MUSIC, LYRICS, AND THE BENGALI BOOK: HINDUSTANI MUSICOLOGY IN CALCUTTA, 1818–1905

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Over the nineteenth century, Bengali printing presses based in Calcutta and beyond churned out new works on music in vast numbers. Some of these books contained popular song texts based on the repertories of theatres or religious communities, while others were technical compendia drawing on ancient history or modern acoustic theory. Some eighty new works on Hindustani[1] art music were published in Bengali between 1818 and 1905 alone,[2] a figure that excludes the unwieldy numbers of printed song collections from the theatre, street, and courtesan's salon, or contemporary publications on music in Sanskrit and English. Reading the musicological texts together demonstrates how late Mughal[3] texts were taken in very new directions by Bengali musicologists over a relatively short period of time.[4] Social concerns became embedded in even the most obscure and technical aspects of cultural knowledge, and the core function of musicological texts—as intellectual history—could vary dramatically. Despite the scale and variety of Bengali musical printing, the overwhelming majority of these works has received no critical attention.

With some notable exceptions, studies of music in nineteenth-century Calcutta have largely focused on an Anglophone musical sphere that flourished under colonial rule, emphasizing currents of reform, 'revival', and innovation.[5] However, a close examination of the Bengali book market tells another story. As Nile Green has

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[1] 'Hindustani' here refers to the language (loosely, the predecessor of modern Hindi and Urdu) and culture of Hindustan—a region of central northern India—associated predominantly with Delhi and Lucknow.

[2] Clearly music publishing continued after this period, but increasingly with a different set of priorities relating to the advance of gramophone recording, which are beyond the purview of the current discussion. 1818 and 1905 were the years of publication of the earliest and latest works discussed in this essay.

[3] While the Mughal Empire (1526–1857) spread across the subcontinent, the cultural heartlands of the Empire were in the north, especially in Hindustan. The Empire continued until the suppression of the so-called 'Sepoy Mutiny' and Uprising (1857), but had been in a state of decline and collapse from the early 18th c.

[4] While Anglophone scholarship conventionally employs 'musicology' as a translation of the 19th-c. concept *Musikwissenschaft*, in this article the term refers to the systematic and canonical epistemology of music that developed in the South Asian context. On the ethnocentrism and exclusionary consequences of Western music historiography, see Regula B. Qureshi, 'Whose Music? Sources and Contexts in Indic Musicology', in Bruno Nettl and Philip V. Bohlman (eds.), *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music: Essays on the History of Ethnomusicology* (Chicago, 1991), 152–68.

[5] Gerry Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* (Oxford, 1997), esp. 65–71; Lakshmi Subramanian, 'The Master, Muse and the Nation: The New Cultural Project and the Reification of Colonial Modernity in India', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 23 (2000), 1–32; Sharmadip Basu, 'Tuning Modernity: Musical Knowledge and Subjectivities in Colonial India, c.1780s–c.1900' (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 2011), 291–361. Charles Capwell was particularly attuned to the breadth and non-uniformity of the Bengali archive: see Capwell, 'Sourindro Mohun Tagore and the National Anthem Project', *Ethnomusicology*, 31 (1987), 407–30, and idem, 'Marginality and Musicology in Nineteenth-Century Calcutta: The Case of Sourindro Mohun Tagore', in Nettl and Bohlman (eds.), *Comparative Musicology and*

demonstrated for Bombay, intellectual and cultural activities in the colonial period were heterogeneous and multiple, so much so that it is misleading to focus on a single narrative or set of concerns as propagated by a single faction.[6] Likewise for the musical field, reformist texts prescribed but did not necessarily describe large-scale changes in musical society and thought. Print provided platforms for numerous voices, many of which situated themselves in relation to long-standing musicological traditions inherited from the Mughal period. Crucially, this observation relativizes the influence of colonialism in shaping the character of Hindustani music. For Bob Van der Linden (writing primarily on the early twentieth century), 'the imperial encounter partially was also a sound exercise and . . . music is an essential topic for the discussion of processes of (national) identity formation, as well as transnational networks and patterns of cross-cultural communication between colonizer and colonized'.[7] Certainly the English archive would suggest that Hindustani music was a contested space of negotiation between Europe and India, colonizer and colonized, providing an arena for both hegemonic discourses and nationalism.[8] However, this perspective is, I would suggest, the inevitable outcome of researching 'colonial' (rather than, say, 'colonial-era') music, and primarily consulting English-language texts. Bringing a wider range of texts into the analysis indicates that interests in nationalism, the 'colonial encounter', reformism, and 'Hindu Music'[9] pertained to but one public arena, jostling against several others.

This article provides a wide-ranging analysis of these new Bengali works, arguing that intellectual transitions in musicology occurred long before the advent of Anglophone authors such as Sourindo Mohan Tagore (1840–1914), and that colonial-era musicologists did not simply follow in the footsteps of William Jones and other European thinkers. As well as making Hindustani music Hindu, there was a more immediate concern to make it Bengali. Prior to the nineteenth century, music in Bengal was a limb of a larger body, whose core was incontrovertibly in the Mughal heartlands of upper India. To change their cultural standing, Bengalis required a new set of tools (including a corpus of technical writings in their own language) and a recognized position of authority. Even in the later decades of the century, these same writers complained that Bengalis were ignorant and neglectful of art music;[10] yet by the end of the century they claimed that the destiny of Hindustani music lay in their hands. To understand this shift, the following discussion will consider the relationship between Bengali and the classical languages, Persian and Sanskrit.[11]

Exploring lesser-known authors and forgotten conversations on music—a field of intellectual enquiry that had long-established pre-colonial roots—provides a textured

Anthropology of Music, 228–43. One of the most helpful Bengali-language works for this period is Dilipkumar Mukhopadhyay, *Bāṅgālīra rāga saṅgīta carcā* (Kolkata, 1976).

[6] Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840–1915* (Cambridge, 2011); Francis Robinson, 'Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print', *Modern Asian Studies*, 27 (1993), 229–51.

[7] Bob Van der Linden, *Music and Empire in Britain and India: Identity, Internationalism, and Cross-Cultural Communication* (New York, 2013), 1.

[8] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, 1993).

[9] i.e. the view that Hindustani music is ancient, derived wholesale from Sanskrit thought, is not Muslim in its pure form, but scientific, notated, and thus controlled under the purview of 'colonial knowledge'.

[10] Such as Krishnadhan Bandypadhyay (below) in 1882: 'no race is so unmusical as the Bengalis or so disdainful of music', cited in Charles Capwell, 'Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Calcutta as a Component in the History of a Secondary Urban Center', *Asian Music*, 18/1 (1986), 139–63 at 150.

[11] For an overview of the relationships between these languages, see Sudiptu Kaviraj, 'Writing, Speaking, Being: Language and the Historical Formation of Identities in India', in Asha Sarangi (ed.), *Language and Politics in India* (New Delhi, 2009), 312–50.

perspective on Bengali culture and regional identity under colonialism. These printed conversations were carried out against the unique landscape of Calcutta, home to an elite society that had profited from the colonial economy and prided itself on its modernity, yet increasingly lamented and challenged colonial rule.[12] Scholarship on Bengal has traditionally been invested in the self-fashioning of this elite *bhadralok* ('genteel society') culture, though more recent insights from popular print and nineteenth-century Muslim intellectuals gesture to a more diverse engagement with colonialism.[13] Pertaining to a specialist subject, writings about classical music had a somewhat different trajectory from the more familiar genres of Bengali literature and cannot be characterized as the offshoots of a distinctly colonial world-view in the same sense that *bhadralok* poetry or critical essays are often understood. It was a convention of the genre that musical writings required reference to a human authority: sound art produced by the body requires an embodied knowledge.[14] Due to the cultural legacy of the Mughal Empire, the association of this authority with Muslim musicians from upper India (i.e. Hindustan, Awadh, and Delhi) was not easily displaced. This complicated the epistemological transition of music under British rule: while Bengalis asserted their intellectual authority in a colonial space, their ongoing relationships with Hindustani culture, musical professionals, and Mughal texts suggest that they also found ways to accommodate an appreciation for pre-colonial and non-Bengali culture in their modern and increasingly provincialized identity.

This discussion is intended to provide an insight into a local industry and sphere of musical consumption, rather than to claim that the Bengalis actually became the leading voices and scholars of Hindustani music. While Calcutta was particularly productive in terms of print,[15] writings on music also proliferated in Hindi and Urdu elsewhere.[16] Various Bengali authors in this discussion positioned themselves as the heirs to North Indian musicology, a claim that received mixed responses from Hindustanis. To anticipate my conclusion, a close reading of Bengali works on music elucidates three crucial principles. First, that writing about music in Bengal was not primarily an exercise in colonial knowledge or shaped by nationalist interests. While Bengalis writing in English embraced these themes, they were not representative of the larger field of production. Secondly, writers and editors renegotiated the place of Bengal in its relationship to Hindustan. This was an internal conversation across regions of the subcontinent, doubtless shaped by the change in fortunes of Delhi and Calcutta as capitals of the old and new empires, but drawing upon a longer history of trans-regional exchange. Thirdly, the many works produced in the nineteenth century represent a diversity of opinions and priorities relating to music, which cannot be

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[12] Andrew Sartori, *Bengal in Global Concept History: Culturalism in the Age of Capital* (Chicago, 2008).

[13] e.g. Neilesh Bose, *Recasting the Region: Language, Culture, and Islam in Colonial Bengal* (New Delhi, 2014).

[14] Cf. Amanda J. Weidman, *Singing the Classical, Voicing the Modern: The Postcolonial Politics of Music in South India* (Durham, NC, 2006).

[15] Graham Shaw, *Printing in Calcutta to 1800: A Description and Checklist of Printing in Late 18th-Century Calcutta* (London, 1981); idem, 'Calcutta: Birthplace of the Indian Lithographed Book', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 27 (1998), 89–111; Sukumar Sen, 'Early Printers and Publishers in Calcutta', *Bengal: Past and Present*, 87 (1968), 59–66; Anindita Ghosh, *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society, 1778–1905* (New Delhi, 2006); Mofakhkhar Hussain Khan, *The Bengali Book: History of Printing and Bookmaking, 1667–1866*, 2 vols. (Dhaka, 2001). The best study of Bengali musical literature available in English to date is Chhaya Chatterjee, *Śāstrīya Saṅgīta and Music Culture of Bengal through the Ages* (Delhi, 1996).

[16] Francesca Orsini, *Print and Pleasure: Popular Literature and Entertaining Fictions in Colonial North India* (Ranikhet, 2009), 81–105; Madhu Trivedi, 'Hindustani Music and Dance: An Examination of Some Texts in the Indo-Persian Tradition', in Muzaffar Alam, Françoise 'Nalini' Delvoye, and Marc Gaborieau (eds.), *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture: Indian and French Studies* (New Delhi, 2000), 281–306.

homogenized as pertaining to a monolithic 'new elite', middle-class sphere of social reform or Westernization. The emphasis in previous scholarship on these points of 'public' engagement has presented only one player in a larger 'economy' of musical consumption.[17]

MUSIC TREATISES IN THE AGE OF PRINT

The Bengali colonial literati mediated and redacted the long-established tradition of Indo-Persian musicology. Many authors identified their texts as works of *saṅgīta śāstra* (a canon of music-dance-drama) in order to appeal to a literary legacy that, one way or another, they would go on to redefine. *Śāstra* refers to a specific manner of writing; the term should caution us not to assume that representations of musical culture in these publications were grounded in reality.[18] Music was not only the performance of arranged sound in practice (*prayoga*), but also an autonomous intellectual and technical *śāstra* tradition. Much has already been written about the conventions of *saṅgīta śāstra*, its gradual shift in the early modern period from Sanskrit into Persian, and early modern vernaculars such as Brajbhasha (Classical Hindi), and ultimately modern languages, especially Urdu.[19] There was a continuing interest in some of the older Sanskrit works, which were published anew in the later nineteenth century.[20] However, it was more common to digest this material and present it in a new format for a Bengali readership.

Śāstra writers followed preservationist conventions: as texts accumulated over the centuries, later musicologists were faced with an abundance of material, some enlightening and resonant, some obsolete. Writing on a much earlier period, Lewis Rowell characterized the Sanskrit musicologist as 'the gardener who seeks to trim away the overgrown brush from existing pathways, thereby removing the limitations and gradually extending the perimeters of the present core of knowledge'.[21] Extending this metaphor into the nineteenth century, while some Bengalis were keen to plant in their own soil the very same garden as that cultivated in Hindustan, other later writers saw an opportunity for innovation, using Hindustani horticultural practices merely for inspiration. The act of translating musicology into a new language and literary field made these decisions possible; each editor brought his own cultivating strategies to bear upon the received *saṅgīta śāstra*.

The earliest printed work on Indian music written in Bangla was the *Saṅgītataraṅga* ('Wave of Music') of 1818 by Radhamohan Sen Das.[22] Radhamohan had applied to

[17] Cf. Green, *Bombay Islam*.

[18] Sheldon Pollock, 'The Theory of Practice and the Practice of Theory in Indian Intellectual History', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 105 (1985), 499–519.

[19] Emmie te Nijenhuis, *Musicological Literature* (Wiesbaden, 1977); Richard Widdess, *The Rāgas of Early Indian Music: Modes, Melodies and Musical Notations from the Gupta Period to c.1250* (Oxford, 1995); Emmie te Nijenhuis and Françoise 'Nalini' Delvoye, 'Sanskrit and Indo-Persian Literature on Music', in Joep Bor, Françoise 'Nalini' Delvoye, Jane Harvey, and Emmie te Nijenhuis (eds.), *Hindustani Music: Thirteenth to Twentieth Centuries* (New Delhi, 2010), 35–64; Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande, *Music Systems in India: A Comparative Study of Some of the Leading Music Systems of the 15th, 16th, 17th & 18th Centuries* (Delhi, 1984); Katherine Ruth Butler Brown, 'Hindustani Music in the Time of Aurangzeb' (Ph.D. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2003), 27–81. To the best of my knowledge the first musical treatise in North Indian Urdu (as opposed to Dakhni) was Saiyid ᶜAbdulvali ᶜUzlat's *Rāgamālā* of 1759; see ᶜAbdurrazzaq Quraishi, *Rāg mālā: Muṣannifah Sayyid ᶜAbdulvalī ᶜUzlat sūratī* (Bombay, 1971).

[20] In 1879, Thacker Spink Sanskrit Press published the *Saṅgītaratnākara* (with commentary) and the *Saṅgīta Parijata*, as reported in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 29 May 1879, p. 8.

[21] Lewis Rowell, *Music and Musical Thought in Early India* (Chicago, 1992), 123.

[22] Radhamohan Sen Das, *Saṅgītataraṅga* (Calcutta, 1818). For further discussion see Richard David Williams, 'A Wave of Music in an Ocean of Books: Bengali Musicology and the Making of a Colonial Episteme', forthcoming.

the College of Fort William in Calcutta[23] for funds to publish his work, arguing that he wished to make the depths of musical knowledge accessible, enabling Europeans 'to form a more just estimate of the degree of refinement to which our ancestors carried this delightful art'.[24] The first edition was a substantial work of 276 pages and included six illustrations.[25] The appendix of this edition provides a list of 284 subscribers (288 pre-ordered copies in total), which included at least six Europeans, though the majority were high-caste Bengalis (including the celebrated lyricist Ramnidhi Guptu).[26] True to the author's intentions, the work presented the intricacies of Hindustani music theory in simple language, supplemented by a song collection of Radhamohan's own lyrics. An unidentified nineteenth-century European student of Bangla made use of the copy that is now in the British Library: apart from notes on vocabulary, the marginalia indicate that this reader also used William Jones's essay 'On the Musical Modes of the Hindus' (1784) as background reading. Though patronized and taken up by Europeans, the *Saṅgītataraṅga* also had a sustained Bengali readership across three editions (1818, 1849, and 1903).

Radhamohan was from a scribal *kāyastha* family. He was also a musician and published a collection of additional lyrics in 1839, the *Rasasārasaṅgīt*.[27] His treatment of musicology nevertheless owes more to his linguistic and literary training, especially in Persian, than to his performance practice. In library catalogues and histories of Bangla literature his work was categorized simply as 'Poetry', and gradually literary critics began to consider his style dated and generally mediocre.[28] However, these reviews missed the essential thrust of his work, which was to translate Indo-Persian musicology into Bangla, understood as the vernacular of the new colonial state:

> In the Kali age in the world of men, many were educated,
> In this way pass the many days of Kali.
> Moreover the *kalāwant*s (master artistes) made their collections:
> They had them written in the Persian language,
> This comprehensive knowledge was difficult.
> Besides this, they continued in the Sanskrit language.
> Very often these too were difficult.
> Therefore, this is the utterance of all the books:
> I have collected them together in everyday language (*prākṛta bhāṣāý*).[29]

Although he was heavily indebted to the fifth chapter of the Persian *Toḥfat al-Hind* (*c.*1675), he also named the 'difficult' texts that comprised the earlier tradition:

> In the *Nād Purāṇā* and so forth there are so many varieties of music
> Like a dark rippling in an un-crossable ocean.
> See also the *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* of Damodara,
> The [*Saṅgīta-*]*Ratnākara*, the [*Saṅgīta-*]*Makaranda*, the *Rūpa-Ratnākara*,

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[23] Established in 1800, Fort William quickly became a leading academy of Orientalist scholarship and provided training for British officials.

[24] Proceedings of the Council of the College of Fort William, Home Miscellaneous File No. 565, 157–8; cited in Sisir Kumar Das, *Sahibs and Munshis: An Account of the College of Fort William* (New Delhi, 1978), 116.

[25] First edition published from the *Bāṅgālā* Press of Haracandra Ray (operated 1817–25). Radhamohan published *Bidvanmoda-taraṅgiṇī* ('River of Scholastic Zeal') in 1826 from the same press. Khan, *Bengali Book*, ii. 73 and 77.

[26] Das, *Saṅgītataraṅga*, appendix (unnumbered pages).

[27] Sushil Kumar De, *History of Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century 1800–1825* (Calcutta, 1919), 404.

[28] Ibid. 405.

[29] Das, *Saṅgītataraṅga*, 5. 'Kali' refers to the final (and current) era of the world's decline.

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The *Mānakutūhala, Sabhā Vinoda, Saṅgīta-[Vinoda],*
The books [*Saṅgīta-*]*Pārijātak* and so forth were composed.
Somesvar's creation: a fortress for the *rasa* of the knowledge of music.[30]

Radhamohan therefore positioned himself as the continuation of a multilingual lineage cultivated under the Mughals. This was the work of a *kāyastha*, a scribe translating materials between different knowledge systems, preparing the high culture of Persianate Hindustan for the consumption of a new vernacular society with European patrons.

It is doubtful that Radhamohan consulted all these texts to the same degree, and since he paraphrased or 'trans-created' them rather than citing them directly, it is unclear how far he used the Sanskrit originals of these works. This is especially the case as the majority had Persian recensions and he himself confessed that he was primarily reliant upon the *Toḥfat*.

Radhamohan was evidently conscious of how critics and connoisseurs might view his work: he admitted that he had not consulted with experts and that his digest was a novel re-articulation rather than a simple repetition. In his arrangement of *rāga*s he presented an amalgamated system, beginning with the taxonomy presented in the *Nād Purāṇa*, then drawing on several different alternatives, concluding with the Hanuman *mat*,[31] although the latter was the prevalent system in his sources. This suggests that, although he was indebted to a longer tradition since he was the first to write this kind of work in Bengali verse, he had the freedom to make executive decisions over how the material should be treated.

The mantle of Bangla musicology was taken up next by Jagannath Prasad Basu Mallik, who used *Saṅgītataraṅga* as his source twenty years later. Jagannath Prasad framed this same material with a very different political agenda and his work represents a dramatic shift in the ideology of the nascent field. His principal work was the *Saṅgītarasamādhurī* ('The Sweetness of Musical Emotion') of 1844.[32] This was primarily an anthology of Bengali song lyrics, the subtitle reading: 'A book of collated music on various subjects relating to the *rasa*s of devotion, love and others'.[33] The lyrics were arranged alphabetically by *rāga* and *tāla*, prefaced by a series of salutations to eleven divinities, and then a ten-page prose introduction to music theory. The introduction was meant to be instructional, but Jagannath Prasad's theological rhetoric made for heavy reading. Jagannath Prasad posited music as a Hindu *śāstra*, in that it was an emanation of the divine Lord, Jagdisvar. Described as 'endless bliss, free of (limiting) quality and attachment', Jagdisvar manifests through multiple, differentiated forms. The *śāstra*s reflect this diffusion of divinity, and when the gnostic (*marmmabodhe*, 'informed in one's soul/heart') studies them he is overwhelmed.[34] From this premiss of awesome mystery, Jagannath Prasad outlined how thinkers such as Somesvar disseminated the *śāstra* through musicological principles, transmitting the revelation of the divine workings in sound. He expounded a brief *rāgamālā* sequence, introducing six *rāga*s as

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[30] Ibid. 3.

[31] A system of six *rāga*s and thirty *rāginī*s.

[32] Jagannath Prasad presented a copy in 1849 to Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1908), future professor of Art History at Harvard, who had expressed an interest in Hindustani music. See James Turner, *The Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton* (Baltimore, 1999), 73–4; and Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton* (Boston and New York, 1913), ii. 37–47, 50–3.

[33] Cf. James Long, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works* (Calcutta, 1855), 73–4.

[34] Jagannath Prasad Basu Mallik, *Saṅgītarasamādhurī* (Calcutta, 1844), p. ii.

the sons of the *sargam* scale along with their wives.[35] This gesture to musicological tradition had no bearing on the anthology, which did not provide a song for every *rāga* or *rāgini*. His introduction listed further principles, but did not attempt to explain them: 'Later in the systems of music theory there is *tān, mūrcchanālaṅkāra, ālāpcāri, bādi, bibādi, anubādi, sambādi, ṭhāṭ, gṛha [graha], barjjita, tivr, kamal . . .*'.[36] The work thus reinforced the perceived unintelligibility of musical discourse rather than attempting to illuminate it. Jagannath Prasad included names of genres and instruments (including the violin and guitar) and gestured towards standard themes in treatises, such as the dance of Parvati in relation to *tāla* formation, the varieties, vices, and virtues of the singer, and the appropriate times for *rāga*s, without explaining any of them.

It is most likely that Jagannath Prasad did not make use of the Sanskrit treatises himself, as he underlined his use of the *Saṅgītataraṅga*:

In the land of our birth, the Kingdom of Bengal (*baṅgarājye*), the pioneer of the dissemination of *saṅgīta śāstra*, the late Great Poet Radhamohan Sen's book, *Saṅgītataraṅga*, gave form to this country's earlier figures, who even then used to speak of *tumbarā* (gourd-instruments) and *tānpurā*, to this moment when one sees many *ātāi* and *kalāwant*s, signs and gestures. Therefore the skill of Sen, that noble lord of poets, remains imprinted in the hearts of those within this land as though engraved in stone.[37]

This eulogy of his predecessor underlined Radhamohan's scholarship, but more significantly his being a Bengali Hindu. Evidently Radhamohan Sen opened up the musical *śāstra* to Jagannath Prasad himself, but also authenticated Bengal (as a kingdom and homeland) as an authoritative locus of Indian *śāstra*.

This claim is very different from the actual message of the *Saṅgītataraṅga*. While Radhamohan positioned himself as a translator of a multilingual tradition, transmitted latterly through Persianate thought, Jagannath Prasad presented him as a specifically Bengali, specifically Hindu guardian of the nation's musical enactment of its indigenous spirituality. Jagannath Prasad contextualized Radhamohan's contribution by insisting that 'God (*Jagdisvar*) gave the correct understanding of the *saṅgīta śāstra* to the Hindu nation alone (*Hindujātītei*)', and by deprecating Muslim involvement:

the Yavans were hardly trivial and of almost the same value as the Hindus; as a result, in Arab-stan, Farsi-stan and such places to this day they take the slightest blessing from the Hindu teachers, yet propel their vanity with Persian *rāga*s only, and advance nothing else. By conducting investigations one will know that at some time those (*rāga*s) were from this land.[38]

Jagannath Prasad's introduction discredited the involvement of Muslim musicians in Hindustani musical knowledge, rendering the field exclusively a Hindu *śāstra*, and the Muslim a 'Yavan' (barbarian, foreigner).[39] In itself, this text is a very early instance of the now very familiar trend of making Hindustani music Hindu. Read

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[35] A *rāgamālā* ('garland of *rāga*') is a literary, iconographic, or performed arrangement of the modal entities (*rāga* and *rāginī*) that provides the 'grammar' of musical composition. Since these entities have different seasonal, poetic, and ritual connotations, their taxonomies were highly valued. Painted, iconographic *rāgamālā*s in particular were extremely widespread in pre-modern India.

[36] Prasad, *Saṅgītarasamādhurī*, p. iv.

[37] Ibid. p. viii.

[38] Ibid.

[39] On the political resonances of this term, see Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Contestations: Essays on Muslims in India and Pakistan* (New Delhi, 2004), 20l.

alongside the *Saṅgītataraṅga*, it is apparent how the place of Muslims in Bengali musicology could fundamentally change over fewer than thirty years.

Although the short introduction of *Saṅgītarasamādhurī* was not particularly informative, its new historiography of 'Hindu' music and rejection of the 'Yavan' may be nuanced by Jagannath Prasad's other works,[40] including two dictionary projects. The *Śabdakalpalatikā* ('Creeper of Conceived Words', 1831/1847?),[41] was a revised and translated version of *Amarakoṣa*, the Sanskrit lexicon. The preface to the sixth edition (1866) provides an insight into the historicist strategies behind Jagannath Prasad's encyclopedic enterprises. Jagannath Prasad presented his digest as a contribution to a larger initiative to revitalize Sanskritic Hindu learning, which had become endangered by Muslim (again, 'Yavan') rule. Providence had placed Hindu India into the hands of the English in order to protect and promote its knowledge systems.[42] Jagannath Prasad became an agent of this enterprise with his later work, the *Śabdakalpataraṅgini* ('River of Conceived Words', 1838): a dictionary of familiar Persian, Arabic, English, and Hindustani words with their definitions in *sādhubhaṣa* Bengali. This work can be understood as part of a larger project by middle-class Bengali intellectuals to define a 'pure' (*sādhu*) regional socio-linguistic identity: *sādhu* Bengali was prescribed as the normative, familiar language of the reader, while other cosmopolitan languages were marked as external intrusions, requiring definition and interpretation.[43] This is particularly striking in the entry for the Persian word *mūsīqī* (*moseki* in Bangla script). Its nine-page definition is evidence of Jagannath Prasad's clumsily formulated attempt to distance Persian or Muslim involvement from the 'Hindu science' of music.

Jagannath Prasad's reformulated definition established Indo-Persian musicological themes as an overtly Hindu theology of sound. *Mūsīqī* here was the knowledge of music (*saṅgītabidýā*) that originated with the unfolding of new eons according to Hindu cyclic cosmogony: Jagannath Prasad described how the divine Jagdisvar pronounced the syllable *auṁ* into the great void (*mahāśūnýa*), from which all created things spread forth. From the void (or ether) came forth wind, from which came fire, from which came water, from which came earth, and from the sounds of this unfolding of elements came the words/sounds (*śabda*) of *śāstra*.[44] Somesvara and the eighteen *gāyak*s relayed these sounds and words into the scale, which prompted Jagannath Prasad to discuss *sargam*, and the family structures of notes and *rāga*s. Curiously, his treatment of *rāga* in this dictionary was more thorough than in the later *Saṅgītarasamādhurī*, even though it was dedicated to music. As well as specifying the difference between *mārga* and *deśī* (*mārga rāga*s being created by God (Mahadev) and being known in all countries, unlike manmade *deśī* forms), he listed a vast survey of *rāga*s organized alphabetically and by the number of notes in their scale (e.g. *auḍab*, 5, and *khāḍab*, 6). This was followed by a long list of genres and instruments, a survey and explanation of *tāla* theory, and then the varieties of singer. In *Saṅgītarasamādhurī* this latter section only appeared in list form, but here the dictionary detailed the

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[40] *Saṅgītarasamādhurī* had two known editions (the second in 1847). *Satyanārāyaṇa* ('Narayana the Truth', 1853) might plausibly be attributed to the same author. The text was identified by Granth South Asia, School of Cultural Texts and Records, Jadavpur University (granthsouthasia.wordpress.com), though it is no longer extant.

[41] I have consulted the fifth edition, which notes the first edition was published 1254 BS/1847: Jagannath Prasad Basu Mallik, *Śabdakalpalatikā* (Calcutta, 1866). Granth South Asia has identified a copy in the National Library, Calcutta, printed in 1238 BS/1831.

[42] Mallik, *Śabdakalpalatikā*, 1.

[43] See Anindita Ghosh, 'Identities Made in Print: Literary Bengali and Its "Others", c.1800–1905', in Crispin Bates (ed.), *Beyond Representation: Colonial and Postcolonial Constructions of Indian Identity* (Oxford, 2006), 210–31.

[44] Jagannath Prasad Mallik, *Śabdakalpataraṅgiṇī* (Calcutta, 1838), 171. Full definition at 171–9.

TABLE 1. Order of enumeration of *Nāyak*s according to the *Toḥfat al-Hind* (c.1675), *Saṅgītataraṅga* (1818), and *Śabdakalpataraṅgiṇī* (1838), indicating modifications in the last of these

Toḥfat al-Hind (11)	*Saṅgītataraṅga* (9)	*Śabdakalpataraṅgiṇī* (15)
Gopal Nayak	Gopal Nayak	Gopal Nayak
Amir Khusrau	Baiju Baora Nayak	Baiju Baora Nayak
Baiju	Amir Khusrau	Amir Khusrau
Bhanu		Lalabala Mukanda
Pandavi		Lalabhoman
Baksu		
Lohang	Lohang	Lohang
		Sadhudas
Carju	Carju	Carju
		Baje Lal
Bhagwan	Bhagwan	
Dhundhi	Dundi Khan	Dundi Khan
Dalu	Dano	Dano
		Madan
	Nayak Bakhsu	Nayak Bakhsu
		Yogaraj
		Lalayogadhyan

qualities expected of each variety (*nāyak, gandharva*, etc.) and named the historic individuals associated with each category. These details provide evidence of how Jagannath Prasad redacted the received tradition of Hindustani music's history, translating it increasingly as a Hindu art.

Jagannath Prasad's details were borrowed from the *Saṅgītataraṅga*, itself indebted to the fifth chapter of the Persian *Toḥfat al-Hind* (*c.*1675). To take the first category of musician, the *nayāk*, as an example, the *Toḥfat al-Hind* had originally provided eleven names (see Table 1).[45] Radhamohan had dropped two of these names (Nayak Bhannu and Nayak Pandavi) and rearranged the order of the remaining nine. Despite these slight alterations (and misreading the *Toḥfat's* Dalo as Dano), Radhamohan's list is recognizably drawn from the Persian source. Jagannath Prasad cited *Toḥfat* as his source, but it is apparent that he copied the list from *Saṅgītataraṅga*, since he preserved the exact order, omissions, and misspelling of Dalo.[46] He then made his own, extremely informative alterations to the list of *nayāk*s. First, he omitted Bhagwan and then added seven new names. It is unclear why Bhagwan was deleted from the series, but it is striking that the seven additions were all Hindu names. They were not placed after the originals but interspersed among them, as though to integrate them more completely into the tradition. These new names are not identifiable figures from Sanskrit musicology: indeed, they may have been fabricated for this text. Their inclusion was hardly arbitrary therefore, but rather a strategic gloss over the established tradition in order to boost the 'Hindu' contribution to Hindustani music.

[45] Muhammad ibn Fakhruddin Mirza Khan Muhammad and N. H. Ansari, *Toḥfat al-Hind* (Tehran, 1968), i. 359–61.
[46] He referred to Tansen as *gobāhārā* (at p. 178), a borrowing of Radhamohan's idiosyncratic *gobarhārā*, 'lost-(his)-Gaura (Brahman status)' (at p. 154).

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Jagannath Prasad's influence was particularly significant because he was *not* primarily a musicologist. While he detailed the complexities of musical science, these were not separate works intended for initiated experts, but rather embedded in literature for general consumption: an introduction to a song anthology and an encyclopedia-cum-dictionary. These initiatives to make Islamic involvement in Hindustani music a foreign intrusion in a Hindu domain were particular to their provenance in the 1830s and 1840s. Jagannath Prasad was writing in a liminal period when Mughal intellectual systems could not yet be ignored.[47] As a result, we encounter in these texts a tension between Mughal sources such as the *Tohfat al-Hind* that preserved the memory of Muslim musicians, and a drive to alienate Muslim involvement. Later in the century, Hindu musicology released itself from the Indo-Persian conventions of the genre and had a wider set of options to marginalize an Islamicate heritage. While scholarship has represented this later musicology as an expression of a colonial intelligentsia, the example of Jagannath Prasad suggests that the origins of this divisive turn in musicology had older origins in Bangla literature, before the absolute end of the Mughal Empire.

S. M. Tagore Reconsidered

In the later nineteenth century, S. M. Tagore became the most prolific voice in Bengali musicology, with over sixty works on music.[48] While to Indian scholars his career was soon overshadowed by twentieth-century reformers, he has appealed to European ethnomusicologists to this day.[49] A biographical sketch from 1910 characterized his research as having revived Hindu music, which 'had suffered eclipse during the troublous years of the eighteenth century',[50] specifically, by presenting a solid theoretical introduction to music and by making comparisons with European music systems. This latter comparative dimension culminated in Tagore's *Universal History of Music* (1896) project, but also emerged in his works on Hindustani music, which posited comparisons with Assyrian, Jewish, Persian, and Egyptian music. This methodology was evidently a dramatic turn away from previous waves of Indian scholarship. Rather than situating sound through philosophical metaphors or by tracing the transmission of earlier texts, Tagore had an international outlook that rewrote the core principles of representing music theory. Yet he represented his innovations as a revival, rather than a rejection and reimagining of the past, which had lasting implications for the historiography of Hindustani music.

In 1879, the *Indian Mirror* praised his efforts, commenting that 'his services are such as can be appreciated only by men who knew the difficulties in the acquisition of music and in the collection of the *disjecta membra* of that science which probably took its first form in India'.[51] Having digested Tagore's vision of Hindustani music, this eulogy emphasized the scattered fragments and global significance of Indian music.

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[47] Cf. T. Rahman, 'Decline of Persian in British India', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 22/1 (1999), 47–62; and Mehrdad Ramezannia, 'Persian Print Culture in India, 1780–1880' (Ph.D. diss., Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2010).

[48] John Napier, 'The Svarmaṇḍal and Its "Ancestors": From Organological to Aesthetic Continuity', *Galpin Society Journal*, 58 (2005), 124–131, 225; Capwell, 'Sourindro Muhun Tagore' and 'Marginality and Musicology'.

[49] Harold S. Powers, 'Indian Music and the English Language: A Review Essay', *Ethnomusicology*, 9 (1965), 1–12; and Joep Bor, 'The Rise of Ethnomusicology: Sources on Indian Music, c.1780–c.1890', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 20 (1988), 51–73.

[50] F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Twelve Men of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century* (Calcutta, 1910), 226–7.

[51] Anon., *The Tagores of Calcutta* (Calcutta, 1880), 4.

This was a far cry from Radhamohan's vision of a heavily textual, archived science, which spoke to Mughal refinement rather than the primordial origins of world music. The anonymous journalist underlined the role Tagore played in disseminating this new, heavily politicized vision of India's musical past:

The melodies and the instruments to which the Vedic hymns of our Aryan fathers were sung were almost passing away from the land, whose echoes they had once stirred into life. Another alien race now ruled India. New systems of Government, polity, and war; new systems of science and art were springing up on all sides, assimilating to themselves whatever value had been bequeathed by the genius of Hindu antiquity. If ancient Hindu music had been preserved as a distinct art, with its national characters, in the flood of innovation which has swept over the country, it is to the patriotic feelings and fine taste of Dr. Sourindro Mohun Tagore that the whole credit and the merit are peculiarly due.[52]

Tagore is a complex figure precisely because his work spoke to Hindu nostalgia but also to contemporary British imperialism, which to his mind had facilitated its revival. In his youth he was trained by Hindustani and Bengali masters as well as a German piano tutor, and Tagore underlined the value of his bi-musicality, being 'convinced that any advance on existing methods must be based on comparative investigation'.[53] In 1870, he suggested that approaches learned from Europe might unlock the vast repository of India's musical systems in his *Jātīya Saṅgīta Biṣayaka Prastāva* ('Proposal concerning National Music'). Capwell has suggested that even the title of this lecture gestured to Carl Engel's *An Introduction to the Study of National Music*, published four years earlier, which provided Tagore with several of his examples and ideas.[54] Tagore regularly reminded his readers of his European titles and honours, including Companionship of the Order of the Indian Empire (from 1880), and Honorary Doctorates in Music from Philadelphia (1875) and then Oxford (1895).[55] He used his international bearing to present himself as an interlocutor between India and the West, and a servant of modernity.

Capwell and Farrell discussed Tagore's musicology in terms of the intellectual hegemony of colonialism, Capwell claiming that he articulated 'a nationalist agenda' through his representation of Hindu music.[56] His musicology was read as evidence of both internalization and resistance to colonial thought. Farrell saw Tagore's comparative and ethnomusicological approach to world music as a response to imperial Europe's desire to categorize and control through knowledge, with the intention to 'fight the British on their own ground, and try to match their music with a Hindu version based on scientific and rational principles, [exemplifying] one reaction of the colonized to the colonizer—the acceptance of a struggle, the parameters of which are always defined by the ruler'.[57] Whatever its attractions, this Foucauldian reading flattens several of the complexities in Tagore's relationship to Empire.

Outside of musicology, there is little evidence that Tagore was dissatisfied with colonial rule. He openly paraded his honours from Europe and composed verses in

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[52] Ibid. 15.
[53] James W. Furrell, *The Tagore Family: A Memoir* (Calcutta, 1892), 174.
[54] Capwell, 'Marginality and Musicology', 233–4.
[55] Furrell, *Tagore Family*, 185–6, and Jonathan Katz, 'Raja Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore (1840–1914)', *Popular Music*, 7 (2008), 220–21. The legitimacy of the doctorate from Philadelphia was questioned in Capwell, 'Musical Life', 153.
[56] Charles Capwell, 'Representing "Hindu" Music to the Colonial and Native Elite of Calcutta', in Bor (ed.), *Hindustani Music*, 285–311 at 286.
[57] Farrell, *Indian Music*, 67.

reverence of the Empress, the Prince of Wales, and local colonial officials.[58] Though he himself had misgivings about the project, it was Tagore who was invited to develop a Hindustani National Anthem.[59] Tagore spelled out his position on the Empire in no uncertain terms in a history of one of his *zamīndārī*s (provincial land holdings): 'It is only since the introduction of British rule in India, that Bakarganj is prospering and the importance which it has attained to, is chiefly due to the good administration under the benign Government of Bengal.'[60]

It is difficult to generalize about Tagore's relationships with the British. Powers and, more recently, Basu have drawn strong ties between William Jones and Tagore, especially since Tagore republished Jones's seminal essay along with fourteen other European treatments of Indian music.[61] Much in Jones's essay would have appealed to Tagore: his valorization of learned Indians, his celebration of works in Sanskrit, and his dismissal of Persian writings on music. The scientific interrogation of the form of music and the rejection of accrued layers of 'inauthentic' practices strongly resonated with Tagore's own writings. Even so, given our discussion of Jagannath Prasad, we should qualify the correspondence between Tagore and Jones since Bengali musicology had been developing independently over the intervening century. Tagore was also critical of Orientalist scholarship,[62] and even his positive treatment of European scholars in *Hindu Music* was nuanced. Tagore framed the work primarily as a statement of his own prestige and expertise (even the front cover was plastered with his international titles and decorations). From his supremely learned vantage point, he could affirm the dignity of Indian music and assert his authority to patronize and correct European endeavours.[63]

Tagore imagined himself gifting Indian music to a grateful, passive British beneficiary as tokens of Indian civilization and his own intellectual prowess. These musical gifts were offered up to flatter political officials, especially J. Anderson, the Magistrate and Collector of Bankura district, to whom Tagore dedicated a number of works, including the *Gīta Prabeśa* (1883), and the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, the 'High Protector of the [Bengal] Academy [of Music]'.[64] When Europeans were in a position of grateful and delighted ignorance, Tagore's musical practices were extremely flexible and Eurocentric. His history of Bankura concluded with a Sanskrit ode to Sir Charles Elliott, written in Nagari and Roman with Western staff notation, sung to a tune of the indigenous Santhals.[65] His gifting was also financial, including a donation of Rs. 4,000 in 1893 to the new Imperial Institute to commemorate the marriage of the Duke of York and to award a gold medal annually to a student of music.[66] Musical gifts were an assertion of Tagore's authority over his own cultural domain, with the power to enlighten Europeans.[67]

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[58] Charles Capwell, 'A Rāgamālā for the Empress', *Ethnomusicology*, 46 (2002), 197–225.

[59] Idem, 'Sourindro Mohun Tagore'.

[60] Sourindro Mohan Tagore, *A Brief History of Bakarganj* (Calcutta, 1892), 1.

[61] Idem, *Hindu Music from Various Authors* (Calcutta, 1882 (1875)); cf. Powers, 'Indian Music'; and Basu, 'Tuning Modernity', 291–354.

[62] See Sourindro Mohan Tagore, *Six Principal Rágas, with a Brief View of Hindu Music* (Calcutta, 1877), 33.

[63] Tagore, *Hindu Music*, p. i.

[64] Sourindro Mohan Tagore, *Universal History of Music: Compiled from Diverse Sources, Together with Various Original Notes on Hindu Music* (Calcutta, 1896), 88.

[65] Tagore, *Brief History*, 13. The Santhals are a large tribal community of north-eastern India and Nepal.

[66] Paul Banks, *Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore and the Tagore Medal: A Centenary History* (London, 1999). The fund was redirected to the Royal College of Music.

[67] Bor, 'Rise of Ethnomusicology'.

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Musical gifts required acknowledgement: though he did not go overseas himself, Tagore sent his published works and multiple collections of instruments around the world to different musicological institutions and museums.[68] The instruments were often bespoke models, some so heavily decorated that they would be extremely difficult to play, while others were wholly non-functioning.[69] Such instruments reflected European tastes for the exotic and Tagore's archaizing impulses rather than contemporary performance practices.[70] Tagore asked for notes of receipt from recipient institutions, which affirmed his scholarship and altruism: he collected all these notes together and published them as a separate volume of praise for his endeavours.[71] Tagore's writings were received with interest and sometimes became the basis for entirely new works on Indian music in Europe, including G. F. Checcacci's *Musica dell'Hindustan* (1908).[72] Together these considerations indicate that Tagore wrote in English for an uninformed elite European public who would uncritically admire his endeavours.[73]

Nonetheless, Tagore was publicly criticized in 1874 by Charles Baron Clark, inspector of schools in Bengal, who dismissed his superficial 'musical science' and Bengali notation, arguing that a European system would be more than adequate.[74] Clark was particularly critical of musical arrangements in Tagore's 1872 work *Ækatana, or the Indian Concert*, which provided 'Hindu Musical Notation' in eighteen pieces.[75] He dismissed Tagore's claims of authenticity, arguing that this system was 'but an invention of four years age taken up by a small but rich party in Calcutta' and that 'the amount of musical science that lies behind the cloud of words and prolix antiquarianism is very small'.[76] In the face of such staunch criticism, Tagore argued that Clark did not understand the elementary principles of Hindu music and insisted that the notation system he had advocated with Kshetramohan Goswami was key to representing its particularities.[77] This debate cannot be characterized as a struggle between the hegemonic colonizer and the resurgent colonized: another distinguished Bengali musicologist, Krishnadhan Bandyopadhyay (considered below), came out on Clark's side,[78] and Tagore's own on-going use of Western notation in the context of gifting suggests that the situation cannot be interpreted as a struggle between ideological discourses.

While previous scholars have focused upon Tagore's English writings and relationship to the British, this was only one dimension of his work. Tagore also presented himself as a Brahmin pandit descended from Bhattanarayan, the Bengali archetype of purifying scholarship: in this guise he saw himself as the natural custodian of Hindu culture, which was how he came to be remembered by Bengali music enthusiasts in

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[68] Reis W. Flora, 'Raja Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore (1840–1914): The Melbourne Connection', *South Asia*, 27 (2004), 289–313; Capwell, 'Representing Hindu Music', 288; and Paul Oliver, 'The Tagore Collection of Indian Musical Instruments', *Popular Music*, 7 (2008), 218–20.

[69] Gabriele Rossi Rognoni, personal communication, Jan. 2014.

[70] Napier, 'Svarmaṇḍal'.

[71] Sourindro Mohan Tagore, *Public Opinion and Official Communications about the Bengal Music School and its President* (Calcutta, 1876).

[72] G. F. Checcacci, *Musica dell'Hindustan* (Turin, 1908).

[73] A notable exception was A. Weber, a Sanskrit scholar in Berlin. See Tagore, *Public Opinion*, Supplement, 11–13.

[74] C. B. Clark, 'Bengali Music', *Calcutta Review*, 58/116 (1874), 243–66. See Sagnik Atarthi, 'Writing Music into Bengal's Publics: 1870–1940' (M.Phil. diss., Centre for the Study of Social Sciences in Calcutta, 2011); and Capwell, 'Marginality', 237–9.

[75] Sourindro Mohan Tagore, *Ækatana, or the Indian Concert* (Calcutta, 1872).

[76] Clark, 'Bengali Music', 243, 246. See Farrell, *Indian Music*, 67–70.

[77] Tagore's reply was published in the *Hindu Patriot*, 7 Sept. 1874, and reprinted in *Hindu Music*, 339–97.

[78] *Hindu Patriot*, 21 Dec. 1874; Farrell, *Indian Music*, 70.

the early twentieth century.[79] Tagore advocated an approach of applying innovative, scientific methodologies to an ancient core of knowledge.[80] Therefore he was quite happy to break with earlier models, discussing instruments through unprecedented categories, such as 'drawing room' (*sabhyajantra*), 'outdoor' (*bāhidvārik jantra*), and 'pastoral' (*grāmyajantra*).[81] Rather than only republishing medieval works on music,[82] Tagore felt it necessary to produce a new musicological syllabus as a reincarnation of the classical spirit in a modern body and as a statement of his own erudition.

Besides a vast collection of Sanskrit songs in praise of the Empress and colonial officials,[83] Tagore produced many instructional and descriptive accounts of Indian music in Bangla and Sanskrit. These loosely fall into four periods of production. In the early 1870s, Tagore was interested in pedagogical guides with (Bengali) notated examples, writing manuals for the *sitār*, *mṛdaṅg*, and harmonium.[84] Following his public debate with Clark, Tagore entered a second period of production from 1874, when he compiled works that underlined his grasp of Indian music history: these included *Hindu Music* (published four times between 1874 and 1882), his anthology of Sanskrit sources of musicology in 1875, and in the same year his own guides to the theoretical principles of Indian music and instruments.[85] After these defensive years Tagore became more invested in his schools and especially interested in vocal music. In the late 1870s he composed manuals on singing and collections of lyrics and tunes; he also continued writing songs for British consumption, with European notation, and from 1880 began publishing works relating to his new ensemble pieces, such as the *tableaux vivants*.[86] This third period culminated with the *Gīta-Prabeśa* (1883), a vocal music manual of which Tagore was especially proud.[87] Following this, Tagore was primarily concerned with the theory behind scales and notes, with four works published on that theme between 1884 and 1892.[88] Aside from these four thematic periods, Tagore also wrote extensively on history, literature, and gems, often supplemented by small notated compositions. His encyclopedic English studies continued too, later entailing dance (*Nṛtyānkura*, 1888) as well as his *Universal History of Music* (1896).

Underlining the scholastic side of music was one strategy to elevate the cultural importance of Bengal in the larger field of North Indian music. The centre of Tagore's operations was the Bengal Music School, which he established in 1871 with his own teacher, Kshetramohan Goswami (1813–93).[89] Along with their disciples, Tagore and

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[79] Anon., 'Śaurīndramohan Ṭhakur', *Saṅgīta Bijñan Prabeśika*, 2 (1332/1925), 527–30.

[80] Tagore, *Universal History*, 52.

[81] Sourindro Mohan Tagore, *Ýantrakoṣa* (Calcutta, 1875), 2.

[82] He did publish an edition of *Saṅgītadarpana* (1881), and his commentary on Sanskrit works: Sourindro Mohan Tagore, *Saṅgīta-Sāra-Sangrahah; Arthāt Prācīna-Sanskṛta-Saṅgīta Śāstrānumoditasaṅgītagranthah* (Calcutta, 1875).

[83] For a bibliography of Tagore's works, see Flora, 'Raja', 306–13.

[84] *Yantra Kṣetra Dīpika* (1872, republished 1879 and 1890) on *sitār*; also *Mṛdaṅgamañjarī: Mṛdaṅga-Śikṣā-Bidhāyaka-Granthah* (1873); and *Harmonium-Sūtra* (1874).

[85] Tagore, *Six Principal Rāgas*; *Ýantrakoṣa*.

[86] For example, *Fifty Tunes*; *Gītāvalī*; and *A Vedic Hymn, Set to English Notation* (all 1878); his tableaux were detailed in *The Ten Principal Avatars of the Hindus, with a Short History of Each Incarnation and Directions for the Representation of the Murtis as Tableaux Vivants* (Calcutta, 1880); and *The Eight Principal Rasas of the Hindus, with Mūrtti and Vrindaka* (Calcutta, 1880).

[87] *Gīta-Prabeśa; Or, a Manual of Hindu Vocal Music in Bengali, Composed and Set to Music*, Pt. I (Calcutta, 1883). For the relationship between Tagore's performance practices and the court of Wajid 'Ali Shah, see Richard David Williams, 'Hindustani Music between Awadh and Bengal, c.1758–1905' (Ph.D. diss., King's College London, 2015), 232–5.

[88] *The Musical Scales of the Hindus* (1884); *The Twenty-Two Musical Srutis of the Hindus* (1886 and 1887); *Six Ragas and Thirty-Six Raginis of the Hindus* (1887); and *The Seven Principal Musical Notes of the Hindus, with their Presiding Deities, Composed in Celebration of the Birth-Day of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Empress of India* (1892).

[89] For details of the school, see Williams, 'Hindustani Music', ch. 6.

Goswami created a body of literature in Bangla and Sanskrit that affirmed their academic standing.

'Banglafying' the musicological canon in this way was a step beyond the works of Radhamohan Sen Das and Jagannath Prasad Mallik. To reiterate: the former had drawn the Persianate tradition into the Bengali sphere, affirming its importance to musicology and the continuity of Mughal culture. Jagannath Prasad had used Radhamohan's intervention as a platform to assert a claim for an overtly Hindu, quintessentially Bengali cultural domain that actively marginalized or played down Muslim involvement. Although Tagore's scholarship continued this enterprise, it cannot be considered communalist per se. Primarily he sought to elevate his own position (as a Brahmin Hindu), advance innovative learning rather than stagnant practices, and underline the cultural prestige of Bengal. As a result Muslims were often relegated in his work, since they were a testament to the cultural precedence of Hindustan, as was the rich scholarship in Persian, which lay outside his expertise. Although he went on to note that the music cultivated by Muslim musicians was the 'standard high class music of India',[90] he maintained that this music was intellectually insubstantial, being appended uncritically to ancient Sanskritic thought. In themselves, the musical contributions of the Muslims were elegant and pleasing: he (inaccurately) described *ṭappa* as being brought to 'its present degree of perfection' by the 'songstress' Shori and Ghulam Nabi in the reign of Muhammad Shah.[91] Yet these contributions were overshadowed by more 'national' (i.e. Hindu and Bengali) developments: he emphasised *kīrtana* in the court of Akbar (relating it to Candidas 'the Brahmin of Birbhum'), 'provincial airs', and Bengali *śākta gān*.[92]

When Tagore encountered Muslim musicians he judged appropriately informed and innovative, he celebrated their learning with medals and ceremonial. Likewise, the most celebrated Muslim musicians did not apparently feel threatened by Tagore's and Kshetramohan Goswami's enterprises. Two Urdu letters of appreciation appeared in Kshetramohan's *Saṅgītasāra* ('The Essence of Music', 1869), written by three *ustād*s (hereditary music masters) from the exiled court of the Nawab of Lucknow at Matiyaburj in south Calcutta, a celebrated centre of musical expertise: Basat Khan, Qasim 'Ali Khan, and Ahmad Khan. Basat and Qasim 'Ali's joint letter sketched the long history of music from the Delhi Sultanate to the end of the Mughals, noting times of proliferating scholarship and periods of threatening decay or purposive destruction. Basat lamented how thousands of books had been burned in the Uprising of 1857, but also rejoiced that musical knowledge had survived relatively unscathed and was now born anew in the person of Kshetramohan, who had resuscitated its fundamentals for a new readership.[93] A second notable instance of Muslim support was published as an appendix in *Hindu Music* (1874) when Tagore felt his authority challenged by Clark's criticisms. He published a letter of support of Kshetramohan Goswami's work in Urdu (*nastʿalīq* script), ostensibly written by Maula Bakhsh, and transliterated into Hindi script (*devanāgarī*).[94] Each text was accompanied by a number of signatories, though the list of names varied according to script. Kaliprasanna Bandyopadhyay appeared in both lists ('Secretary of the Bengal School of Music'). The names

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[90] Tagore, *Universal History*, 59.
[91] In fact this was one man, Ghulam Nabi 'Shori', who flourished in Lucknow under Asafuddaula and was famous for his *ṭappa* compositions.
[92] Tagore, *Universal History*, 59, 80–1.
[93] Kshetramohan Goswami, *Saṅgītasāra* (Calcutta, 1869).
[94] Tagore, *Hindu Music*, 389–97.

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in *devanāgarī* belonged to little-known Hindu Bengali *dhrupadiya*s and one *khayāl* singer.[95] The names signed in *nast'alīq* belonged to established Muslim singers and instrumentalists, mostly with a connection to the court of Lucknow.[96]

The educational pioneer Maula Bakhsh of Baroda (1833–96) is noted for his inclusive reformulation of Indian music, drawing upon Northern and Southern elements, and for his innovations in notation systems.[97] Maula Bakhsh's letter was a statement of solidarity between Hindu and Muslim musicians ('whether Hindu or Muslim, all singers of quality are one'[98]) and an affirmation of the high position of the *ustād*:

like the very great *ustād* singers of Hindustan, whether Hindu or Muslim, spending many years training up (*riyāz*) their throats, when they have toiled day and night for years in this art (*'ilm*), then the combinations and divisions of notes, and the very complex work connected thereto, is garnered from their own knowledge and reason (*'ilm aur 'aql*) and from their own lips.[99]

Maula Bakhsh claimed Kshetramohan for *ustādī* culture and suggested that his innovative work with notation was a continuation of the longer Indo-Islamic tradition: 'Now we say this, that Babu Kshetramohan Goswami, safeguarded by the written account in Sanskrit and Persian books, has corrected and established the division and multiplication of notes in the old knowledge of the music of India.'[100] Maula Bakhsh was particularly favoured by Tagore, who granted him a series of honours, and when he returned to the Bombay Presidency Bakhsh established his own music school in imitation of what he had seen in Calcutta.[101] The fact these *ustādī* signatories drew Kshetramohan's enterprise into their fold demands a more nuanced reading of Tagore and complicates the 'Hindu nationalist' label that has so readily been attached to his career.

Tagore therefore demands reconsideration on several fronts. Previous scholarship underlined his connections to the British, in part because he wrote in English, for the English, and was clearly influenced by ideas from European musicology. What has attracted less attention is that Tagore also wrote substantially in Bengali and Sanskrit, both to promote his own celebrity and to recast Bengal from a subdominant region in Hindustani musicology to the centre of learning and innovation. The personal and regional dimensions to his work in particular conditioned the flavour of his nationalism, which was driven by his Brahman credentials and the intellectual reputation of Bengal, rather than his meditations on imperialism or a latent communalism. Muslims did not fare well in his scheme by virtue of their not writing in his favoured languages, his prejudice about their traditionalism and lack of modern enterprise, and their cultural roots in Hindustan. His work was thus contending with the prestige of the late Mughal regime as much as with the British.

[95] Joyala Prasad Diksit, Sukala Kantu Prasad, Harinath Misra, Gangaprasad Misra, Vadri Misra, Bala Govinda Misra, and Shiva Ramkumar.

[96] Ahmad Khan, Taj Khan, 'Ali Jan, Muhammad Khan, Ghulam Muhammad Khan, Ghulam Hussain Khan, and Niamatullah Khan; also another Ahmad Khan, Haidar Khan, Janun (Khanun?) Khan, Aiyaz 'Ali Khan, Inayat Hussain Khan, and Ahsan 'Ali Khan.

[97] See James Kippen, *Gurudev's Drumming Legacy: Music, Theory and Nationalism in the* Mṛdaṅg aur Tablā Vādanpaddhati *of Gurudev Patwardhan* (Aldershot, 2006), esp. 22, 59–65; and Janaki Bakhle, *Two Men and Music: Nationalism in the Making of an Indian Classical Tradition* (Ranikhet, 2005), 36–49.

[98] *'Kyā hindu kyā masalmān gāyak ganī sab ke ek hai'*, in Tagore, *Hindu Music*, 395–6.

[99] Ibid. 395.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Kippen, *Gurudev's Drumming*, 22.

How does Tagore relate to the larger arena of Bengali musicology? Read alongside Radhamohan and Jagannath Prasad, it is immediately clear that S. M. Tagore was not the first Bengali musicologist to rethink the theory of Hindustani music in a modern, systematic fashion, the praises of his contemporaries notwithstanding. This historiographical process began at least forty years before him. Jagannath Prasad's work was cursory in areas he deemed irrelevant, lengthy on topics he deemed prestigious, and highly revisionist when it suited his politics. It is important to note that he was writing in the 1840s, a crucial liminal phase between the Mughal and British Empires: politically and socially, Bengal had been under the sway of European powers for almost a century, but certain intellectual spaces—especially musicology—were still mapped with contours inscribed in Persian. Thinkers like Jagannath Prasad were enabled by even earlier, though still innovative, work done in Bengali: although Radhamohan's *Saṅgītataraṅga* was a product of Mughal culture, and not averse to Muslim civilization, it made the core of musical knowledge accessible in the vernacular to critical anti-Mughal writers. Such writers were in effect constrained by their sources, forced to operate within the Mughal episteme even as they struggled to reject it, in the absence of an antique Hindu archive that they could advance. Tagore met that demand, by providing a vast corpus of writings in Bengali and Sanskrit that affirmed the nationalistic and Hindu values of Indian music as a superior alternative to the Mughal. In this model the works of Europeans served as a methodological and historiographical supplement to an older Bengali enterprise. Tagore was not, then, simply the handmaiden of Orientalism or colonialism, but was walking a path prepared for him by local musicological developments in his mother tongue.

Musicology beyond the Music School

There were other currents of Bengali musicology that did not interact with Tagore's work and opinion was divided over his merits. As the nineteenth century continued the middle classes were becoming increasingly interested in music, including what would become known as comparative musicology.[102] These interests reinforced a market demand for new treatises on music: since new authors conventionally dismissed their predecessors and competitors in the market, their works provide a trove of epistemological information. In the preface to a new publication (1879) of the Sanskrit *Saṅgītaratnākara*, the editors Kalivara Vedantavagisa and Sarada Prasada Ghosh (himself a student of Tagore's Bengal School of Music) noted that

books and pamphlets have been written—institutions opened—but the results are not very encouraging. The books and institutions have served only to intensify and not to dispel the darkness that shrouds the subject. . . . The great mischief done is in alleging that most of the erroneous statements are supported by Sanskrit Authorities, when, in fact, they are not so, and in frequent misinterpretations of passages from more than one Sanskrit work.[103]

The editors explicitly posed their work as a rejoinder to Tagore and his initiatives: they prefaced their 'very simple and clear' Sanskrit *rāga* taxonomy with a lament that the Bengal Music School had replaced it with 'a clumsy and barbarous one . . . a system

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[102] In Mar. 1881, the newspaper *Amrita Bazar Patrika* reported with enthusiasm how the Russian government had sent two musicians to Siberia to collect national melodies from villages and festivals in order to publish them in a new collection: *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 3 Mar. 1881, p. 2.

[103] Kalivara Vedantavagisa and Sarada Prasada Ghosh, *Saṅgíta ratnákara: An Ancient Treatise on Hindu Music, with Saṅgíta sudhákara* (Calcutta, 1879), p. i.

which has been invented and introduced on the unjustifiable plea of there being no suitable system of the ancients, and on the vain belief of the new one being an improvement on the old'.[104]

Rather than hegemonic calm in Bengali musicology, there were therefore ongoing storms over epistemology, ancient authority and modern methodologies, charlatans and experts. These were parallel but ultimately separate considerations from other, better-known controversies over the involvement of *ustāds* and women in modern music,[105] and indicate that musical debates cannot be flattened into a contest between 'traditional' *ustādī* masters and new Hindu elites.

A circle of writers was inspired by Tagore's example and many had formal connections to his institutions. As already noted, the most technically proficient and celebrated of these was Tagore's own guru, Kshetramohan Goswami, who produced several notated manuals of music including the *Saṅgītasāra* (1869), the *Kaṇthakaumudī* (1875), and the *Asurañjanītatva* (on the esrār, 1885). The secretary of the Music School, Kaliprasanna Bandyopadhyay (1842–1900), also contributed a consideration of the inadequacies of European notation systems (*Ingrajī Svaralipī Paddhati*, 1868) and an essay on *rāga*s (*Chhay Rāga*, 1870).[106] These were technical works aligned with Tagore's arguments; other authors elaborated his historiographical perspectives. Nabinacandra Datta prefaced his own lengthy *Saṅgītaratnākara* (1872, 307 pp.) with praise for Tagore and included a long essay on the condition of music that echoed many of Tagore's sentiments: 'Music in its pure state, that is when those people of impure tastes did not employ it to an abominable end, has not reached an advanced state of development in society.'[107] He explained how 'authentic' music was naturally beneficial, but its power could be channelled in harmful directions. To illustrate his argument, he invoked many examples from world history, including:

At one time King Henry IV of Denmark expressed his desire to test the power of music, and commanded a singer: 'You boast that your own compositions will de facto drive their performer insane—demonstrate this to me today!' The singer, following the king's command, commenced such unprecedented music that there and then the king himself was driven insane, and four or five nearby individuals lost their lives and perished. Once Caliph Umar was quelling a rebellion and gave the order to behead the prisoners. A Persian singer was among them. He told the king that he desired to sing a song, and if the king permitted it then he would fulfil his heart's desire. The king consented. He sang such a sweet tune that Umar granted him his life and, upon his request, the lives of the other prisoners.[108]

It is unclear precisely where Nabinacandra acquired these anecdotes: he seems to have confused the famous tale of Eric, King of Denmark, with the story of the musician Claudin at the court of Henri III, here corrupted further as Henry IV. The two fables appeared together in the *Dictionary of Music* (*c*.1765) of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78),[109] and it is possible that Nabinacandra had misread this text, though the same tales appear across a number of sources and languages so this

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[104] Ibid. p. iii.
[105] e.g. Lakshmi Subramaniam, 'Faith and the Musician: "Ustads" in Modern India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41 (2006), 4648–50; and Bakhle, *Two Men*.
[106] Capwell, 'Musical Life', 145–7.
[107] Nabinacandra Datta, *Saṅgītaratnākara* (Calcutta, 1872), p. i.
[108] Ibid. p. iv.
[109] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Essay on the Origin of Language and Writings Related to Music*, ed. and trans. John Scott (Hanover, NH, 1998), 442. Rousseau's source seems to be *Chamber's Cyclopedia* (1741–43): ibid. 591 n. 89.

cannot be established with any certainty.[110] The inclusion of these stories gestures to how musical literature was shifting in this period. The older Mughal interest in the affective and productive power of music on the listener continued, but was now discussed in universalizing, quasi-historical modes with examples from Europe and 'abroad', and with an overtone of social and moral criticism.[111]

Late nineteenth-century works referred to the *restoration* of music in Bengal, and the enterprise (usually described as 'toil and expenditure') of a learned genteel society (*kṛtbidýa bhadrasamāj*) in its support, often explicitly identifying Tagore and his colleagues.[112] Among Tagore's students were residents of Dhaka, including Prasannakumara Saha Banikya, who published their own works in East Bengal to spread the reputation of their teachers in Calcutta. One manual from Dhaka in 1881 directly contrasted the earlier 'obscene' (*aślīla*) music of Muslim Hindustan with the efforts of educated Bengalis, who had formulated a virtuous arrangement (*sadupāý bidhān*) for musical instruction.[113] Late nineteenth-century works on music became larger as publishers became more accustomed to printing complex works with diagrams and notations, and Bengali musicologists became more confident to speak comprehensively on the practice and theory of Hindustani music.[114]

Bengali authority in music extended its reach beyond Bengal in 1877, when Madanmohan Bhatta, another devotee of Kshetramohan Goswami, printed a manual of his musical systems in Hindi. This text, simultaneously published in Bengali, was intended as a statement of Bengal's ascendency in musicology: Tagore was the new custodian of Hindustani art music, which was now returning to Hindustan in its perfected form. In his letter to the author, Tagore expressed his hope that the book would 'convey to the Hindustanee community, an adequate idea of the method to which it has been my endeavours to reduce the Science and Art of our national music. You have hereby helped me to a great extent, in my attempts at diffusing amongst our countrymen a refined taste for the noble Art.'[115] It is currently difficult to judge how far Tagore was successful: the Hindi litterateur Bharatendu Hariscandra (1850–85) in Banaras was certainly impressed and (wrongly) bemoaned the apparent absence of similar work in Hindi.[116] There remains, however, substantial musicological writing in the same period in Hindi and Urdu that has yet to be comprehensively analysed,[117] so it is unclear how far these Hindustani works were influenced by their Bangla counterparts.[118] Publishing the outlook of the Bengal Music School outside Calcutta, east to Dhaka and west to Hindustan, established three characteristics of its musicology: its moralistic

[110] The original source of the King of Denmark tale was perhaps Saxo Grammaticus, *Danorum regum heroumque historia* (Paris, 1514): see Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach* (Cambridge, 2011), 136 n. 88.

[111] The King of Denmark tale was included in an Armenian music treatise by Minas Bžškean (1777–1851) in 1812, most likely drawing on Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* (Rome, 1650). I am grateful to Jacob Olley for this information.

[112] e.g. Prasannakumara Saha Banikya, *Tabla-taraṅginī*, 2nd edn. (Dhaka, 1901).

[113] Sitanath Basak, *Saṅgīta Śikṣā* (Dhaka, 1881), p. i.

[114] See Murarimohan Gupta, *Saṅgīta Prabeśika, or A Complete Course of Hindu Music. Treating Chiefly of Vadya-kanda* (Calcutta, 1889–91).

[115] Letter published in Madanmohan Bhatta, *Saṅgītaśiksýā* (Patna, 1877).

[116] See his 1875 essay 'Saṅgīt Sār' in Bharatendu Hariscandra and Sivaprasada [?] Misra, *Bhāratendu Granthāvalī* (Varanasi, 1972), 905–17.

[117] For the most comprehensive treatment of Hindi and Urdu materials to date, see Allyn Miner, *Sitar and Sarod in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Delhi, 1997). Significant works include Muhammad Mardan 'Ali Khan, *Ghunca-yi Rāg* (Lucknow, 1863); Sadiq 'Ali Khan, *Sarmāya-yi 'Ishrat: Mu'arrif Qānun-i Mūsīqī* (Delhi, 1884 (1874–5)); Chatra Nripati, *Padaratnāvalī* (Banaras, 1854); and Harivamsa Sarma, *Bṛhadrāgakalpadrumah* (Salemabad, 1891).

[118] Bhatkhande enjoyed conversing with Tagore but was unimpressed by his scholarship: see Bakhle, *Two Men*, 107–9.

dimension; the increasingly explicit rejection of Muslim influence; and the high esteem with which Bengalis viewed their own intellectual contributions as now surpassing that of Hindustan.

Several other authors presented alternatives to the 'public' mission of the Bengal Music School. Kedaranath Gangopadhyay's *Bādyaśikṣā* ('Instruction in Instrumental Music', 1878), for example, presented an alternative system to Tagore's *Mṛdaṅgamañjarī* on the theory and practice of drumming.[119] The most serious rebuttal to Tagore's intended monopoly in musicology came from Krishnadhan Bandyopadhyay (1846–1904), whose career and writings demand far more attention than possible here.[120] Krishnadhan was not from a distinguished family: he grew up as an actor-singer in the theatres of north Calcutta, later making a brief but financially unsuccessful attempt to manage the Great National Theatre in 1875. He was extremely well-read and initially published a history of China, followed by two musical manuals, one focusing on *sitār*.[121] Though initially trained by Kshetramohan (he had edited Kshetramohan's work of 1867, the *Baṅgaikatana*), Krishnadhan later parted ways with him and Tagore on the question of notation, notably writing in defence of C. B. Clark. He removed himself to Koch Bihar in 1876, where he was commissioned by Maharajah Nripendra Narayan Baup Bahadur to write his own treatment of music, the *Gītasūtrasāra* ('Quintessence of Music', 1885).[122] He also forged connections with the Jorasanko Tagores (who were estranged from their cousins at Pathuriaghat), particularly Jyotirindranath.

Gītasūtrasāra is a technically precise and engagingly written work of scholarship. Krishnadhan reframed classical theory with a long essay on acoustics described in modern scientific terms, situating the development of human sound, communication, and speech in the context of human evolution and the biological development of the throat. In opposition to Tagore, Krishnadhan maintained that the European notation system could quite adequately be adapted for Hindustani music; at the same time, he criticized Tagore's advocacy of the harmonium, since it was to the detriment of 'authentic' Indian instruments.[123] Following Dilipkumar Mukhopadhyay, several twentieth-century authors have noted the influence of the *Gītasūtrasāra* in the rest of India, especially in the writings of the leading reformer of Hindustani music, V. N. Bhatkhande, who claimed to have learned Bengali precisely so that he could read it. However, in his own *Hindustānī Saṅgīta-paddhati* ('Commentary on Hindustani Music', 1910–35) Bhatkhande was extremely dismissive of Krishnadhan, and scornful of Bengali musicians and musicologists in general, including Tagore.[124] Clearly this dismissal was informed by Bhatkhande's own Marathi ethno-nationalist prejudices. However, this critique serves as a reminder that while Bengali musicologists were increasingly proud of their own achievements and hegemony in Hindustani music, their precedence was disputed in the rest of India, where other regional chauvinisms were claiming authority over modern musical culture.

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[119] Kedaranath Gangopadhyay, *Bādyaśikṣā* (Calcutta, 1878). I am grateful to James Kippen for sharing his thoughts on this text.

[120] See Mukhopadhyay, *Baṅgālīra*, 395–419; Atarthi, 'Writing Music', 53–9; and Capwell, 'Musical Life', 147–50.

[121] *Sitār Śikṣā* (1866) and *Saṅgīta Śikṣā* (1868).

[122] Krishnadhan Bandyopadhyay, *Gītasūtrasāra* (Koch Bihar, 1885). A second edition was published in 1897. An English commentary and translation of Part II is also available: Himansu Sekhar Banerji, *Gita Sutra Sar* (Berhampore, 1941).

[123] Atarthi, 'Writing Music', 56–7. Cf. Matt Rahaim, 'That Ban(e) of Indian Music: Hearing Politics in The Harmonium', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 70 (2011), 657–82.

[124] Vinayak Purohit, *Arts of Transitional India: 20th Century* (Bombay, 1988), ii. 883–4.

Reading a larger selection of instructional and theoretical works on music in Bengali qualifies the influence of Tagore and Kshetramohan, and highlights the internal tensions of the local vernacular musicological field. The Bengal Music School had its supporters, who disseminated Tagore's views back to Hindustan, underlining the growing perception among Bengalis of their mastery over North Indian arts. However, these *bhadralok* voices did not constitute a homogenous sphere of production. Quite apart from glaring differences in financial resources and family backgrounds, intellectually these writers were often extremely fractious and divided. Some argued that Tagore's innovations were unnecessary and a disservice to the genuine historical *śāstra*; others, like Krishnadhan, argued the opposite, presenting a more radically modern interpretation of music, informed by the science of acoustics and Western notation. Since Krishnadhan was also opposed to the harmonium, we cannot interpret these authors purely in terms of modernization and Westernization. Print prepared a platform for multiple idiosyncratic amalgams of traditional and new knowledge, rather than creating a linear spectrum between preservation and change. That said, writing in a genre that had a fairly new history in Bengali at least bound these various authors together in a literary arena where they could engage with each other's work. To their minds at least, this collectively elevated their region to a position of national dominance in cultural affairs.

The notion of a homogenous middle-class musical culture can be complicated further by engaging with song collections, which were widely produced at the same time as the more theoretical literature and had a different rationale from works of *śāstra*. The songbook also represents a developing genre as lyricists and anthologizers embraced the possibilities of printing technology, and similarly indicates a broad scope of methodological approaches, attitudes to the representation of music, and views on society and region.

SONGBOOKS

Returning to the earliest musicological works considered above, it should be recalled that both *Saṅgītataraṅga* (in part) and *Saṅgītarasamādhurī* were envisaged as song anthologies.[125] These works were in the vanguard of an innovative and enduring genre of print literature that was long established in manuscript culture.[126] In nineteenth-century Calcutta (and elsewhere, including Rajshahi, Burdwan, and Dhaka), the field of song collecting expanded exponentially, owing to new cultural pursuits and forms of reading prompted by the formation of a print market. In relation to contemporaneous commercial publishing in Hindi and Urdu, Francesca Orsini has explored how print technology posed new creative possibilities for three sets of actors: neo- or non-literate audiences familiar with oral genres; educated writers who engaged their printed-book-reading audiences with new hybrid forms; and professionals from the commercial theatre and the performing arts.[127] These different readers and producers engaged with printed 'texts of pleasure' as supplements to familiar embodied, performed genres and entertainments, such that 'books insinuated themselves mostly along already established spatial and gendered patterns of leisure, both inside and outside the home'.[128]

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[125] Songs from both were later compiled in Balaichanda Goswami, *Saṅgītasārasangraha* (Calcutta, 1880).

[126] For insights into Indian manuscript-songbook culture, see Christian Lee Novetzke, *Religion and Public Memory: A Cultural History of Saint Namdev in India* (New York, 2008).

[127] Orsini, *Print and Pleasure*, 5–6.

[128] Ibid. 9.

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Following these insights, my own analysis will consider the place of Hindustani vocal genres in Bengali songbooks. Due to the vast scale of lyric publishing in this period, I have chosen to exclude song collections relating to theatre or courtesan singers,[129] and works dedicated entirely to local Bengali genres (such as *kabigān*[130] or the devotional music of the Brahmo Samaj[131]). Instead, I have focused on twenty-four song collections that engaged explicitly with either Hindustani musicological principles, Hindustani genres (such as *ghazal* or *ṭhumrī*), or culture (including language and history). The songbook sheds light upon the representation and transmission of a cosmopolitan music in a local, popular, and increasingly regionalized economy. From popular chapbooks and self-publishing lyricists to vast compendia of Bengali *gān* (music/song), this diverse field reflects how musicians, other literate aficionados, and businessmen understood the musical heritage of North India, and how they chose to represent it.

Before 1875, song collections did not include notations (either *sargam* or staff), but provided indications of *rāga* and *tāla*, sometimes with a highlighted refrain (*dhrubā*) or name of the lyricist, and very occasionally a genre label (*dhrupad*, etc.). The intended uses of these collections and how they might be read crystallized over the course of the century, but at first were open-ended. According to its introduction, the *Saṅgītānanda Laharī* ('Waves of Musical Bliss', 1848) was envisaged as a work of *saṅgīta śāstra* and over time was remembered as an instructional guide in other works on music, such as the *Gītasūtrasāra*, almost forty years later.[132] However, the *Saṅgītānanda Laharī* was extremely different from later, refined works of pedagogy, including the *Gītasūtrasār* itself, and internal comparisons of such texts seem inappropriate at face value. The *Saṅgītānanda Laharī* positioned itself at the confluence of music, literature, and religious devotion. It was the venture of Madhabcandra Datta Caudhuri, who became enamoured with the devotional poems of the *littérateur* Ramacandra Bhattacharya and wished to make them available to both a learned readership and a more popular, listening audience:

With the kind permission of Mr Bhattacharya I have tied together in lyrical form his songs and poetic compositions and so forth: seeing and relishing that string of clouds, the thrilled peacock of the mind remains dancing forever more.... Afterwards, I combined them with *rāga*s, *rāgini*s and *tāla*s, consulting with instrumentalists and singers. After much toil and with the expectation that all these songs should be in an accessible format for this nation's society, in that spirit I conferred upon it the name 'Waves of Musical Bliss', and braved myself at once to dispatch it to the printing press.[133]

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[129] On theatre and *baiji* lyrics, see Devajit Bandyopadhyay, *Beśyāsaṅgīt, Bāījisaṅgīt* (Kolkata, 2001).

[130] On popular genres see Anindita Ghosh, 'Singing in a New World: Street Songs and Urban Experience in Colonial Calcutta', *History Workshop Journal*, 76 (2013), 111–36; Sumanta Banerjee, *The Parlour and the Streets: Elite and Popular Culture in Nineteenth-Century Calcutta* (Kolkata, 1989); Ghosh, *Logic in a Popular Form: Essays on Popular Religion in Bengal* (Kolkata, 2002), 84–118; Mary Frances Dunham, *Jarigan: Muslim Epic Songs of Bangladesh* (Dhaka, 1997); and Hugh B. Urban, 'Songs of Ecstasy: Mystics, Minstrels, and Merchants in Colonial Bengal', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 123 (2003), 493–519.

[131] On Brahmo Samaj music, see Mukhopadhyay, *Bāṅgālīra*, 122–53; and Michael David Rosse, 'The Movement for the Revitalization of "Hindu" Music in Northern India, 1860–1930: The Role of Associations and Institutions' (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1995), 12–29. Brahmo songbooks from this period include Rammohun Roy (1846); *Gītāvalī* (Calcutta, 1846); anon., *Brahmasaṅgīta* (Calcutta, 1859); Kalikumara Basu, *Saṅgītasaṅgraha* (Mymensingh, 1867); Kalinarayan Gupta, *Bhavasaṅgīta* (Dhaka, 1901); and Kangalicharan Sen, *Brahmasaṅgīta-svaralipi* (Calcutta, 1905).

[132] Introduction in Bandyopadhyay, *Gītasūtrasāra*.

[133] Madhabcandra Datta Caudhuri, *Saṅgītānanda Laharī* (Calcutta, 1848), p. ii.

The editor's introduction expresses his excitement in his new enterprise both through familiar literary tropes ('the thrilled peacock of the mind', *citta śikhī sukhī*) and his elaborate phrasing of the emotional-cum-technological process ('braved myself at once to dispatch it to the printing press', *mūdrā jantrālaýe preṣaṇa karaṇe sahasā sāhasī hailām*). This combination of the traditional and modern through the editorial venture and market dissemination of the printed book characterizes the work as a whole in its treatment of religious literature. Madhabcandra combined two long works of verse, a *gītābali* (song series) about the goddess Durga and a *padābali* (verse series) on the *Rāsalīlā*.[134] In format, Madhabcandra followed the example of earlier works, with clear *rāga* and *tāla* headings, verse demarcations, and a highlighted refrain. However, whereas earlier Bengali song compilations, including *Saṅgītataraṅga* and *Saṅgīta-rasamādhurī*, were made up of lyrics by the author, and composed with a view to musical performance, in this work the musical dimension was manufactured in a *post hoc* fashion. Significantly, Madhabcandra did not consult with the lyricist himself, but conferred with a separate body of musicians and singers to assign the prescriptions for performance. This manufacturing of music, translating a literary text into a musical one, was more purposive than merely documenting a song as it should be sung. This indicates that although the *rāga* and *tāla* indications could not in themselves reproduce the sound the music off the page precisely as the editor and his consultant musicians intended, nonetheless they were deemed informative enough to render literary verse into a new, musical genre.

The l840s was an important decade for the songbook. Apart from Jagannath Prasad Mallik and Madhabcandra Datta Caudhuri, there was another major intervention in musical printing in Calcutta: the *Saṅgīta Rāgakalpadruma* of Krishnananda Vyas. Krishnananda was born in Johaini village, Udaipur *c.*1794. It is believed that his family had a connection to the royal court, and that he left in l811 to study music in Vrindavan.[135] Then he travelled extensively for thirty years, noting down a vast collection of songs from courts, textual compilations, and living musicians. In acknowledgement of his expertise, the court of Mewar called Krishnananda '*Rāgasāgar*' (Ocean of *Rāga*). In Calcutta, he was impressed by Radhakanta Deb's Sanskrit lexicographical project *Śabdakalpadruma* ('Wishing Tree of Words', 1828–58) and began work anthologizing lyrics he had collected, under the patronage of Rajendralal Mitra.[136] The new work, *Saṅgīta Rāgakalpadruma* ('Wishing Tree of Music and *Rāga*', completed 1843) was originally printed in four volumes between 1842 and 1849, priced expensively at Rs. 25 per volume.[137] This was a colossal project, containing 13,892 lyrics (*bandiś*) from oral and written sources. The work is celebrated in particular for its multilingual diversity: subsequent editions and scholars have noted that it contains examples of forty-five languages, including 'Sanskrit, Hindi, Gujarati, Karnatic, Telugu, Tamil, Bengali, Oriya, Arabic, Persian, Peguan and various songs of the different dialect of Rajputana as well as some ancient English songs'.[138] In fact, a cursory examination of some 703 pages of lyrics indicates that the vast majority of lyrics are in dialects of Hindustani, from Rajasthani-inflected Brajbhasha to Persianate Urdu. Songs in other

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[134] In Hindu mythology, the dance of the god Krishna and the milkmaids of Brindavan.
[135] Amal Das Sharma, *Musicians of India Past and Present: Gharanas of Hindustani Music and Genealogies* (Kolkata, 1993), 44; Sudev J. Sheth, 'Saṅgīta Rāgakalpadruma: Reflections on a 19th–century musical text by Kṛśnānand Vyāsadeva' (unpublished seminar paper, Center for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2011).
[136] Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal during the 1880s: see Sharmadip, 'Tuning Modernity', 182.
[137] First volume published as *Raṅgina gāna-majmuyā*, according to Chatterjee, *Śāstrīya*, 532.
[138] From the cover of the l914 edition.

languages were embedded in the larger anthology, which is organized through a schematic *rāga* and genre-specific meta-structure. This suggests that Krishnananda may have assigned *rāga*s to non-Indian songs in order to accommodate them within the work. As yet there has been no substantial analysis of this enormous monument and it is likewise beyond the remit of the current discussion. However, here I will briefly discuss its reception history.

That Krishnananda drew upon the influence of the *Śabdakalpadruma* relates his enterprise to the larger intellectual innovations of Bengali scholars in this period. His quasi-encyclopedic approach may have informed other contemporary musicologists, such as Jagannath Prasad Mallik, though the *Rāgakalpadruma* was on a much larger scale. It doubtless influenced S. M. Tagore in his own comprehensive projects. Though prohibitively expensive, the initial volumes were received with interest by a number of important readers, one hundred of whom were listed in the first edition.[139] A complete set came into the possession of Raja Rao Jogindranarayan Ray of Lalgola (Murshidabad district), who funded its republication through the Baṅgīýa Sāhitýa Pariṣad in 1914, thereby expanding its availability.

In the Hindi and Bengali prefaces to this republication, the editor Nagendranath Basu commented: 'In musicology in Bengal there is no partiality towards the various languages. Songs composed in the languages of the other states of India are treated as respectfully as Bangla songs. In the musicology of this country the respect given to Hindi songs is even greater than to Bengali songs.'[140] Anxieties over language were an entrenched and often explicit concern of the song collections. It is apparent from the eighteenth century at the very latest that elite Bengali patrons favoured elite Hindustani genres in dialects of Hindustani and Persian. Hindustani-trained Bengali musicians who developed Bengali-language versions of such genres, such as Raghunath Ray (1750–1836) with *khayāl*, were the exception rather than the rule and their examples were not widely followed.[141] The preference for Hindustani lyrics continued in the nineteenth century among both traditional and reformist musicians: Bengali *baiji*s studied Persian and Urdu in order to be deemed proficient in a cosmopolitan repertory,[142] and early twentieth-century musicology journals discussed the need for clear unaccented pronunciation of Hindustani lyrics; singing with a Bengali accent was definitively frowned upon.[143] Nineteenth-century musicologists did not believe they could subvert the linguistic status quo entirely, but some of them envisaged their works as enabling and ennobling an appreciation for songs in the local language.

This was the explicit priority of the *Saṅgītarasamañjarī* ('Blossom of Musical *Rāsa*', 1866) by Mahescandra Mukhopadhyay, an innovative intervention in contemporary musical tastes. He framed his song collection as a response to Abhayacaran Guha,[144] who had lamented that although sophisticated artists wrote beautiful and pleasing works in Hind(ustan)i, informed by theoretical considerations of *rāga* and *tāla*, etc., this kind of rigorous, musically sophisticated work was lacking in his mother tongue. There was thus a demand for a well-educated Bengali student of music to compose songs in the same technical manner as Hindi songs, while reflecting the idiosyncratic

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[139] I have been unable to locate the first edition: the National Library (Kolkata) copy is currently missing.

[140] Krishnananda Vyasadeva Ragasagara and Nagendranath Basu, *Saṅgīta Rāgakalpadruma* (Calcutta, 1914), 1.

[141] Williams, 'Hindustani Music', 62–7.

[142] Banerjee, *Parlour*, 114.

[143] Mohini Sen Gupta, 'Hindī Gāne Aṃāder Bāṇī Sambande Jatkiñcit', *Saṅgīta Bijñan Prabeśikā*, 2 (1332/1925), 261.

[144] On Abhayacaran Guha of Hogalkuria see Lokenath Ghosh, *The Modern History of the Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars &c. Part II* (Calcutta, 1881), 235–8.

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beauty of the language of his own folk (*svarūpabhābe asmadādir jātīẏabhāṣāẏ gītādi biracita kariẏā gān karen*).[145] For Mahescandra it was not simply that Hindi was an inherently pleasing language, but rather that Hindi songs were tailored according to strict metrical and musical considerations. To his mind, his Bengali contemporaries had not attempted to match these high standards in their own tongue: 'Only with great difficulty have they expounded poetry before the *pada* perishes, and that with a lot of toil, and they have been extremely unconscientious when it came to listening closely to the metre or melody.'[146] His own songbook was a step in a new direction, both by relegating Hindi to the occasional prefatory verse, and by crafting his Bengali verses with due regard to prosody and musical performance.

Mahescandra's arrangement of the texts on the printed page was also far more sophisticated than that of his predecessors. In previous publications lines of the song ran in a series, divided at most by *dāṇḍi*s (vertical strokes), but effectively forming a paragraph-like block of text. This was adapted from customary practices of manuscript production: the partitioning of individual songs into clearly discrete units was itself an innovation, setting the printed page apart from the handwritten folio. Mahescandra went several steps further. He used a smaller type font setting for the *rāga* and *tāla* indications and an opening remark than for the main text of the *bandiś* (lyrical text). The *bandiś* itself was schematically arranged to highlight caesuras (through additional spacing and European punctuation marks) and other prosodic features. The 'opening remark' was entirely novel. Sometimes this would consist of an additional poetic phrase (occasionally in Brajbhasha rather than Bengali) or a combination of drum *bol*s and *sargam* syllables. These features further clarified the musical dimensions of the song. To take a sample verse:[147]

Rāgiṇī Chāẏānaṭ—Tāla tittaṭ
Dredre tānānā tānā dere nā tānā dere nā tānānā ‖ *āāā āāā ā āāā ā dani* ‖ *Nādredre dim dim tānānā nānā tānā dere nā tānnā dere nā tādāni sāsā gama papapa mama dhadha papa nidhapa sa nidha papa reregama pagaga rere sāsā* ‖

> *Mane tāi bhābi kibā dibā rajanī,*
> *Olo sajani* ‖
> *Emani śẏām śaṭher śiromaṇi* ‖
> *Āsi bale kena ekhan elo nā,*
> *Ār sahe nā nānā jātanā;*
> *Ki kari jvālāẏ jvale mari,*
> *Rodane kāl hari;*
> *Pāsari sab gṛhakāẏ, lokalāj,*
> *Āpanāẏ nahi āpani* ‖

> I think of him in my heart day and night,
> Oh my friend.
> That Krishna, king of knaves.
> I ask you this, why did he not turn up this time?
> I can't bear these torments any more;
> What can I do? I am burning up under this torture,
> I am wasting away with weeping;

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[145] Mahescandra Mukhopadhyay, *Saṅgītarasamañjarī* (Calcutta, 1866), 2.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid. 33.

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I forget all about my housework, propriety,
I don't recognize myself.

This opening phrase assisted readers in gauging the possible musical arrangement of
the *bandiś*, especially if they were able to consult with someone experienced in perform-
ance. Clearly the musical syllables did not fix every consideration, such as the tuning
of the scale, but they provided a framework to develop a musical form. Mahescandra
envisaged an interactive engagement with his text: 'if listening to, or reading this
book brings satisfaction to appreciative hearts, then these my efforts will have been suc-
cessful.' He was confident that 'with but a glance those who are adroit with tunes
(*suranaipuńẏa dhanẏajanerā*) will be able to comprehend them with ease'.[148]

A similar approach to musical instruction through lyrical arrangement can be seen
in the *Saṅgīta Manorañjana* ('Musical Delight', 1861). Here the compiler, Jadunath
Ghosh Das, outlined the fundamental essence (*marma*) of musicology in prose, fearing
that such knowledge was in peril, but also conscious that most people were only inter-
ested in lyrics.[149] Thereafter he explored the possibilities of music by arranging songs
(both Hindustani and Bengali genres and subjects) by *rāga-rāgini*, and under that
category presented a broad range of *tāla*s. Thus for each *rāga* the reader could discover
between two and thirty-four musical examples, employing different *tāla*s and express-
ing multiple themes. Like Mahescandra, Jadunath assumed his readers would have
access to musically informed partners in appreciating the book and would be able to
sound out the impressive scope of the repertory, drawing on knowledge acquired
elsewhere.

Mahescandra repeatedly invoked the language of toil (*aẏās*, etc.) and labour in his
musical enterprise. While it was customary for an author to promote his work by
underlining the exertion and attention to detail involved in its composition, his was a
specific convention in musical publishing in the mid-nineteenth century: like
Madhabcandra Datta Caudhuri before him, Mahescandra testified to the fresh
approach and craftsmanship involved in the editorial process, combining literary
expertise, musical fashioning, and technological reproduction. He stipulated with un-
necessary emphasis that the work had been *printed* (*mudraṅkita*), having first been cor-
rected by a secondary party, Babu Bamacaran Barat, 'the famous excellent physician
of Kumar Hat market. This song series has laboriously been composed with due
regard to the *sur, tāla, laya* of songs and so forth, as described in Hindi-language theor-
etical works and in performance alike.'[150] This acknowledgement of his copy-editor,
combined with the detailing of the methods of production, made a social statement.
Mahescandra saw himself as an innovator, but he did not see himself in isolation: by
referring to the 'highly qualified' Babu Abhayacaran Guha at the beginning of his
introduction, and Babu Bamacaran Barat at its end, he was positioning himself in a
network of elite intellectuals and professionals who were taking charge of a Bengali
musical modernity.

The social circle behind these innovations was very specific. The actors involved
were neither hereditary musicians nor members of Tagore's Anglophone circle, but
felt compelled to take charge of their regional culture. As Mahescandra spelled out in
his introduction, he sought to reflect Hindustani tastes and technicalities in Bengali

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[148] Ibid. 3.
[149] Jadunath Ghosh Das, *Saṅgīta Manorañjana* (Calcutta, 1861), 11.
[150] Mukhopadhyay, *Saṅgītarasamañjarī*, 3.

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idioms. While two-thirds of his collection is explicitly on religious narratives and deities, his final third migrates via Krishna-devotional *hori*s (seasonal song) into 'Banglafied' North Indian song genres on love (*Ādiraser ṭappā ṭhuṁri gajal itýādi*), descriptions of the rainy season (*barṣā barṇan*), an exploration of various *rasa*s through *nāyak-nāyikā*[151] themes (all set to the very popular *āḍakhemṭa tāla*), and finally two moralistic ventriloquist songs in which 'the fallen woman' describes her own condition (*naṣṭā nārir svabhāb barṇan*). It is tempting to see this latter category as an extension of wider themes pertinent to Bengali society in this period, such as the fascination with, and reform of, prostitutes. However, aesthetic concerns were even more significant. If Bengali music were to be taken seriously, it had to be composed in conversation with lyrical practices established in Hindustan.

Given that all the editors of the song collections identified here were Hindu, why were Bengali Muslims not creating their own song anthologies in Bengali in the mid-nineteenth century? It seems that Muslims were not socially entangled in this specific print market because they were continuing to engage with the textual production and publication circles of Hindustan. Musical thought and song lyrics were also being disseminated in Urdu, but also through new *tazkira*s (anthologies and dictionaries of poets), which testify to networks between Calcutta and satellite clusters of poets in Bengal, such as Pandua.[152] Similarly women singers and composers of Urdu and Persian material also maintained a presence in print, but their works were largely disseminated through *nast'alīq* or *devanāgarī* rather than Bengali script. The Muslim gentry of Bengal were keen to underline their affiliation with Urdu, Persian, Arabic, and increasingly English, the corollary of which was a disdain for Bengali.[153] To engage with Bengali musicology was therefore not only unnecessary (given all the available material in Hindustani) but also unappetizing: *ashraf* (genteel) Muslims did not wish to sully their hands with Bengali, the language of the peasant Muslim.[154] The class-conscious rationale behind this lack of interest is confirmed by the kind of Bengali musical work produced by Muslims in this period: primarily 'Musulman Bangla' texts appealing to lower-class popular tastes, or the ongoing transmission of eighteenth-century *rāgamālā* and *padābali* literature in eastern Bengal—but not Calcutta.[155] This is an apt reminder that despite the volume of song collections produced in Bengali, the extent of their social resonance should not be overestimated. This was a vast field of production, reading, and listening, yet was nonetheless the project of a circumscribed, self-aware, elite Hindu society.

That said, the growing abundance of song collections by Hindu editors should not be seen as an attempt either to create a Hindu hegemony in musical production or to marginalize Muslim culture (as was increasingly the case in treatise writing). Islamicate registers of symbol and evocation also found a firm place in the genre. From the *Saṅgīta Rāgakalpadruma* in the 1840s to Durgadas Lahiri's *Bāṅgālīr Gān* ('Song of the Bengali', 1905),[156] songbooks coming out of Calcutta documented a vast

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[151] Literally 'hero-heroine', referring to varieties of lovers in poetic theory and composition.
[152] Maulvi 'Abdul Ghafur Sahab 'Nassakh' and Maulvi Ismatullah Saheb 'Mazbur'/'Azan' were two especially influential Urdu poets operating out of Pandua; see 'Abdul Ghafur Khan 'Nassakh', *Sak̲h̲an-i Shu'arā* (Lucknow, 1874).
[153] Asim Roy, *The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal* (Princeton, 1983), 58–60; Amalendu De, 'The Social Thoughts and Consciousness of the Bengali Muslims in the Colonial Period', *Social Scientist*, 23/4 (1995), 16–37; and Imtiaz Ahmad, 'The Ashraf-Ajlaf Dichotomy in Muslim Social Structure in India', *Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 3 (1966), 268–78.
[154] Bose, *Recasting the Region*, 8–11.
[155] Williams, 'Hindustani Music', 52–5.
[156] Durgadas Lahiri, *Bāṅgālīr Gān* (Calcutta, 1905).

corpus of Muslim devotional *bandiś*es, especially *qawwālī*.[157] Later compilers, such as Amarcandra Kapur of Burdwan in his *Saṅgītasulalita* ('Charming Music', 1876), seamlessly slid between a *vaiṣṇava* Hindu cosmology and explicitly Islamic references. While the first major poetry of the text is concerned with devotion to Hari, his opening dedication is to 'Ali the Khalifa:

> Who can describe Hazur 'Ali?
> Describing him but a little even the sinner becomes immortal.
> This *kṣatri* of the Dabha [*ḍhabba*?] caste, Amarcandra by name,
> Honours the feet of Hazur 'Ali.
> I made it so that he would dwell in my hopeful heart.
> I will present this book, *Charming Music*.
> Saluting Hazur 'Ali at the start of the book,
> the reader will not take on any faults.
> The glories of this earth can equal the ocean.
> The heart senses the equivalent of but a drop; what more can I describe?[158]

It is remarkable that in 1876, when the 'Muslim Question' and worries about social cohesion were becoming established in Calcutta's public forums,[159] a poet-cum-lyricist would highlight his respectable Hindu credentials and his devotion to the Khalifa in the same couplet.

By the 1870s the Bangla song collection was a familiar product in the book market, and while most publications continued to produce lyrics in the same format as their predecessors,[160] two from this decade are especially noteworthy. Nanda Lal Sharma's *Saṅgīta Sutra* ('Introduction to Music', 1870) was a thin volume of thirty-two pages, yet while it was primarily a song anthology it resuscitated the methods of the *Saṅgītataraṅga* and the *Saṅgītarasamadhurī* by providing a brief introduction to the principles of music. Nanda Lal underlined the brevity of his contribution, but also the need for this kind of educational material: '*Saṅgīta Śāstra* is as profound as the ocean, and even a highly educated expert (*kṛtabidýa guṇigaṇ*) is hesitant to dip his hand in it. But just as a beaver dams up the ocean, so too I began to put down one or two things in writing.'[161] His was a cautious introduction and came with a warning to overly enthusiastic readers not to get ahead of themselves: if they made errors in their gestures while singing or playing instruments, they would be condemned by the professionals (*mudrā doṣa gāýak o bādaker pakṣe ati nindanīýa*).[162] His book was very much a preview of what might be undertaken with 'experienced singers' (*bijña gāýaker nikaṭ*) and was certainly no substitution.[163] By introducing his readers to the *kalāwant*s (artists/maestros) of Akbar's court, Nanda Lal gave the impression that *saṅgīta śāstra* was cultivated by a prestigious community of experts who alone held the hermeneutical and pedagogical keys: '*Kalāwant*s explain all of these subjects to their students in the highest manner, because in undertaking all of this, instruction from a guru is vital (*sakal karmmei*

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[157] See Rajkrishna Ray, *Bhārat Gān* (Calcutta, 1879) which contains many *qawwalī* texts, and Lucknow *ṭhumṛī*s.
[158] Amarcandra Kapur, *Saṅgītasulalita* (Bardhaman, 1876), pp. ii–iii.
[159] Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, *Historical Background to Muslim Question in India 1764–1945* (Delhi, 2008), 233–71.
[160] e.g. Sarccandra Deb, *Paramārtha Saṅgīta* (Calcutta, 1870); Madanmohan Ghosh, *Saṅgītaratnaśata* (Calcutta, 1871); and anon., *Saṅgītasaṅgraha* (Calcutta, 1872).
[161] Nanda Lal Sharma, *Saṅgīta Sutra* (Calcutta, 1870), p. i.
[162] Ibid. 18–19.
[163] Ibid. 9.

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guru-updeśa ābaśýak).'[164] Thus this work has two characteristic premises: with its *ṭappa*s by Shori Miyan and *ṭhumrī*s by Wajid 'Ali Shah, the musical repertory celebrated Hindustani culture; and by paying obeisance to oral instruction, it saw itself as but an entry point to musical learning from traditional pedagogues.

This was in marked contrast to the second significant song collection of the 1870s, Kshetramohan Goswami's *Kaṇṭhakaumudī* ('Vocal Moonlight', 1875), the first Bengali publication to prescribe notation for songs.[165] This was a much larger work, in part because each song was represented with Kshetramohan's distinctive three-line stave, and *sargam* and *tāla* inscriptions. It was not a work of great literary interest, but was a technical masterpiece. These notations would demand a period of familiarization and instruction, but in theory could diminish the need for older systems of learning and a dependency upon the *ustād*. Kshetramohan's students also published notated songs, explicitly as a strike against oral instruction or as an endeavour to make Indian music accessible to a European readership.[166] At the tail end of this fashion for Bengali notation was Daksinacaran Sen's *A Collection of Airs for Concert or Aikatanik* (1887), which was advertised as: 'A complete treatise on Hindu Music for beginners. . . . With explanation of the symbols of Bengally notation enabling every one to learn the tunes *without the help of a teacher*.'[167] Tellingly, the author had studied with one Rajendralal Mukhopadhayay and was closely connected to Tagore.[168]

Beyond the widening circle of the Bengal Music School, Kshetramohan's notation system was not taken up as a standard approach. As the century continued, printed collections became larger compendia, arranged with an emphasis on theme, genre, and author (often including biographical sketches of the lyricists); but the musical form of these compositions was inscribed through the older technique of *rāga* and *tāla* indications. Increasingly these compendia prioritized Bengali lyricists, such as Ramprasad Sen and Raghunath Ray,[169] while the concurrent publication of other works on musical verse, such as *rāgamālā*s, similarly restated past Bengali engagements in high musical culture.[170] Having developed as a literary genre over the previous eighty years with the publication of *Saṅgītataraṅga*, the Bengali song collection was a refined work by the turn of the twentieth century, with a growing canon of lyrics in Bengali and other Indian languages in Bengali script.

Viewed together, the Bengali songbooks suggest a larger social project to use modern technology to refine the musical heritage of Hindustan and Bengal. There were three key dimensions to this genre. First, the interaction between literature and music facilitated the process of enabling and ennobling Bengali as a language of artistry, technical detail, and cultural prestige. Hindustani served as a point of comparison and departure for Bengali musicologists as they crafted a new cultural

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[164] Ibid. 6.

[165] Kshetramohan's first published *sargam* notations were in *Saṅgītasāra* (1869), but this did not include lyrics. For instrumental notation, see (for *sitār*) anon., *Saṅgītopadeśa* (Calcutta, 1874); and (for violin) Kalipada Mukhopadhyay, *Bahulīn Tattva* (Calcutta, 1874).

[166] e.g. Pramod Kumar Tagore, *First Thoughts on Music, or Twenty Indian Melodies Composed for the Pianoforte* (Calcutta, 1883), and Priya Nath Roy, *Indian Music in European Notation* (Darjeeling, 1889). See Bakhle, *Two Men*, 68.

[167] *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 22 Sept. 1887, 8, my emphasis.

[168] Kirancandra Mitra, 'Saṅgītajña svargīya Dakṣiṇācaraṇ Sen mahāśaýer saṅkṣipta jībanī', *Saṅgīta Bijñān Prabeśikā*, 2 (1332/1925), 39–41.

[169] e.g. Aghoracandra Ghosh, *Saṅgītasāgar* (Calcutta, 1889); Harimohan Mukhopadhyay, *Saṅgīta-sāra-saṅgraha* (Calcutta, 1900–2).

[170] Maharaja Raja Simha and Kamal Krishna Simha, *Rāgamālā o Saṅkṣipta Manasā Pāñcālī* (Calcutta, 1891).

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domain in Calcutta. Secondly, though long established in manuscript transmission, *rāga* and *tāla* indications in printed books conveyed different messages to their readers: as a marker of music rather than literature; as indicative of the musical form of a sounded lyric; as a pedagogical structure for other cognitive aspects of musicology; and as a framework that could be supplemented through additional forms of inscribed suggestion or notation. Finally, the song collections present a range of views about the Hindustani master-musician, the *kalāwant,* and the professional teacher of music: while some collections undermined the *ustād* by offering a manual of self-instruction, others affirmed the knowledge of the consummate professional who could bring the pages to life. As the Bengali genre continued, a new dialectic emerged over how to situate North Indian art music in colonial Bengali society: while some writers continued to demonstrate deference to the expertise of Hindustan, these texts also reflect a growing sense of Bengali mastery in music, made tangible through the printed book.

Songbooks and music treatises in Bengali converged in several respects. Anthologizers explicitly celebrated their engagement with printing technology and editorial processes to draw together local literature, Hindustani musical structures, and (often) Bengali religion. Treatises changed dramatically over the nineteenth century, despite their formal similarities, and drew Hindustani musicology out of a Sanskrit and Persian past into a vernacular Bengali sphere with its own celebrities, conventions, and authorities. Entwined together, these two strands of the print industry forged a regional corpus of literature that saw itself as the heir to, and in many cases the reformer of, Hindustani musical culture. The 'musicologists' concerned (editors, lyricists, musicians, intellectuals, and amateurs) attempted to locate themselves in two arenas: locally, in contradistinction to the lower classes, the 'Anglicized babu', and the old-fashioned *zamīndārī* (land-holding) elites; and on a grander scale, situating Calcutta (or, to a lesser extent, Koch Bihar and Dhaka) in relation to Mughal Hindustan. The reification of a local musicological domain was a reflection of the new Bengali self-assertion as the centre of British India: yet while the Bengalis felt entitled and confident to claim competence in Indian art music, the nature of this claim had two aspects. For some authors, this was a regional victory—a statement of new cultural precedence—and a nail in the coffin of the Mughal episteme. For others, the good fortune of Calcutta demanded that Bengalis should toil to legitimately become the informed custodians of an elite art culture, with the technical acumen to appreciate it.

ABSTRACT

From theoretical treatises to songbooks, literature relating to Hindustani music proliferated in nineteenth-century Bengal. With few exceptions, these innovative Bengali works have received scant attention in studies of colonial-era music, which have focused instead on Anglophone scholarship. Bringing a wider range of vernacular texts into the analysis nuances the landscape of intellectual production, and indicates that nationalist or reformist interests pertained to but one public arena, jostling against several others. This article examines treatises dealing with the theory and history of Hindustani music, demonstrating the journey of Bengali musicology from Persian antecedents to its own system. The field of print production is then diversified

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further through an analysis of song collections, a major genre that disrupts any notion of a uniform sphere of transmission, reading, and listening. Rather than thinking of nineteenth-century music purely in terms of the colonial relationship, this article foregrounds a wider set of competing cultural and aesthetic considerations.