PHENOMENOLOGY OF MUSIC

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONTEMPORARY HINDUSTANI
CLASSICAL ORIENTATION

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that this dissertation entitled "Phenomenology of Music: Critical issues in the Contemporary Indian Classical Music", submitted by Ms. Supriya Seth in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy to the University has not been previously submitted for any other University. This is her original work.

We recommend this work to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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CHAPTER - I STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

- I. Introduction
- II: Music And Society
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- IV. Methodology

Chapter - I

Statement of the Problem

I

The cosmos, the ethos, the world view of each society is unique. It is the outcome of centuries of philosophising on the perennial problems of life, pertaining to existence in general, and day to day social interactions within the society in particular. This is the realm in which concepts, thoughts, symbols, etc. evolve. Systems, institutions or practices recruit 'meaning' to themselves from this realm, leading to the legitimisation and de-legitimisation of their existence.

It can therefore be contended, that the cosmos of each society, and its essential nature will be the determining factor behind the course of development¹ that a society will take. These concepts - whether they are in the form of religion, rationality, philosophy, myth, cultural symbols or shared beliefs and history - will organise the thought system of that society, making it uniquely distinct from the other.

The role of culture is 'to express in symbols' and sign language. These symbols can be used for pedagogic purposes, to bring about change or to maintain the status quo. They become a part of our 'taken-for-granted natural attitude in the everyday

Development here is a wider term and is not used to express the unilinear development from 'underdeveloped' to 'developed' or 'pre-modern to modern' or 'eastern' to 'western'.

life-world' or 'background assumptions', and form a 'shared stock of knowledge', which in turn is responsible for the way we orient ourselves in our everyday lives. These symbols and ideas in the philosophical or the cultural sphere are formed as a result of our day to day interactions with fellowmen.

Even during times of social change, new set of elements like concepts, ideas, experiences will be selectively incorporated with the previously existing systems of the society. The new concepts will either replace the older and obsolete ones, or get modified to be in harmony with the previous ones, or will strengthen certain traditional concepts, thus defining or redefining the basic elements of the existing culture. This is why the impact of Industrialisation and modernisation have not been the same in, say India and Europe. Similarly, the nature, causes and impact of cultural Renaissance in India have not been the same as that in European countries.

Without getting into the questions of whether change comes first in the cultural sphere or in the other spheres which, to my mind is also a futile question, let us note that change in society has a correlation with change in the cultural sphere and by virtue of the same logic in the Musical sphere. In this piece of work an attempt has been made to look at the relationship between Music and Society.

Term often used by Husserl and by the subsequent phenomenologists. Is explained in detail in the third chapter.

A term used by Gouldner

Term often used by Berger and Luckman. Is explained in detail in the third chapter.

П

The question arises, "Is Music Social?" Although humming music to oneself is not a social action, humming to give an impression of a light mood is definitely one. Choosing a song while keeping in mind an audience, singing in Public with a purpose of communicating a feeling or creating an effect; participating in a musical activity while keeping within the rules of composing or performing or critiquing, are examples of social action.

The interaction between instrumentalists and vocalists, listeners, interpreters and the performer is social. The fact that the status of instrumentalists in Indian society today is lower than the status of vocalists, the vocalists are constantly found debating whose approach is closer to perfection and therefore who is 'higher' than the other, the audiences are supposed to applaud at the beginning and end of a performance, even if they have personally not understood its meaning, applauding at certain other places is considered by the artist as an insult, the possibility of elaboration in music lies with the vocalist and not with the accompanist, particular performances high entry-ticket rates thus preventing the participation of certain kinds of audiences, are all examples of the 'social', in the 'musical'. The very purpose of attending a concert could be more than the love of music. Concerts may be attended to socialise or to display fineries. The participation in music and learning it could be to earn or to display one's 'cultural capital'.

See Max Weber : Page

Term coined by Bourdieu

Institutions of learning music have to do with socialisation methods and processes of a society. In fact, much of learning in music calls for imitation of voice and song-style. Moreover, the selection of a musical group or a Guru¹ or Gharana² for apprenticeship is also indicative of the 'social' element in the 'musical action.

The acts of awarding and patronising musical activities are social. Much goes in before deciding and award for a musician - ethnic considerations, family relations or friendship terms with the person deciding the list of awardees, ideological similarities etc. Similarly, the patronage would again depend upon ideological standpoint, loyalty to the state or to the patroniser, opinion of the other artists about the uniqueness and 'usefulness' of a piece of art and the quality of relationship with them

It has been observed quite often that there is a correlation between changes in the society and changes in the cultural and musical spheres. During times of cultural contact with the other societies, along with change in the other spheres, musical styles also undergo a transformation. However, as stated above, these changes are selective, and the element of continuity remains. For example, in Ancient India, music was attached to the devotional and ritualistic side of life. There was a close association with the temple Prabandhas³ in Sanskrit and Dhrupad style of singing. During the muslim rule, a new style of music struck roots in the terrain of court and was influenced by sensuous tastes and inclinations of the rulers. Darbar Dhrupad sung by Tansen is an example of the same.

Term for a traditional music 'teacher' in India

A kind of musical 'lineage' as described by Deshpande: Page

a compositional type popular till about the middle ages. The best known prabandhas are of Jayadeva of the 12th - 13th century.

With new artistic elements, the gulf between theory and practise of music has increased.

However, the fundamental principles and the strong basic framework has remained intact.¹

Along with the changes in the social structures, institutions and philosophies, the musical institutions and the relation between the performer, patron and the audience has also undergone a change. It was, for example only after the renaissance period that music came to the universities² and when the patronage from the kings became scarce, Indian Classical Music was sung in the public concerts. Revival and reform movements returned the lost respect to the musicians. The role of the middle class is no-less known in the preservation of the traditional music.³ As a result, the term 'musician' has been constantly undergoing a shift in meaning.

Music, especially the folk music has been used time and again for socialisation, transmission of the cultural values and passing on other social messages symbolically. The message spread through music can be about Social Change or Social Stability. The music of social movements like Naxalbari and the Independence movement has a big role in bringing about change, whereas the National Anthem of India, though written at the time of Independence by Rabindranath Tagore, signifying a change from centuries of subordination, has now become a symbol of social stability. Therefore, it may further be inferred that music does not have any intrinsic or in-built meaning. Meaning has to do with shared subjectivities, and shared associations.

See Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. Indian Music. See also, the essay by Sumati Mutatkar. Evolution Of Indian Music. In Aspects Of Indian Music. Publications Division. See also, Sharma: Chapter 9 - on Social Change And Music.

Music was introduced in the universities during the early Twentieth Century, by the indigenous efforts of Pandit Vishnu Digamber Paluskar and Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande.

See Coomaraswamy, Sumati Mutatkar and Susheela sharma: op.cit.

Music is being appropriated by the marketing agencies these days to sell their products. They use Audio -Visual products to popularise slogans in the advertisements and hence to create a market for any commodity. The role of advertisements in bringing about change in the lifestyles and consumption pattern of a society cannot be underestimated.

"Music has also been very closely linked with religious practices and mystic experiences." "The common man who sang his sorrows, desires and achievements created the folk songs and ballads which are rich mines of musical and poetic gems." In fact, the link is also the other way round. There are innumerable stories which mystify music, by saying that it has been taught to man by the Gods in the heaven. The myths and stories woven around the ragas and the famous musicians are sociologically significant too.

Ш

In the next chapter, an attempt has been made to take an account of the available material on the Sociology of Music. The first section is introductory, in which I have given general details about the discipline of Sociology of Music, and an account of various approaches towards the same.

See B. Chaitanya Deva. Indian Music. Page 44.

In the second section, the works of Herbert Spencer; George Simmel; Wilhelm Dilthey; Max Weber, Pitrim A. Sorokin; Theodor W. Adorno; Silbermann; Edward W. Said; Janet Wolff; Fabio Dasilva, Anthony Balsi and David Dees, John Shepherd and Simon Frith have been reviewed. Although many people have off and on talked about the social aspects of music, only those authors have been reviewed who have devoted their time and attention to the discipline of 'Sociology of Music', in an organised way. However, this review of literature has been greatly limited due to the non-availability of material. For example, although I am aware of Alfred Schutz writing on music, I have not been able to get hold of the work till now. Much of the work has not been translated from German and French to English. For example, Muziksoziologie by Kurt Blaukopf is a significant work, by virtue of being the first one of this magnitude, totally devoted to this topic. However, Max Mueller Bhavan has only the German version of the work.

In the third section of this chapter, the questions that have commonly been addressed by the sociologists, and which constitute the Problematique of the Sociology of Music have been outlined. This section would be useful in understanding the discourse within which we are going to talk about the Socilogy of Music.

The third chapter is on methodology. Here, a theoretical base has been provided to the Sociology of music, by applying the Phenomenological perspective. Major concepts like taken-for-granted everyday life-world; natural attitude, intentionality, intersubjective world; social construction of reality; objectivisation of subjective reality and subjectivisation of objective reality; reduction; construction; destruction; pure logic; act; action; because motives and the in-order-to motives have been discussed along with a

discussion of the phenomenological theories of Husserl, Schutz, Heidegger, Berger and Luckmann. A thought has been given to the uniqueness of phenomenology as compared to other related methods and to the limitations of the phenomenological method.

In the second section of this chapter, the essay moves on to finding out what would be the nature of Phenomenology of Music? Various concepts of phenomenology have been applied to the field of music with the aim of problematising the field. Examples have been provided to substantiate the argument wherever the need was felt.

In the fourth chapter, an attempt has been made to study the Khayal style of the Hindustani Classical Music, from a phenomenological perspective. An attempt is made to analyse the shared stock of Knowledge and the shared subjectivity, which ascribe meanings to it and the that guide and motivate its participants. Various aspects studied under separate sections are: the shared symbols and the meaning structures in the form of rasa theory; the notion of 'Hindustani' as a construction of the identification and interaction with the 'cultural other'; and the socialisation of the musicians and the audiences.

IV

This work does not view music as a spiritual experience, as many musicians would contend. However, it does not overlook the fact that many people think music to be mystic and sublime, leading to the attainment of Nirvana. Music is also not viewed here as a social fact, existing irrespective of the participating individuals. Nor has it been

viewed as a purely psychological or a purely subjective entity unable to be understood except by the individual himself. At the same time, the role of one's subjective feelings, one's biography, in shaping one's music has not been overlooked.

During the course of research, it was observed that many works aiming at finding out the relationship between society and music, turn to the historical accounts of the society and tracing the corresponding changes in the realm of music. An attempt is made here to avoid ending up writing just another 'Social History of Music'. It is not that the significance of 'historicity' in the understanding of present has been ignored or undermined. In fact, the researcher is fully aware that the present is nothing but a logical culmination of our past. Nor has a water tight compartmentalisation been attempted between the past and the present because the dividing line is thin to the extent of being non-existent. The notion of 'contemporary' is a matter of emphasis rather than being a matter of inclusion-exclusion. It is felt that this would help in sharpening our focus on the 'sociological' as distinct from the 'historical'. In fact, in the last section of the fourth chapter, an attempt has been made to look for the roots of existing orientations and meaning allocations, in the musical interactions and patterns of sound production in the past. Although this would have been a conscious attempt by musicians and philosophers in the past, it has now become a part of the taken-for-granted life-world of the musicians.

Initially, this work was aimed at being a comparative analysis between the Eastern and the Western orientations. However, it was subsequently realised that the understanding of Western music was not just a matter of reading about it or hearing the

recordings. It was a matter of getting socialised into the tradition, meaning allocation, history, dominant ideas and musical debates.

Moreover, since the 'West', like the 'East' or like the 'Indian' is not a homogeneous entity, delimiting the topic became mandatory to make it feasible. The reasons for choosing the 'khayal gayaki' as subject matter were: that the 'Khayal' style of singing is the most popular in the 'contemporary' Hindustani Classical Music. In fact, the Gharanas are a feature of Khayal only, and not of any other style. Second, is my familiarity with this style, due to the nature of my musical training. Third, was the easy availability of maximum literature and guidance along these lines.

The 'Khayal' as a style of singing was first introduced in India by Amir Khusro. The word literally means an 'idea' or an 'imagination'. The credit of popularising this style goes to Niyamat Khan 'Sadarang' and his nephew 'Adarang'. In comparison to Dhrupad, which is sombre, khayal is free and flowery. However, it lacks the epic quality of the former.²

There are two questions to which no direct reference is made in this study, but which have constituted much contemplating during research. These are: the relationship between Literature and Music and the issue of sociology of music as distinct from the sociology of musicians.

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Chaitanya Deva (1992.) (Orig.1973) : Page 39

It is true that much of the impact that we feel in a piece of music depends upon the rhythm in its poetry and the content of its lyrics. Thus an analysis of music cannot be divorced from an analysis of its text. If we look at the history of pre-British India, we will find that the changes in the realm of literature were accompanied by changes in the realm of music. The shift from classicism in literature to the Ritikaleen poetry, which concentrated on the description of beauty and the praise of the bravery of the kings was accompanied by the shifting of music from the temple to the court. In fact, to have a comprehensive understanding of music, we cannot overlook the trends in the realm of other arts.

The sociologist of music should however not overlook the world of sound while looking at the text of compositions and the context of other arts to explain the phenomena in music. Meanings do get constructed in the world of pure sound also. New styles of singing come up and the already existing ones come in and go out of fashion, the structure of sound production also changes because music is appropriated by particular ideologies from time to time, and is given the responsibility to communicate a particular set of ideas at particular points of time.

As far as the issue of sociology of music as distinct from the sociology of musicians is concerned, it must be said that the two are very closely interrelated, and very difficult to separate. Especially in a phenomenological analysis where reality itself is constructed by the actors' unique subjectivity, it becomes difficult to identify the thin dividing line between reality and an individual's subjectivity. In fact, even the institutions

that seem to be objective realities, standing clearly outside the individual, are a social construction.

An attempt has been made to prevent the discussion from getting technical, and wherever a few illustrations are made, they are supplemented by elaborate footnotes.

As far as the sociological input is concerned, the Phenomenological approach has been selected because it is well equipped to handle a subject which is both subjective and objective. By providing the concept of 'relativism', it gives the researcher the space to treat Indian music as a 'Sociological' subject as distinct from an 'Ethnological' subject. By providing the concepts of 'social construction of meaning', it facilitates the study of the 'sociological' in the 'musical'. It also does not ignore the question of 'musicians', their intersubjectivities and the objectivisation of their subjective realities in the form of legitimisation and institutionalisation. The conceptual framework of Phenomenology is therefore comparatively more well equipped to handle the subtle ideas embedded in the musical phenomenon.

Phenomenology is however not well equipped to handle debates like whether music should be for music's sake or it should be for life's sake, because it refuses to take a stand on any issue. It may seem that not taking a stand is 'scientific', but it has the risk of becoming purely descriptive or behaviouristic. Moreover, sociological concepts like the class analysis, cannot be handled by this methodological framework, which are no-less important in any way. By virtue of being a phenomenological analysis, this study will remain short of such aspects.

The analysis of the phenomenological construction of 'Khayal' is done at various levels. First is the analysis of the shared symbols and the meaning structures. Here, the role of rasa theory in ascribing meaning to the ragas is considered. The logic behind such an analysis is that even today, the audience and the poets and the performers feel that the Raga can create the desired effects. The legitimisation of the rasa theory is done with the help of mythological stories, and tales of magic.

Our shared history is also a source of identity formation and as a source of typified responses to the 'cultural other'. Here by history is not meant the discipline of history and the chronology of events, but the survival of the historical memories in the minds of the acting individuals. These may not be remembered as a historical event but as a taken for granted natural attitude towards the life-world which is legitimised by the memories of a glorious past, and recognised the right way of acting. This forms the basis of our intersubjective stock of knowledge and decides the choices that we will make in our everyday lives.

The socialisation process in the form of schools, universities, gharanas, etc. is a major component of natural attitude in the taken-for-granted everyday life-world. The stricter the training, the lesser the space for creativity. Also, since art is the realm of imagination, the content of our imagination would depend largely on what are we deprived of. Here, by 'we' is meant the set of participants in the musical phenomena.

By analysing the above-mentioned four levels of the Hindustani Khayal Gayaki, the shared stock of knowledge and the processes of objectivisation and subjectivisation of the life-world can be deciphered.

This work is aimed at being exploratory in nature. It is a humble attempt to learn about the topic, and not to make a theoretical contribution. It is hoped that this work gives a good idea to the researcher about the Phenomenological discourses, the availability of material on Sociology Of Music, and the possibility of viewing music from the Phenomenological Perspective.

CHAPTER - II SOCIOLOGY OF MUSIC: THE PROBLEMATIQUE

- I. Introduction
 - II. Review Of Literature
- III. Main Issues

Chapter 2

Sociology of Music: The Problematique

·I

Sociology of music is a peculiarly European and a peculiarly eurocentric discipline. Germany, which was considered "A nation of poets and philosophers" has made the maximum contribution to the field of Musical Philosophy. However, the field consists essentially of the Social History of Music, which presumably is viewed in the light of sociological concepts and larger trends. Studies of oriental and primitive music are considered in the province of ethnomusicology, even when their interest is sociological.

Characteristically sociological subjects of investigation include the social and economic position of the musician, the discrimination of music (including the role of technology), musical organisations and institutions; public musical life; taste and criticism; the social determination of style; the music of specifically social purpose and of lower strata (types often neglected by a stylistic orientation); the musical interaction of the various strata of society and particular genres of music (ballet, opera, church music, choral

Hermand and Gilbert: Page xii

For a detailed discussion, see the Harvard Dictionary of Music, under the topic Sociology of Music. Also see Silbermann

Harvard Dictionary of Music under Sociology of Music.

music, convivial music, military music) that are shaped considerably by social forces. The influence of music upon society is as much a part of the field as is the influence of society upon music.¹

There are quite a few philosophers, thinkers and researchers from various disciplines who have contemplated on the relationship between Music and Society.² Music has been touched upon by so many perspectives, and in such a casual way that there is a confusion about the method of approach towards music.

The simplest way of approaching a work of art is that of evaluation. This can be done by listeners. Second way is that of understanding - for this, experts, musicologists, musicians and critics must be consulted. It is considered as a leisure institution by some, a subject matter of culture study by some. The Sociology of Mass, recreation, public, institutionalism and mass communications also concerns the Sociology of Music. Many view it from the point of view of Cantometrics³, measuring the qualities of sound produced and trying to find out the relationship between culture. Many scholars view it from the perspective of Ethnomusicology, and are more concerned in the field studies only.

Some Musico-sociological works ennumerated by Silbermann include: M. Belavine's "Sociologie de la Musique", E. Siegmeister's "Musik und Gesellschaft", Wilfred Mellers' "Music and Society" and S. Borris', "Position of composer". The commercial

Ibid

All the works discussed here were not available to the author. The information about such works is collected from other authors' discussions. Such borrowings are acknowledged by way of notes in the brackets.

[&]quot;Cantometrics". <u>International Encyclopaedia of Communications.</u> Volume-I Page 230 - 233.

Mellers' "Music and Society" and S. Borris', "Position of composer". The commercial aspect of music is brought out in the work of Ch. W. Hughes "The human side of music", the socio-economic aspect in H. Matzke's "Musikokonomik und musikpolitik". K. Blaukopf applies the Weberian concept of 'rationality' in his Musiksoziologie.

Silbermann himself views music from the structural-functional perspective, trying to find out the structure of the relationships between various interest groups in music. There is also the Marxist perspective of Ernst Meyer, who tries to find out the correlation between life situations and music. Jacques Attali looks at the "Political Economy of Music", in his book titled "Noise". Adorno applies the Critical approach to the study of Music to point out the impact of Industrialisation on music. Pitrim A. Sorokin and the trio of Dasilva, Blasi, and Dees treat music as a 'mentality'. However, the meaning they attribute to the concept of 'mentality' is not the same. The symbol school treats music as a mode of communication and tries to find out the symbols embedded in the musical composition. Shepherd, on the other hand tries to look into the sonorousness of music, to find the structures of music. The functionalists have tried to find out the function that music serves in the society. Adorno, though not a functionalist, says that the function of music lies in its not being functional. It simply exists, to fill up the emptiness of this industrial age. Thinkers like Simmel have applied the evolutionist perspective to the development of music.

It is however a fact, that very little work has been done in this field, and much of whatever exists needs to be translated into english and brought together. However, in

See Silbermann : Chapter 2 for a detailed review of literature

the forthcoming section, an attempt is made to give a brief account of the available material on the sociology of music.

П

Herbert Spencer can be called the second founding father of Sociology, preceded by August Comte only. The science of society and of its institutions was for him a positive science of natural phenomena. He divided the universe into three categories: inorganic, organic and superorganic. Society, and hence, Sociology belonged to the realm of superorganic, which was also the highest level of evolution. He contended that the organic and the superorganic bodies reveal "parallels in the principles of organisation".

As Spencer continued to analogise the points of similarity between organicism and societies, he began to develop what Turner called 'Requisite Functionalism' ². That is, Organic and superorganic bodies reveal certain universal requisites that must be fulfilled in order for them to adopt to an environment.³

While writing on 'The Origin and Function of Music⁴, he deems vocal music as an idealisation of the natural language of passion. "All feelings are muscular stimuli and there is a connection between feeling and motion. The vocal peculiarities distinguishing

Turner: Page 42-43

² Ibid.: Page 43

Ibid.: Page 43

Spencer: Page

song from ordinary speech are: loudness, timbre, larger intervals and time. Recitation is intermediate between speech and song.

In relation to the function of music, Spencer says that love of music exists for its own sake. Drawing an analogy between music and speech, he views music as the language of emotions.

George Simmel (1882) can be considered as one of the first European Interactionists who contended that the macro-structure and the processes studied by functional and some conflict theories - class, state, family, religion, evolution - are ultimately reflections of the specific interactions among people. These interactions result in emergent social phenomena, and considerable insight into the latter can be attained by understanding the basic interactive processes that first give and then sustain their existence.¹

His early study of music is motivated by the scientific inadequacy and incompleteness of the Darwinian theory concerning the sexually stimulated origin of music. As a replacement, he proposes an explanation that accounts for the practice of music as a complement to the development of Speech. Speech is the manifestation of social relations and the transformation of speech into music (rhythm and modulations) is explained by the psychological search for adequate expressions. Art music, however, is characterised by certain independence from emotions. It obtains objectivity². This does not mean that feelings disappear altogether from music, but art music does not result

Turner: Page 321

directly from the release of emotional tensions. It is based on the differential application of complicated rules to the setting and creation of music and typical social settings.¹

Keeping in tune with his general analytic position towards social phenomena,² Simmel views music as a social - psychological and not a psychic expression of groups, based on different histories of socialisation and consequently different modes of musical expression³.

Wilhelm Dilthey was never particularly known for being sympathetic to Sociology. He however stimulated sociological discourse in other contexts such as verstehen in historical and sociological analysis. His study of music in Germany has a threefold model of analysis:

- The technical rules governing the musical expressions and forms of a people's music.
- 2) Concern with the cultural and psychological values (emotions).
- 3) Concern with the mutual interaction among musical elements.⁴

Although Dilthey gives equal emphasis to all the three analytical dimensions, subsequent work by other students in Sociology of Music and ethnomusicology has frequently tended to emphasise one or the other dimension at the expense of a more integrated view. Dilthey however, does not show the intrinsic links between technical

Etzkorn : Page 12-13

² Interactionist perspective

Etzkorn: Page 13
Etzkorn: Page 5

rules of music and the emotive states of the musician. Nor does he help in exploring the foundation of these rules. His nominalistic orientation prevented him from formulating a more sociological approach to music - for him, music is an individual expression.¹

Max Weber directs much attention to establishing the legitimacy of social scientific inquiry in matters musical and cultural.² While Simmel devotes considerable effort to demonstrating the total integration of music into the societal fabric and indeed manages to integrate his analysis of music with that of certain forms of heightened societal experiences, Weber appears to view music more as a resultant of particular social emanations than as an intrinsic nexus of all.³

He devotes much of his argument to prove that the contemporary music is growing more and more rational. He referred to the most disparate social developments: origin of Western monasticism; domination of feudal structures of middle ages; participation of women in choral singing and influence of language on the development of melody. Two moments: development of modern notations; and modern instruments were responsible for the rational development of Western music, according to Weber. ⁴ For Weber, 'rationalisation' in music means that there is a trend towards the smoothest utilisation of the tonal material in terms of avoiding possible disharmonious interference of the musical overtones amongst each other. Hence his study is predominantly suggestive of an acoustical analysis of the various tonal systems. For Weber, harmonic music was more

NR(44):9

Etzkorn : Page 6

See Weber, Max. The Rational And Social Foundations Of Music. Introduction by Martindale, Don; Riedel, Johannes and Neuwirth, Gertrude.

³ Etzkorn : Page 14 ⁴ Kasler : Page 168-173

rational than the melodic one because it called for the blending together of many melodies at the same time.¹

Western Music as the ideal type, any other music becomes less rationalised. Moreover, the tonal materials that recognise the octave and the division of its parts into some order are rationalised. While examining the tonal systems, he comes to the conclusion that technological developments affect the rationalisation of tonal systems, as they also affect other spheres of social life.²

Weber never discussed musical phenomena without its physical sound properties and he hoped that a value-free sociology will be able to contribute to the enhancement of our knowledge of a value loaded realm like culture.³

Pitrim A. Sorokin was convinced that 'interaction' must be the single-most important and determinative unit in terms of which social phenomenon should be analysed. However, he was not convinced with personality as the subject of social interaction. He was also involved in a study of society as the totality of those interacting personalities ⁴. He believed that both personality and society rested upon the foundation of culture.⁵

His position towards socio-cultural phenomena is based on the concept of 'mentalities'. These distinct and identifiable mentalities impress their meanings or

¹ Etzkorn: Page 14

Etzkorn: Page 15

Etzkorn : Page 15

Abraham and Morgan: Page 229
Abraham and Morgan: Page 232

meaning-systems upon definite time periods in the universal history of mankind. He identified three major "cultural mentalities" - sensate, ideational, and the idealistic. Based on these three mentalities, he gives three fundamental principles which constitute the cornerstones of his theory of social change and cultural change.

- 1) The Principle of cyclical change
- 2) The principle of immanent change
- 3) The principle of limit¹

In his work "Social and Cultural Dynamics" (1937), the twelfth Chapter "Fluctuations of Ideational, sensate and mixed forms of music", deals with the definition of these forms of music and the fluctuation of the main styles in time and space. He also analytically proves in this chapter that there is a concurrence between changes in music and in other art forms. ²

The larger concern of Sorokin's study is a study of the change and fluctuation of "ideational", "idealistic" and "sensate" cultures. As distinct from Sensational music, in Ideational music the emphasis is not on how it sounds - pleasant or unpleasant - but what is hidden behind the sounds for which they are mere signs or symbols." ³ "These two forms of music represent two different mentalities, two different attitudes towards the world of sound and the world of reality." Theatricalism, Quantitative colossalism, the complication of the texture of music and the deliberate creation of technical difficulties,

¹ Ibid. : Page 232-237

Etzkorn : Page 24

³ Etzkorn : Page 24

Quoted by Etzkorn on page 24, from Sorokin's book Social and Cultural Dynamics (1937), Chapter 12 "Fluctuations of Ideational, Sensate, and mixed forms of music"; Page 533.

the substitution of technique for genius and the amazing technical virtuosity of the performers characterise Sensate music. 1

This attitudinal definition of types of music might be called nominalistically oriented, since it is through the definition of the beholder that the aspects of stimulus are assigned to the respective category. Etzkorn points out that the classification of Sorokin raises a difficulty, because in one case, he bases the category on "how it sounds" and in the other, "what it means". Therefore, both the categories can be applicable simultaneously. ²

Theodor W. Adorno's concern with the changing role of art music in contemporary mass society, as compared with the past, is the central focus of all his works on music. His analysis of art music and its composers, of popular music, of radio and television music, always provide him with an opportunity to search for the negative influences of social institutions of mass society on music.

Although the "Objectivisation of music as an art had been dependent on its rationalisation and on its detachment from mere utility, the very rationalisation as carried through under the capitalist economic order introduced a perfect alienation between music and men. 4

In his book, "The Philosophy of New Music" (1949), he emphasises that the production and appreciation (Consumption) of music falls under two separate classes:

Etzkorn : Page 24

Etzkorn : Page 24

Etzkorn : Page 19

Ibid. : Page 19

Music that accepts the characteristics of merchandise and follows the demands of market and music that declines to be sold to the market.¹

In his study titled "On Popular Music", he shows that the composer works with a set of standardised rules and how the market receives the pieces of popular music one undifferentiated from the other. If he wants a song to become a success, he must see to it that it does not become too different from the standard forms; yet it must be different enough to become distinguishable from other pieces. Thus, popular music is merchandised as a commodity of the market.

In his book "An Introduction to the Sociology of Music", Adorno writes that Sociology of Music is knowledge of the relation between music and the socially organised individuals who listen to it." ² He therefore makes a classification of the listening types, which according to him are qualitatively characteristic profiles. They are points of crystallisation, determined by reflecting on the principles of the Sociology of Music. The categories are:

- 1. The expert. Fully conscious listener who tends to miss nothing and at the same time accounts to himself for what he has heard. His "Structural hearing" is limited to professional musicians worth nothing.
- 2. Good listener. Hears beyond musical details, and makes connections spontaneously, judges for good reasons, not just by categories of prestige and by arbitrary

See Adorno's essay "On Popular Music". Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung, 9:17-49, 1941 Also see Etzkorn: Page 20
Adorno: Page 1

taste; but he is not, or not fully aware of the technical or structural implications. In short, "A musical person," threatening to disappear.

- 3. The Culture Consumer. Voracious listener, well informed, collector, respects Music as a cultural asset, indulges in hoarding, and his structure of hearing is atomistic. His relationship to music has a fetishistic touch. He hears for the joy of 'consumption'.
- 4. Emotional listener. This relation is less rigid and indirect, farther removed from perception. Music is a source of irrationality, and he is easily moved to tears. His links with culture consumer are continuous. He is Naïve and ha the potential for being a "sensuous listener".
- 5. Resentment listener. Stark anti-type to emotional listener, and the structure of hearing is static. He scorns the official life of music as washed out and phantasmic, but he does not strive beyond it. He is loyal to the work of art. Reifies the music of times he fancies. He is against the dominant commodity character. Recruited largely from the upper petty bourgeoisie, which faced social decline. Their consciousness as well as attitude towards music results from the conflict between social position and ideology. e.g. The jazz expert.
- 6. The Entertainment Listener. Is the type the culture industry is made for.

 Correlated with a widely noted phenomenon with a levelled Unitarian ideology.

- 7. Addicted listener. Extreme of entertainment listener. Structure of hearing is equal to smoking, to fill emptiness. Addiction is one possible reaction to the atomisation which parallels the compression of the social network. "Leave me alone" into something like an illusionary private realm, where he thinks he can be himself.
- 8. Miscellaneous. A series of a listeners, from the man who cannot work without the blare of radio to one who kills time and paralyses loneliness by filling his ears with the illusion of 'being with' no matter what; to the lovers of medleys and musical comedy tunes; to those who value music as a means of relaxation, finally to a group one must not underestimate: to the genuinely musical who have been barred from musical education, "folk musicians"

9. Musically indifferent, the unmusical and the anti-musical. 1

With regard to the Function of music in the society, Adorno says that it will simply not suffice to say that its function is 'entertainment'. Because how can people be entertained by something that will not reach their conscious and unconscious at all?

"Music-simply exists". "Irrational and functionless"². In the function of functionless, truth and ideology entwine - resulting in the autonomy of the work of art. At the same time, profit takes the functionless into its service and degrades it to meaninglessness and irrelevancy.

See Adorno: chapter 1 of an introduction and the Sociology of Music.

See Adorno: the 4th chapter of an introduction to the Sociology of Music has been devoted to the concept of function.

Corresponding is an equally ideological role - distraction - preventing people from reflecting on themselves and their world, and persuading them at the same time that since this world provides such an abundance of enjoyable things it must be in good shape. According to psychoanalytic theory of music, it is a defence mechanism, directed against paranoia or persecution mania, the peril of the individual without relationships. ¹

We may note here that the concept of 'function' of Adorno is not the same as that of the functionalists". He talks of the function of music, to point out the decay in modern music, and to criticize the role of 'fetishisation' and 'industrialisation' of music.

"If music is really ideology and not truth, what is its relationship to social classes"? Next, he says, The concept of strata may not be confused with the concept of class. The origin, the social background of composers is also not related to class. Empirical Sociology tries to indicate a correlation between upper stratum and idealistic versus lower stratum and realistic music. Yet the purely hedonistic music consumed below stairs is even more unrealistic.

Music is not ideological pure and simple; it is ideological only insofar as it is a false consciousness. Music may turn ideological when its social reflections make it take the standpoint of a consciousness that looks correct from without but conflicts with its own inner composition and its necessities and thus with the things it can express.

Ibid.

He feels, that the intramusical tensions are the unconscious phenomena of social tensions. Ever since the industrial revolution, all of music has been suffering from the chasm between their traditional encompassing forms and the specific musical occurrence within those forms.

Alphons Silbermann's work on the Sociology of Music can be distinguished from the other works as "less dogmatic and more empirical in orientation." ¹ He defines Sociology of Music as "A science that attempts to understand the human and social aspects of life from within and without." Its task is to determine the essential forms of musical activity and the social groups that congregate around this activity. Sociology is the study of the effects of music on man's social life.

According to Etzkorn, Silbermann's significance to the field consists less in his having provided a system of pronouncements concerning stipulated relationships between music and society than in his pursuit of questions about the social practices of musical life and in his insistence that these questions be asked through the employment and refinement of methods borrowed from other sociological approaches to the study of cultural manifestations.²

Edward W. Said in his book "Musical Elaborations" makes three significant points, which add to the ongoing debates in the Sociology Of Music. One, he tries to remain conscious of the ideal purity of the individual experience and of its public setting. He feels that both the aspects of music cannot be ignored or underestimated. Second,

29

Etzkorn : Page 23

Ibid.

while he agrees with Adorno about the existence of a relatively distinct entity called "Western Classical Music", he at the same time feels that this entity "is far from coherent or monolithic" and "It is being constructed with non-western, non-classical music and cultures very much in mind. Third, he finds unacceptable the Hegelian argument of Adorno, which presumes an inescapable historical teleology." Classical music participates in the differentiation of social space and unfolds in a highly rarefied temporal duration, though recordings have changed the fact considerably.

Janet Wolff contends that the notion that art transcends the social, the political and the everyday has been under attack for fifteen years or so, in a concerted development of work across a number of disciplines, which is a result of the industrial revolution which changed the status and conditions of production, promoting the individual artist as a creator of his work.⁵

She feels that since culture is a social product, the study of culture and the arts must accordingly be sociologically informed. Some of the social processes which have been involved in the production of art are: contemporary forms of patronage, dominant institutions of cultural production (censorship, control of certain institutions, funding); the sociology of cultural producers (background, class, gender); and the nature of constitution of consumers (literacy rates, availability of cheap materials as a result of improvement in printing, reproduction and other technological developments, social

See Said : Page xiv

² Ibid.

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⁴ Ibid.: Page-

See the introduction by Janet Wolff, in Leppert and Mc Clany: Page-1

divisions among audiences, viewers, readers). The history of any art is the history of interplay of these many factors.¹

She further contends that the division between both high art and popular art and the so called lesser arts is based on social, rather than aesthetic distinctions.² The distinction has, historically been closely tied to gender differences in the production of culture. The relative invisibility of women in the history of the arts is the result of a variety of exclusionary practises, changing from one period to another, but always discriminating against women.³

She argues strongly that art is always ideological, not in the sense that it contains a political message, but in that its meanings are the representations of the extra aesthetic. Meanings are never fixed and a reading is always a re-reading.⁴ Therefore, the non-representational character of music is no explanation for its exemption from the sociological analysis. Secondly, representational art as much as non-representational art is inadequately comprehended in an analysis which deals only with content, character and narrative. The development of structuralist and semiotic modes of analysis has demonstrated that meaning is constructed at a variety of levels.⁵

Fabio Dasilva, Anthony Blasi, and David Dees in their work on the "Sociology Of Music" show that musical conduct is inter-human, inter-personal or social

Leppert and Mc. Clary: Page 1,5

Ibid.: Page 5

Ibid.: Page 6

⁴ Ibid. : Page 8

Ibid.: Page

Fabio Dasilva, Anthony Blasi, and David Dees in their work on the "Sociology Of Music": Page

in the same way as thought is social. A musician enacts a composer's intentions and a composer's creation does not reach fulfilment until performed. Thus, in music actors influence each other and there is a relatedness between two or more subjectivities.

Another inherent aspect of sociality is the community. Some musical communities are marked by particular styles, schools and standards. Others focus on certain business markets. Others still arise as alternatives to the market-oriented communities.²

Along Phenomenological lines, the authors approach music as a 'mentality' whose forms establish social processes. In approaching music as a mentality, we face the paradox between seeing music as a form of social expression and its intentions being individual ³. This tendency is termed as 'Dialectics' by the writers which refers to the emergent totalities which need to be recognised before individual elements can be assessed. The dialectical nature of music may cause unlimited consequences like example standardisation, which is not an accident of technology but a form of imitation. Musical interaction always occurs in a musical culture.⁴

The importance of the idea of reality in the study of music has been emphasised by the writers. Accordingly, one must accept the idea that different collectivities of people order and assess their music by quite different principles and therefore one cannot say that one collectivity's music is better or worse than another's.

Ibid.: 3,4,5

Ibid. : 5

Bid.: 6

l Ibid.

Moreover, the feeling of naturalness is entirely a matter of social construction. What one generation sets as an arrangement of convenience, the next receives as a fixed order of the universe.

Since the social reality is mentalistic and music is one of these mentalistic realities, the writers look for the structure of mentality as described by the Phenomenologists wherever that structure is made evident in the musical conduct.

A little different emphasis can be seen in the work of *John Shepherd* "Music as a Social Text", who argues for an emphasis on the 'sonorousness' in music, while doing the sociological analysis of music. Thus, he feels that "Music is indeed pervasively social".²

Although some musicologists may wish to argue that this territory is more legitimately the preserve of sociologists, communications scholars and cultural theorists, according to Shepherd, to turn to the study of the majority of contemporary musics over such intellectual areas will probably result in music continuing to be studied with scant references to its sonic qualities. He argues that the sound of music is heavily implicated in the process of meaning construction, although not in a determining fashion. ³

Berger and Luckman 1967 in Ibid. :20

Shepherd: Page 5

The central assumption of the book written by Shepherd, titled "Music as a social text" is the view that the meaning of music is somehow located in its function as a social symbol. "Meaning" usually refers to something outside it.²

The argument has been instituted against those, who look for "meaning of music within the structure of individual pieces. They argue that music is a set of symbols which has no referrent in the world of objects and ideas. The symbol in music is taken to be its own meaning and the content of music is taken to be its form. Langer and Meyer in an attempt to overcome this tautology claim that the meaning or content of music, in deriving from the structural conformity of music and psychological processes, resides 'outside' music in the mental lives of the individual.

Shepherd however argues by way of oral-aural and visual-world senses that the seeming transcendence by Langer and Meyer of the form and content, symbol and meaning dichotomy is in fact a partial transcendence because it fails at the same time to transcend the structurally related dichotomy of physical and mental, outer and inner.³

The Oral Aural Dichotomy - Pre-literate people seem to sense themselves as being at the centre of a sound-universe, which is dynamic and bounding with energy. Sound is symptomatic of the flow of time, evokes a sense of space, and is symptomatic of energy. Change in pre-literate societies then tends to be continual or gradual rather than infrequent and radical and something of which the pre-literate people are not conscious.

See Shepherd, "Music as a social text" : Page 13

Ibid.: Page 13

Shepherd: Page 19

Shepherd : Page 21

The form - content dichotomy - Literacy lays the foundation for the separation of history from myth. It emphasises the visual at the expense of auditory. Sound underlines the dynamic immediacy of the environment, visual stimuli underline the distancing and separateness of events and objects from each other and individual people. Sound underlines immediacy in time, vision underlines distance in space.

Literacy may be ideographic and phonetic ². Phonetic literacy encodes the sounds people make in speaking, ideograms encode directly the objects and concepts about which people speak. Power of literacy to alter the orally mediated knowledge is massive as compared to the ability of the oral people. It is phonetic literacy which is instrumental in creating an epistemological dichotomy between form and content.

Inner-outer dichotomy - The distinction between form and content, that we take for granted is specific to phonetically literate societies, and that the conundrum the absolutists find themselves in is inextricably linked to that distinction i.e. if the form of music is its content, how can it have any content (significance) at all? ³

The distancing inherent in the meaning-symbol dichotomy of phonetic literacy greatly reinforces the emphasis on visual space that results with any form of literacy. This reinforcement has consequences for people's relationship to themselves, to others and to the physical environment. The inter-subjective designation of self does not require the presence of the "significant other". Literate people can put others and environment at a

Shepherd :Page 25

Shepherd : Page 26

Ibid.: Page 29

distance and become conscious of self in a manner not easily possible for pre-literate people. 1

Literate people can exist "outside" time in the same way as they can partially exist apart from themselves and their society and in the same way as their intense sense of an isolated consciousness and their sense of the environment from a human-like volition. ²

Simon Frith in his book titled 'Music For Pleasure' discusses the fate of rock in current times. He argues that the rock era was something of a 'diversion' in the twentieth century popular music rather than a full revolution. It was an attempt to preserve the originality of the performer and the performance as a context in which technological advances were rendering such originality obsolete. The ease with which rock music has become incorporated into a commodified universe confirms its separation the Jazz and black musical forms which were its inspiration. Rock songs today have become advertising jingles. Yet the processes of commodification always throw up counter-reactions. The demise of rock is sometimes described in terms of fragmentation and thus assimilated to postmodernism, but there may be upsurges of protest and disaffection which take musical form and which throw into confusion, even if only temporarily, the orthodox frameworks of popular music.

A number of studies of music in social systems by musicologists and music historians have been less directly concerned with postulating relationships between elements of analysis and scientific generalisation. E.g. Arnold Schering (1877-1941)

Ibid.: Page 30

Ibid. : Page 30

distinguishes between musical types by referring to the institutional setting in which the music is generally performed or for which it is intended by its composer. (Schering 1931). On this basis he suggests that in the history of the Western World, music has three main functions. It is used originally in connection with religious cults. At a later stage, it is employed also for the benefit of the secular community and last, it primarily serves the aesthetic gratification of the listeners. He proposes that different types of social organisations are characteristically correlated with these musical types and consequently, there are also different patterns of social relationships that are correlated with the performance of these types and consequently, there are also different patterns of social relationships that are correlated with the performance of these types of music. The tasks for Sociology are to give an historical account of the changing functions of music in society and the various forms of society in which music is performed.

Gerhard Pinthus does a formal analysis of musical styles (Pinthus 1932). He searches for an explanation of different stylistic phenomena in the varying structures of the performer-audience relationship. By paying special attention to the structure of the audiences, he presents a coherent history of changing musical styles in Western music as they are paralleled by changes in the audiences. Pinthus' sources show that stylistic changes are introduced when the social structures of the performance situation change. For this reason, he believes that it can be shown that each musical style is addressed to an audience of distinct social characteristics, and when a society becomes increasingly differentiated, appreciation of the arts and of musical styles differs according to social subclasses

According to Walter Serauky (1903-1959), Sociology should make intelligible for us why a certain style may have emerged in the social and cultural structure of a given period, and thus clarify the sociological prerequisites and conditions involved.

The 'symbol-school', although uninfluenced by psychology, sees in every art only a conscious or unconscious symbolism. *M. Belvaine* in Sociologie de la musique looks at the crisis of birds and animals as symbols of the social value of music. *E. Siegmeister* in his book music and Gesellschaft attempts to prove that music, is influenced by tensions and circumstances of society. The 'social task of music' for him is limited to symbolism like magic, ritual and ceremony. *Wilfred Mellers'* 'sociological' study of music is equally concerned with symbols and conventions, to discover the 'precise relationship between the musical and the social conventions of an age.' Between the symbol school, sociology of music, and the social history of music stands *S. Borris* who both insists and proves that the traditional equipment of the study of music, the analysis of form and schemes showing the development of styles is no longer enough, and the findings of ethnology, sociology and the psychology of cultures are also necessary. ¹

П

We therefore infer from the foregoing discussion, that there are certain issues which are discussed by all the thinkers, and which form the problematique of the Sociology of Music.

Silbermann: 55-55

The Sociology of Music is founded on the contention that 'Music is 'Social'.

This is opposed to those who deem music to be spiritual, enabling the participants to come closer to God and to those who view music as psychological, being practised as a result of sexual frustrations of the individual.¹ The Sociologists have subjected music to a class analysis, and a Gender analysis. They have analysed the interaction processes in music.

The question that arises is that of 'the extent to which it is social'. Evolutionists like Herbert Spencer contend that there is an intrinsic direction of development which the living things follow. Therefore, in order to express the intricate feelings, human beings develop the art of recitation and thereafter the art of singing. This need to communicate, however, is the result of the logic of evolution. The logic of evolution is also followed to some extent by the Marxists. To some extent, Weber in his analysis of 'Rationality' also contends that the logic of development is a linear growth towards Rationalisation. The sociologists like Simmel do not agree with this view and contend that music is the result of social interactions. Phenomenologists like Dasilva, Blasi, and Dees apply the concept of relativism to prove that the notion of 'beautiful' is socially constructed, and hence we cannot build a hierarchy between the musics of various cultures.

This also throws a light on the notions of the reasons behind the emanation of music. While for an Interactionist like Simmel, it emanates as a result of the integration with the societal fabric, for Weber, it emanates as a result of particular social emanations like the renaissance, and for Adorno, like the Industrialisation.

Freud contends that all artistic activities are a result of some sort of sexual frustrations, and are the employed to attract the person of the opposite sex. This is exactly the reason why artistic tendencies are found more often among young people, and disappear after marriage.

Related further to this view is the question whether development and Modernity is 'Desirable' or 'Undesirable' for the society, and for music. Liberals and the Evolutionists, who attach a sense of essential 'superiority' to modernity, would feel easy with the role of technology and Rationalisation in music. Adorno, however, is acutely aware of the development of the 'fetish' character of music, due to the 'Culture Industry' There are however, theorists who, in an attempt to remain neutral remain silent on this issue.

'Is music is subjective, or is it objective?' or in other words, 'Is Music Private of Public?' is another most often addressed problem. Some thinkers contend that music is essentially subjective, therefore making the possibility of de-coding the 'meaning' in a work entirely remote. Taken to methodology, many theorists therefore start analysing the 'Behavioural aspects' of the Musical interaction. Many feel that the subjective meanings during the course of intersubjective exchanges come to form the stock of meanings. Others however look for the semantic aspects by treating music as a set of symbols shared by the participants, used to communicate those feelings which cannot be expressed through language. However, thinkers like Edward W. Said, however, deems music to be both, and try to balance their argument.²

Somewhat related to this debate is the question 'Whether Music should be treated as a science, as an art?' Once again, the theorists, who treat music as 'rational', as a 'social fact' existing outside of the individual, and those who look into the acoustics of

Adorno, Theodor W. Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture (ed. J.M. Bernstein) London; Roultedge. 1991. vii + 178 pages.

music, like Cantometrics, deem it to be scientific, and the others, who deem it to be 'Emotional', 'Subjective', and 'socially constructed categorise it under arts or Humanities.

Another problem that is often addressed by the writers is 'Where should one look, for finding meaning in music'. Some researchers believe in the inseparability of the arts, and feel that music and musical compositions cannot be separated from the poetry that is composed and the other art forms like writing the playwright. However, there are writers who contend that meaning in music should be searched in the sound of music only. Depending upon the view that they have about the private v/s the public character of music, they may attribute the 'meaning to be social by virtue the 'Emotional' being a part of the 'social', or by virtue of being 'Social' in terms of its relationship with the social variables. In an attempt to look into the social aspects of music, Silbermann has applied the method of applying the structural - functional approach to understand the way in which the 'social relations' get formed around the activity of music-making.

Thus, we may infer, that the musical analysis is conducted by some thinkers at the micro level and by the others at the macro level, depending upon whether they are applying the micro or the macro sociological theories. Theories like Marxism, structural-functionalism, Functionalism, etc. would indulge in the macro - analysis, whereas theories like symbolic interactionism, Dramaturgical analysis etc. would look into the micro - aspects.

Commenting on the 'Function' of music, the functionalists would suggest its role as a mode of communication and entertainment. Some philosophers like Carl Philipp

and Emanuel Bach believe that a musician cannot move until he himself is moved. He therefore must be able to experience all emotions that he wishes to awaken in his audience. However, this idea has been disputed by E. Hanslick on the ground that the beautiful generates no emotions. Music has been compared very often with speech and through the semiotic approach, the sound signals and calls are looked into. Theorists like Adorno and Simmel emphasise that music 'exists' pure and simple; irrational and functionless.

International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences: under music and society.

CHAPTER - III PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF MUSIC

- I. Phenomenology: the intellectual discourse
- II. Phenomenology of Music

Chapter III

Phenomenological Approach to the Study Of Music.

I

The Greek word Phainein means "To show". Phainemenon means "that which appears". Phenomenology is the orderly study of phenomena, or appearances.¹

The Phenomenological Perspective to Sociology offers a radical alternative to the Positivist methodology ². A Phenomenologist distinguishes between the subject matter of the social sciences and the natural sciences. The natural sciences deal with matter, which is outside the individual and has no consciousness. Therefore, its behaviour can be explained as a reaction to the external stimuli. However, unlike matter, man has consciousness and he sees, interprets and experiences the world in terms of meanings, and he as a result, actively constructs his own social reality.

Phenomenology is founded on the belief that meanings do not have an existence of their own, separate from social actors ³. Infact, whenever we experience something, its quality and value may not be known immediately. It is through constant reflection, interaction with others and by looking into the past and projecting about the

See "Phenomenology" in The International Encyclopaedia Of Social Sciences

² Haralambos: 497

Haralambos : 498

future, that we come to decide the meaning behind an experience. When a particular meaning is shared by everyone and is attributed to an experience again and again, it becomes a typified perception of the objectand forms the shared stock of knowledge of the taken for granted everyday life world² of that society. This is also termed as 'intersubjectivity' by Schutz. It may also be noted that the perceptions of the world are 'intentional' in the sense that consciousness is always the consciousness of something. Experience is a priori, and it is this which guides the actor to choose one of the many available typified perceptions of the experience.

The task before the Sociologist, therefore is to direct his/her attention to this everyday life-world, and make an attempt to grasp the fundamental aspects of the everyday life, by the act of 'Reduction'.

Phenomenological ideas, have a rooting in some early thinkers like Kant and Hegel. Kant, in his 'Critique of Pure reason' tries to show the possibility of 'pure reason', and hopes to exalt it above the impure knowledge which comes to us through the distorting channels of sense. "Pure reason meant knowledge that is independent of all sense experience; belonging to us by the inherent nature and structure of mind.³

Arguing that truth is 'a priori' (true before experience) he lays the foundations for a transcendental philosophy. He identifies two stages in the process of working up the raw material of sensation into the finished product of thought; a) co-ordination of

experience here could mean an object in the outside world, an interaction, a belief, an artistic performance or anything that we encounter in our everyday lives.

[&]quot;lebenswelt" was the term given by Husserl.

sensations by applying to them the forms of perception-space and time, and b) co-ordination of the perceptions so developed by applying to them 'categories' of thought. The first stage is called transcendental aesthetic where the word esthetic implies sensation or feeling, and the second stage as transcendental logic, where logic means the science of the forms of thought.¹

It is the philosophy of Husserl however which deals in an organised way with the phenomenological method for the first time. Husserl, to begin with was a mathematician and a physicist. He later on turned to the study of philosophy of science and endeavoured to study the 'pure logic'; He was interested in establishing a "Presuppositionless Science", aimed at disclosing the absolute ground of human knowledge. ²

It was Husserl's contention that humans know about the world only through experience. All notions of the external world are mediated through the senses and can only be known through mental consciousness. ³ Human beings however take this life world for granted and presume that they experience the same world and therefore share their subjectivity. This taken-for-granted life-world however, structures people's actions and thoughts.

The philosophical alternative to the social sciences is the search for the essences of consciousness by the radical abstractions of the individual from his

Ibid : Page 267-268

Abraham and Morgan: 247

See Turner: Chapter 14

interpersonal experiences. The investigation must suspend their natural attitude and discover "Pure Mind".¹

Husserl cotends that this can be done "reflectively". The first step is the elimination of all preconceived notions "initial suspension of all beliefs in the outer world". This is also known as "bracketing" in an act of phenomenological "reduction". What is left after the elimination of all ontological assumptions are the given processes of human consciousness and their "intended objects". The latter are now no longer understood as objects in the outer world but as "unities" of "sense" or "meaning" in the "inner world" of the conscious individual.

The process of reduction in order to reveal "Pure Logic" has been explained in detail and developed by Heidegger. Heidegger distinguishes between the scientific philosophy and philosophy as a world view.² World-view always includes a view of life.³ World-view is a matter of coherent conviction which determines the current affairs of life more or less expressly and directly. It arises out of the particular factical existence of the human being, in accordance with his factical possibilities of thoughtful reflection and attitude-formation.⁴

Philosophy on the other hand is ontological - the theoretical conceptual interpretation of being, of being's structure and its possibilities. In contrast, a world-view

Turner: Chapter 14. See also Stroker: Page 5

Heidegger : Page 4

Ibid : Page 5
Ibid : Page 6

falls outside the range of philosophy's tasks because philosophy in principle does not relate to beings.¹

The three basic components of the phenomenological method are therefore: phenomenological reduction, phenomenological construction, and destruction. "For Husserl, the *Phenomenological Reduction* is the method of leading phenomenological vision from the natural attitude of the human being whose life is involved in the world of things and persons back to the transcendental consciousness and its noetic-noematic² experiences, in which objects are constituted as correlates of consciousness." ³

Results obtained on this level are subjected to a second process of reduction; they are purged of every empirical and psycho-physical element." By disregarding the "factual side of the phenomena," the "eidos" of the a priori forms of experience is discovered. With it, "eidetic phenomenology" is constituted. Heidegger calls this as the *Phenomenological Construction*." However, "The store of basic philosophical concepts derived from the philosophical tradition is still so influential today that all philosophical discussion, even the most radical attempt to begin all over again, is pervaded by traditional concepts and thus by traditional horizons and traditional angles of approach. *Destruction* is a critical process in which the traditional concepts, which at first must necessarily be employed, are de-constructed down to the sources from which they were drawn." 5

Ibid : Page 11-12

Noesis is the conscious process of experiencing. Noema deals with the object of experience.

Heidegger: Page 21

Heidegger : Page 22
Heidegger : Page 22-23

Husserl's phenomenological psychology extends beyond the boundaries of the individual consciousness. It is concerned with intersubjectivity as well as with subjectivity. Thus, he suggested noema in noesis - extending reductive method from one's own self-experience to one's experience to other selves. He even spoke of an "intersubjective reduction" of "common consciousness" to that which unites "individual consciousness in the phenomenological unity of the social life."

It should however be noted that the phenomenology of Husserl is a theory of humility which calls for constant debunking of the outside world, the object of consciousness; the observing individual by himself, the individual's consciousness and the method of objectifying that consciousness viz. the concepts and the language.

It is this constant debunking, and the concept of subjectivity, that gives rise to the concept of relativism, which later on forms a fertile ground for the theory of Post-modernism. However, it may be noted here, that the concept of Relativism in phenomenology, unlike post-modernism, keeps the possibility of a dialogue between two subjective perceptions alive, through the concepts of typification or sedimentation of experience in the natural attitude and shared subjectivity or intersubjectivity.

It may also be noted that though phenomenology tries to reject the positivist methodology by recognising the role of subjectivity in the process of observation, it ultimately returns to positivism. It is heading towards an ultimate generalisation, a return to 'pure logic' and 'common consciousness'. Further, the attempts to achieve this goal by

the suspension of all assumptions and hypothesis about 'how things are', is a 'vain endeavour'

The ¹Husserlian concept of bracketing is criticised because it is paradoxical.

"Instead of co-performing this belief in being, I am to abstain from it. Reflecting upon knowing, I am to put out of action precisely that which makes the performance of knowledge a matter of knowing: the belief that the object of knowledge actually exists, that it is a real object, not just an intentional one." However, this paradox is only at the face of it. The researcher lives in his natural attitude and only while reflecting he brackets his/her faith in being.²

Alfred Schutz, who is credited with taking forward the Husserlian philosophy, and giving it the sociological content, felt that Husserl was "not conversant with the concrete problems of the social sciences." ³ He felt that his repeated attempts at solving the problems of intersubjectivity on the level of transcendental phenomenology had ended in failure.

In terms of its most fundamental points of departure, the work of Schutz may be considered a synthesis of Husserl and Weber. But this synthesis was accomplished in long processes of selection, adaptation and modification of relevant components of the theories of both, resulting not in a simple recombination of these components, but in their

See Stroker for a detailed discussion: Pg 61 onwards.

See the article by R. E. Best

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transformation into the building stones of a self sufficient phenomenological sociological theory. 1

Weber² defines sociology as "a science which attempts to understand social action interpretatively and, thereby, to explain it causally in its course and effects." "Human conduct is considered action only when and in so far as the acting person attaches a meaning to it and gives a direction which, in turn can be understood as meaningful." Such intended and intentional conduct becomes social if it is directed upon the conduct of others.

Weber insisted that Sociology should be centrally concerned with the subjective meaning of social conduct. He used the term subjective meaning in more than one ways: meaning which the actor himself ascribes to his conduct as well as the meaning that sociology imputes on the conduct of an observed actor. In the latter case, he again envisaged two possibilities: either the sociologist tries to find what would be a typical average of the meaning numerous persons ascribe to the same type of social actor; or he constructs an extreme or 'ideal type' of such conduct, showing its characteristics under 'pure conditions'. an ideal type of action is based on the assumption of strictly rational conduct on the ideal-typical actor. ³ Weber chose to concentrate on the ideal typical rational social conduct.

'Understanding' according to Weber may be empathic or rational. Weber was primarily concerned with rational understanding. Such understanding may issue from the

Ibid. : Page 11

Weber, Max. Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft.

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direct observation of an actor and thus constitute "actual understanding" or it may be based on the understanding of motivations for the observed action: in this case, it is "explanatory understanding". 1

Schutz's critique of Weber did not result in the refutation of any of the latter's basic postulates. Rather, it amounted to clarifications, to the exposure of hidden meanings; to the further development of individual concepts, and to the establishment of the different meanings assumed by some concepts assumed when used in different contexts. In this sense, Schutz simply developed Weberian conceptions in the direction indicated by Weber himself. Yet, by adding insights gained from phenomenological psychology, Schutz's analysis of such concepts as 'subjectively meaningful action', 'observational and motivational understanding,' 'subjective and objective interpretation,' has grown largely beyond Weber himself. ²

Schutz criticised Weber for not recognising the complex time-structure of action, failing to distinguish between the 'ongoing action' and the 'completed act'.³ Secondly, Weber indiscriminately puts together both the actor's subjective feeling about the context of meaning which is the ground of his behaviour and what the observer supposes that ground to be in the concept of motive. The reason being that he ignored the temporal dimension. Finally, Schutz feels that Weber simply assumes that actors share subjective meanings without asking How do they create a common view of the world? i.e. without addressing to the problem of "intersubjectivity".

lbid.: Page 8-9

Ibid.: Page 11

³ See the article by Maurice Natanson

Another influence on Schutz's phenomenology was the early symbolic interactionists' concern with the process of constructing shared meaning. This was, of course, similar to Schutz's desire to understand intersubjectivity. He found affinity with W. I. Thomas' "definition of the situation" since this concept emphasises that actors construct orientations, and dispositions to act in situations. Thomas recognised that definitions of situations are learnt from past experiences while being altered in present interactions. Mead's recognition that mind is a social process, arising out of interaction and yet facilitating interaction, probably had considerable appeal for Schutz. Other concepts of Mead that might have influenced Schutz: role - taking, generalised other, actors are seen as "community of attitudes" or common subjective states.

Schutz argued along Husserlian lines that man exists with his fellowmen in midst of everyday life, within the "natural attitude". Man in a natural attitude takes for granted his being in the world and the existence of others like himself, the ongoing reality of communicating with those fellowmen.

The world is experienced as "ours" and it is in the thou - orientation that the other is experienced as a person. The social world is an intersubjective one in several senses; it is the locus of my encounter with the "thou"; it is the sense of my own action which is directed towards my fellowmen; it is historically grounded and bears the marks and signs of the activity of our ancestors, most remarkable of all the typifying medium of language; the intersubjective world has an open horizon; in movement towards a future which is partly "ours" and in large parts "theirs".

This intersubjective world is the domain of action and the analysis of action is the central theme of Schutz's phenomenology, the starting point of which is Weber's conception of action.

For Schutz, action may be presented to ego in one of the three temporal dimensions: existing and present experiences that are coming to be and passing away;

Intended action - a series of future experiences; Terminated, and completed act. The meaning of an action is bound up with these temporal distinctions. Action is subject-bound, builds up in a temporal development, its full significance is always on the far side of the actor's intention.

Moreover, Social action is oriented towards certain goals, it is project directed. The meaning of any action is its corresponding projected act. The projected act requires a phantasying ego who imagines an event planned for the future as already having taken place. It is therefore essential to consciousness that phantasying has the crucial reflective moment in its procedure for the experience in question to be meaningful.

Social action takes place in a context; it is situationally limited and defined. Even the fictive aspects of phantasying are qualified and restricted by the context within which the act is projected. To understand action, therefore it is necessary to turn to what motivates the actor in a situation.

Schutz talks about two types of motives: the because motive and the inorder- to motive. The genuine because motive lies in a completed experience in the past. The in - order - to motive is not only directed towards the future but presupposes the project which characterises the course of action phantasied by the ego. In the in- order- to motive, the project does the motivating whereas in the because motive the project itself is motivated

Each project has both because and in- order- to motives. The project will determine which past experiences are to be considered because motives, and therefore the knowledge of because motives presupposes knowledge of in- order- to motives. Despite this, once they are uncovered, because motives constitute objective causes of our free, subjectively defined projects. ¹

The most important component of our biographical situations is therefore the knowledge we use in interpreting experiential events. This is called the 'stock of knowledge at hand'. Every in -order- to motive presupposes a stock of experience characterised by an I can do it again quality or else there would be no recognisable means of bringing about the desired future state.

Further, Schutz talks about 'the reciprocity of motives' - A social interaction is based on the idealisation that our in- order- to motives will become the because motives of those we are dealing with. The human situation is essentially intersubjective. The range of intersubjective world includes contemporaries, predecessors and successors. Although what I know of my predecessors and successors is dependent upon the model of my experience of contemporaries. The ego knows his contemporaries chiefly through a

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complex concatenated system of ideal types. Therefore, the social world is constituted in large measure by personal ideal types and by course of action types.

Two major elements in social relations which therefore became the focus of Schutz's analysis are 'uniqueness and typification'. All repetitive social situations are converted into typifications. Typification is the categorising of situations and persons into types based on socially shared definitions and meanings. In the face to face relations, typification is necessarily modified by unique situations. the more personal the relationship, the more unique its character is bound to be; and the more impersonal the relationship, the more typified. ¹

A social structure is the sum total of these typifications and an institution is a set of patterned reciprocal typifications'. The logic by which the institutions of the society are integrated is known as legitimation, which interrelates more limited meanings embodied in specific institutions by means of broader schemes of meaning.' Thus, it can be said that all symbolic universes and legitimations are human products, their existence has its reality or validity in the lives of concrete individuals and has no empirical status apart from these lives. ³

Robert A. Gorman notices that Schutz on the one hand contends that action is free in the sense of being determined on the one hand and on the other hand talks of constantly recurring patterns of social behaviour. Secondly, Gorman feels that if schutz is

Abraham and Morgan: Page 251

Nicholas Timasheff and George Theodorson. Sociological Theory. N. York. Random House, 1967. Page 299

Abraham and Morgan: Page 257

correct in claiming that social interaction among contemporaries takes place only within these inhibiting parameters, then, paradoxically he eliminates the possible rationale for a phenomenological approach to social science. However, I do not find any contradiction between the two claims. While there is a set of typifications available, an actor has the freedom to pick and chose. Moreover, the set of typifications is constantly changing. Schutz recognises clearly the relation between an individual and society and that each gets shaped by the other.

Berger and Luckmann are credited with the combining the Sociology of Knowledge perspective with Phenomenology. They have been greatly influenced by Mannheim and Schutz. Their endeavour is to bring out the fact that everyday reality is socially constructed. Applying this fact to the Sociology of Knowledge, they concern themselves with whatever passes for knowledge in society regardless of the ultimate validity or invalidity of such knowledge.

The social construction of Knowledge and reality is possible through the dual processes of objectivisation of subjective reality through institutionalisation and legitimisation, and subjectivisation of objective reality through socialisation.

The writers are more or less unconcerned with the questions of the ultimate validity of knowledge per se, they are rather profoundly concentrated in their work upon the question of how whatever is accepted as knowledge in a society has come to be accepted as such. They are concerned with the processes through which any body

"knowledge" comes to be socially established as "reality". They focus upon the structure of intersubjective consciousness and the creation of social meaning in human interaction.

The distinction between Sociology Of Knowledge and Phenomenology is more of an emphasis in analytical approach and perspectives. While phenomenology is interested in the foundations in intersubjective consciousness of everyday life, Sociology of Knowledge deals with the relationship between socio - historical circumstances and knowledge.

The difference between Phenomenology and Ethnomethodology. While the former is philosophical, macroscopic, stressing the primacy of studying the processed of human consciousness and concerned with general nature of realities, the latter has extended the concerns of symbolic interactionism and Phenomenology, and focuses on the microscopic aspects of the human behaviour interested in empirical analysis of meaning construction.

П

Phenomenology, to my mind is the most well equipped approach to handle a subject matter like music. It gives flexibility to the researcher to handle the subjective, intersubjective, transcendental, and the a` priori aspects of music. Through the concept of intentionality it recognises that consciousness is always consciousness of something and

Abraham and Morgan: page 254 - 255

gives the concept of subjectivity and relativism, thus providing us the space to study the music of non-european cultures. Ethnomethodology and ethnomusicology treat the study of non-european cultures as the study of the 'other'. This has the consequence that art music of India and China is treated as 'ethnic' music. In fact, Phenomenology is one perspective which facilitates the analysis of a phenomena at various levels of thought: face-to- face interaction, analysis of the actions, motives, and meanings behind the processes, as an ontology and philosophy, existential study of perception and body, symbolic and semantic analysis, social construction of knowledge, and so on.

From the foregoing discussion on phenomenology, we infer that the everyday life leaves no room for imagination. The participation in the musical interaction is therefore 'ritualistic'. The participants have no obligation towards music but still participate in the process due to the need for beauty and pleasure. The manner of giving and recieving praise, the choice of clothes, the rate of the ticket, the structure of the sound pattern produced, the selection of special invitees, the inaugration, the timings of performance, the choice of items etc. are all prescribed by the society, before the acting individual started participating in the phenomena, and provide him with a context to interact in, and 'shape', and 'get shaped' by it.

The meaning which is attributed to a musical phenomena is not a result of the here and now of the participating individuals. It is the meaning which has come to be as a result of the previous interactions between the musicians and the audiences. It is a 'social construction.' This does not mean that it is fixed. It means that it has come to be as a result of the interactions between our predecessors, and by virtue of the same interactions

is being modified by our generation, and would be passed on to the next through the socialisation process. For example, when for the first time a westerner would hear Hindustani Classical Music, he would not know how to respond. Maybe, he does not like it. In fact, many early accounts during 1950s when the westerners had started taking an interest in Indian Music, show that they found Indian Musician to be monotonously elaborating upon a single set of notes. Some even compared it to the 'meowing' of the cat. However, if the music is heard again and again and if one takes part in the discussions about musical performances, and the skills of the singer, one would start enjoying the music to the extent that it sets a wave that soothes the listener's mind. The latter attempts at synthesising and the propagation of Indian Music in the west is a good example of the same.

Meaning in music is therefore both social and individual. To begin with, a musician uses his own sense to communicate unique sensitivities through a particular combination of notes. That meaning may or may not be understood by the listener, interpreter or critic, and he may attribute to it a meaning of his own based on the state of his subjective consciousness. However, the acts of composition and interpretation are not free from the 'discourse' or the prevailing 'rules' of music. Even a break has to be a break from something

During communication between the participants in music, they share with each other their feelings about a performance, and unconsciously attribute values to the performance. This interaction would result in a shared subjectivity between the two.

See Madan S. Pathania's article on "The Western Response to Indian Music". in <u>Quest:</u> <u>Incorporating Humanist Review</u>. 92 Nov - Dec. 1974.

Every interchange of ideas would further add meanings to the musical act leading to the formation of a shared stock of musical knowledge, that consists of shared symbols and set ideas in this taken- for-granted musical world. The social stock of musical knowledge exists before an individual enters the world of music and is learnt through the process of socialisation and musicological discussions. While a musician interacts in the world, he adds and removes the elements of his social stock of knowledge, giving it a dynamic character. This formulation of social stock of musical knowledge is due to a two-way process: the objectivisation of the subjective musical reality, and the subjectivisation of the objective musical realities. Thus, the theories of 'Rasa' in Indian Music, the exchanges of ideas between Neitzsche and Wagner on the relationship between social philosophy and music, the notion of Renaissance and its impact on music, the memory and meaning attached to raga Durbari are all examples of the 'social stock of knowledge' constructed as a result of the musical interactions in the recent and remote past.

It may therefore be noted that the 'tension of consciousness' is the highest at the moment of performance. Performance is an 'Extreme occasion'. For months, the musician prepares himself, and tries to bring out the 'best' in himself on this occasion. The audience also, is at the peak of its criticality. Even if it comes because it admires the performer, it picks and chooses certain aspects, and admires the same. Therefore, this is the moment where the 'tension of consciousness' is the highest and musical meanings therefore get constructed.

See Said Edward W.: Chapter I

Since the meanings that come to be attributed to a musical performance, are not as many as the participants in the musical phenomena, more than one person would attribute meaning to the same act. This results in the 'Typification' of a musical action. These typifications constitute a set of socially prescribed modes of acting, from which the actor can choose the one he likes. For example, a musician can get up and leave the stage if he sees the audience chatting or he can make a polite, yet firm request to them to allow him to present his musical idea. The option that the musician chooses, has to do with his self-concept, the size and quality of the audience and his ability to build a rapport. However, this set of typifications is constantly being shaped by the acting individuals and their occasional creative choices. These meanings and orientations to act would constitute our natural attitude in this taken-for-granted life-world.

However, for a phenomenologist, consciousness is always consciousness of something (intentionality). Music can therefore be treated as a 'mentality' which gets formulated while we philosophise about the practical problems presented to us in our day to day musical or extra-musical lives. Intentionality is the guiding factor behind our choice of a particular 'typified' response to situations.

We can look for measuring in the world of music at the level of symbolic sound patterns; teacher-student relations; performer-audience relations; relationship between music performance and marketing etc.

Thus, we may say that Phenomenology is presented with a two- way interaction between the everyday life of the acting individual and music: First, in the

presence of everyday life within music; and second in the presence of music in our everyday lives. The former would mean an analysis of the sound patterns and the meaning attributed to certain sound combinations. The attribution of these meanings is due to the extra-musical reasons. These meanings are shared by both - the performer and the listener and are communicated and interpreted by the participants. Thus, we see that there is the presence of 'extra-musical' in the 'musical'. The latter would mean an analysis of the role of music in our everyday lives. The presence of music in rituals, music as a ritual at many places e.g. national anthems; role of the presence of music in media, music as a filler of emptiness in this industrial age; music as a healer; music as a socialisation, music as an instrument of creativity, and so on... Art is a realm where man projects himself in a situation, Keeping in mind all the limitations, restrictions and inhibitions that the situation is expected to extend, and tries to ask himself, what is the best attitude towards life? This is the moment of phantasising and projecting into the future, on the basis of our past experiences.

Thus becomes significant the question of musico-sociological 'action' and 'act', and the 'motivation' behind these. As I have already pointed out, a musico-sociological action could be anything, from composing, performing, listening, interacting, institutionalising, legitimising, socialising, hierarchising, engendering to doing anything in the realm of music, keeping the 'other' in mind.

Since we are keeping the 'other' in mind, we can easily infer that even a socio-musical act is 'project directed' and what it is directed towards, would be clear when we find out the act of phantasising that was attached to it, before the action was taken-up.

The musico-social action is situationally limited and defined. Even the act of Phantasisinfg would be limited due to the realisation of the circumstances in which the act is proposed to be carried forward. A composer would, based on his past experiences and his stock of Knowledge phantasise a musical composition. His motive here could be to get an applaud from the audience, or express his intricate feelings to the audience, or make money, become famous, and so on... The richer his stock of knowledge, and the more realistic is his understanding of the audience's listening habits and their expectations from him, the more effective and successful his performance is bound to be.

There can be two kind of motives behind a socio-musical act: the because motive and the in-order-to motive. Because motives will not be convertible to the in-order to motives, for example, 'I sang a Raga, because it was a programme for Hindustani Classical Music.' This means that it is socially determined that in a programme of Classical music, one can not sing a ghazal. This act is motivated by an experience completed in the past. The in-order to motives on the other hand would be directed towards the future. Thus for example, 'I used the Teevra ma () in - order - to create a shanta rasa' or 'I requested a particular Guru to teach me music in order to learn the skills of his singing.' Thus, the in-order-to motive presupposes the project of creating a certain effect or 'learning a particular skill'. This project characterises the course of action phantasised by the 'ego'.

In fact, each project has both - Because and in-order-to motives, for example, I want to learn the skills of a particular Gharana, because my voice suits that style of singing, and I go and join a particular Ustaad in-order-to perfect a particular skill of

singing. Thus, my experiments in the past with my voice form my stock of knowledge at hand and the knowledge of my project experiences are to be considered as because motives and a knowledge of because motives leads to the knowledge of in-order-to motives. Moreover, since we know from the foregoing discussion, that we live in an intersubjective world and based on our stock of knowledge we pick up 'typified responses to a situation. This would help us to derive the fact that motives are 'reciprocal' in the sense that my in-order-to motives can become the because motives of a particular 'Guru' (teacher). 'He/she agreed to be my teacher, because I approached him with a dedicaiton and admiration for his/her Gharana and style of singing.' This would then constitute the intersubjective world of a musician, which is made up of 'uniqueness' of my personality and the uniqueness of the other person's personality and the 'typification' of the responses towards a particular situation. Moreover, institutions like the Guru-shishya would become a patterned set of reciprocal typification, legitimised due to a mutual agreement on a 'larger meaning - system'.

CHAPTER - IV PHENOMENOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF MUSIC: CRITICAL ISSUES IN THE 'KHAYAL' OF CONTEMPORARY HINDUSTANI CLASSICAL MUSIC.

- I. Introduction
- II. Symbolism in Musical Sound
- III. Deconstructing Musical Identities
- IV. Socialisation
- V. The Shared Subjectivity

Chapter 4

Phenomenological Construction of Music:

Critical Issues in Contemporary Hindustani Classical Tradition.

I

It has been stated at the very outset, that there is a close relationship between the ethos, the world-view, the philosophy of a culture and its music. In the forthcoming discussion, an attempt is made to identify the critical issues in Contemporary Hindustani Classical Music, and to look at their Phenomenological construction by Indian Philosophy and History.

Hindustani Classical Music is not a homogeneous entity. It includes various styles and forms of singing. Within the rules of the same Raga¹, keeping in tune with the same set of tala², an Indian musician can create a variety of musical styles. The famous styles include Dhrupad or Dhruvapada; Dhamar, Khayal, Thumri, Tappa and Tarana.

Raga is usually translated as mode. However, it is not the same as the mode in the Western music. It is a set or combination of swaras, which represents or is capable of creating a particular mood. There is a particular style in which improvisations are to be carried out depending upon which swaras are to be used more often than the others and which combinations highlight the desired mood. Keeping in mind these conditions, a musician can use his creative imagination in improvisation to its fullest.

Tala is somehing more than just a beat or a rhythm. It consists of a pattern of beating the drum. A tala consists of a set number of beats min.6 in Kaharva to max. 16 in teental. These are subdivided continued on the next page ...

Out of the ones enumerated above, Khayal Gayaki is the most popular in Contemporary North Indian Classical Music. Most of the popular singers specialise in this style of singing. 'Gharanas' are a socio-musical phenomena, peculiar to it and is formed out of innovations in the pattern of sound production in this style. This study therefore tries to trace the Phenomenological Construction of the Khayal in Contemporary Hindustani Classical Music.

For the layman, a khayal performance is the same as merely 'Hindustani Classical Music'. For a comprehensive understanding of the contemporary Hindustani Classical Music, and the 'Khayal Gayaki', we propose to subject it to the phenomenological analysis. The phenomenological method has two aspects: It is an ontology, which seeks to know things in their purest form; and at the same time it treats reality as a social construction. In this work, phenomenology is applied as an ontology, i.e. it aims at finding out the impact of ideas on the structure of sounds produced.

It is contended here, that for both the listeners and the performers, the 'Khayal' concert is a 'ritual', with set attributes, set notions of beauty, set beliefs and a set of shared subjectivity. Therefore, an attempt has been made to analyse the phenomena, the shared subjectivity, which gives meaning to it and the shared stock of knowledge that guides and motivates its participants. In order to do this, we propose to look into the following aspects: the shared symbols and the meaning structures in the form of rasa theory; the

... continued from the previous page

into smaller clusters. A tala is chosen keeping in mind the metre of a poetry, and the places where an emphasis is needed to highlight its mood. The number of talas are fixed and the choice is made from this set only. New additions do take place from time to time.

notion of 'Hindustani' as a construction of the identification and interaction with the 'cultural others'; and the socialisation of the musicians and the audiences.

П

Individual notes in a music do not mean anything. Then, how do we 'communicate' our feelings? Why do we use certain combination of notes? How do we make sure that the other person will understand what we intend to communicate? How do we decipher the intended 'meaning' in the usage of a particular instrument or combination of notes?

'Meaning', to my mind, in the world of sound is extra-musical. Particular combination of notes, sound of particular instruments and styles of elaboration are attributed meanings through the process of discussion and aesthetic contemplation.

The theory of 'rasa' plays a great role in ascribing meaning to the performances in the Khayal Music. It has been systematically discussed by Bharatmuni in the Natyashastra, and is used to understand the meaning behind an artefact, be it in Drama, Poetry, Dance or Music. It is applicable to all arts in general and forms the basis of 'communication' between them.

Literally meaning 'Juice', translated many a times as 'mood'. I feel it has more to do with common and most frequent emotions. The words 'Sthayi Bhava' have been used in the natyashastra of Bharatmuni to explain 'rasa' which can be further classified in to Vaibhava, Anubhava, and Vyabhichari Bhava.

According to our Sanskrit scholars the ultimate object of Art is to create rasa.

Rasa is ineffable and inexpressible. It results from an elevated state of mind, inspired by the object of art. The art critics, belonging to the Classical age of Sanskrit Literature, equated the feeling of rasa with bliss - the experience of the ultimate reality. They identified eight or nine rasas according to the specific emotion portrayed in art and literature. These are:

- a) Rati which can get converted into shringar.
- b) Haas which can get converted into hasya.
- c) Shok which can get converted into karoon.
- d) Krodha which can get converted into Raudra.
- e) Vihasa which can get converted into Veer.
- f) Bhaya which can get converted into Bhayanaka.
- g) Glaani, Ghrina or Jugupsa which can get converted into Beebhatsa.
- h) Ashcharya or Vismaya which can get converted into Adbhuta.
- i) Nirveda or Sham which can get converted into Shanta.²

These rasas can further be categorised into exhilarative and depressive. The four sentiments of erotic, heroic, comic, and beatific can be included in the former and the remaining five viz. the pathetic, terrible, furious, repulsive and amazing, fall in the latter.³

See Tembe: Page 20-26. Also see 'Neharang': Page 72

Nayar : Page 256

For further discussion into the meaning of each 'rasa' see 'Neharang': Page 10-62.

In Indian Music, each note has been attached with a Colour, a God and a Rasa. The swaras and the corresponding mood that they evoke has been enumerated by Govinda S. Tembe as follows: Sa - source of the six, eternal state of changelessness and mobility. Yogi beyond attachment. Re (Komal) - half awakened to consciousness. Re (Shudaha) - perfect wakefulness but perhaps on account of being awakened against its will, therefore rather inclined to shadja. Ga (Komal) - bewildered, helpless, pitiable mood as charming as a beautiful woman in a depressed state of mind. Ga (Shuddha) inquisitive, alert, keeps atmosphere fresh and pleasant. Ma (Shuddha) - grave, noble and powerful. Given an opportunity it dominates. Ma' (Teevra) - sensitive, fickle minded luxurious, mischievous, teases panchama to whom it is mysteriously drawn. Pa - brilliant, self - composed, unaffected, jolly, in perfect harmony with Sa. Great beauty and dignified smile like a well - bred lady. Dha (Komal) - extreme grief and pathos. Dha (Shuddha) muscular and robust athlete, lack of civilised manners, bordering on lustfulness. Ni (Komal) - gentle, happy and affectionate, pathetic, wears a hard countenance, friendly to all, mixes with various emotions such as erotic, heroic, pathetic, joyous. Ni (Shuddha) piercing appeal, crying pathetically in agony, makes audience uneasy with intense longing for shadja. Sa - climax essence of raga oozes out and audience has full satisfaction. 'rasa' self - existent: note changes it emotional content according to its association with other notes and also when it is attenuated by the elimination of a near - by - note.

According to Shobhana Nayar, the ancient scholars on music defined the twelve notes in terms of the nine rasas in the folloowing manner:

Sa and Re - Veer and Raudra (Heroic and Furious)

See Govinda S. TEmbe in Aspects of Indian Music. Publications Division. Page 20-26

Dha - Beebhatsa and Bhayanak (Odious and Terrible)

Ga and Ni - Karuna (Pathetic)

Ma and Pa - Hasya (Comic)

Komal Re and Komal Dha - Shanta and Karuna (Quietistic and Pathetic)

Komal Ga and Komal Ni - Veer (Heroic)

Re and Dha - Shringaar (Erotic)¹

For rousing and culminating a particular emotional state in the experience of rasa, a certain specific condition of mental state in a certain direction is necessary. Stimulated by an object of art the mind has to pass through many stages of temporary and transitory feelings which ultimately crystallise into a particular deep emotion and its consequence which can be identified as a particular rasa.²

The combination of swaras, their position in the scale, the speed of pronunciation, fine inclination towards the other swaras, the frequency gap between notes, the pronunciation of notes etc. all are 'loaded' with a variety of meanings. Every Raga is further associated with Rasa, which is a result of the combined effect of the swaras being used³. The beauty and the vitality of every raga is expressed as a cumulative effect of the bhavas of the rasa. Based on this rasa-bhava theory, each raga is assigned a particular season and a particular time of the day. The ragas are further classified into male and

Nayar : Page 257-258

Navar : Page 257

Ragas according to rasas: (1) Re, Ga, Ni (2) Re, Ga, Dha (3) Ga, Ni. Erotic, pathetic, and heroic sentiments, plus vadi makes the individual raga undergo a slight change. Plus different associations of subleading (Samvadi) concordant (anuvadi) and discordant (vivadi) notes make a change in the predominant statement. Ma - dominating role - serenity and sublimity - malkauns, lalit, kedar, bageshri, durga. Bagesri tinged with pathos because of Dha and Ni. Pa - dominating - invigorating and conductive to erotic sentiment. Ga also produces the same effect though in a lesser degree. Dha evokes the sentiment of pathos. Re or Ga to help Dha, pathetic sentiment is intensified.

female; old and young; happy and sorrowful; excited and dejected; easy and difficult; meeting and departing; serious and light and so on.¹

The classification of ragas into the feminine types and the masculine types is carried a stage further, by classifying the Raginis as nayikas² and the Ragas as the nayakas.³ The rasa in Raga and their classification into masculine and feminine has roots into the association of music with drama in the earlier days. The domain of poetics in classical literature is also dominated by nayak - nayika bhed. Based on the theory of Rasa, particular poetic verses are composed in particular Ragas. In fact, musicians in the older days, were called vaggeyakaras.⁴ Some illustrations of Nayakas and Nayikas can be obtained from the pictures painted by the artists, belonging to the reign of Maharaja Kishan Singh of Baghal of the Himachal Pradesh⁵. The feelings of love are loaded with the spiritual content.

The rasa theory is legitimised and institutionalised by referring to the 'natural', 'psychological, 'intuitive', 'mythical' and 'spiritual' reasons.⁶ It is sometimes argued that the music is handed over to man by Narada muni, who in turn learnt it from Indra, the king of Gods. Others relate it to the science of ayurveda. Others still, legitimise the link between nature and music by referring it to the examples of Lord Krishna, who used to play flute while the cows were grazing.

Stree-purusha; praudha-yuva; prasanna-udaas; utfulla-nirash; saral-klisht; sanyogi-viyogi; gambhir-taral.

Heroines and Heroes

Jati inIndian society is to do with an endogamous group. Here it is used in the sense of a category, a classification.

See the essay by Vyas, D. G. in Aspects of Indian Music. Publications Division. Page 18-19 Navar: Page 257

There is a concept of Raga Dhyana in Indian Music which indicates the special emotion attached to each raga.

Meaning in Hindustani Classical Music is 'socially constructed' as a result of exchanges between the art and the folk traditions and the efforts made by various musicians to systematise the musical knowledge. In fact many Ragas are even named after the place to which they belonged. The theory of mood is again based on noticing what a farmer in a field would like to sing on a rainy day. It is only later on, that the theory became detached from reality. This can further be proved by the number of versions that these theories have. However, at the face of it, they all seem to be the same.²

The rasa-siddhanta (theory) thus constitutes the shared stock of knowledge of the Indian society, and recruits meaning to a particular piece in the arts and therefore in the khayal gayaki. It helps a composer-performer to decide which poetry should be composed in which Raga and a painter to decide the colours of his painting, to represent a particular mood.

For the audience, the act of interpretation is a matter of constant meaning allocation, a constant choosing between the many possible 'hearings'. The theory of Rasa 'typifies' the possible meanings into various categories, which become intermixed in a particular piece of musical performance, and gives them the 'desired' philosophical colouring. Every performance however is a set of 'uniqueness' and 'typification' situations, whereby every piece is made up of a series of emotions, giving the song a typical emotion, and a unique 'hue'. For example, in a verse composed in the Chota Khayal of puriya raga in tritaal, composed by 'Sadarang' the beloved says:

The point also has been brought out by B. Chaitanya Deva: Page 80

See 'Neharang': Page 71 to 63

"Since the time he came in my dream o' mother

peace and tranquillity of my life has been taken away"

(Kramik Pustak Malika, 4th part page 455, Hindi ed.) (Translated by self)

This piece portrays the vyabhichari bhavas known as Nidra (sleeping), supta (dreaming) and vibodh (awakening) in the form of the illusive romance of the dreamland brought to an abrupt end to the vishad (despair) of the beloved. It conveys the passing chain and phase of the four vyabhichari bhavas - nidra, supta, vibodh and vishad - which reach their culmination in the 'treachery of the eyelids' created by the power of suggestion.¹

Though the theory of Rasa that we inherit from our predecessors, is thought as given, it is constantly undergoing a change at various levels especially with regard to the structure of the sound produced. These days musical concerts are usually held in the evening or during day time. Thus if the musician sticks to the time-theory,² many Ragas would be threatened with extinction. In fact this is exactly what has happened to the Hindustani Classical Music. People like Pandit Ravi Shankar have therefore started playing all the Ragas without keeping in mind their time of singing. Technology has facilitated this change. Due to the lighting in the concert halls, special effects can be created.

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Acording to the time-theory in music, every Raga is associated with a particular time of the day.

Music is nowadays being recorded by many recording agencies. This has taken away that 'critical moment' from the performance, making it possible to play and replay or record and re-record it any number of times. In the recordings, those effects can also be created which are not possible through the normal voice, like the echo effect. The length of performance has also decreased.¹

The interrelationship between Bandish i.e. poetry and Raga and the Ragmala paintings has died. The same old poetry of the Mughal era and the Bhakti kaal has remained. In fact, today's musician very rarely invents a new raga to suit a particular mood in the wordings and to express a new set of meanings. Most of the performances repeat the traditionally inherited ragas. This could be a result of the revival and reform movements in which Khayal gayaki was revived as a symbol of the 'Indian' and since the sound structure of Khayal is suitable for the love songs, the poetry of Jayadeva was composed in it, as was done in the past.² However, even more noticeable is the fact that no new style came up, whose sound-structure was well-equipped to handle the poetry of that time.

The mood of the raga, and the rasa theory has become more a matter of the marketing strategy adopted by the musical companies, to increase the appeal of 'Classical Music' in both India and Abroad.

Neuman, Daniel M. in his essay the social ecology of Indian Music Culture. in the book by O. P. Joshi: Page 60-66

This has been discussed in detail under the next section, see Shobhana Nayar Page

Ш

Another significant aspect of the social construction of the socio-musical reality is the development of the "We" feeling, as a result of shared history and philosophy. It is a result of the 'thou-orientation' of a musical group in an inter-subjective world and a result of the identification of a 'cultural other'. This identification of the 'other' is real only if it is recognised by both the groups. The question that arises is who is the 'cultural other' in the life-world of the 'Hindustani Classical Musicians' due to which their identity is getting shaped? Secondly, why does there arise a need to organise the world into 'self and the 'other'?

The need to identify a 'cultural other; could be an outcome of a musical group's need for achieving a higher level of critical self-understanding; the technological advance which has killed the distance between the self and the other; a sense of loss of identity, due to which the lines between 'We' and 'They' has increased sharply; or the love of the exotic which is the result of the romantic idea that experience is wider than we have yet imagined.

Though the theme of cultural otherness is expressed in singular, it actually stands for a network of multiple complex and complicated issues of various dimensions.

Moreover, our images of ourselves and views of otherness are not a set of unchanging

Balslev: Page 2 in a letter to Richard Rorty

Ibid.: Page 4 in a letter to Richard Rorty

Ibid: Page 19 Rorty in reply to balslev.

thoughts and notions. Interpreting is a continuing, developing historical process.¹ There are several perceptions of the 'self' and the 'other' in any given traditional society.² In fact, the concerns of one epoch may not even remain relevant or alive in the other.³

To my mind, the significant 'cultural others' which have been instrumental in the shaping of the Khayal in the 'Hindustani' Classical Music are, the West, and the Muslims, and to some extent the Dhrupada Gayaks.

The word 'Khayal' is of a Persian origin and literally means 'imagination'. Although it is believed that the Khayal was first invented by Amir Khusro in the (13th century AD.), this belief is questioned by B. Chaitanya Deva and Thakur Jaideva Singh.⁴

According to B. Chaitanya Deva, all untraceable things are traced to Amir Khusro. He points out that in Rajasthan many operatic forms of singing also go under this name. Thakur Jaideva Singh in his article labels the age of the muslims as the 'dark age' and claims that the origins of the khayal can be traced to the Seventh Century B. C. Amir Khusro only gave a new tag to the old product. He takes the support of Sharangdeva's reference to three types of songs viz. Shuddha, Bhinna, Gaudi, Vesara and Sadharani. He contends that the features of the Sadharani gita and the Bhinna have a close resemblance to the present Khayal Gayaki. The reason being that the finest graces are used in the khayal viz. the meenda, murki, khatka, kana etc. Modulations of notes enter into every

Balslev: Page 4 in a letter to Richard Rorty

Balslev: Page 5 in a letter to Richard Rorty

Balslev: Page 5 in a letter to Richard Rorty

See B. Chaitany Deva 1990 (orig. 1974): Page 53 Also see the article by Thakur Jaideva Singh in Aspects of Indian Music. Publications Division on The evolution of Khayal. Page 86-96.

A musicologist in the 13th century B. C. who wrote a very significant work "Sangita Ratnakara"

phrase of the khayal and simple and straight notes are rarely used. The Sadharani giti is an eclectic style of composition, which combines the pleasant, tender and sweet idioms of all other styles along with the delicate nuances of emotion. The Bhinna also is full of modulations. He further distinguishes between two styles of rendering the Alapa, ¹ the Ragalapti and the Rupakalapti. While the former lays emphasis on the form and technique, and thus has a bent towards classicism, the latter brings out the emotional appeal of the piece, and thus is inclined towards classicism. Further, he traces the origin of the Prabandhas in the Karnatic style of singing to the Rupakalapti. To authenticate his argument, he distinguishes between the Chauka Kala Pallavi which is slow in tempo and the Madhyama Kala Pallavi, which is medium in tempo. Then he compares these with the Bada Khayal and the Chhota Khayal respectively.

Our concern in the foregoing discussion is not to find out whether the claim is technically right or not. This can very well be left for the musicologists. Nor is it to find out what actually happened in History. This could again be left to the Music Historians. What we are to notice here is that articles and debates like these, which emphasise on the Hindu origin of Khayal, were written in the earlier and the middle twentieth century, when the questions of Hindu and Muslim identities was getting rigidified. Whatever be the origin of the Khayal style of singing, in today's world, it essentially has shaped the concepts of 'Indian' and 'Hindustani'. The result is, that thinking of Khayal as 'Hindu' music has become a kind of 'background assumption' in the 'socio-musical stock of knowledge' of Hindustani Classical Khayal Performances.

Alapa is a creative usage of pure note combinations. This is sung before the words are sung in a raga.

Another interesting thing that we come across is that the institution of 'Gharanas', is compared with the institution of the 'Guru-shishya parampara' of the ancient period. It is however well known that the Gharanas were a result of the Muslim impact on the Indian music, and came up in the late eighteenth century. As a result of the firman dated 12th August 1765 of Shah Alam, in which he granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company he became the titular head, and could not carry on the musical legacy of his predecessors. The result was, that music was forced to decentralise itself and was propagated in different parts of the country leading to the rise of Gharanas. Today, however, the legitimacy in Gharanas is claimed from the Guru-shishya parampara of the ancient period and from the vedas.

The Medieval period has been labelled as the 'Dark age' in the Indian History, and the visibility of the Muslim impact on Indian music is termed as 'contamination'. However, when it comes to blaming the Britishers, the credit of keeping alive the Classical Indian Music is given to rulers like Nawab Wajid Ali Shah and other indigenous courts like Rampur, Baroda, Ichalkaranja and Aundh. In fact, the court of Gwalior is famous for being one of the last patrons of music in the late nineteenth century.

This coexistence of two contradictory statements is the characteristic feature of the 'natural attitude' in this taken-for-granted life-world. The boundaries between the Hindu and the Muslim are so strong in the music world, that some Gurus would not refer their students to the famous muslim musicians for skill enhancement. The formation of

Nayar: Page 32.

See Swami Prajananda : Historical Development of Indian Music Page 204, as quoted in Nayar : Page 32.

this identity along the lines of Hindus and Muslims has been recent in origin and corresponds with the communalisation of Indian socio - political sphere.

Another 'cultural other' for the Hindustani Classical Music, whose presence constantly shapes the nature of 'Indian' is the 'West'. The Indian is distinguished from the western by applying the criteria of Melody v/s Harmony, Rationality v/s Irrationality; This-worldly v/s Other-worldly; Archirectonic v/s Organic world-views² and spiritual v/s social. Although a notion of the West would have existed even before the seventeenth century, these debates are of a recent origin. This theme has become a recurrent topic for debates and discussion in our times

It was during the colonial period that the reform and the 'Revivalist movements' came up as a response to the 'West'. Their role in Indian history has been to bring about a social change by questioning the basis of obsolete customs in the Indian society. 'Revival movement' essentially means a looking back into the 'glorious' past and the ancient scriptures, to authenticate and justify the plea to bring about certain changes in the society and do away with the social 'evils'. Thus, the concept of revival is linked essentially to the concept of 'Reform'. The going back to the 'glorious past' indicates an inbuilt need of the time, to build up an integrated Indian identity, which transcends diversity in indian culture and responds to the challenges posited by the Western ideologues in India.⁴

See Max Weber "The rational and Social Foundations of Music."

See Bowes : Chapter I

See the article by Chetan Karnani on Indian Music and Spirituality Page (41 - 43) in <u>Quest</u>: <u>Incorporating Humanist review</u>. 87; March-April 1974.

These points have come up during a discussion with Ms. Mamta Shree Ojha, a Research Scholar in the history department of JNU.

During this period, Swami Prajananda and Sourindro Mohun Tagore wrote several books on the history of Indian Music.¹ During this period the past of Indian music was glorified and its origins were traced to the Sama veda and Natyashsatra. In spite of the fact that many works have pointed out that the music of India has been changing throughout history, this idea has come to form a background assumption for our musicians.²

Pandit Vishnu Digamber Paluskar and Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande did the utmost to remove the stigma and prejudice attached to music. The age was a period of general decadence. At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, the Mughal rule weakened and the country was torn with internecine strife. Consequently, music and art suffered a setback in an atmosphere of insecurity. The state of affairs worsened when the British liquidated the Mughal Emperors.³

The Zamindari system or landlordism was established by the British in our country for the purpose of raising taxes. These Zamindars reared and patronised the musicians and music as a part of their amorous life. However, the musicians under their patronage had to cater to their cheap tastes. Wine, music and vice were closely connected in the Zamindari system.⁴ Classical music gradually lost contact with theory as the new-comers were not conversant with the Sanskrit Language. After the Mughal rule, new patrons of music were orthodox in outlook and had contempt for text or written music.⁵

For a list of books by Swami Prajananda, and Sourindro Mohun Tagore, see the bibliography.

See the book by Bhatkhande for a detailed analysis. It traces the history of the Indian Classical Music

Nayar : Page 30

Nayar : Page 33
 Nayar : Page 34 - 35

At the beginning of the British Rule the gifted musicians who were patronised by the Mughal rulers were scattered and took shelter in different native states of the North. These Rajas, Nawabs, and Princes considered the musicians as their personal property and did not allow them to move out from their protective custody. This isolation on the one hand narrowed down their concept of music and made them conservative and self-centred, but on the other hand proved to be a boon by making them practise their own art rigorously and relentlessly to perfection and as a result, individual styles evolved in their modes of rendering.¹

The result of all these factors were that the intelligentsia of this country lost interest in this great art for lack of understanding, factional quarrels among its propagators and the social stigma and vices connected with it. Further, as a profession it was regarded as lewd and useless. The necessary rapport between the listener and the performer was missing.²

The unremitting toil of Bhatkhande was responsible for re-establishing music as a classical art and as a part of our education and culture. He tried to establish a sound and systematic grammar and theory of current music.³ He felt that the present day music had outgrown the old system greatly and new books about the new system needed to be written.⁴ Bhatkhande was keen to keep the future generations and the students of music away from the stifling atmosphere and factional quarrels of the gharana system.⁵

Ibid.

Nayar : Page 34 - 35

Nayar : Page 41

Nayar : Page 71

Nayar : Page 93

He realised with great disappointment, the lack of understanding in regard to the correct interpretations of the sayings of Bharata and Sharangadeva on the fundamental principles of music of the ancient period. He was keen to find out some link between the ancient systems of Grama moorchhana, jatiraga etc. as described by Bharata and Sharangadeva with the raga ragini or the melaraaga system of the later age. 1

His reasons for formulating and writing a theory of the current practise of classical music could be broadly classified as follows:

- 1) It would bring the subject of music at par with other subjects of study where there is no dearth of scientific and rational data.
- 2) It would enable the provision of collective training in music.
- It would provide the educated and cultured people an easy and intelligent understanding of music as a subject of study.
- 4) Practical knowledge of music would only thrive when it has its roots in a scientific and systematic theory.
- 5) Only a sound base of theory could preserve music from undue distortions which would be inevitable in the absence of a theoretical background.²

He contended that the substratum of our music is undoubtedly the music of the past. Therefore, a study of the past is essential."³ He found that the subject matter of our present music is of the same nature as that of ancient music. The division and the classification of the subject matter as adopted in those texts could be the base for

Nayar : Page 71

Nayar: Page 96

Nayar: Page 107

systematising the present day music.¹ He made successful and conscious effort to break away from all mystic pseudo-religious definitions of a raga and brought back in its definition a scientific pattern in line with modern methodology.²

Bhatkhande introduced a modern methodology of training in music. It was remarkably short, condensed, simple, scientific and systematic. He introduced a change in the method of teaching music and of introducing group education to spread its knowledge among the people quickly. He noticed that in the advanced countries of the world musical theory had been systematised and the position of the notes etc. were scientifically established. It included a notational system, a well-defined curricula and graded textbooks, theory and practise taught side by side, well-defined easy stages of teaching and periodic, very carefully devised, evaluation.³ He wanted to bring the learning and teaching of Hindustani music to the same level.⁴ The first school of music to teach through his modern method was established in Gwalior in 1918 at the instance of Maharaja Madhavrao Scindia.

It will be interesting to note that Bhatkhande's activity was not confined to the newly built schools for boys only. In Gwalior he opened a school called the 'Tavayaf School'. It meant the school for professional women. Bhatkhande took charge of it and sent teachers to teach the girls through his new method of teaching. It was Bhatkhande's idea that music should purify the atmosphere in society and should inspire healthy thoughts.⁵

Nayar : Page 109

Nayar: Page 141

Nayar : Page 170

Nayar : Page 167 Nayar : Page 167

The impact of Bhatkhande on the Contemporary Khayal Gayaki is tremendous. The systematic education in schools has facilitated the participation of girls in music, and has taken away the stigma from singing. It has systematised the theory of music, and given it a sense of general unity and uniformity all over India. The concept of 'We' that is prevalent today is a result of the fading away of the Gharana boundaries and formation of a concept of 'Indian'. The introduction of music in universities and in schools has given it a modern look, and the desired respect. Today, musicians have become our Musicians from non-hereditary background are also being cultural ambassadors. recruited. The contact with the intellectual world has been re-established. The patronage to music today has been restored due to the from the national institutions like ICCR and AIR. The Khayal as a result is sung today for the wider public and is attended by the middle and upper middle classes. The awareness of the Indian music has increased among the educated. The concept of concert is also the result of this contact with the west and the reform and revival movements in the music world. This self concept, feeling of 'We' and this freedom from social stigma, and this modernisation corresponds to the state of affairs in the wider Indian socio-political sphere.

Intellectuals and political leaders also contributed to this debate of East v/s the West leading to the formation of two clear identities. Explanations were attempted along the lines of 'Universality' on the one hand and 'Cultural Imperialism' resulting in 'Swadeshi' on the other

Rabindranath Tagore made a major contribution to the Indian music by composing as many as 1838 songs on different themes and six dance-dramas in which

dancers are attuned to lyrics. The style is famous by the name of Rabindra Sangeet. He also contributed to the theory of aesthetics by arguing that art is a matter of 'taste value' rather than 'truth value'. He declines to reduce art to ideas. He uses the term to include processes of creativity, communication, appreciation or criticism. Emotions, for Tagore, are the principal means of man's unification and harmonisation with the world.¹

Mahatma Gandhi, though not directly interested in music, was susceptible to the 'divine charm' of music and he was well aware of its tremendous power as a 'unifying and ennobling force'. He used to sing in his ashram selected devotional and philosophical lyrics set to suitable music for common use.²

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's writings on art are diverse. Some of these are concerned with deeper philosophical issues like the theory of meaning, the nature of symbolic reference, the concept of man, cultural anthropology and the theory of knowledge. He writes with conviction and enormous erudition.³ His theories of passion were loaded with the notions of sensibility and pleasure. The terms had a fixity of meaning for him and always pejorative. Truth for him was eternal, not progressive, not conditioned and art by virtue of being the symbolic communication of truth is essentially identical from age to age.⁴

The impact of these philosophers has not been direct, but extends in that it has given that perspective, and that respect to music which was missing before the Reform and

See Roy: Page 2,3 and 7

See the article by Sumati Mutatkar in Aspects of Indian Music. Publications Division. Page 30

Roy : Page 43

Roy: Page 44. See also, Coomaraswamy (1991): Page 102-114.

revival movements. The content of spirituality was restored, and a pride in our past and in our culture, was restored. They also had a big role in giving a message to the common man that music has a great place in one's life, and is an unignorable aspect of life. Their attitude encouraged and legitimised the participation of ordinary people in music.

Thus, from the foregoing analysis, we may infer that what was established by our predecessors as a part of their response to the questions of their times, is taken unquestioningly, as given by us, and followed religiously. It is followed unquestioningly, gives us the typified patterns of responses to the musical world and decides our orientation towards certain phenomenon. The formation of this natural attitude is greatly dependent on our socialisation process.

IV

The relationship of a musician to his successor is most of the time surrounded by the questions of passing on of musical knowledge to the next generation and selection and recruitment of its successors. There are two ways in which musical knowledge is imparted to the next generation of students. The Gharana system, based on the Guru-Shishya Parampara, and the musical universities. Besides, there is another kind of socialisation which takes place. The socialisation of the audiences. This again can be done by the musicians during their concerts by lecture-demonstration, by the musicologists or critics, who get their ideas printed into the newspapers and magazines. With the advancement of technology, the socialisation of audience also takes place through the

marketing agencies which highlight certain aspects of Indian Classical Music, like the seasons, moods and timings attached with the Ragas and the glorification of certain singers or styles of singing. This increases the saleability of Indian Classical Music within, as well as outside India.

The result of this socialisation process is the construction of a common stock of musical knowledge, which forms the basis of the life-world. In fact, the role of advertising agencies in itself is an example of the typifications which govern Indian Classical Music today.

The institution of Guru-shishya Parampara has a big role in the socialisation of the musicians in the Hindustani Classical Khayal Gayaki. Indian Guru-Shishya Parampara is marked by the following three features:

- 1) The indispensability of Guru.
- 2) Emotional Relationship.
- 3) Total Control of the Guru.¹

The Guru-shishya parampara implies different things to different people. It is no more the 'oral - tradition' in the way it used to be in the earlier days. As a result of the systematisation of the musical theories, the knowledge of music can be attained from the study of books also. However, the tradition is oral in the sense, that the particular style of voice production can only be learnt through the process of imitation. Moreover, since the

enumerated by Kichlu, Vijay Kumar, in his essay 'The role of Guru' in the book by O. P. Joshi.

music is a practical art, every theory needs to be demonstrated and explained, interpreted and accordingly demonstrated.

The institution is also not marked by the same kind of emotional relationship today, as was in the earlier days. The shishyas no more sacrifice their lives and careers in the pursuit of musical knowledge. They no more accomplish the household chores of the Guru, waiting to learn one or two techniques here and there. The musical education goes on along with the other activities of the life.

The tradition of not listening to the musician of the other gharana has gone out of practise these days. However, at the same time the guru-shishya parampara is marked by great continuity in the sense that it legitimises the importance of the guru through quoting the examples from the vedic period. They mix the term with the concept of Gharana, which has originated from the medieval period. The finer techniques of singing are passed on from generation to generation in the same secretive manner as that of the medieval period.

Another mode of socialisation is the introduction of music in schools and the establishment of the music schools. This kind of training however, does not concentrate on the voice culture. It just imparts bookish knowledge to its students, and facilitates them to obtain a degree of music. The music schools sometimes form a kind of 'Musical Mafia' which provides singers to the films and to the All India Radio. They are marked by lot of politics, pressure tactics and money making in the name of providing a free and fair chance to learn music and participate in the musical phenomenon. Thus, with this kind of

music, a lot of glamour is associated. though the teachers are mainly teaching Khayals, very few of these students become Khayal gayaks and those who manage to become, are able to do it by virtue of joining a Guru of some Gharana, who launches him in the music world. These schools are attended by many girls with the aim of accumulating the 'Cultural Capital' which can be encashed at the time of marriage negotiations.

The role of All India Radio and Doordarshan in the socialisation of the Audience cannot be underestimated. The Media has a role of culturally integrating the musical audience, their opinions and choices, by reaching everybody's home all over the country at the same point of time, thus giving them a feeling of shared subjectivity. Both the Radio and the Television have special programs and slots in which the Classical music is transmitted. Moreover, the discussions with the musical performers and critics is also transmitted. Media has a great role in recording the music of all the famous musicians and all their famous performances, and hence making them accessible to the people even after their death. It has a great role in providing stage, monetary help and recognition and fame to the musicians. It has transformed the structure of Khayal Gayaki by limiting the duration of the Khayal performances of the musicians, due to the fixed time slots of programs.

 \mathbf{V}

Thus, we may see that a musician is constantly sharing his subjective consciousness with his contemporaries, and predecessors. His response is constantly

being shaped and re-shaped as a result of his existence in this particular intersubjective world. The 'contemporaries' in the world of Hindustani Classical Music include: the other musical singers - those who sing in the same style and those who sing in a distinct style from the 'ego'; critics and the connoisseurs, who, by virtue of their comments in the media and their patronage to musicians encourage and discourage the artists and shape their music; and the wider category of laymen who, live in the same social situation as the musician and share with them the social, political, economic and historical situations and perceptions. They may read about him, his philosophy, his performance and may become participants of his concerts from time-to-time, depending upon their need for beauty, entertainment, relaxation and the notion of potentiality in art to satisfy these needs.

The understanding of 'contemporaries' and of self is heavily dependent upon the understanding of 'predecessors'. The predecessors who sang like the ego; the ones who sang in some other tradition; the relation between the two; their relationship with their patrons, their relationship with the audiences of their times in terms of the respect that they had got; the audiences of that time as distinct from the contemporary audiences. Among the category of predecessors, we have the ones who have been our immediate predecessors and those who are dated in a remote past. the recent the predecessor, the less glorified and mythological he would be. For example, the amount of glorification attached to the story of Tansen would not be same as the glory of Krishna which would at the same time not be the same as that of Bhatkhande.

My knowledge of my predecessors is not a direct knowledge. It is a knowledge which was told to me by my seniors, and is 'understood' in the way my

contemporaries would interpret. It is mediated through the narrator's subjective interpretation and retentive power, depending upon what is 'important' for him to remember and what is 'useless'. These tales have a lot of pedagogic content too.

CHAPTER - V SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 5

Conclusion

1.

This work aims at finding out the social construction of 'Hindustani Classical Music', especially that of the 'Khayal' style of singing. The analysis has been carried out in four broad stages. In the *first stage*, an attempt has been made to find out the possibility of an inter-disciplinary research between Music and Society. In the *second stage*, existing literature has been reviewed on the Sociology of Music with the idea of outlining how the other sociologists have problematised the discipline and the points of view they have employed to explain these issues. The *third stage* deals with an understanding of the phenomenological approach, and the possibility of applying the same to Music in general. Thought has been given to the questions that would remain unanswered and the aspects that would remain unhighlighted due to this approach. The argument then culminates into the application of this theoretical groundwork to 'Indian Classical Music', with the purpose of identifying its social construction through the 'reductive' analysis. The findings and summary of the foregoing argument is presented hereunder.

Music is a phenomena which is both subjective and objective. Many philosophers treat it as a purely subjective entity, with inbuilt meanings. For them, it is a

pure art, a private feeling, inexpressible even by words, and cannot be understood at all. This argument gives music a psychological character, emphasising the impossibility of understanding it completely. Many treat it as outside the individual and given. Therefore laying an emphasis on the need to discover it. They give it the appearance of a science, which gives power - to do magic or to communicate the uncommunicable - if learnt and played in the 'precise' manner.

In the beginning of this work, an attempt has been made, unlike the other two approaches, to identify the roots of music in the realm where the subjective meets the objective, the inner meets the outer, the creative meets the scientific, the emotional meets the rational: that is, the realm of intersubjective, the realm of the social

Music is social because many socio-musical considerations go into the making of music. Songs are chosen keeping in mind an audience. Music is composed with a purpose of communicating a feeling or creating an effect. While composing or listening or performing, the rules of conduct governing the activity are kept in mind. There is the presence of stratification between the instrumentalists and vocalists, listeners, interpreters and the performers. Institutions of learning music have to do with the socialisation processes in a society. The acts of awarding and patronising musical activities are socially determined. The role of advertisements in bringing about change in the lifestyles and consumption pattern of a society cannot be under estimated.

Moreover, that there is a correlation between changes in the society and changes in the cultural and musical spheres. Music, especially the folk music has been

used time and again for transmission of the cultural values and passing on of other social messages symbolically. The message spread through music can be about Social Change or Social Stability. It may further be inferred that music does not have any intrinsic or in-built meaning. It has to do with shared subjectivities, and shared associations

"Music has also been very closely linked with religious practices and mystic experiences." The myths and stories woven around the ragas and the famous musicians are sociologically significant.

There are quite a few philosophers, thinkers and researchers from various disciplines who have contemplated on the relationship between Music and Society. Many of these works however exist in their respective languages and thus are inaccessible. Some of the available works reviewed in the second chapter have been summarised as under.

Herbert Spencer, one of the first sociologists, approached sociology along the lines of positivism and evolutionism. In an essay titled 'The Origin and Function of Music', he deems vocal music as an idealisation of the 'natural language of passion'. In relation to the function of music, Spencer says that love of music exists for its own sake.

George Simmel, motivated by the scientific inadequacy and incompleteness of the Darwinian theory concerning the sexually stimulated origin of music, relates the practice of music to the development of Speech. It is the manifestation of social relations and the psychological search for adequate expressions. Art music is however characterised by certain independence from emotions. It is based on the differential application of complicated rules to the setting and creation of music. Simmel views music as a social - psychological and not a psychic expression of groups, based on different histories of socialisation and different modes of musical expression.

Wilhelm Dilthey's, study of music in Germany has a threefold model of analysis: 1) The technical rules governing the musical expressions and forms of a people's music. 2) Concern with the cultural and psychological values (emotions). 3) Concern with the mutual interaction among musical elements. Dilthey however, does not show the intrinsic links between technical rules of music and the emotive states of the musician. Nor does he help in exploring the foundation of these rules. His nominalistic orientation prevented him from formulating a more sociological approach to music - for him, music is an individual expression.

Max Weber tries to establish the legitimacy of social scientific inquiry in matters musical and cultural. While Simmel devotes considerable effort to the demonstration of total integration of music into the societal fabric, Weber views music more as a result of particular social emanations. Based on an acoustical analysis of the various tonal systems, he argues that the contemporary music is growing more and more rational. For Weber, harmonic music was more rational than the melodic. His argument is typically eurocentric.

Pitrim A. Sorokin, in an essay titled "Fluctuations of Ideational, sensate and mixed forms of music", deals with the definition of forms of music and the fluctuation of

the main styles in time and space. He proves that there is a concurrence between changes in music and in other art forms. Sorokin provides a nominalistically oriented distinction between Sensational music, and Ideational music. "These two forms of music represent two different mentalities, two different attitudes towards the world of sound and the world of reality." Both the categories can be applicable simultaneously.

Theodor W. Adorno is concerned with the changing role of art music in contemporary mass society. The rationalisation which led to the objectivisation of music has also introduced perfect alienation between music and men. Adorno defines Sociology of Music as knowledge of the relation between music and the socially organised individuals who listen to it." and makes a classification of the listening types: The expert, Good listener, The Culture Consumer, Emotional listener, Resentment listener, The Entertainment Listener, Addicted listener, Miscellaneous, Musically indifferent, the unmusical and the anti-musical. With regard to the Function of music in society, Adorno says that "Music-simply exists" "Irrational and functionless". It has an equally ideological role - distraction - a defence mechanism, directed against the peril of the individual without relationships. Music is not ideological pure and simple, it is ideological only insofar as it is a false consciousness and the intramusical tensions are the unconscious reflection of the phenomena of social tensions.

Alphons Silbermann defines Sociology of Music as "A science that attempts to understand the human and social aspects of life from within and without." Its task is to determine the essential forms of musical activity and the social groups that congregate around this activity. Sociology is the study of the effects of music on man's social life. He

therefore applies the structural-functional approach to the study of music and the social relations around it.

Edward W. Said in his book "Musical Elaborations" makes three significant points. One, he tries to remain conscious of both the ideal purity of the individual experience and of its public setting. Second, while he agrees about the existence of a relatively distinct entity called "Western Classical Music", he at the same time feels that this entity "is far from coherent or monolithic" and "is being constructed with non-western, non-classical music and cultures in mind. Third, he finds unacceptable the inescapable historical teleology of Adorno.

Janet Wolff contends that since culture is a social product, the study of culture and the arts must accordingly be sociologically informed. She argues strongly that art is always ideological, in that its meanings are the representations of the extra aesthetic. The division between high art and popular art and the so called lesser arts is based on social, rather than aesthetic distinctions. The distinction has, historically been closely tied to gender differences in the production of culture. Therefore, the non-representational character of music is no explanation for its exemption from the sociological analysis. Secondly, representational art as much as non-representational art is inadequately comprehended in an analysis which deals only with content, character and narrative.

Fabio Dasilva, Anthony Blasi, and David Dees in their work on the "Sociology Of Music" show that musical conduct is inter-human. Along Phenomenological lines, the authors approach music as a 'mentality' whose forms establish

social processes. In approaching music as a mentality, they face the paradox between seeing music as a form of social expression and its intentions being individual. This tendency is termed as 'Dialectics' which refers to the emergent totalities which need to be recognised before individual elements can be assessed. Musical interaction always occurs in a musical culture. Applying the concept of 'relativism' they contend that different collectivities of people order and assess their music by quite different principles. Moreover, the feeling of naturalness is entirely a matter of social construction. What one generation sets as an arrangement of convenience, the next receives as a fixed order of the universe. Since the social reality is mentalistic and music is one of these mentalistic realities, the writers look for the structure of mentality as described by the Phenomenologists wherever that structure is made evident in the musical conduct.

John Shepherd lays emphasis on 'sonorousness' in music. Thus, he feels that "Music is indeed pervasively social". Arguing against the notion that this territory is more legitimately the preserve of sociologists, communications scholars and cultural theorists, he feels that this will probably result in music continuing to be studied with scant references to its sonic qualities. He argues that the sound of music is heavily implicated in the process of meaning construction, although not in a determining fashion.

Therefore, the problematique of the Sociology of Music consists of the following points of consideration: Firstly, if music is social, then what is *The extent of 'social' in the personal or 'psychical'*? Is it a result of social interactions purely, or is it a result of an intrinsic bio-social need to communicate? This gives rise to the question of the reasons behind the emanation of music - social interaction or historical situations.

This is closely associated with the question whether development and Modernity is Desirable or Undesirable for the society, and for music. While the liberals and evolutionists feel that technology has enhanced the variety in music, Adorno, who belongs to the critical school feels uneasy with the same. Fourth is the question that Is music subjective, or is it objective? or in other words, Is Music Private or Public? This and the subsequent question viz. Whether Music should be treated as a science, or as an art? can be answered depending upon whether it is thought of as subjective or as a social fact which exists outside the individual. Sixthly, Where should one look, for finding meaning in music—in the sound structure or in the symbolic realm or in the textual analysis? Seventhly, should we analyse the micro-level or the macro-level phenomena for understanding music. Eighthly, what would be the Function of music in society? Entertainment, leisure, communication or is it functionless?

At the backdrop of this problematique of music, we are presented with the difficult question of choosing a perspective which would help us to understand the social aspects of 'music'. In this work, Phenomenological approach has been employed for the purpose.

Phenomenology is a way of looking at the 'subject' of analysis. It is an 'ontology', based on the presumption that truth is a' priori, but at the same time distorted, because it is mediated through the sense perceptions and the mental states of the individual. As an 'ontology' it aims at grasping, the 'transcendental logic' behind any phenomena. This is possible through the method of 'bracketing' the individual's consciousness. By 'bracketing' here is meant 'putting to question' the taken-for-granted

natural attitude of the acting individual. This is called the method of phenomenological reduction.

Husserl's phenomenological analysis extends beyond individual consciousness to the world of intersubjectivity or shared subjectivity or extending 'self-experience' to the experience of 'other selves'. He even spoke of an 'intersubjective reduction' of 'common consciousness' to that which unites 'individual consciousness in the phenomenological unity of the social life'.

Developing further the phenomenological analysis, and supplementing it with the 'social' aspect, Alfred Schutz borrows from Max Weber, his concepts of 'action' and 'motivation, and from the interaction theorists, their concepts of the "thou-orientation", 'We' feeling and the construction of shared meanings. He seems to have been influenced by Mead's proposition that 'mind' is a social process and borowed his concepts like 'role-taking', 'generalised other' and 'community of attitudes' or 'common subjective states'

Schutz recognised that man lives in his everyday life, within the 'natural attitude', where he takes for granted his being and that of others and the ongoing reality of communicating with these fellowmen. The 'other' is experienced as a person in his thou-orientation. Action is historically grounded and bears the marks and signs of the activity of our ancestors, especially the 'typifying' medium of language. The intersubjective world moves towards a future, which is partially 'ours' and in large part 'theirs'. Schutz therefore divides human 'action' into three temporal dimensions: the existing and present, the intended or future, the terminated and completed. Action is

'subject bound', oriented towards certain goals and situationally limited. Schutz identifies two types of motives - the 'because and the 'in-order-to' motives. Motives are reciprocal and intersubjective. The ego knows about his contemporaries through a concatenated system of 'ideal types' and about his predecessors and successors through the model of experience of contemporaries. Thus, 'uniqueness' and 'typification' are two major elements in the social relations. A social structure is the sum-total of these typifications and an institution is a set of patterned reciprocal typifications, Integrated through the process of legitimisation which interrelates more limited meanings embodied in specific institutions by means of broader schemes of meaning.

The phenomenology of Husserl is a 'theory of humility' which calls for constant debunking of self. It has given a fertile ground to the development of the theories of relativism and thereafter of Post-modernism. Though to my mind, the concept of 'relativism' in the post-modern theories as opposed to phenomenological theory leaves no space for a dialogue between two subjective entities.

To my mind, phenomenology is the most well-equipped approach to handle a subject matter like music. It gives flexibility to the researcher to handle the subjective, intersubjective, transcendental and the a` priori aspects of music. It recognises that since consciousness is 'intentional', the meaning behind a phenomenon is not 'given'. This leads to the concepts of subjectivity and relativism, which provide us the space to study the music of non-european cultures as 'sociology' and not as ethnomethodology. It facilitates the analysis of a phenomena at various levels of thought viz. face-to- face interaction; analysis of the actions, motives, and meanings behind the processes; as an ontology and

philosophy; existential study of perception and body; symbolic and semantic analysis; social construction of knowledge etc.

Since the everyday life leaves no room for imagination, it may be said that participation in the musical sphere is 'ritualistic' or taken - for - granted, and limited to satisfying the need for beauty and pleasure. The acting individual who participates in the phenomena, is provided with a context of musical symbols, debates and interpretations to interact in, 'shape', and 'get shaped' by. The meanings in the world of music are not a result of the here and now of the participating individuals. They are a 'social construction'. They are a result of the interactions between our predecessors, and are being modified by us. They are passed on from generation to generation through the socialisation process.

Meaning in music is therefore both social and individual, or in other words, it is 'Dialectical'. It is the result of the two - way processof objectivisation of subjective socio-musical knowledge and the subjectivisation of objective socio-musical knowledge. By socio-musical knowledge is meant the knowledge of shared the symbols and structures in music and the subjective meanings which are expressed in an artefact. Language, institutionalisation are two ways of objectivisation, and socialisation is the means of subjectivisation.

Since the meanings attributed to a musical performance are not as many as the participants in the musical phenomena, more than one person would attribute the same meaning to the same act. This results in the 'Typification' of musical actions which

constitute a set of socially prescribed modes of acting, from which the actor can choose and orient himself in his life-world. Music is therefore a 'mentality'.

Thus, Phenomenology is presented with two types of interactions between the everyday life and music: First, is the presence of everyday life within music; and second is the presence of music in our everyday lives. The former would mean an analysis of the sound patterns and the meaning attributed to certain sound combinations, which are shared by both - the performer and the listener. The latter would mean an analysis of the role of music in our everyday lives.

An attempt is made in the fourth chapter to identify the critical issues in Contemporary Khayal Gayaki of Hindustani Classical Music, and to look at their Phenomenological construction by Indian Philosophy and History. Here, phenomenology is applied as an ontology, i.e. with the aim of finding out the impact of ideas on the structure of sounds produced. Therefore, an attempt is made to look into: the shared symbols and the meaning structures in the form of rasa theory, the notion of 'Hindustani' as a construction of the identification and interaction with the 'cultural others'; and the socialisation of the musicians and the audiences.

The theory of 'rasa' plays a great role in ascribing meaning to the performances in the Khayal Music. It has been systematically discussed by Bharatmuni in the Natyashastra, and is used to understand the meaning behind an artefact. It is applicable to all arts in general and forms the basis of 'communication' between them.

In Indian Music, each note has been attached with a Colour, a God and a Rasa. The combination of swaras, their position in the scale, the speed of pronunciation, fine inclination towards the other swaras, the frequency gap between notes, the pronunciation of notes etc. all are 'loaded' with a variety of meanings. Every Raga is further associated with a Rasa, which is a result of the combined effect of the swaras being used. The beauty and the vitality of every raga is expressed as a cumulative effect of the bhavas of the rasa. Based on this rasa-bhava theory, each raga is assigned a particular season and a particular time of the day. The ragas are further classified into male and female, old and young, happy and sorrowful, excited and dejected; easy and difficult; meeting and departing; serious and light and so on.

The rasa in Raga and their classification into masculine and feminine has roots into the association of music with drama in the earlier days. The domain of poetics in classical literature is also dominated by *nayak - nayika bhed*. Based on the theory of Rasa, particular poetic verses are composed in particular Ragas. In fact, musicians in the older days, were called vaggeyakaras. However, the interrelationship between Bandish i.e. poetry and Raga has died. This could be a result of the revival and reform movements in which Khayal gayaki was revived as a symbol of the 'Indian'. Since the sound structure of a Khayal is suitable for love songs, the old poetry was maintained. However, what is noticeable is the fact that no new style came up, whose sound-structure was well-equipped to handle the poetry of that time. Some illustrations of Nayakas and Nayikas can be obtained from the pictures painted by the artists, belonging to the reign of Maharaja Kishan Singh of Baghal of the Himachal Pradesh.

For the audience, the act of interpretation is a matter of constant meaning allocation, a constant choosing between the many possible 'hearings'. The theory of Rasa 'typifies' the possible meanings into various categories, and gives them the 'desired' philosophical colouring. Every performance however is a set of 'uniqueness' and 'typification' situations, giving the song a 'typical' emotion, and at the same time a 'unique' hue

The theory of Rasa that we inherit from our predecessors, is constantly undergoing a change at various levels especially with regard to the structure of the sound produced. Technology has facilitated by creating special effects on the stage the possibility of ignoring the time-theory. Music is nowadays being recorded by many recording agencies, thus taking away that 'critical moment' from the performance and making it possible to play and replay or record and re-record it. In the recordings, special effects like echo cna be created which are not possible through the normal voice. The length of performance has decreased due to the role of AIR.

Another significant aspect of the social construction of the socio-musical reality is the development of the "We" feeling, as a result of shared history and philosophy. It is a result of the 'thou-orientation' of a musical group in an inter-subjective world and a result of the identification of a 'cultural other'. To my mind, the significant 'cultural others' which have been instrumental in the shaping of the Khayal in the 'Hindustani' Classical Music are, the West, and the Muslims, and to some extent the Dhrupada Gayaks.

It is contended here, that the disagreement regarding the Khayal as being of Hindu origin or of Muslim origin; and the Gharanas being related to the Guru-shishya parampara of the Ancient Period; the labelling of Medieval period as the 'Dark age' in the Indian History, and the visibility of the Muslim impact on Indian music being termed as 'contamination' are all examples of the communal questions entering the music making. The boundaries between the Hindu and the Muslim are so strong in the music world, that some Gurus would not refer their students to the famous muslim musicians for skill enhancement. This has impact on the structure of sound produced under the Khayal Gayaki. The formation of this identity along the lines of Hindus and Muslims has been recent in origin and corresponds with the communalisation of Indian socio - political sphere.

Another 'cultural other' for the Hindustani Classical Music, whose presence constantly shapes the nature of 'Indian' is the 'West'. The Indian is distinguished from the western by applying the criteria of Melody v/s Harmony; Rationality v/s Irrationality; This-worldly v/s Other-worldly; Archirectonic v/s Organic world-views and spiritual v/s social.

It was during the colonial period that the reform and the 'Revivalist movements' came up as a response to the 'West'. Their role has been to bring about a social change by questioning the basis of obsolete customs in the Indian society. 'Revival movement' essentially means a looking back into the 'glorious' past and the ancient scriptures, to authenticate and justify the plea to bring about certain changes in the society and do away with the social 'evils'. Thus, the concept of revival is linked essentially to the

concept of 'Reform'. These movements have had an impact on the structure of sound produced in Modern Khayal Gayaki in the following manner.

During this period, Swami Prajananda and Sourindro Mohun Tagore wrote several books on the history of Indian Music. The past of Indian music was glorified and its origins were traced to the Sama veda and Natyashsatra. In spite of the fact that many works have pointed out that the music of India has been changing throughout history, this idea has come to form a background assumption for our musicians.

Pandit Vishnu Digamber Paluskar and Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande did the utmost to remove the stigma and prejudice attached to music. It was a period of general decadence. Mughal rule weakened and the country was torn with internecine strife. Consequently, music and art suffered a setback in an atmosphere of insecurity. The state of affairs worsened when the British liquidated the Mughal Emperors. The Zamindari system or landlordism established by the British led to the vulgarisation of music. Gharana system emerged as a result of scattering of musicians and the over-protectionism shown by the new patrons. The intelligentsia of this country lost interest for lack of understanding, factional quarrels among its propagators and the social stigma and vices connected with it.

The unremitting toil of Bhatkhande was responsible for re-establishing music as a classical art and as a part of our education and culture. He tried to establish a sound and systematic grammar and theory of current music. He felt that the present day music had outgrown the old system greatly and new books about the new system needed to be written. Bhatkhande was keen to keep the future generations and the students of music

away from the stifling atmosphere and factional quarrels of the gharana system. He was keen to find out some link between the ancient systems of Grama moorchhana, jatiraga etc. as described by Bharata and Sharangadeva with the raga ragini or the melaraaga system of the later age.

Bhatkhande introduced a modern methodology of training in music. It was remarkably short, condensed, simple, scientific and systematic. He introduced a change in the method of teaching music and of introducing group education to spread its knowledge among the people quickly. His attempt was to establish a scientific and westernised system of musical education. In Gwalior he opened a school called the 'Tavayaf School'. It meant the school for professional women.

The impact of Bhatkhande on the Contemporary Khayal Gayaki is tremendous. The systematic education in schools has facilitated the participation of girls in music, and has taken away the stigma from singing. It has systematised the theory of music, and given it a sense of general unity and uniformity all over India. The concept of 'We' that is prevalent today is a result of the fading away of the Gharana boundaries and formation of a concept of 'Indian'. The introduction of music in universities and in schools has given it a modern look, and the desired respect. Today, musicians have become our cultural ambassadors. Musicians from non-hereditary background are also being recruited. The contact with the intellectual world has been re-established. The patronage to music today has been restored due to the from the national institutions like ICCR and AIR. The Khayal as a result is sung today for the wider public and is attended by the middle and upper middle classes. The awareness of the Indian music has increased among

the educated. The concept of concert is also the result of this contact with the west and the reform and revival movements in the music world. This self concept, feeling of 'We' and this freedom from social stigma, and this modernisation corresponds to the state of affairs in the wider Indian socio-political sphere.

Intellectuals and political leaders like Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy also contributed to this debate of East v/s the West leading to the formation of two clear identities. Explanations were attempted along the lines of 'Universality' on the one hand and 'Cultural Imperialism' resulting in 'Swadeshi' on the other.

The impact of these philosophers has not been direct, but extends in that it has given that perspective, and that respect to music which was missing before the Reform and revival movements. The content of spirituality was restored, and a pride in our past and in our culture, was restored. They also had a big role in giving a message to the common man that music has a great place in one's life, and is an unignorable aspect of life. Their attitude encouraged and legitimised the participation of ordinary people in music.

Finally, the 'socialisation' in the musical sphere can take place in two ways: Through the Gharana system, based on the Guru-Shishya Parampara, and the musical universities. Socialisation of the audience takes place as a result of the musicians during their concerts by lecture-demonstration, by the musicologists or critics, who get their ideas printed into the newspapers and magazines. With the advancement of technology, the socialisation of audience also takes place through the marketing agencies which highlight

certain aspects of Indian Classical Music, like the seasons, moods and timings attached with the Ragas and the glorification of certain singers or styles of singing. Another agency which is responsible for the socialisation of both performers and the audiences is the media which reaches the audience at their homes at the same point of time.

The result of this socialisation process is the construction of a common stock of musical knowledge, which forms the basis of the life-world. In fact, the role of advertising agencies in itself is an example of the typifications which govern Indian Classical Music today.

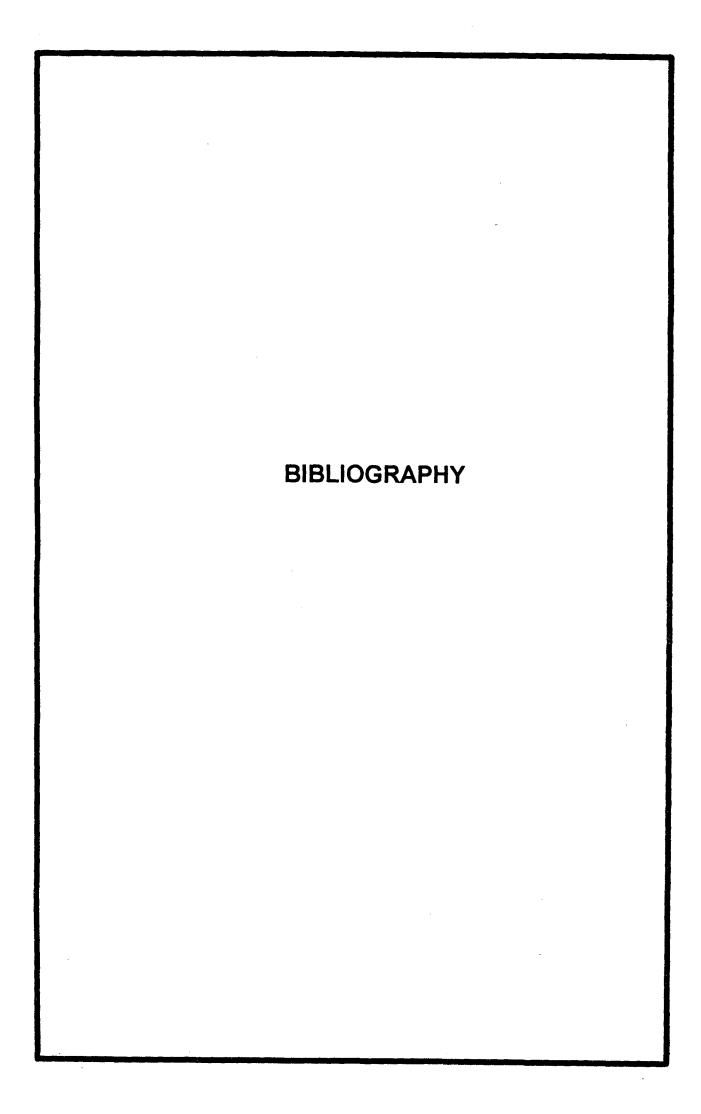
Thus, we may see that a musician is constantly sharing his subjective consciousness with his contemporaries, predecessors and successors. His music is therefore constantly being shaped and re-shaped as a result of his existence in this particular intersubjective world, and by the notion of that horizon of future, which is partly ours and in large part belonging to the next generation.

Before concluding this argument, I would like to state here, that the scope of a field like the Sociology of Music is unlimited, and not much work has been done on this issue. The role of culture in shaping our consciousness and in our socialisation is unlimited. Therefore, it becomes very important that we look into the socio-political and the socio-economic aspects of the culture, especially the folk culture to understand a society. The realm of culture, is the realm of ideas, collective consciousness, social philosophy. If culture gets shaped by society, it also shapes society in turn. There is an ongoing debate about 'cultural imperialism' through the media, leading to a

homogenisation of culture. On the other hand, there is an attempt made by various artists to bring about a cultural synthesis to facilitate integration by establishing a shared subjectivity. It is therefore important that culture is given more and more importance and attention by the theorists.

I believe very strongly, that the process of modernisation, of development will become smoother if the harbringers of change have a better understanding of Indian culture, and the structure of Indian thought. The need, as we would then realise, is not to duplicate, but to reinterpret modernity.

Finally, the realm, of culture, is not essentially the realm of conservatism and leisure. It is the realm of creative thinking, which is needed the most, at the time of change.



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