first or second year, I was taught only one raga and only the important part of the raga, called the alap, which expresses the characteristics of the raga without any percussion instruments. His instructions were very detailed and if there was even a slight difference between his phrases and the phrases I was playing, I had to practise them over and over again. It was a very detailed and demanding lesson because his teaching method was to keep repeating the phrases until they were correct. But it has really helped me with my playing now.

It is not unusual to spend a year or even more on a single raga in the traditional guru-disciple system. In other words, by thoroughly mastering the precise expression, structure, and development of a raga and its methods, a kind of performance template is established in that raga. Even if one then begins learning another raga, the foundation is laid such that learning is not as difficult as it was at first. This traditional system of raga teaching is very different from the music school system, where ragas are added sequentially. Regarding the choices made in the performance of the raga and its transmission, Nakagawa states the following:

When I am not sure which raga to play at a concert, my guruji used to tell me, 'Play Raga Shri (*Rāga Śrī*)'. Raga is sometimes like a living creature; the moment I start playing that raga will guide me to where I am going. I just let the raga lead me, and Raga Shri has a strong element of that.

The attraction of Indian music, I think, is that you do not have to give too much to your own ego, as if you were trying to play this way. In other words, I think it is about how much you can take what you inherited from your teacher and use yourself as a filter. Of course, what I have inherited from my guruji, my guru's guruji, and many predecessors has been refined over a vast number of years, and even though it is still transforming at the moment, I am able to inherit and perform it. So, I think it is important how beautifully I can express what I have inherited on stage.

Nakagawa now also teaches other disciples who were initiated by his guru after the guru's sudden death in 2017. In 2020, the pandemic forced India into a prolonged lockdown. Nakagawa states that because the coronavirus disaster prevented him from teaching face-to-face, he continued to teach online remotely. He says that he

will pass on what he inherited from his guru's musical expressions and style of performance.

3.3　Traditional Gharanas and Transmission
Concept and Function of Gharanas

The essence of transmitting Hindustani classical music lies in the concept of gharana. A gharana refers to both the genealogy of a tradition and the group of musicians to whom it belongs. This concept was established and developed with the court culture of princely states in various parts of India, and it originated in court musicians performing for the maharajas or nawabs from the eighteenth century onwards. The gharana originally had a direct link between a court, its region, and its musicians, but with the increased mobility of people in the twentieth century and opportunities for exchange between musicians through All-India Music Conferences and other events, groups of musicians with the same roots became individualised as gharana. A gharana is a group of musicians who share the same roots. That is, the formation of gharanas was enabled by modernisation. Various gharanas against this background of formation continue uninterruptedly to the present day, sometimes changing their form and function.

The main functions of gharanas can be broadly divided into musical and genealogical ones. The former includes the baj (*bāj*), which represents a specific musical style, mainly in instrumental music. This indicates that the gharana's musical characteristics, including repertoire, performance techniques, and instruments, were passed down from generation to generation. The latter are tradition (*paramparā*), which indicates genealogy and encompasses the sense of descent, guru-disciple relationships and belonging within the group of musicians known as gharana. When describing their position, many contemporary musicians speak of the gharana to which they belong as part of their musical identity. In this context, the gharana symbolises traditionality and social positioning. Thus, the traditional framework of gharana continues to function even today when borderless musicians are in the limelight.

In studies of gharana, in addition to Hamilton (1994), US ethnomusicologist Miner conducted historical research in Sitar and Sarod in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Miner 1997), with a focus on representative gharana figures. For example, with regard to sitar lineages, five are widely recognised: the Maihar gharana, Imdad khani gharana, Vishnupur gharana, Indor gharana, and Jaipur gharana (Hamilton 1994: 17–22). Although the periods and regions of their establishment differ, each gharana has the same historical background and has been established and developed as the court culture of a princely state.

Maihar gharana has a shorter history as compared to the others. The founder, Allauddin Khan (1862–1972), was a sarod (North Indian plucked stringed instrument) player who was also skilled in other instruments; therefore, the musicians

produced from this gharana were not limited to sarod players. These include his son and sarod player Ali Akbar Khan (1922–2009), a daughter and surbahar (*sūrbahār*, north Indian plucked stringed instrument) player Annapurna Devi (1927–2018), bansuri (*bānsrī*, Indian bamboo transverse flute) player Hariprasad Chaurasia (1938–), and sitar players Nikhil Banerjee (1931–1986) and Ravi Shankar (1920–2012), among others.

The establishment of this gharana dates back to Allauddin Khan's study under Wazir Khan (1851–1926), a court musician and the most active veena player at the Rampur court, who hailed from the lineage of Tansen. At that time, he was only teaching blood relatives, but when Allauddin Khan played the veena (*vīṇā*, Indian plucked stringed instrument) technique on the sarod and begged for instruction, he was taken on as a disciple; the Rampur court at the end of the nineteenth century had over 500 musicians. This was the extremely favourable musical environment that Allauddin Khan had come to have an immeasurable influence on later performances, and musical outlooks are immeasurable. During this period, Khan absorbed various instrumental techniques and musical traditions (Khan and Ruckert 2004: 227–238). He then served as a court musician in Maihar (now Madhya Pradesh) and toured Europe as the musical director of the Uday Shankar troupe in the 1930s. Following this, he continued to perform and teach classical music until his death in 1972, exerting influence not only within the Maihar gharana but also in the broader realm of Hindustani classical music.

One of Allauddin Khan's achievements was the creation of new ragas, such as Raga Hemant, Raga Hem Behag, and Raga Manj Khamaj, as well as other new individual creations of ragas and their performance techniques, which, together with a repertoire called the gat, have been handed down to disciples. The establishment of ornamental techniques opened up new possibilities in instrumental music: ornamental techniques such as krintan (*kṛntan*)[6] enable rapid-tempo ornamental sounds and are essential for the sitar music of today. In addition, the Dhrupad style of vocal music was adapted for use in instrumental ālāp. Traditionally, instrumental alap or vistar (*vistār*, the musical part in which the notes used in each raga are developed in sequence) incorporate a three-octave range, but he added a bass octave to it, and thick bass strings were added to the sitar or sarod of this gharana. His rhythmic achievements are also noteworthy in that he adopted a variety of complex talas (rhythmic patterns) in his performances, although in his time only 16-beat tintal were commonly used. The transformative aspects of his influence are numerous, and as a result of the mastery of multiple musical styles from the outstanding musicians of the Rampur court, Allauddin Khan's originality was formed, and a single gharānā was constructed.

The Maihar gharana was not only composed of musicians who were related by blood, but also included a large number of other disciples, and his teaching style was based on the traditional system. In this practice, the disciple lives in the guru's

house and learns music under his guidance during his apprenticeship. In his autobiography, his disciple Ravi Shankar recounts an anecdote about how he once decided to return home because of the severity of Allauddin Khan's training, only to be dissuaded by the guru's family (Shankar 1969: 72–74). Nikhil Banerjee also spoke about the severity of his instructions, stating that he was forced to practice for 12 hours a day and was reprimanded during his training. Many interesting accounts can be found on how this teaching was conducted. Nikhil Banerjee recounts that on the first day of his arrival in the city of Maihar and initiation, his guru, Allauddin Khan, informed him that he would be taught in a manner completely different from how he taught Ravi Shankar, who was already an initiated disciple (Landgarten 1991). Allauddin Khan did not teach all his disciples in the same way but rather, according to their individuality. His teaching was conducted with this in mind to allow them to better develop their own musical paths in later years. It is interesting to note that Nikhil Banerjee's style of playing is profound and lyrical, whereas Ravi Shankar's style is characterised by techniques that make extensive use of the decorative technique of krintan. These differences in performance are extremely marked, and conversely, function to express the musical personalities of the performers.

Identity and Creative Raga as an Individual Musician

The Japanese ethnomusicologist Kenichi Tsukada indicated two types of understanding of the individual in his definition of musical identity. First is 'the individual as a representative of culture', formed on the communal nature of the musical culture to which one belongs. The other is 'individual as change-maker', in which the self-assertion and individual expression of the musician is fundamental (Tsukada 1995: 45–97).

In Hindustani classical music since the late twentieth century, thanks to the globalisation of classical music, musicians have successfully juxtaposed these two types of identities. Among the foremost examples of this is Ravi Shankar, whose image as a representative of Indian music outside the country is well established. As a leading figure in globalisation, he has engaged in borderless activities with the Beatles, violinist Yehudi Menuhin, conductor Zubin Mehta, composer Philip Glass, jazz saxophonist John Coltrane, and shakuhachi (Japanese bamboo flute) player Hozan Yamamoto. On the other hand, in India, he also has a strong image as a changemaker in the realm of classical music due to the more than 30 new ragas he created and the new techniques he pioneered, such as instrumental improvement and harmonisation. He is constantly introducing new elements.

The tabla player Zakir Husain has a huge following among Indian immigrant musicians outside the country. He has mastered not only the gharana style of his own Punjab gharana but also that of the Farrukhabad gharana style and the techniques of South Indian classical music. His work pursues the possibilities of the

tabla as a musical instrument using a unique approach that does not adhere to conventional frameworks.

Such musicians, that is, those whose work transcends the community to which they belong, have had a significant impact on the world of classical music in India. In some instances, the new winds they blow have penetrated through the classical musicians in the country and have even been incorporated into tradition. Likewise, the works released outside the country have been re-imported and have had a new influence, playing a role in the popularisation of classical music. The terms 'purity' and 'authenticity', as used in the context of traditional culture today, are relevant only from a limited perspective over a limited period. Thus, in Hindustani classical music, globalisation and musical identity continue to change not only the music itself but also its attitudes, concepts, and aesthetic evaluations.

The author first experienced Ravi Shankar's music in 1997 at a unique event at the Barbican Centre in London, where he performed with the London Symphony Orchestra on its home stage with Zubin Mehta as the conductor. The event also had a diverse audience. The performance was his own composition, *Sitar Concerto No.1*. The first movement was Raga Khamaj, the second was Raga Sindu Bhairavi, the third was Raga Adana, and the fourth was Raga Manj Khamaj. Each of these movements is constructed with an alap and compositions (*gat*) in line with the raga, which uses various talas including 16, 6, 12, and 14 beats. In other words, the musical style of the piece is itself a combination of the usual classical musical styles, with the main difference being the orchestral harmonisation with the raga, shifting the base note.[7] Ravi Shankar has been active since the 1960s in the fusion of Hindustani classical and Western music. Through his work with musicians in a wide variety of genres, he developed his own ideas and modes of expression, and established his reputation, directly or indirectly, among many who had not been previously associated with Indian music. He gained worldwide prominence as a sitar player through his collaborations with The Beatles and John Coltrane. However, in his global approach and diverse range of musical genres, his originality took precedence and the name Maihar gharana was no longer overshadowed. It is interesting to note from a musical point of view that the fourth movement of *Sitar Concerto No.1*, Raga Manj Khamaj, was created by Guru Allauddin Khan and played using the same composition as that used by other players who were part of the Maihar gharana, indicating the inheritance of this musical repertoire. In other words, while he maintains the theoretical basis of classical music, such as raga and tala, and the styles based on them, his originality lies in his playing technique and the way in which he expresses himself, including the instruments he plays.

The next time the author heard Ravi Shankar perform, it was at the Siri Fort Auditorium, Delhi's largest concert hall, in 2002. Accompanied by his daughter, the sitar player Anoushka Shankar (1981−), and tabla player Bickram Ghosh (1966−), Ravi Shankar powerfully played the sitar despite his advanced age of 80. The full

house seemed excited from start to finish in witnessing one of his extremely rare concerts in India and his originality, which sprang out at the listener on one occasion after another. The audience mostly showed their admiration through applause at the performance in which he played simple harmonies with melodies that were three degrees different from those that Anoushka was playing, using the South Indian rhythmic pattern. These were his ideas and parts of his originality that went beyond the existing frameworks. Before moving on to the next performance, he explained that he would play an old composition of Maihar gharana, which was again met with loud applause. Performing this traditional gharana repertoire following the performances of the originals in various styles is effective in resonating with an audience that perceives gharana as traditional. Shankar's skilful manipulation and originality of his musical style that emphasises traditionality exhibited a picture of being a pioneer in the field of globalisation. In classical music performances, performers manipulate the factors of individual originality and traditional musical styles to varying degrees. Individuality and musical originality are not themselves deviations from the gharānā tradition, and there is a certain extent of receptivity in classical music. The two are not necessarily antagonistic, and can be described as two sides of the same coin.

4　Listening to the Raga: The Difficulty of Savouring the Raga

In this chapter, reviewing the third issue of this study, we focus on the audience and examine the raga listening, which is essential for audiences to understand and recognise the characteristics of the raga being performed. The results of listening experiments conducted at a music conservatory are presented, and the states of raga recognition and listening are discussed. The global dissemination of Hindustani classical music since the 1960s has increased the number of listeners outside India; however, the original pleasure of savouring a raga is dwindling. The influence of globalisation on Hindustani classical music from the perspective of raga listening and the challenge of cultivating an audience are discussed in the final chapter.

4.1　Selecting of Raga for a Concert

The interaction between performers and audiences is important in Hindustani classical music concerts. For example, Prabha Atre (1932–2024, Photo 1), one of the leading Kirana gharana classical vocalists of the twentieth century, mentions the following in her book, *Enlightening the Listener: Contemporary North Indian Classical vocal music Performance*.

The traditional style of sitting on the floor brings the performer and audience physi-

Photo 1   Hindustani classical vocal concert by Prabha Atre (Photo provided by Prabha Atre)

cally close. It results in easy give and take between the two. This rapport is very important in Indian music. It creates an intimate relationship between the performer and the audience.

Indian music concerts are not merely venues of entertainment but also workshops where music is being created and revitalised by the mutual responses of the artist and the listener. In a concert, the listener is actively involved in the performance, though indirectly. His open and conspicuous appreciation on the spot through approving words, nodding of the head, and hand movements inspires, encourages and acts as an incentive to the artist to give his best. This sort of continuous dialogue between a sensitive performer and a discerning listener has immensely influenced the development of Indian music over the centuries. It is a special feature of Indian music concerts and as a result of this interaction, Indian music continues to reshape itself (Atre 2016: 40–41).

This interaction between the performer and the audience can be seen in various elements of the concert. For example, to appreciate the raga, which forms the backbone of Hindustani classical music, the performers as well as the audience should understand and recognise the musical and symbolic characteristics of the raga that is being performed. In other words, an ideal concert for musicians is only possible if it has a discerning audience (*rashika*), and the selection of the raga to be performed at the concert is premised on shared knowledge of the characteristics of the raga between the performers and the audience.

One aspect of this connection is the nature of time in the raga. Bhatkhande

originally theorised the relationship between raga and the time of day, and with some exceptions, these same periods are symbolised in today's raga. For example, many musicians might say something like this: Raga Bhairavi is a sandiprakash raga (raga before and after sunrise and sunset) with Komal Rishabh and Komal Dhaivat, and therefore has the sentiment of devotion. Alternatively, Raga Malkauns is a midnight raga with the impression of being profound and searching for something.

At one point, the association of the raga was directly linked to the actual time of the day of the performance, with a traditional Hindustani classical music concert consisting of several musicians performing in succession, beginning after sunset and ending after sunrise the following day. Even now, some concerts according to this traditional format are held, such as the Tansen Samaroh (Tansen Music Festival) held every December in Gwalior. However, most modern concerts are held in concert halls with a programme lasting approximately three hours in the evening. In such settings, morning and midnight ragas were also performed, regardless of their suitability for the actual time. Musicians believe that the time of the raga is recognised by both the performer and the audience. Therefore, even if a daytime raga is chosen for an evening concert, it is perceived as being associated with the daytime in the minds of both the performer and audience through their perception and imagination. In concert performances, there is regularity in the order of the ragas to be performed, which should be shared between the performers and the audience. In concert settings, a performer usually performs one raga, or more often, two or three. In this case, performers select their ragas before going on stage, and features of this choice are related to the raga lineage.

The typology of ragas has already been mentioned in relation to raga-ragini, the personification of raga; however, in ancient India, jatis were classified into shuddha jati (pure melody) and vikrit jati (variable melody). A similar, albeit less strict, perception of raga systematisation exists in contemporary classical music, where ragas are broadly divided into primary and secondary ragas. Both are certainly traditional raga, but the differences depend first on the scale notes used; in Musical example 5, the differences can be read visually.

In the upper two of Musical Examples 5, Raga Malkauns and Raga Bhairav, the scale notes used were fixed. By contrast, in the Lower Raga Pilu, seven or more scale notes were used in a zigzag pattern. In concert performances, the pure primary raga, such as the former, is played first, whereas the secondary raga, which effectively uses seven or more scale notes, as in the latter, is often played afterwards and rarely at the beginning. This secondary raga is influenced by the melodic types used in vernacular and folk music; in particular, the ragas include Raga Bhairavi, Raga Kafi, and Raga Pahari. Musicians have noted that unlike the pure primary raga, in the secondary raga, which has a strong regional flavour, beauty is created through the effective use of the twelve notes of one octave, and which is

Raga Malkauns

ṇ   S   g   M   d   n   Ṡ   Ṡ   n   d   M   g   M   g   S

Raga Bhairav

S   r   G   M   P   d   N   Ṡ   Ṡ   N   d   P   M   G   r   S

Raga Pilū

S   R   g   S   Ṇ   S   G   M   P   N   Ṡ   Ṡ   N   D   P   m   P   g   R   S   Ṇ   S

Musical example 5   Comparison of Two Raga Types on an Ascending and Descending Scale (musical notation by the author)

why it is played at the end of the concert. Concerts can function by sharing the various characteristics of the raga between performers and audiences.

4.2   Reality of Raga Listening as Seen through Listening Experiments

In 2004–2005, focusing on rasa in contemporary Hindustani classical music, the author examined the cognitive mechanisms by which musicians and music learners interpret rasa and the elements of musical performance associated with it. In March 2005, as part of this study, a raga listening experiment was conducted in cooperation with 13 students from Gandharva Mahavidyalaya (Conservatoire), Delhi.[8] Five ragas of Hindustani classical music were played by Jagdeep Bedi, a sitar player and professor at the conservatory, for a maximum of 10 minutes per raga, with the subjects responding to a questionnaire each time. The selection of the ragas to be played and the questions to be asked were determined with reference to the responses to a questionnaire survey conducted earlier among students at the school. The questionnaire content is presented in Table 6.

Raga Miyan Malhar, Raga Pahari, Raga Vrindawani Sarang, Raga Behag, and Raga Bhairavi were played in the listening experiment. A selection of the results is presented here. In all, 6 of the 13 subjects recognised Raga Miyan Malhar and were able to respond to the name of the raga; 5 of the 6 raga recognisers chose 'love' and 'profound' for the adjectives that they associated with the raga (Table 7). However, those who did not recognise the raga (non-recognisers) showed no such tendency. Similarly, with reference to the season of the given raga season, all six of those who recognised it chose 'rainy season', while the non-recognisers did not. One of the recognisers stated that they recognised the raga acoustically and, at the same time, recalled the monsoon image of the raga that moved them. All recognisers were also aware of the lore surrounding this raga, as confirmed by post-experimental interviews. This raga is said to have been composed by Tansen, a

Table 6　Questions in the Listening Experiment

Questions

【Q1】　Were you able to concentrate on this raga?　　Yes/No/Neither

【Q2】　Were you able to recognise what raga was played?　　Yes/No
　　　　If you were able to recognise it, please write down the raga name.

【Q3】　What did you feel while listening to this raga?

【Q4】　Did you feel any of the following emotions[9] while listening to this raga? (Multiple choice allowed)

　　　　love, joy, anger, pathetic, heroic, marvelous, disgust, fear, devotion, profound, peace, mischievous, self-loathing, emaciation, contemplation, envy, drunkenness, tiredness, fatigue, disenchantment, pensive, delirium, reminiscence, contentment, shame, nervousness, excitement, confusion, pride, despair, anticipation, drowsiness, epilepsy, dreaminess, arousal, resentment, feigned, rigour, conviction, illness, madness, death, shivering, contemplation

　　　　Why do you think you felt this way?

【Q5】　What colours, seasons or time of day did this raga evoke for you?

　　　　　　Colour: dark blue, blue, white, red, grey, brown, yellow, black
　　　　　　Season: spring, summer, rainy season, winter
　　　　　　Time of day: morning, afternoon, evening, night

【Q6】　Did this raga touch your heart?　Yes/No/Neither
　　　　Why do you think that is?

(created by the author)

Table 7　Result of Raga Miyan Malhar in the Listening Experiment

Raga Miyan Malhar

Q4 Emotions	Recognised (6)	**love 83**% (5), **profound 83**% (5), joy 67% (4)
	Not recognised (7)	arousal 57% (4), contentment 43% (3), anticipation 29% (2)
Q5–1 Colour	Recognised (6)	blue 67% (4), yellow 17% (1), black 17% (1)
	Not recognised (7)	yellow 29% (2), grey 29% (2), blue 14% (1), white 14% (1), red 14% (1)
Q5–2 Season	Recognised (6)	**rainy season 100**% (6)
	Not recognised (7)	spring 29% (2), summer 29% (2), rainy season 29% (2), NA 14% (1)
Q5–3 Time	Recognised (6)	afternoon 50% (3), NA 33% (2), night 17% (1)
	Not recognised (7)	afternoon 57% (4), morning 43% (3)

*Q4 shows the top three answers due to multiple responses.　　　　(created by the author)
*Percentages are rounded to the first decimal place.
*Number in parentheses indicates the number of respondents.
*75% or more is shown in bold.

sixteenth century vocalist who was a favourite of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Another musician, jealous of Tansen's favour with the emperor, arranged for Tansen to sing the Raga Deepak (*Rāga Dīpak*), which invokes fire, in the court. When he began to sing, his body caught fire. Tansen immediately began to sing Raga Malhar as if in prayer, and rain began to trickle down on him. Thus, rich

semantic cognition is instilled into raga learning. The recognisers stated that the raga's unique melodic type M-P-n-D-N-S (F-G-B-A-H-C) was particularly depicted in alap, where this feature was repeated many times. In this performance, the three-note combination of N-n-D (H-B-A) is repeatedly emphasised through the string-pulling portamento technique called meend (*mīnd*), and the melodic form of Malhar ang in M-R-RP (F-D-DG) is often used to depict the characteristics of the rainraga. Thus, the subject audience obtained a taste of the raga through its acoustic perception, with the added semantic perception of rain, the monsoon, and the Tansen anecdote.

By contrast, in Raga Pahari, although only 6 of the 13 subjects recognised the raga, 11 selected 'joy' and nine selected 'mischievous' as adjectives for it, with no significant differences between raga recognisers and non-recognisers (Table 8). Both shuddha Nishad (H) and komal Nishad (B$^\flat$) are used effectively in this raga at various points. Raga Pahari is a secondary raga that is strongly influenced by the vernacular music of the Himalayan region, including present-day Himachal Pradesh. This homogeneity among the subjects, regardless of their degree of experience in learning classical music, may be explained by the fact that this raga is used heavily in folk and light classical music as well as in classical music.

Next, in the Raga Bhairavi listening experiment, seven of the eight recognisers selected 'peace', and six selected 'devotion' (Table 9). As mentioned in the miniature painting of Ragini Bhairavi in Chapter 1, it can be seen that raga Bhairavi's evocation of devotion has been inherited to this day. All eight recognisers also chose 'morning' as the time of day for the raga, and the majority stated that they were able to devote the most concentration to this raga among all five ragas. Therefore, Raga Bhairavi is unique. The performances incorporate the melodic form of Raga Sindu Bhairavi with effective use of both shuddha Nishad and komal Nishad, in a technique known as ahirbhav (*ahirbhāva*) and tirobhav (*tirobhāva*). The former refers to the sudden incorporation of a new raga during the perfor-

Table 8   Result of Raga Pahari in the Listening Experiment

Raga Pahari		
Q4 Emotions	Recognised (6)	**mischievous 83**% (5), joy 67% (4), love 67% (4)
	Not recognised (7)	**joy 100**% (7), mischievous 57% (4), love 57% (4)
Q5–1 Colour	Recognised (6)	blue 67% (4), yellow 17% (1), grey 17% (1)
	Not recognised (7)	yellow 43% (3), blue 29% (2), white 14% (1), red 14% (1)
Q5–2 Season	Recognised (6)	spring 50% (3), summer 33% (2), rainy season 17% (1)
	Not recognised (7)	spring 71% (5), summer 29% (2)
Q5–3 Time	Recognised (6)	evening 50% (3), afternoon 33% (2), morning 17% (1)
	Not recognised (7)	evening 43% (3), morning 29% (2), afternoon 14% (1), NA 17% (1)

(created by the author)

Table 9　Result of Raga Bhairavi in the Listening Experiment

Raga Bhairavi		
Q4 Emotions	Recognised (8)	**peace 88**% (7), **devotion 75**% (6), joy 50% (4)
	Not recognised (5)	profound 60% (3), pathetic 40% (2), peace 20% (1), pride 20% (1)
Q5–1 Colour	Recognised (8)	white 50% (4), NA 25% (2), dark blue 13% (1), black 13% (1)
	Not recognised (5)	grey 40% (2), white 20% (1), dark blue 20% (1), NA 20% (1)
Q5–2 Season	Recognised (8)	spring 38% (3), NA 38% (3), winter 13% (1), summer 13% (1)
	Not recognised (5)	winter 60% (3), rainy season 40% (2)
Q5–3 Time	Recognised (8)	**morning 100**% (8)
	Not recognised (5)	evening 40% (2), night 40% (2), morning 20% (1)

(created by the author)

mance of another, while the latter refers to the act of returning from the incorporated raga to the original one. Performers sometimes break the regularity of a raga and strategically incorporate techniques of this type. For the audience, who are familiar with the characteristics of the raga, the heterogeneity of the intrusion is felt as stimulating and inspiring. However, in such cases, it is not permissible to combine any raga; only those ragas that are related, that is, have the same ang. When these techniques are skilfully demonstrated, the audience responds by shaking their heads side to side, serving as a kind of barometer of Indian-style emotion. The audience's active physical reactions are a common sight in Hindustani classical music. Thus, the audience savours the raga by recognising the performers' strategic techniques and actively expressing their physical reactions, creating a performance-specific dynamism between the performer and musician (Okada 2006).

These listening experiments indicate that the level of musical experience affects the acoustic perception of the raga and the semantic perception of its symbolism. The number of participants was small (13), but even among the conservatory students, the breakdown of their level of study was diverse: six were seniors in the fifth class or above, and seven were juniors in the fourth class or below. Their ability or inability to recognise the acoustics of the raga, therefore, depended largely on their musical experience and could be described as a microcosm of the audience for classical music concerts in India today. As classical vocalist Prabha Atre noted, the interaction between musicians and the audience is essential in a concert. Therefore, it is important for musicians to have a discerning audience who can understand and recognise the musical and symbolic properties of the raga. Musicians call such a discerning audience 'rashika'.

4.3　The Need for a Discerning Audience (Rashika)

The Influence of Globalisation

The increase in the number of Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) across the West and the increase in the number of lovers and practitioners of Hindustani classical music

worldwide have led to a significant increase in performances and audiences not only in India but also abroad. At the same time, however, the original basis of raga savouring, based on shared knowledge between performers and audiences, is disrupted by globalisation.

The beginning of the globalisation of Hindustani classical music may be traced to the hippie movement of the 1960s, mainly in the US. In response to the Vietnam War, young people who were anti-war and anti-materialists formed communes and became devoted to Eastern thought and culture, particularly Indian culture, under the guise of naturalism. As a symbol of 60s culture, musicians in the Hindustani classical tradition were invited to music festivals across the US, beginning with the Woodstock festival (Woodstock Music and Art fair) in 1969. The Indian culture that attracted young people in the West at this time was presented through hyperrealistic and unique image formations and was also seen through an Orientalist representation of the other. However, it presented an opportunity for Indian musical culture and classical musicians to establish their profiles worldwide. Beginning in the late 1970s, the world music boom also lent a hand to globalisation, and the World of Music and Dance Festival (WOMAD), which was first held in the UK in 1982 at the initiative of Peter Gabriel and continues to this day, has attracted many Hindustani classical musicians to participate. These opportunities outside India have led to the rapid growth of Hindustani classical music enthusiasts and practitioners through engagement with the music industry and collaboration between musicians from different countries and regions playing in different musical genres.

Founded in 1967 in California, the Ali Akbar College of Music is an educational institution that has produced many performers, inheriting the Maihar gharana of performance style of Ali Akbar Khan and his father, Allauddin Khan. After Ali Akbar Khan's death, the school continued to be anchored by his son, the sarod player Alam Khan, and the tabla player Swapan Chaudhuri, but more than half of the teachers were American disciples.

In Japan, there are also people like Amit Roy, a sitar player living in Nagoya, mentioned in Chapter 3, who has passed on the traditions and ragas of the Maihar gharana he learned from Nikhil Banerjee, trained Japanese and foreign students through traditional teaching methods, and contributed to the spread of Hindustani classical music through numerous concerts in Japan.

The inheritors of Hindustani classical music today are not only hereditary but also diverse in religion, gender, nationality, and origin. The place of inheritance was not limited to India. While musicians in India emphasise their individuality and change their performance styles, it is interesting that, in contrast, traditional performance styles are being passed on to people from various backgrounds in places far away from India.

In London, where many Indian immigrants live, the Bhavan UK (formerly known as the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan) was established in 1972 to teach Indian

classical arts, yoga, and languages. Today, it continues to function as a hub for Indian cultural heritage in the UK. In 2011, I observed Hindustani classical music classes on sitars and vocals taught by performers sent from India to third- and fourth-generation Indian immigrant children and British learners. London has a strong base for such learners, and Kenyan-born Indian immigrant and tabla player Bhai Gurmit Singh Virdee (1937–2005) was a major contributor to the spread of Hindustani classical music in the UK. After his death, a fund was established in support of Indian music, and the Darbar Festival in London, which began in 2006, as part of this legacy, is now arguably the most influential Indian classical music festival in terms of the calibre of its performers, its YouTube presence, and its support for young performers. It is a great honour for Indian musicians to be invited from India to the Darbar Festival.

On the other hand, it is also true that some musicians are consciously biased towards easily understandable, flashy techniques, and exciting interactions with percussion instruments when performing in front of foreign audiences who may not share their acoustic perceptions of detailed ragas and the semantics of raga symbolism. As mentioned above, only a handful of professional classical musicians are able to perform outside the country, and younger musicians, in particular, tend to fall prey to such performance tendencies, as they consider interactions with the audience important in their concert. In other words, the globalisation Hindustani classical music has increased the number of audiences outside India, but it is also undeniable that the original pleasure of 'savouring the raga' is wavering.

The Challenge of Audience Development

Preserving classical music in India and cultivating an audience that truly appreciates ragas pose significant challenges. The majority of Hindustani classical music celebrations today is sponsored by companies or social organisations and are provided for free, while many music festivals also exist that are organised by music education and research institutions. Examples of this include the Baba Harivallabh Sangeet Sammelan (Jalandhar, Harivallabh Sangeet Research Academy, 1875–present), the Shriram Shankarlal Music Festival (Delhi, SBKK, 1947–present), the Vishnu Digambar Jayanti Sangeet Samaroh (Delhi), the Dover Lane Music Conference (Kolkata, 1952–present), the Sawai Gandharva Bhimsen Festival (Pune, 1953–present), ITC SRA Sangeet Sammelan (Kolkata, Sangeet Research Academy, 1971–present), the Saptak Annual Festival of Music (Ahmedabad, Saptak Music of School, 1980–present) and the Chaturprahar (Mumbai, NCPA, 2011–present). Admittance is granted through invitation cards, which function primarily as numbered tickets. This tradition reflects the format of music festivals during the era of princely states, highlighting ongoing efforts to preserve classical arts. This means that the opportunity to experience live Hindustani classical music is readily available. However, many individuals may not have the opportunity to

encounter this art form if it is not directly presented to them.

In India, the Society for the Promotion of Indian Classical Music and Art Culture amongst Youth (SPIC MACAY), a non-profit organisation, was established in 1977 to promote classical performing arts culture among young people. The SPIC MACAY achieved significant results. The main activity of this organisation is to organise performances and workshops of India's top classical performers for free at various educational institutions. Annually, this organisation conducts more than 7,500 performances and workshops at more than 1,500 schools nationwide. It is also noteworthy that its work is carried out by university student volunteers. I interviewed Dr. Kiran Seth (1949–) in Delhi in 2004. He is a former professor at the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, and represents the founding organisation. He noted that he was impressed by the Hindustani classical music that he heard when he studied at Columbia University in the US, and this was an opportunity for him to initiate activities to promote classical performing arts among young people after returning home. In 2009, he received the Indian National Honour Award for his contributions to the promotion of classical arts.

This gradual expansion of an environment in which young people can come into direct contact with Hindustani classical music from an early age through school performances and workshops is related to the increase in the number of young people learning, as described in Chapter 3. This has nurtured interest in classical music among young people, which is also linked to their motivation to learn. This phenomenon protects and revitalises classical music culture in the long term. Hindustani classical music follows the complex attributes and regularities of raga, while sometimes developing improvisationally. Listeners require a certain amount of theoretical and experiential knowledge of classical music, not only the training of professional musicians but also the training of listeners from the grass-roots. This is an important key to classical music culture, both for its transmission to the next generation and for the sustainable development of this culture.

Conclusion

This study attempts to elucidate the current situation of raga performances, teaching, and listening in Hindustani classical music by combining quantitative and qualitative research.

After tracing the development of historical research on the characteristics and classification of raga in the first chapter, the second chapter focused on raga performance, dividing eight data sources on raga into three hierarchical levels—the knowledge level, the performance level and the normative level and conducting comparative analysis. The results of this analysis showed that approximately 600–900 ragas occupied the knowledge level, of which approximately half (300–500 ragas) were performed. The number of ragas at the normative level, that is, ragas

that one should have learned and be able to perform properly if one is to become a professional musician, was about 80. A comparative study of the data revealed that these 80 ragas account for approximately 70% of the recordings of performances by professional musicians in AIR, and the designation of raga in music examinations and performer auditions has a significant influence on what ragas is actually selected and performed by professional musicians.

The third chapter focuses on raga teaching. It first discusses how raga is taught in music institutions and the influence of the learning curriculum and examinations. The factors that have increased the number of Hindustani classical music learners in recent years, especially among younger people, have been identified. This section examines the recognition and acquisition of raga by musicians and learners, focusing on the style of teaching within the traditional guru-shishya system. This paper also presents examples of musicians' manipulation and expression of individual originality, along with traditional musical styles produced by the individual, such as the creative raga.

The final chapter examines the reality of raga listening by focusing on audiences. Experiments on raga perception and listening in music schools showed that, to appreciate raga, it is essential for the audience to understand and recognise the characteristics of the raga being performed. It was also found that the global dissemination of Hindustani classical music since the 1960s, mainly in Europe and the US, has increased the number of listeners outside India, while, at the same time, the original pleasure of 'savouring the raga'— in other words, enjoying the performer's interpretation and expression of the raga based on the audience's basic knowledge of the raga — is diminishing. It is also essential to cultivate rashika (a discerning audience) for Hindustani classical music to be passed on to the next generation and subject to sustainable development.

Conventional ragas studies have been dominated by theoretical research on the systematisation and symbolism of ragas and research on raga performance expressions. However, in this study, a quantitative analysis of multiple datasets on raga performance was conducted and the previously ambiguous reality of raga performance was verified numerically. In addition to performance research, comprehensive verification of the raga learning process and aspects of listening and cognition has enabled the extraction of pertinent issues essential for the inheritance and development of Hindustani classical music.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1) In this article, only Indian terms that first appeared in the text are indicated with their transliterations in italics as a supplement. However, as a rule, names of people, places, books, and musical terms that are already in common use are indicated without diacritical marks.

2) *Guru-śiṣya paramparā* refers to the traditional Indian master (*guru*)-disciple (*śiṣya*) relationship. It involves a relationship in which the apprentice receives various teachings while respecting and serving the master by taking care of his personal needs. The school that passes on musical styles and techniques on the basis of traditional master-disciple relationships and hereditary succession is known as a gharana (*gharānā*). Hindustani classical music encompasses a variety of instrumental and vocal gharanas, many of which trace their roots to regions where unique musical styles have developed.

3) The word *nāṭya* is usually translated as theatre, but strictly speaking, it refers to the temporal arts, including drama, dance, and music. In the *Natyashastra* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*), the matters relating to each of these are developed in the form of questions and answers between the sages and the saintly Bharata. Estimates of the date of composition the *Natyashastra* vary from the second century BC to the seventh century AD, but the most plausible theory seems to be that the oral traditions of several people involved in the theatre were gradually consolidated over the centuries to develop the form around the seventh century AD. Following the discovery and publication of 7 of the 36 chapters (chapters 17–22 and 24) by the American Indologist Fitz Edward Hall in 1865, more chapters have been published one after another, and there are now several Hindi and English editions covering all chapters. This paper refers to the English version translated by Adya Rangacharya (1996 New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal). The *Natyashastra* also contains numerous treatises on musical instruments and music theory. It is widely recognised that the musicologist Victor-Charles Mahillon (1841–1924) came up with the idea of the tetrathlon instrument classification system based on phonemes in the late nineteenth century.

4) Jati (*jātī*), which in ancient India referred to a melodic mode, is now a term for a type of scale, i.e. any of the pentatonic, hexatonic, or heptatonic scales.

5) The scale notes used in Hindustani classical music are abbreviated in this paper as follows. First, the seven root tones called Shuddha swara (*śudda swara*) are indicated by the initial letters of their names Shadja (*śadja*) (abbreviated hereafter by S), Rishabh (*riśabha*) (R), Gandhar (*gāndhāra*) (G), Madhyam (*madhyama*) (M), Pancham (*pañcama*) (P), Dhaivat (*dhaivata*) (D) and Nishad (*niśāda*) (N). The derived notes called komal swara, a semitone lower than the root, are indicated by the lowercase letters r, g, d, and n. Derived note called tivra swara (*tīvra swara*) that is a semitone higher are also indicated by m and a lowercase letter. As there is no absolute pitch in India, and notation is based on a letter system in which the sound names are represented by letter names, when Western sound names are added to Indian sound names, the Shadja (S) sound is shown in this paper as corresponding to C in the Western tone system.

6) *Krintan* indicates an ornamental sound and its ornamental technique, which is obtained by moving two fingers placed on the frets quickly to the adjacent fret.

7) Ravi Shankar's sitar is usually tuned on C♯, but in this performance, the tuning changed several times: D in the first movement, B in the second movement, E in the third movement, and D in the fourth movement.

8) The subjects were 13 students enrolled at the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya in Delhi. They were five vocal students, six sitar students, one violin student and one bansuri student. The breakdown of levels of study includes six seniors above grade 5, one of whom holds a PhD in musicology, and seven juniors below grade 4. In terms of age, seven were in their teens and twenties, five were in their thirties and forties, and one was in his fifties.

9) For the adjectives in Q4, a total of 46 adjectives were used, including 8 rasas and 33 bhavas (*bhāvas)*, as ancient concepts, in addition to five that were found in large numbers in the preliminary questionnaire. The 33 bhavas were in Sanskrit and were translated into Hindi and English for subjects who could not understand the meaning, so that all subjects could understand them in the same way.

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