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6 Patronage Networks and Musical Traditions in Jhalavad

In any attempt to document the contemporary and historical culture of Dhrangadhra and Jhalavad in Gujarat, it is necessary to consider the performing arts that constitute the region's living traditions. Music, dance and drama are three intricately related arts, imbued with religious, cultural, political, and historical meaning.

Given the reality that these three arts exist as live performances, these artistic mediums are subject to change over time. Changes in performing arts may reflect the impact of modern influences. A conscious development, expansion and alteration of repertoire by new generations of performers is one such example. Another factor could be the effect of oral traditions being misremembered, especially as contemporary society places ever more economic pressure on groups that previously subsisted solely on their performance traditions.

Further complications for scholars occur when considering the vast variety of musical genres in Jhalavad, both contemporary and historical. The population consists of multiple communities including Hindus of all castes or *jatis*, Muslims, the Afro-Indian Shiddis, Sikhs, Jains, and other ethnic and religious groups. Music is nearly omnipresent in the contemporary soundscape of Dhrangadhra, with each group contributing their own musical traditions.

An examination of the soundscape of Dhrangadhra and Jhalavad provides insight into the social dynamic of the town and how the disparate communities interact in a shared environment. Music is heard in almost every corner of the town. Musical styles, functions and performance occasions are as diverse as the various peoples populating Dhrangadhra and the surrounding area.

Historically, the royal court was the primary patron for the arts. The court employed or engaged a variety of artists and musicians for ceremonial, ritual, or entertainment purposes. However, court patronage was limited to those events deemed appropriate for the context of the court, which exempted many varieties of folk arts, musics, and theatrical traditions.

The sources for historical musics used in this article are a collection of paintings commissioned by Jayasinhji Jhala, a member of the historical royal family. The paintings are depictions of musical experiences, or conceptualizations of those experience, as defined by performers, audiences, settings, and implications of movement or behavior.

Much as he is a patron of the paintings, Jhala is a source of contemporary patronage to a wide variety of musicians and performers. He brought a documented collection of court music recorded in the 1950s by his late father Jhallesvar Meghrajji III and another recorded by him in the late 1970s to inform and augment live performance today. As an anthropologist, Jhala's commissions extend far beyond the historical limitations of "court" music, transcending traditional boundaries of caste, religion, and socio-economic class.

Figure 6.1: Mera Bhai singing Bhajans at Jessada Village, 1983.

The contemporary musical events explored here are also experiences, defined by the same parameters of performer, audience, setting, and behavior as the paintings. However, as live performances they are subject to subjective interpretation by all parties involved. These interpretations and their effects on contemporary culture are a focal point of this chapter.

Through the patronage of Jayasinhji Jhala and the researchers whom he invites to Dhrangadhra, new models of contemporary music are born. These new musics evolve from the recontextualization of established musical traditions from a wide variety of distinct local cultures. These provide new opportunities for involvement in media such as audio recordings and films, with the benefit of a self-reflective and anthropologically informed worldview of the patrons.

6.1 Visual Sources

Music is alluded to in many forms of Indian visual expressive culture, such as paintings and sculpture. Decorative frescoes and sculptures in temples often depict musical scenes, particularly allusions to the story of Krishna and Radha. Such traditions are sculpted on the very walls of Dhrangadhra's Ajitnivas palace where the epics of the Ramayana and Mahabharata attest to these longstanding traditions of public performance and story.

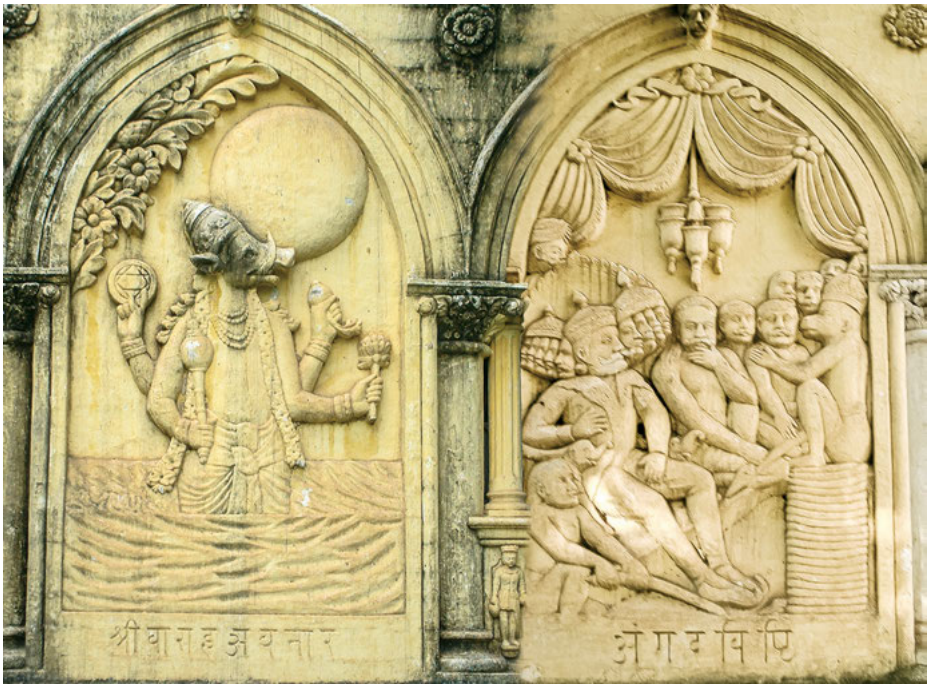

Figure 6.2: Vishnu as Varaha avatar. Hanuman requests the Demon king Ravana.

There is a trend in ethnomusicology to utilize miniature paintings as sources on music. The highly developed tradition of *ragamala* painting, or visual depictions of the musical modes, is a well-known artistic practice that directly links the musical features of *raga* to a poetic and visual interpretation. However, Reis Flora (1987) correctly identifies the potential value of a second category of painting, in which musical scenes are depicted.

As historical sources, painting can provide insight into the "presence, use, and development of musical instruments in India [and] patterns of behavior" from the period of the paintings (Flora 1987, 197). Bonnie C. Wade's painstaking analysis of depictions of drone instruments in Mughal paintings is a prime example of paintings as a historical source that reflects musical performance practice (Wade, 1996).

Conversely, there are few studies that extrapolate social behavior from miniature paintings. There are certainly limitations to using these as anthropological or historical sources. This includes painting conventions such as stylization and reproducing aesthetic ideals of earlier eras that would not necessarily reflect contemporary musical practice (Flora 1987, 197). In fact, responding to the marginalization of Indian painting by Western influence, many paintings of the 19th century deal with "themes and events of the past rather than chronicling the present," serving in no way "to chronicle contemporary social dynamics, urban or rural" (Jhala, 1993, 188).

It is also worth noting that there are many schools of Indian miniature painting. These are most often divided into the two broad categories of Rajput and Mughal paintings. Rajput painting displays an enormous stylistic range resulting from court patronage of local workshops, which reflect the ideals of the nobility commissioning the work. The early Rajput style, based on folk art, predominantly portrayed Hindu religious scenes; the Mughal style as defined under Emperor Akbar introduced secular subjects, including historical depictions and portraiture (Beach, 1975, 16). The extent of exchange and adaptation renders later Rajput and Muslim court paintings essentially indistinguishable, except through the depiction of specifically Hindu or Muslim scenes.

These court paintings serve as a "representational" record of court activity, often accurately representing musical performance practice, but with stylized, and therefore inaccurate, historical placement (Qureshi, 1991, 158). The purpose of these paintings was often to enhance the socio-cultural status of the patron. Given the emphasis on stylization and idealization, the portrayal of individuals and audiences in court paintings is probably not a reliable historical source. However, these same practices reveal the conceptions about how musical activities should occur and be received in a manner that reinforces the social capital of the patron.

6.2 The Paintings

The paintings referenced in this article are historically and anthropologically informed contemporary paintings, conceived and commissioned by Jayasinhji Jhala. They are not historical depictions, yet they are invaluable sources on the aesthetic ideals and stylized conventions of Rajput miniature paintings.

The paintings are both representative of the established system of court patronage and the anthropologically informed creative present. The scenes utilize the same stylizations as historical sources, but offer contemporary beliefs and conceptualizations about music and the events it accompanies.

These scenes fit into a few broad categories of religious or mythological scenes, historical events, and regular events and special occasions in court life. The context of the individual painting informs the viewer of the stylistic conventions and imagined realities of these events. Depending on the scene – historical vs. mythical, religious vs. secular – the performers, instruments, and audiences depicted should correspond to the appropriate context.

6.3 Historical Events

In Hindu tradition, a *sati* is a widowed woman who voluntarily immolates herself upon her husband's funeral pyre. A woman faithful and devoted enough to commit this act was celebrated and even "rendered as a goddess for her superhuman bravery and strength" (Hardgrove, 1999, 730). *Sati*, as a devotional and quasi-divine act, was

most often practiced by the highest castes. This was exacerbated by prohibitions on widow remarriage by women of the Rajput and Brahmin castes. In fact, a *sati* was a model of piety for high-caste Hindus (Chowdhry, 1990, 259-261).

Images of *sati* occur in the visual arts of the British colonial period as well as in Rajput depictions. In Schurer's article "The Impartial Spectator of Sati, 1757-84," (2008) the author discusses three British engravings of widow immolation scenes produced between 1767 and 1776. In each of these engravings, the witnesses include both men and women. Two of the depictions include musicians or individuals with musical instruments as active participants in the crowd.

Figure 6.3: The Sacrifice of Rani Chauhanji SrangarkunvarBa of Sanchor, wife of Jhallesvara Raj Udesinhji, 1408.

The *Sati* image examined here is based on the historical event of SrangarkunvarBa daughter of Chauhan of Gadh Sanchor sacrifice at her husband's Jhallesvar Raj Udesangji's funeral 1352. The woman is the central figure of the image, and she is haloed, rather than the king. The scene is populated, exclusively by men, contrasting with the British engravings alluded to in Schurer. Many figures in the crowd are seen gesturing towards the heavens. There are six musicians pictured – two drummers, two holding gongs, one with a conch shell, and one with a curved bugle. Interestingly, the musician blowing the conch shell is the only character prominently displayed in green, and particularly, a shade of green that is not seen elsewhere in the scene.

A striking and unique feature of this painting is the way the composition inserts the viewer into the vantage point of a participant. The formation of a crowd around the peripheral and frontal borders is absent in the other paintings from the collection. Further, the vast horizon beyond the central image, dominated by the anthropomorphized sun, draws the viewer into the scene. These features, distinct to this painting, affect the viewer on a personal level, in an experiential way.

6.4 The Queen and Her Women at the Temple

This is a historical scene depicting the 500th anniversary of the founding of the Halvad castle in 1987. The queen is shown with her female contingent at the temple to give thanks to Shiva and the local deity SaktiMa.

The figures on the right side of the painting appear to be carrying offerings to the gods, with the queen foremost among them. The temple priest and an ensemble of female temple musicians populate the left side of the image. The three women seated in the front are portrayed playing a barrel drum, a plucked lute, and hand cymbals. The women behind the instrumentalists are dressed in a similar fashion as the instrumentalists. This perhaps indicates that they are also performers, such as devotional singers.

Figure 6.4: Maharani BrijrajkunvarBa at Saktima's temple Halvad in 1987 celebrating the 500th anniversary of the founding of Halvad. Heads of all Jhala kingdoms attended, as did Jhalas from overseas.

Figure 6.5: Jhallesvar Raj Ranoji dancing the famous rasada *Haq Pade Vinar Jagjo* with the women of his family and court during the Navratri festival, 1515.

6.5 Religious Events

The Ras Garba is a dance performed on festive occasions such as the nine-day Navratri festival and auspicious occasions such as birthdays, weddings, and other religious holidays (Jhala Kings, Colonials...:44). The garba is the most popular of women's folk dances and though commonly associated with Krishna, it also has origins as an agricultural ritual (Vatsyayan, 1976, 202-5).

The Ras Garba also has an iconographic connotation. According to legend, when Krishna danced the Garba with the cowgirls, "the splendor of the dancing was yielding four times more brilliance than the moon's orb," and "to see the sight, the gods appeared in the sky on their aerial vehicles" (Randhawa and Galbraith, 1982, 117).

The dance depicted is a variation of the Garba known as Dandia Raas. In Dandia Raas dancers use a pair of wooden sticks (dandia) to perform a dance in which each performer has a complex relationship to the dancers on either side, clapping the dandia to the rhythm of the music as they dance (Vatsyayan, 1976, 203).

The scene features sixteen dancing women forming the outer circle, with the king and another woman dancing in the center. There are six female musicians outside of the dance, including two varieties of barrel drums, hand cymbals, a trumpet-like instrument, and a woman pictured with no instrument, presumably a singer. There are also a number of peacocks, which symbolize grace, joy, beauty, and love.

In addition to the general celebration of the season the Ras in this paintings celebrates a historical event when the king returns victorious from war and dances with his wives and women. The text of the Rasada given below attests to the sentiments expressed.

6.6 Rasada of Haq Padi Viner Jagajo Re

The Shout is out! Warriors, Wake up!

This famous rasada, *Haq padi vinar jagjo re,* speaks to the time of war and the Rajputs' need for alertness. The song, translated as, *The Shout is out! Warriors, Wake up!* is sung by Langha Ala Rakhi, Mir Hemu Bai, Vaju Bhai Khwas and accompanied by other Khwas maids in Ajitnivas Palace, 1979.

The shout is out, warriors wake up.
Friends, get warrior weapons, friends, get warrior weapons
The horns of war sound

Pick up spears, wear the armour, bind swords
Your drums roll as thunder, the trumpets roar, the trumpets roar
Arms strike as warrior fever comes
The horns of war sound

Then the warriors, Great fighters, play the game of swords, the game of swords
The corners of the earth tremble
The corners of the earth tremble
The horns of war sound

Now there is the honor of blood, the honor of blood
Midst contest, the chests of Kshatriyas take cannonballs
For their homeland, they go to heaven
Now flowed the rivers of blood, rivers of blood
The horns of war sound

Jhala warriors, bathing themselves in blood, bathing themselves in blood
The torso fights, holding the head in hand
Look at protectors of honour, protectors of honour
The horns of war sound

The shout is out, warriors wake up.
Friends, get warrior weapons, friends, get warrior weapons
The horns of war sound.

Figure 6.6: Zenana women dance the Dandiya Ras at Navratri, 1979.

6.7 Holi

Holi is a Hindu ritual and festival of love, honoring one aspect of the life of Krishna. During the celebration, there is an inversion of social norms, such as status and gender roles, and the rules of pollution and purity that normally segregate people based on caste, are temporarily abandoned (Pandian, 2001, 560).

The scene shows the king amongst the women of his harem, throwing colored paint and celebrating the festival. There are several female musicians scattered throughout the scene. In the center are women playing a barrel drum and a woman holding a small lute with a single gourd. There are women in the lower left and right corners holding hand cymbals. There appear to be women to the extreme left and right holding frame drums. Peacocks and parrots are pictured, representing grace and joy, and fertility, respectively.

Figure 6.7: Jhallesvar Raj Virsinhjji celebrates the festival of colors, *Holi* with his wives at Patadi (1385-92).

6.8 Court Life

6.8.1 Harem Scenes

Harem scenes of women enjoying music, both with and without the male ruler, are a common theme in Indian miniature paintings. The two examples above both include the king as the central figure, surrounded by the women of the harem. The king is the only male character in both paintings.

Image features three female instrumentalists. The instruments include a chordophone, harmonium, barrel drum, and hand cymbals. This image depicts recreational music, presumably a genre of light classical music with vocal accompaniment, due to the presence of the harmonium.

Image is even more heavily populated with instrumentalists. The left side shows a fretted chordophone, a pair of drums, and hand cymbal player. On the right there is a fretless lute, a cylindrical drum, and another cymbal player. The layout of the scene suggests that the women seated with the musicians would also be actively participating in the music making. The instrumentation again suggests a performance of Hindustani classical music.

Figure 6.8: Jhallesvar Raj Jetsinhji enjoys a musical evening at Kuva, 1420-1441.

Figure 6.9: Jhallesvar Raj Ranmallsinhji I romances with his Rathore bride PhulkunvarBa at Barmer Kotada, 1392.

6.8.2 Military Procession

The military procession is an opportunity to demonstrate the grandeur of the king and to announce the presence of the king and his court. As a demonstration of the king's prestige, it is a common theme of Indian court painters.

The painting of the annual procession from the palace of Santalji to the temple shrine of the Goddess SaktiMa in Santalpur 1304, is winding stream of men and women, horses and vehicles. Men, armed with spears and swords, flags and banners, and bearing a palanquin carrying a guru. A closed carriage carries the queen and other female members of the royal family. The procession is lead by a kettledrummer on horseback and the rear of the procession is a camel rider also drumming the kettle drums. It is a showcase of the kingdom's elite. Female musician with drums and cymbals and smaller finger cymbals provide merriment to the grand spectacle Three levels depict soldiers on parade implying a powerful military presence, reflecting the importance and power of the king.

This image surprisingly parallels the Sati image in a number of ways. First, the composition and placement of the figures differs in comparison to the other paintings. The members of the court populate the image in horizontal lines signaling order and control. The color scheme is very similar, focusing on earth tones shade. The effect

links these two images, the Sati as a symbol of devotion and earthly sacrifice, the Military Procession as a symbol of the worldly divine in the form of the Maharaja.

Figure 6.10: Jhallesvara Raj Santaldevji's procession to the temple of Shiva in his newly established capital at Santalpur, northern Jhalavad, 1305.

6.9 Special Events of the Court

6.9.1 Weighing the King

The Weighing Ceremony is a local tradition of Rajput kings, during which the king would be publicly weighed, and gave his own weight in silver to the needy (Jhala, 12). The painting shows the king on the scale, with an audience including priests, an armed guard, and women viewing from the towers of the *zenana*, or women's quarters. The musicians pictured are all female, one playing barrel drum, two playing circular frame drums, and two with small lutes.

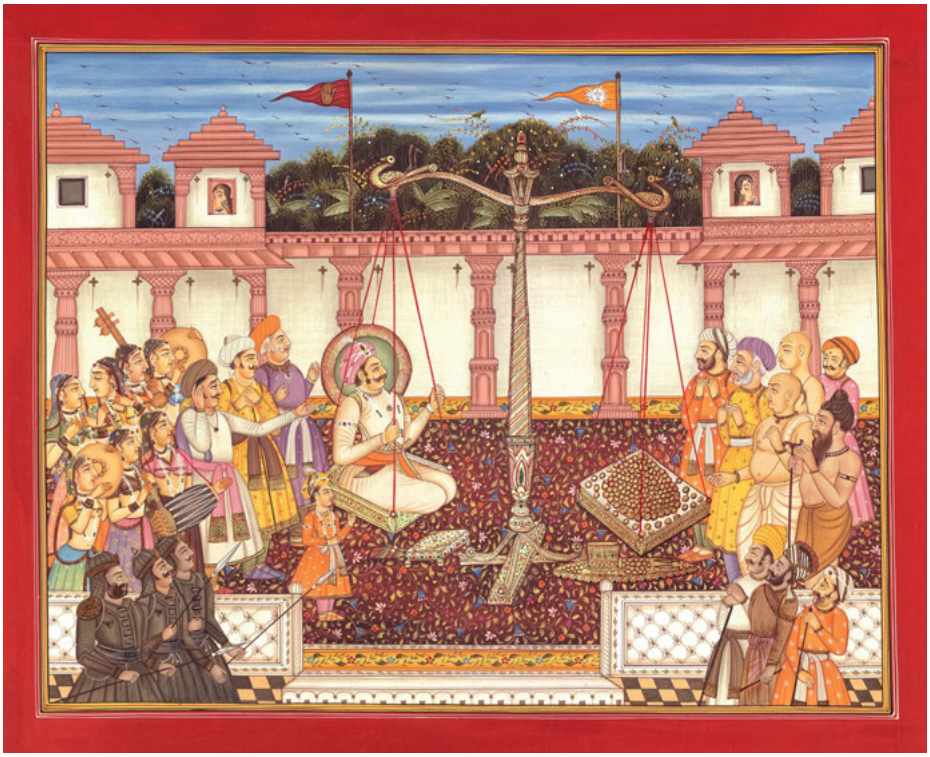

Figure 6.11: Jhallesvar Raj Padamsinhji being weighed on his birthday for charity 1331-1340.

During this ceremony and at similar ceremonies in both the Mardana [male spaces and Zenana [female spaces] the court singers sang praise songs that are known as Bhav. The famous classical singer Bhagvati Shankar Prasad Bhatt was the lead court musician in the reigns of Maharaja Ghanshyamsinhji 1910 to 1942 and Meghrajji III 1942-2010. His song, 'Be immortal Mayurdhwaj Maharaj' a bhav sung at annual durbar gatherings was part of a music collection commissioned by Meghrajji's father Maharaj Ghanshyamsinhji in the 1940s (Bhatt, 1942). Here is a Bhav written for Jhallesvar Maharaja Mansinhji II who ruled from 1969 to 1900.

Bhavs are songs of praise sung in praise of kings and queens and members of the royal family and also occasionally of high nobles and officials and heroes.

They are sung at Durbar gatherings in the Suraj Sabha hall the main audience hall of Ajitnivas Palace and in Zenana. When danced to in the zenana, Bhavs are danced very slowly with grace. Almost in slow motion and has the movement of a swaying elephant. Regal and measured is the pace, majestic, and the tone of the singing serious and grave and awesome.

Bhav songs are sung by men, Bhatt, Brahmin, Charan, Gadhvi and Muslim at royal audience events. In the Zenana the Muslim Langhas and Mir sing Bhavs. They

drum while they sing. The royal ladies nor their maids, did not sing these songs. They listened to them and danced to them. The words I refer to cross into the vocabulary of Rajasthani dialects especially Marwaris and also Kutchi as well as some Urdu words, perhaps even Sindhi and Persian. This vocabulary was the legacy of the court singers as they sang in the courts of all Rajavada from Saurastra in the west to Rajasthan in the northwest and into Madhyapradesh and beyond.

Figure 6.12: Bhav of Jhallesvar Raj Mansinhji II sung by Langha Ala Rakhi Bai and Mir Hemu Bai in Ajitnivas Rajmahal in 1979.

The text of the Bhav of Jhallesvar Raj Mansinhji II sung by Langha Ala Rakhi Bai and Mir Hemu Bai in Ajitnivas Rajmahal in 1979.

King Mansinh, reigning king
King Mansinh, reigning king
Look in awe
O king Mansinh, live long king

Look in awe O king Mansinh, live long king
Look in awe

Lord of the earth comes, majesty comes
Lord of the Earth of beauty
The country sees. The drums rejoice king of the parasol
Oh Man [gives joy]

O king Mansinh live long king
Look in awe

O Ranmalsinh god [late father of the king]
Born of ?, she adorns the legacy of Ranmalsinh
Born of Jamnagar princess [wife]
Who gave prince Jaswant to Man
O he comes

O king Mansinh live long king
Look in awe

Blessed with queens
Blessed with large family
Gives dynamic energy to the [zenana] courtyard
Our immortals Gods and ancestors know/smile

That is why, O king Mansinh, live long king
Look in awe

Now your horses neigh
Horses neigh
Yes their splendor - do accept

O king Mansinh, live long king
Look in awe

O king Mansinh, live long king
Look in awe

6.10 Plowing the First Furrow

Traditionally, the Hindu king would plow the first furrow of the harvest, hence making the world fruitful and fertile. Following this act, the farmers of the kingdom would begin the season's farm cultivation.

In this image, both men and women of the court attend the king. Parrots are present, representing fertility, birds and deer are abundant, and the rain is falling. The women in the lower left corner are shown playing hand cymbals, a chordophone, a large barrel drum, and there are men grouped with the female instrumentalists.

Figure 6.13: Jhallesvar Raj Ramsinhji (1368-1385). Plowing the First Furrow.

6.11 Music in the Paintings

Comparing and contrasting the paintings and their categorization reveals some of the idealized conceptualizations of not only the events depicted, but also of music and its social function.

6.11.1 Performers

The musicians in the paintings discussed are predominantly female. The only mixed gender ensembles are possibly within the images categorized as special events, that is, Weighing the King on His Birthday and Plowing the First Furrow. Even in these

images, women are the only characters depicted with instruments; the men involved appear to be singing. The grouping of men and women in the left hand side of each special event image does not seem arbitrary, thus suggesting they are one mixed gender performance group.

There is a strict demarcation between the men and women on the right hand side of the Plowing the First Furrow painting. The segregation is even more marked in the Weighing the King on his birthday – the only women not grouped with the performers are viewing from the towers in the background.

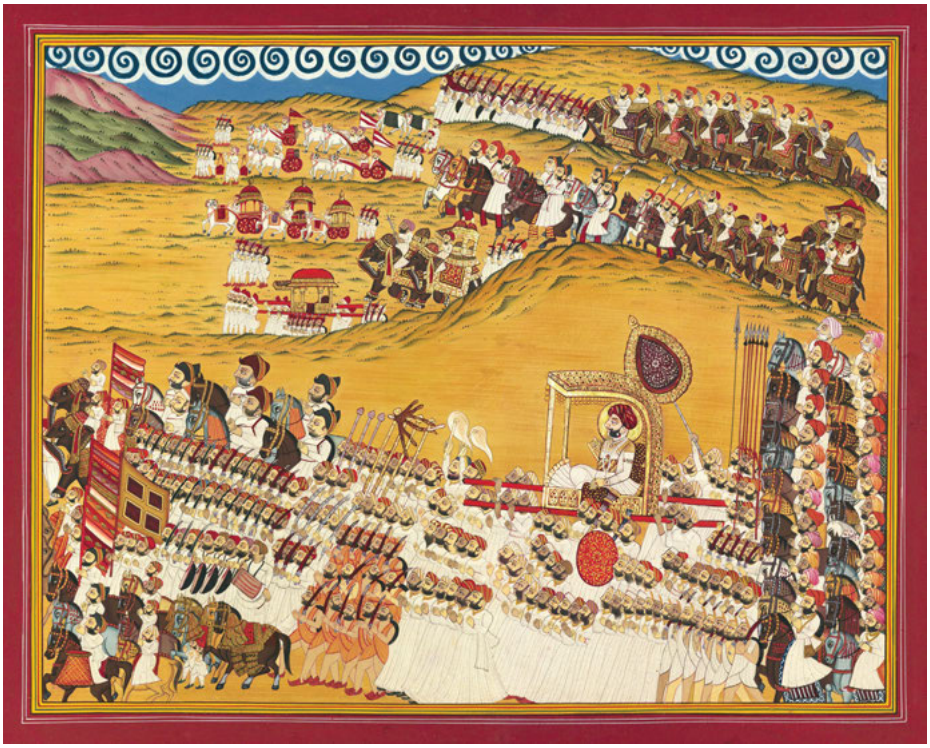

Figure 6.14: Jhallesvara Raj Bhimdevji rides to receive his son-in-law Ra Mandalik III of Sorath 1455.

The only paintings featuring male instrumentalists are a Military Procession and Sati image. From the paintings selected, these are also the only scenes that are dominated by male characters; the Military Procession glorifying the king's court and Sati praising the wife's devotion and faithfulness. These are very distinct types of events. The Military Procession would presumably be a recurrent occasion, attending the king on any of his travels throughout the kingdom. Conversely, the Sati is a historical event of exceptionally rare occurrence. However, there is a commonality between these scenes, as they both celebrate the divinity of a particular individual; that is, the

king and the *sati*, respectively. As two scenes depicting the highest honors, that is, the presence of the king and the transformation from wife to sati, it is significant that male performers are portrayed.

6.11.2 Audiences

The audiences also conform to a finite number of archetypes. The following four audience types are identifiable: 1) male audiences with female performers, 2) the king attended exclusively by women, 3) exclusively male gatherings (no female performers), and 4) mixed gender gatherings.

The exception to this is the painting of The Queen and Her Women at the Temple, which is the one of few paintings of the selection that does not portray the king. There is a male priest present in the image, but all other figures are female.

There are two paintings that are exclusively, or almost exclusively, male audiences. These are the Military Procession and the Sati. These are also the only images with male instrumentalists. There are no women in the military procession and the sole woman in the Sati is the wife immolating herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

The absence of women in the crowd around the Sati is surprising, especially given the regular depiction of women witnessing such events in the previously discussed British artwork. The depiction of the musicians as men is also notable in contrast to the more frequently depicted female musicians.

The scenes depicting the religious celebrations Holi festival of colors and Dancing Garbas) and the scenes of court life in the harems conform to the portrayal of women alone with the king. This would be consistent with the life in the *zenana* (women's quarters), in which women were segregated from men, but self-sufficient and privileged with entertainment and leisure time.

The special occasions of the Weighing the King on his Birthday, and Plowing the First Furrow are each distinct in their portrayal of gendered groups. Weighing the King depicts both men and women in the audience, though it is possible that the women shown on the street level are the musicians; however, women are clearly seen viewing the event from the *zenana* towers. Plowing the First Furrow is the only truly integrated audience in which both men and women are depicted as witnesses to the event and musicians.

It appears that the gender constituency of the scenes relates to the type of event – religious, historical, life in the court, or special events of the court. The religious celebrations and court life scenes depict the king with his women, presumably inside the women's quarters. This contrasts with the audience types depicted in the other paintings, in which women and men are segregated, or audiences are primarily single gendered.

From this sampling of nine paintings, music is, or is at least conceptualized, as a part of every type of social function. Celebrations such as religious festivals (Holi and Navratri) and royal processions or birthdays are attended by music. So are acts of extreme piety and devotion, like the Sati event.

Music is depicted as a part of the event, though it is often segregated by gender and physical space; this suggests that these musical events were enacted by specialists, and were not communally performed.

This separation is notable in the Weighing of the King and the Queen and Her Women at the Temple scenes. The Military Procession also seems to show musicians in prescribed places, at the beginning and end of the procession.

The harem and Dancing Garba scenes are somewhat more ambiguous in determining a segregation of musicians and audience, suggesting a more communal music making event.

Finally, the Sati is the only scene in which the musicians are truly dispersed within the audience. Perhaps this is implicating a direct role in the event for the audience in its entirety, as opposed to active participants versus passive onlookers.

6.11.3 Types of Instruments

While performers and audiences provide a glimpse of potential behaviors at court-related events, the actual instruments depicted provide insight into the beliefs about certain genres of events. In India, instruments have specific extra-musical connotations. These include associations with the royal courts, particular religions and religious acts, geographic identity, season, and connections with specific deities.

The instruments depicted are most prominently membranophones and idiophones. Chordophones and aerophones appear in significantly fewer instances. Various membranophones are depicted in each painting. Idiophones are in all but one. Chordophones appear in six of the nine, and aerophones in three. There is a variety of instruments depicted within each classification. The specific instruments are selected from pan-Indian, Hindu, local, and religious contexts. These signify differing meanings appropriate to the image's context.

6.11.4 Membranophones

Drums, or membranophones, are the most frequently pictured class of instrument in these paintings. In the Indian tradition, there are five broad categories of drums, determined by shape. These are the *dhol*-type cylindrical drums, *nagara* bowl-shaped drums, *damaru* hourglass-shaped drums, the *khanjari* frame-drums, and

the *ghada* pitcher-type drums (Bhattacharya, 1999, 94). Within each category of drum-type, there are myriad regional and function-based variations.

The most commonly depicted membranophones are the dhol-type cylindrical drums. There are two main varieties in the paintings. Both are double-sided drums with two playing surfaces. The difference is the width of the barrel; the larger variety appears to be the dhol, an accompaniment instrument used at Hindu celebrations and all music making events (Hardgrave and Slawek, 1997, 69). The Sangeet Natak Akademi recognizes at least three types of barrel drum referred to as dhol, from the regions of Assam, Himachal Pradesh, and Orissa. Each variety is played with a combination of stick and hand, and all three are associated with traditional and folk music and dances (Sangeet Natak Akademi).

Similar to the dhol, but smaller, is the *dholak*. The dholak is extremely popular, is played with the hands, and is "used throughout India in folk music, dance, festivals and ceremonies" (Krishnaswami, 1971, 93). The dholak, as a smaller drum, is commonly used for indoor performances, and is often played by female performers (Hardgrave and Slawek, 1997, 76-8).

Another possible interpretation of the smaller cylindrical drum is that it is the North Indian *pakhawaj*. The pakhawaj is historically one of the predominant instruments of Hindustani classical music, especially through its role as the only accompanying instruments in the dhrupad style of singing. It is also notable that the *pakhawaj* was an integral instrument in Vaishnavite temple across India (Kasliwal, 2001, 26-7). However, due to the asymmetry of the heads of the pakhawaj, which is indeterminate in the paintings, it seems likely that the drums depicted are, in fact, dholaks.

The nagara is one of the oldest Indian instruments and is mentioned in the Indian epics. It is associated with military processions, temples, and religious institutions (Krishnaswami, 1971, 91). It is a bowl-shaped drum, with a single head, struck by a stick. The nagara was once a utilitarian instrument, used by any courier traveling long distances, and perhaps to drive away dangerous animals. The nagara also was an instrument of the court, ceremonial bands, and for accompanying certain tribal dances in Bihar and Bengal (Hardgrave and Slawek, 1997, 92-4). The *nagaru* is a type of nagara drum specific to Gujarat, used in processions, temple services, and to accompany folk dances (Sangeet Natak Akademi 28).

The *tabla*, the most widely used percussion instrument of North India, consists of two distinctly tuned drums, played by the left and right hand, respectively (Krishnaswami, 1971, 76). The tabla initially accompanied various folk musics, and was associated with lower castes, but was adapted into Hindustani classical music by the eighteenth century (Kasliwal, 2001, 39-40).

The final class of membranophone depicted in the paintings is the frame-drum, or khanjeera. These styles of drums are used to accompany light music such as devotional songs and folk dance (Kasliwal, 2001, 57).

6.11.5 Idiophones

Idiophones are present in the majority of the paintings. These are in the forms of metal cymbals and gongs, and wooden sticks used as clappers.

The dandia, a lacquered, painted pair of sticks is a rhythmic instrument used during the Raas Garba dance in Gujarat (Sangeet Natak Akademi 12). The Garba dance itself has associations with Krishna as well as martial connotations.

Two varieties of hand cymbals are depicted in the paintings. One is the large, 8 to10 inch pair of cymbals known as *jhanj* or *brahmatalam*. These are used in temple rituals and are found in temple sculptures (Krishnaswami, 1971, 101). The smaller variety is the manjira, which are found in devotional music all over India (ibid.). It is presumably one of the earliest instruments in India, found both in religious ceremonies and in the music of singers in the streets and markets (Hardgrave and Slawek, 1997, 115).

Solvyns historically identified two types of metal gong, differing primarily in function. These are the *kasar* and *kasi*, used for temple and religious functions, and for secular music making, respectively. Both are plate gongs, though the kasar is struck by a temple servant, and its use is strictly forbidden outside of religious occasions (Hardgrave and Slawek, 1997, 30). In contrast, the kasi is one of the most common instruments in private entertainment, and the performers may be individuals of lower castes (ibid.:118).

6.11.6 Chordophones

There are many chordophones in Indian music, which are particularly challenging to accurately identify in these paintings. The following is a list of the chordophones that are arguably depicted in the images.

The majority of the stringed instruments depicted clearly show either one or two gourds. They all appear to be plucked, as opposed to bowed, instruments. In most cases, the single gourd instruments seem to be *tamburas*. The tambura is ubiquitous in the classical music of India as a drone instrument, accompanying voice and solo instruments (Krishnaswami, 1971, 39). The tambura is a four stringed, fretless instrument that comes in a variety of sizes.

There also varieties of *sitar* that are single gourd instruments. The differentiating features of the sitar are the frets along the length of the neck, and the *chikari*, or drone, strings (Kasliwal, 2001, 147).

The double-gourded instruments appear to be the North Indian *bin*, a fretted, plucked lute. The bin is held in a slanted position over the shoulder. The bin also has a history as an accompanying instrument to vocal music (Krishnaswami, 1971, 41). *Veena*, a broad category of chordophone including the bin, is especially associated with the Indian ethos and religion. The goddess of learning, Saraswati, is one such example of a deity usually depicted with a veena (Kasliwal, 2001, 112).

6.11.7 Aerophones

There are three aerophones depicted in the paintings, constructed from shell, horn, and brass.

The *shankh*, or conch shell, is a wind instrument used in Hindu religious contexts. It is conceptualized as being first played by Krishna and is alluded to in both the Ramayana and Mahabharata (Hardgrave and Slawek, 1997, 28). The shankh has martial connections and was previously used as a war trumpet. In modern contexts it is used in religious and temple ceremonies and in processions (Krishnaswami, 1971, 87).

The *shehnai* is an wind blown reed instrument with auspicious connotations (Krishnaswami, 1971, 63). The shehnai has been incorporated into the mainstream of Hindustani classical music in addition to its association with festivities and ceremonies (Kasliwal, 2001, 93-4).

The bent brass horn is difficult to identify. It may be *kakad singhi* or *nagphani*, both of which are Gujarati. They are both brass aerophones characterized by serpentine bends (Sangeet Natak Akademi 20, 28). Krishnaswami (1971, 89) considers all variety of horn as shringa, an all-encompassing term that includes instruments constructed from animal horn or brass, in shapes from straight to curved to S-shaped. All shringa are recognized as being used in temple services, processions, marriages, and festive occasions (ibid.). A similar type of horn, referred to as *bak*, is noted as for its use in processions and as a military instrument to accompany both cavalry and infantry (Hardgrave and Slawek, 1997, 132).

One conspicuous absence from the aerophone class is any type of flute, especially the *bansuri*. The flute is mentioned as early as the Vedic literature, it appears in iconography as early as the second century frescoes at Ajanta, and it is 'immortalized in Indian mythology because of its inseparable association with Lord Krishna" (Kasliwal, 2001, 71).

6.12 Instruments in the Paintings

6.12.1 Historical Events

In the Sati image, men are depicted playing two large dhols, two kasars, one shankh, and one S-shaped shringa. The kasar, shankh and shringa all have temple and religious connotations, which is expected in the context of this image.

The historical depiction of the Queen and Her Women at the Temple depicts three temple women playing the dholak, bin, and manjira. The manjira and bin both have connotations connected with devotional music. The bin, with its historical role as an accompaniment to singing, indicates that the women grouped behind the instrumentalists are in fact devotional singers.

6.12.2 Religious Festivals

The Dancing Garbas scene depicts women playing the dhol, dholak, manjira, and shehnai to accompany a large group of dancers. The dancers each have a set of dandia, augmenting both the dance and the sonic product. There are two non-dancers pictured without instruments, these are presumably singers. Again, the meanings associated with the instruments are consistent with the context – the auspicious character of the shehnai, with the devotional and folk nature of the drums and manjira, reinforces the Garba as a regionally meaningful practice.

The women and king playing Holi features all female musicians, with two sets of manjira, two khanjeera drums, one small tambura, and one dholak. The presence of the tambura, a drone instrument, suggests singing. The khanjeera and manjira's association with folk dance and devotional music conform to the festival context of Holi.

6.12.3 Court Life

The scenes depicting court life include social scenes of the king with his harem and the martial display of a procession announcing the king.

Both harem scenes depict large musical ensembles playing in similar contexts. One image shows women playing the dholak, tambura, manjira, and harmonium. The harmonium, a Western import, is in secular Indian music of all kinds, including folk, light, semi-classical and even classical music (Kasliwal, 2001, 256). Another image depicts women playing the bin, tabla, dholak, jhanj, manjira, and sitar. In both cases, the instruments are associated with secular, social music events.

In contrast, the Military procession, an alternate part of court life, features vastly different classes of instruments. The procession shows four nagara drums and one dholak in the front of the procession, and a large shringa in the rear. The nagara and shringa are especially associated with processions and martial aspects of the court. Of further interest is the fact that this music is performed, exclusively by male musicians.

6.12.4 Special Events

The King Plowing the First Furrow depicts women playing the dhol, manjira, and tambura. As these instruments all are accompanying instruments, it seems likely that the men and women grouped with the instrumentalists are singers.

The Weighing of the King depicts female musicians playing the dholak, two khanjeeras, and a small lute. Though the gourd is not visible, it appears to be a plucked lute, such as the tambura. Again, the men and women grouped near the instrumentalists are likely singers.

6.13 Reading the Paintings

Analysis of the paintings provides insight into the conceptions of musical events associated with the court traditions of Jhalavad. The categories of historical and religious events, and regular and special occasions of the court, offer a variety of musical contexts. These differ in performers, audiences, and instrument types. The instruments are indicative of the type of music being performed. They help to differentiate between instrumental or vocal music, and genres such as folk, devotional, religious, or secular classical music.

There is an overwhelming portrayal of women as musicians in the devotional, festive, and leisure contexts. Perhaps this is due to a number of the scenes taking place within the women's quarters. Conversely, the seemingly most serious scenes, depicting the Sati and Military Procession, feature exclusively male musicians.

The audiences are mostly segregated along gender lines, but this trend is abandoned in the depiction of the King Plowing the First Furrow. The performers are mixed gender groups in both of the images identified as special occasions. Perhaps this is significant as these scenes are not religious, nor are they of leisure. These occasions could represent instances in which women would leave the *zenana*, to witness significant court events.

The paintings examined depict traditional values of the royal court in the history of Jhalavad. Devotional, religious, and secular musics are portrayed within the confines of the court tradition and conceptions. However, these depictions eschew any music or cultural activity outside of the court practices and patronage. Though the paintings are stylistically, anthropologically, and historically informed, they incorporate only one aspect of the culture of Jhalavad.

Because the paintings are not strictly historical or documentary, they rely on evoking sensory experiences for the viewer. These experiences are enhanced and guided by the individual viewer's knowledge, familiarity, and personal connection to Jhalavad and its history. Certainly, these facets profoundly influenced the conceptualization and creation of these paintings. However, even a neophyte will respond to such stimuli in ways intended by the artist and ways that are unanticipated.

In a similar manner, musical events parallel the inception, creation, presentation, and interpretation of these paintings. The juxtaposition of contemporary music and non-local audiences creates a unique intersection of cultures, traditions, and individuals. In the same way that anthropologically informed art is created in visual media, a musical performance may embody many of the same elements. These may be consciously accounted for, or result spontaneously from the contexts in which performers and audiences, as essential actors in a live event, interact.

The remainder of this chapter explores contemporary music cultures in Jhalavad, their communities, and the ways in which these traditions interact with the current demographics introduced by Dr. Jhala and Western students and researchers.

6.14 Contemporary Traditions in Jhalavad

The paintings discussed previously inform viewers of varying contexts for music within the traditional court and court patronage system. There are also clear archetypes for performance ensembles and audiences, and associations of categories of events with particular instruments. The following discussions illustrate additional events, contexts, and traditions, which provide a broad overview of contemporary musical practices in the same cultural purview. Further, the music cultures considered are of interest to anthropologists, musicologists, and artists aiming to create similarly ethnographically informed works.

Due to the nature of the study abroad program, and its finite presence in Dhrangadhra, there were three types of events witnessed by the Temple University students and researchers. The first type was commissioned performances intended explicitly for outside researchers. In this context, the students, backed by the authority of the Jhala name, were essentially patrons. For these events, performers either travelled to the grounds of the Ajitnavas Raj Mahal (a palatial Jhala property), or students, accompanied by translators, went to the homes of the performers or venues within their communities.

A second performance type was independently occurring events to which researchers were invited. These were either public events or personal invitations to private events. In these events, the intended audiences were local community members. On these occasions, the behavioral concessions of the performers and audiences to accommodate, or account for the presence of outsiders, were of particular interest.

A third type of event consisted of personal invitations to witness and document cultural behaviors that are not conceptualized as performative. This includes worship such as pooja in a Hindu family home and daily prayer and Quran recitations in a Muslim household.

6.15 Hindu Devotional and Religious Music

6.15.1 Bhajan Singers

Bhajan is a generic term for popular religious songs from the Hindu tradition. The focal point of a bhajan is the often repetitive, devotional lyrics. Rhythms are typically uncomplicated and the melodies are simple and direct, as opposed to the complex nature of melodies in the Hindustani classical tradition. Instruments used to accompany bhajans are drawn from regional, folk, and classical traditions, with the Western harmonium being particularly valued as a melodic guide and drone (Simon, 2015, 3).

6.15.2 Bhajans in Dhrangadhra

Bhajans are extremely common in the musical soundscape of Dhrangadhra. Bhajans sung include those written by Narsi Mehta who wrote in the 15th century as well as those of the poetess Mira Bai and Tulsi Das. These bhajans are sung all over India and beyond. In addition, the bhajans of local kings such as Jhallesvar Amarsinhi II 1803-1841 known as Bhaktaraj and saints like Desal Bhagat, a Dhrangadhra policeman turned saint in the late 19th century, as well as the new bhajans written by pastoralists and farmers make up the performances of an evening. Through performances commissioned by Dr. Jhala for the Temple University program, and performances at temples for local gurus and 'saints,' I documented four independent bhajan performances between 21 May and 30 May 2014.

Three of the events featured an ensemble led by Ramchandra and his son Dipak, the owners of a small music store in the town Dhrangadhra. Two of these performances were commissioned by Dr. Jhala to occur on the grounds of the Ajitnavas Raj Mahal, a palace complex of the Jhala dynasty and the quarters of the students and researchers he hosts. The third event was at a temple, with a guru presiding and being honored.

The fourth bhajan performance occurred at a temple meeting of a particular sect of Hindus, overseen by a spiritually accomplished and honored guru. The performance was brief, performed by members of the congregation, and preceded their regular meeting and prayer.

The instrumentation was similar in each performance, with 5-6 performers in each ensemble. Each performance featured vocals, harmonium, tabla, manjira, and jhanj. One segment of a performance by Ramchandra's group featured a Korg electric keyboard in place of the harmonium; another of his group's performances featured two tabla players simultaneously. There were frequent instrument swaps; various members of the group took lead roles singing and playing harmonium, or playing manjira or jhanj.

Here is the text of the well known Bhajan written by the poet king Jhallesvar Raj Amarsinhji II in the early nineteenth century. It is said he wrote it in remorse after the Battle of the Goat 1805 where Jhalas slew Jhalas and great many were slain to little advantage.

Javun che nirvana
Wanting to go to Nirvan [Refrain]

All life wants to go to nirvan
Tread carefully as you go
We have to go to nirvan

Flesh will become mud, breath will become water
This impermanent body will be useless
So walk in gentleness for all have to go to nirvan.

The King will go, the people will go and even the beautiful queen will pass
Even Lord Indra and his Indrani on their celestial throne
Also Bramha and his Bramhani
So walk in gentleness, for all have to go to nirvan.

At golden Srilanka the sun was made to stop in the sky by the demon Ravan
His glory was finally reduced to dust.
So walk in gentleness, for all have to go to nirvan.

Dhru and Kush stepped down from the throne to see nirvan
Raja Amarsingh sings, Immortal is this story
So walk in gentleness for all have to go to nirvana.

All must go to nirvan
All life wants to go to nirvan
Walk in gentleness we have to go to nirvana [2014 Ramchandra Bhai]

It is a song that says 'All that exists, must pass. King and Queens and even the Gods must pass. Only the story remains, only the story is immortal.

Figure 6.15: Bilal Habshi, Arjan Bharvad, Prabhatsinh Jhala, Amrit Kalu Bhavaiya and others sing the bhajan 'Going to Nirvan' 2016 in AmarMahal at Halvad Palace 2016.

6.15.3 Audience Interactions

In all four cases, performers were open in inviting audience members, both local and Western, to participate, mostly by offering the opportunity to play manjira and jhanj. The multi-layered and polyrhythmic nature of these patterns allowed even inexperienced players to actively participate in the performance, while the experienced performers added appropriate complementing rhythms to the overall texture.

Singing was also encouraged. In many bhajans, lyrics, or certain sections of songs, are repetitive and relatively simple. While local audiences often knew the songs and needed no impetus to participate, the Western audience required encouragement and assistance to learn the lyrics. At the private performances at the Ajitnivas Raj Mahal, Ramchandra and his group actively encouraged participation. This extended to inviting local members of the audience to lead songs with his group accompanying, and to even attempt to accompany unfamiliar Western songs sung by members of the Temple University program.

6.15.4 Ramayana Singer

The Hindu epic the Ramayana is one of the central texts in Hindu devotional practice. There is still a tradition of experts reciting and commentating on the Ramayana in performance contexts. This is a hereditary occupation. The Ramayana singer we encountered in Dhrangadhra is from a lineage of such performers. He is the fourth generation of Ramayana singers, and his son Vijay, who is also a student of Hindustani classical music, is preparing to become a Ramayana singer himself.

In a private event, several students and researchers were given a brief performance in the home of the singer. The only instrumentation was the singer accompanying himself on the harmonium. The performance alternated between musical themes and spoken word commentaries. The role of the singer is not merely to recite the story of the Ramayana, but to use his interpretation to illustrate the sustained relevance and importance of its teachings in the modern world. The singer is not only a performer and repository of the epic, but an active interpreter, scholar, and evangelist.

6.15.5 Puja

Though not conceptualized as music or a performance event, the puja (worship) ceremony in Hindu households is a ritual enactment with musical elements. The household puja consists of devotional acts in the presence of the family altar, which is stocked with images of patron deities and meaningful paraphernalia from the family.

The puja we recorded was in the home of Ranjitsingh, an employee of the Jhala family. The event consisted of his extended family, all of whom live in the home, and two researchers observing and documenting the event. The act of making puja was relatively brief, with ritual lighting of puja candles, followed by a recitation or prayer, accompanied by bells and hand-clapping.

6.16 Muslim Devotional and Religious Music

6.16.1 Siddhi Culture

The term Siddhi refers to a number of communities of Indians of African descent, resulting from generations of migrations to South Asia, both forced and voluntary. Historically, Siddhi were renowned for their naval prowess, and there were two Siddhi kingdoms along India's western coast in the 12th century (Bhattacharya, 1970, 579). More recently, Siddhi served in royal courts as bodyguards, soldiers and guards of the female quarters. In Gujarat, possession of Siddhi servants was a sign of prestige in both Hindu and Muslim courts (Basu, 2008, 165).

Siddhi are often Sufi Muslims, with distinct beliefs and practices accredited to their African origins. These include the worship of African-Sufi patron saints, possession rituals, and distinct musical traditions. The Siddhi *goma* performance is one example, characterized by men and women dancing in circles, specific rhythmic patterns, call-and-response singing, and African derived percussion instruments (Basu, 2008, 164). Goma performances were not restricted to Siddhi religious festivals. In the past, goma was also performed by Siddhi servants in the royal courts for birthday and wedding celebrations (Jayasuriya, 2008, 431).

6.16.2 Siddhi in Dhrangadhra

Several students and myself were invited to attend a Siddhi goma celebrating an Afro-Indian Sufi saint. This event took place at the Siddhi mosque over two evenings in late May. The event included male and female members of the Siddhi community of all ages.

We arrived at the event around midnight, at which time men and women were already gathered in the mosque performing rituals, accompanied with drumming and rattles. After about 30 minutes, the non-Siddhi guests were invited into the mosque, where the music was gradually gaining intensity.

The ensemble included at least nine drums, most of which were two-headed barrel drums held in the lap or placed on the floor. One very large drum, the *mugarban*, was a lead drum, dozens of women played shakers, and one man blowing a conch shell. The drumming patterns were characterized by ostinatos and polyrhythms, seemingly

with room for variation. Call-and-response song forms characterized the singing. The dance included both men and women dancing in a circle, and several older women were entranced in bouts of spiritual possession.

With the exception of the shakers, the instruments were played exclusively by men. There was much interchange among individuals playing drums, and both men and younger boys participated in the drumming. One of the community elders seemed to direct the drummers, indicating which drums new participants could play, and indicating proper rhythms when patterns were incorrect. While Siddhi women were inextricably involved in the event through dancing, singing, and possession, Western women were marginalized in their participation. In accordance with religious taboos, the female audience was asked to remain separate from the men and were placed towards the rear of the mosque.

The event resumed the following evening, though with far fewer Siddhi in attendance and no possession rituals. However, the second event was less restrictive in the roles Western researchers, especially women, could take in participation. Dancing was encouraged, as was playing the shakers, and I was even given the opportunity to play one of the drums.

6.16.3 Muslim Prayer and Recitation

One of the fundamental practices in Islamic devotion is the performance of formal prayer, or *namaz*, five times daily. This is initiated by the muezzin's call to prayer, an amplified recitation that informs Muslim's of the appropriate times to perform namaz.

Muslim prayer is not conceived as musical, yet does contain melodic elements in the chant and recitation. We were invited to observe a local Muslim father perform the namaz and ablutions, and afterwards, his daughter read from the Quran. Again, this enactment was neither considered music nor singing, but it was emotionally charged and maintained rhythmic and melodic elements of stylized recitation.

6.17 Secular Performances

6.17.1 Madari Show

The Madari of North India are a Hindu-Muslim religious community, previously considered a lower-caste or "untouchable" group. Historically segregated, the Madari in Dhrangadhra retain a distinct community on the outskirts of the town. One source of income is performance of snake charming, magic shows, and music.

In visiting the Madari community, two senior men, Saujinath and Motinath, performed magic shows and music on the *pungi*, or "snake charmer's flute." Saujinath's performance included story recitations, punctuated and accompanied by *damroo*

drum and impersonated animal sounds. The show also included snake charming and sleight-of-hand magic tricks. Motinath, a musician of the community, performed an extensive rendition of a number of raga-based improvisations and melodies on the pungi. He had no rhythmic accompaniment, but the pungi and circular breathing techniques provided the constant drone associated with many types of Indian music.

Following the formal performance, several of the younger Madari boys demonstrated a distinct dance of the community to prerecorded music. This was an opportunity for younger generations to interact with outsiders as well as to perform and share their cultural heritage.

The audience consisted of the children of the community, four researchers from the Temple University program and one local translator from the Kshatriya caste. The very presence of a Kshatriya woman amongst the Madari is indicative of changing caste restrictions and evolving opportunities for local communities of performers. This is again driven by both the presence of non-Indian audiences and the socio-religious influence of Dr. Jhala and the status bestowed upon him.

6.17.2 Langha Praise Songs

There are many traditions of praise singing in North India, one of which is practiced by members of the Langha community. The Langha are a Muslim community, whose ancestors were Hindu Rajputs who converted to Islam. They are renowned as folk singers for Rajput and Muslim patrons. They traditionally perform at events such as weddings, births, and major court events, such as coronations. The Langha musicians are now frequently included in events and festivals intended to promote Indian folk culture.

Langha singers compose songs that glorify and praise the patron and his family, drawing on their knowledge of the history and contributions of the family.

One other researcher and I travelled to Santalpur, Gujarat to hear and record a Langha singer, Babiben, who performed at the most recent coronation of a Jhala king. Two members of Babiben's extended family accompanied us to Santalpur and other locations in the Kutch region.

Though the audience was very small (two outsiders, our local translator, and Babiben's family members), the performance was highly interactive. Babiben sang with the accompaniment of two dhol players and one shehnai. The texts she sang dealt with themes of Dhrangadhra and Jhalavad's history, as well as the accomplishment of members of the Jhala family. Her familiarity with the Jhalavad religion, history, and lore informs for her songs in praise of the Jhala family and its individual members

As patrons, resulting from our connection to Dr Jhala, performative aspects of the music were emphasized. These included dancing, and random acts of showmanship to involve us, such as lifting audience members seated on the drums, while playing uninterrupted. I was given an opportunity to play the dhol, and upon maintaining the

pattern I was shown, the second drummer began elaborating with complementary and interlocking drum parts, in a fully interactive musical exchange.

Finally, in a similar manner as the Madari, we were treated to a choreographed performance, to recorded Indian popular music, danced by a young girl of the family.

6.17.3 Wedding Music

In Jhalavad, we happened upon parts of two separate wedding celebrations. One was a street procession in Dhrangadhra, The procession was early evening, around 6:30 pm, on a Saturday night. The performers and procession members were on foot and in vehicles, in the midst of regular traffic.

The music consisted of at least two drummers playing the dhol, an amplified singer, and amplified electronic keyboard. The procession consisted of the wedding party and guests, presumably coming to or from the temple to the site of the celebration.

In the Kutch region, near Santalpur, we encountered a local wedding celebration at the family home of the newly married couple. There were two dhol players, and a number of wedding guests dancing the Ras Garba. Women were singing together while dancing. These songs were presumably well-known, as there was no group leader or call-and-response pattern. Though we stayed only briefly, the groom insisted that we partake in at least one dance before leaving to attend other functions we had come to record.

A third example of wedding music was out of the wedding context. While visiting a Hindu temple in Kanthkot, Gujarat, a group of two women and one young girl demonstrated Kutchi folk songs, particularly wedding songs.

6.17.4 Street Theater

Theatrical traditions are an important part of rural Indian culture for their role in conveying religious, political, and historical messages. In Dhrangadhra, amateur street theater performances are free and open to the public. We briefly attended a performance, heavily attended by local members of the community, especially families with young children.

There was a significant musical aspect of the performance, with the actors both reciting and singing the lines of their characters. The singers were accompanied by a tabla, a percussion instrument fashioned from a brass pot or vase, and the Indian banjo, or *bulbul tarang*. The banjo is a horizontally oriented plucked string instrument, in which depressing keys along the length of the strings sounds distinct tones. The music was characterized by consistent and repetitive percussion rhythms, extended vocal melodies, and occasional, repetitive interjections of short banjo melodies.

This event offered very little opportunity for audience participation. The drama and music was extensively rehearsed, and the performance was intended as a storytelling event, as opposed to a participative occasion. However, the impact of Western researchers did not escape notice or response from the local audience. Individuals documenting the performance with video and pictures on camera phones especially noted the presence of Westerners in the audience. Many individuals took the opportunity to socialize with us.

Figure 6.16: Bhavai Performance at Halvad, May 2016.

6.17.5 Bhavai Theater

The Bhavaiya are a caste of rural theater performers. Despite the fact that they are practicing Muslims, they serve as a custodian of Hindu values. The dramas they perform deal with local conceptions of Hinduism, and Jhalavad history and mythology. The Bhavai musical ensemble consists of dhol, manjira, jhanj, and shehnai. The performance includes stylized acting, singing, and musical interludes (Jhala 2004). Here are two examples, two couplets and another of a 'song of lamentation' that are elements of Bhavai performances.

Doha 1:

The daggar of Amarsingh, the sword of Togaji
The palm of Raisinhji, [have marked] the darbar of Delhi. (Mayne 1921: 81).

This couplet or Doha recounts the events at the court of Mughal emperor Akbar in the sixteenth century.

Doha 2:

O mother give birth to a bhakt, or to a donor or to a warrior,
If you cannot give birth to one of these types, it is best you remain without child and retain your good name. (Rudatala and Jhala 2015).

This couplet is used quite freely in the stories of warriors enacted in Bhavai performances

As Bhavai Director Amrit Kalu explains, "In Halvad, in the absence of the vanished King, fourth Queen Rathorji Raniji Shri Dev Kunverba Sahib, of Mansa who does not accept that her husband Rayasinhji has been slain. She sings in the round room of GadhechiMa, the religious garbo to the goddess SaktiMa, while thunder lightening and rain fall on the castle at night. The queen dances with a sword and implores the Goddess to return her husband to her":

Let The Clouds Rain

Let the clouds rain
And let the wind howl
Goddess Mother your lamp
Will never be blown out [Refrain]

Let the clouds rain
And let the wind howl
Goddess Mother your son [Rayasinhji]
Will never be destroyed

Let dust storm and rainstorm come
Let dust storm and rainstorm come
Let even mountains sway
Goddess Mother your son [Rayasinhji]
Will never be destroyed

Let the clouds rain
And let the wind howl
Goddess Mother your lamp
Will never be blown out

Let come Demons Rahu and Ketu
Let unity be taken away
Goddess Mother your son [Rayasinhji]
Will never be destroyed

Let the clouds rain
And let the wind howl
Goddess Mother your lamp
Will never be blown out

Let the Asura come and try
Let devotion be pulled away
Goddess Mother your son [Rayasinhji]
Will never be destroyed

This religious garbo has been adapted as a lamentation by a wife to inform the Rayasinhji play performance audience and so verses have been dropped."

The above examples suggest a flavor of the performances offered by the Bhavaiya performers to the village populations of Jhalavad.

Traditionally, Bhavai troupes travel to rural communities for extended performances that last throughout the night and are attended by all members of the village community. The performances include music, drama, and comedy, pertaining both to contemporary issues in India and local heritage. Additionally, there are preliminary rituals to bless the stage before a performance.

In a particularly intriguing negotiation of tradition and cross-cultural collaboration, a troupe of Bhavaiya from Kankavati, Gujarat fully participated in a student film project. This film tells a story from the Jhala dynasty history that is a standard part of the Bhavai repertoire. However, this was not an open village performance, but a closed filming taking place on location at the site of the Halvad Castle. The actors and musicians were performing standard scenes, in an unfamiliar order, to emphasize particular aspects of the story and to fit the film format. Dr. Jhala, as a participant in the project, requested particular scenes, which were familiar to the Bhavai actors. In this format, the story was told in a streamlined way, but the additional facets of Bhavai performances were exempted.

In collaborating with the Bhavaiya, the director of the film succeeded in finding authentic and informed actors, who may in fact be the best possible candidates for such a film. The project presented an opportunity for the troupe to explore possibilities for exposure and new sources of patronage. Further, the association with the Jhala family elevated the status of the troupe and the individuals involved. They ended this new expression of their traditional performance with a traditional ending identity song that they always use to end their performances. They did so expressing

this is necessary for there to be continuity of their performance. They saw this as an extension of their time honored heritage.

We are the Bhavai Players of Kankavati

Amrit Kalu and all the Bhavaiyas of Kankavati sing the song of loyalty to the Jhala Kings.

'We are the Bhavai Players of Kankavati
We are the subjects of the Jhala Kings of Dhrangadhra
Who ruled from Patadi and Kankavati
We praise our patrons
We bless our royal fathers
Over whom is held the royal umbrella
Who are our shelter, these kings of Jhalavad for 700 years
Live long live through the ages Jhala kings
Live long live through the ages Jhalas.'

This is part of the song taken from the film *Halo of Heroes* where these Bhavaiya sing this song at the end of the performance and it is the traditional manner in which they end all their performances.

6.18 Genealogical Ceremony

The Barots of Gujarat are a caste of entertainers, praise singers, and genealogists, especially associated with the Hindu Rajput courts (Thompson, 1992, 1). The Barots are the traditional compilers and keepers of genealogical surveys for royal patrons and entire kingdoms. There is historically an acceptance of both the occupations of genealogist and musical activity among the roles of Barots (Thompson, 1992, 4). The recitations of genealogies and praise singing are inter-related events; one of the rare occurrences for modern praise singing is in the context of genealogical performances at marriages (Basu, 2005, 91).

In 2014, the annual genealogical ceremony coincided with the Temple University in Dhrangadhra program. This ceremony included more than a dozen guests, not including the study abroad contingent. The ceremony honored the royal patron (in this case Jayasinhji Jhala) receiving the completed birth and death records from Barots conducting the local genealogies. There was an altar honoring the late Maharaja and patriarch of the family. There was also an emphasis on pomp and ceremony, with the royal family being attended by bodyguards. The Barots did perform a musical ceremony involving chants, bells, and the blowing of conch shells. Though a decorous occasion, the ceremony was relatively short, approximately 40 minutes in length.

6.19 Stratifications of Performance

Though music is ubiquitous in the Dhrangadhra and Jhalavad soundscape, there are distinct categories of events. These include devotional and religious music. The religious music considered here is drawn from Hindu and Muslim traditions, exempting Jain, Sikh, and Christian traditions. There are also many varieties of secular music. These include ceremonial court music, wedding music, praise singing, various theatrical genres, classical and light-classical music, various folk musics, and popular music, such as Hindi film songs.

Further classifications of non-classical music in North India are particularly vexing and inconsistent. Components of such classifications include musical styles, textual styles and value, and socio-cultural and socio-economic associations of the musical genre. This is reflected in the status of performers, audiences, and the type of venue and occasion. There are varying degrees of cultural negotiation in presenting established musical tradition in new contexts or to unfamiliar audiences.

India as a whole, and Dhrangadhra as a microcosm, are complex cultural environments where historically segregated groups, often defined by caste, but also by religion, socio-economic status and geography, each developed unique performance arts. Defining classical art music, or pure classical music is relatively simple, but the term 'folk' is correctly identified as too broad to include the myriad non-classical, yet traditionally-based, musical cultures.

One classification scheme accounting for these cultures is the identification of an "intermediate sphere" between classical and folk music. This is a five-tiered classification accounting for non-classical musics that still display elements of Hindustani classical theoretical concepts, or distinct, yet articulated, parameters that serve as a music theory for the genre (Manuel, 2015, 83). Two categories from this scheme are particularly relevant to the music of Dhrangadhra; those are "sophisticated professional folksongs" and "sophisticated prosody-driven genres."

The sophisticated professional folksong classification includes performances by "trained (usually hereditary) specialists, such as Langhas...with some stylistic, theoretical, and structural elements derived from Hindustani music" (Manuel, 2015, 88). The praise singing of the Langha tradition and the raga-based improvisations of the Madari *pungi* players may both correspond with the Hindustani-influenced parameters outlined.

Secondly, the sophisticated prosody-driven genres use poetic and metrical theory in constructing melodies (ibid.). These genres often include vernacular musical theater traditions. The melodically complex nature of the street theater discussed below may correspond with this category, as opposed to the seemingly more folk-oriented and melodically simplistic drama of the Bhavaiya.

Manuel (2015, 86) notes that these intermediate genres tend to be regional, text driven, and ancillary events to ritual or narrative action. Of particular interest to this chapter, is his echoing of Kathryn Hansen's sentiments in relating to the function

of these musics. She recognizes these as mediating mechanisms between disparate communities, with distinct populations, socio-cultural relationships, and ways of life (Manuel, 2015, 87).

Reflecting the impact of new opportunities for performance and collaboration, it seems that such classifications, while useful, will soon be outdated. Recognition of the mobility of folk, classical, and intermediary musics is essential to further classifying contemporary music cultures in India. This mobility is a result of new interactions between performers, audiences, and patrons, as well as the impact of these influences on the performative aspects of the event. However, not all events will intrinsically change due to these alterations. Devotional music remains devotional, ceremonial music will retain its meaning regardless of the audience. Of particular interest here are those musical genres which are actively evolving in response to new stimuli from both local and outside sources.

6.20 Agency in Contemporary Traditions

New opportunities for performance have evolved for many of the music cultures discussed. This extends beyond the presence of new audiences and expanded concepts of patronage. Musicians have unprecedented opportunities to interact with contemporary audiences. These are the result of new sources of income and patronage, changing restrictions and attitudes regarding caste and religion, and new artistic values and objectives.

The events the Temple University student researchers and I attended featured three distinct levels of interactivity. The least interactive could be considered the most traditional or, to use a loaded term, "authentic" performances. These were events and activities scheduled to take place regardless of any outside influence. Further, the nature of these events was not significantly altered due to the presence of outsiders. At these events, the performance was intended for, and meaningful, to the local communities and participants. We were kindly received as passive observers, but not active participants.

The second level of interactivity consists of planned or commissioned events in which performers specially cater to, or involve, outsider participation. On such occasions, the performative aspect of the event is enhanced by participation, such as actively dancing, singing, or playing musical instruments. However, it can also include other aspects of alteration to the "traditional" models of enactment. Examples of this are extra-performative acts, such as interruptions and explanations in English, or additional cultural sharing beyond the definition of the scheduled or commissioned performance.

The third level is dependent on outsider patronage or participation for the event to occur. These performances are interdependent, requiring active participation between local performers and outside contributors. These are novel models of

expression, combining the traditional local culture and outside stimulation. This may include active participation or non-traditional patronage from non-local sources. The novel nature of these events is determined not only by the content of performances, but by the context in which they occur. Therefore, a traditional performance in a foreign context constitutes an interdependent event.

6.21 Classifying Interactions in Dhrangadhra, Jhalavad

The first class of interactions is that in which outsiders have little or no influence on the context or performance of a musical enactment. The events are meaningful for local and, more or less, traditional audiences. From the recordings made during the summer of 2015, Muslim prayer and Hindu puja are two primary examples. Also, the initial night of the Siddhi celebration characterized this type of event. In all three cases, the musical aspects were conceptualized not as music at all, but as prayer. The genealogical ceremony enacted by the Barots in the Ajitnivas Raj Mahal was a parallel secular event. The sole purpose of these events was to meet the religious and ritual requirements of the performers and their respective communities.

Singing, dancing, or playing musical instruments most frequently characterized the second level of interaction, active participation. This was exemplified in the bhajan performances through the freely offered manjira and the sharing of lyrical refrains to encourage audience involvement. Similarly, drumming during the second night of the Siddhi event and with the dholak players among the Langha, or dancing at a wedding, achieved the same level of interactivity. However, active performance was not the sole defining characteristic of this level of interactivity. Amongst the Madari, a commissioned event was followed by the very personal act of sharing the dancing of the younger members of the community. This freely shared event, outside of the commission, was a direct result of the presence of outside influence in the community.

Finally, there were events dependent on new sources of patronage, recontextualizations of performance, and outside participation. The most explicit such event was the film at Halvad Castle utilizing the Bhavai troupe as actors. The patronage not only provided an alternate and non-traditional site for the event, but a modified enactment of the standard Bhavai performance. A second such event, was a fusion project between my Hindustani music teacher, Mehul Sheth, and myself. This was an attempt to combine the improvisational nature of Hindustani music with Western chord progressions and song forms. Due to time constraints, this was not performed beyond preliminary rehearsal, and was not recorded.

6.22 Tradition in Transition

In Dhrangadhra in 2014, as opposed to 2005 when I first conducted fieldwork in this area, there was a significant increase in the number of local participants with available cameras, usually in the form of mobile phones. There were many individuals recording the performances, and often recording the audience. These included performers, audience members, and the translators and staff of the study abroad program. This included particular focus on Western researchers as audience members.

The local documentation and increased efforts by performers to encourage the participation of Western audiences, were striking contrasts from my first fieldwork experience. Perhaps this is due to growing familiarity with Western researchers as a result of the decade of study abroad and research trips led by Dr. Jhala. There are active efforts to share local knowledge and traditions and, in some cases, to learn Western music, or connect socially with outside researchers. This is an intriguing possibility to not only create anthropologically informed art, but to develop opportunities for cross-cultural collaborations embracing the same ideals.

The processes of patronage, historicity, and anthropologically-informed (or culturally mandated) performances are active constituents of the music cultures surveyed in this article. As systems of patronage, and relationships between audiences and performers, and locals and outsiders change, new opportunities will continue to emerge.

The presence of Western researchers, and their relation to the socially and religiously engrained Jhala family, inevitably affected the contexts and behaviors of performance. However, patronage of the arts is not a new phenomenon. This patronage has always affected local arts. Historically, this patronage would be primarily by Rajput courts, restricted to select artists, poets, bards, musicians, and the like. What is more intriguing is the contemporary state of patronage in which members of traditionally persecuted communities, such as Madari, are also invited to share their arts, culture, and histories with individuals of higher castes, socio-economic status, and even foreign scholars.

These recontextualizations of traditional performance provide a valuable insight into anthropology in practice. Through evolving concepts of patronage, local artists are empowered in the creation of contemporary, yet historically, traditionally, and anthropologically informed works.

6.23 Conclusion

Though recently created, the paintings considered in this chapter are repositories of traditional conceptions of musical events. The court context and presence displays a bias toward the type of arts and events historically associated with royalty and nobility. The paintings reflect a contemporary artist's knowledge of local history

and mythology with established artistic standards and ideals. However, as noted, court patronage limits opportunities to certain genres of performance. By extension, conceptualizations of music are contained within these historical limitations.

The contemporary musical soundscape of Dhrangadhra and Jhalavad illustrates a much broader artistic array. These previously overlooked genres of performance are now enjoying a kind of patronage from local and Western sources. Interactions with patrons and audiences affect, and in some ways, define performance. The value of study abroad and research programs, such as that offered by Temple University is undeniably valuable for students. It is also economically and socio-culturally valuable for local performers. Given the nature of ethnography, and the effects of technology and modernity on traditional cultures, it is worthwhile to recognize how interactions affect tradition. Classifications of event types, audiences, and interactions enable researchers to interpret their own observations on a continuum, recognizing a range of traditional events to novel expressions, resulting from ever-evolving concepts of performance, tradition, and patronage.

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